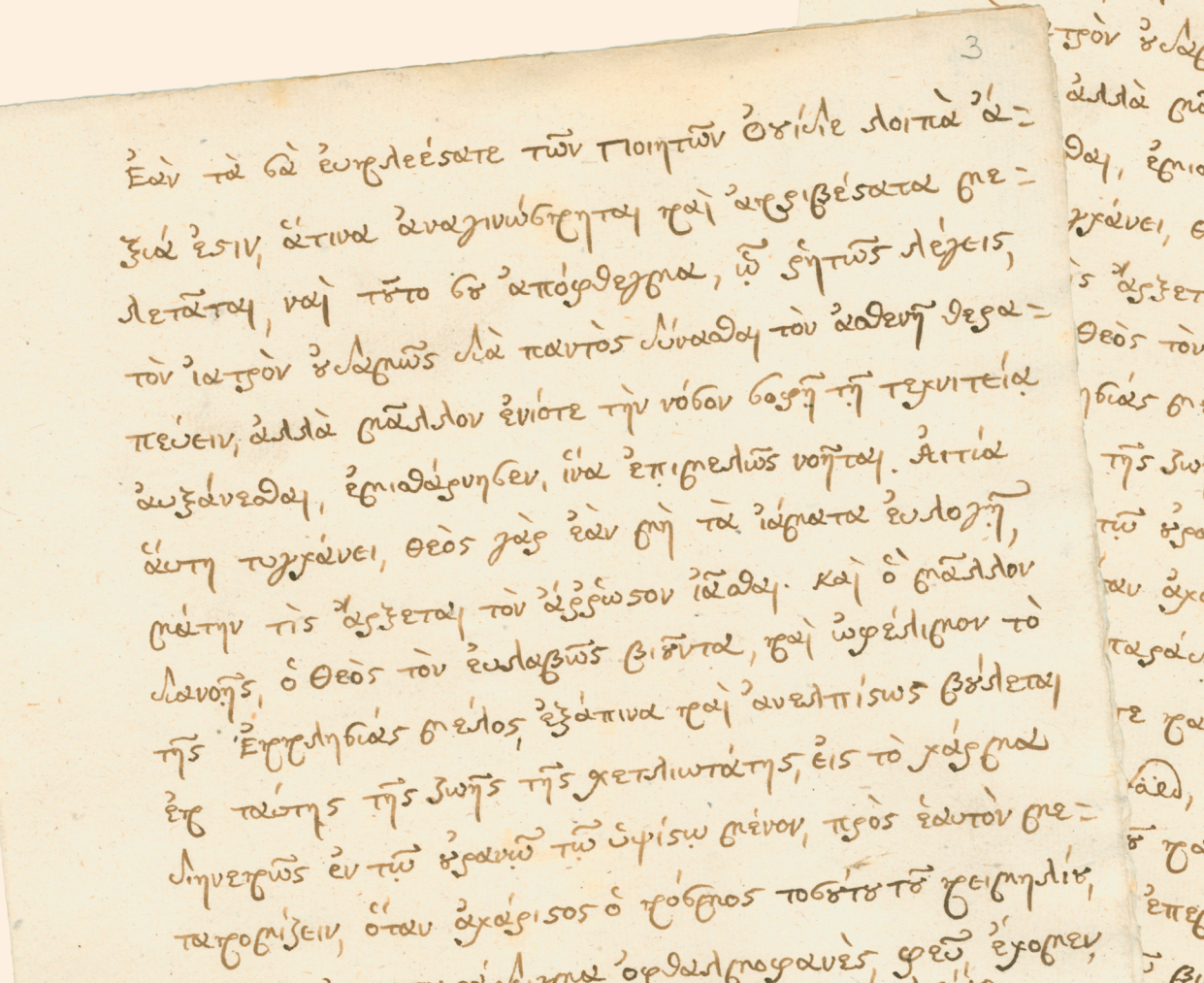


Edited by Janika Päll and Ivo Volt



3

Ἐάν τὰ βᾶ εὐφραδέεσσι τῶν ποιητῶν ὁσίητε λοιπὰ ἄξι-
αῖ ἐσὶν, ἄτιμα ἀναγινώσθηται καὶ ἀρξίβεστα θε-
λετάται, καὶ τὸτο ὅ ἀπόφραγμα, ὡ δὲ σήτως λέγεις,
τὸν ἰατρὸν ἔλαττωσ δὲ παντὸς δυνάδαυ τὸν ἀσθενῆ θερα-
πέυειν, ἀλλὰ βέλλον ἐνίστε τὴν νόδον βουῆ τῆ τεχνιτεία
ἀωξάνεσθαι, ἐβουάσθηθεν, ἵνα ἐπιβελῶσ νοῆται. Ἄτιμα
ἄυτη τυγχάνει, θεὸς γὰρ ἐάν σῆ τὰ ἰάσθαιτα εὐλογῆ,
βέλτην τίς ἀξίεται τοῦ ἀξίωσον ἰάσθαι. καὶ ὁ βέλλον
δυνάτης, ὁ θεὸς τὸν εὐλαβῶσ βίβηται, καὶ ὡφελίθον τὸ
τῆς Ἐπισηθιάς θεῖλος, ἐξάπινα καὶ ἀνεπίσωσ βάλεται
ἐπὶ τούτης τῆς ζωῆς τῆς χειλιωτάτης, εἰς τὸ χάρσθαι
ἀνηετῶσ ἐν τῷ ἔσανῷ τῷ ὑπίσω θένον, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν θε-
ταροβίθειν, ὅταν ἀχάρισος ὁ κρόθιος τοδοτὸ τὸ χειρηθίον,
ἀνάξιος ἐσὶ. καὶ βέλθον ὁφθαλμοφραγῆσ φεῦ ἔχομεν,
κρίσθιναν θάμιναν, ὅρ ὁ πανδύατος ἀφ᾽ ἰσῶν ἀλλο-
ῶφάτωσ τῆς δευάπρωτῆς
ὁ θεὸς βελτίον τῷ βίω ἀφελάσαι αὐτὸν ἠδελῆθεν ὅθεν
τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτῷ ἐνίστε ἔπο-
εἶναι ἁελίη ἀποεῖν

Hellenostephanos. Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe

Learned Communities between
Antiquity and Contemporary Culture

MORGENSTERNI SELTSI TOIMETISED VI–VII
ACTA SOCIETATIS MORGENSTERNIANAE VI–VII

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UNIVERSITY OF TARTU
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κέκλυτε, Δορπάτιοι, πυκινὸς γὰρ φθέγγομι ἄοιδός,
τηλόθεν ἐξερέων ἄρκτον ἐφ' οἷ' ἰκόμην·
σφάλλεται ἦ τοι, ὅτις πολυίστορα βιβλιοπλήρη
ἦν ἐσίδη, πτοέει προσκυνέει τε σοφόν.
ἔμπεδα δ' ἄμμι θεοὶ σελίδων προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν
σφᾶς τε διορθῶσαι καὶ γ' ἀσόλοικα μέλειν
ἄξια καὶ τελέθειν ἀγνῆς δόξης σοφίης τε·
εἶτα κέκραχθι δίκη· *βάρβαρος οὐ πέλομαι.*

Hört, die ihr Tartu bereist, was als Sanger ich wahrlich verkunde,
der aus der Fremde herbei kam, um die Barin zu schau'n:
Irrt doch der Mann, der erbleicht, wenn prunkend von Buchern und Wissen
ihm einer naht, und er flugs tief auf dem Boden verehrt:
Hat doch, ein festes Gesetz, ein Gott vor die Seiten uns allen
eigene Emendation, eigene Reinheit gesetzt,
und dass wurdige Taten den Ruhm und die Weisheit erfullen:
Dann erst klingt es zurecht: „Nenne mich keiner Barbar!“

Anonymus Hamburgensis

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EDITORS' PREFACE

I. Humanist Greek: the language of passion

The bulk of this volume is based on the papers presented at the conference “Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe. Learned Communities between Antiquity and Contemporary Culture”, which took place at the University of Tartu Library in May 2014 within the framework of Janika Päll’s research project PUT132, “Humanist Greek in Early Modern Estonia and Livonia: A Bridge to Modern and Ancient European Culture”, conducted at the University of Tartu Library in 2013–2016 and funded by the Estonian Research Council. Although the publication of the conference volume was delayed, research on Humanist Greek has, in the meantime, received more attention. It suffices to mention another inspiring conference on ‘Neualtgiechisches’ in Wuppertal in 2015, organised by Stefan Weise¹ and the new project, Helleno-Nordica, directed by Johanna Akujärvi (<http://projekt.ht.lu.se/helleno-nordica/>), with subprojects in Helsinki and Tartu.

The title of this volume includes the notion ‘Humanist Greek’, which since the 1970s has referred to the usage of Ancient Greek language by western authors from the Renaissance to the Early Modern periods, as well as by the New Humanists from the 19th to the 21st century.²

‘Humanist Greek’ overlaps with many different fields. The study of the relationship of the use of different forms of Ancient Greek as a foreign language by western scholars and the use of different versions of Ancient, Byzantine or vernacular Greek as a mother tongue by Greeks themselves is connected to the problems of *diglossia* from Byzantine to modern periods, and may change our approach to this research field in the future, including the terminology we use.³ ‘Renaissance Greek’ may seem most suitable term for the description of

¹ See Weise 2017.

² See Weiss 1977 (posthumous title, which corresponds to one of the central themes of his articles), Harlfinger 1989, Korhonen 2004, Ludwig 1998: 79 (stress on the Humanist focus), as well as Walther Ludwig’s article in the present volume and his several other contributions to the field.

³ See Christidis 2007.

the study and practice of Ancient Greek by both Renaissance Humanists and Byzantine scholars, but temporal limits do not allow us to use it for the discussion of the period after 1600.⁴ For periodisation purposes, 'Neualtgröchisch'⁵ or 'Altgröchisch nach 1453' ('(Ancient) Greek after 1453') has been suggested in German; although the notion has not yet been established generally in the library catalogues for language classification for Ancient Greek texts from the Renaissance and (Early) Modern period to today, it will hopefully become more and more frequent in the metadata and guide researchers to such texts.⁶ However, the sobriety and technical character of metadata language classification overshadows some essential features of this phenomenon of practicing the ancient languages. This is where the notion 'Humanist Greek' becomes useful.

The rebirth of ancient Greek in Europe was promoted by Humanist education and ideas to such an extent that we can consider the revival of Greek as a formative element of Humanist culture.⁷ Greek poetry by Humanists (at least the most sublime genres like epic poetry and Pindaric odes) reached an astonishing level in the second half of the 16th century.⁸ The importance of Greek for Humanists together with its increasingly instrumental use in theology resulted in the introduction of *Graecum* as an obligatory discipline in the last classes of trivial schools and in higher educational institutions such as gymnasia and universities. This expansion of studies also had its downside: numerous student exercises, which reek of sweat and tears of more or less dutiful students, and occasional texts which mechanically follow established patterns, while still providing valuable material for the history of education. However, there are still numerous fascinating poems, almost entirely unknown, and even the texts by schoolboys reflect the culture of their teachers, who were nourished by the spirit of Humanism. The older combined bibliographies and text anthologies, e.g. by Fabricius, Plantin, Fant or Legrand, are still extremely

⁴ For the discussion, led by Luigi-Alberto Sanchi at the round table "Defining Renaissance Greek" at RSA Berlin conference, see: https://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.rsa.org/resource/resmgr/2015_Berlin/pdf_of_final_program.pdf.

⁵ For this, see Weise 2017.

⁶ 'Altgröchisch vor 1453' ('Ancient Greek before 1453') is still the preferred language classification for all texts in Ancient or archaizing Greek (from Homer to the authors from the Renaissance to the 21st century), as opposed to texts in the vernacular ('Modern Greek' or 'Greek after 1453').

⁷ For the role of Greek in the expansion of humanist culture, see Saladin 2013 and notes 1 and 2 above and notes 9 and 19 to Janika Päll's article in this volume.

⁸ See Weise 2017, as well as Päll 2017 and 2018.

valuable as a source of this poetry, but new and modern anthologies will be most welcome.⁹

One of the formative features of Humanist culture is its great passion for the learning and practice of languages, especially Ancient Greek, which had affected educated men from Francesco Filelfo and Angelo Poliziano to Lorenz Rhodoman, Matthaeus Gothus, Nicodemus Frischlin, Erasmus Schmidt and Johann Gottfried Herrichen to 19th-century scholars like Walter Headlam or Richard Jebb. (Masculine pronouns and 'man' have here been used for generalisations; Olympia Fulvia Morata, Anna van Schurman and Clotilde Tambroni were clear exceptions from the norm of their times.) One of its most eminent results was the Humanist Greek epic *Palaestina* in more than 4000 hexameter lines, born, according to the words of its author Lorenz Rhodoman, *ex singulari quodam amore et studio*.¹⁰ But next to simply being passionate for the ancient language and culture, the Humanists consider the two essential for being virtuous: a man of virtue (ἀρετή) possesses the knowledge of liberal arts, which is inseparable from knowing different languages. In the words of Augsburg Humanist David Hoeschel:

μη̄ μόνον πανωφελές και χρήσιμον: αλλά και διά τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντολῆς, και εἰς τὸν καλὸν βίον, σεμνὸν και ἤσυχον διαφυλάξαι, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι τὸ τὴν νεότητα ἐν ἐλευθερίοις μαθήμασι τρέφεσθαι. Πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν ἀγωγὴν, πρὸς τε τὴν εὐσέβειαν, και τὴν καλοκαγαθίαν, και τὴν τῶν τε τεχνῶν και τῶν γλωττῶν κατὰγνωσιν [...] ῥυθμίζειν δεῖ.

[...] *it isn't only extremely advantageous and useful, but also according to God's command; and in order to maintain a beautiful, honourable and tranquil life, it is necessary to educate the youth in liberal arts. The whole upbringing has to be arranged [...] towards piety and nobleness and the arts and the knowledge of the languages.*

Hoeschelius 1577: B3r.

Next to Latin, the silent norm language, the Humanist has to know and use Greek, because he is not, cannot and will not be a barbarian: βάρβαρος οὐ πέλομαι, as Julius Caesar Scaliger has claimed in his verses. Therefore the conference and the exhibition of Humanist Greek prints at the University of Tartu Library were dedicated to the passion for Greek, so important for achieving a beautiful life.¹¹

⁹ Such as *Euroclassica* and *Hellenizing Muse* anthologies, which are being prepared at the moment of writing this introduction.

¹⁰ See Ludwig in this volume and for the importance of languages, Helmuth 2013: 22–26.

¹¹ See for Scaliger in the exhibition catalogue, Päll, Valper 2014: 4.

II. Tartu conference and its *Acta*

For various reasons we have not been able to publish all the papers presented at the Tartu conference in 2014. For these papers, we refer our readers to the conference programme and abstracts,¹² as well as other publications by their authors. These include the introduction about collecting and transcribing of Greek manuscripts and the initial stages of the whole tradition by **Dieter Harlfinger**, as well as overviews of the study of regional corpora, reflecting the works in progress, such as the papers on the study of Greek printing in 16th-century Alsace by **Elodie Cuissard** and **Sandrine de Raguanel** (about the role of Ottmar Nachtgall in Strasbourg) and **Hélène George Nobelis** (about Greek fonts and printing practices in Strasbourg) or the study of Humanist Greek in Poland by **Gosciwit Malinowski**. The scope of Greek studies was revealed in the overview of the primary findings about printing Greek authors in Sweden, in a paper by **Per Rålamb**, and the role of the Rostock professor Johann Posselius the Elder (1528–1591) and his οἰκεῖοι διάλογοι (*Colloquia familiaria*) by **Antoine Haaker**, the prize works in Greek by Tartu students from the 19th century by **Katre Kaju** and the reception of Nonnus' *Paraphrasis of the Gospel of St. John*, in the paper by **Gianfranco Agosti**.

At the same time, we have had the great fortune to include some articles not presented as papers at the original conference. Thus the present volume and the conference remain complementary to each other. We hope that we have at least partly been able to demonstrate the paths that Humanist Greek has taken, including its support system, the development of classical scholarship, and the study of the classical Greek and Christian authors.

The first part of the volume includes three overview articles dedicated to different regions. The paper by **Christian Gastgeber**, *Transalpine Greek Humanism (Pannonian Area). A Methodical Approach*, presents a description of the early phases of the transmission of Greek in Pannonia and brings out the tasks and challenges for anyone studying this discipline. Most of the development and expansion phase of Greek Humanism in Central Europe is represented in this volume by case studies, which provide supplementary insights into already existing overviews of different regions. The study of (probably the smallest) regional corpora is presented in overview articles by **Gita Bērziņa**, *16th–17th-century Humanist Greek Texts at the Academic Library of the University of Latvia*, and **Janika Päll**, *Humanist Greek in Early Modern Estonia and Livonia: The Contexts and Principal Genres*.

¹² Available at <http://hdl.handle.net/10062/46935>.

The second part of the volume is dedicated to different aspects of the dissemination of Greek, from the study of language and literature to the translation and impact of ancient Greek on Early Modern rhetorical theory and practice. The paper by **Charalampos Minaoglou**, *Anastasius Michael Macedo and his Speech on Hellenism*, discusses different controversies concerning the status of Greek at the turn of the 17th and 18th century, whereas **Erkki Sironen**, in his paper "Dialectal" Variation in Humanist Greek Prose Orations in the Great Empire of Sweden (1631–1721), focuses on language itself, discussing different features of ancient Greek dialects in Humanist Greek from Great Sweden. The article by **Kaspar Kolk**, *Dissemination and Survival of a Book Printed in 17th-century Tartu: The Case of Johannes Gezelius' Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* (1649), looks into the background of the influence of the Greek Lexicon by one of the most eminent scholars of Humanist Greek from Great Sweden. The same scholar, Johannes Gezelius the Elder, is also in the focus of the paper by **Tua Korhonen**, who introduces the readers to a rare genre of Humanist Greek disputations, which combine the practice of language and the repetition of important truths: *Classical Authors and Pneumatological Questions. Greek Dissertations Supervised by Johannes Gezelius the Elder at the University of Tartu* (Academia Gustaviana, 1644–1647). The passage from the Greek tradition via Latin to the vernacular is the focus of the article by **Johanna Akujärvi**, *Xenophon and Aesop for Swedish Youth. On the Earliest Printed Translations of Ancient Literature in Sweden*, which studies the emergence of earliest Swedish translations of ancient Greek authors, the story of Hercules on the Crossroads, and Aesop's fables. Another Greek scholar is studied by **Bartosz Awianowicz** in his paper *Between Hermogenes, Cicero and Quintilian: George of Trebizond's Latinization of Greek Rhetorical Terms Related to Ideas of Style*, which again reveals the importance of Latin for the study of Humanist and Byzantine Greeks and Greek tradition.

The case studies in part III of the volume reveal different functions of practicing Humanist Greek, from prefaces in the editions of ancient Greek authors to different genres of poetry and poetic devices. The Greek prefaces by Jean Cheradame, French scholar and editor of Aristophanes, are studied in the paper by **Jean-Marie Flamand**, *Les épîtres grecques préliminaires de l'helléniste français Jean Cheradame dans son édition d'Aristophane* (Paris, 1528). The peak of the German tradition in the second half of the 16th century can be seen in the works by Laurentius Rhodoman, whose (self-)biography is introduced in the article by **Walther Ludwig**, *Der deutsche griechische Dichter Laurentios Rodoman*. Although he was important for Humanist education, we know Rhodoman as an exceptionally talented and prolific Humanist Greek poet. Another important Protestant poet, Florent Chrestien and his Pindaric psalm

paraphrase is in the focus of the article by **Alessandra Lukinovich**, *Florent Chrestien pindarise sous la houlette d'Henri Estienne. Un psaume des montées en vers grecs (Ps. 127 hébreu) dans la version publiée en 1566 et dans un autographe*. Literary devices in the Greek poetry by Italian Humanists are studied in two papers by **Martin Steinrück**, *Springlesen: eine akrostichische Form bei Propertius und Filelfo*, dedicated to the background and examples of this very popular formal device, and *Metric "Mistakes" in the Greek Epigrams of Angelo Poliziano*, which presents an analysis of Poliziano's usage of Greek metres, reminding us that every deviation from the Greek tradition does not have to be a mistake. The paper by **Tomas Veteikis**, *Imitation of the Carmina Moralia of St. Gregory of Nazianzus in the 16th-century Greek Poetry of Lithuania*, analyses the impact of the poetry of St. Gregory of Nazianzus in a corpus of Greek dedication poetry.

The last, fourth part of the volume is dedicated to the editions of some Humanist Greek texts. In his paper *A New Epigram of Matthew Devaris*, **Grigory Vorobyev** has edited a hitherto unknown epigram by the 16th-century Italian poet Matthew Devaris from a manuscript in St. Petersburg. The beginning of Greek poetry at the other side of Adriatic, in Ragusa, is discussed in the paper by **Vlado Rezar**, accompanied by his edition of Greek poems by the humanist Damianus Benessa: *Greek Verses of Damianus Benessa*. **Pieta van Beek**, in her article "Ὠς ῥόδον ἐν ἀκάνθαις – 'As a Rose Among the Thorns': Anna Maria van Schurman and her Correspondences in Greek, has edited, translated and commented on the letters by one of the few female authors of Humanist Greek, Anna Maria van Schurman, and **Antoine Haaker**, *An Unpublished Greek Letter of Ismaël Bullialdus to Anna Maria van Schurman*, has added another piece to the picture of her correspondences, editing the manuscript letter by Bullialdus to van Schurman.

III. Acknowledgements

First of all, we wish to thank our authors for their patience and understanding, cooperative spirit and promptness. The volume could not have been published without the financial support by Estonian Research Council (Project PUT 132) and Estonian Cultural Endowment (Eesti Kultuurkapital), and was also supported by University of Tartu Library. Our English editor, Raili Marling, has done an enormous amount of work in improving the final versions of several papers. We thank Professor Dieter Harlfinger who provided us with a copy of the poem by Anonymus Hamburgensis, printed at the beginning of this volume. We owe a particular debt of gratitude to the libraries and museums,

which have provided the illustrations, including Academic Library of the University of Latvia (and Aija Taimiņa), Tallinn City Archives (and Indrek Hinrikus), Saxon State and University Library in Dresden, Estonian Literary Museum, National Library of Sweden, Uppsala University Library, Lund University Library, Linköping City Library (and Pia Letalick Rinaldi), University of Tartu Library (and Malle Ermel), Austrian National Library, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Bibliothèque de Genève (and e-rara.ch), Leyden University Library, Vilnius University Library, Archives of the Saint Petersburg Institute for History, and Franciscan Archive of Dubrovnik. The libraries are, of course, important places, but without librarians, they would be just large collections of books; it is the librarians who allow the study of the humanities to continue, enabling us to understand what we are and what has made us what we are. To them, as well as to our colleagues world-wide who are passionate about books, goes our deepest gratitude.

Janika Päll
Ivo Volt

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I

The Transmission of Humanist Greek: Regional Accounts

TRANSALPINE GREEK HUMANISM (PANNONIAN AREA). A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH¹

Christian Gastgeber

Introduction

This article results from a two-year project on Greek humanism in the Pannonian area (with focus on Vienna and Slovakia) as well as from a study on the use of Greek manuscripts of the famous Bibliotheca Corviniana among the Viennese humanists of the 15th and 16th c.² We are still far from having an overview of the development in detail, but new material from libraries and archives as well as a revision of the already known texts and statements lead us to an increasingly comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon that accompanied the introduction of humanism north of the Alps.³ What follows here are some observations from the project on the particular characteristics of a “foreign” Greek humanism without Greeks and with a partly very moderate source basis and limited access to the Greek language.⁴

¹ This article is published within the framework of the programme of scientific-technical cooperation (wissenschaftlich-technische Zusammenarbeit – WTZ) between Austria and Slovakia, funded by the Austrian Ministry of Science, Research and Economy (2013–2014) (Project SK 07/2013 – APVV SK-AT 0022-12: Ancient Greek Cultural Heritage in the Central Danubian Region in the 15th and 16th Centuries). Cf. for this topic also Gastgeber 2017.

² Results of this research focus are listed below in the bibliography under the name of the author of this article.

³ Apart from some research on detailed questions, basic works on northern Greek studies are Harlfinger 1989, Hieronymus 1992.

⁴ Greek transalpine humanism is decisively influenced in the course of the 16th c., at least due to the dominating influence of Philipp Melanchthon, by the thematic intersection of Reformation, a. o. in the search of new texts on church history or the reading of the original versions of the Bible and the Church Fathers. This aspect is not further pursued in this article; for this topic see e.g. Ben-Tov 2009; for the reformers’ approach to the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople, arranged by the first scholar of Modern Greek studies, Martin Crusius in Tübingen, see Wolf 2009, Wendebourg 1986, Slenczka 1997 (2001), Benga 2006.

Since humanism appeared later in transalpine and especially in Central and Eastern Europe than in Italy and in a slightly modified form, roughly spoken, as an “ideal”, imported by students and eventually by invited Italian scholars, Greek humanism in this area differs from what we know of Italian Greek humanism and the approach of Italian scholars to the Greek language and literature. In 1397 first lessons for students interested in Greek started in Florence in Italy; this was made possible by the invitation of a learned Greek imperial envoy who taught there until the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus reclaimed him for the Byzantine agenda. Italian (and later also French) Greek humanisms are characterised by the more or less close link to Greek scholars *in loco* and in the existing or former Byzantine Empire.⁵ The lack of a Greek medieval tradition in the West – in contrast to the ideal of classical antiquity with its bilingual learned society – could thus, step by step, be compensated for in the Italo-Latin Renaissance by a new endeavour of including classical, and only classical, not Byzantine, Greek into the school and literary canon. It is exactly at that point that we observe Italian Greek-Latin Humanism shaping Central and Eastern European Humanisms that started to implement Greek as an exotic supplement. Italy as the main destination of exile from Ottoman expansion could profit from this cultural impact, and Italy was prepared by pioneers of the new movement, like Francesco Petrarca and Giovanni Boccaccio,⁶ and willing to fill the gap between contemporary monolingual (the vernacular not included) and classical bilingual culture because the enrichment of classical Greek literature was highly coveted by these humanists.

This positive attitude, which became known in the East through scholars active as imperial envoys, resulted in a win-win situation for both parties. Greek scholars preferred to flee the threatening Ottoman occupation, and Italian humanists deemed the immigration of learned Greeks the turning point in bridging the loss of Greek culture in the “dark middle ages”. En passant, the Italian humanists had their own ideas of what an acceptable Greek should be: it was not the Byzantine schismatic Greek who was in opposition to the pope; what was expected was a unionist or a converted Greek; and the language was exclusively oriented towards classical Greek and its literature, neglecting Byzantine literary products, at least in the first period of Italian Greek humanism.⁷ When Greek humanism spread in Italy and was included in the humanist canon, those humanists did not yet realise that in the pronunciation

⁵ See the study on the success of Greek studies in Gastgeber 2012c.

⁶ Cf. Pertusi 1964 (19792), Pertusi 1966, Pade 2001, Fyrigos 2002, Rossi 2003.

⁷ Cf. Gastgeber 2012b.

they were the heirs of Byzantine (“Modern”) Greek. The discussion about the correct pronunciation began more than 100 years later, in 1528, with Erasmus of Rotterdam’s critical treatise about the contemporary and restored ancient Greek pronunciation⁸ which initiated a long debate between the two poles of Erasmian (= classical) and Reuchlinian (= Modern) Greek pronunciation.⁹ However, the humanists of the 15th and the first half of the 16th c. followed Byzantine (Modern Greek) pronunciation and had to struggle with an intensive training in spelling and accentuation, besides the usual language learning difficulties.

In pronunciation there is one item which indicates a paradigmatic shift between Italian and transalpine Greek humanism. While the Byzantine (= Modern) pronunciation was automatically adopted by the Italian humanists from their Greek teachers, who did not supplement their grammars for the Western audience with any explanations of Greek pronunciation, the new transalpine European audience very soon needed an introduction to the particular (Byzantine) pronunciation of Greek. This was provided then in supplements on the pronunciation added to grammars.¹⁰ Unless a student was trained by the vivid voice of a Greek and thus automatically introduced into modern pronunciation, he must have been confused in its comprehension because esp. in some recent *pro litteris Graecis*-treatises¹¹ the close relationship of the Latin and Greek alphabet was pointed out, but the pronunciation of some single or combined letters could not be deduced from Latin equivalents. A non-permanent writing (and pronunciation) exercise resulted then very soon in what is best known from Byzantine manuscripts, too: repeated orthographic mistakes (and wrong accentuation). After the Erasmian pronunciation prevailed, the attribution of a special vowel or consonant group to its Latin equivalent and well-known letters was facilitated enormously, as students of Greek language realize even now. Permanent reading and extensive writing exercises had to make a student familiar with the correct orthography of words, which provides us with a key instrument to separate trained scholars of the Greek language from those who mention Greek authors now and then and want to give the impression of having read the canonical literature, but reveal their actual knowledge when they try to write Greek words.

⁸ Erasmus 1528, 1529, new edition with commentary by Kramer (1978), cf. also Bywater 1908, Caragounis 1995.

⁹ See the diachronic study of Drerup 1930–1932, reprint 1968.

¹⁰ Even in Italian humanism the need of a special explanation is obvious in Cortesi 1986.

¹¹ Cf. the summarising article (with related literature) Gastgeber 2014b.

This makes us aware of the fact that we must very cautiously examine statements of Greek knowledge at any time, but especially in the early stages of transalpine Greek humanism. In this regard, illustrative examples are a German student of the first generation who had attended lessons of Demetrius Chalcondyles in Padua, Hartmann Schedel¹² (1463–1464), the celebrated humanist Conrad Celtis¹³ who was praised as a scholar of the Greek language as well, or the famous Viennese scholar and diplomat John Cuspinian (1473–1529).¹⁴

A reason of this particularity of Greek knowledge is to be found in a totally different status quo in the North: there, the Greek element was introduced from Italian humanist centres as an exotic and foreign element, a language and literature the northern area had no access to. Hence, research on Greek humanism in the transalpine area cannot be confined to a mere philological registration of the use of the language, but demands a deeper inquiry into how Italian bilingual humanism could be transferred to other parts of Europe where scholars principally agreed with the Italian predecessors in their respect of the antiquity, its language(s), works, stylistic and rhetorical requirements, but were excluded from the scholastic centres and basic literature. It appears that Greek humanism and its real practice remained elitist and exclusive in the North, but was requested as a necessary supplement for a scholar after humanism was first introduced and then established at the universities. A simple way to bypass this requirement was the half-way approach to the classical Greek world via translations which, too, Italian humanists were very busy producing.

Since transalpine Northern and Eastern European humanism includes and practices Greek as a more or less artificial element, but a must of education, the output in this humanist supplement could not reach the level of Greek-Latin culture in the South or in the still alive (or revived) Greek-Italian communities. Greek scholars did not follow calls to the North, and in the best case of (learned) Greeks passing through they did not have any longer-lasting impact in the regions – totally different from what we know of the impact of Greeks on Italian universities and courts or in Paris.

Current research on transalpine Greek humanism obviously reflects this fact as it is not evident from whom we have to expect (or should already have expected) research on this aspect of humanism and a formative element of the European culture of the modern period: as far as the products are linked to the appearance of humanism in the 15th and 16th c. and the Greek products

¹² See Gastgeber 2014b.

¹³ See Gastgeber 2015a.

¹⁴ See Gastgeber 2012d.

are of a high quality, classical as well as medieval (Latin) philologists partially study such works, but the author should at least perfectly imitate and adapt his classical models; if it is a bilingual learned Greek active in the Latin West, some researchers of Byzantine studies show interest in studying such authors, but more or less exclusively focusing on his Greek output. Additionally, some researchers of Byzantine studies, who specialize in palaeography and book history, centre their research on the manuscript transmission of Greek texts in the Renaissance, but generally set their limit at the end of the 16th c.; in their analyses of the manuscript / first printed books owners some touch on the question of texts used in practice in the Renaissance (or at a later time, but researchers of Byzantine studies do not feel responsible for the post-humanist period).

However, if a manuscript did not belong to one of the leading Renaissance scholars, in-depth studies of the use of the “imported” learned language, of the works that attracted northern / eastern scholars, and of their inclusion into the cultural canons of transalpine humanism are missing. University historians have devoted scant attention to Greek humanism of the 16th c., though mirroring the local introduction of an entire humanist university curriculum, mainly if they find relevant documents in their archives. Library historians, too, touch on Greek humanism when some Greek manuscripts or books have intruded into their research field as troublemakers, demanding special knowledge. Besides, library history generally and specifically in the reconstruction of a scholar’s personal library is one of the most challenging research fields we will come back to below.

For some thematic focuses specialists pick up a Greek author or a text and study his/its relevance which is, however, irrelevant for the introduction and development of Greek studies unless the text is really read in Greek and not in one of the new Renaissance translations. In “modern science history” there is no special discipline devoting their research to the use, interpretation, and – if ever – production of Greek texts in the modern period. Researchers of Modern Greek studies do not want to invest or lose any time in studying glimpses of Greek culture in the West because of the moderate output, thoroughly oriented towards ancient Greece and classical Greek. The remaining group is the classical philologists who are dedicated to the Renaissance and modern Latin, the Neo-Latinists who would best be qualified for the material, but Neo-Latin studies tend to maintain or even foster a separation the humanists once fought against, and in their research the additional Greek segment of a modern “Latin” scholar’s cultural and literary background is faded out as such studies are mainly interested in the Latin output although it creates an artificial separation.

From this results the situation – which this volume with its contributors from different research fields underlines – that for research on Greek in the non-Greek area from the Renaissance onwards as a cultural achievement and implementation of humanist ideas, vivid and present up to our time, there has been and still is no scholarly platform, organisation or encouragement to deepen research on this phenomenon that influenced the whole of Europe, starting in the 15th c. and gradually reaching the northern areas as well, to a broader academic community. A first attempt at bundling and concentrating such studies has now been made with this Tartu initiative.

Greek Humanism on the Way to the Transalpine Area

While the ideas of (Latin) humanism could be based on the common (school) language, Latin, an already growing dissatisfaction with the methods of scholasticism as well as an interest in the new findings of classical literature and a permanent presence of basic texts since medieval time in the northern area, too, Greek had no foundations in that area. Its transfer from Italian humanism – and, as far as we know, never directly from Greece – was a long process restricted to a very small group who came into contact with humanist ideas during their studies of medicine or law in Italy. An even smaller group of them attended the first lessons of Greek language. In the best case they could, during their study visits, acquire Greek manuscripts, let professional scribes copy texts or already purchased first prints.

What is well documented for some leading figures of German humanism like Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522),¹⁵ Johannes Cuno (1462/3–1513),¹⁶ Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1513)¹⁷ or the Dutch Rudolf Agricola (1443/4–1485)¹⁸ and Adolph Occo (1447–1503)¹⁹ also applies for the Pannonian students, among them the most famous Hungarian humanist, Ianus Pannonius.²⁰ Except for this extraordinary genius, the Pannonian region (and generally North-East Europe) fell short of the level in Italy (and then in Paris; this status quo

¹⁵ See a recent summary in Dörner 2011; on his visit to Italy see the proceedings Dörner 1999, particularly the articles of Dall’Asta (esp. 36–39: *Graeca ex Venetiis*), and Förstel.

¹⁶ Sicherl 1978.

¹⁷ Holzberg 1981.

¹⁸ See the proceedings Akkerman, Vanderjagt 1988, and Kühlmann 1994.

¹⁹ See van der Laan 2000.

²⁰ Literature on him is collected by Bekes (2006). For this culture transfer from Byzantium see Gastgeber 2012b, Gastgeber 2012c, Gastgeber 2014a.

improved in the course of the 16th c.). The first teachers were usually those students who had received an introduction to the Greek language and literature in Italy and trained the subsequent generation of “transalpine” teachers. The Pannonian region could not attract native Greek speakers; also the *Universitas Histropolitana* (now Bratislava, Slovakia),²¹ newly founded by the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus (1465), a fervent promoter of humanism in Buda and a customer of the most beautifully decorated classical and patristic manuscripts, failed in this regard.²²

Vienna started with Greek humanism decades later with the appointment of Conrad Celtis (1497), but Celtis already belonged to the next generation of Greek studies whose protagonists had no direct contact with the Italian Greek scholastic centres during their education. As his own *minima Graeca* and mainly his Greek grammar for students underline, he had only a very basic knowledge and absolutely no writing experience – best exemplified by his autographs despite his claim of being a bilingual humanist.²³

Approaching the Study of (Transalpine) Greek Humanisms

The increasing archive material from the Renaissance onwards and the – up to now not more than superficially studied – rich library resources facilitate a highly valuable approach to and insight within the study of Greek humanisms: the autographs that enable us to get an impression of the authentic use of Greek. Following this line, we can in many cases recognize the different levels of training and practice, documented in the preserved annotated school books, the first attempts at writing Greek letters and words, in the use of Greek in private correspondence, and in some Greek *adversaria*. It is this material which is still waiting for collection and analysis. If one wants to get an idea of how Greek humanisms could be installed in the transalpine area, one is furthermore well advised to look for basics like grammars and glossaries and to trace there the handwriting of local students or scholars because in studying Greek humanism and understanding the access of the students of that time to the language one is confronted with the same problems and questions as a modern student who wants to get an introduction into the language and read texts: a student needed a grammar and a dictionary, and then, in the next step, introductory texts of the literary canon.

²¹ For the university see Shore 1999.

²² See Ékler 2008.

²³ See Gastgeber 2015a, Wuttke 1970.

This leads us to the next question: how Greek humanism can be studied unless such research is superficially limited to nothing more than the Greek output, and only printed texts – no hypothetical assumption, but standard practice in this research field. Greek humanism research should include the output ranging from one-word quotations to texts of varying lengths as well as the path to such a result. This means the learning of the script and the language, the reading of the literature, the access to and acquisition of manuscripts / printed books, the scholarly networks of Greek studies and their exchange of manuscripts / books. Such a study should be extended from the scholars to local printing when the need for course books at the universities attracted printers to settle in scholastic centres and to meet that need.

This opens a huge research field like the history of printing Greek in transalpine North-East Europe, its results and the printing programmes (including the dissemination and circulation of the prints). The question of reprints or new prints on the basis of circulating text sources could stand as *one* promising research approach and insight into the reception and use of Greek. One has to imagine the problems a printer was confronted with when he wanted to print a classical or patristic Latin author taught at a university, but found that Greek quotations (e.g. in the works of Cicero or Pliny) appear in the text. Unless he had an amended copy of the humanist period at his disposal, the model was a medieval copy either with totally corrupted Greek letters or with blank spaces because the scribe could not read the word(s) of his master copy. If the printer was lucky enough to base his print upon an amended copy, he himself must then have had such printing types at his disposal and been able to correctly typeset the words or passage, not to mention the fact that he needed special types for letters with accents and breathing signs ...

If we try to analyse step-by-step approaches to Greek, we have to categorise a multiform output that reflects different practice and training as well:

a writer's own use of *Graeca*: first training in writing Greek letters, alphabets, words, basic texts; autographs for personal use which may have survived in existing estates as a collection of *adversaria* or as marginal notes in books and manuscripts;

a writer's own text: (in the transalpine area mainly) smaller poems, like *applausus* to the edition of a friend who belonged to the network, letters, or *adversaria*; mainly intended for an audience;

work on others' texts: personal commentary of a student / teacher / private lecturer and *ad hoc*-notes or quotations;

work on others' texts: revision, new edition, collation; published for an audience or prepared for a publication;

work on others' texts: commentary (for or after lectures; personal interest, politically-theologically motivated), published for an audience.

Whenever humanists and their autographs are a subject of scholarly discussion, it is deemed more than evident that the relevant material will be found in manuscripts or documents; as a consequence one basic source for the study of humanism generally, and especially Greek humanism, is ignored: the prints and their users. Catalogues of incunabula or early prints list all technical items, but neglect the owners and users. It is therefore only by chance that we can find a humanist as the owner or reader of contemporary printed books. Annotated prints (with exlibris) could fill the gap of identifying contemporary handwriting we cannot ascribe to a certain person due to a lack of palaeographic evidence (possessor notes). The inclusion of prints into palaeographic studies would *vice versa* enrich our material for identifications. The documentation of Greek annotated prints, starting with the incunabula and especially the famous and appreciated Greek Aldines,²⁴ will be a very promising aspect of Greek (humanist) studies.

Excursus: The Annotated Manuscript / Print

Some words are necessary to highlight the importance of these sources and their use among the Grecophile humanists: from 1474 Italian printing houses started publishing Greek works (1474 Brescia: *Batrachomyomachia*; 1475 Vicenza: *Erotemata* of Manuel Chrysoloras)²⁵ which ushered in a new era in the circulation of Greek texts. Significantly, Greek grammars by the Greek teachers of Italian humanism achieved a leading position among the first printed works as basic introductions for aspiring Greek students in order to complement the attended lessons, but insufficient for self-study. Therefore it is not surprising to find personal notes, comments and additions by the owners / users in such books. This also applies to dictionaries²⁶ and course texts of classical authors, commented on either by a student or by a professor: research on the teaching practice at universities could enormously profit from an analysis of this unique source material every library with a Renaissance manuscript or book stock provides. It goes without saying that such a practice also applies to the manu-

²⁴ Cf. for first studies on the Greek Aldines: Harlfinger 1978, Barker 1992, Sicherl 1997, Fletcher 1997.

²⁵ See Layton 1994: 5.

²⁶ See Bolonyai 2011.

scripts still used both in new as well as in older copies the owners or editors had no qualms to (mis)use as a working copy.

The difficulty of this research is the analysis of such sources as they create a vicious circle in humanist research: due to external circumstances and script characteristics, it might well be argued that marginal notes can be dated within the time frame of a specific period, maybe also to a particular local area, but their “author”, their scribe, remains anonymous and cannot be identified by any “tell-tale” notes. The only chance to reveal the author is by comparing his script with identified – and at best dated – documents. Right here research faces a big problem: there are still no albums of Greek script samples for the humanists in the northern and Pannonian region. For Italian humanism we have two basic works by Silvio Bernardinello²⁷ and by Paul Canart and Paolo Eleuteri,²⁸ but these have found no successors for other regions. Thus, the above-mentioned vicious circle starts each time: notes are discovered, the scribe is not identified, and, regrettably, a plate of the script is rarely published.

Hence, the first desideratum for studying the Pannonian (Greek)Humanism was and is an album of the Greek ductus used by the local scholars²⁹ that would also document the broad range from calligraphy to cursive script and humanists’ individual letters, letter combinations, abbreviations, and – as far as possible – their models. To give only one example for the importance of such a research approach: Edina Zsupán could identify the Greek glosses of John Vitéz (1408–1472),³⁰ the uncle of the Pannonian luminary Janus Pannonius, on the basis of a manuscript of Pliny (Austrian National Library, Cod. 141) and thus broadened our knowledge of early Hungarian Greek humanism because a knowledge of Greek could not be attributed to Vitéz so far.³¹

Roughly speaking, the study on Greek humanism has up to now been characterised by a more or less philological access to mainly printed texts. What was emphasised was the ingeniousness of an author and his/her adaption of

²⁷ Bernardinello 1979.

²⁸ Eleuteri, Canart 1991.

²⁹ However, we have to repeat the word of caution that by identifying an “autograph” and by ascribing it to a known scholar we have to take into consideration the fact that famous scholars also used amanuenses; the more so if such “original” documents appear in the prettiest calligraphy.

³⁰ About him see Caspodiné Gárdonyi 1984 and Földesi 2008. The first analysis was presented by Edina Zsupán (Széchényi-Nationalbibliothek Budapest) at the conference “Byzanz und das Abendland – Byzance et l’Occident”, 25–29 November 2013, in the Eötvös-József-Collegium, Budapest (“Filikos...” Eine griechische Bemerkung am Rand einer Handschrift aus dem Besitz von Johannes Vitéz de Zredna [Wien, ÖNB. Cod. 141]). The manuscript is described in Földesi 2008: 151–153 (with two coloured figures).

³¹ See Caspodiné Gárdonyi 1984, updated by the recent reconstruction in Földesi 2008.

classical sources, that is, just the hermeneutical aspect. A methodologically new research on transalpine Greek humanism where locally produced Greek texts are very rare, but Greek humanism was cultivated, opens two further fields which have already been underlined: the palaeographic aspect and the book history / network aspect.

Palaeographic Aspect: Writing Greek

Transalpine Greek humanism makes the broken line between Greek native speakers / scribes and students more than evident in the phenotype of the script itself. If a humanist is not constantly practicing the script model or pattern of a Greek teacher, nothing reveals the state of training and practice better than his script and its artificiality. What generally distinguishes a “Latin” scribe with a more artificial ductus of his Greek script from the learned Greeks is a significant feature in the transalpine area and its partly very unconventional idiosyncratic forms of single as well as combined letters, and abbreviations – the latter two, which require an advanced stage of Greek writing exercise, are sometimes even totally ignored.

Transalpine Greek humanism is characterised by a ductus revealing at a first glance a non-Greek handwriting, which could be improved only by attending special lessons and repeated copying of appropriate writing templates or, the best option, by the supervision of an experienced teacher. So, autographs of any sort of written Greek words or text passages not only indicate the mere fact of Greek knowledge, but their analysts should also consider the palaeographic aspect because an author’s knowledge of Greek and his real access to the language is reflected in his ductus and his model.

Normally, a student shaped his script by imitating his teacher’s one. This can be recognised in the autographs of some Greek teachers and their students in Italian humanism.³² For northern humanists at the turn of the 16th c. and graduates of introductions to Greek at Italian universities, this allows in some cases for the reconstruction of the relationship between teachers and students. Besides, *Graeca humanistica* let us trace the stage of writing experience: only capital letters (1st stage) – (separated capital letters and) small letters (2nd stage) – combined small (as well as capital) letters and ligated as well as abbreviated syllables (3rd stage).

³² See the examples in Eleuteri, Canart 1991 (with the biographical data).

From this point of view it becomes clear how much text editions with the tacit correction of the *Graeca* blur our image of the practical reception of Greek; thus, an authentic reproduction of mistakenly set or missing accents and breathing signs as well as orthographic errors and figures of the script should be essential prerequisites for editing any kind of *Graeca* of transalpine Greek humanism. The authentic reproduction of *Graeca* is effectively an indicator of Greek knowledge and should be documented in every edition – preferably with figures.

Source Problems and Indicators of Greek Knowledge in Latin Texts

A major problem of transalpine humanism was access to sources, both to manuscripts as well as to the first Greek prints. While Italy had the advantage of scholars travelling in the East,³³ diaspora Greeks in the West (with a basic stock of classical literature) or contacts with Greeks in the East³⁴ and while Graecophile Italian patrons were competing to outdo each other's libraries, at the beginning of the introduction of humanism North-East Europe was highly disadvantaged in this regard. There was no such medieval tradition, a relevant stock had to be acquired and in this the region was almost entirely dependent on imports from Italy.

The same applies to prints: from the beginning of the 16th c. a first modest Greek printing activity began to develop in the German-speaking and Pannonian regions only slightly and slowly.³⁵ Even Greek quotations in Latin texts could not be printed for a long time. Greek words were simply indicated by a corresponding lacuna in the text. Greek words or quotations then ideally had to be supplemented by the reader if he had access to a full version. In many cases this was omitted as documented in numerous incunabula and early prints with the "Greek lacunae". Readers, editors and printers were facing huge problems, too, in Latin texts that quoted Greek words or passages that had gone through several generations of copies, which multiplied corruptions. Since, originally, Greek words of classical texts were written in the *scriptura continua* with capital letters, some of which did not correspond to the Latin alphabet,

³³ Cf. e.g. Schreiner 1994; Grafton 1997.

³⁴ See e.g. Cardinal Bessarion, a Greek mediator in Italy: Fiaccadori 1994, and recently Märkl, Kaiser, Ricklin 2013.

³⁵ Proctor 1900, Layton 1994, Kyriaki-Manessi 1993; Bauch 1896: 47–74, 75–98, 163–193; Loewe 1940.

they must have caused, earlier or later, confusion in the medieval West. As long as the West had some knowledge of Greek, these capital letters were recopied more or less correctly (in *scriptura continua*). After that knowledge disappeared in late antiquity / early medieval time, letters that had no equivalent in the Latin alphabet were copied – or drawn – like exotic signs. In that process such letters underwent, from scribe to scribe, slight modifications up to sometimes very daring, artificial forms which barely allow the original word to be recognised.³⁶ Humanists then endeavoured, due to the new impact of Greek studies, to amend the *Graeca* in Latin works and to transfer the majuscule letters in the minuscule ones (including word separation and Greek punctuation as far as the humanists were familiar with the Byzantine system of Dionysius Thrax); or a scribe could not read or understand these signs at all³⁷ and left lacunae for later completion by “specialists”.

Here, a new aspect becomes apparent which significantly concerns Greek humanism in the modern period: the focus must not be limited to Greek texts alone, but has to include Latin (classical and patristic) texts, too, as sprinklings of Greek in them have to be taken into account in our “northern” Greek studies research starting from the Renaissance. After a long period of deteriorating orthography of such Greek words and passages in Medieval Latin copies the new wave of Greek studies contributed, for the first time, to revising and correcting such Latin texts. It would thus be promising to investigate this aspect in the existing manuscripts of Latin classical and patristic authors like Cicero, Pliny the Younger, or Lactantius, Hieronymus, Augustine, etc. in the new area of Greek language revival.

Book Historical / Network Aspect: Shared and Own Sources

If one wants to examine the humanist centres in transalpine Europe after the introduction of the Greek language and literature, two sources were (and are) essential: the (reconstructed) stock of used / possessed manuscripts which

³⁶ An example for illustration: Thomas Ebendorfer Haselbach (1388–1464), theologian and author of the *Chronica Austriae* (1463), had studied theology in Vienna (disciple of Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl), was ordained priest in 1421 and received his doctorate in theology in 1428. Codex 3138 of the Austrian National Library contains his list of *Graeca* that were omitted in a medieval manuscript of Lactantius due to “the discretion of the scribe” (*voluntate scriptorum*). He supplemented these *Graeca* in a separate appendix. The orthography of his *Graeca* very instructively points out the problem a transalpine author is confronted with at that time having only marginal knowledge of Greek; see Gastgeber 2016: 71 and fig. 5.

³⁷ This applies also to scribes who had already amended humanist manuscripts at their disposal, but were able to read Greek neither in majuscule nor in minuscule.

found their way north of the Alps, and preserved Greek texts of northern authors, either their own works or quotations or editions and commentaries. Greek humanism research has so far mainly focussed on these two fields. The prime example for the Pannonian region is the collection of Greek manuscripts of Iohannes Sambucus (1531–1584)³⁸ and his corpus of letters containing numerous discussions on Greek texts, or for Bohemia the collection of Greek manuscripts which Bohuslav Lobkovicz of Hassenstein (Bohuslav Hasištejnský z Lobkovic, 1461–1510)³⁹ is said to have acquired during his journey to the Orient. These manuscripts were collected *and read* by the two scholars in order to deepen their knowledge of Greek authors and texts.

However, the reconstruction of scholars' libraries is one of the most challenging problems of humanist research because mostly nothing more than a rudimentary stock, if ever, can be reconstructed; at best, preserved exlibris and marginal notes written by an identified humanist open a promising way to the reconstruction, or parts of the library itself can be identified as being integrated in an existing library's stock; exceptionally, a contemporary catalogue still exists as is the case for two Viennese humanists of the early 16th c.: the law professor Iohannes Alexander Brassicanus (1500–1539)⁴⁰ who had access to the Bibliotheca Corviniana before the battle of Mohács (1526) and could also make use of the stock there, and the anti-Protestant bishop of Vienna Iohannes Fabri (1478–1541).

But the reconstruction of book stocks of scholars has its limits:⁴¹ on the one hand, a mentioned Greek author or text does not entail that the text was really *read* in Greek (unless an original quotation is given); since the 15th and 16th c. are characterised by an intensive translation activity, some humanists preferred the impressive mention of an authority (which they might know from a Latin translation or even only by name from another source) to reading the original text. It was “chic” and “trendy” to know a certain canon of authors; therefore a Greek library stock must be reconstructed more cautiously in an area where Greek texts are rare.

³⁸ Cf. Almasi 2009, Almasi, Kiss 2015; for his Greek library foundation see Gerstinger 1926.

³⁹ See Kyzourová 2007. For the remains of the library see Olivier, Monégier du Sorbier 1983: XIX–XXV, 95–149.

⁴⁰ See Gastgeber 2011; Gastgeber 2014c: 195–270. For the catalogue see also Neméth 2013, Gastgeber 2015c.

⁴¹ En passant, another problem in library reconstruction has to be pointed out: humanists (and also the rare contemporary catalogues of their stock) are very uncommunicative in indicating whether they have used manuscripts or already prints. For the 15th and early 16th centuries we might suppose they used manuscripts in the transalpine region.

This raises the question of what one may expect in a scholar's "Greek library". From a very practical point of view we have to expect – like in the case of learning a language in our time – the "basics": grammars and glossaries. It is no surprise that Greek grammars were often printed and repeatedly re-designed and edited in the 15th and 16th century.⁴² It follows that the investigation of the library stock of a humanist should first start with these fundamental works, and *vice versa*, the systematic exploration of contemporary grammars, glossaries and lexicons – both in manuscripts and in prints – can reveal the start of Greek learning from the owner's / user's notes as well as from marginal commentaries.

If *stock* is defined as a varying number of books owned by a scholar at a clearly identifiable place (the scholar's library), we are confronted with the next problem in reconstructing a humanist library: the constant "migration" of books among the humanists – a fact that the letters of the scholars document in detail. Books were lent, copied and often did not find their way back to their owners. For prints it is known that manuscripts (sometimes with printing instructions of the author) – not only new copies, but also unique medieval codices – were sent to the printer for setting;⁴³ the print might have been delayed, a person involved may have passed away or funding may not have been found. Then the print-prepared manuscript was stored at the printer's or came into the possession of another scholar. In addition, the humanists always cultivated the Pythagorean dictum of "common ownership among friends" (κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων – *amicorum omnia communia*, as the saying has been included in Erasmus' *Adagia* I 1, 1). A very impressive example of the consequences of this maxim is the testament of Conrad Celtis,⁴⁴ which not only treats the existing, but also the loaned books.

These are some observations and ideas for a cooperative investigation of Greek humanism which should receive fresh impetus from the initiative of Tartu. Research on Greek humanism is no *ars artis causa* study, but reveals the roots of our common European culture in the modern period on the basis of the bilingual classical antiquity – a culture that was rediscovered, fostered, and cultivated since the Renaissance in a supranational *res publica litteraria*.

⁴² Botley 2010.

⁴³ See Sicherl 1997.

⁴⁴ Rupprich 1934: 603–609.

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the start of Greek studies in the Renaissance Danubian area of Vienna and discusses some methodological aspects research on this topic is confronted with. The new wave of a Latin *and* Greek humanism, coined by Italian scholars since the end of the 14th c., had consequences for the intellectual requirements after the new ideology of humanism conquered the northern scholastic centers. Whereas Italian humanism could profit from the Greek diaspora, the import of Greek manuscripts, the increasing numbers of Greek texts in the West and the first attempts of printing in Greek with excellent results in Venice under Aldus Manutius, the transalpine area lagged behind this southern European development and had to start *ab ovo* without any access to native Greeks unless northern students continued their studies in Italy. The article therefore underlines that research about Greek humanism in this area (and generally in areas where Greek scholars of the diaspora did not settle) must take into account accompanying factors like lack of manuscripts, of printed books, of trained teachers, of profound grammatical knowledge, of experience in writing Greek (including right accentuation, aspiration, punctuation), of access to sources, or problems of reading non-calligraphic Greek scripts. Although (classical and more or less Byzantine) Greek regained its importance in Renaissance among Latin scholars, modern research largely neglects this completing aspect of humanities from that time on. As a consequence Greek humanism studies did not find acceptance in Neo-Latin studies, are not included into Modern Greek studies and are more or less despised by Classical philologist as an epigonal concoction.

16TH–17TH-CENTURY GREEK TEXTS AT THE ACADEMIC LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LATVIA

Gita Bērziņa

Cultural trends and ideas, pedagogical reforms and changes in the intellectual life spreading across Europe during the 15th and 16th centuries also reached its Northern territories and were disseminated in Livonia and its centre, Riga, during the 16th century.

Humanist ideas flourished also in Livonia, like elsewhere in Europe – though on a narrower, local scale.¹ The new world view promoted Riga's intellectual life and several crucial intellectual activities took place: the first city library, *Bibliotheca Rigensis*, was founded (1524), book printing was introduced (1588), educational reforms were carried out (1594), classical languages were studied and the values of ancient culture were acquired, and a variety of texts in Latin and also Greek language were created.

Two educational institutions – especially the Dome School and at the end of the 17th century also Riga Lyceum – can be considered humanist centres in Riga.²

Riga Dome School was the first school in the territory of Latvia. It was established in 1211 in Riga soon after the building of Riga Dome Cathedral at the initiative of the Dome chapter of priests for the preparation of Catholic clergy, but in the context of a lack of schools, some students were matriculated for general education as well. During the 16th century (in 1528), after the Lutheran reformation, the school came under the responsibility of the city which closed it as a Catholic educational institution, but established a Latin

¹ More on specific manifestation of humanism in the region, see Stradiņš 2012: 103–140, esp. 134–140; Stradiņš, 2000; Zanders 1988: 126–134.

² On education in the 16th–17th century in Latvia, see Cīrule 1996: 98–105; Stradiņš 2012: 107–108, 129–150; also Zanders 1988: 135–138; Hollander 1980; Schweder 1910; Geļ'd 1911.

school³ in its place for the preparation of Protestant clergy; Riga City Council appointed a special inspector for the monitoring of this school.

Until 1588 studies lasted three and later five years, and the Dome School became a higher Latin school, teaching ancient literature, works by the medieval scholars, grammar, metrics, mathematics, as well as the basics of classical languages, later on also such subjects as physics, history and geography. In 1594 a new programme was established in the school and alongside the extended study of ancient authors also Holy Writ, Melanchthon's rhetoric and dialectics, works by Erasmus and Camerarius, arithmetic with sphaerics and astronomy were taught.

In 1631 Riga Academic Gymnasium was established on the basis of the Latin school. Initially one could study only Protestant theology and philosophy in depth there, but in 1640 the Faculty of Law was also established.⁴ School work was regulated by a law, *Leges gymnasii Rigensis*, passed by Riga City Council (1631). The main task of the Gymnasium was to prepare its students for studies in European universities. Until the foundation of *Schola Carolina* (the Lyceum, see below), it was the most important educational institution in terms of both the quality of knowledge and the number of pupils in the present-day territory of Latvia.

In the first period, until 1657, three professors of philosophy, two of theology, two of rhetoric, two of law, two of the Greek language, and one professor of history, of physics and ethics worked in the Gymnasium. From 1657 until 1678 studies in the Gymnasium were interrupted because of wars and plague. During the second period of activity (1678–1710) the academic teaching staff lost one person: there were three professors of theology, three of philosophy, four of rhetoric, history and the Greek language, two of law and mathematics.⁵ Riga Academic Gymnasium functioned until 1710 when Riga was included into the Russian empire. After that the school was changed into a classical gymnasium.⁶

Another important educational institution was *Schola Carolina* (Riga or Karl Lyceum), the gymnasium-type school at St Jacob's Cathedral, founded in 1675 by the order of Charles XI of Sweden. It was founded in addition to the Riga Academic Gymnasium in order to prepare qualified clerks, faithful to Sweden. The Rector of the Lyceum was usually the highest pastor of St Jacob's

³ It is often still named Dome School in different texts, although the Dome chapter of priests has been long closed.

⁴ Geļd 1911.

⁵ Schweder 1910: 77–80.

⁶ Staris 2011: 47.

Church. The Lyceum graduates could continue their studies at the universities of Dorpat (Tartu) and Uppsala.

Maintained by the Swedish crown, the Lyceum worked until 1710 when, due to the siege by the Russian army (during the Great Northern War), its activity was interrupted. After the annexation of Vidzeme to the Russian empire and after the reform of the Lyceum in 1733 it was renamed Riga Imperial Lyceum, in 1802 Vidzeme Province Gymnasium, and in 1890 Nicholas I Gymnasium.⁷

Outstanding persons who had acquired their education in the greatest universities of Europe worked in these schools/gymnasiums. Among the leaders of the Dome School we could mention, for example, the first rector of the school, Jacob Batt (*Jacobus Battus*) (1528–1542), rectors Rötger Becker (*Rutgerus Pistorius*) (1545–1554), Hermann Wilchen (*Wilikindus, Wilikind, Witekind*) (1554–1561, later rector of Heidelberg University), Georg Marsow (*Marsau*) (1564–1578), Heinrich Möller (1583–1588), rector and inspector Johann Rivius (1589–1596), Salomon Frenzel (*Frencelius*) (from 1599).

The first inspector and professor of Riga Academic Gymnasium was the Riga-born Lutheran pastor, superintendent of Vidzeme Hermann Samson (*Hermannus Samsonius*) (from 1631). The first professors were also Johann Struborg (*Struborgius*) (professor of philosophy) and Johann Höveln (*Hövelius*) (professor of ethics and physics). Later the list of professors includes Johann Brever (teaching philosophy, history, theology, rhetoric in 1643–1657 and 1677–1700), Johann Richmann (*Rickemann*) (professor of philosophy in 1650–1657), Aggaeus Friderici (professor of Greek and the rector in 1631–1657), Johann Hörnick (professor of philosophy in 1693–1697; Rector 1658–1668), Henning Witte (professor of rhetoric, history and Greek in 1677–1694), David Caspari (professor of philosophy and theology in 1678–1681), Johann Paul Möller (professor of law and mathematics from 1686 onwards; he also established an observatory with two telescopes in the Gymnasium in 1697), Jakob Wilde (professor of rhetoric, history and Greek in 1703–1706); Georg Lauterbach (rector in 1669–1677), Michael Pinsdörffer (professor of philosophy and rector in 1681–1710), etc.⁸

The professors of the Riga Lyceum included, for example, rector, professor of Greek and ancient Eastern languages Johann Uppendorf (1678–1698); conrector Johann Knoll (1694–1701); pastor of St Jacob's church and rector of the Lyceum Johannes Loder (1728–1771); historian, translator of Livonian Chronicle of Henry into German, conrector Johann Gottfried Arndt

⁷ In German: *Kaiserliches Lyceum zu Riga*, in Russian: *Рижский Царский Лицей*.

⁸ Schweder 1910: 19–25, 77–80; Stradiņš 2012: 143–148.

(1747–1767); ethnographer and historian, teacher of the Lyceum (from 1769), later rector (1801–1804) Johann Christoph Brotze; later on also historian, director of Provincial Gymnasium (1829–1849) Karl Eduard Napiersky, etc.⁹

Under the leadership of these illustrious personalities the Latin and Greek languages and ancient literature were studied in both Riga educational institutions (especially Dome School), among other important disciplines (such as theology, grammar, mathematics, logic, history, geography, rhetoric, basics of Hebrew, etc.), including the works of ancient Greek and Roman poets and writers, rhetoricians and philosophers, as well as ancient patristic works. The programme included Roman (e.g., Virgil, Suetonius and Cicero) and Greek authors, such as Homer, Hesiod, Theognis, Herodotus, Xenophon, Aristophanes, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Callimachus, Theocritus, Theophrastus, Anacreon, Lucian, etc.¹⁰

In this educational system and simultaneously in the acquisition of humanist values great attention was also paid to creative activities: students learned to write different exercises on definite subjects, poetry and prose in classical languages, and to express their thoughts in public disputes. They demonstrated their skills in countless public and private events – school parties, weddings, funerals and birthdays that were not imaginable without declamations, congratulatory addresses and occasional poetry.

The teaching staff – professors and rectors – also created a wide variety of works in prose and poetry, wrote scientific treatises and essays.¹¹ Poems honouring diverse important occasions (e.g. marriages, funerals), congratulation texts in dissertations, etc. were created not only in Latin, but also in the Greek language.

The importance of the Greek language and its conscious use was confirmed also by Johann Rivius in his complimentary speech on the opening of the reorganised Riga Dome School in 1594.¹² J. Rivius, caring for the acquisition of the Greek language in the education of young *Rigenses*, broadly talks about the Greek language in the school's programme and complains that Riga lacks Greek letter types to print Greek texts:

⁹ *Zur Geschichte des Gouvernements Gymnasiums in Riga 1675–1888*. 1888: XVII–XIX, XXXVII, 1.

¹⁰ See, e.g., Rivius' speech and curricula of tertia, secunda and prima in *Orationes tres 1597; Pensa Lectionum 1733*; Schweder 1910: 77–80.

¹¹ See, e.g., Taimiņa 2011: 207–210.

¹² *Orationes tres 1597*.

Utinam ad communicandum, in tradendis Graecis considerationes nostras, Chalcographo nostro suppetiissent Typi Graeci: quos quidem etiam in prioribus chartis desideravimus: idque eo majore cum molestia, quod una saepe Graeca vox, est instar multarum interpretationum, verbose et fuse quippiam enarrantium. Omnia certe et syncerius, et commodius, et fusius denique, qua tenenda in hoc genere judicaremus, intelligi potuissent: cum ad elementa graecae linguae tradenda, tum ad interpretanda veterum scripta graeca, et enodanda eadem, atque exemplis, quae praeceptis lucem admovent, illustranda. Sed quia facultatem hanc omnem, Graecorum nobis inopia Typorum eripit: exponemus nihilo tamen minus latine, quid recte et utiliter fieri oportere censeamus: in omni tam latinae quam graecae explicationis forma.

In some years the problem was solved and texts in Greek could also be printed in Riga.¹³ A certain part of these texts that have survived to the present day is extant at the Library of the University of Latvia (alongside important texts in the Greek language created and issued elsewhere in Europe and then brought to Livonia).

The Library of the University of Latvia now includes the collections of both the University Library and the Academic Library, the oldest public library in the Baltic States (*Bibliotheca Rigensis*, founded in 1524). Particularly, a wide variety of the 16th–17th century texts, mostly in Latin, also in Greek, can be found in the collection of the Academic Library.

Up to now, these treasures have received very little or no scholarly attention at all, with the exception of few sporadic works. The general corpus of these texts, their volume, nature and diversity have not been systematically studied. Now the work with the texts has started and it is possible to get an insight into the corpus of these texts.

At present, the best identified is the corpus of occasional poetry where, in separate special collections honouring various important occasions (e.g., weddings, funerals), poetic texts in the Greek language are included alongside texts in Latin and German.¹⁴ These include some texts from the 16th and 18th century, but mainly from the 17th century.

The majority of these texts was printed in Riga printing houses of that epoch: several by Gerhard Schröder (?–1657); some by the next Riga city book printer Heinrich Bessemesser (?–1683); after 1683 many by Georg Matthias

¹³ Separate words and quotations in Greek included in the above-mentioned collection *Orationes tres* 1597, printed three years after the opening ceremony of the reorganized Dome School, testify to the fact.

¹⁴ 53 text items in Greek are indicated in Garber's bibliography, see Garber 2004.

Nöller (1658?–1712) and some by Johann Georg Wilcken (?–1702),¹⁵ however there are also some texts printed in Mitau (4), Reval (5), Dorpat (2), Wittenberg (3), Leipzig (2), and also in Pärnu, Vilnius, Königsberg and Basel.

The volume of these personal collections and the length of separate poetic texts, as well as their character differ. There are collections containing only several poems, but also those containing more than twenty poems. The length of the texts differs from two up to several dozens of lines. The total volume of the collection, text length and character seem directly dependent on the occasion it is written for, and on the specific person or persons it is dedicated to. The more popular/well-known the person is, the more voluminous the collection and the more extensive and versatile the texts.

The choice of language, including Greek, for the occasional poetry is also connected with both the addressee and the author. Thus, for example, texts in Greek can be found especially in cases when the author or addressee is an honourable representative of the Gymnasium – a rector or a professor. However, it is not possible to identify a strict and precise regularity. The analysis of occasional collections shows that the same author in seemingly equal situations may choose different languages, e.g., once Latin, another time Greek, but sometimes also German.¹⁶ General tendencies can be traced, but subjective factors cannot be excluded from every case.

Texts in Greek can be found among poems mostly composed in the honour of the wedding of an important person or *in memoriam* of an important person's death. Most of these persons, honoured by addressing poetic texts of a consistent character, are from the intellectual circles of Livonia and especially Riga. Poems serve to demonstrate the author's erudition and skills, as well as to emphasise the addressee's intellect as the author relies on the reader's appropriate understanding and capability to evaluate the text.

¹⁵ More on the printing practice and main printing houses in Riga in the 17th century, see Apinis 1991: 47–71; Buchholtz 1890 (1965); on Gerhard Schröder, see Taube 1990; on Johann Georg Wilcken, see Šiško 1981: 132–156.

¹⁶ E.g., Johann Hörnick uses Latin in his poems commemorating G. Rigemann's death (*Urnula lugubrium* 1651 = Garber 730) and Joachim Kühn's wedding (*Laetis nuptijs* 1649 = Garber 742), Greek in poems commemorating Georg Graven's death (*Beatam Quietem* 1655 = Garber 631) and for Johann Krüger's wedding (*Myrtus nuptialis* 1654 = Garber 642), German in his epicedium for Anna Buining's (Joachim Kühn's wife) death (*Honor exsequialis* 1653 = Garber 639); Heinrich Lademacher composes his poem for Johann Richmann's wedding in Latin (*Bona Verba* 1651 = Garber 732), but the epicedium for Anna Buining's death in Greek (*Honor exsequialis* 1653 = Garber 639) etc.

The volume of Greek texts is small in comparison with texts in the Latin and German languages. The collections have mainly one and only in a few cases two or even three texts in the Greek language.

For example, an epithalamion in Greek for the wedding of Dole Island pastor Martin Charhof and Anna Margaretha, daughter of Melchior Kirchhof, in 1638 by Hermann Samson junior (1619–1678), the son of the above-mentioned Hermann Samson, Lutheran pastor and the first inspector and professor of Riga Academic Gymnasium, has survived. Together with six other epithalamia in Latin and German (e.g., by Johann Brever, Nicholas Witte) it was printed in Schröder's printing-house (see ILL. 1–2):¹⁷

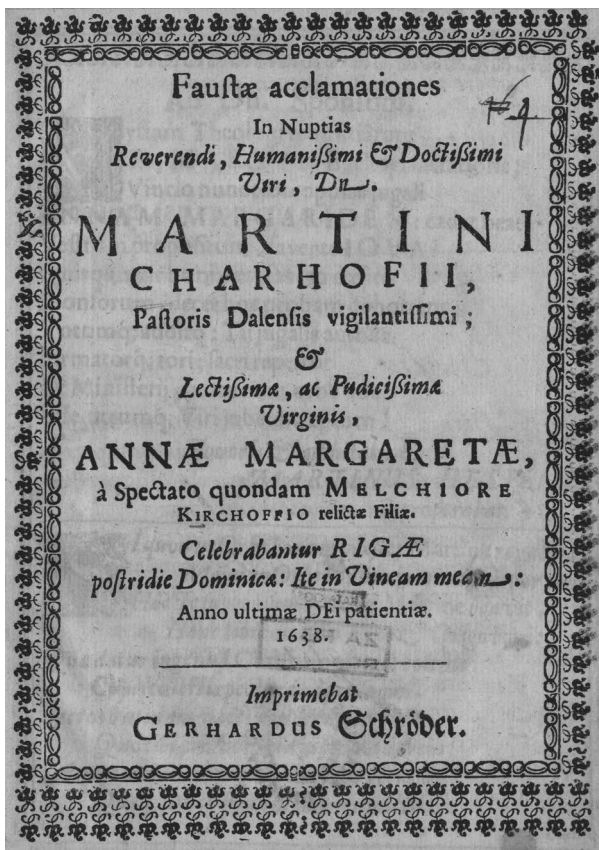
ΜΑΡΤΙΝΕ, ὃς φαεννοῦς,	ἀλύπην δὲ τὴν βιώνην.
Μετὰ παρθένοιο σεμνῆς,	ὑμμας γονῆς μακρῆσι
γάμους, βίοιο δέσμα	ἐνδαιμονίζη ἡὸς
ἄγεις, ὑμῖν δι' αὐτοῦ	θεόφιν πατρὸς κράτιστος
νῦν ἔυχομαι ὑγείαν,	οὕτω δὲ συμφρονῆτε
καὶ ἡσύχην βιώνην,	καὶ ἀλλ' ὁμῶς βιώνην
καὶ ἰφθίμην βιώνην,	αἰωνίην ἔχητε.

ἄσμενος ἐπόησε
 HERMANNVS SAMSONIVS
 Iun. Rigensis.

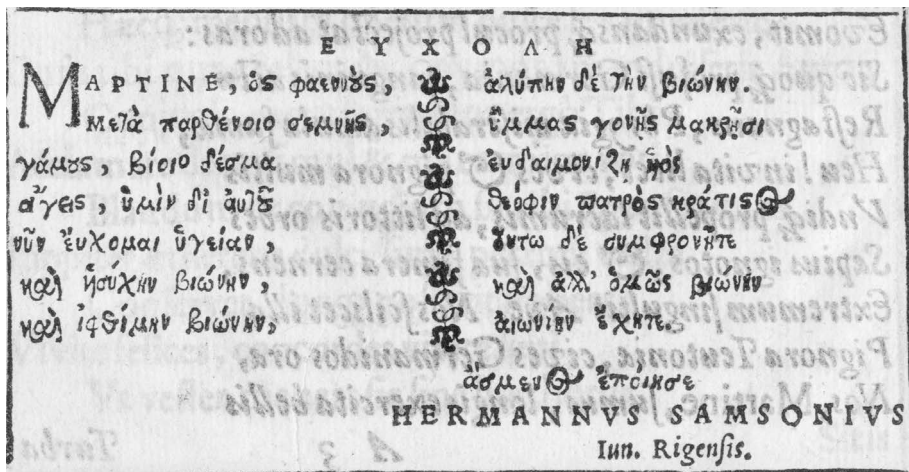
A simple epithalamion, arranged into two columns (separated by a decorative vignette) starts with an address to the bridegroom and a mention of the important occasion (the wedding). Then the author turns to wishes for the couple's future life – health, peaceful, decent life without worries, many children – and ends with a reference to the eternal life, in accordance with Christian ethics. The author has used some specific poetic word forms characteristic to Greek epic poetry (for example the epic genitive, as in *παρθένοιο* and *βίοιο*), but some forms seem rather peculiar. Accents and the spiritus are printed on the first letter of diphthongs in the word-initial position.

Although the paper used for the collection is thin and translucent, poems in Latin and German included in the collection are of a comparatively high quality and they are easily legible, whereas the printing of the Greek text is not of a high quality: here and there the letters are unclear, the thickness of lines of the letters differs and the rows of letters are uneven. It shows that – as it seems – the printing of Greek texts at that time was not popular and usual practice in Riga and might have caused difficulties to the printer.

¹⁷ *Faustae acclamationes* 1638 = Garber 691.



ILL. 1.
Faustae acclamationes,
 dedicated to the wedding
 of Martin Charhof
 and Anna Margaretha
 Kirchof.
 Title page.
 (Academic Library of
 the University of Latvia).



ILL. 2. Epithalamium by Hermann Samson jun. in:
Faustae Accalamationes, dedicated to the wedding of Martin Charhof and
 Anna Margaretha Kirchof. (Academic Library of the University of Latvia).

Another example of an epithalamion in the corpus is a poetic greeting by Johann Hörnick (Horniceus) in the collection in the honour of the wedding of Johann Krüger (Crueger), pastor of Bikernieri (Bikkern) and Jumprava (Jungfernhoff), and Catharina Christian, daughter of Diederich (Theodoricus) Christian (Elder in the Great Guild), in 1654.

Johann Hörnick (1621–10.10.1686) was a colleague at Riga Dome School (1648), later conrector (1655) and rector (1658–1668), professor of philosophy (1693–1697) at Riga Academic Gymnasium and professor of poetics (1671), rhetoric and history (1678) at Reval Gymnasium.¹⁸ In the collection composed by friends of the newly-weds (including also poems by Christian Rehehausen and Johann Brever in Latin; Hieronymus Depkin and Heinrich Lademacher in German) and printed in Schröder's printing-house, 5-line hexameter poem in Greek by Johann Hörnick can be found:¹⁹

Ὅδ' ἀγαθοῦ γλυκερὴ ἀπόλαυσις χωρὶς ἐταίρας,
 Ὅδὲ τις αὐπομάτῳ γε πινηρὸ ἀνοχὴ φορέσειε.
 Τοῦτο φρονῶν Κούρην λέξας, φατὲ Νυμφί, ἔραστην,
 Κοινωνύντε καλῶν, καὶ ἀμύνοσαν ταλπενθῆ.
 Μῶντοτε εἶν ἀγαθοῖς χαίροντες φεύγετε λυγρά.

Ἐυφημῆσων ἐσχεδιάτε
 Joh. Hörnick, Schol. Rig.
 Colleg.

The epithalamium starts with a general statement about the importance of having a good female partner, corresponding to the specific occasion of the wedding. It is followed by concise best wishes. Ionic, epic poetic forms are used alongside classic Attic forms, as well as some peculiar verb forms. The main effect is created by the positive vocabulary chosen by the author, emphasising the pleasant, nice and good. The delight of the good is contrasted with avoiding sorrows, misfortune, and suffering. In general, it is also a rather simple and explicit poem. The printing (at least concerning the form of the letters and composition of letters in rows) is clearer, of a better quality than in the previously mentioned case, confirming that during the years the printing technique of Greek texts had improved significantly in Riga. However, the printing of the diacritics is uncertain (e.g. mix of the accent and spiritus, double accent, etc.) and it seems that there has not been appropriate proof-reading.

¹⁸ Recke, Napiersky 1829: 319–320.

¹⁹ *Myrtus nuptialis* 1654 = Garber 642.

There are several other epithalamia for various persons' weddings in Greek in the corpus. Besides, it should be mentioned that alongside solemn poems in classical metres there are also texts in different specific/original forms. E.g., it is clearly visible that anagrams are popular,²⁰ sometimes a Greek text is also combined with a text in another language – mostly Latin, but sometimes also German and Hebrew.²¹

In the corpus of occasional poetry some texts in Greek are composed to honour some person's or their kinsman's death. An excellent example is an epicedium by Theodor Schmidt, commemorating the premature death of Aggaeus Friderici junior in 1647. The deceased was the son of Aggaeus Friderici, the venerable professor of the Greek language at Riga Academic Gymnasium (1584–1657) (see ILL. 3–4).

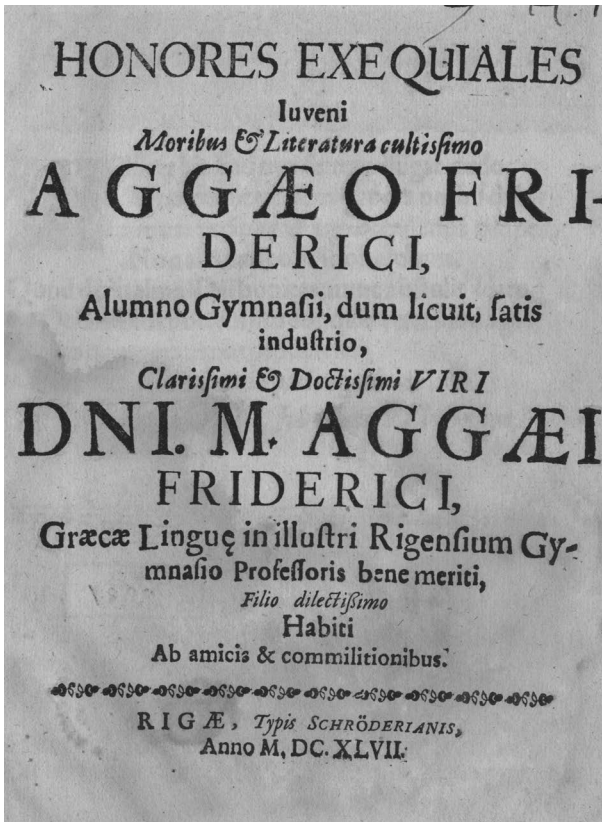
Aggaeus Friderici the father had studied at Wittenberg. In 1615 he became the rector of Riga Dome School, afterwards the Professor of the Greek language at the Gymnasium.²² Obviously, the father's importance was the reason for creating a vast collection of various epicedia (in total 16) with reference to this sad occasion, including poetic texts by different prominent persons, the majority of whom were connected to the Gymnasium (e.g., by Johann Dolmann and Johann Brever in Latin etc.). However there is no information on the author of the particular Greek text, Theodor Schmidt:²³

²⁰ See, e.g. epithalamion for the wedding of Bertram Hildebrand and Gertrud Wilde, daughter of Wilhelm Dollmann (city councilman), by Peter Schmidt in 1703 (*Apophoreta Metrica* 1703 = Garber 132) or poem by Martin Francke dedicated to Johann Richmann, professor of philosophy of the Gymnasium, on his wedding with Margareta Kippen in 1651 (*Bona Verba* 1651 = Garber 732).

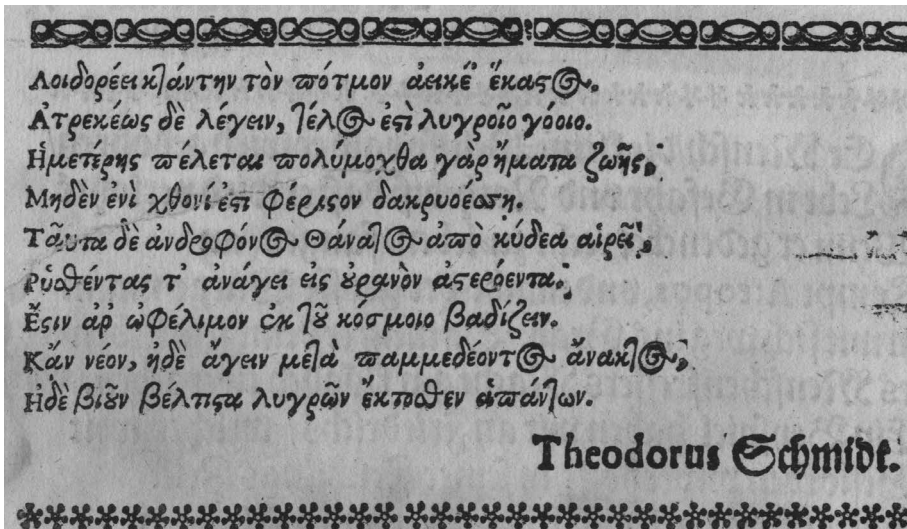
²¹ E.g. Elias Martin Offeney uses Latin, Hebrew and Greek in his epithalamion for the wedding of professor Johann Brever (*Bellaria melica* 1645 = Garber 759=798); Elias Welsch mixes Greek, Latin and German in his epithalamion to Joachim Kühn's wedding (*Laetis nuptijs* 1649 = Garber 742); conrector of the Dome School Jakob Wilde uses Latin and Greek in the epicedium honouring David Caspari's death (*Letztes* 1702 = Garber 202=1309).

²² Recke, Napiersky 1827: 605.

²³ *Honores exequiales* 1647 = Garber 188=746.



ILL. 3.
Honores exequiales.
 Collection in memoriam
 of Aggaeus Friderici.
 Title page. (Academic
 Library of the
 University of Latvia).



ILL. 4. Epicedium by Theodor Schmidt in *Honores exequiales*.
 Collection in memoriam of Aggaeus Friderici.
 (Academic Library of the University of Latvia).

Λοιδορέει κτάντην τὸν πότμον αἰικέ' ἕκαστος,
 Ἄτρεκέως²⁴ δὲ λέγειν, τέλος ἐστὶ λυγροῖο γόιοι.
 Ἥμετέρης πέλεται πολύμοχθα γὰρ ἤματα ζωῆς,
 Μηδὲν ἐνὶ χθονὶ ἐστὶ φέριστον δακρυόεσση.
 Ταῦτα δὲ ἀνδροφόνος θάνατος ἀπὸ κύδεα αἰρεῖ,
 Ρύσθέντας τ' ἀνάγει εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα.
 Ἔστιν ἄρ' ὠφέλιμον ἐκ τοῦ κόσμοιο βαδίζειν.
 Κἄν νέον, ἠδὲ ἄγειν μετὰ παμμεδέοντος ἄνακτος,
 Ἡδὲ βιοῦν βέλτιστα λυγρῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἀπάντων.

Theodorus Schmidt

The epicedium consists of nine verses in hexameter. Its distant character is visible – there are no personal details, no subjective experience, and no first and second person forms that can sometimes be observed in other cases. Poetic forms and vocabulary characteristic to epic poetry denoting negative experience and emotions – grief, misfortune, misery and weeping – dominate. The ancient form is supplemented with the values of Christian ethics. The author has created his poem as a consolation, strengthening, trying to emphasise the positive aspects of the occasion and juxtaposing the happy life in heaven without pain and misfortune to sorrowful life on earth from which the young man has been saved.

Another example of that kind is a short poem by Justus Fridericus Ottonis composed to honour the death of Johann Knoll, conrector of Riga Lyceum. The epicedium in Greek is included in a collection printed by Georg Matthias Nöller in 1701, together with a poem in Latin by Heinrich Gustav Dörre (where Johann Knoll is praised as *sapiens vir et arte probatus, in patria lumen et decus Lycei, magister prudens doctusque*) and fifteen dedications in German.²⁵

Πένθος ΛΥΚΕΪΟΥ ἐπιτύμβιον.
 Κεῖθι κέαρ χαρίεν κείται καὶ χάρμα ΛΥΚΕΪΟΥ
 Ἡμῶν, ἐσόμενον φῶς, καὶ ἄρωγός ἐϋς.
 Φεῦ! πόσον αἶψα καλὸν ταρχύθη! Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ γάιης
 Λάμπει τοῦνομ' αἰεὶ, πνεῦμα δ' ὄλυμπον ἔδου!²⁶

ἐπὶ κήδους παρέθηκα
 Justus Fridericus Ottonis

²⁴ In this printed text (as often), the spiritus marks and accents are posed always above the majuscule letter.

²⁵ *Verneuerte* 1701= Garber 179.

²⁶ In the printed text, accents and the spiritus in case of diphthongs are posed on the first letter (except αἰεὶ); spiritus is posed above the majuscule letter.

The author of this epicedium in elegiac verses stresses shortly, without expanded poetic pretensions and complicated constructions, the sorrow caused by the sad occasion and specially emphasizes the connection with the Lyceum. Poetic lexemes are used to characterise the bright personality of the deceased conrector. Emotional exclamations express regret about the quick extinction of the good when only the word remains forever. Thus the short poem presents meanings characteristic to an epitaph without marking specific individual traits or nuances. The quality of the printing of the collection is rather good and the Greek text is clearly readable.

In the corpus of occasional poetry collections, there are also texts in Greek commemorating deaths of other prominent people from Livonia and Riga, e.g., of Gerhard Rigemann (1651), of Joachim Kippen (1653), of Anna Buining, the wife of Joachim Kühn (pastor in Sauka (Sauke) and Elkšņi (Ellern)), of the pastor Georg Graven (1655), of the superintendent and professor of the Gymnasium David Caspari (1702) and others.

Finally, it should be mentioned that texts in Greek can also be found in the corpus of dissertations of both students of Riga Academic Gymnasium²⁷ and Riga Lyceum, and dissertations written by Livonians and *Rigenses* in different Western European universities. Here the use of Greek differs in its volume and nature, according to the text type: Greek words (from separate words and quoted phrases to expanded passages) can be incorporated in the dissertation texts, according to their topics, but also, more commonly, there are gratulations to the dissertation's respondent in Greek.

In this corpus of gratulations, occasional poetry in hexameter, elegiac distich or other classical poetry metres based on the ancient poetic tradition is composed not only in Latin, but also in the Greek language by the respondents' schoolmates, sometimes also by professors commemorating the important event. Persons, gods and realia from the ancient world are frequently mentioned in the poems, and sometimes proverbs and phrases from the texts by classical authors can be found. Anagrams, word-plays and similar phenomena are especially popular.

Like in the previously mentioned cases, in this corpus as well poetic gratulations for the respondents of dissertations in Greek demonstrated the knowledge and skills of the authors themselves at the same time. However, this corpus is at the initial stage of investigation and has to be studied more carefully; therefore, it is yet premature to talk about it in greater detail.

²⁷ R. Berga speaks more on the dissertations of Riga Academic Gymnasium, see Berga 2013: 4–13.

Thus, though on a different scale, humanist ideas and the study of ancient cultural values and classical languages also flourished in Livonia, Riga. Texts of different volume and character were created in which the Greek language also reflects the intellectual environment of Livonia and Riga during that era as well as the acquisition and representation of humanist values and ideals in the texts created in this region.

Bibliography

I. Old prints

- Aphophoreta Metrica* (1703) = *Aphophoreta Metrica quae distribuenda in nuptiis Viri Plur. Reverendi nec non Doctissimi Dni. Bertrami Hildebrand, Diac. Eccles. Bauscens. Vigilantissimi, ac Matronae omni pudore virtutisque flore ornatissimae Gertrudis Wilde, Viri, ..., Amplissimi atque Consultissimi Dni. Wilhelmi Dollmanni, Senatoris Civitatis Patriae meritissimi viduae satis mariti superstitis ad diem 5. Novembr. Anno M.DCCIII Bauscae celebratis mittebantur a quibusdam Amicis Rigae agentibus.* Rigae: Typis Nöllerianis. [Garber 132]
- Beatam Quietem* (1655) = *Beatam Quietem viro Reverendo, Eximio ac Doctissimo, Dn. Georgio Graven Ronneburgensis per annos 27, & primis Paroecarum Schmiltensis & Serbensis Ecclesiarum junctim, Pastori vigilantissimo, meritissimo, qui ..., Lugubribus quam vis Carminibus congratulantur Fautores & Amici.* Rigae: Literis Gerhardi Schroederi. [Garber 631]
- Bellaria melica* (1645) = *Bellaria melica nuptialibus epulis viri clarissimi, DN. M. JOHANNIS BREVERI, eloquentiae professoris, sponsi, ut et VIRGINIS ELEGANTISSIMAE HEDVVIGIS, Honoratissimi viri, DN. ARNOLDI SAMSONII, Collegii maj. Senioris & Mercatoris integerrimi, filiae, sponsae, d. VIII. Sept. solenniter ornatis, amicis oblata manibus.* Rigae Livonum: Expressa Typis Schroederianis. [Garber 759 = 798]
- Bona Verba* (1651) = *Bona Verba, quibus virum clarissimum DN. M. JOHANNEM RICHMANNUM in Gymnasio Rigensi Philosophiae Professorem cum lectissima ac pudicissima virgine MARGARETA viri honoratissimi atque integerrimi DN. OTTONIS KIPPEN Civis ac Mercatoris primarii Filia Nuptias Die XVI. Junij celebrantem prosequuntur MUSAE RIGENSES.* Typis Schroederianis Anno M.DC.LI. [Garber 732]
- Faustae acclamationes* (1638) = *Faustae acclamationes in Nuptias Reverendi, Humanissimi et Doctissimi Viri, Dn. Martini Charhofii, Pastoris Dalensis vigilantissimi, et Lectissimae, ac Pudicissimae Virginis, Annae Margaretae, a Spectato quondam Melchiore Kirchoffio relictae Filiae. Celebrabantur Rigae postridie Dominicae: Ite in Vineam meam: Anno ultimae Dei patientiae.* Imprimebat Gerhardus Schröder. [Garber 691]

- Honores exequiales* (1647) = *Honores exequiales Iuveni Moribus et Literatura cultissimo AGGAEO FRIDERICI, alumno gymnasii, dum licuit, satis industrio, clarissimi et doctissimi viri DNI.M.AGGAEI FRIDERICI, graecae Linguae in illustri Rigensium Gymnasio Professoris bene meriti, filio dilectissimo habiti ab amicis & commilitationibus*. Rigae: Typis Schröderianis, Anno M.DC.XLVII. [Garber 188=746]
- Honor exsequialis* (1653) = *Honor exsequialis, quo Matronam a virtutibus claram, suisque charam ANNAM BUININGIAM, Rosam nuper certa spe virescentem ex horto soli, quia soli onerosam, Anno M.DC.XXVIII.d.29.Novemb.natam, Rosam nunc requie vigescentem in hortum poli, quia poli formosam, Anno M.DC.LIII.d.6.Junii comitantur, VIDUI, VIRI REVERENDI, CLARISSIMI Dn.M. JOACHIMI KÜHNII, PASTORIS SABELII vigilantissimi: Ut et parentum, coeterorumque moestorum larcumarum fluctum, animi luctum medentur Amici, Fautores, Cultores*. Rigae: Literis Schroederianis. [Garber 639]
- Laetis nuptijs* (1649) = *Laetis atque auspiciatis nuptiis eximii atque doctissimi viri Dn. M. JOACHIMI KUHNII, Pastoris Ecclesiae Saukensis & Ellernensis Fidelissimi, cum lectissima pudicissimaque virgine ANNA honestissimi atque integerrimi viri CASPARI BINING Civis Rigensis Primarij, Sponsa celebratis pridie Aequinoctij Verni post Dominicam Laetare suum acclamarunt Laeti Fautores, Amici, cultores*. Rigae: Typis Schroederianis, Anno M.DC.XLIX. [Garber 742]
- Letztes* (1702) = *Letztes Ehren=Bedächtnüsz Zum unsterblichen Nachruhm Des weyland Hoch=Ehrwürdigen und Hochgelahrten Herrn M. David Caspari, Ihrer Königl. Majest. in dieser Stadt= und derselben Districte Hochverordneten Superintendenten des Königl. Stadts=Consistorii Assessoren und Ober=Pastoren S. S. Theologiae am Gymnasio Professoren, und Der Duhms=Schulen Inspectoren [...]*. Rigae: Georg Matthias Nöller. [Garber 202=1309]
- Myrtus nuptialis* (1654) = *Myrtus nuptialis, Honori et Amori Reverendi et Clarissimi Viri Domini M. Johannis Cruegeri, Pastoris in Bikkern et Jungfernhoff fidelissimi, Sponsi, ut et Elegantissimae Virginis Catharinae Christians, Spectatissimi et integerrimi Viri Domini Theodorici Christians, Collegii Majoris Senioris p.m. relictae Filiae, Sponsae, Inter vota amicissima consecratae ab amicis*. Rigae: Literis Schroederianis, Anno M.DC.LIV. [Garber 642]
- Orationes tres* (1597) = *Orationes tres: e quibus duae honoratissima dignitate, tum sapientia et virtute ornatissimorum D. D. Scholarcharum Nicolai Ekii, Proconsulis et Davidis Hilchen, Syndici, tertia Joannis Rivii, cum solenni et publico ritu produceretur ad demandatam sibi ab Amplissimo Senatu inspectionem scholasticam subeundam. Habita in restitutione seu instauratione Scholae Rigensis*. Rigae Livonum: officina Typographica Nicolai Mollini.
- Pensa Lectionum* (1733) = *Pensa Lectionum Lycei Imperatorii a tempore Consecrationis die XI Julii Anno MDCCXXXIII*.
- Urnula lugubrium* (1651) = *Urnula lugubrium lacrumarum in sano mnemosynes reposita quibus Nobilissimi, amplissimi, consultissimi ac prudentissimi DN. GERHARDI RIGEMANNI, Reip. Patriae Praetoris primarij, Beatos cineres rigarunt Amici & Cultores*. Rigae: Typis Schroederianis. Anno M.DC.LI. [Garber 730]

Verneuerte (1701) = *Verneuerte wehmüthige Klage/ Welche/ Bey den unverhofften und schmerztl. Todes=Fall/ Des Wohl=Ehren=Vesten/ Vor=Achtbahren und Wohl=Belarten Herr/ Herrn Johann Knolls Des hiesigen Königl. Lycéi wohlmeritirt gewesenen Con – Rectoris ...* Riga: Georg Matthias Nöller. [Garber 179]

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Abstract

Changes in the intellectual life spreading across Europe during the 15th and 16th centuries also reached its North-Eastern territories and were disseminated in Livonia and its centre, Riga, during the 16th century. Like elsewhere in Europe, humanist ideas flourished, classical languages were studied and the values of ancient culture were acquired also in Livonia – though on a different scale. In two educational institutions in Riga – the Dome School and Riga Lyceum – the Latin and Greek languages and literature were studied among other important disciplines such as logic, history, rhetoric etc: the works of ancient Greek and Roman poets and writers, rhetoricians and philosophers, etc.

Illustrious persons were working in these schools: not only studying and teaching others, but also creating different works themselves. They composed various texts of prose and poetry, wrote scientific treatises and essays. Dedicatory poems honouring diverse important occasions (e.g. wedding, funerals), congratulation texts in dissertations, etc. were created not only in Latin, but also in the Greek language.

A certain part of these texts has survived to the present day and is preserved at the Library of the University of Latvia which now houses the collections of both the University Library and the Academic Library (the oldest public library in the Baltic States (1524)). A particularly wide variety of 16th–17th century texts, mostly in the Latin language, but also in the Greek language, can be found in the collection of the Academic Library.

Up to now, these treasures have received very little or no scholarly attention at all, with a few sporadic exceptions. The general corpus of these texts, their volume, nature and diversity has not been systematically studied. The paper provides an insight into the corpus, esp. corpus of occasional poetry.

HUMANIST GREEK IN EARLY MODERN ESTONIA AND LIVONIA: THE CONTEXTS AND PRINCIPAL GENRES*

Janika Päll

*Quid dulcius, quam Graecos Authores, ipsum Novum
Testamentum in Graeca Lingua descriptum, & alios praeclaros
Graecos authores, in originali Lingua legere & intelligere?*

Chr. Jheringius, Oratio 1644: C2r.

1. Introduction: The Beginning of Greek Studies in Early Modern Estonia, Livonia and Curonia

The large-scale Christianisation of the North-Eastern Baltic region corresponding to the territories of modern Estonia and Latvia began with the Northern Crusades.¹ The number of sources about education and literary culture in Tartu (Dorpat), Tallinn (Reval) and Riga Cathedral Schools and monasteries from the period between the 13th and the middle of the 16th century is not great,² but seems to prove that before the Reformation Greek

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¹ For Northern crusades and general history of the countries around the Baltic Sea, see Meyer 2013, Palmer 2006, Wittram 1973: 1–124, or Mühlen 1994ab. Following many historians, especially Arvo Tering (2007, 2008, 2016), I view Early Modern Estonia, Livonia and Curonia, which were all collectively influenced by German, Swedish, Danish, Polish and Russian culture, but will focus on Tartu and Tallinn.

² For Tartu Dome School, see Lukas 1998, overview of earlier periods in Tallinn, Klöker 2005a: 99–117, for Riga, Stradiņš 2012: 69–140, Schweder 1885.

was not studied much in the schools of the North-Eastern Baltic region.³ The Reformation brought along a reorganisation of Tallinn Town School in 1528, and in the 1550s, elementary Greek was introduced in the programme and at least some local German and Estonian boys, the future pastors, were educated according to humanist principles.⁴ At the end of the 1540s, the long-forgotten first humanist poet of Estonia, Gregor Krüger, arrived from Germany with high hopes for a career in church. Alas, he did not find a permanent position as a pastor and retrained himself as a lawyer, apparently also abandoning his poetic aspirations, as a result of which his Greek (and Latin) poetry went unnoticed for over four centuries.⁵

We will return to Krüger below, but at the outset of my article I want to claim that his lack of success as a Humanist (Greek) poet was not due to any possible shortcomings in his poetic skills or to his status as an outsider,⁶ but a result of an insufficient support system: higher schools providing classical education and teaching Ancient Greek, as well as a learned public, including clerics, officials, noblemen and/or merchants.⁷ As soon as the academic gymnasia and the university with their printing houses were founded,⁸ the numbers of composed works (both printed and in manuscript) in Humanist Greek rose; with the decline or closure of the higher schools (as a result of wars or plagues) these numbers diminished (see Figure 1 below). The late and brief blossoming of Humanist Greek in 17th-century Estonia and Latvia⁹ only could happen as a result of an education system, where elementary schools (including town, cathedral and village schools) sent their best alumni at first

³ Cf. Päll 2005: 87–92, Päll 2010: 117–120, in the light of present knowledge partly outdated.

⁴ Altof 1986: 36–38. For the period, see Asche *et al.* 2009–2012 (esp. Loit 2009, Tarvel 2011, Klöker 2011).

⁵ Krüger has not been mentioned in Klöker 2005ab or Klöker 2011; the accounts of his poetry and biography (Päll 2005: 89, Päll 2010: 118–119, Päll 2015: 42–49) need updates in the light of new discoveries, see below.

⁶ Klöker 2005a gives a good overview of the constant movement of scholars in both directions. The exchange between Baltic Germans in Estonia and Latvia and the German motherland continued till 1939.

⁷ See the analysis of literary life in Tallinn at the beginning of the 17th century by Klöker (2005a).

⁸ Except in Riga, where Greek texts could initially (after the founding of the printing house) not be printed because of the lack of sufficient Greek letter types, see the reference to complaints of Johannes Rivius (*Orationes tres*, 1597) in Berziņa 2018 (in this volume).

⁹ It is late in comparison to Central Europe (especially German-speaking regions), where the highest peak of Greek Studies was at the end of the 16th century (Ludwig 2017, Ludwig 2014: 138, but already in Ludwig 1998, now also Weise 2016: 119–120), although at a broader level, the 17th century was very important (Ben-Tov 2009: 130, 220, Pontani 2017: 321–331). In Great Britain, there was a second blooming that started at the end of the 18th century (Päll 2017b, 2018).

to gymnasia and then to the universities,¹⁰ and where not only administrative documents, religious works and schoolbooks, but also the results of poetic activity were printed and distributed. Krüger, who was active in the middle of the 16th century, seems thus simply to have been ahead of his time to leave a lasting impact on the tradition of Humanist Greek (or Latin) poetry in Estonia.

Lutheran school reform in Estonia was complicated because of the Livonian War (1558–1583), which hit Tartu especially hard.¹¹ Even after the war, the first attempts to modify the school programmes did not bring along any dramatic changes in the study of Greek.¹² However, during the Catholic Reform, the Jesuits from Vilnius founded a seminar in Riga and a school in Tartu, which included a seminary of translators, a collegium and a gymnasium (active with pauses in 1583–1625). Among other subjects Greek was taught in this school.¹³ After Livonia (incl. Southern Estonia) became a Swedish possession, the Jesuits left, but it seems that their presence had ensured the continuation of studies in Tartu: in 1630 the Swedish government, needing Lutheran pastors and officials for the newly acquired provinces, opened a new gymnasium, which was soon reorganised into an academy. This academy (*Academia Gustaviana Dorpatensis*) started its work in 1632 in the very rooms of the (already closed) Jesuit seminar.¹⁴ In 1631 the academic gymnasia were opened in Tallinn and Riga (as a result of the reforms of town schools).¹⁵ Soon after the opening, Tartu Academy and Tallinn Gymnasium received printing houses, the printers being invited from Germany (directly or via Sweden).¹⁶

Although most of the books were exported and the professors and even the students were invited from abroad,¹⁷ literary life started to flourish. According to Melancthonian school orders, classical languages (with a little bit of

¹⁰ It was always possible (especially for the sons of noblemen) to skip the elementary school and the gymnasium, see Klöker 2005a: 217–347. For the clash between the school programmes and the reality, see Päll 2017a: 443–480.

¹¹ See Laidre 2008: 13–199.

¹² See note 3 above and Klöker 2005a: 99–118, for Riga, Berziņa 2018 and Schweder 1885.

¹³ For an overview of Greek studies in Dorpat Jesuit seminar (based on Helk 1977), see Päll 2005: 89–90.

¹⁴ See Tarvel 1980: 100 and the map in Asche *et al.* 2011(3): 101–102.

¹⁵ See Hansen 1881: 3–4 (the gymnasium was founded in 1630, the actual work started in 1631), for Riga, see Stradiņš 2012: 140 and Schweder 1885.

¹⁶ Tartu printing house started to work in 1632, the Tallinn one in 1634, Riga printing house was opened already in 1588. See Piirimäe 1982: 23–71, Inno 1972, Kaju ed. 2014, Stradiņš 2012: 139. For book trade and libraries in Baltic provinces, see Kivimäe 2016: 86–93, Lotman ed. 2011, Kõiv and Reimo eds 2006 (incl. Reimo 2006, Aarma 2006).

¹⁷ See Tering 1984: 17–59 (for Tartu Academy) and Klöker 2005a: 379–476 (on the whole region with a focus on Tallinn).

Hebrew) were taught at Tartu Academy and the academic gymnasia of Reval and Riga.¹⁸ In addition to language studies, numerous poems and prose texts in Humanist Greek (alongside the usual Latin) were written and printed. The following discussion tries to add a new look at Humanist Greek¹⁹ and to present an overview of different genres and text types which fall under this category, from editions representing school humanism²⁰ to different compositions in this language (from independent works to para- and occasional texts, both poetry and prose). The focus will be on Tallinn and Tartu-Pärnu, i.e. the higher schools working in the territory of today's Republic of Estonia. For the research situation in Latvia, see the paper by Gita Berziņa in this volume.

2. The Beginning of Personal Poetry – A Genius from the Middle of the Woods

As mentioned in the introduction, the beginning of Humanist (Greek) poetry in Estonia is associated with one person: Gregor Krüger Mesylanus. He chose a typical humanist name for himself, based on the Greek translation of the name of his native Mitte(n)walde in Berlin Brandenburg (μέσ- + ὕλη) with a Latin ending.²¹ In Tallinn City Archives, there is a manuscript with Krüger's poetry, unstudied till the 21st century and now waiting for restoration, in order to be accessible again.²² This manuscript includes three autograph copies of a set of five Greek poems in different metres and one long elegy in Latin (*Manes patris defuncti pro nato*, 646 verses),²³ which had been sent by the author to Tallinn

¹⁸ See edited constitutions and yearly programmes in Vasar 1932 (Tartu Academy), Hansen 1881 and Kaju 2014 (Tallinn Gymnasium), as well as Klöker 2005a: (219–236 for Tallinn Trivial School). For Riga, see Schweder 1885.

¹⁹ General overviews on Humanism often tend to bypass Greek Studies, for example Helmrath 2013: 22–26, stressing humanist 'Bildung durch die Sprache', but thereafter forgetting Greek.

²⁰ For the notion, see Storchová 2014: 13–43.

²¹ Initially I had erred in reading his name as 'Mesilanus' because of the strong resemblance of the letter 'y' to 'ij' in the manuscript (Päll 2005: 89). The correct reading of one letter, and therefore the whole name, has enabled me to find a Wittenberg print with his poetry and attribute an epicedium for Johann Hobing to him (see below).

²² Tallinn City Archives, TLA 230.1, B.O.10, f. 1–27 (in earlier discussions, 2–27; the temporarily displaced cover leaf (which dates from a much later period) is since February 2017 kept together with the rest of the manuscript). For a brief discussion, see Päll 2005, 2010, 2015, the edition of the manuscript is forthcoming. I thank the members of Fribourg seminar, organised by Chr. Flüeler, and Liivi Aarma for earlier discussions of this manuscript.

²³ F. 2–6; f. 7–11; f. 12–16 (Greek collections), f. 17r–27r (Latin elegy). The three autograph copies of the Greek collection are not completely identical and include corrections in the author's own hand.

(Reval) City Council (see below, ILL. 1 and 2).²⁴ According to the indications of the author, the poems were written in Berlin (*Urbe Arctoa, Berolini*) in 1554 and 1555.²⁵

Bio-bibliographical data on Krüger have been summarised in 22 lines in the biographical lexicon of the Clergy of Northern Estonia: his origin (Mitte(n) walde in Brandenburg), date of immatriculation in Wittenberg (December 1541), known posts in Tallinn (Reval) at St. Michael's Church (1548, 1551–1552)²⁶ and his enrolment as a citizen of Tallinn as M. Gregor Krüger on 22 September 1558. From his letters we also know that he had been in Germany at least between 1553 and 1555; Aarma's overview adds a short comment about him as a quarrelsome, contentious person and schemer, referring to his letters in German to Tallinn City Council.²⁷

Krüger's poetry is not easy to classify. Because of the address and appeals to Tallinn City Council, as well as references to the writing context,²⁸ his Greek and Latin poems could be interpreted as poetic letters, which follow the rules of Latin epistolary poetry of Horace, or the Greek tradition of Gregory of Nazianzus, while according to their metre and their plaintive character, both longer poems could also be regarded as elegies.²⁹ The perfect example, which unites both features, is Ovid's *Epistolae ex Ponto*, and indeed, Krüger (in the role of author-persona) seems to be regarding himself as an exile, too. At the

²⁴ F. 11v was in the role of the outer cover, when the manuscript was folded together as a letter, and bears the address (*senatoribus urbis Revaliae in Livonia*) and the remains of a stamp.

²⁵ Each of the four sub-parts of the manuscript is signed and dated separately (although probably sent together as a letter, as only one page has the address on it): f. 6v, f. 11v: Gregorius Crugerus Mesylanus, studiosus iuris et philosophiae; f. 16v: Greg Krug. F. 11v indicates the time and place of composition: d. 14 Octobris 1554 Berolini, f. 16v includes a remark: *scripsi hoc carmen sub festo d. Martinij*, and f. 27r refers to Berlin (*Urbe Arctoa, die 14 Februarij 1555*). For Bär-lin as the city of the Great Bear (Ἄρκτος) already for Melanchthon (in some of his letters to Berlin pastor Georg Buchholzer (*praepositus in Urbe Arctoa*), in *Corpus Reformatorum* vol. 7, Bretschneider 1840: 230, 328, 357, 365 and 516, 1011), see also Egli 1872: 104; Unger 2000: 8.

²⁶ A former Cistercian nunnery. The nuns had converted to Lutheranism and were allowed to remain in the nunnery, which continued its activity till 1629.

²⁷ Aarma 2007: 158. See also Paucker 1849: 371 and Arbusow 1914: 75. The poems, his studies abroad and quarrels are mentioned in Krüger's German letters to Tallinn City Council from February and May 1555 (Tallinn City Archives, TLA 230.1. Bo.1(12), fols 240–242).

²⁸ See the theoretical discussions in Segebrecht 1977: 1–10, 68–81.

²⁹ For the popularity of Ovid and Horace, as well as Catullus, Propertius, Tibullus, see IJsewijn, Sacré 1998: 76–78, 80–82. The influence of Roman literature is not uncommon in Humanist Greek poetry, it has been revealed in the use of the metrical models of Horace instead of Sappho (Andrist, Lukinovich 2005: 696–697), the use of Latin quotations as a basis of Greek poems or progymnasmata (see below) and the translations of Roman authors into (Humanist) Greek, a practice which also waits a longer overview (Päll, Valper 2014: 32; cf. Weise 2016: 161–164 for the translations of German classics).

same time his shorter Greek poems belong to the category of lyric poetry, both according to the ancient, Alexandrian understanding of the genre (as Krüger used the lyric metres), as well as in the modern sense, because of the expression of author-persona's innermost feelings. The self-identification of the author as a lyrical subject is nevertheless accompanied by certain didactic and above-mentioned epistolary features, producing a result, which does not fit into Scaliger's well-defined set of poetic genres, as described in *Poetices libri septem* and printed in 1561, several years after the time Krüger wrote his collection. Although vernacular and even Latin poetry which expressed and described the author's personal feelings, was not uncommon in the middle of the 16th century, in the context of European Humanist Greek poetry this practice is rare: usually we can find occasional poetry and epigrams, letters or different paratexts (dedications, introductions, resumés) in Greek, orations, sermons or Bible paraphrases, even epic poetry, but rarely the so-called intimate, personal poetry.

Krüger's cycle of Greek poems includes five poems:³⁰

- 1) an elegy with a title (greeting): εὖ πράττειν (188 verses);
- 2) Ἄτη in iambic dimeters (32 verses, arranged as 4-line stanzas);
- 3) Λιτή (36 verses in Sapphic stanzas)
- 4) Περιστερὴ ἄχολος³¹ (36 verses in epodic disticha of iambic trimeter and iambic dimeter);
- 5) Σελήνη ἄφθονος (16 verses, presented as 4-line stanzas; the metre is asclepiadean verse, defined by the author as choriambic dipods).

This set of poems (altogether 308 verses) has a well-balanced structure, based on an alternation of dactylo-choriambic and iambic metrical patterns, whereas the long introductory elegy is followed by four shorter stanzaic poems. The cycle creates the impression of an almost musical form: variations in different small genres are based on the same theme, expressing the author's longing for home, his wish to teach and to guide a congregation, and a vehement attack of his envious enemies, who represent false teachings.

The initial elegy describes the sufferings of the poet, at the same time appealing to Tallinn City Council for a positive change. The poem begins with

³⁰ The three different manuscripts of Greek poems have been preserved together, their texts are mainly, but not completely the same: occasionally a word in manuscript A has been replaced by its synonym in manuscript B or C, or vice versa; the orthography can be different as well. As all three copies are in the author's hand and were signed separately, it is impossible to identify one of these as the archetypal manuscript or 'the original'.

³¹ With an alternative, synonymous title in f.15v: Πελιὰς ἄχολος.

a salutary address εὖ πράττειν (presented as a title), but this and also the further addresses remain general, using only the second person plural pronoun (ὕμεις) and never any names. The author refers to the bad news from home (Reval), where his envious and malignant adversaries try to prevent his return, v. 33–34:

πάντα λίθον κίνειν ὑμᾶς χερσίν τε ποσίν τε
 οὔποτε ὡς ἄν ἐγὼ νόστιμον ἡμᾶρ ἴδω.
*You turn every stone with your hands and legs,
 so that I'd never see the day of returning to home.*

These verses combine a proverbial expression ‘leave no stone unturned’ (πάντα λίθον κίνειν) with two Homeric formulas (χερσίν τε ποσίν τε ‘with hands and legs’, νόστιμον ἡμᾶρ ἰδεῖν ‘to see the day of return’). Typically for Renaissance and Humanist poetry, we see a combination of the use of classical mythology and expressions from ancient poetry and a Christian and contemporary subject, for example in a formulaic expression from v. 27, which describes the author’s enemies: φρένας εἴλετο μητιέτα Ζεύς (‘minds were taken by all-wise Zeus’).³²

The middle part of Krüger’s elegy is dedicated to the example of Christ, who was blamed and attacked by envious Judaeans. The author-persona draws parallels between his own position and the fate of the Saviour. He laments the exclusion from his calling: to preach the words of God, which had fallen into the hands of the unworthy colleagues instead, as in vv. 75–77 and vv. 87–88:

Νῦν δ’ οὐδὲν ῥίγιον καὶ αἴσχιόν ἐστιν ἀπάντων
 πῶ ἀλιτέσθ’ ἐθέλει εἰ διδαχὴν τις ἐοῦ
 Ναὶ ὑμεῖς ἀγαθοὶ τε καλοὶ τε διδάσκαλοι ἐστε?
*Now there isn’t anything worse from all things,
 surely, when someone wanted to sin against his teaching
 Indeed, are you the good and beautiful teachers?*

Νῦν οὖν ἐσσύμενοι Σαθανᾶ κακομηχάνου ἔργα
 ἐν λαῷ εἶργειν πόλλα βοᾶτε λίην.
*Now, you cry too much among the people that you prevent
 the evil deeds of the Satan, whom you yearn.*

As fitting for a graduate of Wittenberg University, Krüger sees nothing worse than the distortion of God’s teaching (we can see the focus on the right teaching

³² Cf. *Iliad* 9.377. The combination of Christian and Classical is generally acknowledged, for Tallinn (but excluding poetry in Greek from the discussion), see Klöker 2005a; for Tartu, commentaries to Greek (and Latin) authors in *O Dorpat*. For such tendencies in Greek poetry from Germany, see for example Ludwig 1998, Weise 2011, Weise 2016, see also Weise ed. 2017.

also in his longer Greek oration, see below), which he regards as the evil-doing of Satan. Krüger does not name his enemies, but stresses that their hearts are full of envious blame and hate³³ and that they are unable to accept his talent and excellence, which he had received from God.³⁴ He finishes the elegy by asking the City Council to look at him favourably³⁵ and to listen to Prayer, the daughter of Great Zeus (a personification from Homer's *Iliad* 9.502), who later reappears in the 3rd poem.³⁶

The second poem, (Ἄτη 'delusion' or 'ill fate') develops one of the main themes of the initial elegy, describing the conflict between envious enemies and the righteous author-persona, and predicting the victory of the latter.

The third poem (Λιτή 'Prayer') is a *prosopopeia* of Prayer (recalling the end of the elegy), which refers to the author in the third person, describes the disastrous results of enmities and stresses her goodwill to the addressees,³⁷ the pastors. Prayer asks the pastors to remember that they are faithful and steady messengers of the divinely inspired Scriptures,³⁸ exhorting them to be good towards the author:

Δεῦτε οὖν καλοὶ ἀγανοὶ τε ἄνδρες
κλῦτε μοῦ εὐχοντος ὑπεῖρ ἐκείνου
ἴσχετ' ἐν θυμῷ κότον ὡς φέροντες
μοὶ ἐπίηρα.

*Here, you good and gentle men,
listen to me as I pray on behalf of him:
suppress the anger in your hearts, in order to make
a pleasurable gift to me.*

³³ V. 93–94; κῆρ' ἔνδοθέν ἐστι βασκανίας στυγερῆς / μίσεος ἠδὲ πλέον ('The heart within is full of despicable jealousy and hatred').

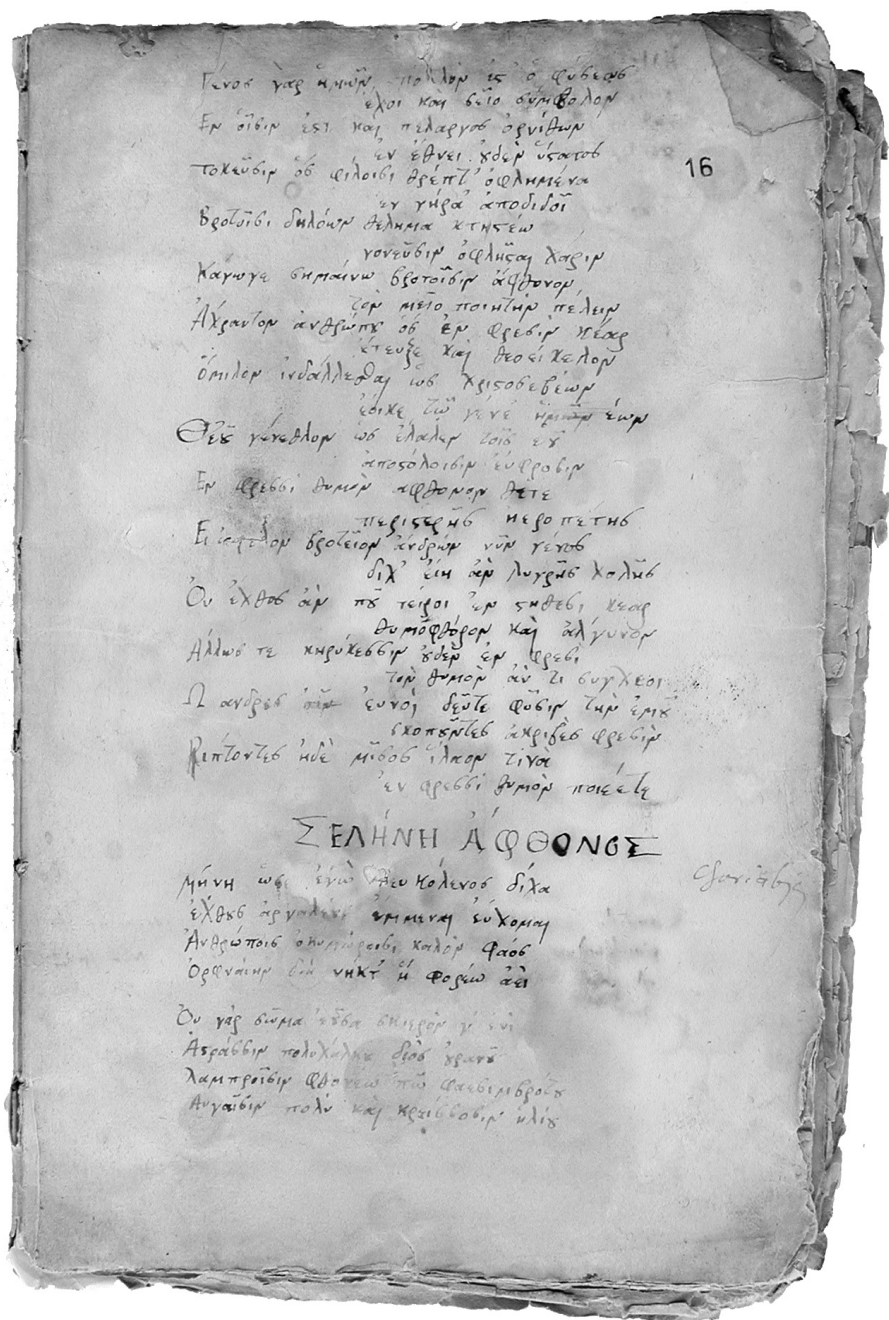
³⁴ V. 134–135: εἰν ὑμῖν γέ τινας κῦδος ἐμοὶ φθόνεον / κῦδος ὃ δῶκεν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἀριστεύειν ἐνὶ λαῶ ('Among you, some envy my glory (kudos), the glory, which the excellence among the people has given to me'), which seems to allude, without borrowing exact phrases, to the Homeric conflict between Achilles and Agamemnon.

³⁵ V. 186: Ἀμφιπέεσθαι ἐμὲ πραπίδεσσι φιλόφροσι λίσσω ('I am begging you to follow me with friendly minds').

³⁶ V. 188: καὶ Λιτὴν μεγάλου κλῦτε Διὸς γε Κόρη ('And listen to the prayer, the daughter of the mighty Zeus'). The allusion to the personification of prayer in the *Iliad* is supported by a modified quotation from *Iliad* 9.505 in v. 187.

³⁷ V. 12: φίλτατοι οὖν ἄνδρες ἐμοὶ τι ὑμῶν ('Among you, the dearest men to me'), v. 21 Αὐτὸς δέ μοι φῶτες κεχαρισμένοι τε ('Again, for me, men being nice').

³⁸ V. 22–24: καὶ φίλοι μεμνήσατε κήρυκες νῦν / τῶν θεοπνεύστων λογίων ἐόντες / πιστοὶ ἄσκοι ('And remember, now, that you are dear messengers of God-inspired words, reliable and unwavering').



Γενος γαρ ἡμῶν πολλὸν ἐστὶ φύβου
 ἔχει καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπων
 Ἐν οἷσιν ἐστὶ καὶ πελαργὸς ἀρνίθων
 ἐν ἔθνει κέρυϊστος
 τοκαῦσιν ὁ φίλοις ἀρετῆ σφαιραῖκα
 ἐν γῆρ᾽ ἀποδίδῃ
 βροταῖσι δὴλοῦν βέλματα κτήστω
 γονεῦσιν ὄφλισσαι χάρι
 Καρυχα θηρίων βροταῖσιν ἀφθονοί
 ἐν μέσσοις παιήτων πέλει
 Ἀχραῦτον ἀνθρώπων ὁ ἐν φρεσὶν κέαρ
 ἔτευξε καὶ θεοὶ καλοῦ
 ὄμιλον ἰσοάλλεσθαι ὡς χρυσοβέβωτον
 εἶπε ὡ γὰρ κείνη ἔμψ
 Φεῖ γὰρ βλοῦν ὁ δακρυλοῖσιν ἐν
 ἀποστολοῖσιν ἐφροσίν
 Ἐν φρεσὶ θυμῷ ἀφθονοί φετε
 περισσεύουσιν μεροπέτη
 Εἰς ἄλλοις βροταῖσιν ἀνθρώπων νῦν γένοσ
 διχ' εἰν ἄρ' ἀνθρώπων καλῶν
 Ὅν ἔχουσιν ἄρ' πᾶσι τοῖσι τῶν σφίβου κέαρ
 θυμῶσιν καὶ ἀλγῶν
 Ἄλλωσ τε κρυβεῖσιν ὄσιν ἐν φρεσὶ
 τῶν θυμῶν ἄν' ἐν θυμῶσιν
 Ὡ ἀνδρες οἴκα' εὐνοῖ δέυτε φρεσὶ τῶν ἐμῶν
 σκοπεῖτε ἀκριβῶσ φρεσὶ
 Ρητόντες ἢ ἐ μῦθῶσ ἴλασ τῶν
 ἐν φρεσὶ θυμῶν ποικίλῃ

ΣΕΛΗΝΗ ΑΦΘΟΝΣΕ

ἡμῶν ὡς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ καλῶσ δίχα
 ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνησ ἐύχομαι
 Ἀνθρώποισ ὀφειλόμεν καλοῦ φρεσ
 ὄφλισσαι εἰς νηκτ' ἢ φρεσὶ πᾶσι
 Ὅν γὰρ εὐνοῖ εὐνοῖ ἀνθρώπων γὰρ ἐν
 ἀφροσίν πολὺ καὶ εὐνοῖ
 λαμπροῖσιν φρεσὶ πᾶσι φρεσὶ
 ἀγαθῶσιν πολὺ καὶ κρυβεῖσιν ἢ λῆσ

16

φρεσὶ πᾶσι

ILL. 1. Gregor Krüger. Greek and Latin poems. (Tallinn City Archives, TLA 230.1. B.O.10, f. 16r).

The almost formulaic expression at the end of the poem (φέροντες μοι ἐπίηρα) again brings to mind Homer's epics, where the receivers of ἐπίηρα 'pleasant gifts' are the gods and where Prayer has been personified. However, in the context of Humanist Greek poetry, it is tempting to read the prayer at the same time also as *prosopopoeia* of Virgin Mary.³⁹

In the fourth poem (Περιστερὴ ἄχολος, 'An Angerless Dove') the author switches back to the first person, wishing to be as meek as the dove from the Gospel of St. Matthew (Ch. 10.16), who does not know enmity. He stresses that initially God had created the minds of men after his own immaculate image⁴⁰ and finishes the poem with another exhortation to the pastors (the Messengers of the God) to abandon hatred and to become meek in hearts.

In the last, fifth poem of the Greek cycle, the author expresses his wish to be without envy like the moon. This is the thematic culmination and conclusion of the cycle:⁴¹

Σελήνη ἄφθονος

Μήνη ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ λευκώλενος δίχα
ἔχθους ἀργαλέους ἔμμεναι εὐχομαι
ἀνθρώποις ὀκυμῶροισι [!] καλὸν φάος
ὀρφναίην διὰ νύκτ' ἢ φορέω ἀεὶ

5 οὐδὲν γὰρ σῶμα ἐοῦσα σκίερον γ' ἐνὶ
ἀστράσσι [!] πολυχάλκου Διὸς οὐρανοῦ
λαμπροῖσιν φθονέω πω φαεσιμβρότου
αὐγαῖσιν πολὺ καὶ κρείσσοσιν ἡλίου.

10 ἀλλ' ὑπιβρεμέτω μᾶλλον ἔχω χάριν
κυδίστω τε θέω δόντι φάος μεγάν
τηλαυγές τε ἐκείνῳ ἴν' ἐμὸν σέλας
κεῖθεν ληψάμενός γ' εἰμὶ σελασφόρος.

³⁹ I would like to see it also as a hint to Artemis as Virgin Mary, because Artemis is frequently mentioned as Dios Kore in ancient literature (e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 15) and also regarded as a prefiguration of the Virgin (see Merlini 2011). However, although Kore is frequently used as an epitheton of Virgin Mary, I have not (yet?) been able to find a parallel for Dios Kore as Virgin Mary in Humanist Greek texts.

⁴⁰ In v. 19–22: Κἄγωγε σημαίνω ... / ἄχραντον ἀνθρώπου ὅς στήθεσιν φρένα / ἔτευξε καὶ θεοεἶκελον ('And I'm indicating ... who created the mind in man's chest to be uncorrupt and similar to God').

⁴¹ The three manuscripts differ slightly, see note 31; the present text is based on f. 16r, in unified orthography. The Greek text with an Estonian translation and discussion has also been published in Päll 2015: 45–47.

Τοίους κήρυκας εἶναι ἔδει ἱερῶν
 μυθῶν καὶ δοσέων οὐ τι θεοῦ ἐνί
 15 ἀλλήλοις φθονέοντες χάριν εἰδέναι
 πανδώρῳ τε καὶ οἰκτίρμονι τῷ θεῷ.

tit. p.6, 16 m.d. choriambicis; v.1 p.16 deest καὶ; λευκόλενος; v.2 p.6 et 11 ἐχθρούς; ρ delevit; p. 6 ἀργαλέου; v.3 p.11 ὀκυμώροισι: ὀ in ω correxit; v.4 p.6, 11 et 16 νήκτ'; v.5 p.6v, 16 οὐ; p.11 'Ουδέν; v.6 p.7, 11 ἄστρασσιν p. 16 Ἀστράσσιν; v.7 p.7, 11 deest πω, p.16 πω; v.9 f.7, 11 ὑψιβρεμέτω; v.10 p.11 κυδίστω τε θέω; v.11 p.16 δ'; v.12 p.7, 11 ληψάμενοςγ'; 16v λειψάμενόςγε; f.11v in fine: Haec pauca et exigua bene consulite et alios plures et meliores. Valete Berlinij 14. Octobris anno salutis 1554. || Lectorem scire volo me dedita opera neglexisse sapiens elisiones vocalium atque repetiuisse eandem dictionem, sed sciens id haud sine usitate factum esse; f.7v, f.11v Gregorius Krugerus Mesylanus, studiosus iuris et philosophiae; f. 16v Scripsi hoc carmen statim sub festo d. Martij. Greg.Krug.

The Moon Without Envy

*I pray to be without painful hate,
 like the white-armed moon, who
 always brings beautiful light
 to the short-aged people in the murky night;*

*as although being without a shade-giving body,
 among the stars in the brazen sky of Zeus,
 I'm not envious of the bright, much stronger
 rays of the sun, who brings light to the mortals,*

*but I am even more grateful to the
 high-thundering, most venerable God, who gave him
 the strong, far-beaming light, so that I, who received
 my brightness from him, could also bring light.*

*Such should be the messengers of the holy words
 and of gifts of God, not be envious among
 themselves, but feeling grateful
 to the all-giving and merciful God.*

The underlying motive of the poem is the belief that the moon gets its light from the sun.⁴² Instead of astronomy, Krüger focuses on the contrast between the bright sun and the slightly less shiny moon. The personified images of the sun and the moon are in the role of a counter-example which illustrates the poem's writing context and main theme: the quarrels between the pastors (the

⁴² Already in Anaxagoras, fr. 42.25, 76.2 and Anaximenes, fr. 16.3, 18.8.

messengers of the Holy Scriptures) and the author, all caused by envy. Krüger's moral is simple: to abandon envious thoughts and be happy with one's own, smaller, but not unimportant place.

The diction in this poem (as well as in the preceding ones) is very typical for Humanist Greek poetry: Krüger freely uses the epitheta and other words from pagan authors, like a generic Homeric epitheton λευκώλενος or similar (πολυχάλκου Διὸς οὐράνου 'the brazen sky of Zeus', φαεσιμβρότου 'far-beaming', ὑψιβρεμέτω 'thundering from the heights' or σελασφόρος 'bringing light'). The Homeric epitheton of Zeus, ὑψιβρεμέτης ('thundering from the heights'), is quite common for God in both Christian Greek authors and in Humanist Greek poetry, but some of the epithets used, like οἰκτίρμων ('merciful') and πάνδωρος ('all-giving') occur only in Christian texts, and not in pagan authors. Krüger's verses are based on the quantitative system like in ancient Greek poetry, but he takes many liberties (like Christian authors): he does not always avoid the hiatus⁴³ as the rules of classical poetry demand, and occasionally errs in the quantities of the vowels.⁴⁴ However, his verses have a rough charm, which the authors of more polished and much less emotional occasional poetry often lack.

Krüger's attempt to influence the heart of Tallinn City Council remained unsuccessful, his poetry isolated and untypical for the region. He tried once more to establish himself as a humanist poet, publishing a long religious oration in hexameters (see below), and then started to pursue new goals. However, he did not lose his connections among the clergy of Tallinn entirely, and most probably also wrote a Greek (as well as a Latin) epicedium in 1558 for the pastor of St. Nicholas Church, Johann Hobing (Hobingk, Hobbing) from Westphal.⁴⁵ However, we have to wait till 1617 for the next example of

⁴³ Knowingly, as he tells in the explanation which accompanies his signature on f. 11v of the manuscript.

⁴⁴ As in v. 1 λευκώλενος — — ◡ — (instead of required — ◡ —), in manuscript initially written λευκόλενος, but corrected as an afterthought by the author himself.

⁴⁵ Hobing had been matriculated at the University of Göttingen on August 1, 1545 (Erler 1910: 5) and died in 1558. The Greek poem (now lost) on paper had been displayed as an appendix to the Latin poem in Hobing's portrait-epitaph in St. Nicholas (Niguliste) church in Tallinn, and existed still in 1857 (Ripke 1857: 559–560). The poem to Hobing (Hobbing) is mentioned without a reference to the author in Klöker 2005a: 107 (as also Päll 2010: 118, notes 10 and 11), the Latin poem is transcribed in Nottbeck, Neumann 1904: 84–85 and by Ripke. Ripke (1857: 560) mentions that the Greek poem was signed *Gregorio Mesylaeo* [probably mistakenly pro: *Mesylano*] *Marchico*, and attributes it mistakenly to Georg Müllberg, the collega of Tallinn Trivial School. The Latin epitaph poem (written in the first person) for Hobing could have been written by the deceased pastor himself, but a better candidate for the authorship is Krüger, the author of its Greek counterpart. The Latin poem is still intact (see Ehasalu 2006: 61–63 with

Humanist Greek poetry by an “Estonian” author,⁴⁶ and till 1632 for Humanist Greek poetry both created and printed in Estonia.

3. School Humanism

3.1 Greek Schoolbooks in Tartu

Far away from the big centres of learning, Early-Modern Estonia and Livonia cannot be expected to provide philological editions and commentaries of Ancient Greek or Biblical texts, which did not appear until the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.⁴⁷ However, some schoolbooks, mostly for Latin and rhetoric, appeared in Riga and Tallinn, and a series of schoolbooks for Greek was printed in Tartu. These were published between 1646 and 1649 in consecutive years, and financed by their author, the Professor of Greek at *Academia Gustaviana*, Johannes Gezelius the Elder (1615–1690), who came to Estonia from Sweden, where he had studied in the gymnasium of Västerås and Uppsala University.⁴⁸

Greek school editions from Tartu by Gezelius include: *Poemata Pythagorae, Phocylidis, & Theognidis* with a Latin translation of Theognis by Ph. Melanchthon (1646),⁴⁹ *Grammatica Graeca* (1647),⁵⁰ the translation of

the photo). For the epitaph, see https://kunstimuseum.ekm.ee/en/?attachment_id=9530 (last visited 11.4.2017).

⁴⁶ The hexameter gratulation by magister Ericus von Beeck (1588–1650) for Heinrich Vestring’s disputation, printed in Rostock in 1617 (No. 032B in Klöker’s bibliography, see Klöker 2005b: 66, Klöker 2005a: 647–648).

⁴⁷ The editions of Lucian by Johann Peter Schmid, printed in collaboration by Hinzius in Mitau (Curonia) and Sommer in Leipzig (1776–1800), as well as several books of the New Testament by Christian Friedrich Matthaei, printed by Breitkopf in Leipzig and Hartknoch in Riga (1782–1788), No. 2922, 2965, 2966, 3013 and 3182, 3214, 3219, 3236, 3349, 3360, 3562 in Latvian National Bibliography (Šiško 2013). These works, however, were not written by professors active in Livonia or Curonia, and cannot therefore be regarded as reflections of local philology, but more as examples of subcontracting or collaboration between German and Baltic (German) printers.

⁴⁸ He was the professor of Greek at the Academy from 1642–1649. For the career of Gezelius, see Korhonen 2004: 89–90 (in Finnish), Päll 2005: 93, see also Kolk 2018.

⁴⁹ No. 514 in the bibliography of Tartu prints by Jaanson (2000).

⁵⁰ No. 533 in Jaanson 2000. In Riga the publication of Thomas Hakendorff’s (Hegendorp, school conector in Riga) introduction to Greek was announced (*Elementa Graecae Linguae*, 1594, see Recke, Napiersky 1829: 306, Schweder 1885: 61), but it is not clear whether it was ever printed (at least not in Riga).

Comenius' *Ianua linguarum* into Greek (1648)⁵¹ and *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* for the study of New Testament (1649); the latter began with a long dedication in Greek to Queen Christina, including a brief history of Greek language and programmatic statements about the usefulness of the study of Greek.⁵²

Gezelius' subsequent career in the Swedish Lutheran church took him away from Tartu, leading him finally to Turku (Åbo), where he became bishop and the educator of Finland. He reprinted most of his Greek editions (except for the translation of Comenius) there, and also published a small compendium of the fables of Aesop, Greek dialogues by Johannes Posselius and a commented edition of Greek Pericopes of the New Testament.⁵³

Gezelius' work belongs to the European practice of editing short and concise schoolbooks (e.g. Melanchthon's manuals). According to Kaspar Kolk, he probably took the unsold copies of his manuals with him when he left Tartu,⁵⁴ so it seems that the tradition of editing schoolbooks for Greek arrived at and left the Estonian soil with Gezelius.⁵⁵

3.2 Proofs of Humanist Education: Album Inscriptions, Letters and Exercises in Greek

The manuscript collection of Greek poetry by Krüger can be regarded as a Humanist verse letter, although in his case the poetic function seems to prevail over the other purposes of similar humanist letters. Some other, much shorter texts are less poetic. In the 1550s a Franziscus Tetzelerus from Einbeck had sent a verse letter in Greek and Latin to Tallinn, asking for a subsidy.⁵⁶ As the address to the city council is general and there are no specific references to the writing situation, we do not know why he had chosen Tallinn and whether he had also sent the same application elsewhere. But the context seems astonishingly similar to the modern times, where young academics apply more or less

⁵¹ No. 596 in Jaanson 2000. This was already a third translation of *Ianua* (which appeared first in Latin in 1631) into Greek. The first Greek translations were by Theodor Simon, which had a great success in Europe (having been first published in Amsterdam in 1642 by Elzevier) and Zacharias Schneider (Leipzig 1642). Of Gezelius' debt to both, a study is in preparation.

⁵² No. 616 in Jaanson 2000.

⁵³ See Korhonen 2004: 89–99 and the Finnish National Bibliography.

⁵⁴ See Kolk 2018 (in this volume).

⁵⁵ Although the sold copies probably continued to be used in the schools of Estonia: Gezelius' translation of *Ianua* was explicitly recommended as a schoolbook in Tallinn Gymnasium Programme from 1648 (Pöldvee 2009: 272).

⁵⁶ Tallinn City archives, TLA, 230. B.O.10, Bl.54r–v. I owe the information to a note in Klöker 2005a: 111.

everywhere, till they find a suitable post. In 1707, a prose letter in Greek was sent by Johann Adam Weigel, asking for a post in Torma Parish (which he received some years later, in 1710).⁵⁷ The use of Greek in these letters had the function of proving the excellence of the author and his suitability for a post or for a stipend. This was also the case of the stipend application by Ericus Castelius at *Academia Gustaviana* in 1695.⁵⁸ Castelius had also written a Greek *chreia* on a quotation from Ovid during his studies in *Academia Gustavo-Carolina*, being a stipendiary of the state at the same time.⁵⁹

The mutual acknowledgement of belonging to the humanist community of scholars was expressed also by the means of album inscriptions. The numerous album inscriptions in Greek by Estonian *litterati* testify that the practice was popular.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ In Swedish State Archives RA Livonica II-417. I thank Dr. Kai Tafenau from the Estonian National Archives in Tartu for the photo and information (e-mail to the author from 5.9.2012). According to this Greek letter to the Superintendent (Gabriel Skragge), signed in Pärnu on February 6, 1707, he was from Verden near Bremen (which then belonged to the Kingdom of Sweden) and had studied in Leipzig as a stipendiary of Swedish king (he is probably Johann Adam Weigel from Verden, gra. in Leipzig University in Winter Semester 1689, in Erlar 1909: 486). For Weigel, who had been proposed as a pastor already in 1706, see Hiimets 2014: 81, and Köpp 1927: 214 (without biographical information).

⁵⁸ In Swedish State Archives, RA Livonica II-471. I thank Mag. Kaidi Kriisa (University of Tartu) for the photo and information. The letter/application has been mentioned as possibly lost in Korhonen 2004: 133.

⁵⁹ Manuscript in the University of Tartu Library, F.7-35, f.3. For this *Chreia*, see Päll 2012 (discussion of the context, with the English translation on p. 799) and Päll 2010: 135–138 (including a facsimile, edition and translation into German).

⁶⁰ No survey of such Greek inscriptions from Estonia or by Estonians exists, although some inscriptions have been published: one by Olaus Moberg, the professor of Theology in *Academia Gustavo-Carolina*, in Adam Andrea's (pastor in Riga) album (Kaju 2011: 322), by Reiner Brockmann, the professor of Greek in Tallinn Gymnasium in Johannes Kniper's album (Viiding 2011: 227, 252) or by Heinrich Vulpius, the rector of Tallinn Gymnasium in the album of Hans Arpenbeck (Klöker 2005a: 348). Some other inscriptions have been included in inventories, like the one by Johannes Cothenius from Kuressaare (Arensburg) in the album of Rötger Hemsing from Riga (Taimiņa 2013: 24) or inscriptions by Tartu *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* professors Gabriel Skragge and Michael Dau, Tallinn bishop Joachim Salemann and Wilhelm Tollen, who had stayed in Narva, all in the album of pastor Heinrich Brüningk from Narva (later Riga), see Taimiņa 2013: 38–41. Some have remained unmentioned, for example the inscriptions in the album of Johann Gerngros by Daniel Sarcovius, a professor of *Academia Gustavo-Carolina*, and Michael Wittenberg, a student of theology (Tartu University Library, F 7-38, fol. 57v, fol 134r). For Finland, see Nuorteva 1983. I owe the reference to Nuorteva to the remark of Tua Korhonen.

4. Academic Tradition: Disputations in Greek

The practice of printing disputations in Greek is rare and even less studied.⁶¹ Recent findings have made it possible to conclude that Johannes Gezelius brought this practice to Tartu from Västerås gymnasium in Sweden, where he had studied with Gabriel Holstenius,⁶² who in his turn had brought the tradition of Greek disputations from Germany,⁶³ where he had disputed under Sigmund Evenius.⁶⁴

Tartu Greek disputations had different respondents, but were most probably written by their *praeses*, Gezelius, belonging to two series:

- 9 pneumatological disputations from 1644–1647 (7 extant);⁶⁵
- 28 theological disputations from 1649 (only title pages).⁶⁶

Most *respondentes* of these disputations were different, except for Ericus Munthelius, who had participated in both series,⁶⁷ and Christiernus Jheringius, who also participated in both series and in addition presented a speech about

⁶¹ With the exception of Korhonen 2010, 2018. See also Friedenthal, Päll 2017 and Päll (forthcoming).

⁶² Holstenius was a *respondens* in the disputation on Aristotle, Περὶ τῶν σοφιστικῶν ἐλέγχων διάλεξις (Halle: Petrus Faber, 1620), ‘A discussion about the Sophistic refutations,’ where the *praeses* was Sigmund Evenius. As *praeses* he published another Greek disputation, when he had become the lecturer of Greek in Västerås, see: Gabriel Holstenius [P], Matthias Erici Arosiander [R] Ἡ περὶ τῆς ἀνδρίας [!] διάλεξις κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη ‘The discussion of the courage according to Aristotle.’ Västerås: Olaus Olai 1627. Cf. also Fant 1775 (I): 52–55.

⁶³ Of over 67 Greek disputations (subjects varying from medicine and philosophy (including philology, moral philosophy, military, pneumatology) to theology) from 1604 to 1724, the majority come from German-speaking regions or (in the case of Sweden) can be regarded as a continuation of the German tradition.

⁶⁴ Although Evenius’ rectorate at Tallinn Gymnasium remained brief, his influence continued through his students (for example Aggaeus Friderici in Riga, Timotheus Polus and Gebhard Himself in Tallinn) and perhaps also through the programmes of Reval Gymnasium (Klöker 2005a: 257–260, Pöldvee 2009: 264–268).

⁶⁵ Only 7 are extant (Nos. 421–423 (from 1644), 492–493 (from 1646) and 534–535 (from 1647) in Jaanson 2000). Already Fant had seen only 7 (Fant 1778 (IV): 210–211), which might indicate that the missing two were never printed. For a hypothesis concerning the existence of a tenth disputation, see Korhonen in this volume. Gezelius’ first disputation has been discussed in Friedenthal, Päll 2017 and edited, commented and translated by Janika Päll and Meelis Friedenthal as an appendix to that article.

⁶⁶ Nos. 617–644 in Jaanson 2000. Already Fant 1778 (IV): 111–112 knew only the title pages and doubted whether the whole disputations had been printed at all.

⁶⁷ Nos. 535 and 636 in Jaanson 2000. He was from Wästmanland and had studied in Västerås and Uppsala before immatriculation in Tartu (31.10.1645) and worked later in Livonia (see Tartu Matrikel No. 617, Tering 1984: 229),

three biblical languages.⁶⁸ Ericus Holstenius (1622–1669), a student of Gezelius and the next professor of Greek, participated in Gezelius' pneumatological disputation series as a *respondens* and, as *praeses*, published one Greek disputation in 1652 (Συζήτησις περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἠθικῆς γενικῶς 'An enquiry about the moral virtue in general'). However, Holstenius' choice of the subject (Aristotelian ethics) reflects the traditions of Evenius and Västerås Gymnasium (and most of all, Latin disputations) more than a direct influence of Gezelius.⁶⁹

The practice of writing Greek disputations was well in tune with Gezelius' task as a Professor of Greek: to prepare future pastors for the reading of the New Testament and the Church Fathers. The participation in disputations was probably connected also to the exercises in Greek composition, as many poems in Greek testify.⁷⁰

5. Longer Poems in Hexameters: Greek Verse Orations

In the case of Latin, disputing at the Faculty of Philosophy was connected with writing and presenting prose (and verse) orations, which often have the same subjects as the dissertations, but differ in form and performance and/or writing context. This tendency, although to a much lesser extent, appears also in the case of Greek.

The study process demanded the demonstration of the successes of the students. This function is important in the case of student speeches in Latin and Greek in honour of St. Catherine from the Jesuit Seminar of Tartu (1599),⁷¹ as well as Greek prose orations by the students of the Gymnasium of Riga

⁶⁸ Nos. 493, 629 and 492 in Jaanson 2000. He was from Södermanland and had studied in Nyköping, Uppsala and Turku before his immatriculation in Tartu on December 8, 1643. He worked later as a secretary of Tallinn City Court and was ennobled under the name of Lillering (see Tartu Matrikel No. 544, Tering 1984: 218).

⁶⁹ No. 492 and No. 735 in Jaanson 2000. Ericus Holstenius was a nephew of Gabriel Holstenius (see note 63 above) and had studied in Västerås, Uppsala and Turku before immatriculation in Tartu (8.10.1644, No. 576 in Tering 1984: 223).

⁷⁰ The addressees and the authors of Greek gratulatory poetry from *Academia Gustaviana* form several overlapping friendship circles, which turn around the professors of Greek and some disputation series, including Gezelius' Greek disputations on pneumatology and the disputation series on the Gospel of St. John and on the Psalms by Andreas Virginius, the professor of theology. This has been indicated in Päll 2003, but in the light of recent findings appears even more so: fewer than 20 of the 77 Greek poems from *Academia Gustaviana* are not by or for the professors of Greek, or otherwise connected to teaching and reading Greek language or theology.

⁷¹ See Helk 1977: 94 and 283, n. 97.

(1684)⁷² and possibly also from Tallinn (1664).⁷³ From Tartu, a reference to a Greek oration by Zacharias Brenner is known, but not its title or exact date.⁷⁴ Regarding the parallels from Uppsala and Turku (Åbo),⁷⁵ as well as less studied ones from Germany, we may believe that writing and presenting orations in Greek was an usual part of higher studies during the whole 17th century.

The extant Greek orations from Estonia are in verse (hexameters) and were written and published by Gregor Krüger Mesyланus (see above) in around 1553, by Peter Götsch (the Professor of Greek in Tartu Academy) in Tartu in 1633 and by David Cunitz (who became the Professor of Poetry in Tallinn Gymnasium) in Uppsala and Rostock in 1642. The speeches share a common feature with the speech of Jonas Petri Kiörling, an elected professor of Greek of *Academia Gustaviana*, who published a prose oration in Greek in Uppsala (in 1662).⁷⁶ Their long Greek orations were published at a time, when the authors prepared to enter a post or were in negotiations for obtaining a post of the Professor of Greek or of Poetry in higher schools, or, in the case of Krüger, in the church. Although the orations had a different place in the curriculum than

⁷² According to the invitation the speeches by Andreas Schwartz from Riga and Johannes Vincelius from Libau (in Curonia) took place on June 2, 1684 in Riga; they were probably not printed and have been lost, but a short argument in Latin has been given by the author of the invitation, Joachim Frisich, the Professor of Law and Mathematics in Riga Gymnasium (Frisich 1684).

⁷³ Katre Kaju refers to the invitation by the Rector Jacob Müller from Reval Gymnasium, indicating future Greek and Hebrew declamations (*suo tempore specimen... nostri alumni dabunt*). The vagueness of the indication leaves it unclear whether these speeches were delivered on the same day or only hoped for in the future (cf. Müller 1664, Kaju 2014: 62–63). For invitations in Germany, see Johann Sebastian Mitternacht, *Dissertatiuncula De Haematite Mystico, Sive De Salutifera Christi Passione*, (Gera, [1660], VD17 125:011257M).

⁷⁴ See Fant 1778 (V): 122, note b and Korhonen 2004: 461 (giving its date, 4.10.1691, according to Cederberg).

⁷⁵ See the Appendix in Sironen 2018 (in this volume) and Korhonen 2004: 460–462, who has also included some possibly lost orations. For Åbo, see for example Fant 1781 (VI): 2 (Gelsenius), Fant 1781 (VIII): 37 (Heerdhielm, al. H. Schäfer in Korhonen 2004, not found) and Fant 1784 (XI): 87 (Justander). In smaller schools, such orations were never printed, like the Greek oration by Ericus Andreae Omanius, the lecturer of Greek in Skara, see Fant 1781 (VII): 26.

⁷⁶ This oration by Jonas Petri Kiörling was presented in Uppsala and published in Stockholm in 1662. Kiörling was an elected professor of Greek in *Academia Gustaviana Dorpatensis* (see Fant 1781 (VII): 23–26, the discussion of this in Sironen 2018 (in this volume)). However, he never actually started teaching in the Academy, which was transferred to Tallinn in 1656, but only barely continued to exist till 1665 (Klöker 2005a: 386–38). For some other orations from Uppsala, see Fant 1781 (VII): 33 (oration by Laurentius Elingius), Fant 1777 (III): 104 (by Olivekranz and Lagerskiöld), Fant 1784 (XI): 95 (two speeches by Jonas Magni Montin). I would also like to add Fornelius's *Eukleristikon* from 1625, although it has not been called 'oratio', but 'carmen graecum' in Fant 1776 (II): 66.

for example the disputations for a degree, they had a similar function: to serve as a proof of excellence, a *Meisterwerk*.⁷⁷

According to their actual or intended performance context it is possible to regard verse orations as panegyrics (belonging to the epideictic genre),⁷⁸ epyllia (in the case of longer narratives), which may overlap with Bible paraphrases in verse (in the case of Cunitz), occasional poems (mostly epicedia or epithalamia)⁷⁹ or verse dissertations (in the case of Krüger and Götsch). The length of extant longer hexameter poems connected to or published in Estonia is from 186 to 596 verses.

5.1 *Carmen de dignitate et excellentia doctrinae coelestis*

by Gregor Krüger Mesylanus

Till the end of 2015 we knew only of one manuscript by Gregor Krüger. The correct reading of his humanist name Mesylanus has led at first to a reference to a Greek printed poem by Gregor Krueger Mesylanus from Preussische Staatsbibliothek⁸⁰ and then to *Carmen de dignitate et excellentia doctrinae coelestis, heroicis versibus graece scriptum* ('The Poem about the dignity and excellence of the Heavenly Doctrine, in Greek heroic verses') by Gregor Cruger, Wittenberg [1580].⁸¹ The author's full name Gregor Cruger Mesylanus Marchicus is presented on the title page of *Carmen de dignitate*, as well as the printer's

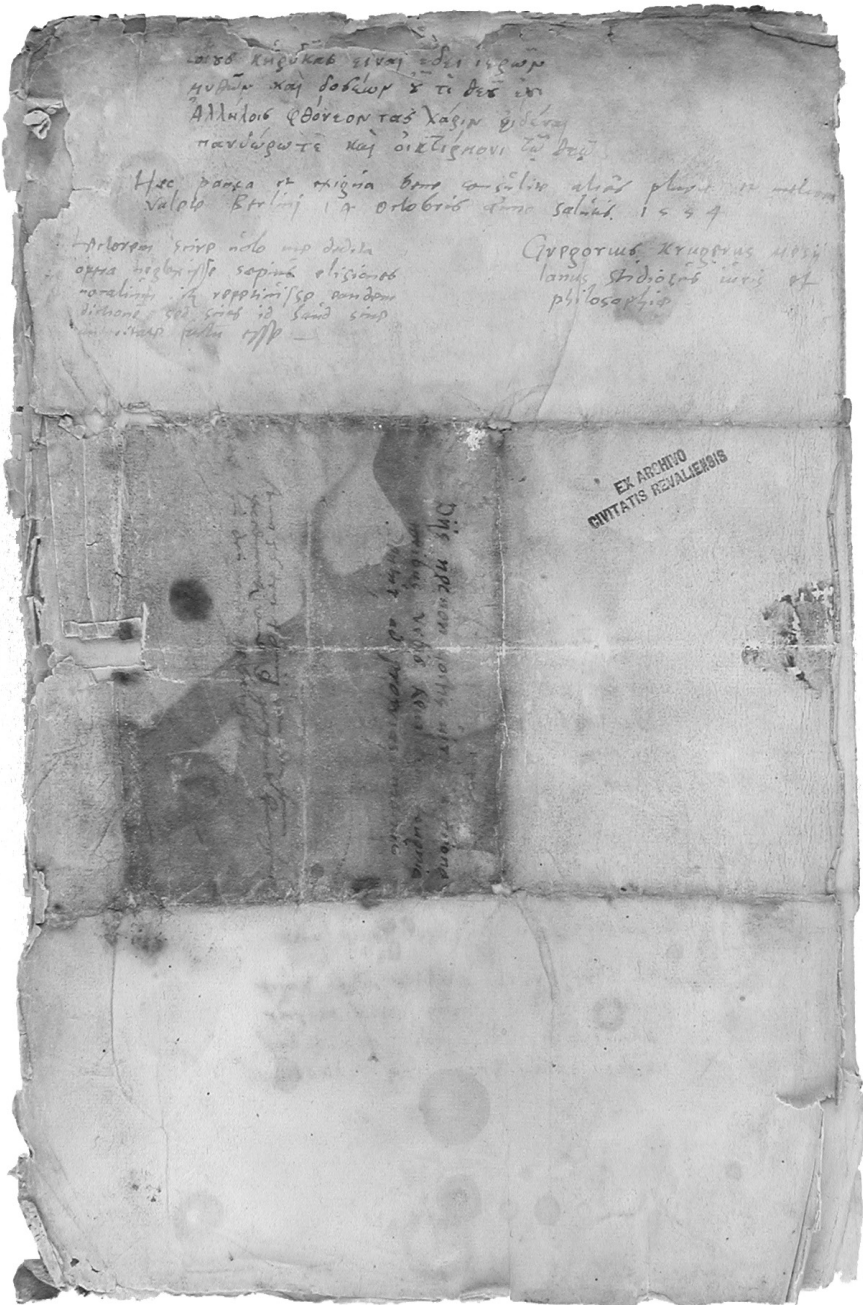
⁷⁷ For the reasons of printing such works, see Tering 2008.

⁷⁸ As Paulinus' *Finlandia* from 1678 (re-edition in Korhonen, Oksala, Sironen eds 2000) or the funeral oration for Charles X of Sweden by Johann Burgman (Purmerus), ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΙΝΘΙΜΟΣ (Stockholm 1660), discussed in Korhonen 2004: 409–414 or the coronation Oration for Queen Christina by Olaf Johann Agraues (*Serenissimae, Potentissimae Principi Christinae*. Stockholm, 1650), not in LIBRIS, see the title page of the copy in Tartu University Library, Päll, Valper 2014: 35.

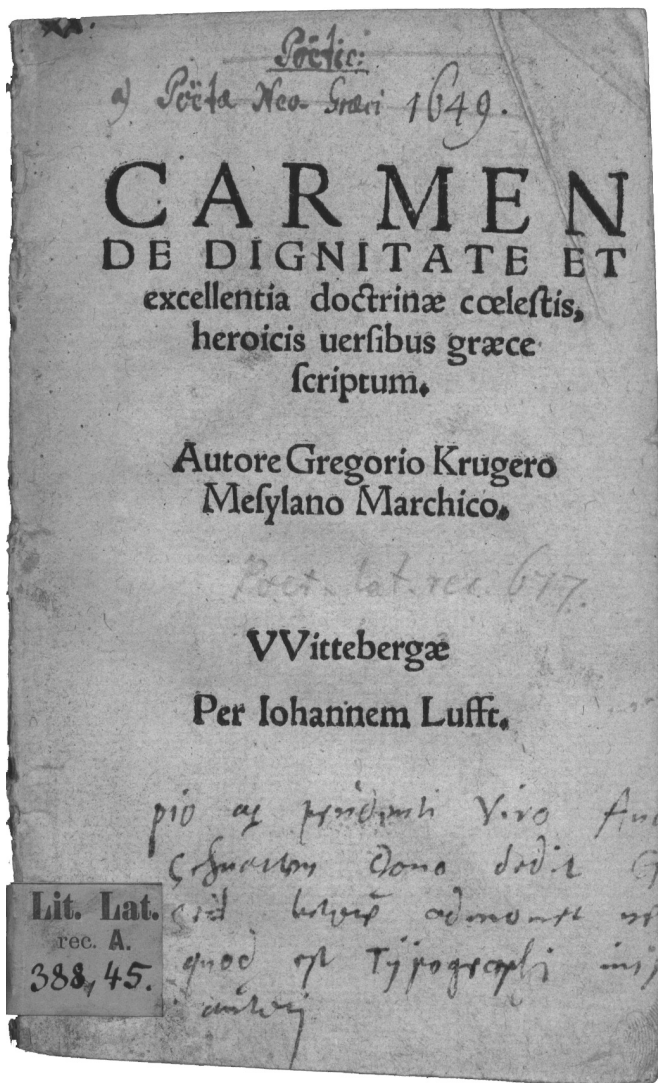
⁷⁹ See previous note, but also P. Aurivillius, Λόγος ἐπιτάφιος [...] *Dn. Jacobi Augusti De La Gardie* [...] *Dn. Johannis Caroli De La Gardie*. Stockholm 1663 and O. Swanberg, Εἰδύλλιον. ... *Dn. Iohannis Loccenii* [...] *Exequias*. Stockholm 1678. Both are listed in Korhonen 2004 and Sironen 2018.

⁸⁰ As a result of a search for 'Mesylanus' (all fields) in Karlsruhe Catalogues in November–December 2015, a *Carmen es digitate et ex cellentia doctrinae coelestes, heroicis, verscut graece scrituo* [sic!] by Krueger, Gregor, Mesylanus Marchicus, printed by Joh. Lufft in Wittenberg emerged (Signatur: Xh 14545-1 of Preussische Staatsbibliothek, | <http://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=379361841>). I thank Eva Rothkirch from Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, who confirmed this book as Kriegsverlust in her e-mail to the author from December 15, 2015 (an answer to query #10963220).

⁸¹ In SLUB Dresden, Lit.lat.rec. A 388,45. The hit came as a result to search for 'heroicis versibus graece scriptum: all fields'. Search on 20.10.2016. It is now published as: <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/150151/1/>). By now, the date has been corrected.



ILL. 2. Gregor Krüger. Greek and Latin poems.
(Tallinn City Archives, TLA 230.1. B.O.10, f. 11v.).



ILL. 3. Gregor Krüger. *Carmen de dignitate et excellentia doctrinae coelestis*. Wittenberg [ca 1555]: Lufft. Title page. (SLUB Dresden).

name (Johannes Lufft), so it is beyond doubt the same work as the now lost copy from Preussische Staatsbibliothek. The correct publication time should be between 1551–1557, as the work is dedicated to Landmeister Heinrich von Galen of Livonian Order (the autonomous branch of the Teutonic Order), where Galen was *magister* from 1551 till his death in 1557.⁸² Another indication of Mesylanus' authorship and of this the earlier date is the handwritten (only halfway preserved) dedication on the title page of the book, which looks like the hand in the Tallinn manuscript (see ILL. 2 and 3).

Krüger's *Carmen de dignitate et excellentia doctrinae coelestis* is still waiting for a longer discussion.⁸³ The writing and publishing context of the oration is interconfessional: Krüger had studied theology in Lutheran Wittenberg (where he also published his oration), but he had also worked as a pastor of a mixed congregation in Tallinn St. Michael church (which had earlier belonged to a nunnery and included also the nuns). The dedicatee of his poem was Heinrich von Galen, a landmaster of Livonian order, with Lutheran sympathies.⁸⁴ Krüger refers to Galen as to 'the defender of the work of the true religion': *quique colis verae religionis opus*,⁸⁵ which leaves open many possibilities for further discussions of interconfessional relationships. The dedication to Galen can be read as an advertisement of his wish to find a position in Riga (or Livonia in general).

The poem itself turns mainly around one subject: the right teaching about the Divine Revelation, where the 'heavenly doctrine' is revealed through the history of Salvation; its background is vehement interdenominational polemics, where the cognitive question is most important for the Lutherans.⁸⁶ Krüger himself appears in Tallinn shortly afterwards in 1558 as the author of a Greek epicedium for Johann Hobing (see above, note 45) and then seems to have abandoned his poetic aspirations.

⁸² For von Galen, see Duellius 1727: 1 1. The discovery has been recorded in a two-line note in Päll 2015b: 43 (n. 29).

⁸³ We can classify it as a verse oration, but differently from the other examples from Estonia, it had not been delivered in public, so it could be also called a 'longer religious ode' or a 'theological verse dissertation'.

⁸⁴ Fenske, Lutz; Militzer, Klaus eds. 1993: 248 (No. 282), Paul 1999: 162–163.

⁸⁵ In v. 2 of his dedicatory epigram, see Krüger, *Carmen de dignitate*: A2r.

⁸⁶ See Oftestad 2008: 612–614. See Summers 2016: 11 and 409 with references to *doctrina coelestis* in Polanus (2.1.130) in the sense of 'divine revelation' and Turretinus (*Inst. theol.* i.i.5) in the sense of 'theology'. For *doctrina coelestis* as theology in Wittenberg statutes, see Wallmann 1961: 10, cf. also Francesco Torres (Turrianus), *Dogmatici characteres* 1561: 133v.

5.2 *Christognosia* by Peter Götsch

Oration *Christognosia* (in 468.5 hexameters) by Peter Götsch from Rostock (printed in Tartu in 1633) was delivered in September 1632 as his inaugural lecture as the Professor of Greek in *Academia Gustaviana Dorpatensis*.⁸⁷ After a short statement of the subject and an address to the public (v. 1–4), the oration tells about two ways of life: of those who fear and acknowledge God, and those who have not recognised Christ and do not live piously. The poem reveals his position as the defender of Orthodox Lutheranism.⁸⁸

Götsch's oration reflects a tendency in Humanist Greek poetic tradition, which leans less on direct models from the antiquity and is more connected to the Christian tradition: in *Christognosia* he rarely borrows ready-made verses from Greek antiquity⁸⁹ and his hexameters are un-Homeric. Firstly (like in the case of Krüger), Götsch does not avoid the hiatus (clash of long vowels) systematically, using it in order to gain flexibility: whenever he needs a long syllable, he does not avoid the vowel clash, but at the same time he uses metric abbreviations or elisions, when he needs a short syllable. His use of caesura is unclassical as well: he quite often uses the leonine caesura⁹⁰ and does not avoid the caesura between the 2nd and 3rd foot. Thirdly, Götsch has a tendency to use very long (often composite) words, and therefore 4-word verses (*tetra-coli*) are quite usual in his poem, which is different from the Homeric practice, where such verses are rare and thus semantically significant; this can be the influence of Nonnus on his style.⁹¹

Götsch seems to have imported from Rostock, his home university, the great tradition of Chytraei and other Hellenists, like Johannes Posselius, Lucas Lossius or Lorenz Rhodoman.⁹² But he also continues the tradition of

⁸⁷ For biographical details, the best source is Klöcker 2005a: 675–676 ('Götschen').

⁸⁸ According to Dr. Thomas R. Ellsner from Koblenz in an e-mail to the author from January 12, 2007. For more on the subject of *Christognosia*, see Ellsner 2009 (p. 51 on Götsch), of inter-denominational relationships (with a focus on David Chytraeus) in the framework of German-Swedish relationships, Czaika 2002.

⁸⁹ Although he seems to have his own or humanist formulas. (It is difficult to establish his debt to his contemporary or older humanist writers, as we do not have any searchable databases of Humanist Greek authors.) He uses models from Ancient Greek poetry in his occasional poems, see *O Dorpat*, 92, 94, 338–341 (his hexameter gratulation for Christianus Osaengius and commentary, which indicates his cento-like borrowings from Homer's *Iliad*, Nonnos (both *Dionysiac* and the *Paraphrasis*) and Christodorus Epicus).

⁹⁰ For this type of caesura in Poliziano, see Steinrück 2018 (in this volume).

⁹¹ See Agosti 2010: 90–93 and Agosti (forthcoming) for the increased frequency of this verse type in Nonnus and late antiquity.

⁹² See Johnson 2006, Rhein 2006, Weise 2011, Ludwig 2014.

Lutheranism, stressing the importance of the correct understanding of the Scriptures, which we saw in the case of Krüger. We shall see also, that German tradition of Christian poetry in Greek is continued by David Cunitius.

5.3 Bible paraphrase and verse oration by David Cunitius

Biblical paraphrase is a common genre in European Humanist Greek poetry, but as understudied as most of it, except some Psalm paraphrases.⁹³ Melancthon had stressed the importance of Bible paraphrases, and we know that at Tartu Academy, also Buchanan's Greek psalms and Nonnus' paraphrase of the Gospel of St. John were studied and used actively.⁹⁴

Bible paraphrasis in Estonian Humanist Greek tradition is represented by David Cunitz (Cunitius), who had studied in Rostock, Tartu (and Uppsala) and in 1643 became the Professor of Poetics at Tallinn Gymnasium.⁹⁵ His Τῆς κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἱστορίας περὶ παθήματος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, μεταβολῆ ποιητικῆ, *The Verse Paraphrasis of the Sufferings of Jesus Christ, Our Saviour, According to the Gospel of St. Matthew* in 568 hexameters was performed in Uppsala during Easter in 1642 (see ILL. 4).⁹⁶ The paraphrasis includes:

- vv. 1–25: an introduction, including a comparison of the old, Pierian, and the new, Christian Muses,⁹⁷ a reference to the author's task (telling the story of the Passion of Christ) and a prayer to God, asking for strength;
- vv. 26–535: the paraphrasis of the Gospel of St. Matthew (26:30–27:66) in a lively, dialogic form;
- vv. 536–568: the conclusion, condemning people, who had treated Christ unrighteously, and an exhortation to lead a pious life.

⁹³ For Greek paraphrases, see Andrist, Lukinovich 2005, Lukinovich 2017, Weise 2016: 160–161, below, notes 104 and 105. There are at least 25 collections or single Bible paraphrases in Greek known to me, to be discussed in an article in preparation. For some, see Czaplá 2013.

⁹⁴ See Päll, Valper 2014: 27 and *O Dorpat* 340–341, 371–372.

⁹⁵ See Klöker 2005a: 316–321.

⁹⁶ Printed there in the same year by Aeschyllius Matthiae. This reflects the traditions of Greek oration series in Uppsala, see Sironen 2018. There is no exact date on the title page, but the gratulation by Georg Höjer (Cunitius 1642: [Γ 4r]) is dated with *ipsis Calendis Aprilis*, passing for the Easter. The orations on Christ's life were not infrequent, for example in 1670 Laurentius Elingius held a Greek oration about Christ's sufferings in Uppsala (Fant 1781 (VII): 33, not printed, see Korhonen 2004: 461), and Christoph Christian Händel in Altdorf presented in 1688 a Greek oration about Jesus in his crib (Λόγος ἑλληνικὸς εἰς τὴν φάτνην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Altdorf 1688, VD17 32:678510M).

⁹⁷ For the role of Muses, see Ludwig ed. 2001.

At the time of the publishing of this oration, Cunitius had left Tartu and not yet received the post in Tallinn. Being without a steady location and profession, he declared himself according to his origin and status: a Pomeranus and a student of medicine.⁹⁸ His Greek dedication poem includes a vague reference to his being abroad (v.4: ἐνθάδε ἄλλοδαπῶ), so he does not seem to regard himself as a part of Uppsala community of scholars to whom the speech and the print are addressed. He addresses the print also to the readers in Estonia, as revealed by the choice of one dedicatee, young Wilhelm von Taube of Maydell Manor;⁹⁹ also two (Georg Höjer and Paul Freyschmidt)¹⁰⁰ of the five authors of the congratulation poems¹⁰¹ were active in Estonia.

Cunitius' paraphrasis probably appeared together with a slightly shorter (456 lines in Alexandrines) German poem on the same subject, but based on all four Gospels.¹⁰² His paraphrasis reflects two different traditions. Firstly, the above-mentioned tradition of Greek orations at Uppsala University, which were not only held regularly, but often printed as well. Secondly, by his choice of hexameter poetry and the genre of paraphrasis, Cunitius' oration belongs to the German tradition of Greek verse orations (probably the source of the tradition in Sweden), which had its origin in Verse Paraphrases of the Bible,

⁹⁸ Two of the five Latin gratulations mention him as a 'medicus' (by Johann Jacob Pfeiff, the Minister of Stockholm German congregation and by Paul Freyschmidt from Pomerania, student of theology, who also was the teacher of the son of the Governor of Estonia, Philipp von Scheiding, in Cunitius 1642a).

⁹⁹ Possibly Bernard Wilhelm Taube of Maidla, see Johannes Justus Ludwig, *Christliche Abführungs-Predigt ... Bernhard Wilhelm Taube, Beyde Freyherren auff Maydell und Carelöhra, etc. Unter welchen der Elteste, nechst-verflossenen 1663sten Jahres den 9. Novembris, der Jüngste den 21. dieses, und ernandten 63. Jahres, diese Welt gesegnet, und sanffte und selig in der Herzen verschieden*. Reval: Simon 1664. Another Wilhelm von Taube from Reval is mentioned by Klöker 2005a: 738, but is probably someone else.

¹⁰⁰ Georg Höjer is probably the student of theology and teacher from Tallinn, later conrector of the Dome School, who was quite active writer of occasional poetry between 1643 and 1650 (Klöker 2005a: 682–683). He belonged to the same group of *litterati* as Paul Freyschmidt, who wrote an epithalamion for his wedding in 1644 (*Facula nuptialis ... Dn. Georgii Hojeri*. Reval 1648, No. 348 in Klöker 2005b).

¹⁰¹ According to Klöker (2005a: 317), the *Paraphrasis* received a gratulation from his fellow students in Tartu, who were active in Uppsala, but none of the five gratulation authors has been immatriculated in Tartu, according to Tering 1984. I have not been able to find the authors of gratulations in Rostock or Greifswald University Matrikels, but a Nicolaus Culenius has been immatriculated for the summer semester of 1639 in Königsberg (Erler 1910: 402). However, Cunitius studied in Königsberg from 1633, before his immatriculation in Tartu in 1637, so the connection between the two might have been established later.

¹⁰² Johan Månsson Silfverstierna (1604–1660) is one of the dedicatees of the Greek paraphrasis, and his wife, Catharina Eriksdotter (praised by Cunitius for her love for the German language) is the dedicatee of the German sonnet (I owe the knowledge of the existence of the German Paraphrasis, as well as the Rostock print, to Klöker 2005a: 317).

following Nonnus' *Paraphrasis of the Gospel of St. John*.¹⁰³ The subject of the Passion is one of the most popular among Greek orations, dedicated to Christian holidays, which were commemorated everywhere in schools and academies. This is represented by several speeches on Christ's sufferings, printed in Leipzig, Wittenberg, Oels, Bremen, Lübeck and Königsberg (between 1557 and 1663) or other episodes of his life (printed in Basel, Wittenberg, Stettin and Nürnberg).¹⁰⁴ Christmas orations are represented with speeches, printed in Wittenberg, Leipzig, Königsberg, Hildesheim, Erfurt and Altdorf (in 1552–1668).¹⁰⁵ This is only a first glimpse into the rich tradition in Germany from the middle of the 16th century to the middle of the 17th century. It is impossible to show specific influences on Cunitius, although Wittenberg seems to be most important in this tradition. But next to Wittenberg, we must also bear in mind the impact of the "Grandchildren of Melanchthon" in Rostock, especially Johannes Posselius:¹⁰⁶ Cunitius quoted *his Regulae Vitae* (No. 5) on the title page of his Paraphrasis (see ILL. 4).

In the same year (1642) another Greek oration by Cunitius, Εἰς ταπεινὰ τὰ γενέθλια τοῦ Κυρίου (*On the Humble Birth of our Lord*) in 186 hexameters was published in Rostock.¹⁰⁷ Although we do not know the circumstances of the presentation, the choice of the subject is again in accordance with the practice of Latin and Greek orations, which were delivered in the schools and academies during Christian holidays. The oration includes a short introduction, asking for Christ's inspiration (v. 1–8) and then tells the Christmas Gospel, ending the oration with the praise of the Saviour. Further studies will hopefully show the place of Cunitius' longer poems both from the point of view of Lutheran theology and as parts of the tradition of Greek school oration.

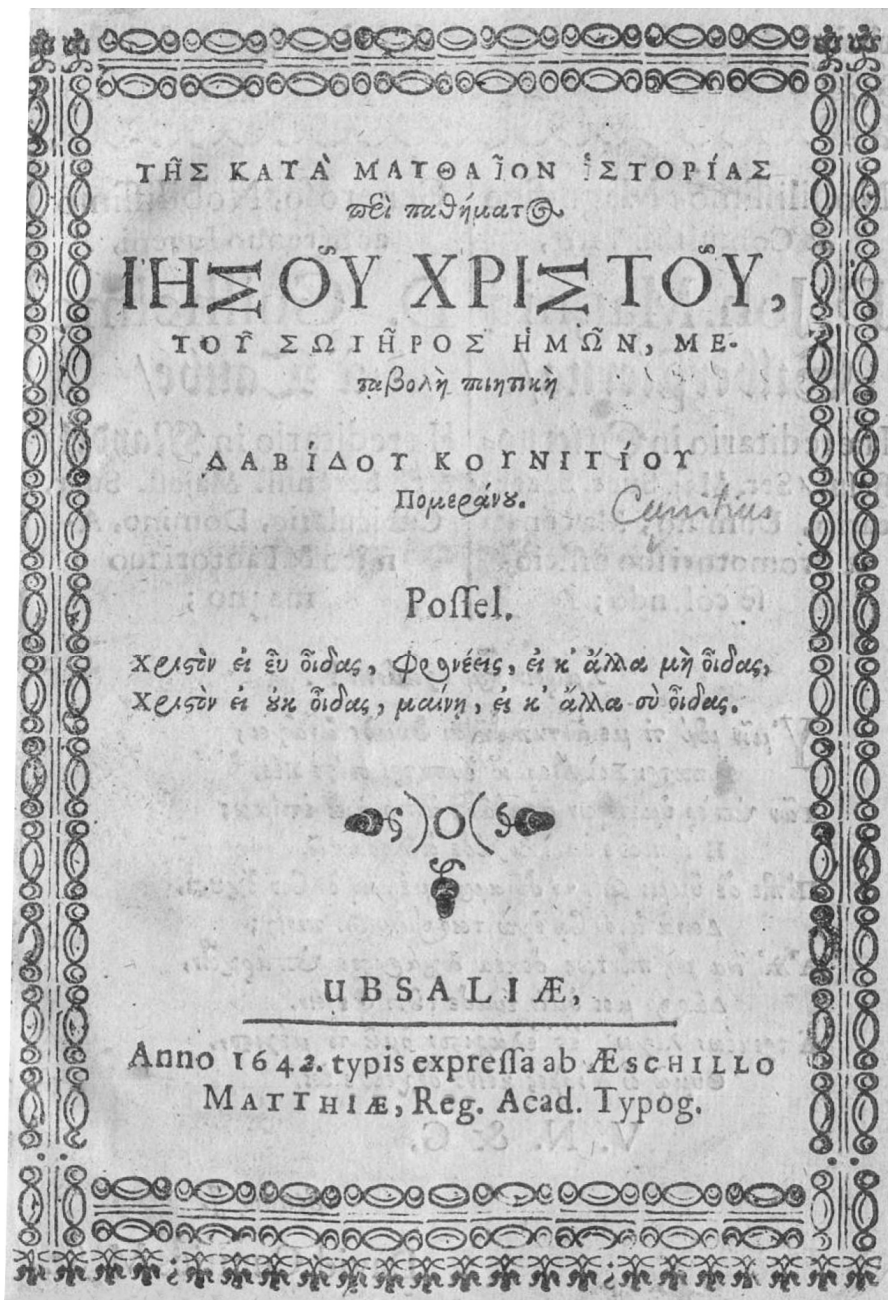
¹⁰³ See note 94. For an early discussion of the paraphrases of the New Testament, including ancient and modern tradition in a looser sense (also *Homerokentra*, Posselius' *Euangelia et Epistolae* (Leipzig 1599) and Rhodoman's *Palaestina*), see Johann Neumann (praes.), Johann Franciscus Budaeus (resp.), *Disputatio philologica de metaphrasis qui N.T. Graeco carmine expresserunt*. Wittenberg 1686.

¹⁰⁴ Next to Greek paraphrases, I have been able to detect about 30 Greek orations about the life of Christ; this number is probably greater.

¹⁰⁵ Here several orations use elegiac disticha, revealing the vagueness of genre borders; there are several similar orations, which use the meters of lyric poetry, as for example a Christmas "Song" by Samuel Nicolai Palumbus (Ἰσθὴ γενέθλιος *in festum solenne ac jvbilaeum nativitatit dominii nostri Jesu Nazareni*. Uppsala: Mattson 1624, LIBRIS-ID:2518877) in Sapphic stanzas.

¹⁰⁶ See Rhein 2017.

¹⁰⁷ See Klöker 2005a: 318 and 658–659. It was printed in Rostock in 1642, but does not include a dedication or gratulations (the only known copy, mentioned by Klöker, is in the National Library of Poland, Warszawa, Shelf number XVI Qu.4751). I thank Wanda Dorociak from the National Library of Poland for the photos and Maria Luštšik from the University of Tartu Library for procuring these. For Greek orations commemorating the Birthday of Christ, see note 105 above.



ILL. 4. David Cunitius. *Τῆς κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἱστορίας περὶ παθήματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ... μεταβολή ποιητική*. Uppsala: Mattson. Title page. (Uppsala University Library).

6. Occasional Poetry and Prose

6.1. The Events and Text Types

The peak of Humanist Greek poetry in Estonia, Livonia and Curonia was achieved already in the 17th century, thus much later than in Germany, the source of enormous influence on Nordic Hellenistic studies. The poetic practice reveals a reduced number of occasions and sub-types, when compared to greater centres. For example, poetry for court festivals is available only from Mitau, the seat of the Dukes of Curonia, but we can still observe most the popular types:

- 1) Different paratexts in printed works: gratulations for the dissertations (disputations) and orations of the students and for humanist schoolbooks (as for the *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* of Gezelius), but also dedicatory epigrams and addresses to the readers by the authors (by Götsch, prose address and dedication by Gezelius).¹⁰⁸
- 2) Occasional poetry for academic occasions, like receiving the rectorate, inaugurations or promotions, or the propemptica and apodemica, which were written for persons who left the school or the academy (and/or arrived in the new one); even more popular were poems for weddings, funerals or birthdays (epithalamia, epicedia, genethliaka), which were not connected to academic occasions only, and mostly occurred in separate collections.¹⁰⁹

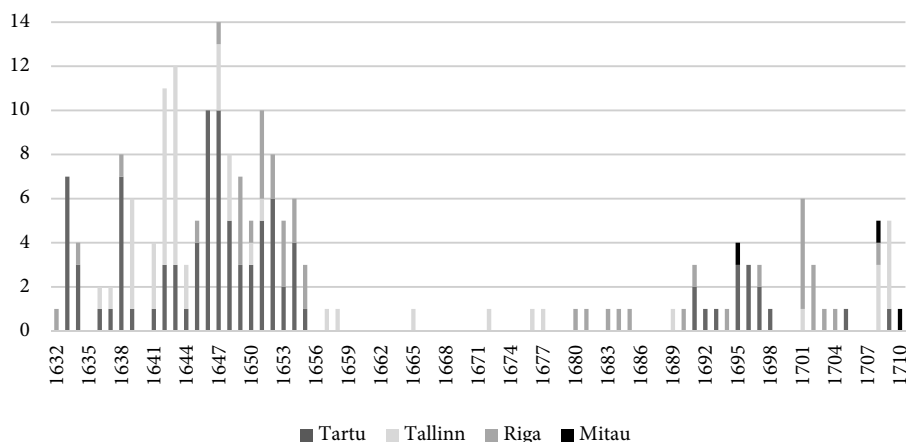
The writing of Humanist Greek occasional poetry in Estonia did not start with the founding of printing houses. The first poems have been recorded in manuscripts, like Gregor Krüger's epicedium to pastor Hobing, or printed elsewhere, like the Greek gratulation by Ericus von Beeck from Reval in 19 hexameters.¹¹⁰ But the number of poems increased greatly, when printing houses were founded in Estonia, and the Riga printing house was reorganised in Latvia (see Scheme 1).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ See *O Dorpat*, 92–95, 338–341.

¹⁰⁹ Classifying funeral poetry as paratexts to funeral speeches has left them out of Garber 2001–2009, see the arguments against this principle and addenda in Beyer 2011.

¹¹⁰ For Mesylanus, see above, Ch. 2 and Ch. 5.1. For Beeck, see Klöker O32B, Bd2: 66. Beeck also participated as *respondens* in Rostock theological disputation, presided by Johann Affelmann in 1615 (*Trias syllogismorum anticalvinistarum*), see Klöker, No. 035AB 68–69. He was probably a good student of Greek: when he returned from Rostock to become a Minister in St. Nicholas Church in Tallinn, he received a Greek propemptikon from Johannes Posselius the Younger, also the professor of Greek in Rostock (*Vota propemptica...* A1v–A2r).

¹¹¹ See Berziņa 2018 for Riga.



Scheme 1: The dynamics of Humanist Greek occasional text production in Estonia and Livonia, 1632–1710.

In the case of Greek poetry, the persons involved were often the Professors of Greek or students who aspired towards a career in Theology.¹¹² Like elsewhere in Europe, the choice of the Greek language is significant and indicates the common background of the author and the addressee, their belonging to the Humanist circles; and/or, like in the case of the addresses to noblemen or officials, it stressed the important status of the recipient. In these cases we often see a multilingual context.¹¹³

Studying the dynamics of Greek prints in the four Greek printing-houses of the region (Tartu/Pärnu, Tallinn, Riga and Mitau), we can notice an uneven distribution, both geographically and in time (Scheme 1). The biggest gap in the activity is in Tartu between *Academia Gustaviana* (1632–1656) and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (1690–1710), although the total number of humanist Greek texts is highest there, as is appropriate to a higher education institution. Correspondingly, Mitau's number is the smallest, because it only had a Latin school, and all five poems in Greek we know from 1695–1731 are connected to the court. The total absence of Greek poetry during 1659–1672 can be explained with the plague and the wars (which brought along the closures of the school in Tartu and Riga), and writing poetry in Greek was reduced to zero soon after the end of the Swedish rule in 1710 (Table 1).

¹¹² This is based on the data gained from the existing bibliographies (Jaanson 2000, Klöker 2005b, retrospective Estonian bibliography in ESTER) and the corpora of Tartu, Tallinn and Riga Greek poetry.

¹¹³ See van Dam 2015: 67.

The figures are given for the period under Swedish rule, corresponding to the main periods of activity of Greek composition in the academies. Tartu includes the works printed in *Academia Gustaviana Dorpatensis* (1632–1656) and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina Dorpatensis/Pernavensis* (1690–1710).

Table 1. Generic Distribution of Greek Occasional and Paratexts texts from Estonia and Livonia

	Tartu 1632–1656 / Tartu/Pärnu 1690–1710	Tallinn 1636–1734	Riga 1631–1657, 1678–1708	Mitau 1695–1731
<i>gratulatio (in dissertationem)</i>	42 [*] /10	4 ^{**}	0	0
<i>dedicatio/prosphonesis</i>	4 ^{***} /0	0	0	0
<i>gratulatio (ad lauream)</i>	6/0	0	0	0
<i>gratulatio (sceptra academicis)</i>	4/1	0	0	0
<i>propemptica</i>	3/0	5	0	0
<i>epicedia</i>	9/1	16	23	2
<i>epithalamia</i>	11/0	27	17	1
<i>gratulatio (in ingressio- nem professionis)</i>	0/3	0	0	0
<i>aspasticum</i>	0	1	0	1
<i>panegyrica</i>	0	0	0	1
<i>gratulatio (in academiam)</i>	0/0 ^{****}	0	1	0
Sum	79+15=94	53	41	5

The figures for *Academia Gustaviana* (Tartu) and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (Tartu/Pärnu) are presented separately. Neither one-verse poem signatures nor mottos are counted as separate Greek poems.

* Four gratulations are for the disputations *pro gradu*, one for an inaugural oration, having double functions.

** One of these, gratulation for the inaugural oration of M. Sigismundi, also has a function of *gratulatio in ingressio-
nem professionis*.

*** Including Gezelius' long prose dedication to Queen Christina in his *Lexicon* and the prose address to his readers in his edition of Ps-Pythagoras, Phokylides and Theognis.

**** One poem from 1827 is not included here.

The peaks in poetic activity (years with the highest number of Greek poems) are not the same in different schools, but in general it is around and in the 1640s. In Tartu, there are several peaks with 5–10 poems (1633, 1638, 1646–1648, 1651–1652), in Tallinn, the best years yield 5–7 poems (1638, 1642, 1643) and in Riga at least three poems were published in the best years (1649 and 1651).

These rich years can be explained with the philhellenism of certain persons, beginning with the Professors of Greek, like Johannes Gezelius Senior and Ericus Holstenius in Tartu,¹¹⁴ or Henricus Vulpius, the Rector of the Tallinn Gymnasium,¹¹⁵ and the Poet Laureate Christian Bornemann, the school rector in Mitau (Jelgava).¹¹⁶ Several professors, like Johannes Hörnick, the Collega in the Gymnasium of Riga, and Reinerus Brockmann, the Professor of Greek in Tallinn, as well as excelling students, like David Cunitius or Nicolaus Nyco-pensis in Tartu, have contributed more evenly to the general amount, writing a poem or two each year.

More differences can be seen in the distribution of occasional texts by genres, which are defined according to the events (see Table 1).¹¹⁷

The two periods of the Academy in Tartu need to be analysed separately, because after the pause in its activity, many changes in the demographic profile of the professors and the students, but even more importantly, in the ideas and general tendencies in teaching, took place.¹¹⁸ Correspondingly, the nature of occasional poetry is different in *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* and the use of Greek is clearly reduced (this is not the case in Tallinn, Riga and Mitau).

¹¹⁴ In 1651, all of the 5 Greek occasional poems were written by Ericus Holstenius, Gezelius wrote 6 from the 9 in 1646, 8 of the 10 in 1648 and 4 of the 5 in 1648. Of the 31 occasional poems, which Gezelius published in Tartu, 25 were in Greek (including one sub-part of a trilingual poem set), but next to it, he used single Greek hexameters as poem subscriptions and once also as a beginning of a dedication (in Gezelius 1648:)(2r). Both a one-verse dedication (which partly resumes the one by Gezelius) and a two-line subscription can be found in the dedication to Queen Christina by Ericus Emporagrius, in the Greek disputation from Stockholm: Gezelius – Emporagrius 1650.

¹¹⁵ Responsible for 5 out of 9 poems in 1643.

¹¹⁶ See Flood 2006 (1): 221.

¹¹⁷ Following Czerniatowicz 1991 and Korhonen 2004, I include occasional poems and all types of book paratexts. The tables in Viiding 2002: 37–38 and 42 (for used languages and poem types from *Academia Gustaviana*, i.e. in 1632–1656) are out of date, presenting the total number of known Greek occasional poems from *Academia Gustaviana* as 61. The information of the previous bibliographies has now been replaced by Estonian Retrospective National Bibliography's entries in the Collective Electronic Catalogue of Estonian Libraries, ESTER.

¹¹⁸ See Tering 1996, Tering 2005, Friedenthal, Piirimäe 2015.

At first it seems that the change could be explained by a lesser impact of professors and students who came from Germany (during the second period, the professors were mainly of a Swedish origin), but the flourishing of Greek studies in nearby Academy of Turku does not allow us to make generalisations about a negative Swedish impact.¹¹⁹ The study of Riga and Mitau prints has not (yet) yielded book paratexts or Greek gratulations for disputations, which corresponds to the rarity of similar texts in Tallinn.¹²⁰ This can be explained with the fact that this genre is mostly frequent at the university level, and thus naturally the most popular type of Greek poems in Tartu and Tartu-Pärnu academies, but not at the gymnasia.¹²¹

Rigid classification of poetic genres, which is based on the function of a text (and an event), makes discussion difficult: it is sometimes impossible to distinguish the principal function of a poem, for example the welcoming addresses, epicedia or other poems to noblemen or high officials always contain a certain element of panegyrics.¹²² The congratulations to the students for their disputations, especially in case of *pro gradu* disputations, contain the elements of *gratulatio ad lauream*, and the congratulations for inaugural lectures are not easily distinguishable from congratulations for inaugurations. Actually, all celebrated events fall under the same general category of achievement, ἄθλον, which can vary from performing an oration, writing a book to receiving a degree or even marrying. Only epicedia are different, although occasionally the praise of the achievements or the life's work can be the basis of the praise of the deceased, as in the case of an epicedium for Gustavus Adolphus, v. 25: "Ὁς τε κεκασμένος ἄθλῳ ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἀρίστῳ ('Who has been adorned with this most excellent prize (achievement) among the men')."¹²³

¹¹⁹ See Piirimäe 1982 for *Academia Gustavo-Carolina*, Korhonen 2004 for Turku.

¹²⁰ If we count also Greek poems, which were published by the students of Tallinn origin abroad (by Ericus von Beeck, Eberhard Müller, Joachim Salemann, Georg Dunte, and Johann Sebastian Markard who had moved to Tallinn), the number of Tallinn gratulations to dissertations and books would be 9, not 4. The information for Tallinn is available thanks to Klöker 2005, it is possible that similar findings are waiting in the future for Tartu and Riga as well.

¹²¹ Garber looks only at occasional poetry collections and there are no explicit references to the existence of Greek paratexts in Latvian disputations (see Šiško 2013).

¹²² For example, some Swedish Greek orations could be also classified as occasional poems, like Petrus Aurivillius, *Logos Epitaphios... Jacobi Augusti De La Gardie [...] Johannis Caroli De la Gardie* (Stockholm 1663), O. Swanberg, Εἰδύλλιον. [...] *Dn. Iohannis Loccenii [...] Exequias [...]* (Stockholm 1678); J. Burgman (Purmerus), Λόγος πένθιμος εἰς τὴν διὰ θανάτου ἀποχώρησιν πενθερεστάτην γαληνοτάτου καὶ κραταιοτάτου πάλαι Θείου Καρῶλου τοῦ Γουστάβου Δεκάτου [...] (Stockholm 1660). Cf. Sironen 2018, Korhonen 2004. See also notes for Table 1.

¹²³ In Orion 1999. Cf. the references to one's fame, κλέος as in v. 4 of Blume's Epicedium for Brockmann and similarly Gebauer in an epicedium from 1734.

Although the underlying form of poems is often determined by the occasion (demanding an address, a wish, references to the occasion etc), the variety of forms in these texts is great, both because of the richness of topics and different other features. One of these is the metre.

The distribution of metres in the five corpuses of Greek poems from Estonia and Latvia reveals a variety and richness on the one hand, and a monotony, resulting from an overwhelming use of elegiac distichs and hexametres, on the other (Table 2). Unexpectedly, the variety is not the greatest at the University of Tartu, where the number of poems is greatest, but in Tallinn Gymnasium, confirming thus the old opposition between the ingenious shepherd poets from Tallinn and strict academicians in Tartu, which has been drawn by Marju Lepajõe.¹²⁴

From 13 attested prosodic types (verse and prose) only 2 occur in *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* and 5 in *Academia Gustaviana*, whereas the two academic gymnasia reveal much more variety with 8 different prosodic types in Riga and 10 in Reval.¹²⁵

The most common verse types, like elsewhere in Europe,¹²⁶ are elegiac distichs and hexameters. The popularity of the elegiac distich is also seen in the great variety of occasions for its use: it occurs in most of the poem types, except verse orations.¹²⁷ Although some longer poems in elegiac distichs were written, the average scope of a poem in elegiac distichs is short.¹²⁸ The shortest poems, including only one distich, were usually written by very young poets (sons of professors, younger brothers of disputants) or belonged to certain forms: chronostichon or a trilingual composition.

¹²⁴ Lepajõe 1994: 90–96. The variety of other formal elements, such as anagrams, quadrate, palindrome, is relatively greater in Riga and Tallinn Gymnasium as well.

¹²⁵ Only one meter, elegiac distich, is used in Mitau, but its corpus of 5 poems is too small for conclusions: it might reflect the practice in Catholic Lithuanian-Polish commonwealth or personal preferences of Christian Bornemann. However, the variety is gained by combining different languages. For the comparison with Lithuania, Poland and Turku academy, see Päll (forthcoming).

¹²⁶ Except perhaps the British tradition of the 19th century, where iambic trimeters, anapaests and Sapphics became extremely popular, overshadowing the hexameters (although perhaps not the elegiac distichs).

¹²⁷ If we also count verse orations, the hexameters would prevail in the count of verses, but still not in the count of the poems.

¹²⁸ The average is nine verses (for a hexameter gratulation it is 11.5).

¹²⁹ Including one 2-verse Greek chronostich.

¹³⁰ Not including 13 hexametres in the authors' signatures of poems and one-verse motto.

Table 2. The distribution of Metres in Greek texts from Estonia and Latvia. Printed Greek Occasional and Paratexts from 1632–1734.

	El.di	hex	Sa	prosa	Pind	ia3	cat. ia2	acat.ia2	phal	ascl.1	lapid	ep: ia3, ia2	fig
AG	42/366*	32/365**	2/52	2/	1/42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	79/825
AGC	7/68	0	0	8/161	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15/229
GRe	23/234	13/180	6/76	0	0	4/102	1/70	2/120	1/13	1/10	1/23	0	53/868
GRi	27/278	7/75	1/12	0	0	0	2/35	1/13	1/23	0	1/32	1/12	41/480
Mi	5/36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5/36
	104/990	50/612	9/140	10/161	1/42	4/102	3/105	3/134	2/36	1/10	2/55	1/12	193/2426

Places of publication: AG – *Academia Gustaviana* (Tartu), AGC – *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (Tartu/Pärnu), GRe – *Gymnasium Revaliense* (Tallinn), GRi – *Gymnasium Rigense* (Riga), Mi (Mitau printers). Metres: el.di – elegiac distich; hex – hexameter; Sa – Sapphic stanzas; prosa – short prose orations; Pind – Pindaric ode; ia3 – iambic trimeter; cat. ia2, acat. ia2 – catalectic and acatalectic iambic dimeter; phal – phalaecean hendecasyllable; ascl.1 – first Asclepiadean stanza; lapid – prose in lapidary style; ep – epodic meters; fig – *carmen figuratum*; * including one 2-verse Greek chronostich; ** not including 13 hexametres in the authors' signatures of poems and one-verse motto.

To these two prevailing verse types we can add Sapphic stanzas, but quite astonishingly, anacreontics are not very popular.¹³¹ The analyses of verse types reveals the importance of Latin (especially Horatian) models for Greek versification: Greek poems use several verse types from Roman poetry: phalaecian hendecasyllable, asclepidean stanzas and several epodic forms, which were more popular in Latin than in Greek. The iambic patterns include trimeters and dimeters (both acatalectic and catalectic, the latter were understood as anacreontics). Such odes are usually longer, because of their short lines.¹³²

Two features can perhaps be explained by the influence of Turku. Firstly, the prevalence of prose gratulations in *Academia Gustavo-Carolina*, with many of these gratulations using the form of Chreia.¹³³ Another short prose form, lapidary gratulation, for which we have examples from Tallinn and Riga Gymnasium, can be explained by the increasing popularity of this form in Latin, towards the end of the 17th century, in the nearby Academy of Turku.¹³⁴ The two prose dedications from *Academia Gustaviana* by Gezelius in his Grammar and Lexicon follow the tradition of Europe, where Greek dedications or prefaces are quite popular.¹³⁵

6.2. Special Genres and Forms

Some genres of poetry were very rare in Estonia and connected only to a specific context, author, time or place. Very often the authors came from Germany and represent the much richer German tradition. These examples remain isolated in Estonia, and it is sometimes difficult to view them in the European context, as special studies are just beginning to emerge.¹³⁶

1) A Pindaric Ode. In 1633 Henricus Vogelmannus published a gratulation in the form of a Pindaric ode to Peter Götsch's Greek oration *Christognosia* at *Academia Gustaviana*. It represents a very popular, still living European

¹³¹ See Weise 2016: 143–160 for Germany.

¹³² Verse count has been frequently used to show the importance of different languages, but it needs to be applied with caution, especially when the figures for poetry in Greek and Latin and vernacular are compared: a line in a hexameter poem can include from 12 to 17 syllables, a line in a Sapphic stanza from 5 to 11, other verse forms are between these extremes. Thus a 12-line hexameter poem usually exceeds a Sapphic or a trochaic ode of the same number of lines by word count.

¹³³ See Korhonen 2004, Päll 2012.

¹³⁴ See Kajanto 1994, Sarasti-Wilenius 1994: 69–70.

¹³⁵ See Maillard, Flamand 2010 and Flamand 2018 for Cheradamus' prefaces.

¹³⁶ See Weise ed. 2017 and the articles in the present collection.

tradition of Greek Pindarising ode, for which, together with manuscripts and hybrid forms, we have more than a 100 examples.¹³⁷

2) A Theocritean cento. An epithalamium in the form of a Theocritean cento was published in Tallinn by Reinerus Brockmann, the Professor of Greek in Tallinn gymnasium, later pastor in Laiuse, for the wedding of Salomon Matthiae, Tartu Professor of Greek.¹³⁸ The epithalamium uses a frame from Theocritus' 1st Idyll, with recurring: Ἄρχετε βωκολικᾶς, μῶσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' αἰοιδᾶς ('Dear Muses, please begin a Shepherd's song') and final Λήγετε βωκολικᾶς, μῶσαι, ἴτε, λήγετ, αἰοιδᾶς ('Now, Muses, finish the Shepherd's song'). In between he tells the story of Matthiae's love and wedding, which is knit together from borrowed verses from different *Eidyllia*.¹³⁹

Ὦς ἴδεν, ὡς ἐμάνη, ὡς ἐς βαθὺν ἄλλετ' ἔρωτα
 Νυμφίος ἐννέα δὴ περιλαμένος ἔξοχα μοίσαις,
 Οἴκαδε βῆ ἔχθιστον ἔχων ὑποκάρδιον ἔλκος
 Κύπριδος ἐκ μεγάλης τό οἱ ἦπατι πᾶξε βέλεμνον,
 45 Ὅσσιχον ἥς τόδε τύμμα καὶ ἀλικόν ἄνδρα δάμασδε·
 Ἥνιδε, φῆ, πόντος σιγᾶ, σιγῶντι δ' ἀῆται;
 Ἄ δ' ἐμὰ οὐ σιγᾶ στέρνων ἔντοσθεν ἀνία,
 Πᾶσαν ἀνὰ κράναν, πάντ' ἄλσεα ποσσί φορεῖτο
 Δεινὰ βαρυστενάχων· Νύμφας δέ μιν ἴμερος εἶλε.

v.41 Cf. Theocr. *Id.* 2.82 ὡς ἴδον, ὡς ἐμάνην, ὡς μοι πυρὶ θυμὸς ἰάφθη; Nonnos *Dion.* 15.209 εἰς βαθὺν ἦλθεν ἔρωτα καὶ οὐκέτι τέρπεο ποιμνῆ, cf. 19.109 ἄστατος ἄλλετο Βάκχος; v.42 Theocr. *Id.* 11.6 καὶ ταῖς ἐννέα δὴ περιλημένον ἔξοχα μοίσαις; v.43–44 Theocr. *Id.* 11.15–16 ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχθιστον ἔχων ὑποκάρδιον ἔλκος/ Κύπριδος ἐκ μεγάλης τό οἱ ἦπατι πᾶξε βέλεμνον; v.45 Theocr. *Id.* 4.55 ὄσσιχον ἐστὶ τό τύμμα, καὶ ἀλικόν ἄνδρα δάμασδε; v.46 Theocr. *Id.* 2.38 ἡνίδε, σιγῆ μὲν πόντος σιγῶντι δ' ἀῆται; v.47 Theocr. *Id.* 2.39 Ἄ δ' ἐμὰ οὐ σιγῆ στέρνων ἔντοσθεν ἀνία; v.48 Cf. Theocr. *Id.* 1.83–84 πάσας ἀνὰ κράνας, πάντ' ἄλσεα ποσσί φορεῖται — Ἄρχετε βωκολικᾶς μουσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' αἰοιδᾶς; v.49 Cf. Greg. Naz. *Carmina de se ipso* p.1001.1 Ὦσ δὲ βαρυστενάχω, AG appendix 2.2.3 τὴν δὲ βαρυστενάχουσαν ἰδοῦσ' ἐρέεινεν ἐκείνη idem et Eucl.

¹³⁷ Päll 2001 (with the text, German translation and data about the author; the attempt of an overview of the genre should be dismissed in favour of Päll 2018, 2017b). See also Pontani 2017, Schmitz 1991, 1993, Revard 2001, 2009.

¹³⁸ In: *Clarissimo & Doctissimo* (1637). Matthiae later became the second Professor of Theology and a pastor in St. John's Church in Tartu, later in Narva. See also Lotman 2010: 99.

¹³⁹ Mainly from the 1st and 2nd, but also the 4th, 7th, 8th, 11–13th. The Greek text with source indications and Estonian translation and discussion is published in Päll 2013, cf. also Päll 2010: 121–123.

Geom. epigr. v. 4. *Hymn. Hom. in Ven.* 57 κατὰ φρένας ἕμερος εἶλεν or *Hymn. Hom in Merc.* 422 καί μιν γλυκὺς ἕμερος αἶρει.

*As soon as he noticed her, he lost his mind and plunged in deep love,
the groom, who was very much loved by the nine Muses,
and he went home with the most hateful wound in his breast,
given by Kypris, who pierced his liver with the dart.
Oh, how small is this wound, and how much it has destroyed the man!
“Look,” he said, “the sea is silent, the winds are still,
but the pain in my breast is not silent.”
His feet took him to every fountain, to every grove,
as he was wailing deeply: he had been overtaken by the desire for the Nymph.*

The story about the initially reluctant, language-loving groom and his bride has a happy ending. The use of bucolic motives for wedding poetry is already suggested by the double meaning of the word νύμφη ('nymph', but also 'bride') and although this cento seems at the first glance unique in the whole European context, it might not be so. We need to remember the influence of Homeric and Virgilian centos and the popularity of bucolic motives in Humanist Greek poetry, which often took Theocritus (or Bion) as its model.¹⁴⁰ It is quite possible that we are just not aware of the parallels which could have served as models or inspiration to Brockmann.

3) Polyglot multiform festivity poems. From Estonia there are no examples of Greek or polyglot Choir of Muses type of poetry, which continue the Latin tradition of Martianus Capella of the choir of the 9 Muses in different metres and more generally the tradition of wedding poetry, where Muses bring different gifts.¹⁴¹ However, the practice was well known in Early Modern Livonia, where the wedding collections reveal the greatest mixture of languages and where one set of such epithalamia included as many as 9 different languages.¹⁴²

Greek occasional poems from Estonia do not use the form of the Choir of Muses,¹⁴³ but the polyglot and multiform festival context is still revealed in

¹⁴⁰ For the possible influence of Camerarius' Greek bucolic poems on Brockmann, see Päll, Valper 2014: 31, for Camerarius and Herrichen, see Weise 2016: 155–158. For cento, see Salanitro 1997.

¹⁴¹ See Ludwig 2001, esp. 31–34. For Vilnius, see Strockis 2002, Ulčīnaitė ed. 2010.

¹⁴² In a collection by H. Witte from Riga, recently discovered by Jürgen Beyer. For language use, see Kaju 2006.

¹⁴³ It can be seen in Latin poetry from Tartu, for example the poem by Andreas Berg for Ericus Holstenius (*Sacris magisterii honoribus ... Holstenii*. Dorpat, 1647), online ed. in Viiding, Orion 2002–2003: 1647, no. 46.

several wedding poems. Like in the case of the variety of metres, polyglot poem sets occur more often in Tallinn Gymnasium than at the *Academia Gustaviana* in Tartu: of the 51 Greek poems from Tallinn Gymnasium, 21 occur together with one or several other languages; in the Latvian corpus the polyglot aspect is even greater, as of the known 41 Greek poems from Riga, 16 occur together with other languages, and in Mitau 4 of the known 5 Greek poems occur in a multilingual context. At Tartu academy, only 11 of the 77 Greek poems occur with other languages, and the number of used languages is seldom more than two.

However, Tartu academy excels in the role of Hebrew, which occurs otherwise only in some poems from Riga Gymnasium, although, differently from Uppsala, the other Oriental languages, like Arabic or Syriac, do not occur in the Tartu corpus. Whether it is because of the insufficiency of printing types and the abilities of the printers (which seems plausible) or the preferences of the professors for Greek and Oriental languages, we do not know.

Some of the multilingual poems are self-translations into Latin.¹⁴⁴ Two examples of German translations accompanying Greek poems come from Tallinn Gymnasium. For example an epicedium by Georg Dunte, the professor of Greek in Tallinn Gymnasium for Professor Gebhard Himsel:¹⁴⁵

Τοῖς φιλέλλησι, περὶ ἐμπειροτάτου καὶ δοκιμωτάτου ἡμῶν οὐχ' ὅπως ἸΑΤΡΟΥ~,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ΦΥΣΙΚΟΥ~, ἅματε ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ~, καὶ ΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΤΟΥ, Ἄνδρὸς
(ὄσονγε καὶ με εἰδέναι) σπουδαίου καὶ παλαιοῦ, μὴ ὄττιγε προθύμου καὶ
ἐτόιμου ἈΠΟΣΠΑΣΜΑΤΙΟΝ!

Οὕτως ὄχεθ' ὅμως, τουτὶ Χαρακώμασιν Ἄστυ
Κοσμήσας λαμπρῶς, ἐξαγαγόντε καλῶς,
Τόσσα καλ' ὅς ρέξεν, τοτεσοῦτους ὅς θεράπευσεν,
Ἵτι ἐδίδαχθε τόσοι, ᾧ ἐμέρισθε τόσα!

...

To the lovers of Greek about the most experienced and respected man among us, not only a Medical Doctor, but also a Physicus, and a Mathematician and Professor (and as much as I know, a serious and a venerable man), a song, which has not to be torn off eagerly and readily.

¹⁴⁴ Two examples of Latin translations accompany *Academia Gustaviana's* Greek poems (and one poem in Persian (printed in Hebrew Characters) has been translated into Latin), the other two examples come from Tallinn Gymnasium.

¹⁴⁵ In *Agona* 1676: A3v–A4r.

So has he left this city, which he has
 adorned with the walls, and executed beautifully,
 he has done so much good, healed so many,
 there are so many, whom he taught, and so much, what he arranged.

...

Τοῖς Τεῦτοσιν, πολὺ μᾶλλον Γερμανοῖς ἐπὶ Ταυτοῦ ΜΑΛΑΓΜΑΤΙΟΝ!
 To the Teutons, actually the German Brothers about the same, A Consolation.

...

The translation into German (in iambic verse) follows the Greek epicedium. The poem reflects the mixed public, consisting of a few men, who are defined as the lovers of Greek, and the German-speaking siblings of the deceased (with a pun, γερμανοί, 'siblings,' as in Latin *germanus*). This corresponds to the idea that in a multi-language context the different poems in different languages have different addressees.¹⁴⁶

4) Anagram poems and *Carmen figuratum*. The use of anagram is very frequent in Estonian Neo-Latin poetry. In the case of the University of Tartu it is most frequently connected to Laurentius Ludenius, Poeta Laureatus, the professor of Poetics and Rhetoric, initially the Librarian and later also the Professor of Law at the university.¹⁴⁷ Although we do not have examples of this playful genre in Greek from Tartu/Pärnu academies, it occurs in two poems from Tallinn prints and also in nearby Riga.

The congratulation (including Greek anagram poem, a Greek cross and a Latin anagram poem) by Johann David Placcenius from Braunschweig to Heinrich Stahl's *Leyen-Spiegel*, a collection of homilies in German and Estonian, is exceptional from many aspects (ILL. 5).¹⁴⁸ Firstly, it is the only Greek *Carmen figuratum* from the region and although it uses the Cross as the form of the word labyrinth, which has a long tradition in Latin poetry, its combination to an anagram poem seems unique.¹⁴⁹ The choice to combine the picture and an

¹⁴⁶ For example, a wife as an addressee for the poem in German, and husband as an addressee for a Greek and/or Latin poem, see Kaju 2006.

¹⁴⁷ See Lepajõe 1994: 91, for Ludenius' life, Kaju 2007.

¹⁴⁸ In Stahl 1641, between pp. 240 and 241. For Stahl, see Lotman 2010.

¹⁴⁹ For the history of the genre, see Ernst 1991, for this type, Ernst 1991: 423–427. Humanist Greek *Carmina figurata* are rare, in addition to the one by Placcenius, I can name only two, in the form of a Cross by Christian Keimann, *Christo Crucifixo sacrum* (Görlitz 1649, VD17 39:152326K, from the Gymnasium of Zittau) and an Altar by Georg Benedict Faber, Βῶμος τοῖς ἀνδράσι (Altdorf, 1683, VD17 125:036838S). For an example of a Greek anagram poem from Great Sweden, see Laurentius Olai's gratulation for Laurentius Paulinus Gothus' *Cometoscopia* (Stockholm: Meurer 1613, LIBRIS-ID:8231785).

anagram can be explained with Placcenius' familiarity with the latter form, as he had recently published a collection of anagram poems (Placcenius 1639).¹⁵⁰ Secondly, Greek paratexts occur usually only in Latin books, not in the context of the vernacular, especially peasant vernacular context (German had the status of an administrative language, but not Estonian). The use of Greek can be explained here with the context of theology and an important position of Stahl, as a pastor and a theologian and freshly elected Superintendent.¹⁵¹

5) Acrostich is a popular form element, which can be found at the university (most popularly in the epicedium to Gustavus Adolphus).¹⁵² An interesting example of acrostich comes from the Gymnasium of Riga, where the word γάμος ('wedding') is the basis of a 5-line hexameter poem, in which each line contains 5 words, which begin with the same letter, building an acro-meso-teleostich γάμος. For these, again, Latin influence might be important.¹⁵³

6) Chronostich and palindrome.

A Greek epithalamion in the form of a palindrome by H. Kem. (not identified) is addressed to Georg Höjer, a student of Theology and the conrector of Tallinn Cathedral school, and Anna Mager, a daughter of Christoph Mager, a captain in Tallinn garrison. The unusual form is also accompanied by a relatively rare use of French in another poem by the same author.¹⁵⁴ The Greek poem is addressed to the groom, the French one (using the melody of a popular dance), to the bride. The author has allowed himself a lot of *licentia poetica*, relying on

¹⁵⁰ For Latin *Carmina figurata* from Estonia, see Viiding 2005: 464–465, who also mentions Placcenius' poem, but claims that he had no connections to the Tallinn circle of occasional poets. However, two years previously, Placcenius' collection of Anagram propemptica (Placcenius 1639) had received a gratulation poem from Timotheus Polus, Poet Laureate and the Professor of Poetry in Tallinn Gymnasium (<http://erb.nlib.ee/?kid=19286910>), so Placcenius must have had some contacts to Estonia and the poet circle in Tallinn. I thank Ülle Laos from Estonian National Library for helping to procure the copy.

¹⁵¹ The usage of Greek in the prints in vernacular languages (not regarding the occasional poetry collections, which represent a different type of work) was rare. Some examples from book paratexts are connected to Northern Germany and the Baltic Sea region, for example a gratulation in the form of a Greek Pindaric ode by Johannes Gebhard to Andreas Tscherning's *Deutscher Getichte* (Breslau 1642, VD17 3:612815V, appearing in at least two reprints), or a trilingual (Greek, Latin, German) gratulation for Johann Rist in his *Neüe Musikalische Katechismus Andachten* (Lüneburg, 1656, VD17 12:120364B) by Johann Sebastian Markard, the Rector of Tallinn Town School. Especially in the case of the latter, the context is similar to the one of Stahl's *Leyen-Spiegel*.

¹⁵² Republished in Orion 1999. Acrostich occurs also in another a poem from Tartu.

¹⁵³ See Steinrück 2017b.

¹⁵⁴ In *Facula nuptialis* (Reval 1644).

possibilities, which are presented by Byzantine pronunciation (ἰλοπῆς, -κε) and orthographic variants (ζ = στ, σῶε, σόος) but also just twisting the forms (σῶε, ἐμέεε) and the orthography (σόρε):

Παλίνδρομον ἑλληνικὸν πρὸς τοὺς γαμοῦντας.

Nῦν σύρε σῶε μέλω, νέμε νωλεμέως ἔρος νῦν

ᾠνιος ἰλοπῆς ἐμέεε μεσῆ πόλις οἴνω.

Νόσιμον ἀλλά τε μᾶλλα κε κᾶλλα μέταλλα νομισόν

Ἄμμι νέμεν : σόος ἔζω, ὡσε σόος νέμε νίμμα.

v.2 ἰλοπῆς pro εἰλόπεδον (θειλόπεδον); v. 3. Νόσιμον; νομιστόν pro νομιστέον: v.4 ὡσεε corr.

A Greek palindrome for the newly-wed.

Now, drag out, the two whole members, Love now deal without pause,

The market, the centre of town is gushing with wine as the vineyard's sunny spot.

But at the home-coming, other beautiful things and precious metals should be esteemed,

To be dealt by us,¹⁵⁵ let him be whole, so that he could safely enjoy his destiny.¹⁵⁶

According to the pronunciation, μᾶλλα κε κᾶλλα could occur instead of the crasis μ(ε) ἄλλα και καλά, less plausibly instead of μαλακαί or κᾶλλα; μέταλλα, probably suggesting the wedding ring, less probably instead of μετ' ἄλληλα ('among themselves'), which would suggest the interpretation of ἄμμι in v.4 as Dat. This palindrome needs more study, and perhaps further examples will be found which help to find a perfect solution.

However, palindrome is not the only rare form in the Estonian corpus. In Tartu, a Greek chronostich by Johannes Sundius accompanies an epithalamion in Sapphic stanzas.¹⁵⁷ Like numerous Latin chronosticha from Tartu academy and elsewhere, it is based on an elegiac distich, where the letters with numeric values are capitalized, but such poems in Greek are extremely rare.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Or: Arrived home, I think that we should deal other and other (scil. more and more) metals.

¹⁵⁶ Greek νίμμα: 'washing-water' or 'adornments'. Can the popular Greek palindrome (Νίψον ἀνομήματα, μὴ μόναν ὄψιν) be an inspiration for this line? But the name of the bride, 'Mager' ('lean') suggests another interpretation, according to the pronunciation: could the νίμμα stand for νῆμα ('thread', met. 'destiny')?

¹⁵⁷ Published in Päll 2010: 132. A different interpretation of the distich's numeric value has been given by Korhonen 2004: 168.

¹⁵⁸ The closest (but later) parallel comes from Northern Germany and Baltic shores, see a poem by Erich Notmann (1706). For Notmann as possibly a Poet Laureate, see Flood 2006 (1): cxlii.

7) Verse signature.

The last, quite rare formal device in Tartu Humanist Greek poetry is a verse signature. By now, 13 such signatures by five different authors are found in Tartu corpus of Greek poetry, which indicates a systematic usage. As all the authors of Greek verse signatures (Johannes Gezelius Sen. (5), Ericus Holstenius (4), Johannes Sundius, Olaus N. Bergius and Georg Gezelius) are Swedes, it is justified to ask, whether this case reveals an original Swedish practice, and not a direct or indirect (as in the case of Gezelius' Greek disputations) German influence. However, Latin verse signatures occur in Tartu in the same period as well, including by authors of German origin, like Adrian Verginius, so the answer must be negative.¹⁵⁹ All Greek verse signatures are of a length of one hexameter and occur (with two exceptions) under Greek poems in elegiac distichs. In this way the signature is presented as a continuation of the poem, instead of marking its end.

The interpretation of such signatures as a formal device in its own rights is supported by the fact that a Greek verse signature can occur in the end of a poem in Latin, where occasionally only a word or two in Greek (for example αὐτοσχεδίως, εὐφημίας ἔνεκα, συμπαθείας ἔνεκα, τῆς φιλίας ἔνεκα etc) appear: the Latin epicedium for Anna Dobbin, the wife of Heinrich Hein, the First Professor of Law at *Academia Gustaviana* was signed by Ericus Holstenius: Ταῦτα λυπηθεῖσιν συμπάσχων κραιπνὰ ἔγραψα ('This I have written for the mourners in a rush'), followed by his name in Latin.¹⁶⁰ The *licentia metrica*, revealed in the interpretation of the υ in λυπηθεῖσιν as short, allowing the hiatus in κραιπνὰ ἔγραψα and the caesura after the 3rd foot, is quite usual also in other similar signatures.

8) Motto.

Another formal device, which is loved in the Tartu corpus, is the use of a motto or quotation as the basis of the poem. This is especially frequent in the poetry

¹⁵⁹ There are also Latin hexameter signatures in verse: *longior affectus quae paucula fudit Amico* begins the signature of a Greek poem by Johannes Gezelius, see: Virginius – Rundelius 1641. In the same year, Gezelius used a Latin signature under his Latin gratulation in a poem for Petrus Schonbergius: *Quod sibi dilecto syncero corde vovebat* (in Schonbergius, *Oratio metrica de deliciis agriculturae*, Dorpat 1641, Viiding, *Orion* 2002–2003: 1641, no. 41). There are others: another hexameter by Adrian Verginius for Martinus Henschel and Elisabetha Hein: *Id quod congaudent sponsis, de corde precatur* (*ibid.*, 1643, no. 51) and in the same year two hexameters for a book by Gustlaff (*ibid.*, 1644, no. 41), one by Jacobus Columbus (*ibid.*, 1644, no. 49). An elegiac distich is under a poem by Ericus Bergius, in Jonas Lannerus, *Disp. Physica anniversaria*, Tartu 1633: *Lannero auctori Dorpati haec scripsit Ericus / Bergius, Aonidum fontibus ora rigans* (*ibid.*, 1633, no. 33). No-one has discussed these signatures.

¹⁶⁰ In *Ultimo Honori* (1650).

by Johannes Gezelius the Elder, but also other authors. The quotation can even come from Latin, as in the poem by Arnold Mahlstedt (*Omnia vincit amor*).¹⁶¹

Depending on the context, several popular topics deserve study, but these discussions, as well as the studies, which trace different forms and genres in Humanist Greek poetry from Estonia back to their European origins,¹⁶² have to be left to the future.

Conclusion

The beginning of Humanist Greek poetry in Estonia falls into the middle of the 16th century, the time when it was developing towards its peak in Germany, but it is less isolated than it appears in previous studies. However, the initial attempts of Estonia's first humanist poet, Gregor Krüger Mesylanus, remained without an immediate response. From the beginning of the 17th century, at least one Greek poem by an Estonian student, who studied in a European university, is known, but such attempts remained isolated as well.

After the foundation of the Academy in Tartu and the Academic Gymnasium in Tallinn and their printing houses, Greek schoolbooks, disputations and a great number of poems from the academic context started to appear. In this context, the influence of Johannes Gezelius the Elder cannot be underestimated. Estonian Humanist Greek production belongs mostly to the phase of expansion and simultaneous decline of Humanist Greek in Germany and reveals a strong impact of German practice, especially in the case of several Greek hexameter orations or rather isolated examples of a Pindaric ode, a *Carmen figuratum* or polyglot poems. However, on some occasions, like in the case of Greek disputations, the German influence was indirect, arriving through Sweden. Several examples of rare forms, like a Greek chronostich or a palindrome or verse signatures, need further study, which would reveal their place in the context of Humanist Greek poetry in Greater Sweden and Germany.

¹⁶¹ Published with a commentary in: *O Dorpat*, 230.

¹⁶² Only for Greek disputations (see Korhonen 2010, 2018) and Pindaric poems in Greek (Päll 2001, 2017b, 2018) there are some initial studies. For Neo-Latin *Propemptika* from Estonia there is a study by Viiding (2002).

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Abstract

The paper gives an overview of the present research situation concerning Humanist Greek in 16th and 17th century Estonia and Livonia, focusing on eminent genres and their European backgrounds. First, the paper introduces the isolated case of Gregor Krüger's poetry, revealing the challenges of introducing Humanist Greek into Estonia in the 1550s. The main focus of the article is on school humanism as the main context of Greek studies and the practice of Humanist Greek in Estonia during the 17th century. After discussing the manuals of Greek by Johannes Gezelius and different types of proofs of education in Greek, such as letters and album inscriptions, the paper proceeds to eminent genres. In the case of Greek orations (by Gregor Krüger, David Cunitz and Ionas Kiörling), the mainly German background, as well as oration tradition in Great Sweden is discussed, in the case of Greek disputations by Johannes Gezelius and Ericus Holstenius, German influence via Västerås gymnasium is proposed.

The last part of the paper focuses on the general dynamics of the practice of Greek occasional poetry in Estonia, as well as its formal and generic diversity, by comparing Estonian and Latvian corpora of Humanist Greek poetry. The dynamics is similar in three of the four printing houses (*Academia Gustaviana* in Tartu and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* in Tartu and Pärnu, Tallinn and Riga Gymnasia; we have information only about 5 Greek poems from the turn of the 17th to 18th century from Mitau) and can be explained with the impact of historical events: flourishing of Greek (as well as other humanities) during the second half of the Thirty Years' War, downward trends in the second half of the century, with a long period of complete absence of Greek poems (1556–1575 in general, 1656–1691 in Tartu), due to the plague and Northern wars, and in case of Tartu, the closure of the academy. When we look at the occasions of poetry, we see the direct influence of the creation context: in the academy, the gratulation (to a disputation, dissertation, oration or book) is the most important genre, in Tallinn and Riga gymnasia, epithalamia and epicedia prevail.

What is more astonishing is that the same opposition between academia and gymnasia also persists when we regard the prosodic form of occasional poetry: in *Academia Gustaviana* and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* the elegiac distichs and hexameters prevail (at the end of the 17th century, the prose gratulation appears as a result of a possible influence from Turku academy), whereas the gymnasia reveal a much greater variety in the use of meters. The end of the article looks into the background of some poem types and formal devices from the Estonian corpus, including the Pindaric ode, polyglot poem, cento, acrostich, anagram, carmen figuratum, Greek chronostich, palindrome, verse signature and motto.

II

The Dissemination of Greek: Language, Texts and Theory

ANASTASIUS MICHAEL MACEDO AND HIS *SPEECH ON HELLENISM*

Charalampos Minaoglou

From the Fall of Constantinople (1453) to the Greek Revolution (1821) the Greek scholars, who travelled to Europe in order to teach or study, faced the need to introduce themselves to the European scholars and nobles. Especially, Greek scholars aiming at earning their living by teaching Greek had to underline their origin and their superior knowledge of Greek based on the fact that to them Greek was not just an object of study and a sign of erudition, but their mother-tongue. They were not just scholars, who had learnt Greek at school studying ancient Greek texts with some professors. In their everyday communication they spoke a modern form of the same language, Modern Greek, and thus they were the most capable Hellenists due to the fact they had an overview of the whole development of the Greek language and could understand and interpret the ancient Greek texts more accurately than their European colleagues, who just studied the ancient form of the Greek language.

Numerous Greek scholars living and teaching in Europe during the Renaissance expressed these views. Less known are the cases of Greek scholars of the Enlightenment, who stressed their Greek origin in order to support their *curriculum vitae*;¹ but the person we are going to examine is neither a scholar of the Renaissance nor one of the Enlightenment. Anastasius Michael (c. 1675–1725) lived in an era, which lay outside the limits of both of the previously mentioned periods.² His case is a typical one of the post-Renaissance Greek scholars in Europe as far as it concerns both his career and his attitude towards the Greek language and Greek history.

Despite his great erudition, Michael is not a very well-known figure. Little is known of him and for serious reasons: Michael did not leave many works of his own, his major work is not complete and is written in Humanist (or archaistic) Greek. The present-day scholars who research the Greek scholars of the Early

¹ See Harris 1995. Geanakoplos 1962. Geanakoplos 1976. Kitromilides 1978.

² The Modern Greek Enlightenment evolved mainly during the second half of the eighteenth century and till the Greek Revolution (1750–1821). See Kitromilides 1978.

Modern Period (1453–1821) are not well acquainted with Humanist Greek, as most of the Greek scholars of the period used a much more vulgar form of the Greek language (a mixed type, a form between the humanist and the vulgar), not the clearly Humanist Greek, like Michael did.

There is no information on the first years of his life apart from the fact that his hometown was Naousa in Western Macedonia (Northern Greece). In his *Speech on Hellenism* we can trace some autobiographical information.³ He studied at Ioannina, the capital of Epirus, at Giouma's School with the famous Greek teacher of his time, George Sougdoures (c. 1645–1725).⁴ He used to assist his master with copying manuscripts. Two important philologists, Alexios Spanos⁵ and Margarites Manthou,⁶ were his fellow students. He had also attended the lessons of Parthenios Katsoules at the Epiphanius' School, the other school of Ioannina.⁷

Many Greek Orthodox prelates supported him spiritually and financially; but he was more indebted to the Ecumenical Patriarch Gabriel III, the Patriarch of Alexandria Gerasimos Palladas and the Archbishop Zosimas of Ochrid. From his writings we can assume that he also knew the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Chrysanthos. He was also associated with the Kantakouzenes, the Maurocordatos and the Kantemirs, noble Greek-Orthodox families of Constantinople and the Danubian Principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia).⁸

After Ioannina, in 1702, he spent a short period in Corfu preparing for his journey to Venice. However, he changed his mind and decided to postpone his trip to Europe. He instead went to Constantinople, “the capital of the Greek letters of his time”, as he characterised it.⁹ There, he met Adhard Adelung,¹⁰ who led him to Halle, although, according to the writings of his friend Alexander Helladios, Michael intended to travel to Venice.¹¹ In August 1703 we find him located in Germany, as he was enrolled as a student at the Faculty of Theology

³ On Anastasius Michael and his *Speech on Hellenism* see Minaoglou 2014.

⁴ See Minaoglou 2014: 13.

⁵ He was a teacher and he wrote a still unpublished *Grammar*, which is preserved in many manuscripts (Vranousis 1995: 781).

⁶ Margarites Manthou was enrolled as a student at the University of Padua in 1703 (Ploumidis 1971: 123).

⁷ The priest monk Parthenios Katsoules succeeded Meletios Metrou as the principal of the Epiphanius' School at Ioannina. Katsoules held the position of the head-teacher from 1692 to 1696 and he was a pioneer of Greek folklore studies.

⁸ See Minaoglou 2014: 89–90, 98, 100–101, 107–110, 117 and 132.

⁹ See Minaoglou 2014: 104 and 107.

¹⁰ See Moennig 1999: 81.

¹¹ See Moennig 2003a: 115.

of the University of Halle;¹² until at least 1710 he continued to live permanently in Germany and sometimes he travelled to the Netherlands. In the same period he travelled to Russia for the first time.

During these years he was associated with many German scholars, Hellenists and Orientalists, as the study of the Greek language was incorporated into Oriental studies in most European universities.¹³ Among these scholars, for example, was the Hellenist Johann Michael Langius (1664–1731), who noted that Michael made corrections to his works.¹⁴ His circle spanned beyond the Hellenists, as his friends included the Armenologist Johann Joachim Schröder (1680–1756).¹⁵ In Halle he had the opportunity to study also Jewish literature under the supervision of J. H. Michaelis.¹⁶

Apart from the co-operation with the German Hellenists he collaborated with Alexander Helladios, to whom he dedicated the following epigram, which was published in a book of Helladios:¹⁷

Οὐλε τ' Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ χαίροις αἶεν ἄμεινον,
 Ἑλλάδος ἐσοὶ κλέος χ' ἄδε Θεσσαλίας.
 Καὶ σε φέρον γέ Μοῦσ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν ὀράσθαι,
 Κάλλος ὀλυμπιάδων, ἰζόμενον σοφίῃ.
 Γερμανίης ὀμφὴν σῆς ἄφθονον Ἑλλάδος ἦγες,
 Καὶ φίλαν ἑλλαδίους πάτραν ἐὼν τελείεις.
 Ευχαίρω τοι, καὶ πάλιν αὐτ' ἐρέω τεῦ χαίρειν
 Πάτρῃ καλλίστῃ, τέμπε, ὧ οἶα φέρει.
 Θρέψε πάλαι πηλείδην, καὶ θάψ' Ἴπποκράτην,
 Τῷ διόδεν γεγάατ' Ἄλκιμοι Ἰατέρων.
 Τοὶ τὲ καὶ αὐτέῳ ἰατρὴς ὄχα φρεσσί μέμηλε;
 Καὶ γνῶσιν βοτανῶν ἔξοχα φρεσσί φέρεις.
 Ἴπποκράτης ἄρ' ἔοις, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής.
 Τοῦ δ' ἐπειὴ τε δέμας τιτθὸς ἐὼν φερέεις.
 Ὡς γ' ἔλλην τὲ σοφὸς πολλῶν ῥ' ἀντάξιος ἄλλων,
 Ὡ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, κᾶξιε Θεσσαλίας.

¹² Moennig 1998, 314–316, Makridis 2003: 160.

¹³ The core of his associates consisted of the Pietists of Halle. On them see Eideneier 1994: 123–136.

¹⁴ Langius, *Philologiae Barbaro-Graecae*, 1708, first part under the title “Meletema”, paragraph XVI [no pagination].

¹⁵ See Minaoglou 2014: 15.

¹⁶ Makridis 1997: 18.

¹⁷ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἑλλάδιος, *Status praesens Ecclesiae graecae*, after the Prologue [no pagination]. There Michael is mentioned as “Anastasio Macedo, Nausensis, incltyae Regiae Societatis Borussiae Membrum”.

“Reciprocating” Helladios mentioned Michael several times in his work.¹⁸ We also know that Michael had contacts with Seraphim Mytilinaios, another Greek scholar, with whom Michael crossed into both Germany and Russia.¹⁹ Michael was to visit Russia for a short period in 1709, but he appeared to have stayed there permanently starting from 1715. In Russia he had a great influence on Peter the Great’s court, especially on ecclesiastical matters. He was one of the Greeks who served Peter the Great (1672–1725); he also dedicated one of his works to his patron.²⁰ He was a member of the Special Committee, which Peter set up in order to produce the new Slavonic translation of the Bible.²¹ In 1722 the Tsar appointed him Deputy of the Synod of the Russian Church.²² During his career in Russia he co-operated with Andrey Artamonovich Matveev (1666–1728), son of the famous Russian scholar and statesman Artamon Sergeyeovich Matveev (1625–1682),²³ who was a favourite of the Tsar and ambassador in London, Vienna and The Hague, where he met Michael. Michael was to die in Peter’s Russia in 1725.²⁴

Michael was a great scholar and the first Greek, who became a member of the Academy of Brandenburg (Berlin), one of the three oldest academies in the world, in 1707.²⁵ The Academy was founded in 1700 by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), who was its president till his death.²⁶ Michael dedicated his work known till recently as *Περιηγηματικόν Πυκτάτιον* (*A Selection of Travels*) to the Prussian Academy. The name *Περιηγηματικόν Πυκτάτιον* was attributed to it by some misunderstanding. The work has been preserved in a single copy with no title page and truncated after the page 216.²⁷

¹⁸ For example see Helladios, *Status praesens*, 1714: 62–63, 321, 328, 342–343.

¹⁹ See Makridis 1997: 32–33 and 2003: 162.

²⁰ Ἀναστάσιος Μιχαήλ, *Βασιλικὸν Θέατρον*. 1710. See also Minaoglou 2014: 195–207.

²¹ See Makridis 1997: 18.

²² See Benesevic 1933: 354.

²³ Artamon Matveev had a relationship of co-operation and friendship, similar to what his son had with Michael, with Nicholas Spatharios (c. 1630–1710), the former most prominent scholar of Greek language, who served in Russia. See Mihail 2009: 7–62, Tchentsova 2013: 44.

²⁴ See Minaoglou 2014: 16.

²⁵ Michael was elected on 21 June 1707. See the online catalogue of the Historical Members of the Academy of Berlin <http://www.bbaw.de/die-akademie/akademieggeschichte/mitglieder-historisch/alphabetische-sortierung?letter=M>.

²⁶ On the history of the Academy of Brandenburg during the 18th century see Harnack 1900.

²⁷ The copy belongs to the National Library of Greece. A photographic reproduction of it is accessible at the Research Centre for Medieval and Modern Hellenism of the Academy of Athens. For a present-day publication of it see Minaoglou 2014. For more on the work and the misunderstanding that led to the title *Περιηγηματικὸν Πυκτάτιον* (*A Selection of Travels*) see Minaoglou 2014: 9–12.

Anastastius Michael's *Speech on Hellenism*

Michael's friend, Alexander Helladios wrote a very interesting comment, which might be relevant to the *Speech on Hellenism* and the way it was preserved. In his work entitled *Status Praesens* (1714),²⁸ Helladios referred to a book the printing of which Michael was forced to quit during the printing process:²⁹

Neque ignoro, quibus promissionibus D. Adelungius Anastasii Macedonis et Nicolai Sacerdotis iter, quod versus Venetias susceperant, impediverit, eosque alio deduxerit. [...] Non ignoro nonnullorum arcaniora de Graecis consilia, fraudes detestandas, ac turpissima eorum nomine conata lucra. Non sum praeterea nescius, quid Anastasio, dum versus Berolinum iter suum dirigebat, accidit, ac quibus precibus victus suppressit librum, de statu Juvenum Graecorum, qui in hisce Europae regionibus studiis operam dederunt. Minime denique ignoro, [...] quid Anastasio Amstelodami contigit. [...] Illud omnibus, et singulis notum facio: me Graecum esse natum de parentibus non multum gloriabor est pro Patria genteque mea praesentim vero, cum injusta ratione tantas injurias illam pati videam, neque propriis Parentibus quidem, nedum illis, quibus calumniae in Graeciam et Graecorum diffamatio maxime conducit, ad propriumque interesse vergit, ullo modo parcam; Ita tempora non ingenia Graecorum mutata sunt.

Thus, *Speech on Hellenism* should be the book that, according to Helladios, Michael was forced to stop at the printing house; this helps to explain why only one copy of the book is known and in this form, without a title page and without the rest of the pages after page 216.³⁰ The printing had reached so far and the cover page had not been printed yet, when Michael was forced to withdraw his book. He could have asked the publisher just to bind one or some copies of the book up to the last printed page for personal use. Of course, this contributes a probable explanation, but it still remains a hypothesis till more evidence is available.

This text is likely to have constituted his introductory speech to the Academy on the occasion of his election as its member. The part of the book that is preserved does not include a travel account. It is a treatise, a plea for Hellenism and it presents Greek scholarship, education and language after the

²⁸ His approach towards the Greek language and its pronunciation is similar to the one expressed by Michael in his *Speech on Hellenism*. On Helladios' approach see Karamanolis 2003, 333–413.

²⁹ Helladios, *Status praesens*, 1714: 327–329.

³⁰ See Minaoglou 2014: 9–16.

Fall of Constantinople (1453).³¹ It argues against the anti-Greek position of several European Hellenists of Michael's time that the Greeks had then ceased to exist. The argument of the scholars opposing the existence of the Greeks at the end of the seventeenth century derived from the Greek language of that time. Because the Greeks of the era had adopted Modern Greek (Vulgar Greek) which some scholars considered another language, the speakers of Modern Greek, the modern Greeks, were seen as non-Greeks. Michael, with very strong linguistic arguments well-documented with examples of comparative perspective including Latin, Hebrew, Russian, Armenian and other languages proved that the evolution of the Greek language of his time and the differences in syntax and vocabulary between the ancient Greek and the modern Greek were trivial compared to the differences between the other ancient languages (Latin and Hebrew) and to the differences between forms of "modern" languages like Russian or Armenian. Furthermore, he wrote his *Speech* in Humanist Greek in order to prove even by its form that the Greeks of his time, while speaking Modern Greek, could also express themselves in the ancient form of their language or at least what was considered to be that ancient form in Europe.³²

Michael referred also to other European scholars supporting this view on the Greek language and Hellenism, but he focused his criticism on the authors of the work entitled ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ ΟΡΘΩΙΔΟΣ³³. Although the idea that Ancient Greek accent was different from the Modern Greek one was prevalent during the seventeenth century, not everyone concluded from this fact that Modern Greek was a different language and that due to this there were no Greeks anymore. But these ideas were expressed by Henninius, who suggested that Greek should be pronounced artificially following a system based on Latin pronunciation. He followed the pronunciation introduced by Isaac Vossius (1618–1689),³⁴ whose text was published as the last part of the volume of ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ ΟΡΘΩΙΔΟΣ.³⁵ Vossius was a Dutch scholar, who travelled a lot, and had in 1673 anonymously published his study *De poematum cantu et viribus rhythmici*, in which he supported the opinion that the accentuation was absent from the ancient Greek. This unprecedented opinion was adopted by Henninius, who extended it further, concluding that Greek language should

³¹ Cf. Angelou 1974: 4.

³² See Minaoglou 2014: 87–193.

³³ Henninius, ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ ΟΡΘΩΙΔΟΣ, 1684.

³⁴ Jorink; van Miert eds 2012. Vossius possessed one of the largest personal libraries in Europe. See Balsem 1994.

³⁵ The text is titled: *Isaaci Vossii Viri eruditissimi de Accentibus Graecanicis sententia*, in Henninius, ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ ΟΡΘΩΙΔΟΣ 1684: 135–146.

be pronounced like Latin and thus that the rule of the penultimate should be applied in Greek, as it did to Latin!³⁶ This, according to him, was the authentic pronunciation of Greek.

The views of Vossius and Henninius prevailed in England and Holland, while they were rejected in the rest of Europe. Especially in Germany they were adopted during the early eighteenth century by some scholars, who later abandoned them. In England, they totally prevailed and provoked the creation of the first form of the “monotonic” system in the editions of ancient Greek texts during the eighteenth century, as the circumflex was omitted.³⁷

Michael was considered a prominent Hellenist among his European colleagues, despite the fact that he was not known to have published any monographs of his own. Like most Greek scholars in Europe in the early modern era,³⁸ he was obliged to work for European Hellenists, in order to earn his living.³⁹ His three known contributions to the great works of European Hellenists testify to his high scholarly standard. Michael was not among those Greeks who went to Europe to learn, but to teach Greek. A proof of that is his election as an external member of the Academy of Brandenburg (Berlin) and the assessment of his erudition by some acclaimed German Hellenists, like the Academician August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), Orientalist and Hellenist, the Academician Friedrich Hoffmann (1660–1742) and the Hellenist Johann Tribbechovius (1677–1712).⁴⁰

The goal Michael wished to pursue with his address to the Academy of Brandenburg was undoubtedly the promotion of Hellenism and the restoration of the truth about the Early Modern Greeks and their language in Europe. Simultaneously, however, his *Speech* served as an important scientific essay among European Hellenists, who then had an authentic testimony about Greek language and about the Greeks of their time. Furthermore, this testimony was

³⁶ Allen 2000: 174–75.

³⁷ From the mid-18th century, severe criticism towards these views also emerged in England. See Allen 2000: 176–177.

³⁸ See for example Metrophanes Kritopoulos (1589–1639), who was a figure similar to Michael (Moennig 1994: 161–198).

³⁹ He had many contributions in the theological works of the Pietists of Halle. Most of these contributions had been published against his will. The Pietists had used and published in their works many passages especially of his translation of the New Testament, but mostly after his death. See Moennig 1999: 71, 76–78, 81 and 103.

⁴⁰ On the attitudes of Francke and Hoffmann see Minaoglou 2011: 422–424. On Tribbechovius see Michael’s letter, which was published in J. Tribbechovius, *Brevia Linguae Ρωμαϊκῆς sive Graecae Vulgaris Elementa*, 1705, no pagination (the letter is published in Greek with a Latin translation).

produced by someone who was of a Greek origin and spoke the Greek language as his mother tongue.

The central purpose, the promotion of Hellenism was served adequately, in order to achieve three specific objectives set by Michael: a) to impugn anti-Greek views expressed by some European Hellenists that the post-classical Greek language was not Greek and consequently the Greeks of the Early Modern era were not Greeks, b) to present Greek scholarship and educational activities under Ottoman domination and c) to underline the influence of Hellenism both on Orthodox peoples (basically Balkan people and the Russians) and the Europeans.

In his *Speech* he pointed out the linguistic misreading of anti-Greek Hellenists with strong arguments based on passages from the whole span of Greek literature (ancient-medieval and early modern).⁴¹ In order to reinforce his arguments he cited some prominent European scholars, who he called Philhellenes, and whose views were similar to his own. He considered many Europeans as real friends of Hellenism and real teachers of the Greek language, but he mostly referred to Johann Michael Langius (1664–1731)⁴² and especially Johann Rudolf Wettstein (1647–1711).⁴³

Apart from citing the opinions of others, he stated his own arguments that were derived from comparative linguistics. He referred to Latin and Hebrew, showing how changes in phonology, tone, vocabulary and syntax over centuries had made their ancient forms almost different languages from their early modern form, when compared with the similar changes that had occurred in the Greek language; but, as he noted, no one questioned their continuity and the fact that they were the early modern forms of Hebrew and Latin. He strongly suggested that the Greek of his time was exactly the same language as the Greek of the classical era (5th century BC) with minor changes in syntax and vocabulary. He concluded that the opinions of the anti-Greek Hellenists resulted from their poor knowledge of Greek.

This appeal presents Greek scholarship under Ottoman rule, which evidenced the historical continuity of Hellenism, as Greek scholars from the

⁴¹ His attitudes and conclusions on the history of the Greek language are almost totally accepted by present day scholarship. See Horrocks 2010.

⁴² See Langius, *Ad poesin barbaro-graecam succincta introductio* 1707; Langius, *Philologiae Barbaro-Graecae*, 1708. Although Michael's friend and Philhellene Langius adopted the term "Barbaro-Graeca" for the modern Greek language in the title of his work following the standard of the bibliography of his era in order not to confuse his readers, inside his book he used almost solely the term "Neo-Graeca" and its derivatives.

⁴³ See Wettstein, *Pro Graeca et genuina linguae Graecae pronuntiatione*, 1681.

Ottoman-occupied Greek territories were traveling in the West at least until Michael's time mainly as teachers of Greek. Thus, his rhetorical question was "how did Europeans accept as teachers of Greek those who did not know the language"? His point was that Greek education continued to be cultivated in the Ottoman Empire by the Greeks.

In order to achieve his third goal, to show the influence of the Hellenism of his own time on non-Greek people, he mentioned some examples of Orthodox people of the Balkans, who although not of a Greek origin were linguistically and mentally Hellenized, since they used Greek as their language of communication and of writing their works and they considered themselves Greeks. The "sovereign" and highest form of education among Vlachs, Bulgarians, Albanians and even Slavic scholars was the Greek one. These people, when they travelled to Europe, introduced themselves as Greeks and wanted to convince Europeans of their Greekness (έλληνικότητα); in addition every European erudite continued to consider the Greek language as a totally necessary part of his erudition. Accordingly, the conclusion he reached was that it was impossible that both in the East and the West everyone recognised the Greek language of his time as Greek, although it was not really Greek. How did they all accept its native speakers as teachers, if they were not actually Greeks?⁴⁴

Thus, in Michael's speech we see the first well-documented effort by the Greek side to reply to the early modern anti-Greekness. By the term we refer to all texts, speeches and actions against Modern Hellenism. The anti-Greek movement was an unprecedented effort to convey the idea that Hellenism no longer existed, not that it was something bad or wrong.

In his *Speech* Michael, apart from the linguistic anti-Greek tendencies, also refuted the historical ones that a minority of European scholars adopted. The most important of the anti-Greek historical arguments was that Macedonians are not Greeks. Michael clearly stated that Macedonia was a part of Greece, and in fact – he added – it was more Greek than Attica was, because the Greeks originated from Thessaly, which is closely related to and has common borders with Macedonia. The Macedonians along with the other Greeks conquered the whole world and spread the Greek language and Greek culture all over the world. Even before Alexander's campaign against Persia the Macedonian dialect was the first common Greek dialect, from which all the other Greek dialects arose:⁴⁵

⁴⁴ See Minaoglou 2014: 17–49.

⁴⁵ Minaoglou 2014: 186–187.

Μᾶλλον δέ, εἴ γε ἀναντίρρητον ὅτι πρὸ παντὸς Ἀττικισμοῦ ἤκουσται αὐτὸ τὸ Ἑλληνίζειν, ὡσπερ καὶ τοῦ Αἰολίζειν, καὶ Ἰωνίζειν, καὶ Δωρίζειν, καὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Κραναοῦ ἦν αὐτός (ὡς Θουκυδίδης ἐν τῇ Α΄ ἱστορεῖ) ὁ Θεσσαλίαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ Μακεδονίαν οἰκήσας Ἑλληνας, ὡσπερ καὶ τούτου, ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ Γραϊκός, ἀφ' οὗ (κατ' Ἀριστοτέλην βιβλ. Α΄ κεφ. Ιδ. Τῶν μετεωρολ.) πρότερον Γραϊκοί, οἱ μετὰ ταῦθ' Ἑλληνας ὀνομασθέντες, πῶς οὐ κατὰ πολὺ πρότερος τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἔσεται ὁ Φίλιππος Ἑλληνας; Ὁ Μακεδὼν, τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ. [...]

Ἡ γὰρ Μακεδονία, ἢ μὴ μόνον μετὰ τὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῆς, καὶ πάσης, μικροῦ δεῖν, τῆς τηνικαῦτα φερωνυμουμένης οἰκουμένης κρατῆσαι, τὸν Ἑλληνισμόν, κατὰ τὸν ἐν ἱεροφαντικοῖς τοῖς περὶ ταύτης τῷ Δανιὴλ προαναπεφωνημένοι χρησηγορήμασι πολυηχῆ χαλκόν, πανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς ἀκουστὸν ποιήσασα, λαούς τε, φυλάς, καὶ γλώσσας, καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαν γένος ἀνθρώπων εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ ὅσον οὐπω τηνικαῦτα μέλλοντος εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐξελθεῖν φθόγγου παρασκευάσασα (ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου μάλιστα, τοῦθ' ὅπερ καλῶς παρατηρεῖ, μᾶλλον δὲ βλέπει, ὁ μόνους τοὺς Ἑλληνας τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀπάντων κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἀποκρηύττων, μηδὲν εἶναι κλίμα, οὐ θρησκείαν, οὐκ ἔθνος Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης, ὅπερ μὴ καὶ τι Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν φωνῇ, ἐν ἡθεσιν, ἐν πολιτικαῖς διοικήσεσιν, ἐν τελεταῖς καὶ πᾶσι, ξυλλήβδην φάναι, τοῖς δι' ὧν ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος κοσμεῖται, διοικεῖται καὶ διεξάγεται μέχρι καὶ τῆς ἐνεστώσης, ἀποσῶζον ζώπυρον) ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ πολλῶ πρὸ τούτου κοινὴ καὶ πρωτίστη μήτηρ Ἑλληνισμοῦ παντὸς χρηματίσασα, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκασταχοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος διαλέκτων παραφυάδας, ἐκ μιᾶς, τῆς πᾶσι τὸ πρῶτον τοῖς Ἑλλησι κοινῆς, (ὡς Κόρινθος ἐν τῷ περὶ διαλέκτων διευκρινεῖ) γλώσσης πηγάσασα, αὕτη, φημί, μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς προσωνυμίας ἀπηλλωτρίωτο.

In the years around his election as a Foreign Member of the Academy of Brandenburg (Berlin), Michael seems to have been dealing extensively with the issue of anti-Greek scholars. In the case of Michael it becomes clear that the Greeks fully understood the plans of the Pietists of Halle, who wished to use them in order to proselytise Protestantism to the Orthodox people. But Greek scholars like Michael had no other choice but to stay and try to use the possibilities provided to them in Halle for their own purpose, the projection of Hellenism.⁴⁶

In addition to Michael, who was the most outstanding example of the Greek scholars of his time, another worthy supporter in the struggle for Hellenism was Alexander Helladios,⁴⁷ who was also acquainted with the circle of Hellenists and simultaneously Pietists of Halle, as evidenced by his works and

⁴⁶ Cf. Makridis 2003: 168.

⁴⁷ See Psimmenos 2004: 23–52.

correspondence with Francke.⁴⁸ Helladios undertook to respond to the vicious accusations against the continuity of Hellenism, not theoretically like Michael did, but practically. In 1712 he published a *Grammar* of the contemporary Greek of his time, where he applied all the axioms formulated by Michael in his *Speech on Hellenism*. As a prologue to his *Grammar* he wrote a fantastic dialogue on the pronunciation of Modern Greek, in which he ridiculed the views of Henninius and Vossius,⁴⁹ the writers of *Ἑλληνισμὸς Ὀρθωιδός*.

As a conclusion, although not decisive in the course of European scholarship on Greek language, the impact of Michael's, Helladios' and other Greek scholars' views must have played a role in the change of the prevailing attitude towards Greek pronunciation, and also towards the modern Greek language and its speakers.

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⁴⁸ See Moennig 2003b: 125–149.

⁴⁹ The dialogue is entitled *Διάλογος περὶ τῆς ἐν Εὐρώπῃ ἑλληνικῆς προφορᾶς* (*Dialogue on the Greek pronunciation in Europe*) and the persons participating are Melissos and Agapios. It covers the first 58 pages of the volume without pagination. Ἀλέξανδρος Ἑλλάδιος, *Σταχυλογία τεχνολογική τῆς ἐλλάδος φωνῆς*, 1712.

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Abstract

Anastasius Michael (c. 1675–1725) was a great Greek scholar and the first to become a member of the Academy of Brandenburg (Berlin), one of the three oldest academies in the world, in 1707. Michael dedicated his work known till recently as *Περιηγηματικὸν Πυκνάτιον* (*A Selection of Travels*) to the Prussian Academy. This text is likely to have constituted his introductory speech to the Academy on the occasion of his election as its member. The part of the book that is preserved does not include a travel account. It is a treatise, a plea for Hellenism and it presents Greek scholarship, education and language after the Fall of Constantinople (1453). It argues against the anti-Greek position of several European Hellenists of Michael's time that the Greeks had then ceased to exist. The argument of the scholars opposing the existence of the Greeks at the end of the seventeenth century derived from the Greek language of that time. Because the Greeks of the era had adopted Modern Greek (Vulgar Greek) which some scholars considered another language, the speakers of Modern Greek, the modern Greeks, were seen as

non-Greeks. Michael, with very strong linguistic arguments well-documented with examples of a comparative perspective including Latin, Hebrew, Russian, Armenian and other languages proved that the evolution of the Greek language of his time and the differences in syntax and vocabulary between the ancient Greek and the modern Greek were trivial compared to the differences between the other ancient languages (Latin and Hebrew) and to the differences between forms of “modern” languages like Russian or Armenian. Furthermore, he wrote his *Speech* in Humanist Greek in order to prove even by its form that the Greeks of his time, while speaking Modern Greek, could also express themselves in the ancient form of their language or at least what was considered to be that ancient form in Europe.

“DIALECTAL” VARIATION IN HUMANIST GREEK PROSE ORATIONS IN THE GREAT EMPIRE OF SWEDEN (1631–1721)

Erkki Sironen

This paper is a survey on variants that I wish to label “dialectal”, traced from ca. 120 pages of 13 extant Humanist Greek prose orations written in the Great Empire of Sweden between 1631 and 1721. The most important monograph for the study of Humanist Greek in Finland and Sweden is the *magnum opus* of Tua Korhonen, *Ateena Auran rannoilla* (Diss. Helsinki 2004). She also presents a list of (most of) these orations.¹ But in the light of new findings I have presented an updated list with all known Swedish orations in the Appendix. However, the metrical orations and the much later manuscript oration from 1794 are excluded from the present survey. A great majority of the orations (1–10) are short discussions, written as student’s *specimina eruditionis*, i.e. displays of learning, except no. 5 (congratulatory) and no. 8 (funerary) which do not belong strictly to this category. On the other hand, the latest ones (nos. 11–13) are panegyrics by established professors. Two of them (nos. 12 and 13) are in manuscript form and the oration by Laurentius Norrmannus from 1693 (no. 11 below) has been printed posthumously.

Introductory remarks

Before describing the “dialectal” profile of each individual oration, the quality of which varies depending on the author’s command of Greek – from student displays of learning to university professors’ more or less panegyric efforts (notably during the 1690s and the early-18th century orations by Norrmannus and Nesselius) in the presence of the King of Sweden – it must be emphasised

¹ It must be noted, however, that I have standardised the accentuation and capital letters, as regards the Humanist Greek titles of the orations under study. See Korhonen 2004: 460–462 (her list has been expanded by recent manuscript findings). Next to manuscript orations, there are also several disputation exercises from Fant’s collectanea, not included in her list (Korhonen 2004: 459–460).

that Greek dialects must have been conceived differently from the views of modern dialectology or *Kunstsprache* classifications. Ancient grammarians talked about Greek dialects solely on the basis of literary dialects (Attic, Ionic, Aeolic, Doric, with the addition of Koiné).² On the other hand, Swedish composers of Humanist Greek during the 17th century came with the more or less contrasting influences received from pagan Greek authors and New Testament and Christian Byzantine authors.³ Furthermore, there were few limits in picking up non-Attic forms (or non-Koiné forms, for that matter) in composing an oration or shorter prose texts in Humanist Greek. In the following I am distinguishing between Attic and Koiné usage, regarding Koiné as a post-classical and non-Attic “compromise” of forms which were not conceived as blatantly “provincial” (such as Ionic and κοινή Greek γίνομαι, θάλασσα etc.), but were featured in several dialects.

Selected “Dialectal” Features

On the basis of the variable quality of the texts language checking does not always seem to have been obligatory: the numerous mistakes, in the prints especially, are due to the sloppiness of the printers or the unclear handwriting of the original autographs. I have decided to analyse the occurrences of following four features as relevant in trying to draw a “dialectal” profile of Humanist Greek prose orations:

- 1) Variants γιν- versus γινν- in verbs γίνομαι and γιγνώσκω;⁴
- 2) Uncontracted versus contracted vowels, such as ἐνοχλέοντος instead of ἐνοχλοῦντος etc.⁵
- 3) ι-stem genitive singular (together with dative singular and plural forms) of 3rd declension nouns such as πόλις (πόλιος, πόλι, πόλισι) versus ε-stem (πόλεως, πόλει, πόλεσι);⁶
- 4) variants -σσ- versus -ττ- in nouns, adjectives and verbs, such as γλώσσα, περισσός, πράσσω etc.⁷

² Buck 1955: 3.

³ See for example comments in: Korhonen, Oksala, Sironen 2000: 156–158, 205–207.

⁴ According to Rix § 105 the variant γινν- is Attic, whereas γιν- is Ionic (1976: 94).

⁵ Rix in § 59 gives Attic contraction rules, but § 61 states that, at least as far as dialectal inscriptions are concerned, there seem to be no rules when a contraction occurs and when not (1976: 52–53).

⁶ Rix in § 172 regards the forms πόλιων, πόλισι Ionic, whereas πόλεων, πόλεσι are Attic (1976: 156–158).

⁷ Rix in § 102 regards forms ἐρέττω, μέλιττα etc. as Attic, but variants ἐρέσσω, μέλισσα as Ionic and Doric (1976: 90–91). But the latter could be many other dialects or Koiné, Tua Korhonen sees the choice between the variants γλώττα and γλώσσα as a choice between two different registers (Korhonen 2002).

In addition, I occasionally comment on the usage of other forms, derived from epic diction. In order to evaluate the results of this analysis, the age and status of the composers of Greek *specimina eruditionis* should be considered. The authors of nos. 1–10 were all students in their 20s (a couple nearly 30 years old) called “juvenis” in the prefaces, mostly writing for their Master’s degree, whereas the lofty panegyric Atticist speeches no. 11–13 were composed by established professors already in their 40s (Norrmannus) and 50s (Nesselius).

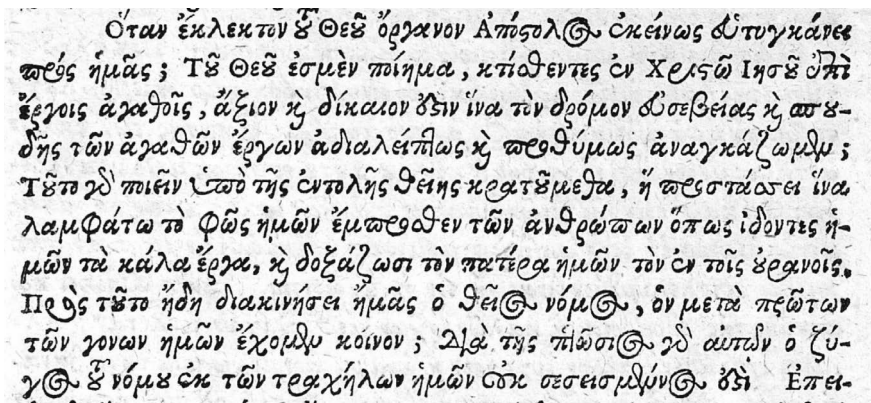
Survey of the Initial and Mid-period of Humanist Greek Prose Orations

The orations from the initial and middle period of Humanist Greek prose orations reveal *κοινή* and Attic forms, which are presented in the following:⁸

- 1) Andreas Argillander, Λόγος περὶ σπουδῆς τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων. *Oratio de studio pietatis et bonorum operum*. Upsala 1631, word count: 2740.

Andreas Andreae Argillander was a new student of ca. 20 years when writing his speech (Fant 1775–1786, I: 73–74 and Korhonen 2004: 460 no. 1).

Its dialect profile is mostly Koiné, but the repetition of -ιος forms breaks the profile (14 Koiné vs 9 Attic forms).



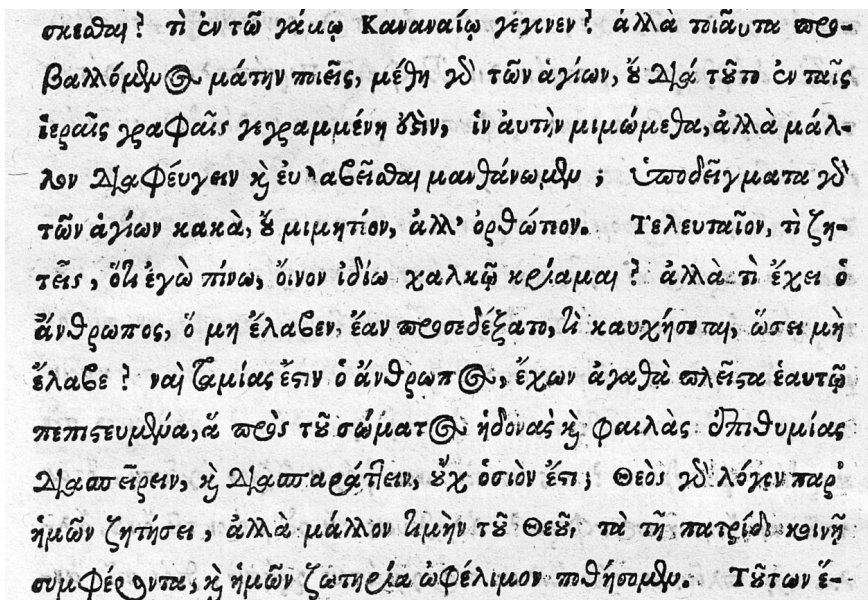
ILL. 1. A. A. Argillander, *Oratio de studio pietatis et bonorum operum*.
Upsala 1631, A3v, ll 16–25. (National Library of Sweden).

⁸ For full titles, see the catalogue of orations, Korhonen 2004: 460–462 and her discussion in 392–414.

- 2) Martin Brennerus, *Oratio succincta ebrietatis incommoda continens*. Upsala 1643, word count: 2089.

Martinus Canuti Brennerus (1616–1673) was a young magister of 27 years (Fant 1775–1786, I: 121–122 and Korhonen 2004: 460 no. 7) when he wrote this speech. This is an adaptation in Greek of Andreas Keckonius’ Latin *Oratio succincta qva ebrietatem entheo cluentiq(ue) virtute pectori, nunquam non exosam* (Uppsala 1639), cf. Korhonen 2004: 397 n. 117.

Its dialect profile seems to be undecided, because of its Koiné variants γiv- (ratio 9:1) are in contrast with preponderantly Attic variants with -ττ- (as e.g. πράττω), instead of -σσ- (ratio 12:4). This oration, like the previous and the following one, features numerous misprints.

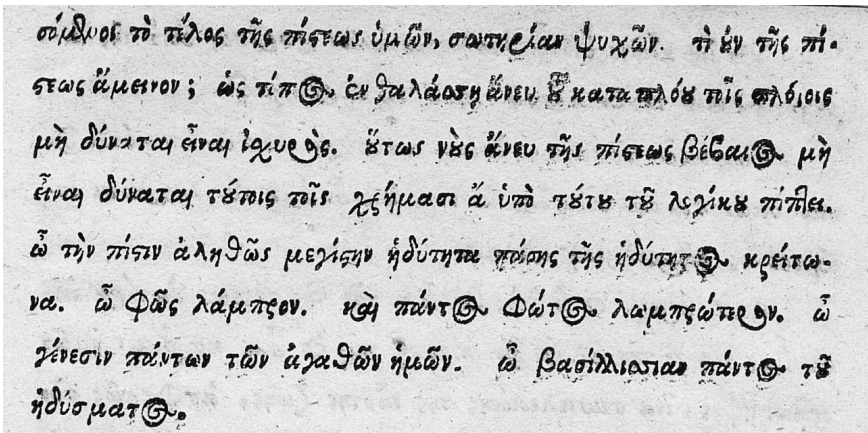


ILL. 2. M. C. Brennerus, *Oratio succincta ebrietatis incommoda continens*. Uppsala 1643, Δ1v, ll 2–13. (National Library of Sweden).

- 3) Andreas Carlinus, Περὶ τῆς πίστεως λεξίδιον. *Oratio de fide*. Upsala 1644, word count: 2009.

Andreas Nicolai Carlinus must have been a young student when he wrote this speech, because he graduated only in 1652 (cf. Fant 1775–1786, I: 122 and Korhonen 2004: 460 no. 8).

Its dialect profile seems to be undecided, as it revives the Attic -εως variant (32:1), but on the other hand it favours non-Attic γίνομαι (5:0). The oration prefers the Attic and Koiné contraction instead of open (i.e. uncontracted) forms (28:11), but the -σσ- or -ττ quota is undecided (ratio 3:2).



ILL. 3. A. N. Carlinus, *Oratio de fide*. Uppsala 1644, C1r, ll 1–8.
(National Library of Sweden).

- 4) Andreas Juvenius, Λόγος περι τῆς μετανοίας ἐπὶ καιρῶν ποιησομένης. Upsala 1648, word count: 3525.

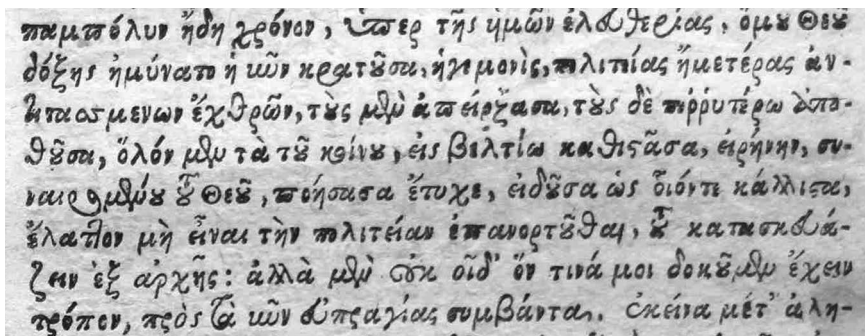
Andreas Olai Juvenius seems to have been near his mid-20s in his fifth year of studies when he wrote this lengthy treatise on repentance, as he became a lecturer in Greek not earlier than in 1654 (Cf. Collijn 1942–1944, col. 434 and Korhonen 2004: 461 no. 12).

His speech is totally in Koiné as regards the form γίν- (11:0) and Juvenius is also quite conventional in preferring contracted vowels (25:3) and using Attic -εως variants (9:0). However, Juvenius has not decided, whether to use -σσ- or -ττ- (9:15).

- 5) Magnus Nicolai Wiraeus, Λόγος ὁ συγχαριστικός ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς εἰρήνης διαλλαγαῖς καὶ συνθήκαις ταῖς μεταξὺ πολεμίων πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον διακειμένων βασιλίσσης τῶν Σουεδῶν τοῦ τε Ῥωμαίων Καίσαρος, ἐσπεισμέναις. Upsala 1648, word count: 2152.

Magnus Nicolai Wiraeus was also nearing his mid-20s as a fifth-year student; he became a lecturer in Greek in 1653, and died in 1673 (Cf. especially Collijn 1942–1944, col. 1021, together with Fant 1775–1786, I: 107 and Korhonen 2004: 460 no. 9). His speech on peace, finally achieved during the rule of Queen Christina, is included in this survey, despite its different, congratulatory and partly panegyric character.

It gives a general impression of being composed in mostly Attic Greek (contraction 66:3, -ττ- 9:4), but the recurrent Ionic *etas* (seven in all) and the wild apocope forms of preposition combined with the article καττό and καττήν destroy this image, not to mention the numerous misprints.



ILL. 4. M. N. Wiraeus, Λόγος ὁ συγχαριστικὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς εἰρήνης διαλλαγαῖς. Uppsala 1648, B1v, ll 12–19. (National Library of Sweden).

- 6) Sveno Gelzenius, Λογάριον περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως. Åbo 1649, word count: 2002.

Sveno Theodorici Gelsenius or Gelzenius (1619–1676) was a mature student of 30; he graduated in 1650 (cf. Fant 1775–1786, II: 2 and Korhonen 2004: 406–408 and 436). Gelzenius’ speech on the subject of resurrection was printed in Turku thanks to Gelzenius’ own introduction of a Greek font in Turku (Korhonen 2004: 125 and 406).

As in Juvenius (see no. 4), his language is a mixture: Koiné as regards γiv- (5:0), but despite favoring Attic -εως (14:1), a couple of uncontracted vowels remain (3:56) and the -σσ- or -ττ quota is undecided (ratio 2:1).

- 7) Georgius IIsbodinus, Ἐγκώμιον τοῦ θέρεος *sive oratio brevis de jucundissima & nobilissima Anni parte aestate*. Upsala 1652, word count: 1599.

Georgius Matthiae IIsbodinus may also have been almost 30 years of age, because he was already a ninth-year student (cf. Fant 1775–1786, II: 6, Collijn 1942–1944, col. 411 and Korhonen 2004: 461 no. 14).

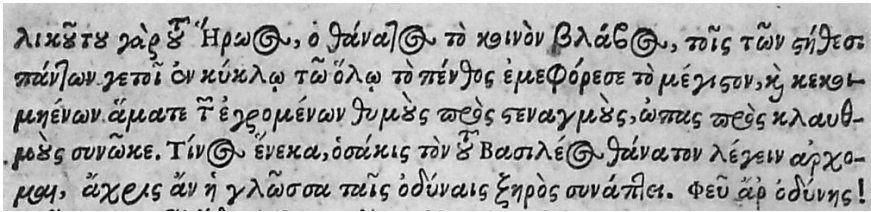
This rather short speech is quite exceptional in clinging to uncontracted third declension neuter genitive singular variants ending in -εος (15:38), instead of -ους, numerous obviously due the recurrent core word in genitive singular θέρεος, but it is even more aberrant with its epic ἡδέ and νόσφι. Furthermore there is a tie between the variants -σσ- and -ττ- (7:7).

- 8) Johannes Burgman, Λόγος πένθιμος εἰς τὴν διὰ θανάτου ἀποχώρησιν πενθερεστάτην γαληνοτάτου καὶ κραταιοτάτου πάλαι Θείου Καρώλου τοῦ Γουστάβου Δεκάτου. Åbo 1660, printed in Stockholm, word count: 1281.

Johannes Johannis Burgman/Purmerus was a more mature ninth-year student perhaps nearing his 30th birthday, when he composed his

speech in the memory of King Charles X Gustav (cf. especially Korhonen 2004: 409–414 and 438, together with Fant 1775–1786, II: 22 and Collijn 1942–1944, col. 750). Burgman’s (or Purmerus’) short speech is not a pure *specimen eruditionis* (as was the case with Wiraeus, cf. no. 5 above), but its character is laudatory, it is a funerary and βασιλικὸς λόγος.

The language includes quite a few abrupt epic forms (δεινοῖσιν, μουσάων, ὀδύνησιν, φάος, βασιλῆος, βασιλῆα, βασιλῆων etc. but also βασιλέα, βασιλέος) and rather numerous uncontracted vowels (open vs contracted ratio 17:23) and there is a tie between the variants -σσ- and -ττ- (2:2). Perhaps the epic flavours in Ilsbodinus and Burgman were a temporary Swedish Humanist Greek fashion in the mid-period of 1650s and 1660s – a comparative survey from other parts of Europe could possibly help in finding corroboration for this hypothesis.



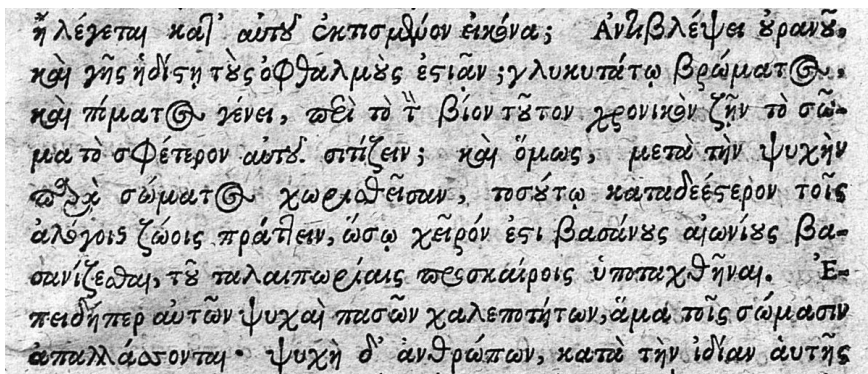
ILL. 5. J. Burgman (Purmerus), Λόγος πένθιμος εἰς τὴν διὰ θανάτου ἀποχώρησιν πενθεροστάτην γαληνοτάτου καὶ κραταιοτάτου πάλαι Θείου Καρώλου τοῦ Γουστάβου Δεκάτου.

Stockholm 1660, B2r, l 35 – B2v, ll 1–5. (Lund University Library).

- 9) Jonas Petri Kōrling, Μέγιστον καὶ κράτιστον πάντων Θεοῦ εὐεργετημάτων, κἄν ἀναριθμήτων. Upsala 1662, printed in Stockholm, word count: 3567.

Jonas Petri Kōrling/Kjōrling may have been in his mid-20s during the composition of this speech, because he studied in Turku between 1657–1665 (cf. Fant 1775–1786, II: 23–26, Collijn 1942–1944, col. 476, and Korhonen 2004: 461 no. 17). Kōrling’s long specimen of learning was edited with remarkably few misprints.

It is composed in typically Koiné-based Humanist Greek, with more numerous γιν- (7:3) and -σσ- (11:7) forms than their Attic counterparts. This picture is corroborated by occasional uncontracted vowels (8:102) and genitive singular forms ending in -ιος (2:20).



ILL. 6. J. P. Kiörlingh, Μέγιστον καὶ κράτιστον πάντων Θεοῦ
 εὐεργετημάτων, κἄν ἀναριθμητῶν. Stockholm 1662, C1r, ll 5–13.
 (National Library of Sweden).

- 10) Gabriel Lagus, Λογίδιον περὶ θαυμασίου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῶν κώλων αὐτοῦ μορφώματος. Gryphiswaldia 1665, word count: 1707.

Gabriel Josephi Lagus (1635–1709) was 30 years of age at the time of the publication of his speech (cf. Korhonen 2004: 400–404 and 461 no. 19). Finnish-born Lagus must have prepared and finished his *specimen* on the popular theme of the human body in Turku, because he gave his speech after only two days of arriving at Greifswald (Korhonen 2004: 400 footnote 131).

Relatively numerous uncontracted vowels occur against a strong trend of contracted forms (9:25), and there is a close tie between the variants -σσ- and -ττ- (4:3). In other respects it is difficult to assess the “dialect” profile of this speech, because two of the four features (γιν- and -εως) chosen for this survey are presented only by one example each.

This group of student specimens of erudition shows some changes towards the end of the period as far as regards “dialectal” forms; there seems to have been a trend of changing uncontracted vowels into contracted ones, and 3rd declension genitive cases of the type -ιος became unpopular.

An Atticizing Panegyric Vogue During the Later Phase

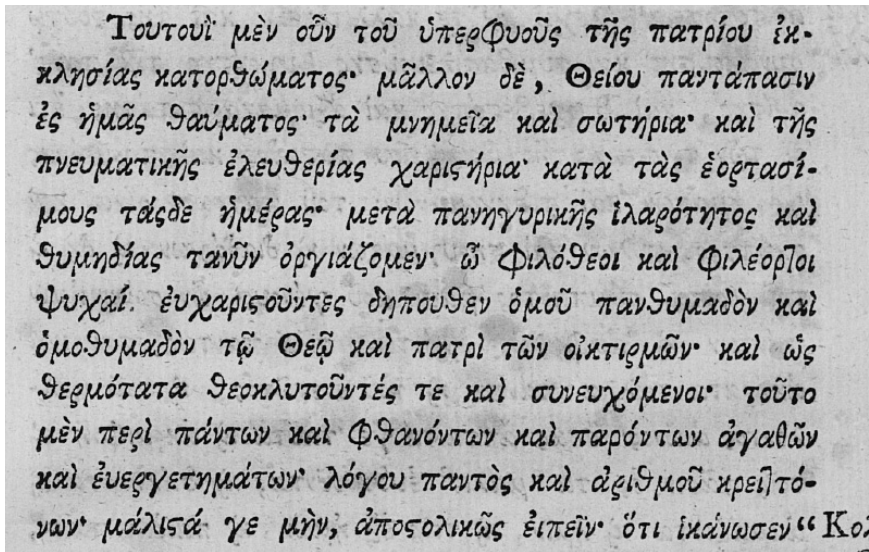
The last three orations in this corpus were composed by Uppsala professors Norrmannus and Nesselius (in 1693, 1718, and 1721, respectively), and all of them were more or less panegyric in nature. Their inclusion in this survey may be justified by the unfortunate loss of later students’ specimens of learning in

Humanist Greek (printed or not), as a result of which there is no other material for comparison from the end of the 17th and the early 18th century.

- 11) Laurentius Norrmannus, *Memoria concilii Upsaliensis*. Upsala 1693, printed in Stockholm 1738, word count: 5162.

Laurentius Norrmannus (1651–1703), a former child prodigy, 42 years of age at the time of his panegyric, had been a professor since 1684 (cf. Fant 1775–1786, II: 53–76 and Korhonen 2004: 461 no. 23). His lengthy centennial panegyric of the 1593 Upsala Concilium was printed in Stockholm in 1738 after his death in the collection of *Orationes panegyricae et nonnulla programmata*.

The speech is composed almost totally in Attic Greek. There are four exceptional Koiné-variants with -σσ- instead of Attic -ττ- (20 examples), all occasioned by New Testament citations. Norrmannus has opted for the Old Attic variant ξύν instead of σύν, obviously in order to give a more decidedly Thucydidean feeling to his speech.



ILL. 7. L. Norrmannus, Πανηγυρικός, in: *Norrmanni Orationes panegyricae et nonnulla programmata*. Stockholm 1738, H2r, ll 7–18. (National Library of Sweden).

- 12) Israel Nesselius, *Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τε καὶ σιγῆς ἤτοι τέλους τῶν χρηστηρίων λόγος*. Upsala 1718, word count: 3606.

13) Israel Nesselius, *Oratio Graeca in Festo Jubilo 1721*. Upsala 1721, word count: 4353

Israel Nesselius (1667–1739) was a mature professor of 51–54 years when composing both of his panegyrics “of Periclean sweetness” (cf. especially Fant 1775–1786, III: 7 and Korhonen 2004: 461–462 no. 25 and 27). Nesselius’ two long speeches from the last years of the Great Empire are preserved as manuscripts in Uppsala University Library.

Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τε καὶ σιγῆς ἧτοι τέλους τῶν χρηστηρίων λόγος and the (exceptionally with a Latin title) *Oratio Graeca* are even more Atticist than Norrmannus’ panegyric. There are only a couple of -σσ- instead of Attic -ττ- variants (2:15) and the Old Attic variant ξύν instead of σύν is in use. Although some accents and even forms seem to bear marks of carelessness, most of them are due to 17th and 18th century habits in writing Greek.⁹

It must be borne in mind that the difference in dialectal features and Atticising vogue visible in these three orations may be either due to the presence of high dignitaries (and festive occasions) or the personal predilections of Norrmannus and Nesselius in their 40s or 50s.

General Conclusions and Final Remarks

The preceding survey seems to allow for a conclusion that:

- 1) γίνομαι (instead of γίγνομαι) continued to be in use until the 1660s, after which the classical Attic forms became usual;
- 2) the number of uncontracted forms diminished gradually before totally disappearing by the 1690s;
- 3) the non-Attic πόλιος etc. became extremely rare already by the 1640s;
- 4) the Koiné-variant -σσ- is prevalent initially, the Attic -ττ- dominates since the classicizing orations of professors Norrmannus and Nesselius.

The third edition of Johannes Gezelius’ *Grammatica Graeca* (1668) introduced a short final chapter on Greek dialects, but unfortunately most of them are problematic singular cases picked up from the New Testament.¹⁰ The Greek

⁹ I am preparing a publication of both speeches with translation and comments along with two further manuscript orations in hexameters.

¹⁰ Cf. J. Gezelius, *Grammatica Graeca* (1675): IV pars, pp. 60–62: Appendix. De Dialectis, praecipuè Novi Testamenti. I. Attica Dialectus, II. Jonica Dialectus. III. Dorica Dialectus, IV. Aeolica Dialectus, V. Boeotica Dialectus. VI. Poetica Dialectus. VII. Hebraica Dialectus.

grammars used in Sweden before Gezelius' times were *Graecae Linguae Institutiones* by Nicolaus Clenardus from the 16th century and Otto Gualtperius' Ramistic *Grammatica Graeca*.¹¹ Gualtperius' grammar includes a long *libellus* on dialects, and there is for example a mixture of dialect and poetic words in Martin Rulandus' Greek grammar from 1556.¹² Was it from there that the early 17th century students got their occasional "dialectal" forms or rather from reading epic poetry and Herodotus? Another alternative might have been from reading other Humanist Greek texts, where there was no prohibition on using non-Attic forms. As is generally known, many prose authors of the Roman Imperial period (e.g. Pausanias) wrote Greek with a mixture of both κοινή forms and "dialectal" variants from the earlier period of Greek literature.¹³

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¹¹ For Upsala and Åbo, see Korhonen 2004: 28–32, 132–133. For Tartu: *Constitutiones Academiae Dorpatensis* 1997: 60 and for the use of Theophilus Golius's *Educatio puerilis linguae graecae* (by Gezelius and after his time), see Päll 2003: 21, Korhonen 2004: 93.

¹² Rulandus 1556. I thank Antoine Haaker for the reference and his paper at Tartu conference.

¹³ Cf. W. Hutton 2005: 182–190. I cordially thank Janika Päll (Tartu), Elodie Cuissard (Straßburg) and A. Haaker (Breslau) for the references in their respective papers presented in the Tartu Conference in May 2014, as well as Johanna Akujärvi (Lund).

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Appendix. Preserved Humanist Greek orations
from 17th–18th century Sweden (in alphabetical order)

- C. M. Agrell, *Oratio Inauguralis Graeca*. Växjö 1794 (unpublished manuscript Ms 4: 287 in Växjö Diocesan Library).
- A. A. Argillander, *Oratio de studio pietatis et bonorum operum*. Uppsala 1631.
- P. Aurivillius, Λόγος ἐπιτάφιος [...] *Dn. Jacobi Augusti De La Gardie* [...] *Dn. Johannis Caroli De La Gardie*. Stockholm 1663 (delivered in Uppsala in 1662, in verse).
- M. C. Brennerus, *Oratio succincta ebrietatis incommoda continens*. Uppsala 1643.
- J. Burgman (Purmerus), Λόγος πένθιμος εἰς τὴν διὰ θανάτου ἀποχώρησιν πενθερεστάτην γαληνοτάτου καὶ κραταιοτάτου πάλαι Θείου Καρόλου τοῦ Γουστάβου Δεκάτου [...]. Stockholm 1660 (delivered in Turku).
- A. N. Carlinus, *Oratio de fide*. Uppsala 1644.
- D. Cunitius, Τῆς κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἱστορίας περὶ παθήματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν μεταβολὴ ποιητικὴ. Uppsala 1642 (in verse).
- S. T. Gelzenius, Λογάριον περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως. Turku (= Aboa) 1649.
- P. Goetschenius, Χριστογνωσία *Carmine Graeco descripta*. Tartu 1633 (delivered in 1632, in verse).
- G. M. Ilsbodinus, Ἐγκώμιον τοῦ θέρους. Uppsala 1652.
- A. O. Juvenius, Λόγος περὶ τῆς μετανοίας ἐπὶ καιρῶν ποιησομένης. Uppsala 1648.
- J. P. Kiörlingh, Μέγιστον καὶ κράτιστον πάντων Θεοῦ εὐεργετημάτων, κἄν ἀναριθμητῶν. Stockholm 1662 (delivered in Uppsala).
- G. I. Lagus, Λογίδιον περὶ θαυμασίου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῶν κώλων αὐτοῦ μορφώματος [...]. Greifswald 1665.
- I. Nesselius, Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τε καὶ σιγῆς ἧτοι τέλους τῶν χρηστηρίων, λόγος. Uppsala 1718 (unpublished manuscript UUB R 25 in Uppsala University Library).
- I. Nesselius, *Oratio Graeca in Festo Jubilo*. Upsala 1721 (unpublished manuscript UUB Gr. 65 Fol. in Uppsala University Library).
- L. Norrmannus, ΕΥΝ ΤΩΙ ΘΕΩΙ Λόγος ἔμμετρος ἐς Χριστὸν Θεάνθρωπον. Strängnäs 1667 (unpublished manuscript UUB *Collectanea Graeca Fant* in Uppsala University Library, in verse).
- L. Norrmannus, *Memoria Concilii Upsaliensis* (delivered in Uppsala in 1693) = Πανηγυρικός, in: *Norrmanni Orationes panegyricae et nonnulla programmata*. Stockholm 1738.
- J. Paulinus (Lillienstedt), *Magnus Principatus Finlandia*. Stockholm 1678 (delivered in Uppsala, in verse).
- J. J. Salanus, *De liberalium artium studiis oratio*. Uppsala 1640 (delivered in 1639, in verse).

- N. J. Salanus, *Oratio de otio fugiendo*, Uppsala 1640 (delivered in 1639, in verse).
- O. Swanberg, Ειδύλλιον. *Qvo Patroni et Alumni sui Beningnissimi (sic!) Viri Qvondam, Amplissimi et Celberrimi, Dn. Iohannis Loccenii [...] Exequias [...]*. Stockholm 1678 (delivered in Uppsala, in verse).
- A. E. Thermaenius, *Metrica Oratio de Praestantia et utilitate Lingvae Graecae In omnibus scientiis et disciplinis [...]*. Västerås 1668 (unpublished manuscript UUB *Collectanea Graeca Fant* in Uppsala University Library, in verse).
- M. N. Wiraëus, Λόγος ὁ συγχαριστικὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς εἰρήνης διαλλαγαῖς καὶ συνθήκαις ταῖς μεταξὺ πολεμίων πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον διακειμένων βασιλίσσης τῶν Σουεδῶν τοῦ τε Ῥωμαίων Καίσαρος, ἐσπεισμέναις. Uppsala 1648.

Abstract

The paper is a survey on “dialectal” variants from Humanist Greek prose orations written in the Great Empire of Sweden between 1631 and 1721. It focuses on four central features (γιν- vs. γιν-, open vs. contracted vowels, genitive singular of 3rd declension ι-stems, and -σσ- vs. -ττ-), including a “dialectal” profile of all of the 13 orations under study. After an initial phase, Ionic variants became very rare, but from the 1660’s on the Attic variants became stronger than the koiné ones; finally in the 1690’s an Atticising vogue seems to have taken over.

DISSEMINATION AND SURVIVAL OF A BOOK PRINTED IN 17TH-CENTURY TARTU: THE CASE OF JOHANNES GEZELIUS' *LEXICON GRAECO-LATINUM* (1649)*

Kaspar Kolk

Johannes Gezelius the Elder (1615–1690) is best known as the father of popular education and one of the founders of theological education in Finland. Born as a peasant's son in Västmanland, Central Sweden, he studied at Västerås *Gymnasium*, at Uppsala University from 1637 and at the University of Tartu in 1638–1641. After obtaining his *magister artium* in Tartu *Academia Gustaviana* in late 1641, Gezelius started his career in Tartu as the Professor of Greek and Oriental Languages. Leaving Tartu in 1649 for his native Västmanland (probably due to doctrinal controversies), he spent the next years as the lecturer of theology in Västerås *Gymnasium* and a rural minister in Stora Skedvi. He also continued his theological studies which led to the degree of Doctor of Theology in Uppsala in 1661. In 1660 he was appointed the Superintendent of Livonia in Riga, in 1664 he was elevated to the position of the Bishop of Turku and the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Turku.¹

Already in Tartu Gezelius' main attention started to shift from biblical languages towards theology proper. His most prominent publications during those years still were language textbooks, mainly for the students of theology,

* I thank Janika Päll for inviting me to write the present paper as well as for all her kind help in collecting data about the copies of the *Lexicon* and for her encouragement and advice during the writing of this paper.

¹ Tering 1984: no. 323; Pentti Laasonen, *Johannes Gezelius vanhempi – Kansallisbiografia-verkkójulkaisu*. *Studia Biographica* 4. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997–, <https://kansallisbiografia.fi/kansallisbiografia/henkilo/2252>, 10.5.2018; Olof Mustelin, *Johannes Gezelius – Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/13047>, 11.11.2016. In standard biographies the honour of *extraordinarius* of Theology in Tartu from 1643 is also cited among Gezelius' positions; however, no reliable contemporary evidence supports this claim, see Friedenthal, Päll 2017: 206–207.

but also of arts. His Greek-Latin dictionary, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum continens voces omnes appellativas, cum Novi Testamenti, tum januae ling. Graecae, anno superiori hic Dorpati editae. In quo ipsum thema sequuntur ex eo derivata, haec excipiunt cum praepositione composita, tandem composita cum nomine aliisque partibus orationis. Opera & vigiliis M. Johannis Georgii Gezelii, Hebr. et Gr. ling. prof. P. ejusque impensis. Dorpati Livonorum excusum a Johanne Vogelio, Academiae Typographo, anno 1649,*² concluded his five-book series of scholarly textbooks printed within three years. The earlier items in the sequence had been *Poemata Pythagorae, Phocylidis, & Theognidis* (1646), *Grammaticae Tros-tianae epitome* (Hebrew, 1647), *Grammatica Graeca* (1647), and *J. A. Comenij Janua linguarum reserata aurea*, translated into Greek (1648). The long titles of Gezelius' textbooks often contain phrases like "exercitiis destinata" (*Janua linguarum*), "in usum Acad. Gustaviana" (*Poemata Pythagorae*), "in usum privatorum collegiorum Academia Gustaviana ... in epitomen redacta" (*Grammatica Graeca*), "in usum scholarum trivialium" (*Fabulae Aesopi*, edited by Gezelius in Turku in 1669): all these books were clearly destined for school use, mainly in Gezelius' home university.³

Lexicon Graeco-Latinum, *Grammatica Graeca*, and *Poemata Pythagorae* were reprinted once or more during Gezelius' years in Turku; in the case of *Grammatica Graeca* the number of reprints in Turku and other centres of Swedish kingdom both during Gezelius' lifetime and long afterwards (up to 1813) was almost thirty.⁴ At the same time, judging from the catalogues of major European libraries, Gezelius' publications almost never entered the international book market. The only reprint of *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* in Turku followed in 1686.⁵ To our present knowledge, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* is one of the best-preserved 17th-century Tartu prints: its 20 extant copies are only comparable to the survival of two slightly different printings of Friedrich Menius' *Historischer Prodromus des Lieffländischen Rechtens* from 1633, of which at least 19 copies survive.⁶

² Jaanson 2000: no. 616; in Estonian national bibliography <http://erb.nlib.ee/?kid=17116685>.

³ The contents of Gezelius' textbooks have been thoroughly studied by Korhonen 2004: 89–96.

⁴ The Swedish National Union Catalogue LIBRIS lists 30 different printings of *Grammatica* from 1647 to 1813 (search: Gezelius Grammatica Graeca, 16.11.2016). Just one or two of them (Upsaliae, 1668, and Holmiae, 1699), not seen by present author, may be only slightly different typographical variants of the editions printed by the same printers in the same years. 150 years later editors already introduced substantial changes into the original framework of Gezelius.

⁵ *J. G. d. ep. Ab. Lexicon Graeco-Latinum, continens voces omnes appellativas, cum Novi Testamenti, tum januae ling. graecae, anno 1648. Dorpati editae. ... Denuo, in usum filellenen excusum a Johanne Winter, typogr. regio anno 1686.*

⁶ Jaanson 2000: nos. 35, 36.

The twenty surviving copies of *Lexicon* known to the present author are:

1. Tartu ülikooli raamatukogu = University of Tartu Library (R Est.A-5069)⁷ – Binding: blank parchment. Provenance: Aboae 17--, Balthazar Widman = probably Baltasar Widman (Wiedemann, ?–1771) from Uusikaupunki, Finland, student of Turku Cathedral School 1732, University of Turku 1735, since 1744 priest in Kaprio (Koporje), Ingria.⁸
2. Tallinna ülikooli akadeemiline raamatukogu = Academic Library of Tallinn University (X-2483)⁹ – Without title page. Binding: reused early printed books on parchment (*Psalterium Moguntinum*. Mainz: Johann Fust & Peter Schoeffer, 1457, ISTC ip01036000) and paper (Augustinus, *De civitate dei*. Basel: Michael Wenssler & Bernhard Richel, 1479, ISTC ia01241000); this type of binding is unique among the copies of *Lexicon*. Provenance: gift of August Leopold Krich (1808–1879) from 1879. Krich was born in Tallinn, was a student of law at the University of Tartu 1827–1834, after that held various official positions in Pärnu and Saint Petersburg, from 1849 in Tallinn.¹⁰
3. Rīga, Latvijas Nacionālā bibliotēka = National Library of Latvia (RW2/1308) – Binding: parchment or white leather, from the time of printing. Provenance: MCVS (unidentified inscription by a 17th–18th c. hand); stamp of Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands (early 20th c.).¹¹
4. Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto = National Library of Finland, 1 (Reenpää Kieli-tiede Comenius) – Binding: parchment. Bound together with *J. A. Comenij Janua linguarum reserata aurea: in Graecum idioma ... fideliter translata ... opera & vigiliis M. Johannis Georgii Gezelii*. Dorpati, 1648. Provenance: A. 1703 Johannis Argillander die 27 Decembr. = probably Johan Argillander (c. 1680–1723), student in Turku 1700, in Uppsala 1703, a minister in Northern Finland; G. H. Stähle 1788 Uhleåborg [= Oulu] den 20 Martii 1788; Carl Hinric Stähle = respectively, Gabriel Henrik Stähle (1770–1814), a rural minister in Northern Finland, and his father Karl Henrik Stähle

⁷ Digital reproduction of the copy is available at <http://hdl.handle.net/10062/14175>.

⁸ Yrjö Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852: Baltasar Widman*. Verkkojulkaisu 2005, <http://www.helsinki.fi/ylioppilasmatrikkeli/henkilo.php?id=6201>, 26.10.2016.

⁹ Digital reproduction of the copy is available at <http://www.etera.ee/zoom/21903/view?page=1&p=separate&view=0,0,1283,2391>.

¹⁰ For Krich, see Hasselblatt, Otto 1889: no. 2371; Hradetzky 1931: no. 339; for his donation, see *Verzeichniss der Bücher die seit dem 13. September 1868 auf die Ehstländische Bibliothek gekommen sind* (handwritten accession book in the Baltica department of the Academic Library of Tallinn University, without shelf mark), f. 70v.

¹¹ I thank Ināra Klekere for the information about the copy (e-mail from 26.2.2014).

- (1744–1788), a minister in Oulu, in Northern Finland; Justus Sal[...], not identifiable with sufficient probability.¹²
5. Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto = National Library of Finland, 2 (Reenpää Kielitiede Gezelius) – Binding: 19th/20th c. Provenance: ex-libris of Oskar Rewell (1857–1930); ex-libris of Heikki Reenpää [19]75.
 6. Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto = National Library of Finland, 3 (Rv Kielitiede 3) – Binding: 19th c. by the University of Helsinki. Provenance: the name of a previous owner struck off.
 7. Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto = National Library of Finland, 4 (Rv Kielitiede 3) – Binding: early 20th c. Provenance: Jyväskylän tieteellinen kirjasto 1932–1935.
 8. Turku, Turun yliopiston kirjasto = Turku University Library (Feeniks Fennica s.Ai.I.33) – Binding: blank parchment, from the time of printing. Provenance: inscriptions G. G. Holmudd; Gabriel Holmudd 1773; it is not clear whether the inscriptions are of the same person, but probable owner(s) may be Gabriel Gabrielis Holmudd (1720–1795, student in Turku 1738, in 1773 minister in Northern Finland) and his son who had the same name (1754–1774, student in Uppsala 1773).¹³
 9. Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket = National Library of Sweden, 1 (F1700-1704) – Binding: blank parchment, from the time of printing. Provenance: Petrus Christierning = possibly Peter Christierni Christiernin (1642–1717) from Västmanland, Sweden, student in Uppsala 1655, later in Kiel and Tübingen, from 1673 back in Sweden, teaching in Västerås *Gymnasium* and minister in surrounding Västmanland. However, there were also several other students from Västmanland who had the same name and who were studying in Uppsala from 1655 to 1744.¹⁴

¹² I owe thanks to Mika Hakkarainen for information about the copies of the *Lexicon* in Helsinki and for suggestions about the identities of previous owners (e-mail from 26.2.2014). About previous owners, see Yrjö Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852: Johan Argillander*. Verkkojulkaisu 2005, <http://www.helsinki.fi/ylioppilasmatrikkeli/henkilo.php?id=4569>; *ibid.*, *Gabriel Henrik Ståhle*, <http://www.helsinki.fi/ylioppilasmatrikkeli/henkilo.php?id=10668>, *Karl Henrik Ståhle*, <http://www.helsinki.fi/ylioppilasmatrikkeli/henkilo.php?id=8260>, 27.10.2016.

¹³ I thank Panu Turunen from Turku University Library for the description of the Turku copy and for further discussion (e-mails from 20.2.2014 and 28.10.2016). About the probable owners, see Yrjö Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852: Gabriel Holmudd*. Verkkojulkaisu 2005, <http://www.helsinki.fi/ylioppilasmatrikkeli/henkilo.php?id=6468>; *ibid.*, *Gabriel Holmudd*, <http://www.helsinki.fi/ylioppilasmatrikkeli/henkilo.php?id=U844>, 1.11.2016.

¹⁴ B. Boëthius, *Christiernin, släkt* – *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/14828>, 1.11.2016; Andersson, Carlsson, Sandström 1900–1911: nos. 141, 199, 253; Carlsson 1919–1923: nos. 21, 115, 184, 245, 328. I thank Wolfgang Undorf for the descriptions of the copies in Stockholm (e-mail from 20.2.2014).

10. Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket = National Library of Sweden, 2 (F1700-1704 Rål) – Binding: around 1900; earlier provenance not known.
11. Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek = Uppsala University Library, 1 (Svec. Grek. Språkvet. lexica, old shelf-mark Obr. 120:350) – Binding: late 19th century. Once a part of a volume containing all five substantial philological works issued by Gezelius in Tartu in 1646–1649: *Poemata Pythagorae*, *Grammaticae Trostianae epitome*, *Grammatica Graeca*, *J. A. Comenij Janua linguarum*, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* (in this order); the items were separated in 1885. Provenance: (inscriptions on the title page of *Poemata Pythagorae*) Elias Isopedius Upland. = probably Elias Petri Isopedius (c. 1613–1693) from Munsö, Uppland, student in Uppsala 1631–1636 (Elias Petri), in Tartu 1639, in Copenhagen 1640, later minister in Sigtuna and Vassunda, Uppland; Petri P., unidentifiable.¹⁵
12. Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek = Uppsala University Library, 2 (Sv. avd., Språkvet. Sbd. 41: 347) – Binding: late 18th or early 19th century. Five books by Gezelius bound together in one volume (*Grammatica Graeca ... Upsaliae*, s.a.; *Grammatica Graeca ... Aboae*, 1668; *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*. Dorpati, 1649; *J. A. Comenij Janua linguarum reserata aurea*. Dorpati, 1648; *Fabulae Aesopi selectae graecae & latine ... editae et literis atque impensis J[ohannis] G[ezelii]*. Aboae, 1669. Provenance: not known.
13. Västerås stadsbibliotek = Västerås Public Library (Stiftsbiblioteket V Grekisk litteratur och språkvetenskap) – Binding: late 18th or early 19th century. Provenance: ex-libris of Johan Henrik Schröder (1791–1857) from Västerås, student in Uppsala 1810–1815, after that librarian and professor at Uppsala University.¹⁶
14. Kalmar Stadsbibliotek = Kalmar city library (Stifts och gymnasiebiblioteket mag. Svenskt 1600-tal) – Binding: blank parchment, from the time of printing. Provenance: P Hambrich, Calmaria 20 Martii Ao 1726.¹⁷
15. Linköpings stadsbibliotek = Linköping public library (Stiftsbiblioteket Rara (Ex.: R646)) – Binding: parchment or white pig leather, from the time of printing. Provenance: Johannes Jonae Alstadius (c. 1635–c. 1665) from Allsta, Ångermanland, student in Uppsala 1658; Johannes Steuchius

¹⁵ For Elias Isopedius, see Tering 1984: no. 345; Fant, Låstbom 1842: 113. I thank Janika Päll for the descriptions and photographs of the Uppsala copies (e-mails from 15.4.2014 and 8.11.2016), and Peter Sjökvist for the details about the detached volume (e-mail from 30.11.2016).

¹⁶ Ulf Göranson, *Johan Henrik Schröder – Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/6404>, 3.11.2016. I thank Helena Aspernäs for the description of the copy (e-mail from 4.3.2014).

¹⁷ I thank Håkan Bergcrantz for the description of the copy (e-mail from 26.2.2014).

- (1676–1742) from Härnösand, Ångermanland, student in Uppsala 1690–1701, studied also in Lund, Rostock, and Altdorf, professor in Lund 1702–1710, in Uppsala 1710–1719, later clergyman, Archbishop of Uppsala from 1730; 1709 Matthias Ihre; 1717 Johan(nes) Ihre (1707–1780), student in Uppsala 1720–1734, later professor and rector of Uppsala University; the Ihes were Steuchius' sister's sons.¹⁸
16. Biblioteken vid Lunds universitet = Lund University Library (UB Äldre samlingen, Sv Språkvvet Grek Lex) – Binding: blank parchment. Provenance: Christophorus Eriki Dalaenus = possibly Christofer Eriki Dahl (?–1714) from Dala, Västergötland, student in Uppsala 1661, minister in Dala from 1676; Haraldus Jonae Hasselgren 1664 = Harald Hasselgren (c. 1636–1697), student in Uppsala 1656–1669, minister in Alingsås 1687; it is unclear which of them was the earlier owner.¹⁹
17. Saint Petersburg, Российская национальная библиотека = National Library of Russia, 1 (7.53.8.66) – Without title page. Binding: wooden boards covered with white leather. The volume also contains *J. A. Comenij Janua linguarum reserata aurea*. Dorpati, 1648. Provenance: NDS = Library of the Novgorod Theological Seminary; handwritten marginal notes in Latin script.²⁰
18. Saint Petersburg, Российская национальная библиотека = National Library of Russia, 2 (7.54.10.15) – Binding: cheap cardboard, presumably later than printing. Provenance: not known, without inscriptions or any handwritten notes.
19. Saint Petersburg, Российская национальная библиотека = National Library of Russia, 3 (7.54.10.15 a) – Binding: wooden boards covered with dark leather. Provenance: (readable with difficulty) ann[o] 1676 Eric. A. Walleni (?) = possibly Ericus Andreae Wallenius (?–1715) from Oulu, Northern Finland, student in Uppsala 1685, in Turku 1691, from 1692

¹⁸ Patrik Winton, *Johannes (Jöns) Steuchius (Steuch)* – *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/20157>, 3.11.2016; Gösta Holm, *Johan Ihre* – *ibid.*, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/14084>, 3.11.2016; for Alstadius, see Andersson, Carlsson, Sandström 1900–1911: 156; cf. also https://ca.kulturarvvasternorrland.se/media/abm_ca_system/images/2/1/85322_ca_object_representations_media_2167_original.pdf, 10.5.2018. I thank Mathias von Wachenfeldt for information about the copy (e-mail from 19.2.2014).

¹⁹ For Dahl, see Warholm 1874: 297–298, for Hasselgren, see Andersson, Carlsson, Sandström 1900–1911: 147. I thank Per Stobaeus for information about the copy and for the suggestions for the identifications and for personal details of early owners (e-mails from 18.2.2014).

²⁰ I thank Janika Päll for first calling my attention to the St. Petersburg copies, Nadezhda Vedenyapina for the detailed descriptions of the copies, and Larissa Petina for her help in contacting the colleagues in St. Petersburg (e-mails from 15.12 and 19.12.2016).

- in various ecclesiastical and educational positions in Northern Finland; Ив. Чупровский 1826; gift of И. И. Лебедев to Ив. Чупровский.²¹
20. Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa = National Library of Poland (XVII.2.6967) – Binding: wooden boards covered with blank parchment. Provenance: Arvidus Moller = presumably Arvid Moller (1674–1758) from Vorbuse, near Tartu, student in Tartu 1691–1698, taught at schools in Tartu and Tallinn 1698–1710, professor in Lund 1717–1743; Andreas Caroli Vastadius (?) = possibly Andreas Caroli Kiemmer (1674–1734) from Kokkola, Northern Finland, student in Uppsala 1691, in Tartu 1697–1699, in Turku 1700, afterwards active mainly in the area of Vaasa and Kokkola; it is impossible to tell which one of these two was the earlier owner of the book.²²

It is worth noting that four of the twenty copies of *Lexicon* listed above are (*resp.* were) bound together with other books issued by Gezelius. In two instances (4, 17) the only book within the same covers with the *Lexicon* is Gezelius' Greek translation of Comenius' *Janua linguarum*, the most widespread elementary language textbook in the 17th century. In both remaining cases (11, 12), three more of Gezelius' books are added to *Lexicon* and *Janua linguarum: Grammatica Graeca* in different editions, *Poemata Pythagorae*, Aesop's Fables, and, as the only non-Greek publication, Gezelius' epitome of Martin Trost's grammar of Hebrew. Actually, it should be taken into account that we know about the early composition of only 13 volumes containing *Lexicon*, thus the proportion of such scholarly *Sammelbände* may increase even more. Apart from the volumes containing *Lexicon*, there are other volumes containing several works by Gezelius, e.g., two volumes comprising all four of Gezelius' other scholarly works printed in Tartu (*Janua linguarum*, *Grammatica Graeca*, *Poemata Pythagorae*, epitome of Trost's grammar of Hebrew). One of them is now held by the Tallinn University Academic Library (shelf mark X-265), the other copy, that once belonged to Johann Heinrich Grotjan in Tartu and later was in the possession of Novgorod Theological Seminary, is now in the National Library

²¹ For Wallenius, see Yrjö Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852: Erik Wallenius*. Verkkojulkaisu 2005, <http://www.helsinki.fi/ylioppilasmatrikkeli/henkilo.php?id=3815>, 10.5.2018; also <https://kansallisbiografia.fi/paimenmuisto/henkilo/2594>, 10.5.2018.

²² According to the provenance information provided by Maryla Brynda, later on the book belonged to the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy, from where it was transferred to St. Petersburg, and finally, before World War II, to Warsaw; I thank Piotr Jaworski for the information about the copy (e-mail 7.3.2014); for Moller, see Tering 1984: no. 1239; also *Nordisk familjebok, Uggleupplagan*. 18. Mekaniker–Mykale, col. 859–860, <http://runeberg.org/nfbr/0452.html>, 4.11.2016; <http://isik2.tlulib.ee/index.php?id=503>, 4.11.2016; for Kiemmer, see Tering 1984: no. 1417; also <https://kansallisbiografia.fi/paimenmuisto/henkilo/1306>, 4.11.2016.

of Russia (shelf mark 7.54.10.45). It can be assumed that the students had their compulsory readings required by their professors bound together among other things in order to cut the cost of binding, which often exceeded that of the book within the covers.²³

Of the twenty preserved copies of the *Lexicon* known to the present author, ten have earliest known provenances (identified with greater or lesser certainty) from the 17th or 18th centuries. The analysis of the backgrounds of the early owners of these ten copies shows that five of them seem to have been possessed or obtained in Sweden (4, 9, 14, 15, 16), one in Finland (1), two in Sweden or Finland (8, 19). With the exception of the Kalmar copy (14), all other copies from Sweden are likely to have been acquired in the area of Uppsala and its university. The Tartu copy (1) was obtained during the early owner's studies in Turku. The Turku copy (8) was first signed by a student in Uppsala or his father, once a student in Turku. One of the St. Petersburg copies (19) may have been obtained either in Oulu (if the date is read out correctly), or in Uppsala or Turku (in the opposite case).²⁴ In two remaining instances it cannot be established with certainty, whether the copy was obtained in Estonia or Sweden. One of the copies now in Uppsala (11) was clearly owned in Sweden in the second half of the 17th century. Still, it can be argued that as it was once a part of a volume consisting of five books printed in Tartu from 1646 to 1649, the volume might have been originally bound and possessed by an unknown owner already in Tartu, and that it arrived in Sweden only later, perhaps with a student returning to Sweden after graduating from the University of Tartu. The Warsaw copy (20) was maybe first owned in Tartu by one of the first two owners at the very end of the 17th century, although it is not impossible either that it was earlier available in Uppsala, and reached the former Tartu student and school teacher Arvid Moller only afterwards in Sweden. At any rate, it is likely that most of the early owners were the students (often of divinity) who owned the dictionary for the purpose of study during their university years, that is, the main intended audience of the publication from the very beginning.

The history of the remaining ten copies can be clearly established only starting from the 19th century or even from the early 20th century. Three of

²³ For example, in 1672–1674 in Tallinn the price of binding made up from 1/3 up to 5/6 of the price of a bound book, depending on the size of the book (the proportion has been counted comparing the prices of the bound books to the prices of the respective unbound books), see *Aarma* 2003: 55–56.

²⁴ The possible owner of the book, Ericus Wallenius, escaped from Oulu to Sweden during the Great Northern War in 1714 but was killed by Russians at his return to Finland in 1715 (for reference, see n. 21, also *Vilkuna* 2005: 63). Oulu was plundered by Russian troops in 1714 and 1715; at that point also the books of Wallenius may have travelled to Russia.

them are presently located in Finland (5, 6, 7) and in Sweden (10, 12, 13), two in Russia (17, 18), one in Estonia (2) and in Latvia (3). Among these only copies no. 2, 3, 12 and 17 retain their early binding. Another copy in Uppsala (12), a volume comprising five books authored or edited by Gezelius and printed in Tartu, Uppsala, and Turku from 1648 to 1669, has no known early owners and the present binding is somewhat newer. Still, it seems probable that it has been composed either in Turku or in Uppsala at an early point under the same circumstances as the *Sammelbände* described above. The copy in Riga (3) has the white parchment or white leather cover typical to most of the copies of *Lexicon* with an early binding. One may assume that this detail indicates the Swedish origin of the copy, because most copies with parchment covers were first owned in Sweden. Indeed, Gezelius may have cooperated with a binder in Uppsala area while marketing his books. Parchment often covers the 17th-century books which were sold ready bound.²⁵ Still, blank parchment covering as a less expensive, but still durable alternative to leather binding was extremely common in the period under question, especially for binding scholarly books.²⁶ Therefore it would be impossible to ascribe all these bindings to one workshop without further detailed investigation.

The first notice about the copy in Tallinn (2) comes from the year 1879 when its former owner, August Leopold Krich, donated it to the *Estländische Allgemeine Öffentliche Bibliothek* just a few months before his death. Krich's donation consisted of 59 entries (85 volumes) of books mainly on letters (mostly classics), law, and theology; Gezelius' *Lexicon* is listed as "Ein altes etymologisches griech.-lat. Lexikon ohne Titel, defect." Many books on the Classical authors seem to have been obtained during Krich's student years in Tartu: they are school editions from those years, academic dissertations by Krich's fellow students etc. Krich's school and university years were probably also the only point in his life when he had needed books on ancient Greek. Indeed, it seems that for some time he may have even taken some more interest in the area than expected from a student of law. Therefore, it can be assumed that Gezelius' *Lexicon* was also acquired in Krich's early years in Estonia, either in Tallinn (as a student in the *Gymnasium*) or in Tartu. Also the binding of the volume is exceptional among the other surviving copies: it is composed of the scraps of two early printed books from the 15th century, one of them printed on parchment and the other on paper. More conspicuous among the scraps reused for binding is a partial leaf from *Psalterium Moguntinum* of

²⁵ Marks 1998: 44.

²⁶ Foot 2004: 26; Miller 2010: 111–113; in the 17th century parchment was widely used also in Estonian bindings (Miller, Robert, Lott 1978: 51).

1457, the second large book printed in Europe after the Gutenberg Bible.²⁷ The fragments of medieval parchment codices and also early printed books were widely reused for binding new books from the mid-16th to the mid-17th century (and in smaller scale also before and after that). Unfortunately, it is not possible to establish the origin of the fragment covering Gezelius' *Lexicon* with certainty. Quite a large number of fragments of the Mainz Psalter have survived. In Northern Europe, both Finnish National Library in Helsinki and the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg possess one, the National Library and National Archives of Sweden in Stockholm even own several sets of the fragments of the Psalter. Among these, one small series in Swedish National Archives seems to originate from Estonia.²⁸ The set belongs to the archival collection *Baltiska fogderäkenskaper* and, luckily, on two pages it displays sung parts of liturgy in handwritten Gothic notation, which strongly suggests an Estonian origin: the Gothic notation was normally never used in medieval Sweden, while it was dominant in Estonia-Livonia as a part of the German notation area.²⁹ Although it cannot be proved that the fragment with Gezelius' *Lexicon* originates from the same set, the find still leaves open the possibility that the copy, which was probably acquired by its first known owner in Estonia in the first half of the 19th century, had been also bound in Estonia at an earlier date.

The earlier history of the copy from Novgorod that is now in St. Petersburg (17) is unknown. Still, the same type of binding (white leather on wooden boards) and similar origin make it close to another volume from Novgorod already mentioned above, containing all four of Gezelius' remaining scholarly publications printed in Tartu apart from the *Lexicon* (shelf mark 7.54.10.45), and bearing inscriptions of two earlier owners: Joh. Henr. Grotjan and Zacharias Meisnerij. Very little is known about the latter: a man called Zacharias Meisner from Thuringia was connected with three publications issued in Tallinn in 1650 and 1651; probably he was a student of Tallinn *Gymnasium* then.³⁰ The life of Johann Heinrich Grotja(h)n (1659–1723) is much better known. Also from Germany, he arrived Estonia in 1692, from 1699 to 1708 he was a vicar in St John's Church in Tartu. In 1708, during the Great Northern War, he was

²⁷ See e.g. Ikeda 2010: 39–40.

²⁸ The fragments 8131 and 8133 in the database of medieval book fragments of the Swedish National Archives, search in <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/MPO> (10.11.2016).

²⁹ See e.g. Hiley, Szendrei 2001: 110–112; Abukhanfusa 2004: 101–102; Brunius 2014: 437, 439, 443, 445.

³⁰ Klöker 2005: 339. Gezelius' *Grammatica Graeca* is prescribed as the standard textbook for Greek in the programme of the Tallinn *Gymnasium* in 1648, see Kaju 2015: 45.

deported to Vologda, in Northern Russia, like most of the citizens of Tartu. After his return in 1714 he served as a rural minister in Otepää. In his memoirs he writes that his library was robbed from him in Pskov, on his way to Vologda.³¹ This incident makes it probable that this is how Grotjan's book ended up in the library of the Novgorod Theological Seminary, and it is possible that other books from late-17th-century Tartu also reached Novgorod in a similar way, among others the volume comprising Gezelius' *Lexicon* and *Janua linguarum*. Moreover, as Grotjan himself stresses his esteem for his library, it may be assumed that the volume with the *Lexicon* also originated from his library.

The Västerås copy (13) made its earliest appearance in the same area of Uppsala and Västerås as many of the copies with ownership marks from the 17th century. The last five items enter the scene in late 19th or early 20th century with no indications of their earlier origin and rebound in large research libraries or in the library of a book collector, three of them in Finland (5, 6, 7), one in Sweden (10), and one in Russia (18). It can only be assumed that such acquisitions were made mostly from the local book market to preserve the locally owned books in the same area.

All in all we have 7 copies with earliest known provenances from Sweden, 4 from Finland, 2 from the historical Baltic provinces (Estonia and Latvia together), 1 from Russia. In addition, 3 copies may originate either from Sweden or Finland, and 2 either from the Baltics or Sweden, 1 either from Russia or the Baltic provinces. Although it may be argued that the book collections in Estonia and Latvia suffered from dispersal and destruction during the disastrous years of the Great Northern War much more than the Finnish and especially Swedish collections have suffered ever since, it is still remarkable that a substantial proportion of the copies makes its earliest appearance in Sweden and also in Finland. At the same time, for example, of all the copies of the publications printed in the printing house of the *Gymnasium* of Tallinn during the 17th century far more than a half are preserved in Estonian collections.³²

We should now return to the fact that Gezelius issued his *Lexicon* in the very same year that he had to leave Tartu. His other scholarly textbooks had also been published within his last three years in Tartu. Secondly, Gezelius

³¹ Baerent, Ottow, Lenz 1977; Grotjan's notes are published in Bienemann 1902: 15; Fr. Bienemann states that Grotjan's books were probably destroyed in fire in Pskov two years later (p. 125) but Grotjan himself does not say that: he just mentions the fire as the punishment of God to the Pskovians immediately after mentioning the loss of his library.

³² Exact data was presented by Helje-Laine Kannik and Tiiu Reimo in their report „Tallinna 17. sajandi trükised. Kyra Roberti uurimusest retrospektiivse rahvusbibliograafia andmebaasini” on 16.9.2016 in the seminar in commemoration of Kyra Robert in Tallinn. Similar statistics for Tartu publications from the same period have not been compiled.

published them at his own expense (respective notice is absent only from the title of *Grammaticae Trostianaepitome*, which actually does not show Gezelius' name as the author either; but he has signed the dedication in Hebrew and probably no one has ever expressed serious doubts about his authorship of the book). Therefore, he was also completely responsible for selling his publications. Within a few years or even months after having printed his books, he had probably not been able to sell them all. It is logical to think that while leaving Tartu, Gezelius also took the remaining books, or a part of them, with him to continue marketing them in Sweden, mainly in Uppsala, and later also in Turku. Only after each book was sold out may he have considered a reprint.

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Abstract

To our present knowledge, Johannes Gezelius' *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* (Dorpati 1649) is the best-preserved 17th century book printed in Tartu. Its twenty surviving copies are held by libraries in seven countries, in largest numbers in Sweden (8) and Finland (5); only two copies are presently preserved in Estonia. The *Lexicon* belongs to the group of five major scholarly books printed by Gezelius in Tartu from 1646 to 1649; almost immediately after publishing his *Lexicon* Gezelius left Tartu for Sweden. From 1664 until his death in 1690 he acted as the Bishop of Turku and the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Turku in Finland.

When considering the earliest known origins of the copies, it appears that 13 were first owned in Sweden or Finland, predominantly in the cultural milieu of the universities of Uppsala and Turku; only two copies have their origins in the Baltics (Estonia and Latvia), plus three more either in the Baltic provinces or elsewhere. Therefore it can be argued that on leaving Tartu, Gezelius also took along a considerable number of the unsold copies of his publications printed at his own expense and continued marketing them to the students of his later home universities. When a book was later sold out, he normally printed a new edition. Gezelius' *Lexicon* and other textbooks are often bound in cheap blank parchment that was common to scholarly books in the 17th century; sometimes two or more of his textbooks were bound within the same covers.

CLASSICAL AUTHORS AND
PNEUMATOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.
GREEK DISSERTATIONS SUPERVISED
BY JOHANNES GEZELIUS THE ELDER
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TARTU
(ACADEMIA GUSTAVIANA, 1644–1647)*

Tua Korhonen

What is the origin of the human soul? Seventeenth-century *literati* wrote countless dissertations on this subject. The Protestant universities preferred the so-called traducianism, according to which an individual's soul is derived from the souls of her parents as it is transferred from generation to generation (*per traducem*).¹ In contrast, the so-called creationists supposed that a human soul was created at the instant a human being was born. Johannes Gezelius the Elder, the professor of Greek and Hebrew at the University of Tartu, Estonia (then part of Sweden) supervised a *Greek* dissertation on the subject in favour of traduceanism in 1646. While the arguments are based mostly on the Bible, the *reductio ad absurdum* (ἄτοπα, οἱ λόγοι τοῦ ἀτόπου) is in considerable use, too, in this six-page dissertation in Greek.² The dissertation clearly leans on the Aristotelian concept of the tripartite soul, too, while defending traduceanism: “Soul in human beings is by essence a unity: rational, sensitive and vegetative; and sensitive part is born together with the body from parents, so therefore, also the rational part.”³

* I thank the editor Janika Päll and the anonymous referee for valuable comments.

¹ Hinlicky 2009: 177–179; see also note 29 *infra*.

² How “absurd” the ideas of creationists were is shown by arguments like: Ἐὰν ἡ ψυχὴ οὐκ ᾔ ἀπὸ τῶν γονέων, ἀλλ’ ἀμέσως ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ κτίζεται, ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκ μέρους μὲν κτίζεται, ἐκ μέρους δὲ γεννᾶται, τοῦτο δ’ ἄν τερατούργημα εἴη, διό (“If a soul is not from its parents, but the God creates it at that instance, the human being would then be partly created, partly born, which would be absurd.”) Gezelius – Holstenius 1646, Thesis 22 (D3v–D4r).

³ Gezelius – Holstenius 1646, Thesis 23 (D4r): Ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν ἀνθρώποις κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐστὶ μία, λογικὴ, αἰσθητικὴ καὶ φυτικὴ, ἢ δ’ αἰσθητικὴ ἅμα τῷ σφύματι γεννᾶται ἀπὸ τῶν γονέων διὸ καὶ ἡ λογικὴ. Cf. *Ar. de part. an.* 681a19–33; *EE* 1219b25–27; *de an.* 415a18–20.

This dissertation on *psychogonia* supervised by Gezelius belongs to his series of so-called pneumatological dissertations, all written in Greek. Gezelius was not the only person to supervise dissertations in Greek in Great Sweden. At least fourteen Greek dissertations or disputations – short academic essays or theses⁴ – were published in the universities of the Swedish Kingdom during the seventeenth century (see Appendix). Most of them were written in the middle of the century, in 1640s and 1650s. Five of them were supervised by Henricus Ausius in Uppsala, the main university of Sweden, in the span of the years 1648–1656, but possibly twice as many were published in the new University of Tartu, founded only in 1632. The first extant Tartu dissertation was published in 1644, that is, four years earlier than the first one supervised by Ausius in Uppsala. Johannes Gezelius the Elder presided over all, except for the last of the Tartu dissertations in Greek. The last one from 1652 on “virtuous ethics in general” was supervised by his pupil and successor as professor of Greek and Hebrew in Tartu, Ericus Holstenius.⁵

In this paper, I will first concentrate on Gezelius’ education and his possible models for supervising dissertations in Greek before describing the contents of the extant university dissertations, which all deal with pneumatology, by paying special attention to the references to the Greek and Latin authors.⁶

⁴ For the types of dissertations, see, for instance, Korhonen 2010: 91–93. In this article, I use the term ‘dissertation’ loosely, as a general term for an academic thesis. On the question of authorship of 17th-century dissertations, see below and note 33. On the Greek dissertations written in German universities, see Päll (forthcoming).

⁵ Ericus Holstenius – Johannes Sundius 1652: Περὶ τῆς ἀρέτης ἠθικῆς, γενικῶς. However, this dissertation differs greatly both from the one supervised by Gezelius and defended by Holstenius (No. 4 in the pneumatological series) as well as other extant dissertations supervised by Gezelius. The dissertation on “virtuous ethics in general” is Aristotelian in its tone and has two explicit references to Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* (Theses 6 and 7) as well as allusions to Epictetus (Thesis 1), the Pythagoreans (Thesis 18) and to “Diogenes” (Thesis 23 – probably to Diogenes of Sinope). It resembles those supervised by Henricus Ausius in Uppsala, which focused on Aristotelian ethics and political philosophy. Two of the dissertations supervised by Ausius even mention Aristotle in their title: “The education of the young according to Aristotle’s *Politics* 8.1” and “Civil happiness according to Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* 1”. On Ausius’ Greek dissertation, see Korhonen 2010.

⁶ In addition to ‘proper’ Greek dissertations published in the gymnasia, there are 23 extant unpublished Greek-Latin academic exercises, which Erkki Sironen found in Uppsala University Library. They are collected in Ericus Michael Fant’s manuscript collection titled *Collectanea Graeca*, ms U 176. Except for four undated ones, these exercises are dated 1659–1670 and they bear such titles as *Zetemata*, *Aphorismoi*, *Zeteseis*, *Dialexis* and *Dialogismos*.

Johannes Gezelius the Elder (1615–1690) and His Grecicism

Johannes Gezelius was a son of a well-to-do farmer from Västmanland province in middle Sweden. In 1619, Johannes Rudbeckius, professor of Uppsala University, was appointed bishop of Västerås, the then provincial capital. This influential man, who had studied in Wittenberg, reformed the Västerås elementary school and founded a gymnasium in 1623, which Gezelius attended in 1632–37.⁷ Rudbeckius was an ardent promoter of Greek knowledge. He had led a short-lived collegium (1610–1613) in Uppsala, in which students were encouraged not only to write in Greek but also speak Greek.⁸

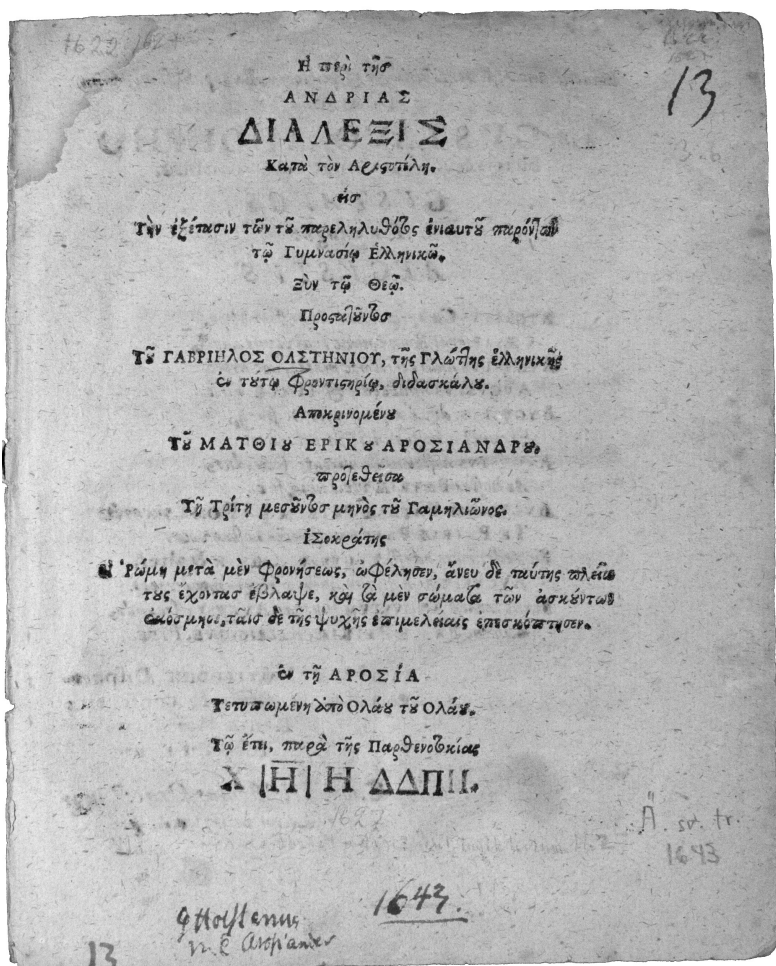
The importance of the classically-oriented gymnasium of Västerås for Gezelius' ideas for promoting the active knowledge of Greek cannot be underestimated especially as regards to Greek dissertations. One dissertation in Greek was indeed published at the Västerås gymnasium in 1627 (ILL. 1). It was supervised by Gabriel Holstenius, the gymnasium's Greek teacher, and defended by one Matthias Eri. The subject was "courage according to Aristotle".⁹ The dissertation comprises 30 short theses, many of them only one sentence long. There are no explicit citations and Aristotle is referred to as "the philosopher", as was usual in those times, like: Διττή ἡ ἀρετή ἐστίν, ἡ μὲν διανοητικὴ, ἡ δὲ ἠθικὴ, ὡς ὁ φιλόσοφος λέγει.¹⁰ On the last two pages, there are ten Προβλήματα, that is, questions concerning mainly virtue and courage, with the exception of the last one on the utility of both modern and ancient Greek. Although the dissertation is quite simple in its content, it can be viewed as a major accomplishment for the first gymnasium in Sweden. Furthermore, this Greek dissertation *On courage* was dedicated in Latin to Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, the courageous king of military victories.

⁷ Gezelius returned later to Västerås gymnasium as a short-time teacher. Mustelin 1967–69: 101.

⁸ Palm 1976: 35; Lagus 1890: 18–19.

⁹ Gabriel Holstenius – Matthias Eri 1627, "Ἡ περὶ τῆς ΑΝΔΡΙΑΣ [!] ΔΙΑΛΕΞΙΣ κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστότελη [...] προστατοῦντος τοῦ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛΙΟΥ ΟΛΣΤΗΝΙΟΥ [...] ἀποκρινομένου [...] προστεθεῖσα τῇ τρίτῃ μεσοῦντος μηνὸς τοῦ Γαμηλιῶνος. Erkki Sironen found a copy in the Linköping City Library. Marklin (1820 Suppl.: 82, no. 3b) mentions erroneously that it was Ericus (not Gabriel) Holstenius who supervised a Greek dissertation in Västerås. Cf. Fant 1775–1778 I: 55 (with right attribution).

¹⁰ Holstenius – Matthias Eri 1627, Thesis 5 (A2r). Aristotle divided virtues into intellectual and ethical virtues in the *EE* 1219a5 and *EN* 1138b35–1139a4.

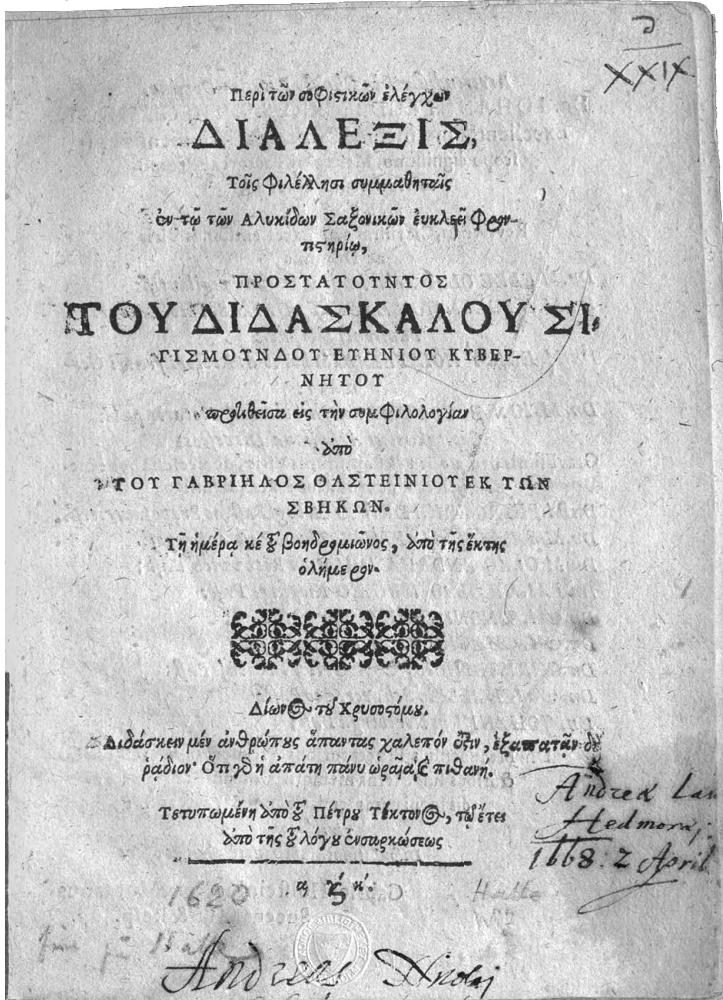


ILL. 1. Title page of the disputation by Gabriel Holstenius – Matthias Erici. Västerås 1627. (Linköping City Library).

The supervisor, Gabriel Holstenius (1596–1649), had matriculated in Germany, in Halle city gymnasium.¹¹ We may suppose with justice that his knowledge of Greek as well as his idea for supervising Greek dissertation in Västerås was the result of studying in Germany. He was even a respondent for a Greek dissertation in Halle in 1620, the subject of which was Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations* (ILL. 2). Περὶ τῶν σοφιστικῶν ἐλέγχων διάλεξις was supervised by the rector of

¹¹ The University of Halle was founded only in 1694. Gabriel Holstenius, the lector of Greek in the Västerås gymnasium, was Ericus Holstenius' uncle. Gillingstam 1971–73: 325.

the Halle gymnasium, Sigismundus Evenius.¹² It consists of 59 theses, of which some are developed more like chapters. Aristotle is also here referred to only as “the philosopher” (“the philosopher says”, “the philosopher finely put it”).



ILL. 2. Title page of the disputation by Sigismundus Evenius – Gabriel Holstenius. Halle 1620. (Uppsala University Library).

¹² Sigismundus Evenius – Gabriel Holstenius 1620, Περὶ τῶν σοφιστικῶν ἐλέγχων διάλεξις [...] προστατούντος τοῦ [...] προτεθείσα εἰς τὴν συμφιλολογίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛΟΣ ΟΛΣΤΕΙΝΙΟΥ ΕΚ ΤῶΝ ΣΒΗΚΩΝ. It is mentioned in Fant 1775–1778 I: 54. Janika Päll found a copy in the Uppsala University Library (Shelf mark: *Dissertationes Svecorum Extra Patriam suppl.* (1606–1633)). For Evenius, see Päll 2018: 72.

There are some external features common to Halle and Västerås dissertations as well as for all dissertations supervised by Johannes Gezelius. These dissertations consist of theses, a *votum* to God is put in the end and the last word of the dissertation is ΤΕΛΟΣ (ILL. 3, 4). Besides, the title pages are all in Greek and the wording of printing details is similar as well as the detail that the month of the publication date is presented in the ancient Attic calendar.

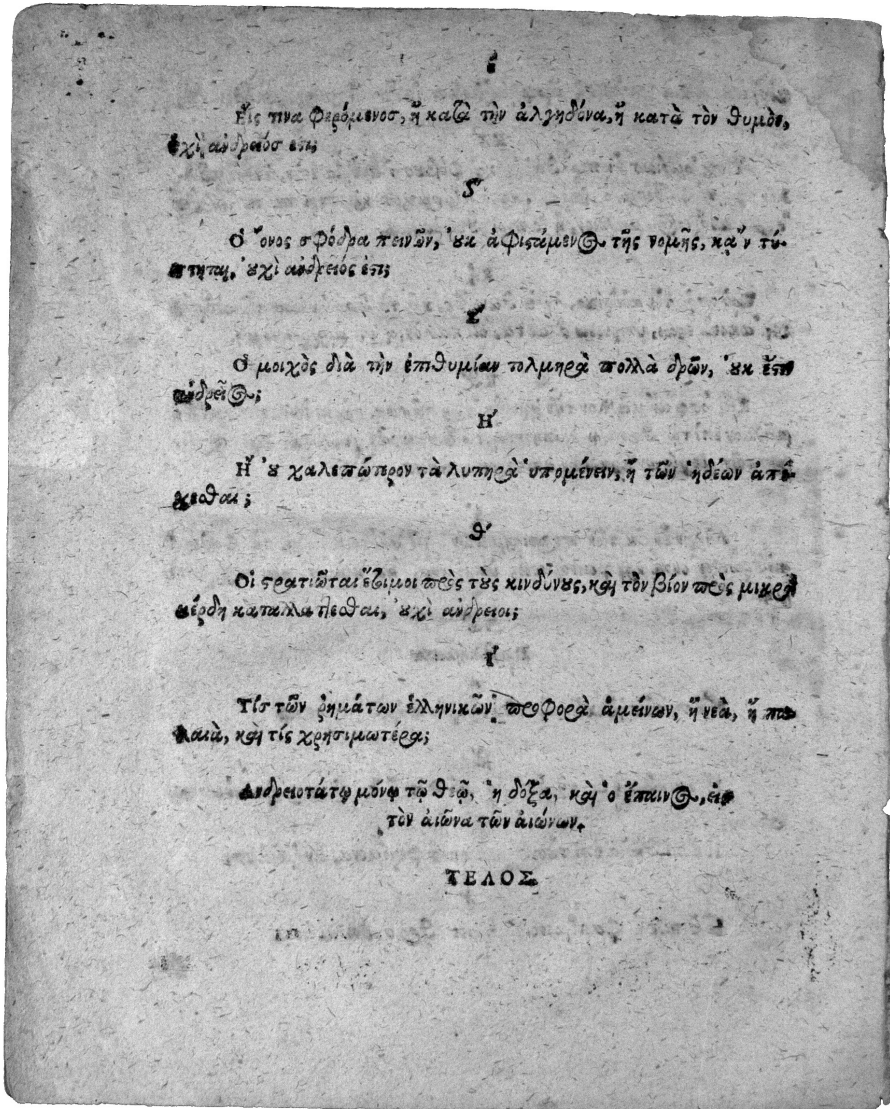
After studying at the Västerås gymnasium Gezelius registered at the Uppsala University in 1637, but moved soon to the University of Tartu, where he studied in 1638–1641. Although Gezelius distinguished himself with a career in the Church, mainly in Finland, he was also an academic, working as a professor of Greek and Hebrew, and later of theology in Tartu (1642–49), after which he was appointed as the lecturer of theology in Västerås gymnasium (1649–50).¹³ In his Tartu years, Gezelius published at least 25 occasional poems in Greek and printed Greek authors for school use,¹⁴ a long-standing Greek grammar, and a lexicon of New Testament. In addition to these, he translated Jan Comenius' famous "Key to languages", *Janua linguarum*, into *koinē* Greek.

All except the last he later reprinted in his own printing house in Turku, Finland, where he published some other Greek books, too: a collection of Aesopean fables, a handbook for the Church's daily ritual in Greek and Latin (*Dominicalia & Festivalia Evangelia Graeco-Latina*), which includes explanations of grammar, and, notably, Johannes Posselius' conversation manual in Greek.¹⁵ Gezelius was appointed the bishop of Turku, Finland, in his fifties, the post he filled for the rest of his life (1664–1690). His impact on the general literacy of Finnish people was considerable, but along with his many other achievements, he was a promoter of active Greek skills in the Swedish universities by his own example as well as by publishing Greek textbooks.

¹³ Mustelin 1967–69, 101. Against Gezelius' professorship, see Päll 2006: 102–107 and Friedenthal, Päll 2017: 206–207.

¹⁴ A collection of sentences attributed to Pythagoras and Phocylides along with poems from Theognis' corpus. Korhonen 2004: 90–91 and Päll 2018: 69–70, 87. In Turku, Gezelius published three occasional poems in Greek so that, in all, he wrote at least 28 occasional poems in Greek.

¹⁵ Aesopian fables were thought to be suitable elementary Greek reading texts in many Swedish school ordinances. Posselius was the professor of Greek at the University of Rostock. Ludwig 1998: 95.



ILL. 3. Last page of the disputation (Προβλήματα) by Gabriel Holstenius –
 Matthias Eri. Västerås 1627. (Linköping City Library).

λιν, ὅταν ραδίον ᾖ τις ἀνθρώπος ἐξεπαίαν, χαλεπὸν δὲ σκείνης διδά-
σκειν, ἀλλὰ μὲν τὸ ψευδὲς ἐν τῇ λογικῇ ἔσφρατίζεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ φαινόμε-
ναν, εἶδ' ὅτι ἀληθὲς ἔχο', ὅ τῆς ἀγαλύσεως, εἴτε ἔλεγχος τρέπ' ἄμα.

νς.

Εὐθύ δὲ καὶ ὅτιν ἑαυτ' ἔξκαμψύλα κἀναν, ὁμοίως ἔ' ἀληθὲς ἑαυτ' ἔ-
ξψευδὲς, ἀρὰ διωρισμένως πρὸ τῶν ψευδῶν ἐλέγχωι εἰπείν ἔκ ἐστὶν ἀναγ-
καμ' ὅτι γδ' ὁ οἶδ' ἀληθὲς, οἶδε ὅ τὸ ψευδὲς, ἀλλὰ μὲν συγκεχυμένως, ἔ-
δε διωρισμένως.

νε.

Ὅταν ἔναι ἐλέγχοι φαινόμενοι πρὸς τὴν λογικὴν πραγματείαν ἀποβλε-
πῃσι, ποικίλως περὶ τῶν τόπων διαλέγεται. Πολλοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐλέγχον
ἐν πρῶτῳ ἔξδιαλέγεσθαι μερὲς προσθέσθαι οὐ φέλειν ἰσχυρὰ, ὅτι πρὸς τοῖς
ἀληθὲς νοεῖν βέλπαιον δὴ κεν δυνάμεται, εἰ τὰ ψευδῆ πρὶν ἔκ τῆ μέσῃ ἀνατ-
ρῇ, ἀλλά δε τῶν ὅτιν ὑστερῶν πρῶτον πρῶτον, ὅτι, πως τις πρὸς τὸ ἔψευ-
δὲς νοεῖν δύναται, εἰ μὴ πρῶτον τῆ ἀληθὲς νόησιν ἔχη, τῶτο δὴ
εἰσποτε γίνεσθαι δύναται.

νη.

Λέγεται ἂν τοῖς παραλογισμοῖς τόπι' ὁ ὑστερῶν, ὅταν τῆς λογι-
κῆς πραγματείας πρῶτον ὑπάρχει τέλ' ἢ τὴν ἀλήθειαν διδάσκων ἢ εὐ-
ρίσκων, ταύτης δὲ λελημμένης τὸ ψευδὲς ἐλέγχων. ὅτι γδ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι
πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς πεφύκασιν ἰκανῶς, ἢ τὰ πλείω τυγχάνουσι τῆς ἀληθείας.

νδ.

Ὅθεν φανερόν ᾖ τὴν πρὸ τῶν ἐλέγχων διδαχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τοπικῶν τῶ-
ὑποκειμένων διαφέρειν. οἱ οἱ πρὸ τῶν τοπικῶν συλλογισμοὶ ὅτι τῶν εἰδό-
ξων, παραλογισμοὶ δὲ ὅτι τῶν φαινομένων, ὄντων δὲ μὴ, ὑπάρχουσιν. εἰ δέ-
να γὰρ τὸ τῆς λογικῆς πραγματείας νοεῖν ἐπιτέλες ἔχειν δύνασθαι δῆλον, εἰ
μὴ τὴν πρὸ τῶν ἐλέγχων διδαχὴν, εἰ καὶ ἐπιτελεμέ-

ως νοήση.

ἢ δόξα ἢ τιμὴ πάντα τὰ καλὰ τελεντι μόνω τῷ Θεῷ
εἰς πάντα χρόνον.

Τ Ε Λ Ο Σ



2. 1941/271

ILL. 4. Last page of the disputation by Sigmundus Evenius – Gabriel Holstenius. Halle 1620. (Uppsala University Library).

How Many Greek Dissertations Did Gezelius Supervise?

We have evidence of four groups of Gezelius' dissertations, which in chronological order are as follows:

- A. The first Greek dissertation(s), published in 1641–43; however, the only evidence for their existence is Gezelius' remark in his catalogue (1684, 2nd edition in 1689).
- B. The pneumatological series supervised in 1644–47, nine in all, of which the seventh and eighth are lost. It is possible that the tenth one of the series was at least planned, if not written or published.
- C. The title pages of a series on theological issues, all supervised in 1649, comprising 28 dissertations, but most probably mere starting points for oral disputation.
- D. A Greek gymnasium dissertation supervised in Stockholm gymnasium in 1650.

The number of dissertations – only eight are extant – supervised by Gezelius has raised certain questions.¹⁶ In addition to the gymnasium dissertation (D), seven of the extant ones belong to the pneumatological series (B) and are named as “The first pneumatological study”, “The second pneumatological study” and so on (see the titles below in the next chapter and in the Appendix). The series was published during the years 1644–47, comprising nine dissertations of which the seventh and the eighth are lost.¹⁷ Thus, we have the first–sixth and the ninth dissertation of the series. However, there could have been one more in this series. Namely, the writer of the ninth dissertation tells at the very beginning that the former dissertations have dealt with the subjects of “psychology” in general terms (γενική), but this dissertation (that is, the ninth), whose subject is the happiness of the soul in Heaven, and the last one, which is about the misery of the soul (in Hell), deal with the subjects of “psychology” in specific terms (ειδική).¹⁸ Nevertheless, we have no evidence whether the last one (that is, the tenth of the series) was ever written or published.¹⁹

¹⁶ Korhonen 2004: 376–7. Päll 2005: 104. Most of the extant originals are to be found for instance in the libraries of Uppsala and Linköping. Tartu University Library has photocopies of all Greek dissertations from Tartu (cf. Jaanson 2000).

¹⁷ They were already lost in the 18th century: Fant 1775–1778 I: 111 does not give the titles.

¹⁸ Gezelius – Enoch 1647, Thesis 1 (f2r): Καὶ οὕτως ἦν ἡ ψυχολογία γενική, ἐν τῇ γενετῇ ἀθανασία καὶ ἰδίας δυνάμεσιν, ἦντινα κατεσκόπησαν πρότεροι αἱ συζητήσεις, ἔπεται οὖν ἡ εἰδική, μεταχειρίζουσα περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκ μέρους μὲν εὐδαιμονος, περὶ ἧς ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ, ἐκ μέρους δὲ παντλήμονος, περὶ ἧς ἐν ἐσχάτῃ συζητήσῃ.

¹⁹ Fant 1775–1778 I: 111 does not mention it at all. The continuous pagination of the series of dissertations usually indicates their having been printed together. However, this concerns only

The terminology used on the title-pages of the pneumatological series is alike. The text of the title-page of the second dissertation (ILL. 5) in the series is as following:

Τῆς Πνευματικῆς συζήτησις δευτέρα περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ κτίστου γενικῶς.
 Ἦτις σὺν θέῳ προστεθήσεται ἐν τῷ ἀκροατηρίῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας
 Δορπατικῆς καθηγουμένου τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γεωργίου Γεζηλίου, τοῦ τῆς
 γλώττης Ἑβραϊκῆς καὶ Ἑλληνικῆς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ Καθηγητοῦ δημο-
 τελοῦς, Ἀποκρινομένου τοῦ Ἑρρίκου Μαρτίνου Ἱερζηλίου Σβηκοῦ. Τῇ ἔκτῃ
 ἰσταμένου μηνὸς Θαραηλιῶνος, τῷ τῆς χριστογονίας ἔτει α χ μ δ. Τετυπωμένη
 ἐν Δορπάτῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου Οὐώγηλ, τοῦ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας τυπογράφου.

Praeses and respondent are expressed by present mediopassive participles (καθηγούμενος, ἀποκρινόμενος), and the dissertation (συζήτησις) is announced to be presented, προστεθήσεται (future passive), in the great lecture hall in the University of Tartu.²⁰

However, there are some pieces of information that indicate that Gezelius possibly supervised still more Greek dissertations. As mentioned earlier, Gezelius himself declares in his catalogue (1684) announcing the book production of his publishing house in Finland that he exposed to public examination (*ventilo*) several dissertations in Tartu, some of them in Greek, in 1641–43.²¹ The earliest extant Greek ones we have are, however, from the year 1644 and,

the first five of the pneumatological series, the last page of the fifth one is [E4v]. The pagination begins anew in the sixth dissertation but is missing in the ninth one of the series. This could perhaps be evidence that the seventh and eighth dissertation were never printed or at least that they were printed separately. I am grateful to Janika Päll for this notice on pagination.

²⁰ In comparison, the word for dissertation is διάλεξις, and the supervisor, as a praeses, is expressed both in Halle and Västerås dissertations by the participle προστατούντος (προστατεῖν ‘to rule over, lead’). To be a respondent is expressed by the verb ἀποκρίνομαι in Västerås dissertation as well (as already in Plato, referring to dialectical debate, *Prt.* 338d). However the Greek dissertation supervised in the Halle gymnasium does not use the future but aorist passive participle of the verb προτίθημι (προτεθεῖσα), which may refer to the normal practice that the dissertation was published already before its oral examination. Διάλεξις is in use in three Greek dissertations supervised by Ausius. See Korhonen 2010: 93–94. Although the word may refer – for a classicist – more to an oral disputation, they were, however, written dissertations.

²¹ Gezelius 1684: 1: *Anno 1641. 42. 43. Variæ Disputat., pleraeq̃ Graecæ, Dorpati ventilatae in 4:to*. In all, Gezelius mentions here three groups of dissertations that he published in Tartu: a) those supervised in Tartu, “several of them in Greek”, in 1641, 1642 and 1643; b) two dissertations, which belong to a *theological* series in 1644 and 1648 (*Anno 1644 Συλλογος συζητικὸς (θεολογικός) ΠΡΩΤΟΣ; Anno 1648 Συλλογος συζητικὸς (θεολ.) ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ*), and c) a dissertation in Stockholm gymnasium in 1650 *ad mandatum Reginae Christinae*. Fant supposed that the first group refers to the pneumatological series and the second group to the theological one, which, of course, does not fit chronologically. Fant 1775–1778 I: 110–111. See also Korhonen 2004: 387.



ILL. 5. Title page of the disputation by Johannes Gezelius sen. – Henricus Hierzelius. Dorpat 1644. (Uppsala University Library).

as far as we know, Gezelius presided only over one Latin dissertation in Tartu. It was published in 1648.²² Did he perhaps refer to dissertations, in which he acted as *respondens* (before his professorship) – and which are now lost?²³

Furthermore, we have no fewer than 28 title pages of Greek dissertations of the series “Study on theological issues” (Τῶν τόπων θεολογικῶν συζήτησις). They are named as the first one, the second one and so on. The surprising feature in this series is that according to their title-pages all 28 were published in 1649.²⁴ However, already Ericus Michael Fant, who was one of the eighteenth-century scholars keenly interested in Nordic Humanist Greek texts and Nordic Greek Humanism, reported in his study that he has seen only the title-pages, and not the written dissertations.²⁵ Thus, they were probably not more than announcements for oral disputations indicating the subject, time and place as well as the *praeses* and *respondens*. We may assume that these oral disputations on theological subjects were conducted in all likelihood in Latin, not in Greek. Still, twenty-eight oral disputations is an impressive number for one professor to arrange in one year. Some disputations of this series deal with the same topics as the pneumatological series: on angels (No. 6) and on the genesis of the soul (No. 8).²⁶

There is a slight terminological variation in the title-pages between the existing pneumatological dissertations and the (possibly) mere oral disputations of the theological series: instead of the verb προστίθημι for the dissertation to be presented for examination, which is used both in the pneumatological series and in the gymnasium dissertation dedicated to the Queen (D), the verb used in the title-pages of the series of “theological issues” is ἐκδικεῖν

²² Its subject was courage: Gezelius – Stregnensis, *Disputatio ethica de fortitudine*. Jaanson 2000, No. 590.

²³ I owe the last notion to the anonymous referee of this paper.

²⁴ Jaanson 2000, Nos. 617–644; Päll 2005: 104. All title-pages are extant in the Linköping library, with photocopies at Tartu University Library.

²⁵ Fant 1775–1778 I: 110–111.

²⁶ The subjects of the dissertations are: on the Holy Scriptures (No. 1), on God (2), on the Trinity (3), on the Creation (4), on providence (5), on angels (6), on the image of God in human beings (7), on the genesis of the soul (8), on free will (9), on sin (10), on choice (11), on Christ (12), on the teaching given by Christ (13), on the law and the Gospels (14), on faith (15), on contrition (16), on good works (17), on church (18), on the service of the church (19), on mysteries (20), on the holy synod (21), on righteousness (22), on distress and prayer (23), on the civil administration (24), on union, 25), on death (26), on the completeness of eternity (27), on Hades and the eternal life (28). See Jaanson 2000, Nos. 617–644, where the dissertations are in alphabetical order according to the name of the respondent.

(ἐκδικηθήσεται), which means ‘to punish, to judge’.²⁷ The oral examination might resemble the detailed inspection conducted in court, although ‘judging’ is of course a suitable term for examining a written dissertation, too.

The Greek gymnasium dissertation (D) dedicated to Queen Christina was inspected at the Royal gymnasium of Stockholm in 1650. The subject of the dissertation was the ‘purity of man’ (περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀδιαφθόρου). Its title page contains a unique phrase: ἐπὶ τῷ Κελεύσματι Ὑπερενδοξοτάτης καὶ Δυναμικωτάτης τῆς Βασιλίσσης (“by order of the most brilliant and the mightiest Queen”). Queen Christina had thus commanded the Greek dissertation to be disputed and perhaps also suggested the subject, the “purity” of man in the paradise. This dissertation was naturally dedicated to the Queen as well.²⁸ The references are only to the Bible – mostly to the Old Testament giving also some etymologies of Hebraic words.

Content of Gezelius’ Pneumatological Dissertations

The translated titles of the pneumatological series are as follows (see the Greek titles in the Bibliography):

- (1) The first pneumatological study on spirit in general and especially *on the spirit of God*. Respondent Ericus Harckman (1644) (Jaanson 421)
- (2) The second pneumatological study *on the spirit of the created beings* in general. Respondent Henricus Hierzelius (1644) (Jaanson 422)
- (3) The third pneumatological study *on good and evil angels*. Respondent Laurentius Mellerus (1644) (Jaanson 423)
- (4) The fourth pneumatological study *on the genesis of the soul*. Respondent Ericus Holstenius (1646) (Jaanson 492)
- (5) The fifth pneumatological study *on the immortality of the rational soul*. Respondent Christianus Jheringius (1646). (Jaanson 493)
- (6) The sixth pneumatological study *on the potentialities of the rational soul separated from body*. Respondent Ericus Munthelius (1647). (Jaanson 534)

²⁷ Gezelius – Olaus Bergius 1649: Τῶν τόπων θεολογικῶν συζήτησις πρώτη, περὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Γραφῆς. Ἦτις [...] ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ Γουσταβιανῇ ... ἐκδικηθήσεται, κατηγομένου τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γεωργίου Γεζηλίου ... Ἀποκρινομένου τοῦ [...]. The verb ἐκδικέω means to avenge and punish but in NT Greek ‘to exact vengeance for a crime’, that is, ‘to judge’. LSJ.

²⁸ A year earlier, in 1649, Gezelius had dedicated his Lexicon of New Testament Greek to Christina by a Greek letter, which comprises seven pages. The letter deals with the history and nature of Greek language. Korhonen 2009: 49 and Korhonen 2004: 94–96.

- (7) The seventh pneumatological dissertation is lost.
- (8) The eighth pneumatological dissertation is lost.
- (9) The ninth pneumatological study *on the blissful life of the soul in Heaven*. Respondent Elias Enoch (1647) (Jaanson 535)
- [(10) The tenth pneumatological study *on the miserable life in Hell*. The title is hypothetical.]

Pneumatology is nowadays a branch of Christian theology concerning mainly the Holy Spirit (*pneuma*) and its influence on the human world. In the seventeenth century, it dealt also with the *pneuma* of God so that the existence and essence of God was one subdivision of pneumatology. There was then the basic difference between uncreated spirit (God's spirit) and the created spirit, the latter of which was understood to be active both in human beings and in angels. Thus, angelography or angelology was a part of pneumatology, too.²⁹ Angelography is generally divided in the third pneumatological dissertation as: “in those dealing with good and those dealing with evil angels. Those dealing with seraphic angels, that is eudaimonic, or those dealing with daemonic, which deals with evil angels”.³⁰ Pneumatology served also a kind of psychology before psychology, and it was especially a result of the work of Philipp Melanchthon – to whom Aristotle's *De Anima* was an important book – that one can speak about philosophical pneumatology.³¹ Reading through the second and sixth pneumatological Greek dissertation of this series gives an impression that it was also a kind of a philosophy of mind pondering on such topics as memory, will and voluntary acts, and acts of thought.

Besides having uniform title-pages, the Greek pneumatological dissertations supervised by Gezelius are around six text-pages long (eight pages of quarto in all) and consist of 20–40 short, numbered theses. As mentioned earlier, sometimes there is a reference to the previous or next text in the series. The beginning of the second pneumatological study refers to the first one:

Μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος Ἀκτίστου ἐγχείρησιν, ἣν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συζητήσει εἶδομεν, χρῆ τὴν τοῦ Ἐκτισμένου Πνεύματος διάσκεψιν κατακοσπεῖν, ἣν γενικῶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἀσκήσει ΣΥΝ ΘΕΩΙ μεταχειρίσομεν.

²⁹ Hinlicky 2009: 177–179; Haga 2012: 107–108; Pitkäranta 1992: 65 and 91.

³⁰ Gezelius – Mellerus 1644, Thesis 12 (C3r): Ἡ Ἀγγελογραφία γενικὴ οὕτως ἦν, ἥδ' εἰδικὴ περὶ καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ ἀγγέλου μεταχειρίζουσα ἐστὶν ἥτοι Σεραφικὴ περὶ τοῦ εὐδαίμονος, ἥτοι δαιμονολογία περὶ τοῦ κακοδαίμονος. According to Reijo Pitkäranta (1992: 65), the term *angelography* was coined probably at the end of the fourteenth century.

³¹ Haga 2012: 107; Pitkäranta 1992: 65. See also Friedenthal, Päll 2017: 184–188.

“After the attempt to [clarify] the uncreated spirit, which we handled in the first dissertation, we should study the concept of the created spirit, which we begin in general level in this dissertation with the help of God.” Gezelius – Hierzelius 1646, Thesis 1 (B2r).

The style of the dissertations is simple and often syntactically awkward but quite fluent and suggests one and same author for this series. There are phrases, which refer to the influence of Latin and especially scholastic Latin but also to interpreters of classical texts from late antiquity. For instance, when the writer of the second dissertation of the pneumatological series moves to discuss how the created *pneuma* is planted in us, he mentions that “among the philosophers” the noetical soul is called “essential/substantial form” (μορφὴ οὐσιώδης). This kind of phrase might be a translation of Latin but it also occurs in a Neo-Platonic text, namely in Porphyrius’ commentary on Aristotle’s categories.³² In any case, it was not a common phrase among ancient Greek philosophers.

Although the first person plural is in use and the dissertation is called συζήτησις (συν + ζήτησις), it is most probable that Gezelius was mainly responsible for the written form in these dissertations. The share of responsibility and authorship can, however, vary.³³ For instance, Ericus Holstenius, the respondent of the fourth dissertation (1646), had already studied at the University of Turku, Finland, and dedicated this Greek dissertation to his former professor of Greek at the University of Turku among others. Was he then the writer of the dissertation? Due to the ambiguity of authorship, I here prefer to speak both of “Gezelius’ Greek dissertations” and of undefined “writer of dissertation”.

Although Greek dissertations supervised by Gezelius – and Gezelius’ Grecism in general – are theological in character, some of the dissertations supervised by him include also references to classical authors.

³² Porphyrius, *In Aristotelis categorias expositio per interrogationem et responsionem*, vol. 4.1, p. 133. 15.

³³ A short discussion of authorship in dissertations can be found in Korhonen 2010: 91. The respondent of the third pneumatological dissertation, Laurentius Mellerus, signed his dedication only as *resp.* (*respondens*) and not as *respondens et auctor* (Gezelius – Mellerus 1644 [A1v]). Some of the respondents had already showed their ability or interest in Greek before acting as respondents. The respondent of the first dissertation of the pneumatological series, Ericus Harckman, composed a wedding congratulation in Greek to Gezelius a year before his disputation (Jaanson 2000, No. 408). The respondent of the fifth dissertation, Christianus Jheringius, gave a Latin speech dealing with Hebrew, Greek and Latin languages in 1644 (Jaanson 2000, No. 426).

Classical References in the Pneumatological Dissertations

Most references to classical authors occur in the dissertation discussing the spirit of God (No. 1 of the series, Gezelius – Harckman 1644). There are several demonstrations of the existence of God, the third one stating: “Philosophers argue in the following way: being and non-being are not the same thing; God either exists or does not; if God does not exist, then the world is founded on itself: it is complete and unlimited, compounded without necessity – but all these are impossibilities. Therefore, God exists.”³⁴ It is unclear which philosophers are referred here to. However, there are other, clearer allusions to ancient authors, like while discussing on universality of theism ([3r]:

ι'η.

Διὸ καὶ πολλὰς γνώμας περικαλλεῖς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς σοφωτέρων ἔθνικῶν εὖρομεν, μάλιστα δ' ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Σωκράτους, Κικερῶνος, Ξενοφάντος, Ἀριστοτέλους, κλ.

ι'θ.

Οὕτω γὰρ Ἀριστ. α. περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ παραγρ. κ'β. Πάντες Ἄνθρωποι περὶ θεῶν ἔχουσιν ὑπόληψιν. Καὶ Ξενοφ. Εἴτε θεοὺς ἴλεως εἶναι σοὶ βούλει, θεραπευτέον τοὺς θεοὺς.

18.

Therefore, we find so many sound ideas in the writings of the most civilized pagans, like that of Socrates, Cicero, Xenophon, and Aristotle and of many others.

19.

So Aristotle in the first book of *On Heavens*, chapter 22: “All human beings have some conception of the nature of the gods”. And Xenophon: “If you want the favour of the gods, you must worship the gods.”

The writings of Socrates mentioned in the Thesis 18 refer to Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, which is quoted in the next Thesis without *locus* along with Aristotle's *On Heavens*, which is referred to exactly.³⁵ Later on, the writer discusses God's

³⁴ Gezelius – Harckman 1644, Thesis 21 [3r]: Οἱ φιλόσοφοι τοῦτον τρόπον συλλογίζονται· Ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι· Ὁ θεὸς ἢ ἐστὶν ἢ οὐ. Εἰ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ θεός, ὁ κόσμος ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὑπάρχει, πεπεραισμένον χωρὶς ἀπείρου, σύνθετον χωρὶς ἀναγκαίου, ἅτινα πάντα ἄτοπα. ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ θεός.

³⁵ Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.28: ἀλλ' εἴτε τοὺς θεοὺς ἴλεως εἶναι σοὶ βούλει, θεραπευτέον τοὺς θεοὺς. The context is Prodicus' tale of Heracles encountering two ladies, Virtue and Vice. On the popularity of Prodicus story in this period, see Akujärvi 2018 (in this volume). Arist. *Cael.* 1.22 = *Cael.* 270b6.

omniscience and mentions that already pagans called God the knower of the hearts (καρδιογνώστης): “Cicero many times and the poet Orpheus: ‘All it sees, all it hears, all it guides.’” Orpheus’ line recalls the Orphic hymn to the goddess Nemesis.³⁶ While dealing with the all-happiness of God (πανευδαιμονία or πανολβία) the writer refers to “Aristotle’s *Ethics*, Book 7, chapter 15”, which states that only God can be truly happy (εὐδαίμων), because only he is self-sufficient (αὐτάρκης) and is devoid of nothing.³⁷ This could be an allusion to the *Eudemian Ethics* 1244b7–10, although Aristotle does not equate happiness and self-sufficiency in such a straightforward way.³⁸

There is also a short reference to Simonides: “So, the knowledge of physical [universe] is not enough; we seek after the light of grace, that is, the unveiled truth, and what was enough to Simonides is never enough for us.”³⁹ There were many stories and anecdotes of the poet Simonides (556–468 BCE) in antiquity. Most probably the writer refers to the one, which Cicero, who is mentioned in passing in the Theses 18 and 33, tells in his *De natura deorum*. The tyrant of Syracuse, Hieron, asked Simonides to define what a god is. Simonides continually postponed the definition because the more he thought about it, the more obscure the matter seemed to him (*nat. deo.* 1.22.60). The reference to Simonides serves thus as reminder that one should seek after firm knowledge of God and not content oneself with uncertainty.

The writer, of course, refers to the Bible, too, but not so much as one would expect in the dissertation discussing the God. There are more Biblical references, fifteen in all, in the dissertations dealing with the genesis of the soul (No. 4 of the series) and even more in the dissertation on the blissful life of the soul in Heaven (No. 9 of the series). The dissertation examining the immortality of the rational soul (No. 5 of the series) has four references to the New Testament.

Similarly to the first dissertation, some other dissertations of the series have vague references to “philosophers”. The writer of the dissertation *On the poten-*

³⁶ Gezelius – Harckman 1644, Thesis 33 [4r]: [...] καὶ οἱ ἔθνικοι, καλέσαντες αὐτὸν Καρδιογνώστην, καθὼς ὁ Κικερῶν πολλάκις, καὶ ὁ Ὀρφεὺς ὁ ποιητὴς· Πάντ’ ἐφορᾷ, καὶ πάντ’ ἀκούει, καὶ πάντα βραβεύει. Cf. Orphic Hymn to Nemesis (No. 61, 8 Fagin): πάντ’ ἐσορᾷς καὶ πάντ’ ἐπακούεις καὶ πάντα βραβεύεις.

³⁷ Gezelius – Harckman 1644, Thesis 38 [4v]: [...] καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, γράφων ζ. ἠθικ. κεφ. ιε’. μόνον τὸν θεὸν εὐδαίμονα εἶναι, ὅτι μόνος ἑαυτῷ ἀρκεῖ ἢ αὐτάρκης ἐστὶ καὶ μηδενὸς ὑστερεῖται.

³⁸ There are, of course, many statements of god’s self-sufficiency in Aristotle’s works (*De caelo* 279a20–22, *Met.* 1091b15, *EE* 1244b7–10, *MM* 1212b37, *Pol.* 1253a28 and *EN* 1177b).

³⁹ Gezelius – Harckman 1644, Thesis 29 [3r]: Ὡδε τῆς γνώσεως φυσικῆς οὐκ ἀρκούσης ἡμῖν, πρὸς τὸ φῶς τῆς χάριτος, τουτέστι, τὴν γνῶσιν ἀποκεκαλυμμένην καταφεύζομεν, μήποτε ἡμῖν τὸ τῷ Σιμωνίδῃ γεγονὸς γένηται.

tialities of the rational soul separated from body (No. 6) mentions that “philosophers have different opinions concerning the different potentialities of the soul”.⁴⁰ After that, the writer divides these opinions into four groups while not mentioning any names of “philosophers” supporting each group of opinions.

While the writer of the dissertation *On the pneuma of created beings* (No. 2) discusses what kind of evidence we have that there are, to begin with, created spirits (and not only the uncreated spirit, God’s *pneuma*), he mentions that there are also “pagan historians” who support this statement. But also here the writer does not mention any historians by name. A little later, the writer seems to allude to Plato: “For Plato, the boundless (ἄπειρον) is that which has a *logos* in the created being – a *logos*, which has a potentiality to receive.”⁴¹ Although *apeiron* seems to be equated here with divinity, it was quite a negative concept for Plato as well as many other early Greek thinkers, having connotations of the ambiguous and undefined, the absence of limit or measure. Therefore “Plato” represents here some Middle or Neoplatonist philosopher or, rather, the writer’s concept of this philosopher’s thinking.⁴²

The writer of the dissertation *On the immortality of the rational soul* (No. 5) sees immortality first and foremost as the general quality of God. However, the immortality of the human soul can be proved, although there are some, as the writer states, like the Epicureans, who deny it (Thesis 6). The writer proves the immortality of the human soul by four arguments. At first it is proved by referring to the Bible by piling up stories about those whom Jesus restored to life after their death (Theses 7–12). Then the immortality of the human soul is proved by the nature of God: God’s sense of justice does not allow man’s soul to be mortal. Furthermore, as a perfect being, God cannot want something and not be able to fulfil it (Theses 13–14). The third and fourth demonstration of the immortality of the human soul (Theses 15–24) are the most interesting ones from the vantage point of classical references and by their slight Aristotelian tone. The third demonstration states that all living beings have a soul, but the souls of animals are mortal and will die along with their body (Thesis 15). The rational soul, however, is able to move itself, and therefore it

⁴⁰ Gezelius – Munthelius 1647, Thesis 5 (A2): Περὶ τῆς μὲν διαφορᾶς τῶν δυνάμεων ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς, μίαν γνώμην οὐ ποιοῦσι πάντες οἱ φιλόσοφοι, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ταύτην, ὁ δ’ ἐκείνην [...].

⁴¹ Gezelius – Hierzelius 1644, Thesis 11 (B2v) Τὸ ἄπειρον τῷ Πλάτωνι ἐστίν, ὃ, τι ἂν ἐν τῷ ὄντι κτιστῷ δυνάμεως παθητικῆς λόγον ἔχει. The “potential receptiveness” is determined in another dissertation, in Gezelius – Hierzel 1644, Thesis 14 (B3r): Ἡ δύναμις παθητικῆ, ἧτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ διατεταγμένη πρὸς τὸ ἀποδέχεσθαι τὴν τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος ἐργασίαν, καὶ τὸν ὅρον αὐτοῦ.

⁴² In the *Philebus*, Socrates mentions the Pythagorean principle that all existing things have inherent them both the finite as well as the infinite (*apeiron*) (*Phileb.* 16c). On the development of the concept of *apeiron* in Greek thought, see Undsk 2009.

is indestructible (Thesis 16). This refers to Aristotle's idea of Prime Mover or "God" (*Met.* 12.7.1072a21–7). The fourth demonstration seeks extra evidence from the pagan writers:

Δ. τὸ τέταρτον παρέχεται ἀπὸ τῶν μαρτυριῶν παντὸς ἔθνους· περὶ τῶν μὲν ἁγ. πατέρων, καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν χριστιανῶν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀμφίσβητον, οἵτινες ὁμοθυμαδὸν τὴν ἀθανασίαν τῶν ψυχῶν ἠμύνοντο· περὶ δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων ἔθνικῶν τοῦτ' εἶδομεν, κἄν περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὀλίγα ἄτοπα ἔγραψάν τε καὶ ἐδίδαξαν, μηδὲν ἦττον πάντες σοφώτεροι αὐτῶν περὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας τῆς ψυχῆς κάλλιστα πάντα κατέλιπον. τῷ δείγματι ἡμῖν ἔστωσαν ὁ Φερεκίδης [!] καὶ ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ ὁ Πυθαγόρας, τρισμέγιστος, Ὅμηρος, Ἄρατος, ὁ Κικερῶν, Πλίνιος, καὶ οὐστinas πλείστους ἀναριθμεῖ ὁ Ἀλστίδ ἐν τῇ Ἐγκυκλ.

The fourth proof is the evidence coming from all of pagans. As regards the Church Fathers on the one hand and among the Christians there is no dispute but all defended unanimously the immortality of the soul. As regards the pagan poets and philosophers, we know that some of them wrote and taught groundless things, but the wisest of them left beautiful [texts] on the immortality of the soul. Pherecydes, and his pupil, Pythagoras, [Hermes] Trismegistus, Homer, Aratus, Cicero and Pliny may be our testimony, and all those, which Alsted lists in his *Encyclopaedia*. Gezelius – Jheringius 1646, Thesis 25 [E4r].

After this impressive list of pagan authors, the writer reverts to referring to the Bible. One may ask why Plato (due of course to the demonstration of the immortality of soul in the *Phaedo*) is not among these writers? Ὁ Ἀλστίδ who is referred to at the end of this passage is the famous Calvinist philosopher Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638), whose *Encyclopaedia* (printed first in 1630) comprises seven main parts (*tomus*). The third part deals with "theoretical philosophy", one part of which is pneumatology.⁴³ Alsted gives a much longer list of pagan philosophers, Plato among them, who believed in the immortality of the soul.⁴⁴

Individual soul is divided as consisting of the immortal part and the potentialities (*δυνάμεις*) at the beginning of this dissertation on soul's rational part (No. 5, Thesis 2). The next one of the series deals with the potentialities

⁴³ Alsted's *Encyclopaedia* includes dictionaries. The most useful of them for writing Greek is *Lexicon Latinum*, which is a kind of Latin-Greek dictionary because it traces Latin words to Greek ones (Alsted 1989/1630 Vol. I: 203–229); after that, there are concise, thematically arranged glossaries (like *Nomenclator poeticae*), a Greek-Latin (and partly Hebrew) dictionary (Vol. I: 230–64). In my Alsted references, I refer by volume to the volumes (*Bands*) of the facsimile edition (1989).

⁴⁴ Alsted 1989/1630 Vol. II (*tomus* III): 661.

(No. 6). The writer concentrates on two potentialities: thought (διάνοια) and will (βουλή). First he presents some arguments about the soul's potentialities, which he proves to be wrong, like the "identity" of the soul and its potentialities.⁴⁵ Instead, the soul's potentialities are divided between different quarters of the soul. Here the writer quotes Augustine:

Περικαλλέως οὖν ἔχει ἡ τοῦ Αὐγουστίνου παροιμία· ἡ αὐτὴ οὐσία, ψυχὴ λέγεται, ὅπου ἀκμάζει· τὸ πνεῦμα, ὅπου θεωρεῖ· αἴσθησις, ὅπου αἰσθανεθαι· ὅπου φρονεῖ, φρήν· ὅπου κατανοεῖ, νοῦς· ὅπου διακρίνει, λόγος· ὅπου ἀναμνησκεται, μνήμη· ὅπου βούλεται, βούλησις·

Very beautiful, then, is Augustine's saying: 'The existence itself, that what is called soul, is that which blossoms; the spirit: that which ponders; the sensation: that which senses; that which considers, the mind; that which meditates, the intellect; that which thinks, logos; that which remembers, memory; that which wills/intends, will (of power).' Gezelius – Munthelius 1647, Thesis 20 [A4r].

This is, however, a direct translation from Alsted's text (the *Encyclopaedia, tomus III*, page 663): *Sed obsignemus hanc sententiam eleganti dicto Augustini lib. de spiritu & anima c. 13 & sermone de imag. cap. II. Eadem essentia, nempe anima, dicitur, dum vegetat; spiritus, dum contemplatu; sensus, dum sentir; animus, dum sapit; dum intelligit, mens; dum discernit, ratio; dum recordatur, memoria; dum vult, voluntas.* The only missing thing in the text's translation into Greek in this Tartu dissertation is the exact reference to Augustine's works.⁴⁶

Reading through Alsted's presentation of pneumatology in the *Encyclopaedia* reveals that these Greek dissertations supervised by Gezelius can in some extent and in places be viewed as translations of Alsted's Latin text into Greek. Certainly many of the classical references are from the *Encyclopaedia* – Alsted namely quotes Greek authors in Greek.⁴⁷ Moreover, also the order of presentation of Gezelius' pneumatological series follows Alsted's order, which makes it possible to speculate on the titles of the lost or unpublished ones (numbers 7, 8 and 10) – confirming at least the title of No. 10. (In Alsted's work, the title of the chapter VII in part IV (the treatise on pneumatology) is

⁴⁵ That is, thought and will cannot be identical with the soul so that will is identical with what one wills, and a thought is identical with what one thinks.

⁴⁶ *De spiritu et anima* is only attributed to Augustine, not an authentic work.

⁴⁷ The quotations in the No. 1 of the series, namely, of Aristotle and the Orphic hymn, see Alsted 1989/1630 Vol. II (*tomus III*): 632, 635, and the spurious reference to Aristotle in the same Greek dissertation, see *ibid.* p. 636. However, the quotation of Xenophon in the same Greek dissertation is not to be found in Alsted – or at least not in the part on Pneumatology.

De anima separata, degente in inferno.)⁴⁸ All in all, it is plausible to suppose that the ideas and arguments of Gezelius' Greek pneumatological dissertations lean heavily on Alsted's work.

Conclusion

Gezelius' seven extant dissertations published at the *Academia Gustaviana* seem at first glance to manifest Protestant Humanism fairly well: the content is theological – spiced sometimes with a bit of Aristotelianism – but the outer form, the structure of the dissertations, and the references to classical authors, admittedly quite few, manifest Humanism. However, the order of the contents and the classical references are here proved to be borrowings from the third *tomus* of Johannes Alsted's *Encyclopaedia* (1630) dealing with pneumatology. Because of the limitation of available space, the writers of these Greek dissertations had, of course, to make kinds of summaries of Alsted's lengthy arguments on pneumatological issues. These Greek pneumatological dissertations supervised by Johannes Gezelius obviously do not handle the whole field of pneumatology. The extant ones discuss the *pneuma* of God, the *pneuma* of the created beings, angels, the genesis of the soul, the immortality and potentialities of the human soul, and the soul's blissful life in Heaven.⁴⁹ The originality of these Greek dissertation lies, however, not only in the content choices – what is chosen from Alsted and what is left out – but also in the choice to write an academic thesis in Greek, thus participating in the European tradition to write “Humanist Greek”. It would be a subject of further research to analyse the scope of direct translation from Alsted in these Tartu dissertations in Greek.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Alsted 1989/1630 Vol. II (*tomus* III): 667. Alsted presents pneumatology in four parts: I *De spiritu in genere, de spiritu increato, qui est Deus in specie* (cf. No. 1 in Gezelius' series), II *De spiritu creato in genere* (No. 2), III *Angelographia* (No. 3), IV *Psychologia*, which includes among others chapters, Cap. I: *De creatione animae* (cf. No. 4), Cap. II: *De intellectu animae separate* (cf. No. 5), Cap. III: *De intellectu animae separate* (cf. No. 6), Cap. IV: *De voluntate animae separatae* (the lost No. 7?), Cap. V: *De potentia agendi in anima separata* (the lost No. 8?), Cap. VI: *De anima separata, degente in caelo* (cf. No. 9), Cap. VII: *De anima separata, degente in inferno* (the topic of the lost No. 10 of Gezelius' pneumatological series?).

⁴⁹ Later on, when Gezelius was appointed as bishop in Finland, he discussed some of these topics in the Latin synodical dissertations presented in the synodical meetings of the church. For instance, *De angelis* (1665), *De homine in statu integritatis* (1667) and the synodical dissertations *de libero arbitrio* (1670). On Gezelius' synodical dissertations, see Laasonen 1977: 47–49.

⁵⁰ A more thorough comparison between Gezelius' first Greek dissertation and Alsted has appeared in Friedenthal, Päll 2017: 199–204.

One advantage of writing in Greek – or translating or remodelling Latin text into Greek – was possibly catching the full resonance of the Greek words, like the Aristotelian terminology (ἐνέργεια, δύναμις, ἐντελέχεια, ἔξις) common in the contemporary scholarly texts in Latin. Writing in Greek was an intertextual and sociocultural practice but also a form of self-representation and an expression of the prestige of Greek.⁵¹ To a student to be a respondent of a dissertation in Greek was obviously a way to stand out favourably from the rest of students. But it is doubtful whether single defending (or co-writing with a professor) of a Greek dissertation contributed to one's academic career prominently or not at all. *Habent sua fata discipuli*: the respondent of the fifth pneumatological dissertation, Chistianus Jheringius, was later ennobled and obtained the name Lilliering, whereas Ericus Munthelius, the respondent of the sixth, very ambitious dissertation for its subject matter, died as a beggar.⁵²

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⁵¹ Mark Amsler (2012) notices these features in late medieval literacy (or literacies).

⁵² On Munthelius, see the register of students, Kotivuori 2005 (only in Finnish).

⁵³ As Fant is generally recognised as the author of the whole *Historiola* series which is consequently quoted under his name solely, in this bibliography the name of the praeses of the two first *specimina*, Johannes Floderus, is presented at the second place and the quotations are only by Fant's name. (Editors.)

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Appendix. The translated titles of the dissertations published in Greek
in Swedish universities and gymnasia 1627–1688⁵⁴

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- Gezelius, Johannes sen. – Munthelius, Ericus (1647). *On the potentialities of rational soul separated from body*. [Τῆς πνευματικῆς συζήτησις ἕκτη, περὶ τῶν δυναμέων τῆς ψυχῆς λογικῆς, ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος κεχωρισμένης, γενικῶς.] University of Tartu.
- Gezelius, Johannes sen. – Enochi, Elias (1647). *On the blissful life of soul in Heaven*. [Τῆς πνευματικῆς συζήτησις ἐννάτη, περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς παμμάκαρος [!] ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ζώσης.] University of Tartu.⁵⁵
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⁵⁴ The disputations are here presented in chronological order. Greek titles have been inserted by the editors.

⁵⁵ On the lost three dissertations of the pneumatological series (numbers 7, 8, and 10), see above, notes 19 and 48.

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Abstract

Johannes Gezelius the Elder supervised at least ten Greek dissertations in 1644–50, the last one at the Stockholm gymnasium, others at the University of Tartu. This paper focuses especially on the Greek dissertations dealing with a branch of theology called pneumatology and the references to the classical Greek and Latin authors in them. There are seven extant dissertations of this series (Nos. 1–6 and No. 9). However, it seems that there had been plans to published the tenth dissertation on the subject “Life in Hell” in this series. References to the classical authors are not as numerous as in the Greek dissertations supervised by Henricus Ausius in Uppsala in 1648–1656. Although references are often quite vague, like mentioning Homer as one of the pagan authors in favour of the immortality of human soul, there are some direct quotations, too, like from Aristotle’s *On Heavens* and Xenophon’s *Memorabilia* (in the first dissertation of the series). However, it turned out that nearly all classical references, which are mentioned in extant Greek dissertations supervised by Gezelius, are to be found in Johann Alsted’s *Encyclopaedia* (1630) which is even referred to in the fifth dissertation of the series (Gezelius – Jheringius 1646, Thesis 25). It will be the task of further study to find out whether these Greek dissertations are modified translations into Greek of Alsted’s presentation of pneumatology in his *Encyclopaedia*.

⁵⁶ See Marklin, 1820 p. 83, no. 36b. This dissertation is possibly lost.

XENOPHON AND AESOP FOR SWEDISH YOUTH. ON THE EARLIEST PRINTED TRANSLATIONS OF ANCIENT LITERATURE IN SWEDEN*

Johanna Akujärvi

Introduction

Nicolaus Balk and Israel Petri Dalekarlus are pioneers in the history of Swedish translation of ancient literature. They are the translators of the two oldest known printed Swedish translations of ancient literature. This paper is about these two translations: Petri's translation of Prodicus' well-known tale of Hercules' choice between Virtue and Vice in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*,¹ printed in Rostock by Steffan Mullman in 1594 or 1595 (the print does not have the year of publication) and Balk's translation of a collection of Aesopic fables, printed in Stockholm by Anund Olufson in 1603.² Hereafter the translations are called *Hercules* and *Aesopic fables*, respectively. Neither translation appears to have had any great impact.³

Hercules was discovered in the stacks of Linköping Library, where the only known copy is preserved, in the 1930s by Nils Gobom. Gobom edited the text and wrote a preface describing the print and Petri's biography, surveying existing prints and translations (Latin and German) of the Xenophon passage,

* A note on the spelling in quotes of Latin and early German and Swedish texts. The spelling is normalised to the extent that ligatures are resolved (except the Eszett), long s is written (s), umlaut is always marked with (¨), virgule (/) is written (,), tilde is replaced with the nasal in question, italics are used to mark antiqua in a blackletter text. Quotes of Swedish texts are translated into English only when the Swedish text is not a translation from German and quoted with the German source text; all translations are mine. The paper has been written as part of the research project "Översatt till svenska. Den antika litteraturen och dess svenska översättare (1500- till 2000-talet)" funded by the Knut and Alice Wallenberg foundation.

¹ Xenophon, 1921, Ἀπομνημονευμάτων 2.1.21–34.

² For this paper the xerox-copy in Lund University Library (Klass. Grek. [Aesopus, Övers. Sv. 1603]), of the copy in the National Library of Sweden (F 1700 2280a) has been used.

³ Balk, but not Petri, is mentioned in Schefferus' 17th-century inventory of Swedish literature (Schefferus 1680: 48).

and identifying Petri's German source text.⁴ To the extent that *Hercules* has been noticed in literary studies after its rediscovery, it is as the earliest attestation in Sweden of the motif of Hercules at the crossroads that was made part of Swedish literature in Georg Stiernhielm's hexameter poem *Hercules*.⁵ Balk's *Aesopic fables*, the first printed Swedish collection of fables, has been studied thoroughly by Erik Zillén, who is working on the history of the fable in Sweden and Europe.⁶ Zillén presents the bio-bibliography of the translator, identifies the German source text of the translation,⁷ and, most significantly, studies the text in the context and as a document of the process of Lutheranism in early 17th-century Sweden.

This paper builds on the work of Gobom and Zillén. It explores how the translations fit into what we know of the biography of the translators, how the translations relate to 17th-century translation of ancient literature and to their sources, and how the translators handle the translations' second-hand nature.⁸

The Translators

Though not completely without significance, Petri and Balk are obscure figures in the history of Swedish politics, literature, education and church of their times. Biographical information about them is scarce and fragmentary.

Nicolaus Henrici Balk (Balck) was the son of a prominent citizen of Stockholm.⁹ He studied at several German universities between 1563 and 1573/4. There are records of his matriculation in Rostock (September 1563),¹⁰ Greifswald (December 1565), Frankfurt an der Oder (spring 1570), and Wittenberg (November 1573). He is occasionally called *magister*; it is unknown whether that title was honorary. He was appointed rector of the gymnasium

⁴ For this paper a digital copy of the original in Linköping (Linköpings stadsbibliotek/Stiftsbiblioteket R1551) has been used and compared to Gobom's 1937 edition.

⁵ E.g. Friberg 1945, Stiernhielm 1658 and 1668. Stiernhielm was probably inspired by Petrus Johannis Rudbeckius the Elder, brother of the famous bishop Johannes Johannis Rudbeckius the Elder, who included a poetic summary of the Hercules at the crossroads motif among other poems of moral choice in the collection *Insignis adolescentia* (1624).

⁶ Zillén 2005 and 2008–2009.

⁷ How the German source text of the *Aesopic fables* relates to the long fable tradition is a question that cannot be elaborated on in this study.

⁸ On 17th-century Swedish translations, see Hansson 1982; on early Swedish translations of ancient literature, see Akujärvi 2010 and 2012.

⁹ This biographical sketch is based upon Collmar 1965: 165–169 and Zillén 2005: 9–13.

¹⁰ Letters sent by Balk among many others from Germany to Sweden were seized by Danes in the spring of 1564 and are now in the Danish Rigsarkiv in Copenhagen; these shed light on student life in Rostock; see Czaika 2002: 126–153.

in Strängnäs in 1575. In 1581 he was appointed vicar in Blacksta in the province Södermanland. In 1590 he resigned from that post due to eye problems, but he continued to receive an annual allowance until his death, first in kind, then in money. Around 1600 he returned to Stockholm and lived there until his death in 1611. After retiring and, apparently, despite the eye problems that had made him unfit for pastoral duties, he occupied himself with translating. He produced pious, Lutheran texts – one catechism,¹¹ one religious tract,¹² one tract of admonition,¹³ and one prayer book¹⁴ – in addition to *Aesopic fables*, which, as Zillén has shown and as will be discussed below, fits well into Balk's profile as a translator of Lutheran texts.

We know even less about Israel Petri Dalecarlus (Dalecarlius) than about Balk.¹⁵ He was the son of Petrus Olai, vicar of Nås in the province Dalarna. Regarding his studies we know that he matriculated in Rostock in October 1594 as Israel Petri Dalecarlius Suecus and that he stayed there for at least one year. In 1599 at the latest, perhaps already in 1598, he was back in Dalarna. Having served as the assistant vicar to his father, he became the parish vicar of Nås upon his father's death. He died in 1628 leaving a wife and fourteen children, six of whom were still in school. Petri appears to have translated and published *Hercules* during his stay in Rostock. From the dedication it appears that a grant from his father and his colleagues had made his *peregrinatio academica* possible. *Hercules* is the only known publication by Petri.

At a time when the only university of the realm, Uppsala University, was barely functioning, Balk and Petri, like most Swedes who needed an education, studied at German universities.¹⁶ There are several points of similarity between the translators' biographies. Both Petri and Balk went to the University of Rostock, which attracted the greatest number of Swedish students due to its location, tradition, and reputation for orthodox Protestant, Lutheran theological teachings.¹⁷ Both had a clerical career. For neither was translation their main occupation. In this, they resemble the typical 17th-century Swedish translator, more than half of whom were priests and produced only one or a few translations.¹⁸

¹¹ Balk 1596.

¹² Balk 1599.

¹³ Balk 1611.

¹⁴ Balk 1603a.

¹⁵ This biographical sketch is based upon Ekström 1939–1990: 1.2:385–386 and Gobom 1937: 15–20.

¹⁶ Cf. Niléhn 1983: 116–171; Eliasson 1992: 87; Czaika 2002: 70–102.

¹⁷ Eliasson 1992: 79–80.

¹⁸ Hansson 1982: 14–50.

17th-century Swedish Translators of Ancient Literature

Petri and Balk are typical of Swedish translators of ancient literature, to the extent that one can talk about what is typical when a corpus is as small as that of pre-18th-century translations of ancient literature, as well as of Swedish translators, tout court. In the 17th century, twelve translations that can be considered translations of ancient texts in some sense appeared. The translations are presented in table 1 below in the chronological order. Many titles were reprinted; the year of reprint(s) is noted after the short title in the table; see the bibliography for full titles.

Table 1. Swedish translations of ancient literature until 1700

Year	Translator	Title
1595	I. Petri Dalekarlus	Een ganske liufligh Historisk Narratio eller förkunnelse om then Edle vnge hiälten Hercule, af Xenophonte vttagin
1603	N. Balk	Hundrade Esopi fabler (1608)
1615	P. Johannis Gothus	S. Cypriani Sermon... ther inne han korteliga och herliga förclarar läran om Bönena
1626	E. Schroderus	Then namnkunnige skribentens Titi Livij aff Padua Historia
1626	J. Magni Tiste	En liten Tractat Om then Gvddomliga Warelsen, aff... Augustino vthdraghen
1631	Anonymous	Nonnullae fabulae ex Latino in Svecum sermonem translatae, fermè verbum de verbo (1648 and 1662)
1633	A. Johannis Arosiandrinus	[Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro historia] (1636, 1642, 1652, 1663 and later)
1666	M. Nyman	Then Vnderskiöne Psyche, Vtaf Apuleio Madaurensis vtdragen (1690 and later)
1682	J. Sylvius	Q. Curtii Rufi Historiske Skriffter (1695)
1693	D. Trautzel	Dionysii Catonis Läre-rijka Disticha (1701 and 1730)
1699	C. Caroli Wijström	... Samt D: Caec: Cypriani Betrachtelse Om Dödeligheten
1699– 1708	C. Gustaf Österling	Les comedies de Terence

Except for one translator who has not been identified, most are known to us at least to the extent that we know their occupation.

Five were priests: in addition to Petri and Balk, also Tiste, Trautzel and Wijström. Two of them translated Latin Church Fathers, and one the so-called *Disticha Catonis*, a school-text both for language instruction and moral education. Four were clerks of different rank in the Government Offices: Schroderus, Nyman, Sylvius, and Österling. Most had translation as a sideline activity, but published more than one work nevertheless.¹⁹ None made more than one translation of an ancient text. They did not translate professionally, but translation could promote their career. Until the early 19th century, literature and translation were commonly used by priests and clerks as qualifications for an office and for advancement.²⁰

Some did, however, translate professionally. Schroderus and Sylvius had translation in their job description as they held the office of *translator regius*, royal translator, for a part of their career in the Government Offices.²¹ Schroderus translated thirty-nine, Sylvius nine titles in all, but only one each of ancient Latin literature. Arosiandrinus and Gothus were also professionals, not in the sense, however, that they gained an office by their pen but in the sense that gifts and donations from benefactors and dedicatees and profit of sales were their source of income.

Little is known about Arosiandrinus. On the title page he stresses his role as an editor rather than translator,²² perhaps an indication of the fact that Arosiandrinus himself was not the translator of *Apollonii*.²³ Gothus, finally, published more than sixty titles between 1572 and 1615, all translations and/or adaptations.²⁴ Whether he had hoped for a clerical or administrative post in his early years is unknown, but he was probably qualified for such a post as he had studied in Rostock (matriculated in January 1567), where he settled in the 1590s after having travelled back and forth between there and Stockholm for

¹⁹ Petri and Tiste produced only one translation, whereas the rest were more productive both as translators and authors. Hansson 1982: 239–301 (Appendix 1) lists all known 17th-century translations into Swedish; for some of the translators discussed here, the list can be extended with translations published before (Gothus) or after (Trautzel, Österling) that century. Some (Arosiandrinus, Nyman, Wijström) published works that were not translations as well.

²⁰ Cf. Bennich-Björkman 1970.

²¹ On Schroderus and Sylvius as royal translators, see Schück 1923: 1:127–146 and 159–162.

²² Cf. “på nytt förferdigat och vthgången” (“prepared and printed anew”), the title page of the first edition has not been preserved.

²³ It seems that Arosiandrinus is not the author or translator of several of the titles that appeared under his name, see Carlsson 1920.

²⁴ Cf. Schück 1913.

a while. His translations/adaptations, which were often published at his own expense, were his source of income; it seems that he received pay from almost every dedicatee. He lived to be 80, translating and publishing until the very end of his life, despite declining health.

17th-century Translations

Early Swedish translations of ancient Greek and Latin texts were strongly didactic. In this respect they are similar to translations from other languages, with a few differences due to the nature of source texts. For instance, religious tracts, prayer books and other types of pious texts are proportionately much more common in comparison to translations from the ancient languages, and there is a somewhat greater variety in the types of secular literature translated from other languages, there being no texts on medicine, commerce or travel among the translations of ancient literature.²⁵

Most translations of ancient literature are ascribed an easily defined function on the title page or in the preface. Translators and editors justify the publications by asserting their didactic value and they generally claim that they convey certain lessons.²⁶ According to the paratexts, the translations offer either specific historical, linguistic or religious lessons or general moral lessons.

(1) Historical knowledge. This is taught in the translations of the Roman historians Livy and Curtius Rufus by the two royal translators, Schroderus and Sylvius.

(2) Language skills, mostly Latin. Translations of Latin texts that were part of language teaching at school belong to this group. The title page of the anonymous translation *Nonnullae fabulae* declares that it offers a nearly word-for-word translation in order to make language acquisition easier. It is well suited for that purpose as it presents the Latin text and the Swedish translation on opposite pages. The *Disticha Catonis* was a school text, too. Trautzel does not explicitly claim that his translation is for language studies, but the fact that the Latin text is printed on opposing pages suggests that it may have been designed for just that.²⁷ There was a demand for both *Nonnullae fabulae* and *Disticha Catonis*; both were reprinted several times. Österling is the only

²⁵ Cf. Hansson 1982: 20–27.

²⁶ Cf. Akujärvi 2010 and 2012.

²⁷ Swedberg, 1681 and 1703 were for school, but probably for teachers rather than pupils, considering the commentary and the languages of the edition/translation (Latin and Greek are augmented with Swedish and German in the second edition).

translator who does not claim any specific use for his complete translation of Terence's comedies. However, considering the fact that the French source text is printed on the opposing pages in this second-hand translation from Madame Dacier's French translation, it, too, appears to have been designed for the study of languages, specifically French, using literature approved for school, where Terence was read but in Latin.²⁸ The text may have been for (private) French tuition for girls; among Österling's other early translations there are two more from French, with French and Swedish parallel texts, one of which is specifically aimed at young women.²⁹

(3) Moral awareness. This is the largest category, with two subcategories. (3a) Christian morals as taught by Church Fathers, which include translations of the Latin Church Fathers (St Cyprian and St Augustine). (3b) Texts teaching general moral lessons, a category that covers all the remaining translations. This is a heterogenous and problematic category. As texts with a good moral message were preferred in the classroom, translations that are sorted into category (2) could as well be put into (3b), were it not for their emphasis on language as suggested by the parallel text.³⁰ So, depending on the translator's emphasis, a translation of fables can fall into either category (2) or (3b). In the 17th century texts that were read for amusement were often masked as literature from which the reader can learn moral lessons. However, the didactic frame could be thin, limited to a claim about the text's usefulness and educational value on the title page. At times this claim says less about the contents of the text than about the contemporary view that the act of reading a text is justified mainly by the use derived from that act.³¹ *Apollonii* is an excellent example. The title page advertises the text both as a pastime and as a lesson, showing the wheel of Fortune and the changeability of this world. The advertisement has the appearance of being a veneer applied to the story to make it more acceptable to readers.

Additionally, category (3b) includes both heavily moralising texts like Petri's *Hercules* and Balk's *Aesopic fables* and a more light-weight entertaining text like Nyman's translation of the Amor and Psyche episode from Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. In the preface, Nyman defends his choice of the text. He admits that the tale of Amor and Psyche may appear to be an insignificant and contemptible fictitious fable told as a pastime. But such a judgement springs from an imper-

²⁸ In his inventory of Swedish school texts, Hammarsköld (1817: 88) says it is "pour l'usage de ceux, qui souhaitent d'apprendre l'un ou l'outre Langue".

²⁹ Österling 1699 and 1700.

³⁰ Thus Trautzel emphasises the moral usefulness of the *Disticha Catonis*.

³¹ Hansson 1987: 205f.

fect understanding of the text, Nyman declares, and explains that, since wise men of old were wont to speak obscurely in order to keep their wisdom hidden, one has to scrutinise the intent of the author when reading poems and stories of the ancients. This is the case with the Amor and Psyche story, Nyman says, and proceeds to explain how to derive a moral lesson from the translation by rendering Fulgentius' allegorical interpretation of this story in *Mitologiae* almost verbatim.³²

All the texts in category (3b) were popular in early modern Europe. They had a wide circulation in many versions and languages. The Swedish *Apollonii*, for instance, exhibits similarities to the Latin as well as to the Danish and German versions.³³ With the exception of Petri's *Hercules*, all Swedish translations in this category were reprinted at least once, but none as frequently as *Apollonii*.

These three categories of texts continued to completely dominate the field of translation of ancient literature until the early 19th century. Around the middle of the 18th century, however, a fourth category began to emerge: literary translations, that is, translations devoted to the literary quality of the target text rather than any other properties.

The Swedish *Hercules* and *Aesopic fables* and Their German Sources

As mentioned, Petri and Balk translated from 16th-century German translations. In this respect they are in good company, considering that the Gustav Vasa Bible, that is the Swedish Reformation translation, was based on Luther's German one.³⁴ Interestingly, Petri pretends to be translating the ancient Greek author Xenophon, whereas Balk declares on the title page that his translation originates from a German source. In the following, their translations are studied in relation to the German sources, and possible causes and effects of their handling the second-hand nature of their translations differently are explored.

³² Fulgentius, ed. Helm 1898, 66–70 (*Mitologiae* 3.6 “Fabula deae Psicae et Cupidinis”); text and translation also in Carver 2007: 41–47. See Akujärvi 2012 for a more extensive study of this translation.

³³ Bäckström 1845: (vol.1) 145–146.

³⁴ On the Gustav Vasa Bible, see Lindblom 1941; Olsson 2005: 409–420.

Hercules

Den ich bin nicht kommen, das ich dir will zum maul sprechen, oder mit süssen schmeichelhafftigen worten speisen, auffsetzen vnd verführen, sondern gerade auß sagen wie es Gott vorordnet hatt, auch an jm selbst ist, den Gott teilet seine gaben nicht aus den menschen, ohne jhren fleis vnd arbeit. (Mutzelow, C^v)

Tij iagh är icke kommen, att skempta medh tigh, eller medh söthe smecher ordh spijsa, vpsettia, förföra, vthan lycha vth seya, som Gudh förordnat hafwer, och vthi honnom sielfwan är, tij Gudh deeler sine gâfwer icke vth ibland menniskio men, vthan genom theras flijth och arbethe. (Petri, A v^v)

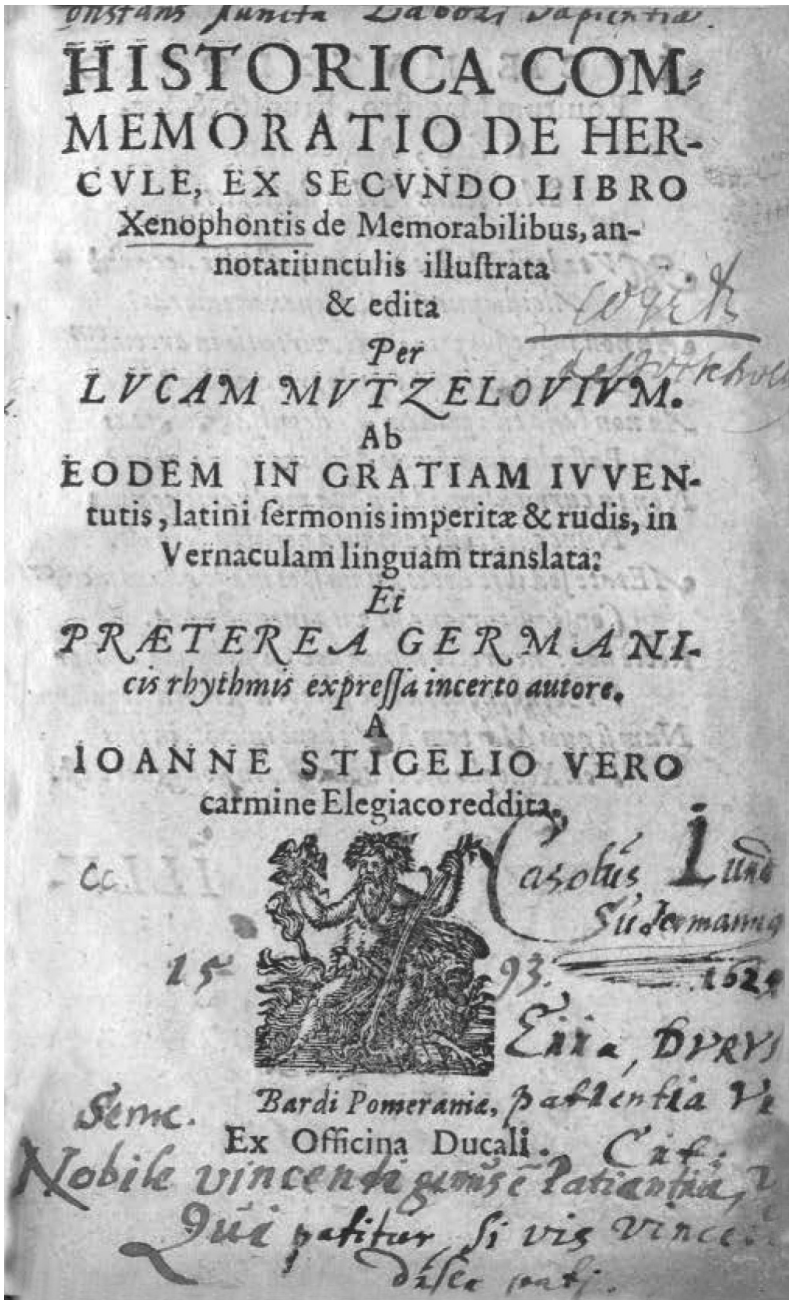
Petri may have studied Xenophon's *Hercules* at Rostock,³⁵ but his Swedish *Hercules* translates a German version by Lukas Mutzelow that was printed in Barth 1593, one or two years before Petri's Swedish translation.³⁶ This is not a second-hand but a third-hand translation, which is apparent only for those who can compare translations. As stated on the title page (see ILL. 1), the Pomeranian print contains four versions of the story: a Latin translation edited and commented by Mutzelow, Mutzelow's German translation for those who do not know Latin yet with a commentary that is not identical to the Latin one, a German poetic version by an unknown author, and a Latin verse adaption by the poet Johannes Stigel(ius). Additionally, an excerpt from Silius Italicus' *Punica* where Scipio Africanus is choosing between *Virtus* and *Voluptas*, yet another variation of the motif of a hero's choice between a good but arduous option and a bad but pleasant one, concludes the print.³⁷ In collecting these three verse versions of the story of Hercules at the crossroads in his edition, Mutzelow is likely to have been inspired by Nathan Chytraeus' 1591 edition of an excerpt from Johannes Caselius' 1576 complete Latin translation of the *Memorabilia*, both printed in Rostock.³⁸ In his edition Chytraeus prints the whole first chapter of the second book of the *Memorabilia*, which contains the discourse on self-control that the Hercules episode is part of, and to it he adds Stigel' Latin verses, the anonymous German version, Silius Italicus adaption, as well as the summary given by Cicero in *De Officiis* (1.32.118).

³⁵ A Greek edition was printed for students' use in 1594 by Johannes Posselius Junior, professor of Greek in Rostock; cf. Xenophon 1594.

³⁶ For this paper the copy of Mutzelow in Uppsala University Library, Script. Graeci [Xenophon], was used.

³⁷ *Punica* 15.18–128.

³⁸ Caselius 1576 and Chytraeus 1591.



ILL. 1. The title page Mutzelow 1593: *Historica commemoratio de Hercvle*. Barth 1593. (Uppsala University Library).

Mutzelow prefaces the Latin edition with a Latin dedicatory letter addressed to Ulrik of Denmark, the second son of king Frederik II of Denmark; the German translation is preceded by a German version of the dedicatory letter. The circumstances of the publication are known only from the letters. Mutzelow speaks with the voice of an old and sensible but socially inferior adviser to a noble and young addressee (Ulrik was 15 years old in 1593).³⁹ He explains that as he resumed his studies in old age, he happened to read the story of Hercules at the crossroads. This, he says, was the subject of lectures by his teacher Philip Melanchthon at the University of Wittenberg thirty-nine years earlier.⁴⁰ Xenophon does not appear in the list of Melanchthon's lectures.⁴¹ Mutzelow adds that he was persuaded by his friends to publish the text with the comments that he had made when reading it.

Presumably Mutzelow read the text in Melanchthon's Latin translation.⁴² He does not claim that the Latin translation that he edits is his own, nor does he state who made it, but judging from the similarities with Melanchthon's translation, it is likely to be an edition of that translation with many minor – consisting mainly in changes in vocabulary, word order, and occasional paraphrases – and some major changes.⁴³ Two changes that alter the text in comparison not only to Melanchthon's Latin translation but also to the Greek source text are noteworthy. First, at the beginning and end, Mutzelow eliminates signs showing that Socrates relates the story of Hercules at the crossroads second-hand, like in Xenophon's text. Compare the beginnings of Xenophon, Melanchthon and Mutzelow's Latin and German versions.

καὶ Πρόδοικος δὲ ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῷ συγγράμματι τῷ περὶ Ἡρακλέους, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ πλείστοις ἐπιδείκνυται, ὡσαύτως περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀποφαίνεται, ὡδὲ πως λέγων, ὅσα ἐγὼ μέμνημαι. φησὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλέα, ἐπεὶ ἐκ παίδων εἰς ἦβην ὠρμᾶτο ... ἐξελθόντα εἰς ἡσυχίαν (Ἀπομνημονευμάτων II.i.21)

Prodicus sapiens in scripto de Hercule, quod pluribus similiter recitavit, sic inquit de virtute, quantum ego memini. Dicit Herculem, cum adolescens esset ... egressum esse in solitudinem (Melanchthon 1851: 1119)

³⁹ Gobom 1937: 23–24 gathers what little is known about Mutzelow (died 1609).

⁴⁰ According to the *Album academiae Vitebergensis* Mutzelow matriculated in Wittenberg in March 1554 as Lucas Mutzelius Stetinensis.

⁴¹ Hartfelder 1889: 555–566 and Rhein 1997: 164–170.

⁴² Printed in Melanchthon 1558 and 1562. A paraphrase ascribed to Melanchthon is printed in Manlius 1566: 199–203; cf. also the paraphrase in “Encomium formicarum” in Melanchthon 1843: 150–159.

⁴³ Mutzelow's edition was compared to the edition of Melanchthon 1562 in Melanchthon 1851: 1119–1122.

[Heading] Prodicus apud Xenophontem in scripto de Hercule, de Virtute & Voluptate sic inquit. [Text] Hercules cum adolescens esset... in solitudinem egressus est (Mutzelow, A 3^v)

[Heading] *Der Prodicus bei dem Xenophonte* in seinem schreiben vom *Hercule*, sagt von der Tugend vnd wollust, also. [Text] *Der Hercules* als er noch ein junger Geselle war... Spazieret demnach er in einem Waldt (Mutzelow, B vi^v)

Thus, while Mutzelow does have a reference in the heading to Prodicus being the originator, he removes the initial indirect discourse of Xenophon and Melanchthon that marks that Socrates begins to relate Prodicus' words. Mutzelow also elides Socrates' comment that Prodicus is in the habit of reciting the story and that he retells the story as well as he can remember. Next, compare the endings:

τοιαῦτά σοι, ὦ παῖ τοκέων ἀγαθῶν Ἡράκλεις, ἔξεστι διαπονησαμένῳ τὴν μακαριστοτάτην εὐδαιμονίαν κεκτήσθαι. οὕτω πως διώκει Πρόδικος τὴν ὑπ' Ἀρετῆς Ἡρακλέους παιδευσιν· ἐκόσμησε μέντοι τὰς γνώμας ἔτι μεγαλειότεροις ῥήμασιν ἢ ἐγὼ νῦν (Ἀπομνημονευμάτων II.i.33–34)

Si igitur adolescens nate ex bonis parentibus honestos labores alacriter susceperis, vere beatus eris. Haec Prodicus commemorat splendore orationis maiore, quem ego imitari non possum (Melanchthon 1851: 1122)

Si igitur adolescens natus ex bonis parentibus, honestos labores alacriter susceperit verè beatus erit (Mutzelow, B^v)

So nu ein iunger geselle, von frommen ehrlichen Eltern geboren, sich der Tugend beveisset, vnnd alle muhe vnnd arbeit mit freuden vberwindet, der ist recht gluckselig vnnd wirt von Gott fur vnnd fur gesegnet (Mutzelow, C vi^{r-v})

At the end, too, Mutzelow removes Socrates' closing comment to the effect that his retelling of the story is a poor imitation of Prodicus' narrative which reminds the reader of the fact that the story is not Socrates' but Prodicus'. Mutzelow also turns Virtue's final second-person address to Hercules into a third-person statement, making it less specific to Hercules and more easily applicable to any situation, particularly to the one in which Mutzelow is addressing Ulrik. Note that the differences between Mutzelow's Latin and German versions go beyond language.

Mutzelow's second major change of the text in comparison to both Xenophon's Greek and Melanchthon's Latin version occurs in Virtue's list of the works and duties that one must undertake to merit true honour. Between the exhortation to do good for Greece (if you want to be admired throughout

Greece) and to cultivate land (if you want it to be fruitful), Mutzelow adds a call to diligent study (if you want to be renowned for learning):

Si vis ex studiis literarum tibi magnum nomen comparare, diligenter eis aduigilandum est (Mutzelow, A 6^r)

Wiltu durch die freien Kunste dir einen grossen namen machen, so mustu gar fleissig studiren (Mutzelow, C ij^r)

In the Swedish translation, Petri preserves Mutzelow's changes both at the beginning and end, and he retains Mutzelow's additional call to diligent study:

[Heading] *Prodicus* hos *Xenophontem*, vthi sin schrifvelse, om *Hercule*, talar om dyghden och wellusten altså. [Text] *Hercules*, thå han ännu een ynglingh war... När han spasserade vthi marckene (Petri, A iij^r)

Om nu een ynglingh, then af fromme ährligom föräldrom födder är, sigh om dygden beflijter, och all mödho och arbete medh frögdh öfwerwinner, han är rätt lycksaligh och warder af Gudhi ä och ä wellsignadt (Petri, B iiii^v)

Will thu genom then frye konsten, tigh eet stoort nampen göra, så måste thu ganska fljigtigt studera (Petri, A vij^r)

Mutzelow's changes to the text and his commentary fused into the Latin version and the German translation reinforce the moral message of the text. Mutzelow intersperses the speech of Vice with comments that undermine her argument and signal the error of her way of life and the futility of her promises,⁴⁴ whereas he underpins the argument of Virtue with approving comments explaining how the text is to be understood. For instance, at the very beginning:

Est imago principis adolescentis, deliberantis quam viam velit ingredi (Mutzelow, A 3^v)

Es ist ein Bilde eines jungen Hern der mit vleis bewegt, betrachtet, vnd zu gemut führet, was er wolle in seinem Leben furnehmen: Da kommen die Tugent vnd wollust *Disputieren*, vnd vorwechslen allerley wort mit jm (Mutzelow, B vi^v)

Mutzelow suggests that young Ulrik could identify with young Hercules who is trying to decide what to do with his life by equating Hercules' deliberation with that of a young prince pondering which way to choose in life. Likewise,

⁴⁴ For instance, "Est mendacium" / "das ist weit gefeilet vnd recht auff's eiß geleitet" (Mutzelow, A 2^v / B vij^v), regarding Vice's offer to Hercules of a life without hardship.

Mutzelow's comments to Virtue's prelude suggest that her complimentary words to young Hercules might apply to young Ulrik, too.⁴⁵ Finally, in comments to the final statement, which, as discussed above, Mutzelow transformed from second-person addresses to Hercules into third-person statements about Hercules, Mutzelow stresses how important it is for young men of good parentage to work, clarifying that this – the statement and the whole text – is an exhortation to work.⁴⁶

By adding scholarship to the honourable benefits that can be earned through a virtuous but arduous way of life, Mutzelow gives the story a slightly new angle, one that suits the message of his treatise. He is recommending not only a honourable way of life in general, but specifically one that involves literary studies at an early age. In the Latin and German dedicatory letters Mutzelow declares that an interest in virtue is most effectively spurred through study, which is why Ulrik's father had ordered that his son be instructed in the liberal arts. Mutzelow's publishing four versions of a story where a noble young hero chooses Virtue, fully aware of the hard work entailed in that choice, is his way of promoting Ulrik's studies.

Petri's Swedish *Hercules* is a translation of Mutzelow's German translation, but this intermediary source text is not acknowledged. Petri's Swedish title page is a faithful translation of Mutzelow's second, German, title page preceding the German translation (see ILL. 2 and 3).⁴⁷ For the dedicatory letter Petri borrows some themes from Mutzelow's dedication. As there are clear differences between Mutzelow's Latin and German versions of text and commentary, it can be easily ascertained that the source text for Petri's translation is Mutzelow's German translation and commentary; Petri follows the German source text closely with regard both to wording and layout. Petri did, however, have access to the Latin version as well. Towards the end of the treatise, he adds to the Swedish translation of the German translation parts of Mutzelow's Latin version as well:

⁴⁵ Mutzelow, C^{r-v}; Petri, A v^v–vi^v.

⁴⁶ Mutzelow, B^v "Concludit epiphonemate, et est adhortatio ad sustinendos labores vocationis"; C vi^v "Der *Prodicus* beschleust, mit einer feinen wichtigen vnnd mercklichen rede, welche ist eine vormanung zur arbeit, vnnd das ein jeder in seinem beruff soll vleissig seyn, vnnd sich mit GOTT vnd Ehren ernehren."

⁴⁷ *Ein sehr Liebliche Historische Narration oder erzehlung, von dem Edlen iungen Helde dem Hercule, aus dem Xenophonte genommen, Vnd mit schonen außlegungen erkleret, darinnen allerley nutze, vnd notdwendige erinnerungen werden furgestellet. Zun ehren der Edlen jiuendt, auß der Lateinischen in Deutsche sprache gebracht.*

The äre och een synnerligh ähro sino Fädernelande, och när theeras stund kommer, huilken af Gudhi vthförsedt är, så tencker man ä och ä när the liggia vthi grafwene på them och theeras godhe nampen, warder icke förgätjtt vthan blifwer ewinnerligh. *Et cum fatalis mors venit, non iacent sine honore, sed florent sempiterna laude. Honesta memoria ad exemplum pertinet, et est augurium quoddam futurae immortalitatis illa appetitio laudis post mortem, sicut Cicero I. Tuscul. inquit* (Petri, B iij^f)

The first part of this quote, here in Roman type, is a translation of Mutzelow's German version:

Sein auch eine sonderliche ehre jhrem Vaterlande. Vnd wan nun jhr stundlein kompt, welchs von Gott außsersehen ist, so wird jhrer fur vnnd fur in der gruben gedacht, vnnd jhr guter nam gehet nicht vnter, sondern bleibet ewiglich (Mutzelow, C vi^f)

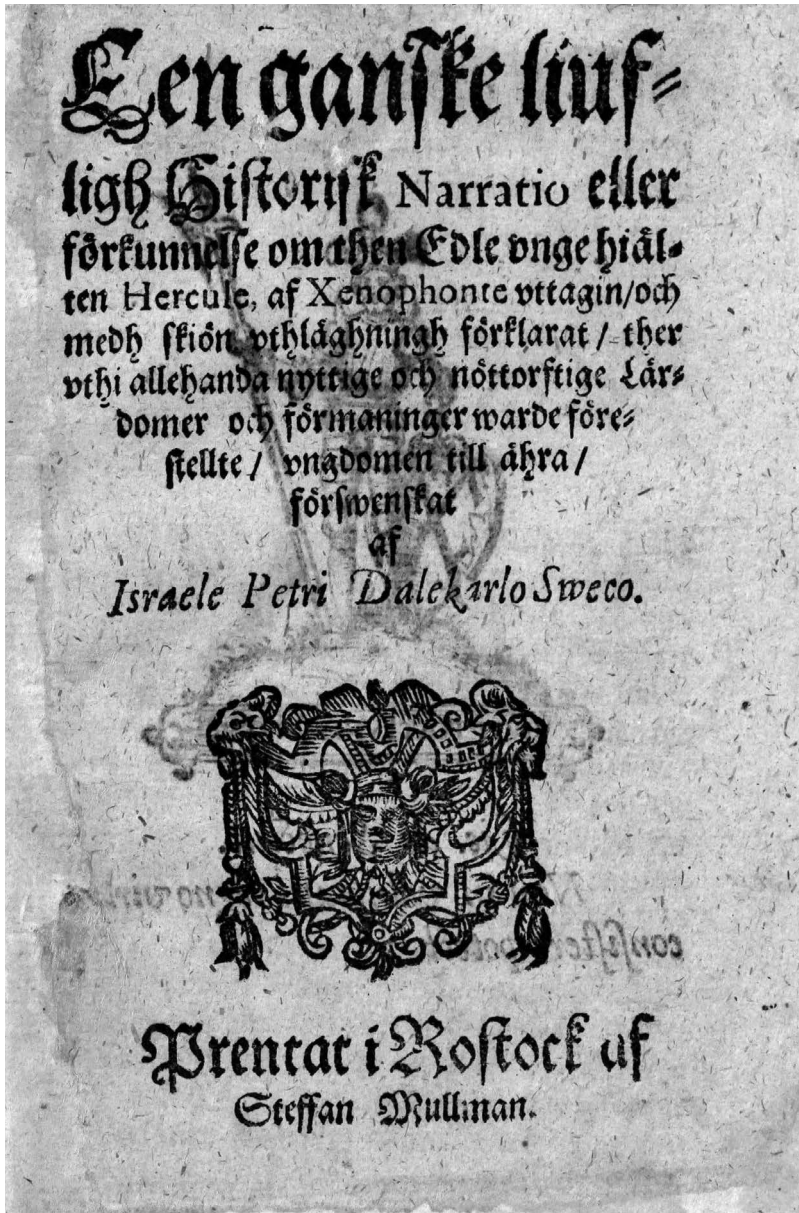
In the latter part, in italics, Petri inserts first the Latin source for Mutzelow's German version (until "laude"), then his commentary to it (from "Honesta" to the end). After the Latin text, Petri also translates Mutzelow's German commentary to the German translation. Petri thus gives the Swedish reader a double rendering of the rewards after death awaiting those who choose the virtuous path in life.⁴⁸

Like Mutzelow, Petri begins the dedication by declaring that every honourable man should strive for virtue, particularly priests. As much as they are held in esteem, they should set a good example by their way of life.⁴⁹ Whereas Mutzelow singles out nobility in his dedicatory letter, Petri singles out priests in his dedicatory letter as he dedicates the Swedish *Hercules* to clergy back home in Dalarna and Bergslagen, his own father and his colleagues. This causes him difficulty, as the translated story is particularly suited to be addressed by an old and wise teacher to adolescents of noble birth who need to be reminded of the rewards of choosing the road to Virtue.⁵⁰ This is exactly the

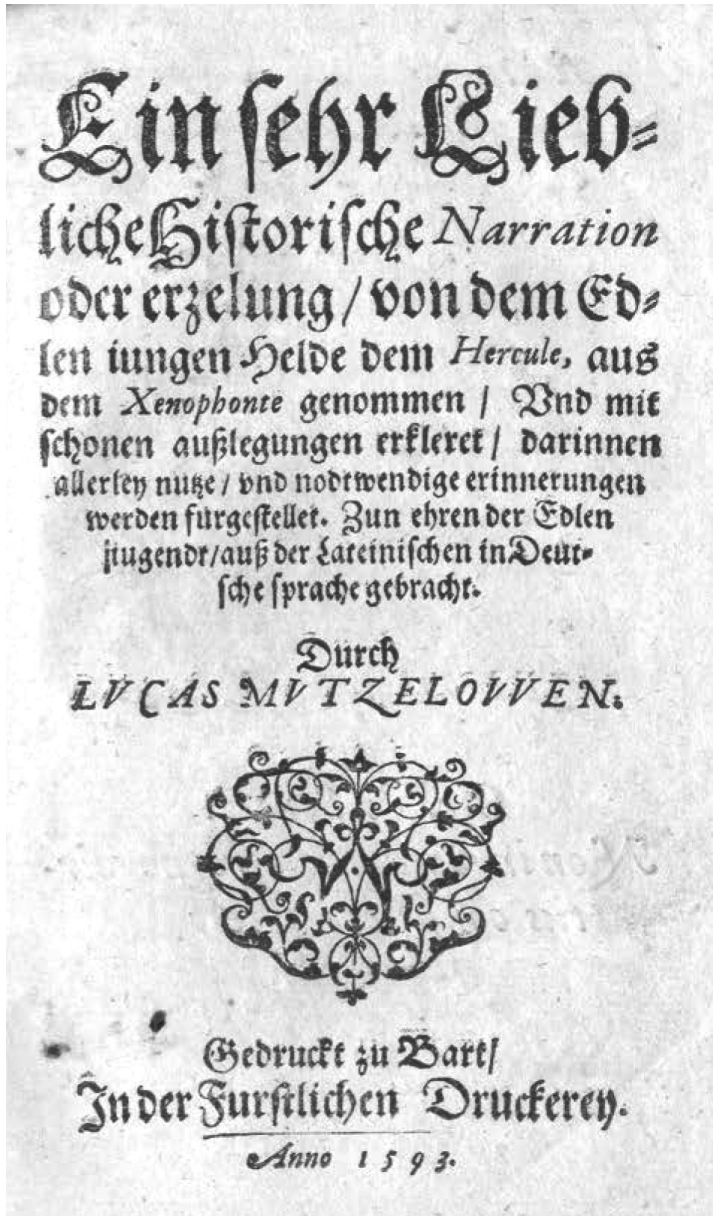
⁴⁸ See also Petri B iij^f: "*Si igitur adolescens natus ex pijs et honestis parentibus, honestos et utiles labores alacriter susceperit et peragrauit verè beatus erit*"; For Mutzelow's German and Latin versions, and Petri's Swedish translation, see above.

⁴⁹ Petri, A ij^f "så skolle vthi synnerheet the sielfue, huilke gudh för andre ähratt och till andeligitt kall sätt hafuer, sigh ther vthi beflijthà, att lycha som the äre, för andre vthi sitt kall höght acktade: så skolla the och them före lya, thet är, före gåå medh godh exempel och lefwerne." *So should in particular those, who have been honoured above others by God and received a religious calling, endeavour to shine, that is, to set a good example and life for others to follow, as much as they are honoured above others in their vocation.*

⁵⁰ That is how the theme was mostly used in 17th-century Sweden, cf. Ekedahl 2000: 16.



ILL. 2. The title page of Petri's translation: *Een ganske liuflich Historisk Narratio*. Rostock c. 1595. (Linköping City Library).



ILL. 3. The second, German title page of Mutzelow 1593:
Ein sehr Liebliche Historische Narration. Barth 1593. (Uppsala University Library).

relation between Mutzelow and his dedicatee, but it does not apply well to Petri and his dedicatees. Petri thus adds quickly that the admonition of the dedication and the story is not intended for the dedicatees. He humbly stresses that it is not his place to teach them. Rather, his aim is to honour them by directing the lesson of the text to the Swedish youth in their name.⁵¹

Petri's slim publication served as a sign of gratitude for benefactions, as proof of learning and skills acquired during his studies abroad, and as qualification for a future position. That is probably why Petri covers up the fact that his source text is a second-hand German translation with commentary, rather than Xenophon's Greek.

Aesopic fables

Der welt lauff ist, wer from sein wil, der mus leiden, solt man eine sache vom alten zaun brechen, denn gewalt gehet für recht. Wenn man dem Hunde zu wil, so hat er das ledder gefressen. Wenn der Wolf wil, so ist das Lamb vnrecht. (Chytraeus 1574: 59)

Så ähr werldennes lop, then som wil wara from han måste lijdh, skulle man och tagha orsaak, aff en gammul Gärdzgårdh, Ty wåld går för rätt: När man will slå Hundem, så haffuer han äthit Lädher: När Warghen wil, så haffuer Lambet orätt. (Balk 1603b: 66)

Heracles at the crossroads was a story popular in Protestant Germany and Sweden. Aesopic fables, in Latin and in the vernacular, were even more popular.⁵² Latin editions were mainly used for language learning; vernacular versions for entertainment and moral instruction, the proportion between the two varying according to the intention of the author/translator and the interest of the reader. The two 17th-century Swedish fable translations fall neatly into these two categories, *Nonnullae fabulae* with its Latin and (literal) Swedish parallel texts being for language instruction in school and *Aesopic fables* for moral instruction of the laity outside school and church.

⁵¹ Petri, A ij^{r-v} “Men thetta allt edher till ähra, och iche till lärdom, ty iagh behöfuer meer af sådane Män lära: änn the af migh: vthan vngdomen till (som migh hoppas) lärdom och nytta, hafuer iagh meentt.” *However, all of this is to honour you, not to teach you, since it is rather I who need to be taught by such than they by me. This I have intended (that is what I hope) as a lesson to benefit young people.*

⁵² On the Latin and German fable in the early modern period, see Elschenbroich 1990; on fable and the Reformation, see Reherrmann & Köhler-Zülch 1982 and Carnes 1984; on the Swedish context, see Zillén 2005 and 2008–2009.

Aesopic fables is a rather substantial publication. Its more than 250 pages contain many paratexts in addition to the translation of one hundred and six fables, six more than indicated on the title page. On the title page, Balk advertises that he translates a German collection of fables that is the work of none other than Martin Luther, Johannes Mathesius (Luther's biographer), and Nathan Chytraeus (professor of Latin and poetics at the University of Rostock, the younger brother of David Chytraeus, professor of theology at the same university). The number of fables and the collection of paratexts show that the source text is the second edition of Nathan Chytraeus' collection (see ILL. 4 and 5), printed in Rostock 1574.⁵³

In Balk's *Aesopic fables* the fables are preceded by (1) a preface signed by Balk, (2) an excerpt of Luther's exegesis of Psalm 101 in which Luther praises fables for offering the best of pagan wisdom, (3) Erasmus Alberus' life of Aesop,⁵⁴ and (4) Luther's preface; after the fables there is an index of fables and errata. Balk follows the German source text faithfully. All parts of the Swedish *Aesopic fables* both derive from and appear in the same order as in Chytraeus' second edition.⁵⁵ There are only two divergences. First, Balk appropriates Chytraeus' dedicatory letter and turns it into his own dedicatory letter, with no major changes apart from changing the dedicatee, the address to her at the beginning and end of the preface, and the envisaged primary context in which the collection will be used. Second, Balk omits the "schöne Historia" explaining the origin of the existing social order that Chytraeus advertises on the title page and prints at the end of his volume.

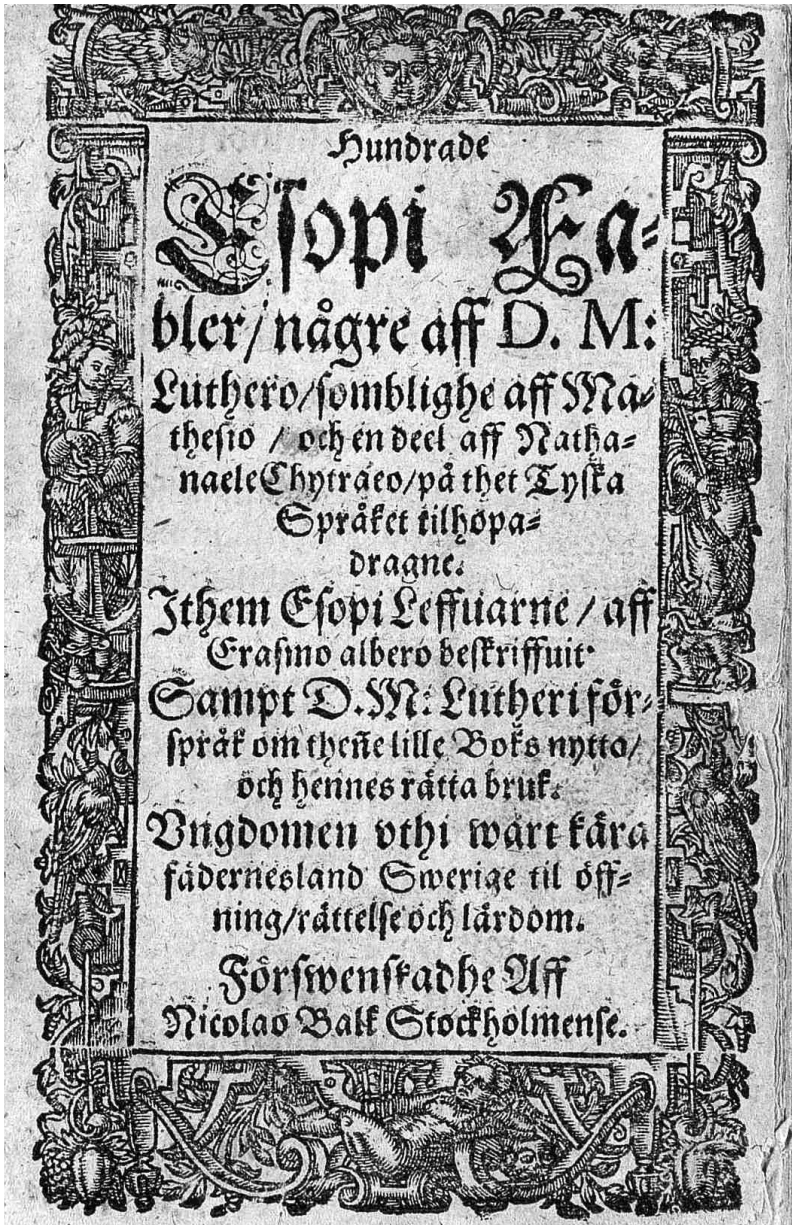
The first important theme of Chytraeus' and Balk's preface(s) is the long tradition of teaching, admonishing, and warning both inferiors and superiors by way of fables. Their pleasant form makes fables ideal for that purpose since recipients heed them more readily and remember them better. They cite many examples from the Bible to prove their point. Balk uses the same examples as Chytraeus does, but not in the same order. Both finish with Jesus' likening himself to a hen gathering her brood under her wings.⁵⁶ With such biblical

⁵³ For this paper the copy in the Tartu University Library, R XIV 1920:3146 was used. Zillén 2005 notes that Balk uses Chytraeus 1574.

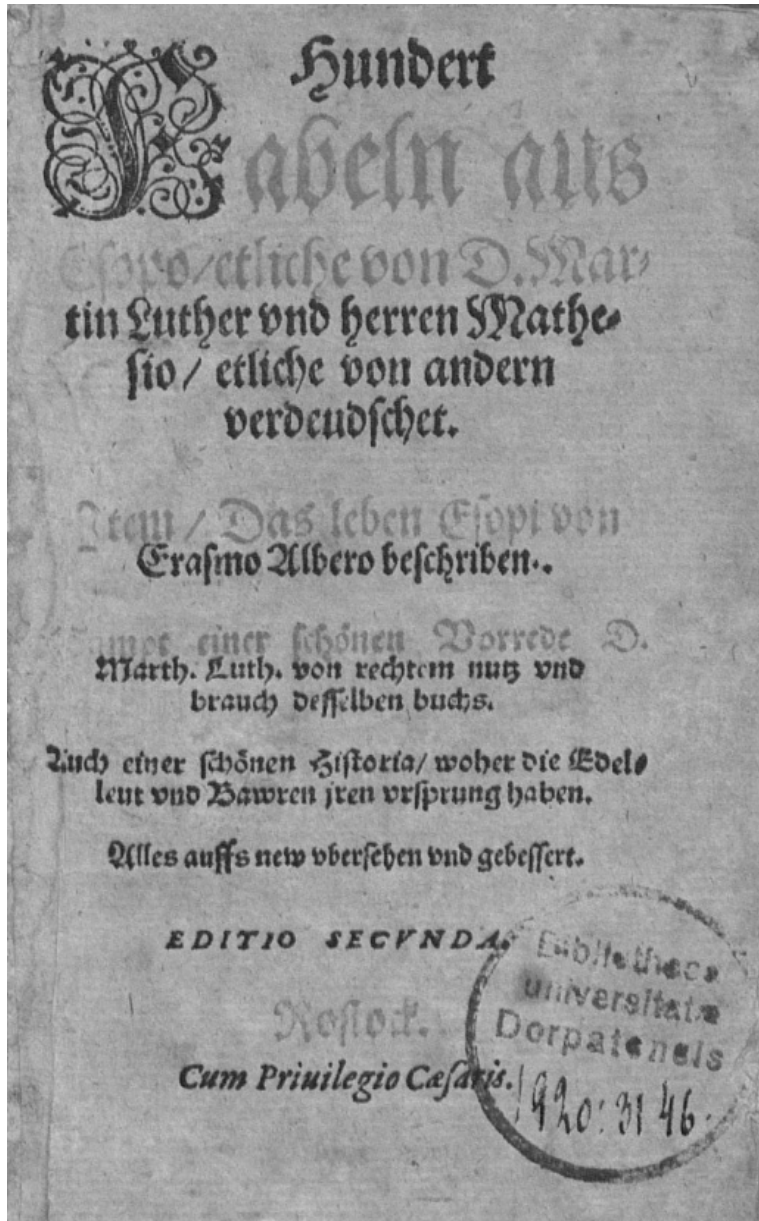
⁵⁴ Printed in Alberus' collection of rhymed fables; according to Zillén 2005: 32 the *vita* was featured in the 1550 edition already, which has not been available for this paper.

⁵⁵ Chytraeus' first edition is shorter than the second: it contains only 100 fables and it lacks Luther's exegesis of psalm 101 as well as the life of Aesop. For this paper Chytraeus 1571 was studied in the copy in Biblioteka Jagiellońska, BJ St. Dr. 590329 I.

⁵⁶ Chytraeus 1574: 6 "Vnser Herr Christus vogleichet sich selbst mit einem sehr lieblichen bild, einer Kluckhennen, die jre jungen vnder jre flügel versamlet"; Balk 1603b: (:) v^r "Wår Herre Christus liknar sigh sielff widh ena kyklinga höna, som församblar sina kycklinghar vnder sina wingar."



ILL. 4. The title page of Balk 1603b: *Hundrade Esopi Fabler*. Stockholm 1603.
 (National Library of Sweden).



ILL. 5. The title page of Chytraeus 1574: *Hundert Fabeln aus Esopo*.
 Rostock [1574]. (Tartu University Library).

models, teachers of the church, Luther in particular, have not hesitated to use fables in sermons and discourses, or to work with Aesopic fables, concludes Chytraeus and echoes Balk:⁵⁷

Also haben auch zu vnsern zeiten, trewe unn hochuerstendige lehrer der Christlichen Kirchen, sonderliche lust vnd lieb zu solchen fürbilden, gedichten, vnd Fabeln gehabt, vnter welchen sonderlich D. Martin Luther zu rühmen ist (Chytraeus 1574: 6)

Altså haffua och vthi vår tidh, trogne och förständighe then Christeligha Kyrkionnes lärare hafft en besynnerlig lust til sådana figurer liknelser dichter oc fabler, ibland huilka then Erwürdige Herren D. Martinus Luther ähr til berömande (Balk 1603b: (: v^r-v)

Having established the long tradition of fables, they introduce the second theme of the preface: the origin of their collections. Luther, they declare, began cleansing Aesopic fables (in 1530). Due to other important work, he did not get far, despite the encouragement of Melanchthon, but he did write a preface in which he explains their use and usefulness. This preface is one of the paratexts in the German and Swedish collections, distinguished from the others by way of a different type. Chytraeus explains that he would have preferred that Luther and Mathesius had completed the collection, but since that cannot happen, he decided to collect their fables and to add fables of his own to bring the number up to an even hundred,⁵⁸ which was increased to one hundred and six in the second edition as two appendices add six more fables/stories by Chytraeus and Luther. Of the one hundred fables of the original collection of *Aesopic fables* thirteen fables are by Luther, five by Mathesius, and eighty-two by Chytraeus.⁵⁹ Both Luther's and Mathesius' fables are already in print, Chytraeus continues, but as they are scattered over the many volumes of their works, they are not easily accessible. About the origin of the collection and its primary users, he says:

⁵⁷ Cf. Carnes 1984.

⁵⁸ Chytraeus 1574: 9 "Ob nu wol zu wünschen wer, was entweder D. Luther selbst, oder aber herr Mathesius... dis Buch der Fabeln hetten gantz vollenden vnd an tag geben mögen..."; Balk 1603b: 10 "... ändoch thet woro önskandes, at antingen D. Lutther sielff, eller och Herren Mathe-sius... hade mott fuländat och vthi liuset komma thenna Bookena."

⁵⁹ A transition between Luther's and Mathesius' fables ("Hactenus Lutherus. Sequentes quinque à Mathesio sunt conscripta") is indicated between fables fifteen and sixteen. This is probably wrong, considering the fact that the first thirteen correspond to the fables printed in the 16th-century editions of Luther's work (Luther 1558: 454^v–458^r and 1566: 268^v–272^r; both include the preface as well as). These are also the ones found in Luther's manuscript that was recovered in the Vatican library in 1887 (Luther 1914: 432–460).

... vnd ist dises meines fleisses der anfang gewesen, das ich in E. F. G. Vniuersitet Rostock tragendes ampts halben, teglich mit der jugent vmgehe, vnd die so mir beuohlen, in Gottes furcht, sprachen vnd künsten, nach meinem geringen vermügen trewlich vbe. Dazu mir dann diese Fabeln nicht wenig dienstlich vnnnd nutzlich gewesen, die auch hiedurch also sein zusammen getragen, vnd in ein kleines handbüchlein verfasset worden, das sie von mehrren konten gelesen vnd gebrauchet werden (Chytraeus 1574: 10–11)

Chytraeus thus presents the collection as a service to readers, specifically to university students. He says that he began the collection when he started training students in languages and arts on a daily basis as professor at the University of Rostock. Fables were useful in that educational context. That is the origin of the collection, but Chytraeus envisages that it may be used outside school, too.

As expected, Balk's presentation of the origin of the Swedish *Aesopic fables* follows that of the German one. As Chytraeus placed himself as the last in a line of Protestant learned men working up the Aesopic fables, so Balk takes his place after Chytraeus in that same line, but as a translator of a completed collection:

Al then stund these förbenämde höglärde salige män thenna Boken icke allenast gillat vthan hadhe och gerna welat att hon wäl luttradt och ränsat, skulle komma j liuset, Ja, M: Nathan Chytreaus henne så högdtt achtad at han icke blygdes tilskriffua och förähra henne ena Högborna Förstinne, haffuer iagh affsatt henne på wårt Suenske tungemåll (Balk 1603b: 11)

Since the above mentioned learned men, God bless them, not only approved of this book, but would also very much have liked to see it published after thorough cleansing and purification – indeed, M. Nathan Chytraeus thought so highly of it that he did not hesitate to dedicate it to and to honour a high born princess [Elizabeth of Denmark, Duchess of Mecklenburg] with it – therefore I have transferred it to our Swedish tongue.

Thus, in pointing out the merits of *Aesopic fables* to the Swedish reader, Balk specifies that Luther, Mathesius, and Chytraeus wanted to see purged fables in print and that Chytraeus was so pleased with his work that he did not hesitate to dedicate it to a princess (Elizabeth of Denmark, Duchess of Mecklenburg). Excising all traces of Chytraeus' position at the University of Rostock and of the educational context for which Chytraeus had intended the German *Aesopic*

fables, Balk presents the collection primarily as a handbook that makes fables accessible to every man.⁶⁰ The intention with the collections is instruction:

... die leut leichtlicher dadurch bewogen vnd eingenommen wurden (Chytraeus 1574: 2)

... thetta sättet til at vnderwijsa och lära thet otamda och obendiga folket (Balk 1603b: (: ij^v)

Balk's adding "undisciplined and unruly" where Chytraeus speaks only of "people" is significant. The addition reflects not only the fact that Balk does not intend the collection for students but for every man, but brings the usage of the collection closer to the one described in Luther's preface, to which both Chytraeus and Balk refer for an authoritative account of how best to use the collection.⁶¹ If used correctly, there is no secular literature comparable to fables when it comes to teaching how to live in this world, Luther explains in the preface:

Denn man darin vnter schlechten worten, vnd einfeltigen Fabeln, die allerfeinste Lehre, warnung vnd vnterricht findet (wer sie zu brauchen weis) wie man sich im haußhalten, inn vnd gegen der Oberkeit vnd Vnterthanen schicken soll, auff das man klüglich vnd friedlich vnter den bösen leuten in der falschen argen welt, leben müge (Chytraeus 1574: 47–48)

Ty man finner ther vthinnan, vnder ringa ordh, och eenfaldigha Fabler och dichter (hoo them rätteligha weet til at bruka) then alreherligaste läro, förwarn- ingh och vnderwisningh, huru man sigh vthi hushåldh, emot öffuerheten och vndersäterna skicka och förhålla skal, på thet man wijslighen, fridsamligenn och rolighen ibland onda människior j thenna falska och argha werldena leffua må (Balk 1603b: 50)

According to Luther, fables are particularly valuable in two situations: for instructing the young, who take greater pleasure in the lessons taught, and

⁶⁰ Balk 1603b: 10–11 "[Fablerna] äre nu itt fult hundrat bleffne, och vthi een lithen hand Book författade, at huar man them läsa må, och them nytteligen bruka." [*The fables*] are now an even one hundred and composed into a small handbook, so that every man may read them and use them fruitfully.

⁶¹ Chytraeus 1574: 11 "Wie aber dasselbig Christlich vnnd fruchtbarlich geschehen könne, hat D. Luther in der folgenden Vorrede weitleunftig genug vormeldet. dauon witer zuschreiben vnnötig ist"; Balk 1603b: 11 "Huruledes thet nu rättelighen ske kan, haffuer D. Lutherus vthi thet föliande förpräket nogsamligen lärdt och tilkänna giffuit, at icke görs behoff något meera ther om skriffua."

for admonishing the powerful, who tolerate the truth more when it comes from the mouth of beasts. This masquerade is necessary since the truth is the most insufferable thing on earth.⁶² There is a great potential in fables, Luther continues, but the existing German version is of a poor quality – this is directed against Heinrich Steinhöwel’s *Esopus*, first printed 1476/1477 and printed as *Der teütsch Esopus* in 1504.⁶³ Luther exhorts his readers to throw away the old German Aesop and replace it with the new one by his own hand. Mostly for the sake of the youth he says that he has reworked and purged the fables and to improve the character of the book and make it decent:⁶⁴

... damit es ein lustiger vnd lieblicher, doch ehrbarlicher züchtiger vnd nützlich-
cher Esopus werde, des man ohne sünde lachen vnd gebrauchen künde, kinder
vnd gesinde zu warnen vnd vnterweisen (Chytraeus 1574: 55)

... på thet, at ther vthaff enn lustigh och liuffligh, dock likwäl, Hederligh,
tuchtigh, och nyttigh Esopus bliffua måtte: Åt huilken man skal kunna vthan
synd lee, och honom bruka, Barn och hwsfolk til at vnderwijsa, förwara (Balk
1603b: 61)

His ambition is thus to create a collection of fables that are decent and useful so that Aesop can be read without sin and used to teach and admonish children and servants.

At the end of the preface, Luther describes his vision of how the collection is to be used ideally, suggesting that, when it is used as a pastime at dinner, the head of the family should take one fable and ask family and servants what it means, to educate all.⁶⁵ Taking the fifth fable, about the dog carrying a piece of meat and losing both it and what he thought to be a second piece of meat as it snapped at what was in the mouth of his own reflection in water, as an example, Luther relates the fable’s warning against avarice to the life of servants, specifically, and says that they are cautioned against the risk of losing the good that

⁶² Chytraeus 1574: 52 “denn die warheit ist das vnleidlichste ding auff erden”; Balk 1603b: 57 “Ty Sanningen är thet Olijdeligaste ting vppå Jordenna.”

⁶³ The first print contains Latin prose and verse versions as well as German prose fables; edition: Steinhöwel 1873. Cf. Schirokauer 1947 on Luther–Steinhöwel.

⁶⁴ Chytraeus 1574: 53–54; Balk 1603b: 57–60.

⁶⁵ Chytraeus 1574: 55–56 “Wenn ein Haußvater vber Tisch wil kurtzweil haben, die nützlich ist, kan er sein weib, kindt, gesind fragen, was bedeut diese oder diese Fabel? vnd beide sie vnd sich darin vben”; Balk 1603b: 61–62 “När en Hwsfadher öffuer Måltidher wil haffua noghot tijdfördriiff, som noghon nytto medh sigh haffuer, kan han fråga sijna hustru, Barn, eller hwsfolk således: Hwad betydhar then eller then Fabeln? Och öffua så bådhe sigh och them thervtinnan.”

they have if they strive for something better that they might not get.⁶⁶ Fable five is one of Luther's fables, and in the fable collection, the moral to fable five offers four variations on that lesson.⁶⁷ Luther begins the moral by associating the fable's warning against avarice to the obligation of a good Christian to patiently bear one's God-given lot in life:

Man soll sich benügen lassen an dem, das GOtt gibt (Chytraeus 1574: 63)

Man skal låtha sigh åtnöya, medh thet som gudh täckes giffua (Balk 1603b: 69)

Hereby he goes beyond Steinhöwel and the (Greek and) Latin sources.⁶⁸

In promoting the value of his work, Balk invokes the authority of predecessors. All parts of his translation derive from the German *Aesopic fables*, including the preface addressed to his benefactor. In making Chytraeus' preface his own, Balk turns the opinions expressed and the learning displayed in it into his own. As Balk deletes Chytraeus' name and concerns from the preface, he also removes the educational context at the University of Rostock where Chytraeus worked on the collection. For Balk *Aesopic fables* was a handbook to be used primarily outside educational institutions, to teach lessons to those who did not have any or had not yet received a formal education, as described in Luther's preface.

Conclusion

Petri and Balk do not differ from the 17th (and 18th)-century translators either as regards their personal background, the type of text they chose to translate, or the translation's didactic aim.

They do not translate ancient source texts, but German intermediaries. They handle the translations' second-hand nature differently. Balk advertises the German Reformation filter which had refined the teachings of the text, whereas Petri glosses over the fact that he uses a German intermediary. Hereby

⁶⁶ Chytraeus 1574: 56 "Als die fünffte Fabel vom Hund mit dem stück fleisch in dem maul, bedeutet, wenn einem knecht oder magd zu wol ist, vnd wils bessern, so gehets jm wie dem Hunde, das sie das gute verlieren, vnd jenes bessere nicht kriegen"; Balk 1603b: 62 "Såsom then femte Fabeln om Hundene som hade kiötstycket j Munen, betydher, när en drångh eller pijga haffuer godha daghar, och wil än tå haffua bättre, så gåår thet henne, eller honom öffuer såsom hundene, at the mista thet godha, och inthet fåå aff thet bättre."

⁶⁷ Chytraeus 1574: 62–62; Balk 1603b: 68–69.

⁶⁸ Chytraeus 1574: 62–63; Balk 1603b: 68–69. Steinhöwel 1873: 85–86; Latin versions in Theile 1910: 22–23. Phaedrus 1.4 and Babrios 79 are variants of the same fable.

they maximize the translations' effect and value for themselves. *Hercules* has the appearance of proving Petri's learning and knowledge of Greek, acquired during his studies abroad, which had been made possible by the support of his dedicatees. The fact that the source text was a German translation of a Latin translation of the Greek original, does cast a shadow of doubt over Petri's knowledge of Greek, but it does not prove that he did not know that language. However, the clergy in Dalarna were not privy to the actual source text of *Hercules*; for them, it reads like a translation with a commentary of a Greek source. Petri translated *Hercules* early in his career, Balk after retiring from the priesthood, but, judging from his publications, apparently wishing to continue teaching. The former would gain more from a publication that shows off his learning and command of languages, the latter from one that appears to conform to the new Protestant faith. The fact that Luther, Mathesius, and Chytraeus had worked on the German *Aesopic fables* would be a selling point for Balk's Swedish version, their names on the title page functioning as a stamp of approval, signalling that the publication instils proper morals.

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Abstract

This paper is a study of the two earliest printed Swedish translations of ancient literature, Israel Petri Dalekarlus' *Hercules* (c. 1595) and Nicolaus Balk's *Aesopus* (1603). After introductory biographical sketches of the two translators and a contextualising discussion of Swedish 17th-century translators of ancient literature, the focus of this study is the two Swedish translations and their German intermediary sources. It is argued that the two translators handle the second-hand nature of their translations differently in order to maximise their impact.

BETWEEN HERMOGENES, CICERO AND QUINTILIAN: GEORGE OF TREBIZOND'S LATINISATION OF GREEK RHETORICAL TERMS RELATED TO IDEAS OF STYLE

Bartosz Awianowicz

Introduction: George of Trebizond and rhetoric of his times

“George of Trebizond, Georgius Trapezuntius Cretensis (1395/6 – 1472/3?) was a very exceptional man. Both adventurous and original, even revolutionary, and influential, he lived and worked in a country and culture other than the one in which he was born, brought up and educated. While rhetoric was taught in Italy in the first half of the fifteenth century on the basis of Cicero's rhetorical works (including *Rhetorica ad Herennium*) and to some extent also of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, and no one saw any reason for writing a new textbook – Guarino of Verona obviously was not willing to do so – the immigrant from Crete published his *Rhetoricorum libri quinque* late in 1433 or early in 1434.” (Classen 1993: 75).

The above-cited passage from Carl Joachim Classen's paper about the debt of George of Trebizond to Cicero draws our attention to two important characteristics of the author of the *Rhetoricorum libri V*, i.e. his unquestionable originality in comparison to his contemporary Italian humanists and his courage or even nerve in presenting his own views. He was a Greek writing about Latin eloquence and, as a man erudite in both Greek and Roman theory of eloquence, he accused Italian teachers (who considered themselves descendants of the ancient Romans) of negligence (*negligentia*), incompetence (*ignorantia*) or even perversity (*perfidia*), since during previous decades they had not written any new manuals of rhetoric and their teaching was still based on old medieval texts, for example those by Alain de Lille and Bartolinus of Bologna¹. In the

¹ See Trapezuntius, *Rhetoricorum libri*, p. 1^r. On Bartolinus (in George's preface: Bertolius) and Guarino's attitude to Bartolinus' commentary on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* see Ward 1995.

preface to his *Rhetoricorum libri V*, George of Trebizond, however, does not pay attention to the fact that complete copies of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* and Cicero's *De oratore* were discovered by Poggio Bracciolini not much more than a decade earlier (1416 in St. Gallen and 1421 in Lodi) and both works were still new to humanists (Mack 2011: 39). Moreover, although the humanists of the first half of the 15th century, like George's chief rival, Guarino da Verona, were still writing commentaries on *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which was widely used in medieval schools, they did it differently, introducing vocabulary used by the best ancient writers, most of all by Cicero (Ward 1995: 122–127).

Therefore Guarino felt hurt by George's words and in 1437 Guarino's student, Andreas Agaso wrote a letter to Paulus Regius – a defence of his master's erudition and at the same time an invective against the humanist from Crete. He wrote *inter alia*:

“I happened to get my hands on a certain work, worthy to be ridiculed by you or to make you irritated, the work from Cazamba, with the smell of garrulousness rather than of eloquence, and it is so because the author's, a little Greek's, promises to explain the art of rhetoric to Latins (for the book is called *On rhetoric*). [...] Not to mention how absurd it would be to accept in a Latin study such hideous way of speaking Latin by a Greek, who barely knows Greek and who has learned Latin badly.”²

George of Trebizond did not leave Agaso's letter unanswered. In a letter addressed directly to Guarino (because he ascribed the real authorship of the invective to Guarino), he argued that the critic of his work, although despising him as a Greek, at the same time praises other Greeks: Aristotle, Isocrates, Hermogenes and Demosthenes,³ whereas the opposition between the author of *Rhetoricorum libri V* on the one side and Isocrates and Demosthenes on the other is baseless, for the latter have not dealt with the theory of rhetoric at all.⁴

² *Unum enim tuo vel cachinno vel stomacho dignum opus in manus incidit, cazambanicam redolens loquacitatem verius quam eloquentiam, quo cum auctor Greculus Latinis dicendi rationem aperire profiteatur (est enim De rhetorica liber inscriptus). [...] Non dicam quam absurdum sit et Latinis studiis turpissimum ab Greco Latine dicendi rationem accipere, qui vix Grece, male autem Latine sciat.* Monfasani 1984: 365.

³ See: *Nam Aristotelis, Isocratis, Hermogenis, Demosthenis, Victorini, Boetii, Augustini, Quintiliani, Ciceronis aliorumque complurium omnia recordatio <est>, quorum volumina, Rhetorica, Orator, De oratore, Partitiones, Institutiones oratorie, Declamationes, orationes, commentaria satis superque ad fulciendam eloquentiam forent nisi tempora vel mores sic adversarentur ut nos potius libris quam libri nobis defuisse videantur.* Monfasani 1984: 365.

⁴ See: *Nam si Grecos legis et probas, cur me quasi Grecum contemnis? Si Georgium, quoniam Grecus est, spernis, cur Aristotelem, Isocratem, Hermogenem, Demosthenem Latinis legendos illico*

Most of the polemic, however, concerned the use and interpretation of Latin authors, especially Cicero.⁵ As Carl Joachim Classen observes, in spite of the criticism of his contemporaries for their use of the medieval rhetorical handbooks,

“[i]n the body of the work, however, he accuses them more than once of misunderstanding Cicero’s *artificium* in a speech, or of failing to appreciate the nuances of a particular passage. Presumably, it is especially Guarino of Verona whom he has in mind, but in all probability his polemical remarks are directed against Antonio Loschi as well.” (Classen 1993: 77–78)

The correctness of this observation by Carl Joachim Classen is proven not only by the choice of examples in *Rhetoricorum libri V*, taken mainly from Cicero’s speeches, on which c. 1395 Antonio Loschi had written a comprehensive commentary, but also by the fact that George of Trebizond dared to write a completely new commentary to *Pro Ligario*, the speech quoted particularly often by theoreticians of eloquence going back to Quintilian.

George of Trebizond’s Attempt at a Synthesis of Roman and Greek Theories of Eloquence

Nevertheless, one of the main aims of George as an author of rhetorical works was not only to present the correct (in his opinion) interpretation of Cicero’s oratory, but also a bold attempt to synthesize Roman theory of eloquence with the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, which he had translated into Latin himself between 1443 and 1445 (Monfasani 1984: 465), and most of all with the theory of Hermogenes of Tarsus and his successors, which for chronological reasons (Hermogenes was born ca. 161 AD) could not be present in *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, rhetorical treatises of Cicero or in *Institutio oratoria* of Quintilian.

George of Trebizond’s earliest known work devoted to rhetoric – a letter to Vittorino da Feltre, *De generibus dicendi*, dated to c. 1420 – is a synopsis

subiungis? Sed illi docti fuerunt, inquires, tu rudis. Illud ergo tibi tacendum fuerat; hoc comprobandum. Cum autem nobis in illis libris, ut orationes declamationesque maiorum intellegere ac imitari valeamus, non ex arte, sed de arte dicere propositum sit, que duo inter se adeo differre asserit Cicero ut multi de arte bene, nihil ex arte dicere potuerint, cur tu Isocratem ac Demosthenem, quos nihil de arte scripsisse constat, nobis obiicis? Monfasani 1984: 383.

⁵ For the whole letter of Andreas Agaso and George’s *Response* to Guarino da Verona, see Monfasani 1984: 364–376, 381–411.

of Hermogenean treaty *De ideis* in two books.⁶ The humanist from Crete discusses the seven "forms" of style (*forme*, Gr. ἰδέαι) one after the other: clarity (*oratio clara*, Gr. σαφήνεια); grandeur (*oratio grandis*, Gr. μέγεθος); beauty (*oratio pulchra*, *pulchritudo*, Gr. κάλλος); rapidity (*oratio celeris*, *celeritas*, Gr. γοργότης); character (*oratio morata*, Gr. ἦθος); sincerity (*oratio vera*, Gr. ἀλήθεια) and force (*gravitas*, Gr. δεινότης).⁷

As the *De ideis* creatively develops the earlier theory of three styles: plain, grand/high and middle one, and of five classical virtues of elocution: correctness, clarity, probability, brevity and ornateness, the tradition of which dates back to Aristotle and Theophrastus,⁸ George of Trebizond, introducing the text of Hermogenes to the Latin literary culture had to create an adequate Latin terminology by using the already known terms in new meanings or by creating new ones.

The first form, *oratio grandis* in the context of style appears only in the *De oratore* (2.337): *quia summa dignitas est populi, gravissima causa rei publicae, maximi motus multitudinis, genus quoque dicendi grandius quoddam et inlustrius esse adhibendum videtur.*

Pulchritudo as a category narrowed down to *ornatus* appears only in *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in the general statement: *quae sunt ampla atque pulcra, diu placere possunt* (4.32). The *Auctor Ad Herennium* connects the adjective *celer* only with *pronuntiatio* (4.26),⁹ whereas Quintilian determines with it the *distributio* as a part of *partitio* (3.16) and characterises the effect of the accumulation of syllables (9.4.83), which perhaps could have influenced George's translation of the Gr. γοργότης as *celeritas*, since following Hermogenes (*De ideis* B.312) he defines it as a *dictio brevis ac manca et paucarum syllabarum esse debet* (25).

George of Trebizond apparently could only use ready Latin equivalents of the term ἦθος, as in the theory of Hermogenes (320–352) it is a specific combination of *mores* – a character of the orator in the same way as it is understood by Cicero in *De oratore* (2.182–212) – and a figure *sermocinatio* described,

⁶ For the dating of the letter, see Monfasani 1984: 329.

⁷ See Monfasani 1984: 330–341. George of Trebizond here omits indignation (βαρύτης) as a separate category of style or, rather, he seems to subordinate it to *gravitas* (*ibidem* p. 336 (30)); cf. Hermogenes, *De ideis* B.364–368 Rabe.

⁸ On the originality of Hermogenes as a theorist of style and his sources, see Wooten 1987: xvi–xvii; Patillon 1997: 105–124 and Podbielski 2012: 362–382.

⁹ Cf. *Ad H.* 3.25: *In amplificationibus <cum> cohortatione utemur voce atten<ua>tissima, clamore leni, sono aequabili, commutationibus <crebris>, maxima celeritate.*

among others, in *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4.65),¹⁰ or *fictiones personarum* as it is called in Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (9.2.29–34). So George's *oratio morata* correctly reflects the speech “which is assigned to a particular person, like a slave, master, niggard or wasteful” (26: *que unicuique persone attribuitur, ut servo aut domino, avaro aut prodigo*), and at the same time involves its suavity (*suavitas*, Gr. γλυκύτης) and keenness (*acumen*, Gr. δριμύτης and ὠκύτης).¹¹

The next “from” – *oratio vera* – seems to connote *oratio veri similis* of *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (2.16), but unlike the anonymous author, Hermogenes (B.352–253) and George (29) aim to present the speech not only so “as dictated by customs, reputation and nature” (*ut mos, ut opinio, ut natura postulat*), but also to be simple and modest, for as such it shall be more natural and plausible.

In contrast, *gravitas* as a desired feature both of style and of speech is well attested back to the times of Cicero's *De inventione* (1.25; 1.109; 2.35 and 2.49) and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1.13; 2.23; 4.11, 15, 19, 32, 34, 38, 45, 51 and 69), though George, who first translated δεινότης with this Latin term, at the same time created a new parent category, the same that was already present in the treaty of Hermogenes, who wrote (*De ideis* B.369): “force in a speech is nothing other than the proper use of all the kinds of style previously discussed and of their opposites and of whatever other elements are used to create the body of a speech”.¹²

What is particularly interesting, in a situation where he could benefit from a ready Latin term, used in the context of style by Cicero, the *Auctor Ad Herennium* or Quintilian, he preferred to introduce a new one: namely, he Latinizes σαφήνεια as *oratio clara* (5 and 8), although the *Auctor Ad Herennium* (1.24) and Quintilian (1.5.1) call plain speech *oratio dilucida* (cf. Cic., *De orat.* 1.144: *loquamur [...] plane et dilucide*, and *Part.* 19: *dilucide dicas*) and Cicero in *De inventione* (1.28–29) *aperta*. The same “idea” of style was translated as *claritas* in *Rhetoricorum libri V* as well,¹³ which eighty years later was an inspiration, as it seems, for Giovanni Maria Cattaneo who in his Latin translation of

¹⁰ Cf. Cic., *Inv.* 1.99.

¹¹ See: *sub hoc genere orationis suavitas et acumen contineri videtur* (Monfasani 1984: 335 (27)) and Hermogenes, *De ideis* B.330–345 Rabe.

¹² Ἡ δεινότης ἢ περὶ τὸν λόγον ἔστι μὲν κατ' ἐμὴν γνώμην οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ χρῆσις ὀρθή πάντων τῶν τε προειρημένων εἰδῶν τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔτι δι' ὧν ἐτέρων σώμα λόγου γίνεσθαι πέφυκε. Translation by Wooten (1987: 101).

¹³ See Trapezuntius, *Rhetoricorum* p. 135^v: *Claritas est quae facit puram & perspicuam orationem*.

Aphthonios' *Progymnasmata* published in 1517 in Rome translated σαφήνεια as *claritas*.¹⁴

The choice of the proper Latin equivalent for the Greek term *ιδέα* seems to be the greatest challenge for young George of Trebizond, for it appeared as a stylistic category for the first time in the Hermogenean treaty. *ιδέα* appeared already earlier as a literary form in *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* (1425a9) and in Isocrates' speeches (2.48). The humanist from Crete has chosen the term *forma*, the basic meaning of which – form, a kind, sort – was the same as the Gr. *ιδέα*, but George gave it a new meaning and therefore in the letter to Vittorino da Feltre he makes use of the original term as well: “*Prime igitur forme ιδέα, ut ipse [i.e. Hermogenes] dicit*”, and in his later *Rhetoricorum libri V* makes a distinction between “forms” – variants of dialectical genres (*genera*), which are very close to *species*¹⁵ –, and stylistic forms based on *De ideis* by Hermogenes and considered genres of speech: *Forma est genus orationis, sententia, methodo, verbis, compositione, rebus subiectis, & personis idoneum* (Trapezuntius, *Rhetoricorum*, p. 135v).

In his rhetorical *opus magnum*, in relation to his juvenile letter *De generibus dicendi*, George of Trebizond modified some names of the stylistic forms: σαφήνεια received the substantival equivalent – *claritas*, μέγεθος was translated by George as *magnitudo*, for κάλλος beside *pulchritudo* the new term *venustas* was used, and for γοργότης beside *celeritas* a new term *velocitas*. This time the humanist translated ἦθος as *affectio* and ἀλήθεια with the noun *veritas*. Only *gravitas* as a Latinisation of δεινότης remained unchanged (*ibid.*). As far as the new terms are concerned, *magnitudo* could have appeared in *Rhetoricorum libri V* under the influence of Cicero's *Orator*, where we can read about *eloquentiae magnitudo* (139),¹⁶ and *venustas* as a feature of *exornatio* associated with force (*gravitas*) and taste (*acrimonia*) could be found in *Rhetorica ad Herennium*,¹⁷ although the term was related there only to the figure of *repetitio*. The next term, *velocitas*, seems to be taken from categories of virtues of the body¹⁸ (*virtutes corporis*) and moved to the category of style. This could

¹⁴ See Awianowicz 2008: 123.

¹⁵ See Trapezuntius, *Rhetoricorum*, p. 70^v: *Genus est quod species continet, hoc ad probandum speciem nimium valet, plerum ad refellendum. [...] Species est quae generi subiecta est, quae contra plurimum ad probandum genus, nimium ad refellendum valet. [...] Removetur autem genus necessario, si quis formas eius omnes diligenter per enumerationem negaverit.*

¹⁶ Quoted also by Quintilian, 9.1.45.

¹⁷ See *Rhet. Her.* 4.19: *Haec exornatio cum multum venustatis habet tum gravitas et acrimoniae plurimum.*

¹⁸ So *Rhet. Her.* 3.10; 2.14 and 4.60; and Quintilian 2.16.13; 2.20.9 and (on pronuntiation) 9.4.83.

be influenced by Quintilian, who wrote about *immortalis velocitas Sallusti* (10.1.102). An interesting innovation was the replacement of the term *oratio morata* with *affectio* – the term used by Cicero in *De inventione* to define one of circumstances connected with a man, discussed as a part of *confirmatio* (1.34 and 36), but in *Rhetoricorum libri V* it is no more “an immediate change in soul or body”¹⁹ but “a speech so composed, that we seem to show the character and customs inseminated in the soul”²⁰. The humanist is nevertheless aware of the untraditional use of the term and therefore refers in his definition also to the term used earlier: *Hanc moratam etiam orationem appellare licet*²¹.

By changing his own Latin terms within several years George of Trebizond demonstrated creativity and flexibility in his attempt to renew classical Latin rhetorical terminology. It can be observed not only in his translation of “ideal forms” of style. Lucia Calboli Montefusco, who examined the *ductus* theory in George’s *Rhetoricorum libri V*, wrote:

“This author is the best witness for the parallels that modern scholars have recognised between the theory of *ductus*, as treated by Fortunatianus and Martianus Capella, the *figuratae controversiae* of Quintilian, and the *ἐσχηματισμένα* of the Greek authors. George combined the doctrines of these different authors so skillfully that he was able to keep the notion of *ductus* neutral, that is, he did not simply identify it with figured speech. [...] George’s doctrine becomes really interesting because he combines passages from Fortunatianus, Quintilian, Ps.-Hermogenes, and even the authors A and B of the *Περὶ ἐσχηματισμένων* so remarkably that we have to credit him with an excellent knowledge of the subject. In doing this kind of patchwork he sometimes remains very close to his source but sometimes he is very creative. For [...] George jumps from Quintilian to Ps.-Hermogenes continuously and so masterfully that we marvel” (Calboli Montefusco 2003: 123–125).

As far as the theory of style forms is concerned the situation is somewhat different: the main source for the letter to Vittorino da Feltre and for *Rhetoricorum libri V* unquestionably remains Hermogenes, and the humanist from Crete relied on various inspirations only for Latinising his terms, because both his texts only summarise the treaty *De ideis*, although in the letter to Hieronymus Bragadinus *De suavitate dicendi*, dated 6 December 1426, George develops the theory of *γλυκύτης* as one of the elements of *ἥθος* in *De ideis* (330–339), referring most of all to Cicero both as to the author of the theo-

¹⁹ See Cic., *Inv.* 1.36: *Affectio est autem animi aut corporis ex tempore aliqua de causa commutatio.*

²⁰ Trapezuntius, *Rhetoricorum*, p. 135^v: *Affectio est qua sic componitur oratio, ut qualitatem animi ostendere, et insitos ei mores aperire videamur.*

²¹ Trapezuntius, *Rhetoricorum*, p. 135^f.

retical treaties (already in the first part of the letter he indicates *De oratore* as one of his primary sources beside his own letter to Vittorino da Feltre²²), and the orator, whose style is so excellent “that it is hard to say this or that place in his writings is more filled with suavity, dignity or force”²³. We should not forget that for George *suavitas* means courtesy or amenity rather than sweetness, so he understands the noun in a way very similar to Cicero’s²⁴.

The above-presented approach to the Latin terminology of George of Trebizond shows the essential features of style of his rhetorical treaties: 1) as a native speaker of Greek who learned Latin from the famous teacher Vittorino da Feltre he dares to use his language skills to promote the Hermogenean theory of rhetoric, previously unknown in the West; 2) as a humanist fascinated by Cicero he not only introduces many examples from Ciceronian speeches to illustrate his own theory, but also he tries to adopt the technical vocabulary of Cicero and Quintilian to the Hermogenean and his own rhetorical definitions and divisions; but at the same time 3) he does not hesitate to introduce Latin words with a new technical meaning (cf. Classen 1993: 79).

The originality of George’s terminology, still unrestrained by the rigorous rules of Ciceronianism of the late 15th century, undoubtedly contributed to the wide reception of his rhetorical treaties in the 16th or even 17th century. Since its *editio princeps* in 1470 his *Rhetoricorum libri V* alone had at least 18 editions in Venice, Milan, Basel, Paris and Lyon up to 1547, and his commentary on Cicero’s *Pro Ligario* was published three times from 1477 to 1535 (see Green, Murphy 2006: 214–216). There was a considerable number of George’s books in libraries in Central and North European humanistic schools as well, e.g. a Florentine edition of 1519 with commentaries on Cicero’s speeches by Asconius Pedianus and George of Trebizond can be found amongst about 1300 books which were granted to the city of Gdańsk by Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio in 1591.²⁵ The reception of George’s rhetoric can be observed

²² See: *Quot ergo sint hec dicendi genera numero? Nam multa esse omnes confitentur, cum Ciceronianus ille Lucius Crassus et Marcus Antonius vel ipso sole ostendant clarius; alio nobis libello quem ad magistrum et patrem nostrum edimus Victorinum Feltrensem, a quo nobis hec ornamenta sunt, satis diligenter expositum est.* (Monfasani 1984: 226 (2)). Cf. Cic., *De orat.* 3.25–36, 2.212–216, 338–340.

²³ See: *Ciceronianum dicendi genus ita perfectum sit ex omnibus compositum, ut non facile suavitate magis aut dignitate aut gravitate quam ceteris hunc aut illum locum esse refertum dixerim.* (Monfasani 1984: p. 229 (16)).

²⁴ Cf. e.g. Cic., *De orat.* 2.16; 2.126; 3.28; 3.82; 3.225 and 227.

²⁵ See G. *Asconii Pediani in Ciceronis orationes commentarii atque Georgius Trapezuntius de artificio Ciceroniana orationis Pro Q. Ligario nuper maxima diligentia excusi, Florentiae, per haeredes Philippi Iuntae Florentini*, 1519 PAN Biblioteka Gdańska, sign Cd 1563. 8° Cf. also Valerio 2009, Welti 1985.

especially in commentaries to Hermogenes and other texts from the *Corpus Hermogenianum*.

The first editor and author of the earliest commentary on the Latin translation of Aphthonios' *Progymnasmata* by Rudolph Agricola, the Dutch humanist, Alardus Aemstelredamus (1490/91–1544), quoted George of Trebizond in the chapters on fable, commonplace, encomium, comparison, *ethopoeia* and introduction of a law (Awianowicz 2008: 213, 216–218, 221, 222, and 225–226). Subsequently, though to a lesser degree, references to the *Rhetoricorum libri V* can be found in Reinhard Lorich's *Scholia to Aphthonios' Progymnasmata* in the combined translation by Cattaneo and Agricola (Awianowicz 2008: 245 and 260). But most of all, George's rhetoric was an important context for Renaissance commentators on Hermogenes' works, especially on the *De ideis*. *Rhetoricorum libri V* influenced the famous educator Johann Sturm (1507–1589), who “eventually translated almost all of Hermogenes”, and whose “numerous rhetorical writings habitually show Hermogenes' influence or are about Hermogenes” (Monfasani 1976: 326, n. 41). Despite the great popularity of Sturm's works, in which many Greek terms have been translated differently,²⁶ some commentators reached directly for George's rhetorical *opus magnum* even in the 17th century. A good example here is Andrzej Śledziński (d. c. 1645?), who quotes Trebizond several times in his scholia on *De ideis* (Cf. Conley 1994: 289–290).

Although George of Trebizond's rhetorical works were not as widely read and commented on as his *Isagoge dialectica*, he, as the author who introduced the rhetorical theory of Hermogenes to the Latin West, continued to be the main source of translation of Greek technical terms for many rhetoricians long after his death.

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²⁶ E.g. Sturm translates δεινότης using the descriptive term *apta figura dicendi* connected with the theory of *aptum / decorum*, while *gravitas* is used by him as a Latin equivalent for βαρύτης – see Hermogenes, *De dicendi generibus*, p. 295–327.

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Abstract

George of Trebizond, born in Crete, went in his twenties to Italy, where he spent the rest of his life teaching, translating from Greek into Latin and writing his own treatises and polemics. Although most of his works represent Latin humanism, they can be considered as an important pendant to the humanist Greek in the 15th century for George of Trebizond was not only a very well educated, though often neglectful, translator of Greek Aristotle, Demosthenes, Ptolemy and Church Fathers but also an important teacher of Greek grammar and rhetoric. The aim of the paper is to examine the humanist's use of Hermogenes' terms related to ideas of style and their translations in George's letter to Vittorino da Feltre, *De generibus dicendi* and his main rhetorical work, *Rhetoricorum libri quinque*, and to present some aspects of the reception of Trapezuntius' Graeco-Latin rhetorical vocabulary, inspired by the *corpus Hermogenianum*, among northern humanists in 16th century.

III

Humanist Greek in and for Poetry

LES ÉPÎTRES GRECQUES PRÉLIMINAIRES
DE L'HELLÉNISTE FRANÇAIS
JEAN CHERADAME DANS SON ÉDITION
D'ARISTOPHANE (PARIS, 1528)*

Jean-Marie Flamand

Dans l'histoire de la culture européenne, l'un des points essentiels de la distinction entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance tient à la question qui est au centre de la conférence qui nous a rassemblés à Tartu : la redécouverte du grec par l'Europe humaniste aux xv^e et xvi^e siècles. Sans doute les historiens tendent-ils aujourd'hui – et depuis longtemps déjà – à remettre en cause cette distinction : il n'y a certes pas de coupure nette et tranchée entre ces deux périodes, et l'on ne s'est pas couché un soir au Moyen Âge pour se réveiller le lendemain matin à la Renaissance. C'est au contraire très progressivement qu'aux xv^e et xvi^e siècles l'Europe des humanistes, l'Europe tout entière, a redécouvert une richesse que l'Occident latin avait en grande partie oubliée ou méconnue : le trésor de la langue et de la culture grecques. Cette « redécouverte » s'est faite à des dates variables et selon des procédures très diversifiées, selon les différentes parties de l'Europe. Elle a consisté en un lent et parfois difficile travail d'« appropriation » ou d'assimilation culturelle : partout, on a vu des lettrés, issus des divers pays européens, portés par l'attrait pour la langue grecque, par l'enthousiasme pour cette culture, se mettre à écrire des textes – souvent des lettres ou des poèmes – en grec, alors que ce n'était pas leur langue maternelle. Ils n'ont pas nécessairement vu de leurs yeux la Grèce, ils n'ont certes pas quitté leur propre pays pour venir s'y installer, mais ils ont *écrit en grec*, pour s'identifier à la culture grecque, ce que du temps de Platon on appelait déjà *ἑλληνίζειν*¹. Qu'ont-ils écrit, et pourquoi ? C'est à ces diverses formes

* Le texte grec des neuf épîtres dédicatoires dont il sera question dans cet article a été publié, avec une traduction en français et une brève annotation, dans notre ouvrage : Jean-François Maillard & Jean-Marie Flamand, *La France des humanistes. Hellénistes II* (Maillard, Flamand 2010 : 627–642).

¹ Platon, *Ménon*, 82b ; voir aussi Aristote, *Rhet.* 3, 5, 1 ; Thucydide 2, 68.

d'expression, illustrations d'un véritable amour du grec, que nous allons nous intéresser. Pour ma part, je vous propose donc de faire un voyage en France, plus précisément à Paris, aux environs de l'année 1528. Nous verrons que l'aspiration au grec y était alors puissante, à travers des réseaux très dynamiques, mais qu'en même temps la culture hellénique suscitait aussi méfiance, crainte et rejet².

Le 19 novembre 1528, l'imprimeur-libraire parisien Gilles de Gourmont commence à publier la première édition française du texte grec de neuf comédies d'Aristophane. Cette entreprise éditoriale va se prolonger jusqu'au 30 mars³ de l'année suivante 1529 (mais on est toujours en 1528, selon *l'ancien style*⁴), car il s'agit, en réalité, de la publication – en une série ininterrompue – de neuf petits livrets distincts, chacun consacré à une comédie, chacun ayant sa page de titre et son colophon (sauf un⁵), sans doute afin de permettre une vente séparée et un usage pédagogique. Chacune des pièces comporte sa propre épître dédicatoire écrite en grec par l'éditeur intellectuel, Jean Cheradame (voir l'illustration p. 233).

Le nom de Jean Cheradame (*Johannes Chaeradamus Sagiensis* : originaire du diocèse de Sées, en Normandie) n'est plus très connu, parmi les hellénistes français d'aujourd'hui. Ce personnage, dont on ignore les dates exactes (c. 1495 ? – après 1543), appartient à la génération qui a fait suite à Guillaume Budé, le premier grand nom de l'hellénisme en France. Cheradame n'a certes pas l'envergure intellectuelle d'un Budé, ni la puissance d'érudition qu'aura après lui un personnage aussi important que l'imprimeur Henri II Estienne. C'est cependant un bon helléniste : nous pourrions reconnaître sa compétence en examinant ses épîtres dédicatoires, écrites en un grec dont la syntaxe est volontairement assez compliquée. Il fut aussi hébraïsant. Cette double compétence, en grec et en hébreu, l'a conduit, au sommet de sa carrière, à devenir en 1542 lecteur royal en « lettres sacrées » ou en « éloquence sacrée »⁶.

² Pour l'histoire de la redécouverte du grec en France, voir l'ouvrage très riche de Pascal Boulhol (2014 : 149–219).

³ Voir le colophon figurant à la fin des *Ἐκκλησιαζουσαι* (Aristophanes 1528 : GgGiiij^v) : μηνὸς ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἄλ. Cette date correspond au 30 mars (et non au 13 mars, comme nous l'avons dit à tort dans Maillard, Flamand 2010 : 628).

⁴ En 1529, le dimanche de Pâques est tombé le 12 avril. Selon l'ancien style, qui faisait commencer l'année au jour de Pâques, on est donc encore en 1528 à la date du 30 mars.

⁵ À la fin des *Oiseaux* (Aristophanes 1528 : KKiiij^v) : pas de colophon.

⁶ Voir la dédicace faite par Jean Cheradame à François I^{er} de son *Lexicon Graecum* (Paris, Guillaume Roland et Jérôme de Gourmont, 1543) : « Augustissimo atque christianissimo Galliarum Regi Francisco Valesio, Joan. Chaeradamus, eloquiorum sacrorum Regius professor S.D. » (Maillard, Flamand 2010 : 667 et note 1146).

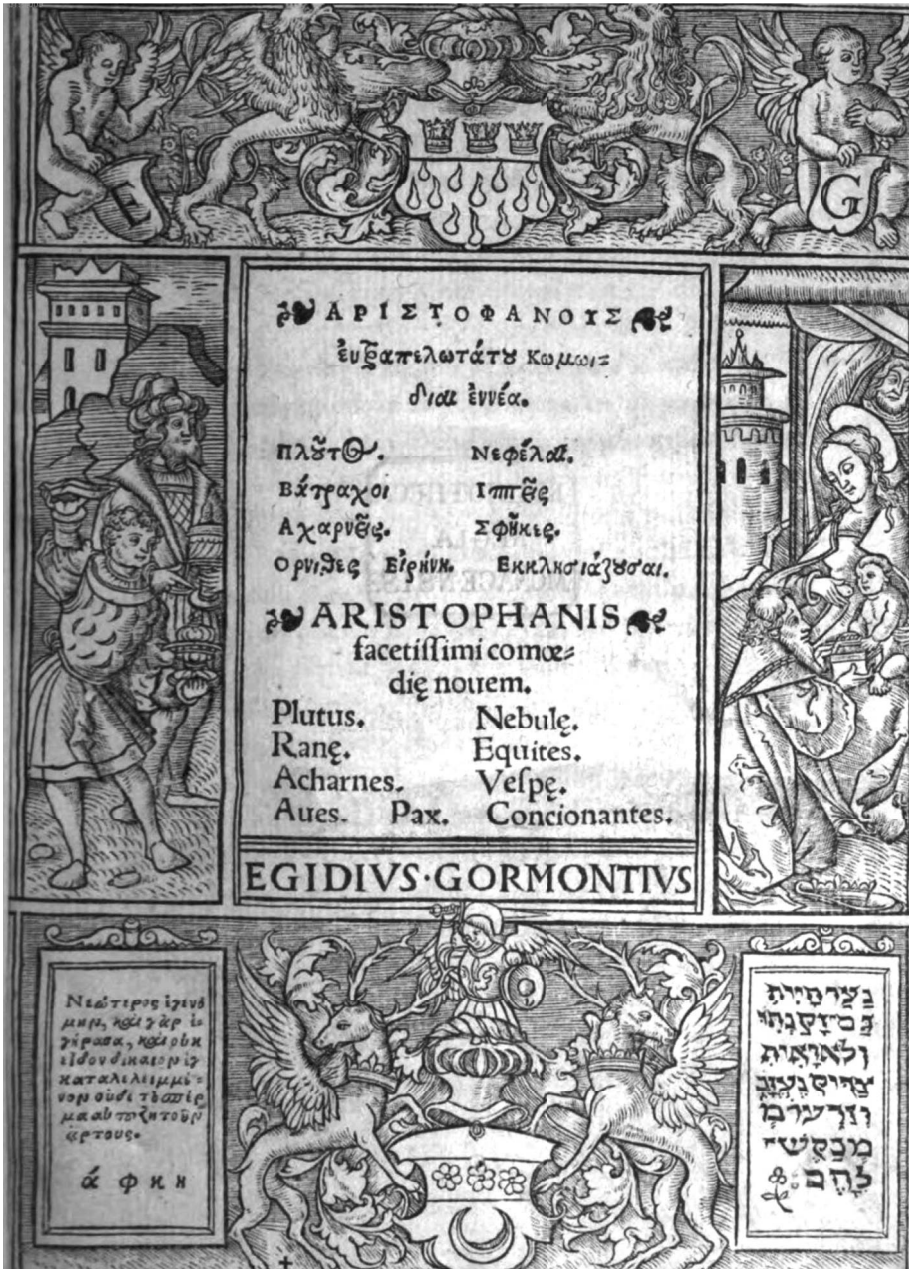


ILLUSTRATION. Page de titre de l'édition d'Aristophane, Paris, Gilles de Gourmont, 1528. (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, Res/4 A.gr.a 125, <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10198009-0>).

Tournons-nous vers son édition d'Aristophane. La page de titre générale montre qu'il s'agit bien d'une édition globale de neuf comédies, et non d'un recueil (factice) constitué après coup. En voici les titres : *Πλοῦτος, Νεφέλαι, Βάτραχοι, Ιππεῖς, Ἀχαρνεῖς, Σφῆκες, Ὀρνιθες, Εἰρήνη, Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι*. Le texte grec de ces neuf comédies avait été publié à Venise, trente ans auparavant (en 1498), chez le grand imprimeur Alde Manuce, par l'érudit Crétois Marc Musurus, un remarquable savant, l'un des plus grands philologues de la Renaissance⁷. Le Français Jean Cheradame n'a donc pas fait, en 1528, œuvre originale de philologue, il a simplement marché à la suite de Musurus et a reproduit son texte. Mais son mérite consiste à avoir fait connaître au public une œuvre encore peu répandue en France : acte utile et courageux pour le progrès des études grecques en France. À cette date, les superbes éditions aldines n'étaient guère accessibles, à Paris : mal diffusées, très coûteuses, elles restaient rares. Vingt ans plus tôt, en 1508, elles étaient même inexistantes, comme en témoigne justement une lettre adressée à Alde Manuce par un de ses anciens collaborateurs, le jeune Jérôme Aléandre⁸, futur cardinal. Venu de Venise à Paris avec l'intention d'y enseigner le grec, il déplorait auprès d'Alde Manuce, dès son arrivée, l'insuffisance de livres : trop peu d'éditions de textes grecs, de grammaires, de dictionnaires, pour les besoins de ses cours...⁹ Le premier imprimeur parisien qui ait pris le risque de se lancer dans la typographie grecque¹⁰ est justement Gilles de Gourmont, qui, le 12 août 1507, avait publié un recueil de sentences morales grecques, sous le titre de *Liber gnomagyricus*¹¹. Si l'on compare, sur le plan typographique, l'édition de ce premier livre grec imprimé en France, et celle de l'Aristophane de Cheradame (1528), on constate aussitôt que des progrès techniques considérables ont été réalisés. Les fondeurs de caractères grecs travaillant à Paris ont fabriqué des fontes bien plus élaborées, et Paris n'a cessé de rattraper le retard typographique qui avait fait fuir Érasme en 1515 au profit de l'imprimeur bâlois Froben, mieux équipé¹² : les esprits et les accents, qui manquaient en 1507, sont désormais bien présents ; d'abord ajoutés plus ou

⁷ Outre le texte grec d'Aristophane, Musurus avait publié les scolies : sur cette édition et sur sa base manuscrite, voir l'examen exhaustif mené par Luigi Ferreri (Ferreri 2014 : 93–111).

⁸ Sur l'œuvre éditoriale accomplie par Jérôme Aléandre (1480–1542) et sur son enseignement en France (à Paris et à Orléans), voir Maillard, Flamand 2010 : 275–367.

⁹ Voir la lettre très vivante qu'écrivit Aléandre à Alde Manuce le 23 juillet 1508, éditée par Pierre de Nolhac (1961 : 213–215).

¹⁰ Voir Henri Omont (1891 : 1–72).

¹¹ L'éditeur intellectuel de ce recueil gnomique, François Tissard, originaire d'Amboise (c. 1469 – après 1509), reprenait déjà alors – en partie – une édition aldine. Sur le *Liber gnomagyricus* de François Tissard, voir Omont 1891 : 5–6, et Maillard, Flamand 2010 : 232–240.

¹² C'est à la fin de l'année 1513 qu'Érasme s'est tourné vers l'imprimeur bâlois Johann Froben, séduit par la qualité de ses impressions grecques, quand il a « découvert avec beaucoup de

moins adroitement au-dessus des lettres, ils sont devenus solidaires des lettres ; des ligatures et de nombreuses abréviations ont été introduites. Sans atteindre l'élégance des caractères d'Alde, les caractères fondus pour Gilles de Gourmont dès les années 1520, permettent d'imprimer de façon satisfaisante de nombreux textes grecs¹³. Gilles de Gourmont est d'ailleurs l'imprimeur attitré de Jean Cheradame, qui a donné des éditions de Démosthène et Libanius en 1521 (édition reprise en 1528) ; un *Lexicon graecum* en 1523 ; et deux éditions de Platon : le *Cratyle* en mai 1527 et l'*Apologie de Socrate* en 1529.¹⁴

Ces notables progrès typographiques sont évidemment le reflet de progrès considérables accomplis, durant le premier quart du xvi^e siècle, dans la connaissance et dans l'enseignement de la langue grecque en France. Une véritable floraison d'hellénistes s'est produite à la suite du passage à Paris de Jérôme Aléandre et de son brillant enseignement (1508–1513) ; avant lui, Paris n'avait eu, pour ainsi dire, aucun véritable professeur de grec¹⁵. Mais dans les années 1520, on trouve désormais de bons hellénistes, qui enseignent soit à titre privé, soit en divers collèges parisiens : tel est le cas de Jacques Tusan, dit Toussain¹⁶. Partout, à l'exemple de l'Italie qui s'est très tôt ouverte à la redécouverte de la culture grecque¹⁷, l'Europe est gagnée par un avide désir d'apprendre le grec, de découvrir les textes écrits en grec et d'en produire à son tour. Cependant, ces innovations dérangent : il ne faudrait surtout pas croire que l'enthousiasme pour le grec soit unanime. À Paris, en particulier, il se heurte, au contraire, aux résistances d'un solide « parti conservateur »¹⁸, dont les bastions sont la Faculté de théologie, autrement dit la Sorbonne (qui s'exprime par la voix redoutable de son syndic Noël Béda¹⁹), et son « bras » juridique, le Parlement. Guillaume Budé et son entourage ne cessent de

surprise l'in-folio de Froben qui copi[ait] la version aldine des *Adages* » : voir Alexandre Vanautgaerden (2012 : 277).

¹³ Voir Vervliet 2008 : 365–382.

¹⁴ Voir Maillard, Flamand 2010 : 575–657.

¹⁵ François Tissard aurait pu faire exception, mais il disparaît mystérieusement du milieu parisien dès que survient Aléandre. Voir cependant, sur l'état de l'enseignement du grec à Paris au xv^e siècle, Flamand 2016.

¹⁶ Sur Jacques Toussain, qui sera choisi en 1530 pour être l'un des deux premiers lecteurs royaux en grec, voir Irigoin 2006 et Maillard, Flamand 2010 : 369–569.

¹⁷ Outre Manuel Chrysoloras, voir les études consacrées au cercle de Coluccio Salutati, à Leonzio Pilato et à Théodore Gaza, dans Maisano, Rollo 2002.

¹⁸ Dans ce contexte précis, cette expression (apparemment anachronique) a été utilisée à dessein par James K. Farge (1992). On doit aux remarquables travaux de J. Farge de bien mieux connaître aujourd'hui ces courants traditionnels parisiens, fortement hostiles à l'humanisme.

¹⁹ Sur ce personnage, voir la notice de James K. Farge (1980 : 31–36) qui indique des sources documentaires de première importance, et la notice plus brève du même auteur dans Bietenholz, Deutscher 1985 : 116–118 ; voir aussi Farge 2008.

presser le roi François I^{er}, protecteur des arts et des lettres, de fonder un collège pour l'étude des trois langues (latin, grec, hébreu), sur le modèle du Collège Trilingue de Louvain : longtemps attendues, c'est en 1530 que seront faites les nominations des premiers « lecteurs royaux », noyau initial – alors bien timide et modeste – de ce qui deviendra le Collège de France²⁰. Mais le soutien royal ne fera pas disparaître, du jour au lendemain, les farouches résistances de l'université de Paris, pétrie de scolastique latine ; le grec ne va conquérir sa place qu'au prix de rudes batailles.

Ce n'est donc pas par hasard que paraît en cette fin des années 1520 cet Aristophane parisien, avec ses neuf comédies et ses neuf épîtres dédicatoires, qui dormaient depuis près de 500 ans dans les réserves de quelques rares bibliothèques (notamment à la Bibliothèque nationale de France, à Paris). Ces textes longtemps oubliés et difficiles d'accès, avant-coureurs de l'institution des lecteurs royaux, peuvent nous apprendre beaucoup si nous parvenons à leur redonner vie²¹. Commençons par examiner qui sont les dédicataires de Cheradame.

Le *Ploutos* (Πλοῦτος) est dédié à un Anglais, John Clerk (Clerke, *Clericus*)²². Cette première épître est un éloge de la pauvreté, un encouragement à mépriser les fausses richesses. John Clerk, protégé du cardinal Wolsey auquel il succéda en 1523 comme évêque de Bath et de Wells, a été envoyé en France en qualité d'ambassadeur du roi d'Angleterre Henry VIII : Cheradame, qui a dû faire sa connaissance à cette occasion, lui avait déjà adressé une pièce de vers grecs dans son édition du *Cratyle* de Platon, en 1527.

Les *Nuées* (*Nephélai* : Νεφέλαι) sont dédiées à un jeune Anglais, Thomas Winter, qualifié de φιλανθρωπότατος (terme qui équivaut au latin *humanissimus*). L'épître 2 est un plaidoyer en faveur de la philosophie véritable, contre l'inculture. Âgé d'une vingtaine d'années, Thomas est le fils naturel du cardinal Wolsey, chancelier du roi d'Angleterre, qui vivait en concubinage notoire avec l'une des plus belles femmes d'Angleterre. Le jeune Thomas est venu à Paris en 1528, pour y apprendre le grec, accompagné de son précepteur, le théologien Thomas Lupset, un remarquable éducateur que Cheradame mentionne avec admiration. Placé sous la protection directe de François I^{er}, le jeune Thomas Winter va rester à Paris jusqu'en octobre 1529. Il est évident qu'il a suivi les leçons de Cheradame.

²⁰ Voir Farge 1998 et 2006.

²¹ Texte grec et traduction en français : voir Maillard, Flamand 2010 : 627–642.

²² Sur ce personnage, voir la notice d'Elizabeth Critall, dans Bietenholz, Deutscher éd. 1985: 313.

Les *Grenouilles* (Βάτραχοι) sont dédiées à Pierre Danès (1497–1577). Cette épître est encore un plaidoyer contre l'inculture, en faveur de la véritable éducation. Car Danès, qui a sans doute à peu près le même âge que Cheradame, est un professeur et un helléniste de grand talent : lui-même élève de Janus Lascaris, il enseigna dès 1519 le grec au collège de Lisieux, à Paris. Il est aussi hébraïsant. En 1530, il va être l'un des deux premiers « lecteurs royaux » de grec nommé par François I^{er} et son enseignement va être suivi par de grands personnages comme Jacques Amyot, Jean Calvin, Jean Dorat, Guillaume Postel...

Les *Cavaliers* (Ἱππεῖς) sont dédiés à Jean Viole, personnage que Cheradame qualifie d'εὐβουλότατος (« homme de très bon conseil »). De fait, c'est un juriste, conseiller au Parlement de Paris de 1516 à 1532, sans doute l'un des rares membres du Parlement qui soit favorable aux humanistes. L'épître que lui adresse Cheradame a une tonalité nettement religieuse, c'est presque un sermon sur la piété chrétienne : dès la première ligne, le dédicataire est qualifié de « chevalier du Christ ». C'est sans doute parce que Cheradame redoute *a priori* les foudres du Parlement, traditionnellement lié au parti conservateur²³. Pour désamorcer toute critique, sans doute, notre helléniste va jusqu'à déprécier lui-même *expressis verbis* son propre cadeau : offrir les *Cavaliers* d'Aristophane, c'est – dit-il – se limiter à la sagesse des Grecs qui est trop terrestre, alors que la sagesse chrétienne est de se savoir « enfant de la Lumière divine ».

Les *Acharniens* (Ἀχαρνεῖς) sont dédiés à Jean de Tartas : un « très précieux principal de collège » (χρησιμωτάτῳ γυμναστῆϊ) ; l'épître 5 est un hommage à ses qualités d'administrateur et d'éducateur humaniste. Venu de la province de Guyenne, dans le sud-ouest de la France, Jean de Tartas est un ardent pédagogue, passionné d'enseignement, qui depuis 1525 dirige le collège de Lisieux, l'un des collèges parisiens les plus actifs dans l'enseignement du grec. Avec Gouvea, il dirigera ensuite le collège de Guyenne, à Bordeaux, contribuant ainsi à la diffusion de la nouvelle pédagogie humaniste hors de Paris. Cheradame loue ses dons d'organisateur, ses talents pour recruter de bons élèves et de bons professeurs d'hébreu et de grec pour son collège : dans cet éloge, sans doute pense-t-il à lui-même comme à l'un des excellents professeurs recrutés.

²³ Farge (1992 : 32) : « Nous n'hésitons pas à dire que, à partir de la lutte commune contre le concordat de Bologne en 1516, la Faculté de théologie était devenue le cœur du conservatisme en France, et le Parlement de Paris le bras... On ne trouve guère une décision prise *librement* par le Parlement qui soit favorable aux nouvelles idées intellectuelles ou religieuses ».

Les *Guêpes* (Σφήκες) sont dédicacées à un personnage nommé Anthonius Lapitheus, qualifié d'ἔλλογιμώτατος²⁴ (« très illustre »). En dépit de cette qualité, c'est hélas le seul que je n'ai pas encore réussi à identifier. Cheradame lui dédicacera aussi son édition de l'*Apologie de Socrate* en 1529. L'épître 6 a le ton d'une *consolatio*. Son destinataire étudie l'hébreu et le grec : c'est un ami de la philosophie et de la culture grecques. Cheradame lui dit son admiration pour sa piété et pour sa patience à supporter avec courage « la roue des tracasseries de la vie humaine » (κύκλον ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων) : il fait notamment allusion à la mort prématurée de son épouse, dont Cheradame loue la noblesse et la générosité.

Les *Oiseaux* (ὄρνιθες) sont dédicacés à Nicolas Bérauld (1475–1545), lui aussi qualifié d'ἔλλογιμώτατος (« très illustre »). Personnage bien connu, en effet, ce juriste de formation, devenu professeur et éditeur, est passionné par la culture gréco-latine. L'épître 7 fait l'éloge de sa culture et de son œuvre éducatrice. Venu d'Orléans à Paris, Bérauld a enseigné et édité de nombreux textes humanistes. Son rayonnement est dû autant à sa culture qu'à son élégance et à ses dons oratoires. Par sa largeur d'esprit et ses dons de conciliateur, il a pu servir d'intermédiaire entre Érasme et l'université de Paris : il est nommé avec un égal respect par Érasme et par le théologien parisien Noël Bédac, ennemi juré des humanistes²⁵ ! Cheradame fait de sa vertu un tel éloge qu'il s'impose finalement silence à lui-même, « de peur d'être accusé de flatter, plutôt que de parler vrai »²⁶.

La *Paix* (Εἰρήνη) est dédicacée au médecin Jean du Ruel (1474–1537) : personnage célèbre, médecin de François I^{er}. Cheradame le qualifie de σοφώτατος τῶν ἰατρῶν. L'épître 8 décrit les bienfaits apportés par ce médecin pour la santé des âmes autant que des corps. Savant professeur à la Faculté de médecine de Paris, c'était un ami de Guillaume Budé, qui l'estimait beaucoup. Excellent helléniste, il a notamment édité et traduit en latin des textes grecs de médecine vétérinaire ; il était aussi botaniste. Cheradame loue sa capacité à donner non seulement des remèdes pour le corps, mais il le dit aussi capable, par la force de sa parole, de « guérir les hommes bornés dans leur entendement » (θεραπεύειν ... ἀφύεσι τὴν διανοίαν [!]²⁷).

²⁴ Dans l'édition de 1528: ΕΥΛΟΓΙΜΟΤΑΤΟΣ (voir aussi l'appareil critique dans Maillard, Flamand 2010 : 637), mais *ibid.* Ep.3, Ep. 7: ΕΛΛΟΓΙΜΩΤΑΤΟΣ.

²⁵ Voir De La Garanderie 1995: 50–53.

²⁶ À noter que seule la pièce des *Oiseaux* s'achève sans être suivie de colophon (voir *supra*, note 5).

²⁷ *Pro διάνοιαν.*

L'*Assemblée des femmes* (Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι) est dédiée à Guillaume Quinon, qualifié d'ὄμιλητικώτατος (« très affable : sociable, à la conversation très agréable »). Ce personnage, ardent défenseur des études grecques²⁸, était en lien avec Érasme²⁹ et avait déjà reçu, en 1527, de Cheradame la dédicace d'un *Alphabetum Graecum* publié chez Gilles de Gourmont. Il n'était pas professeur, mais fut Commandeur de l'Ordre hospitalier de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem de 1525 à 1542. L'épître 9 loue ceux qui viennent en aide aux gens studieux et dénonce la mesquinerie. Fait curieux, le texte de l'épître que lui adresse Cheradame est parfaitement identique à celui qu'il avait déjà adressé à Raulin Séguier, un juriste helléniste de Narbonne, dans son édition de Lucien (*Dialogues des dieux*) en 1528³⁰. S'agit-il d'une erreur, dans la composition typographique du livre ? Faut-il voir dans cette « reprise » un indice de fatigue de la part de Cheradame ? Ou bien Cheradame a-t-il été à court de temps, pressé par des circonstances que nous ignorons ?

Tous ces dédicataires, on le voit, prélats, professeurs, médecins, mécènes, ou simplement étudiants, sont des partisans déclarés et de puissants acteurs de la culture nouvelle : ils sont prêts à la défendre contre ce que nous appellerions volontiers aujourd'hui l'obscurantisme.

Une tonalité polémique très forte : éloge et critique, les deux faces d'une même médaille

L'intérêt de ces textes n'est pas d'ordre purement rhétorique. Ce qui frappe à la lecture de toutes ces épîtres, c'est d'abord leur ton vigoureux et combatif au service d'une cause. Certes, Cheradame commence toujours par faire l'éloge de ses dédicataires, un éloge si appuyé qu'il craint même, on l'a vu, d'être accusé de flatterie³¹ : telle est la loi du genre encomiastique³². Mais ce qu'il loue constamment chez ses dédicataires, c'est avant tout l'amour de l'étude : « il est beau et vénérable de vouloir toujours apprendre »³³. Il parle du goût pour les

²⁸ Il était l'ami de Philippe Montanus, lui-même professeur de grec au Collège de Lisieux en 1528.

²⁹ Correspondant d'Érasme (voir Allen 1938 : 41–42, vol. 9, ep. n° 2380) du 6 septembre 1530. Voir la brève notice qui lui est consacrée par P. G. Bietenholz dans Bietenholz, Deutscher 1987 : 126.

³⁰ Lucien 1528. Le texte est publié dans Maillard, Flamand 2010 : 626–627.

³¹ Voir la fin de l'Ep. 7, à Nicolas Bérauld, p. A aij^r.

³² Voir Pernot 1993.

³³ Καλόν ἐστι καὶ γεραὸν τὸ ἀεὶ βούλεσθαι μανθάνειν (début de l'ép. 9, à Guillaume Quinon, p. AaA ij^r [= ép. à Raulin Séguier, dans Maillard, Flamand 2010 : 627]).

études grecques, bien sûr, mais aussi pour l'hébreu. Il est bon aussi de venir en aide à ceux qui veulent étudier³⁴. Ce goût pour l'étude suppose des qualités intellectuelles, mais plus encore des qualités morales, et ce lien entre l'ardeur intellectuelle et la valeur morale porte un nom : c'est la *vertu* pour chacun de ses dédicataires. Le mot ἀρετή revient fréquemment sous sa plume³⁵ : vertus pratiques, comme la générosité (celle du médecin qui renonce à son salaire : ép. 8, à Jean du Ruel, p. Aaa ij^f) ; l'usage modéré des richesses (Ep. 1, à John Clerk, p. aijj^f), le désintéressement (à Pierre Danès, qui enseigne sans se faire payer³⁶) ; l'esprit d'organisation (J. de Tartas) ; vertu de jugement qui consistent à faire preuve de sagacité, de discernement³⁷. Mais la vertu la plus haute, celle qui revient fréquemment et que Cheradame loue plus que tout, c'est le courage de parler, ce qu'il appelle « la puissance du verbe » (λόγω δυνατώτερον, fin de l'Ep. 1, à John Clerk, p. a ij^f) ou « la hardiesse de parole » (λόγω τολμωτάτω, Ep. 9, p. AaA ij^f). Au jeune Thomas Winter (Ep. 2, p. aa ij^f), il assure : « C'est la hardiesse de ta parole qui te permettra de t'attaquer à ces imposteurs ».

Il ne faut donc pas voir dans la « vertu » que loue Cheradame un mot creux et un peu fade : c'est une véritable force de combat. Faire preuve de vertu, c'est être un soldat, capable de s'opposer à des adversaires, pour défendre « la bonne cause ». L'éloge de ses dédicataires est inséparable d'une critique tournée contre des adversaires qu'il attaque avec véhémence, sans jamais les nommer, ce qui serait contraire aux lois du genre épistolaire. Mais on n'a aucun mal à les reconnaître : ce sont les tenants de l'inculture (ἀμουσία) qui est une véritable « maladie »³⁸, qu'il traite de « porcs de Béotie »³⁹. Cheradame les désigne de différents termes : ce sont des « sophistes », comme ceux que raille Aristophane dans les *Nuées*, et il se place alors du côté de la « vraie philosophie »⁴⁰. Ces

³⁴ « Il faut... avec la fortune dont on dispose, venir en aide à ses amis studieux quand ils sont en difficulté » : ép. 9, à G. Quinon [= à Raulin Séguier : *loc.ult.cit.*].

³⁵ « Tu as laissé par ta vertu (διὰ τὴν ἀρετήν) une mémoire immortelle » (Ep. 3, à Pierre Danès, *sub fine*, p. aaa ij^f) ; πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐπιδοῦναι (Ep. 6, ligne 5/3, p. AAA ij^f, à Ant. Lapitheus) ; περὶ ἀρετῆς τοσοῦτου ἀνδρος [!] (fin de l'Ep. 7, à N. Béroul, p. Aa ij^f) ; « l'aiguillon... de la vertu » (τὸ κέντρον ... τῆς ἀρετῆς) Ep. 9, ligne 10/7, à Guillaume Quinon, p. AaA ij^f [= à Raulin Séguier]).

³⁶ Ep. 3, « [Tu enseignes] sans agir pour de l'argent ni pour aucun autre profit » : διδάσκεις δὲ οὐ χρημάτων ἕνεκα οὔτε ἄλλου [!] κέρδους οὐδενός (voir p. aaa ij^f et Maillard, Flamand 2010 : 632–633).

³⁷ Ep. 3, à Pierre Danès, p. aaa ij^f.

³⁸ Ep. 2, à Thomas Winter, p. aa ij^f.

³⁹ Ep. 1, à John Clerk, p. a ij^f. Injure courante chez les humanistes pour désigner leurs adversaires : ainsi Nachtgall, dans son *Grunnius* (1522).

⁴⁰ Déjà Aléandre, dans la préface de son Plutarque (Paris, Gilles de Gourmont, 30 avril 1509), s'adressait « à ceux qui se proposent d'étudier la véritable philosophie dans les collèges parisiens » (*verae philosophiae in parisino Gymnasio candidatis*) : voir le texte latin – avec résumé

sophistes sont souvent qualifiés de « barbares » (βαρβάρους σοφιστάς, Ep. 2, p. aa ij^f) ; il les nomme aussi « sycophantes », d'un mot emprunté à Aristophane pour dire « calomniateurs », autrement dit les traditionalistes qui critiquent avec un esprit mesquin. Il dénonce leur complaisance dans l'erreur, leur goût pour le mensonge, « leurs mauvais desseins »⁴¹. C'est en ces termes que Cheradame dénonce les adversaires des études nouvelles, ces « esprits bornés » hostiles aux études grecques et hébraïques. Pour défendre l'étude de la langue et des textes grecs, il fait lui-même preuve de la vertu qu'il admire le plus, la « hardiesse de parole ».

Les intentions de Cheradame : la bataille pour l'étude du grec et de l'hébreu

Les adversaires de l'étude du grec voient cette langue comme le véhicule de la culture païenne. Il faut donc d'abord leur faire comprendre qu'étudier le grec, ce n'est pas montrer de la complaisance envers les païens : cette étude permet au contraire d'accéder à la lecture de la Bible, en particulier à celle du Nouveau Testament. Les hellénistes parisiens, à la suite de l'enseignement fondateur d'Aléandre (1508–1513), se sont ainsi efforcés de laver l'étude du grec de l'accusation de complicité avec le paganisme. En 1528, si cet argument n'est pas nouveau, il est toujours nécessaire de l'invoquer : c'était déjà celui qu'utilisait l'humaniste strasbourgeois Ottmar Nachtgall⁴² en 1515, lorsque, se plaçant dans la lignée d'Érasme, il recommandait la lecture *en grec* de Lucien et montrait qu'elle n'avait rien d'immoral pour un chrétien⁴³. La lecture de textes grecs païens peut et doit conduire à la lecture du Nouveau Testament. Aristophane (et d'autres auteurs grecs) doivent donc servir de premier pas, de tremplin, pour donner accès à une lecture dont la valeur est assurément

en français – dans Maillard, Flamand 2010 : p. 291 et note 476. Voir aussi Maillard 2010 : 591–603.

⁴¹ Ep. 8, à Jean du Ruel, p. Aaa ij^f.

⁴² L'humaniste Ottmar Nachtgall, dit Luscinus (1480–1537), est fier de se dire disciple d'Aléandre. (« ductu clarissimi viri Aleandri Mottensis, praeceptoris meo » : Lucien 1515, voir Maillard, Flamand 2010 : 350.

⁴³ On savait bien, disait-il, que le récit des turpitudes des dieux païens (adultères de Zeus, jalousie d'Héra, tromperies, pédérastie de Zeus avec Ganymède...) ne consistait qu'en légendes plaisantes auxquelles, du reste, les païens eux-mêmes ne croyaient plus. Du reste, les livres sacrés des Hébreux eux-mêmes contenaient bien pire : voir l'épître dédicatoire d'Ottmar Nachtgall adressée à son imprimeur Johann Schott, dans Lucien 1515, voir Maillard, Flamand 2010 : 348–351.

bien plus élevée, celle de l'Écriture sainte. L'étude des lettres divines n'exclut pas celle des lettres profanes (Ep. 7, à Nicolas Bérault, p. Aa ij^r), elle doit au contraire s'appuyer sur elle. L'étude du grec, conjointe à celle de l'hébreu, loin d'être incompatible avec la vérité chrétienne, doit être comprise comme son meilleur allié : elle conduit à la parole de Dieu, à condition de rester conscient de l'échelle des valeurs. Cheradame affirme donc nettement que les Grecs étaient des « enfants des ténèbres », alors que les Chrétiens sont « enfants de la lumière divine ». Il va même jusqu'à dire que la « sagesse » des Grecs n'est qu'une sagesse incomplète, qui ne mérite même pas le nom de sagesse⁴⁴. De même, l'étude de l'hébreu, conjointe à celle du grec, donne un accès direct à la Bible et permet d'en faire une lecture authentique. Toutefois « l'affaire Reuchlin », en 1510–1514, à Cologne⁴⁵, a montré combien il était difficile de faire admettre l'idée que l'étude de l'hébreu n'entraîne aucune complaisance, aucune compromission envers ces Juifs restés obstinément aveugles à la révélation chrétienne.

Durant une quinzaine d'années, si nous prenons pour repère l'année 1513, quand Aléandre quitte Paris, les hellénistes en France ont gagné peu à peu du terrain, à force d'ardeur et de prudence. Mais en 1528, les enjeux ont évolué, les controverses religieuses se sont accentuées et Cheradame est contraint d'adopter une prudence plus grande encore, surtout pour faire aboutir le grand dessein budéen des lecteurs royaux. Certes, la publication du *Novum Instrumentum* d'Érasme, en 1516, dédié au pape Léon X, a connu dans toute l'Europe un immense succès. Mais Luther est entré en conflit ouvert avec Rome en 1517. S'il a été excommunié le 3 janvier 1521, ses idées ont commencé à s'introduire en France dès le début des années 1520 : plusieurs de ses livres, traduits en français⁴⁶, ont aussitôt suscité des réactions de rejet viscérales, de la part des théologiens traditionnels⁴⁷. Érasme lui-même a manifesté assez vite sa distance

⁴⁴ Ep. 4, à Jean Violen « ...nous ne connaissons rien de divin par notre propre savoir et les Grecs, en raison de leur manque de sagesse, sont incapables de nous rendre sages et disent des sottises... » (p. Aij^r, la présente traduction de ce passage corrige et remplace celle de Maillard, Flamand 2010 : 634).

⁴⁵ Voir Rummel 2002.

⁴⁶ Et même avant 1520 : « des livres de Luther sont signalés à Paris dès février 1519 » (Jouanna 2006 : 295). *L'Oraison de Iesuchrist qui est le Pater Noster et le Credo...* paraît chez Simon de Colines en 1525 (Moreau 1985 : 264, n° 877) : l'ouvrage est réimprimé en 1528 avec des modifications qui en édulcorent le message, sous le titre *Livre de vraye et parfaite oraison* (ibid. p. 425, n° 1545) : « sous cette forme atténuée, il connaît un énorme succès et parvient à échapper à la censure » (Jouanna 2006 : 295) ; voir aussi Higman 1984 : 11–56.

⁴⁷ Réaction notamment de la part de Josse Clichtove (*Antilutherus tres libros complectens* : Paris, Simon de Colines, 13 octobre 1524 : voir Moreau 1985 : 207, n° 635. Voir aussi pour l'année 1526 les n° 957 (*De sacramento Eucharistiae contra Ecolampadium* : Paris, Simon de

à l'égard de Luther, en publiant en 1524 le *De libero arbitrio*. Mais la cause de l'hellénisme est désormais censée avoir partie liée avec celle de la Réforme, et les hellénistes sont alors guettés par l'accusation d'hérésie : *graecizare = lutheranizare*. L'argument qui visait à défendre l'étude du grec (et de l'hébreu) en en faisant la voie d'accès à l'Écriture sainte se trouve retourné : forts de leur connaissance du grec et de l'hébreu, les « nouveaux savants » osent aborder l'Écriture sainte pour l'interpréter de façon nouvelle, prétention inadmissible pour des théologiens, gardiens officiels de la tradition. Avec son édition du Nouveau Testament, Érasme a porté un coup à l'autorité de la Vulgate latine de s. Jérôme. Luther est allé plus loin encore dans l'audace : il affirme que la Bible est le critère ultime de la vérité, et non la tradition de l'Église ; que tout chrétien doit y avoir accès. Un pas de plus, et l'on verra ces hellénistes et ces hébraïsants se mettre à traduire la Bible en langue vulgaire, à en proposer une lecture critique, à l'interpréter sans se soumettre à l'autorité des théologiens.

L'arrière-plan historique : le cas de Louis de Berquin

Les partisans des études nouvelles ont toujours trouvé auprès de François I^{er} (et de sa sœur Marguerite de Navarre) un puissant appui, mais dans sa lutte contre Charles-Quint, le roi de France connaît de graves difficultés politiques et ne parvient plus à soutenir aussi fermement les humanistes. Dès 1522, il est affaibli par des défaites militaires en Italie, et le « parti conservateur » présente ces malheurs comme un châtement divin infligé à la France, coupable d'avoir laissé se répandre l'impiété : d'abord les idées d'Érasme, puis la critique religieuse plus radicale de Luther. La défaite de Pavie (24 février 1525), catastrophe militaire et financière, a de terribles conséquences pour les humanistes en France : François I^{er}, retenu prisonnier et emmené en captivité à Madrid, ne sera libéré qu'après de longues négociations qui durent plus d'un an⁴⁸. Pendant ce temps, le Parlement de Paris devient alors plus puissant que jamais et les humanistes, qu'ils soient latinistes, hellénistes ou hébraïsants, sont surveillés de très près. Leurs livres sont scrutés par des commissions d'enquête, afin d'en extraire toutes les propositions fausses, impies ou hérétiques. Les livres que la Sorbonne juge « contaminés » sont condamnés, brûlés, et leurs auteurs poursuivis. C'est ainsi que Louis de Berquin, un humaniste ami de Nicolas Bérauld, traducteur d'Érasme en français et attiré par les idées de Luther, va

Colines, 7 mars 1526) et 959 (*Propugnaculum Ecclesiae adversus Lutheranos* : Paris, Simon de Colines, 18 mai 1526), Moreau 1985 : 285.

⁴⁸ Voir l'étude historique de Jean-Marie Le Gall (Le Gall 2015).

être arrêté et subir trois procès successifs⁴⁹. L'intervention directe du roi en sa faveur va le sauver deux fois, *in extremis* (en 1523 et 1526). Mais sitôt libéré, Berquin reprend la lutte, plein d'une confiance aveugle dans la justesse de sa cause : il prétend même retourner contre Noël Béda les accusations de fausseté et d'impiété. La Sorbonne et le Parlement présentent la rébellion contre l'Église comme une rébellion contre l'État, suscitant dans la population l'inquiétude et l'angoisse. L'émotion populaire des Parisiens est attisée par la mutilation d'une statue de la Vierge à l'Enfant, rue des Rosiers, dans la nuit du 31 mai au 1^{er} juin 1528. Berquin, arrêté une troisième fois en juin 1528, est alors au centre d'une affaire à laquelle la faculté de théologie donne une énorme publicité : l'agitation conservatrice gronde, les esprits sont exaltés. Louis de Berquin est condamné et envoyé au bûcher le 17 avril 1529. C'est dans ce contexte extrêmement agité qu'il faut replacer notre édition d'Aristophane.

Pour conclure sur une note moins grave, revenons à la page de titre de notre édition de 1528 : Aristophane y est qualifié par le superlatif εὐτραπελώτατος, en latin *facetissimus*. L'adjectif εὐτράπελος, difficile à traduire en français, pourrait être rendu par « spirituel », « qui plaisante agréablement » : il exprime une composante essentielle de la sociabilité, l'intelligence rieuse. Dans l'épître dédicatoire qui précède son édition des *Oiseaux* (ép. n° 7, adressée au savant professeur Nicolas Bérauld, p. Aa ij^r), Cheradame loue Aristophane d'avoir usé de la vertu d'εὐτραπελία pour blâmer les mauvais dirigeants d'Athènes. Bel exemple, qu'il faut imiter : ainsi, Nicolas Bérauld lui-même, par cette même vertu, mêle à son enseignement d'excellents mots d'esprit qui combattent – mieux que des arguments positifs – les ennemis de la culture, et qui ridiculisent allègrement ces sophistes, ces bavards ignorants. Oui, c'est bien une vertu que l'*eutrapélie* : Aristote en avait fait la théorie⁵⁰, en la définissant comme un équilibre entre deux défauts, d'une part le goût pour le rire grossier, la bouffonnerie (βωμολοχία) et d'autre part l'austérité, qui prend tout au sérieux et condamne le rire. Puis, saint Thomas d'Aquin, dans son commentaire à l'*Éthique à Nicomaque*, avait remis en honneur cette vertu⁵¹. Bien après les années 1520–1528, quand l'étude du grec aura pleinement gagné le combat en France, on pourra voir les collèges de jésuites pratiquer, au nombre des exercices scolaires, la lecture d'Aristophane et de Lucien, illustrant ainsi la vertu d'*eutrapélie*. Défendre la culture grecque, ἐλληνίζειν, c'est toujours donner à l'intelligence une expression plaisante, en mêlant – autant que possible – au

⁴⁹ Sur Louis de Berquin, voir la riche notice de Gordon Griffiths dans Bietenholz, *Deutscher* 1985 : 135–140 ; et Mann 1934 : 113–150.

⁵⁰ Aristote, *Éthique à Nicomaque* IV, 8, 1128 a4–b9.

⁵¹ Voir s. Thomas d'Aquin, ST II-II, Q 168, Art 2.

sérieux exigé par la réflexion la légèreté et l'enjouement indispensables à tout lien social. Il ne faudrait jamais l'oublier.

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Résumé

L'édition parisienne par l'helléniste français Jean Cheradame (c. 1495 – c. 1543) de neuf comédies d'Aristophane, qui reprend en 1528–1529 le texte grec de l'édition aldine, due au grand helléniste crétois Marc Musuros (Venise, 1498), offre une particularité intéressante : l'ouvrage se présente comme un recueil constitué de neuf petits livres séparés. Chaque comédie est précédée d'une épître dédicatoire, longue d'une trentaine de lignes, écrite par Cheradame en un grec volontairement compliqué et adressée à un destinataire différent. L'analyse du contenu de ces pièces liminaires éclaire certains aspects de l'actualité contemporaine : le ton polémique de ces courts textes, qui stigmatise avec véhémence des adversaires sans jamais les désigner explicitement, manifeste le souci qu'a Cheradame d'afficher ostensiblement sa fidélité religieuse à la doctrine de l'Église catholique en même temps que sa parfaite intégrité morale. À l'époque où les idées de Luther commencent à se propager en France, suscitant de violentes controverses, ces pièces illustrent le statut ambigu de l'étude de la langue grecque à Paris en 1528 : Cheradame veut montrer que cette langue, dont les ignorants dénoncent l'étude car ils y voient le véhicule de l'hérésie, n'est pas dangereuse par elle-même ; au contraire, elle est utile pour contribuer à l'éducation morale. Ainsi Cheradame recommande-t-il la lecture d'Aristophane, mais assortie d'un avertissement : dans ces comédies s'exprime une sagesse certes trop terrestre, celle des Grecs, mais en faire une lecture prudente peut conduire à la vérité et à la lumière divines.

Abstract

The Preliminary Greek Epistles Composed by the French Hellenist Jean Cheradame for His Edition of Aristophanes, Paris, 1528

The Parisian edition of Aristophanes' nine comedies prepared by the Hellenist Jean Cheradame (c. 1495–c. 1543), which reproduces in 1528–1529 the Greek text established by the great Cretan Hellenist Marc Musurus (Venice, Aldo Manuzio, 1498), has an interesting feature: the work is presented as a collection of nine small separate books. Each comedy is prefaced by a dedicatory letter, thirty lines long, written by Cheradame in deliberately complicated Greek and addressed each to a different person. A study of the dedicatees reveals the extent of Cheradame's circle of humanist acquaintances

at that time. The content of these preliminary pieces sheds light on certain current events of the period. But most of all it is the polemical tone of these short texts, which violently stigmatise unnamed opponents, that shows Cheradame's preoccupation with ostensibly flaunting his religious fidelity to the doctrine of the Catholic Church as well as his perfect moral integrity. At a time when the ideas of Luther were beginning to spread in France and spark violent controversies, these pieces illustrate the ambiguous status of the study of Greek in Paris in 1528. This language, which the uninformed denounced as a vehicle of heresy, is not dangerous in itself. Quite to the contrary, it could usefully contribute to moral education. Thus Cheradame recommends the reading of Aristophanes, but laced with a warning: the comedies may express a wisdom that is too earthly, that of the Greeks, but given a prudent reading they can lead to divine truth and light.

DER DEUTSCHE GRIECHISCHE DICHTER LAURENTIOS RODOMAN¹

Walther Ludwig

Die Erforschung der von Humanisten verfaßten Dichtungen in altgriechischer Sprache wurde bisher nur sporadisch in Angriff genommen. In der Regel fühlten sich weder Klassische Philologen noch Neogräzisten für sie zuständig. Von Humanismusforschern aller Disziplinen wurden sie bisher nur ausnahmsweise beachtet. Und doch sind diese Dichtungen ein charakteristischer Teil der intellektuellen Geschichte Europas, der Bewußtmachung und Erklärung verlangt, um nicht ein nur sonderbar anmutendes Phänomen zu bleiben. Deshalb ist sehr zu begrüßen, daß das humanistische Dichten in griechischer Sprache ein Thema dieses Kolloquiums in Tartu geworden ist.

Humanisten komponierten griechische Gedichte vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Der Höhepunkt dieser Produktionen liegt in den letzten Dekaden des 16. Jahrhunderts und in der ersten Dekade des 17., und zwar im protestantischen deutschen Raum.² Als *princeps inter poetas Graecos post renatas litteras* galt unbezweifelt bis ins 18. Jahrhundert der heute wenig bekannte Thüringer Laurentius Rhodomanus. Seine eben zitierte lateinische Charakterisierung findet sich im Titel einer 1741 in Lübeck gedruckten nahezu vierhundertseitigen Monographie über Rhodomanus, die der Lübecker Konrektor Karl Heinrich Lange verfaßt und einem Nachkommen von Rhodomanus gewidmet hat.³ Erwähnung verdient hier aber auch die Abhandlung *De Laurentii Rhodomani vita et scriptis*, die Theodor Wilhelm Heinrich Perschmann noch 1864 in einem Schulprogramm des Gymnasiums zu Nordhausen auf gut zwanzig Seiten

¹ Für detailliertere Ausführungen zu diesem Thema und eine vollständige kommentierte Übersetzung der Autobiographie von Rhodomanus, s. Ludwig 2014.

² S. Ludwig 1998.

³ S. Titelblatt von Lange 1741 und gesammelte Testimonien bei Lizelius (1730: 154–159).

veröffentlichte.⁴ Rhodomanus selbst hatte diese Schule eine Zeitlang besucht. Seither erschienen nur noch ein paar Lexikonartikel über ihn.⁵

Rhodomanus hieß ursprünglich deutsch „Rodemann“. Die humanistische Namensform, die den deutschen, mit dem Verbum „roden“ zusammenhängenden Namensbestandteil „Rode“ in eine griechische Rose verwandelte, nahm er vermutlich in der evangelischen Klosterschule im nordthüringischen Ilfeld an, die er 1562–1567 besuchte. Dort dürfte ihn sein Lehrer Michael Neander mit diesem Namen ausgezeichnet haben. 1571 erscheint er an der Rostocker Universität zuerst als „Rhodomannus“ (mit zwei n),⁶ später bevorzugte er die Form mit einem einzigen n.⁷ Griechisch nannte er sich „Rodomán“.⁸ Die sich gelegentlich auch findenden, aber nur modernen Bezeichnungen „Rhodemann“ und „Rosemann“ sind Eindeutschungsversuche bzw. verfehlte Rückübersetzungen.

Seine Biographie sei hier nur in aller Kürze skizziert.⁹ Rhodomanus wurde 1546 in dem Dorf Niedersachswerfen im nördlichen Thüringen als Sohn eines Bauern geboren. Sein Vater starb weniger Jahre nach seiner Geburt. Ein Pfarrer, der sein Stiefvater wurde, förderte ihn, starb aber auch bald danach. Er selbst unterstützte seine Mutter und arbeitete zeitweise als Küster. Nach dem Besuch von Lateinschulen in verschiedenen Städten und zuletzt der evangelischen Klosterschule in Ilfeld schlug sich Rhodomanus zunächst als Hauslehrer durch. 1571 konnte er sich an der Universität Rostock immatrikulieren und noch im gleichen Jahr Magister artium werden. Danach wurde er zuerst Gymnasiallehrer in Schwerin, sodann Rektor in Lüneburg und dann Rektor an der am Rand des südlichen Harz in Walkenried gelegenen Klosterschule. Schon um 1590 wurde er von Paul Schede Melissus zum Dichter gekrönt und mit einem Wappen versehen, das entsprechend seinem Humanistennamen Rosenblüten zeigt.¹⁰ 1591 wurde er als Professor für Griechisch an die Universität Jena berufen, wo man ihn 1597 zum Rektor wählte. 1598 nahm er die Stelle eines Rektors am Gymnasium in Stralsund an, 1601 die Berufung als Professor für Geschichte an die Universität Wittenberg, wo er bis zu seinem Tod im Jahr 1606 tätig war.

⁴ S. Perschmann 1864.

⁵ S. Ludwig 2014: 138, Anm. 5.

⁶ Siehe Hofmeister 1891: 173, auch Rostocker Magisterportal, http://matrikel.uni-rostock.de/id/400061524?_searcher=ed4626c5-6eec-4d43-b331-dd67e21714c8&_hit=0.

⁷ Z.B. epistula dedicatoria von Palaestina (Rhodoman 1589), S. 23 und Titelblatt.

⁸ Z.B. V. 267 seiner Autobiographie (BIOΠΟΠΙΚΟΝ, Crusius 1585: 355).

⁹ Für mehr, s. Ludwig 2014.

¹⁰ S. Flood 2006: 1682–1683 und Diskussion in Ludwig 2014: 140–145.

Schon 1595 wurde er in einem Epigramm zu seinem Porträt als deutscher Homer bezeichnet.¹¹ Der Vergleich mit Homer begleitete ihn durch sein weiteres Leben. Sein früherer Rostocker Lehrer David Chytraeus nannte ihn *Homerus Biblicus*.¹² In einem fiktiven Grabepigramm auf den sechzigjährig Verstorbenen ist er ein zweiter Homer (*alter Homerus*) geworden.¹³ Ein solcher Vergleich wurde keinem anderen Humanisten zuteil. Er belegt seine Anerkennung, auch wenn er heute natürlich übertrieben wirkt.

Unter den zahl- und umfangreichen historischen, mythologischen und persönlichen in Hexametern verfaßten griechischen Dichtungen von Rhodomanus, die hier nicht alle angeführt werden können, erregte das größte Aufsehen das historische Lehrgedicht *Palaestina*, das in neun Büchern mit über 4500 griechischen Hexametern die Geschichte des Heiligen Landes von der Erschaffung Adams und den Patriarchen über Christus im siebten Buch bis zu den Kreuzzügen und den Türken behandelt und das 1589 in Frankfurt gedruckt wurde.¹⁴ Der griechisch-lateinische Buchtitel gibt nacheinander Form, Quellen, Inhalt und Zweck der Darstellung an. Rhodomanus hat den griechischen Hexametern eine lateinische Übersetzung beigelegt. Die Dichtung sei bestimmt für den Nutzen und das Vergnügen aller Christen, die die *bonae artes* studierten.

Rhodomanus hatte 1587 ein handschriftliches Exemplar dieser Dichtung an Michael Neander geschickt, seinen von ihm sehr geschätzten früheren Lehrer in Ilfeld, der die Sendung bald danach mit begeisterter Bewunderung beantwortete. Rhodomanus hat eine Kopie dieses Briefs unmittelbar hinter das Titelblatt seiner Ausgabe der *Palaestina* von 1589 gesetzt. Er lautet in deutscher Übersetzung:¹⁵

„Michael Neander grüßt Laurentius Rodomanus vielmals. Ich schicke dir jetzt, wie versprochen, deine *Palaestina* zurück. Auch wenn ich sie meiner Geschäfte wegen kaum nebenbei und nur flüchtig ansehen konnte, so bemerke ich dennoch, daß es ein herausragendes Werk ist, das jedes Lob und jede Verkündigung übertrifft und das so groß ist, daß ich nicht glaube, daß es in

¹¹ Von Bernhard Praetorius („Adspice, Germanae, lector bone, gentis Homerum“). Der Kupferstich findet sich in der graphischen Sammlung des Hauses Thum und Taxis, s. Regensburger Porträtgalerie von Bayerische Landesbibliothek, <http://rzbv005.uni-regensburg.de/tut/>. Siehe auch Lange 1741, Ludwig 2014: 144–145.

¹² In Chytraeus 1614: 715, Lange 1741: 64.

¹³ *Hic iacet, o Lector, vir vates, alter Homerus* usw. von Matthias Zimmermann, Witte 1677: 26.

¹⁴ Rhodoman 1589, VD16 R 2105. Digitalisat in: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, <http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10166219.html>.

¹⁵ Rhodoman 1589: 3.

dieser unserer Zeit irgendeinen geben wird, er mag sich noch so sehr durch Gelehrsamkeit und Kenntnis der gelehrten Sprachen auszeichnen, der hier etwas gleiches wie du schaffen könnte. Und ich bin der Überzeugung, daß es ein Werk ist, das wert ist, mit Staunen und Bewunderung gelesen zu werden von allen Menschen aus allen Schichten und Ständen, besonders aber von denen, die in den höheren Schulen die ältere Jugend unterrichten, die zur gleichen Zeit Frömmigkeit und Sprachen sowie im ganzen Leben nützliche und nötige Dinge lernt. Ihr sollte dieses Werk von ihren Lehrern, wenn nicht erklärt, so doch mit Eifer empfohlen werden. Ich werde jedoch über dieses Werk, wenn der Herr mir soviel Muße geben wird, in wenigen Tagen vielleicht ausführlicher schreiben. Es ist ein auffallendes, elegantes, gelehrtes und vielfältiges Gedicht, wie es bisher noch niemand verfaßte seit der Erneuerung der Gelehrsamkeit und der gelehrten Literatur. Und ich weiß, daß so und nicht anders urteilen werden alle exzellenten und durch den Namen einer exzellenten Gelehrsamkeit berühmten Männer wie die hochberühmten Herren Dr. Chytraeus, Caselius, Crusius, Frischlin und vor allen anderen Henricus Stephanus und Plantinus, und auch unser edelster und sehr gelehrter Leonclavius und der hervorragende Dresser und die übrigen, die in der griechischen und lateinischen Weisheit und Eloquenz nicht nur bei unseren Landsleuten, sondern auch in den auswärtigen Nationen am berühmtesten sind. Und auch wenn ich dies rasch und mehr als üblicherweise beschäftigt schreibe, so solltest Du trotzdem nichtsdestoweniger völlig überzeugt sein, daß ich hier nichts unserer Freundschaft und deinen Ohren zuliebe von mir gebe, sondern wahrhaftig, was ich schreibe und erkläre, nicht anders in meinem Geiste denke. Leb wohl und entschuldige meine rasche Schreibweise. Am 14. August 1587 aus Ilfeld.“

Der gedruckte Band der *Palaestina* wurde nicht nur von prominenten Humanisten hochgeschätzt, sondern nach seinem Erscheinen nachweislich auch von Studenten erworben. Trotzdem hat dieses einzigartige historische griechische Lehrpos in der modernen Forschung bisher keine Würdigung gefunden.

Es war die starke Betonung des Griechischen durch Melanchthons Schüler Neander, die bei Rhodomanus zu dem Entschluß führte, die griechische Sprache in steigendem Umfang auch aktiv für die Abfassung von griechischen Dichtungen zu verwenden. Neander selbst hatte Melanchthons Hochschätzung der griechischen Literatur übernommen und sie nicht nur im Unterricht, sondern auch in vielen Veröffentlichungen vertreten. Einen Anteil an Rhodomans Weg zu großen griechischen Gedichten hatte dann aber gewiß auch Martin Crusius, der 1585 seine *Germanograecia* mit seinen eigenen griechisch-lateinischen Reden und Gedichten in sechs Büchern herausgab. In sie

hatte er am Schluß vier Briefe von Rhodomanus aufgenommen, die auch in griechischen Hexametern verfaßt waren.¹⁶ Es war der einzige andere Autor, den Crusius in sein Buch aufnahm, auf dessen Titelseite er als Zielsetzung schrieb: *ob Graecae linguae studium, quod iam pridem Alpes in Germaniam transvolavit, diligenter retinendum et ad plurimarum rerum, quae ab anno M.D.LXVI. usque ad tempus praesens contigerunt non iniucundam cognitionem.* Es entsprach diesem Programm, die griechische Literatur nun auch durch große epische Gedichte in Deutschland zu verankern.

Zugleich verband das historische Lehrgedicht *Palaestina* die griechische Muse mit dem Heiligen Land, war also auch ein Beitrag zu der im Gefolge von Melanchthon angestrebten Vereinigung des christlichen Glaubens mit der humanistischen Gelehrsamkeit. Rhodomanus bringt diesen Gedanken gleich in den ersten Versen seiner *Palaestina* zum Ausdruck, in denen er in Abwandlung der prooemialen Inspirationsbitte sogar den hier als οὐρανίη χάρις angesprochenen christlichen Heiligen Geist bittet, ihn mit dem Geistesfluß der griechischen Muse zu inspirieren, um das Vaterland Christi auf gebührende Art besingen zu können.

Schon im 17. Jahrhundert sah man dann mit Recht in Neander, Crusius und Rhodomanus die Protagonisten für die griechische Literatur in Deutschland, wie aus einer 1663 veröffentlichten Schrift des Professors für Geschichte und Griechisch in Gießen Johann Konrad Dieterich auch hervorgeht: Ihr Titel lautet: *Propagatio Graecarum literarum et Poeseos per Germaniam a Triumviris literariis Michaelae Neandro, Martino Crusio et Laurentio Rhodomanno instituta.*

Aus heutiger Perspektive gesehen, stellen uns die griechischen Dichtungen von Laurentius Rhodomanus eine besondere Phase der deutsch-griechischen Beziehungen vor Augen. Er und Martin Crusius waren die prominentesten Vertreter der Arbeiten und Bemühungen, die in den Jahrzehnten um 1600 aus Begeisterung insbesondere für die sprachliche Form der alten griechischen Dichtung diese Form in Deutschland parallel zu den neuen lateinischen Dichtungen der Humanisten wieder neu zu schaffen und zu etablieren suchten. Eine Voraussetzung der so zustande gekommenen Texte ist eine äußerst intensive Aneignung der alten griechischen Dichtung, die in weitem Umfang vertraut gewesen und auswendig gekannt worden sein muß.

Das Studium des Griechischen und noch mehr die neue Produktion griechischer Gedichte war jedoch selbst im damaligen protestantischen Raum nicht unangefochten. Rhodomanus benützt deshalb den Dedikationsbrief zu

¹⁶ Crusius 1585: 205, 343–355.

seiner *Palaestina*, um sich mit drei griechischkritischen Positionen *ex singulari quodam amore et studio* [sc. *Graecae linguae*] eingehend auseinanderzusetzen.¹⁷

Er spricht dort kurz die allgemeinen Gründe an, warum dem Griechischen zwischen dem Lateinischen und Hebräischen sein verdienter Platz im Unterricht eingeräumt werden solle: erstens lägen sie in der philosophischen Literatur in griechischer Sprache, zweitens im Neuen Testament und der griechischen Patristik und drittens darin, daß diese *cultissima et suavissima lingua* die Grundlage jeder höheren Kultur im staatlichen und kirchlichen Leben darstelle. Danach geht er auf die Einwände gegen das Studium des Griechischen ein.

Die *μισέλληνες* oder *contemptores linguae Graecae* behaupteten, es seien jetzt alle griechischen Autoren gut in Latein übersetzt, wogegen der höhere Wert der Quellen und die größere Differenziertheit der griechischen Sprache gesetzt wird. Zweitens behaupteten andere, daß die griechische Prosa die gesamte griechische Weisheit enthalte und deshalb die Poesie unnütz sei. Dagegen spreche, daß ein Verzicht auf die Poesie die griechische Literatur um etwa die Hälfte verkürze. Die älteste griechische Literatur seit Orpheus und Musaeus sei poetisch. Erst die seltenen und gesuchten Wörter der Poesie enthüllten den ganzen Reichtum und die Geheimnisse der griechischen Sprache. Die Poesie webe die Wörter metrisch mit großer Anmut zusammen. Und auch die christliche Literatur bediene sich der poetischen Sprache, wie die homerische Psalmenparaphrase des Apollinaris (von Laodizea) und die Darstellungen der Geschichten des Alten und Neuen Testaments in homerischem Stil durch Gregor von Nazianz zeigten. Eine dritte – bessere – Gruppe von Kritikern des Griechischen, in der sich auch frühere Lehrer von ihm befänden, gestehe zwar das Studium der gesamten griechischen Literatur zu, beschränke sich aber auf deren Verständnis und verzichte auf das aktive griechische Sprechen und Schreiben.

Doch eine wahre und volle Kenntnis der griechischen Sprache könne nur unter Einschluß von Übungen im Sprechen und Schreiben erworben werden. Die Knaben müßten daran gewöhnt werden im Lateinischen und im Griechischen Briefe und Epigramme jede Art zu komponieren. Man verkürze die Möglichkeiten der griechischen Sprache, wenn man das Sprechen und Schreiben nur im Lateinischen zulasse. Man befände sich zwar in einem lateinischen und römischen, nicht in einem griechischen Reich. Aber man solle auch daran denken, daß durch Gottes Wohlwollen einmal erreicht werden könnte, was die Griechen begierig erwarteten und worum sich das Reich

¹⁷ Rhodoman 1589: 9–23.

der Deutschen mit allen geistigen und militärischen Kräften bemühen solle, nämlich die Griechen sozusagen diesem Reich einzugliedern. Dann müsse man sicherlich mit den Griechen in der griechischen Sprache verkehren, und zwar nicht in der vulgären und halbbarbarischen, sondern der gebildeten. Und selbst jetzt seien die Griechen nicht so weit entfernt, daß man sich nicht in religiösen Fragen mit ihnen austauschen könne, und es sei ein sehnlicher Wunsch von allen, daß die Griechen sich mit ihnen zu einem gemeinsamen kirchlichen Körper und zu einer Gemeinschaft des gleichen Glaubens und der gleichen Konfession vereinten. Auch dazu sei es nötig, die griechische Sprache mündlich und schriftlich gebrauchen zu können.

Im Hintergrund der Bemühungen von Crusius und Rhodomanus um eine Erneuerung der altgriechischen Dichtung steht also die gegen Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland noch vorhandene Hoffnung, den osmanischen Sultan eines Tages aus Konstantinopel wieder vertreiben zu können. Damals wurde sogar in Schriften die Erwartung geäußert, daß Murad III. vielleicht der letzte osmanische Sultan sein werde und daß das römische Reich wieder auf die Griechen ausgedehnt werden könnte. Sodann gab es damals von Seiten der Protestanten am Ende freilich vergebliche Bemühungen um eine lutherisch-orthodoxe Konfessionsunion. Die Leitung der württembergischen Kirche führte 1573–1581 mit diesem Ziel einen Briefwechsel mit dem Patriarchen Jeremias II. von Konstantinopel. Für die erwünschte Einigung sollte und wollte man auf eine fruchtbare Kommunikation in der „gebildeten“ alten griechischen Sprache vorbereitet sein.

In dieser Situation wollte Rhodomanus mit seinen griechischen Dichtungen ein Beispiel geben. Seine Dichtungen waren nicht für wenige Auserwählte bestimmt, sie sollten auch den Studenten des Griechischen zur Lektüre dienen und diese darüber hinaus zu eigenen dichterischen Kompositionen ermutigen. Die Veränderungen der geistigen und politischen Situation im 17. Jahrhundert verringerten das Interesse an solchen neuen griechischen Dichtungen, wenngleich sie, vermindert im Umfang und an Zahl, auch weiterhin von Humanisten produziert wurden.

Einige Jahre vor der ambitionierten *Palaestina*, der er noch eine unvollendet gebliebene *Germanis* über die deutsche Geschichte seit der Germanenzeit folgen lassen wollte, schrieb Rhodomanus, als er noch Rektor der St. Michaelisschule in Lüneburg war, im Jahr 1582 gleichfalls in griechischen Hexametern eine Autobiographie, die er als Brief an seinen Freund Martin Crusius schickte. In diesem Brief schildert er seinen Lebensweg in den zurückliegenden 36 Jahren und dabei auch, wie er zum Verfassen von Dichtungen in griechischer Sprache kam. Crusius veröffentlichte den Brief 1585 in seiner

Germanograecia.¹⁸ Es handelt sich bei diesem Text um 268 griechische Hexameter, denen dort jeweils in der rechten Spalte eine Übersetzung in lateinischen Hexametern beigelegt ist. Den aktuellen und sehr regen Forschungen zur literarischen Autobiographie ist diese poetische griechische Autobiographie bisher völlig entgangen.

Rhodomanus ist sich bei dieser epistolaren Autobiographie bewußt, daß er „eine ganz eigentümliche Geschichte auf neue Art verfertigt“ hat (V. 32: ἱστορίην καινοῖς ἰδιότροπον ἤθεσι τεύξας). Eigentümlich ist die Geschichte als seine persönliche Autobiographie, die neue Art ist, daß hier für sie griechische Hexameter verwendet wurden. Vielleicht regte ihn das autobiographische Thema eines Gedichts von Gregor von Nazianz an, das in dessen Werkausgaben den Titel *Carmen de vita sua* (εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον) trägt und das knapp 2000 jambische Verse hat. Rhodomanus kannte und schätzte diesen Autor.

Die griechischen, in der Regel ionisch gefärbten Hexameter imitieren weit überwiegend den poetischen altgriechischen Wortschatz. Sie greifen im Wortmaterial meistens auf homerische Stellen zurück, weniger auf hesiodische, jedoch finden sich gelegentlich auch Wörter späterer Epiker, so besonders von Nonnos, außerdem von Moschus, Musaeus, Oppian, Colluthus und Quintus von Smyrna. Ebenso werden gerne seltene Ausdrücke, die sich nur in der *Anthologia Planudea* finden, verwendet. Vereinzelt erscheint in dorischer Färbung sogar Pindarisches. Rhodomanus tendierte zu seltenen poetischen Wörtern. Er konnte, wo es ihm sachlich geboten erschien, aber auch Wörter der klassischen griechischen Prosasprache verwenden. Darüber hinaus scheint er ab und zu sogar epische Neologismen geprägt zu haben. Durch diese Kombinatorik wird der homerische Stil verlassen, die Wörter sind durchschnittlich länger als dort, und auch Rhodomans Neigung zu zusammengesetzten Wörtern gibt seinem Stil einen etwas schwereren Gang.

Rhodomanus verwendet das epische Gleichnis, teilweise in direktem Anschluß an die Ilias, setzt Sätzen und führt mehrere allegorisch verstandene antike mythologische Figuren ein (Eileithyia, Enyo, Musen, Kypris und ihren Sohn, Hymenaios und die Erinnye). Der hexametrische Versbau ist im allgemeinen im Sinne der antiken Epik korrekt. Dabei ist die Zäsur nach dem 3. Trochaeus erheblich häufiger als die nach dem 3. Longum. Vereinzelt erscheint ein Spondeus im 5. Fuß. Von der Möglichkeit einer Kürzung des Wortauslauts vor vokalischem anlautendem Wort wird Gebrauch gemacht.

Die Autobiographie folgt dem chronologischen Verlauf von Rhodomans Geburt bis zu seiner Tätigkeit in Lüneburg als Lateinschullehrer. Da er die

¹⁸ Crusius 1585: 348–355.

Nennung von Jahreszahlen vermeidet, läßt er sie aus Periphrasen durch Erwähnung von allgemein bekannten gleichzeitigen historischen Ereignissen erschließen und gibt dadurch seiner persönlichen Geschichte auch einen allgemeinen historischen Hintergrund. Auf diese Weise werden das Jahr 1546 durch Luthers Tod, 1551 durch Magdeburgs Belagerung, 1553 durch die Schlacht von Sievershausen und den Tod des Kurfürsten Moritz von Sachsen, 1562 durch die Erhebung von Maximilian II. zum Kaiser, 1567 durch die Schleifung der sächsischen Feste Grimmenstein bei Gotha im Auftrag des Kaisers, 1570 durch die Eroberung von Nikosia auf Zypern durch die osmanischen Türken, 1571 durch den Tod des Rektors der Fürstenschule St. Afra in Meißen Georg Fabricius und 1572 durch die Bartholomäusnacht in Paris und die darauf folgende Erscheinung eines Kometen bezeichnet. Die erwähnten Ereignisse zeigen zugleich, welche Geschehnisse ihm in den jeweiligen Jahren am wichtigsten waren. Ihre Kenntnis glaubte er bei seinen künftigen Lesern voraussetzen zu können.

Die Einbettung der deutschen Verhältnisse in den hexametrischen griechischen Vers verfremdet die Erzählung, bringt aber die Mentalität dieses Humanisten sehr nahe. Die Schwerpunkte seiner Autobiographie sind die drückend vor Augen geführte materielle Not des früh halbverwaisten Bauernsohnes und ihre Überwindung, die seinen sozialen Aufstieg bewirkende humanistische Bildung, die Rhodomanus sich mit großem Eifer und Begeisterung aneignete, und speziell die Entwicklung seiner poetischen Fähigkeiten, seine Anfänge im lateinischen Dichten in Magdeburg bei Mag. Siegfried Sack und die Entwicklung seines griechischen Dichtens in Ilfeld bei Mag. Michael Neander.

Sein immer wieder betontes Ziel war die Kombination von Gelehrsamkeit und Frömmigkeit. Mit diesem Doppelziel stellte er sich natürlich bewußt in die Tradition Melanchthons, für den die Verbindung des *studium humanitatis* und des *studium pietatis*, der *doctrina Christi* und der *studia philosophiae* essentiell war. Dieses Ziel drückte sich auch in Rhodomans Symbolum $\Sigma\nu\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}$ καὶ Μούσαις aus, mit dem er einen Lieblingsausdruck von Melanchthon übernahm.¹⁹ Mit den Worten καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις φίλτατε hatte dieser sich gerne in Briefen an seine Freunde und Schüler gewandt, um sie an die optimale Verbindung von Frömmigkeit und Gelehrsamkeit zu erinnern, und Rhodomans Rostocker Lehrer David Chytraeus, auch ein Melanchthonschüler, hatte sich diese Redeweise schon für seinen eigenen Gebrauch angeeignet.

So läßt der poetische Brief von Rhodomanus an Crusius vom 5. August 1582 auch sein griechisches Dichtens besser verstehen. Zugleich bietet er wichtige Aufschlüsse über den Lebensweg dieses Mannes. Sozial- und

¹⁹ Perschmann 1864: 10, Ludwig 2001: 31, 272.

bildungsgeschichtlich ist von Interesse, wie hier die Aneignung von Bildung Standesbarrieren überwand und wie Schulen, die diese Bildung vermittelten, unter bestimmten Umständen auch sehr armen Kindern zugänglich waren. Wenige Jahre später war Rhodomanus ein gekrönter Dichter und Professor an sächsischen Universitäten. Er stellte in dieser bisher wohl einzigen bisher bekannten humanistischen Autobiographie in griechischer Sprache die Phasen seiner sozialen und intellektuellen Entwicklung dar, und es war ihm daran gelegen, diese Geschichte bekannt zu machen. Die Veröffentlichung des Briefes durch Crusius war in seinem Sinn. Er wollte sowohl das Exemplarische seines eigenen Lebens zeigen als auch die griechische Sprache in Deutschland propagieren, denn es war die Zeit, in der Rhodomanus und seine gleichgesinnten Freunde glaubten, daß die griechischen Musen nach Deutschland gekommen waren, um hier zu bleiben.

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Abstract

The German Greek Poet Laurentios Rodoman

Laurentius Rhodomanus (1546–1606) was a German humanist who excelled in the composition of poetry in the ancient Greek language. He was celebrated for it until the 18th century and therefore called *alter Homerus*. The article gives a summary of his life and work, concentrating on his historical epic *Palaestina* with more than 4500 Greek hexameters, on his autobiographical letter (*Bioporikon*, in 268 Greek hexameters), and on his motivation for writing Greek poetry, an enterprise which generally culminated in the Protestant area around 1600.

FLORENT CHRESTIEN PINDARISE SOUS LA
HOULETTE D'HENRI ESTIENNE.
UN PSAUME DES MONTÉES EN VERS GRECS
(PS. 127 HÉBREU) DANS LA VERSION
PUBLIÉE EN 1566 ET DANS UN AUTOGRAPHE

Alessandra Lukinovich

Préambule

Dans l'activité éditoriale d'Henri Estienne (1531–1598) à Genève, l'année 1566 est des plus mémorable pour ce qui concerne la publication d'œuvres poétiques grecques aussi bien anciennes qu'humanistes. Portant l'emblème des Stephani (la célèbre *oliva* avec la devise paulinienne « *Noli altum sapere* »¹) quatre titres marquants paraissent en cette même année². Il convient de mentionner en premier lieu les *Poetae Graeci principes heroici carminis, & alii nonnulli*, « un épais in-folio de près de 900 pages »³, « un des chefs-d'œuvre de la typographie de tous les temps », comme l'a défini Olivier Reverdin dans le catalogue de l'exposition *Homère chez Calvin. Figures de l'hellénisme à Genève*⁴. Citons ensuite

¹ Rm 11.20 : μή ὑψηλὰ φρόνει.

² Voir Jehasse 2002 : 714–715. Le catalogue chronologique de l'œuvre d'Henri Estienne dressé par Jehasse montre que le grand imprimeur d'ouvrages grecs, actif dès 1555 à Genève, n'avait encore jamais sorti de presse un nombre aussi élevé d'éditions de poètes grecs en une seule et même année. Voir aussi Reverdin 1991 : 14 et 31.

³ Stephanus, *Poetae Graeci* 1566.

⁴ *Mélanges Reverdin* 2000 : 58. Olivier Reverdin étant venu à manquer à la veille de l'ouverture de l'exposition (qui a eu lieu au Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève du 21.9.2000 au 4.3.2001), le catalogue a été publié « sous la forme d'un vibrant hommage » à l'éminent helléniste, comme l'explique le directeur du Musée Cäsar Menz dans sa préface (p. 17). Neuf ans auparavant Olivier Reverdin avait déjà défini les *Poetae Graeci principes heroici carminis* comme « le plus beau livre qu'il [Henri Estienne] ait jamais imprimé » en donnant raison à Fred Schreiber, l'auteur de *The Estiennes* (Schreiber 1982), « de le tenir pour son chef-d'œuvre typographique » (Reverdin 1991 : 26).

le *Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum veterum*⁵ et, titre particulièrement intéressant pour notre propos, la deuxième édition augmentée des *Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia, caeterorum octo lyricorum carmina*⁶. Enfin, associé à son frère Robert (1530–1571), Henri Estienne fait également paraître en 1566 un petit recueil de 29 *Psaumes en vers grecs nuper a diversis translati*, où figurent à côté de 7 pièces dont il est lui-même l'auteur (une reprise de compositions déjà publiées), 4 pièces anonymes, 8 pièces de Frédéric Jamot (1550–1600) et 10 pièces que signe Florent Chrestien (1542–1596)⁷.

Ayant adhéré très tôt au protestantisme, ce dernier avait fréquenté à l'âge de seize ans l'Académie de Lausanne avant de rejoindre en 1559 l'Académie de Calvin, nouvellement fondée. Florent Chrestien resta une année à Genève et dut sans doute y suivre l'enseignement intensif des deux langues bibliques, le grec et l'hébreu, en conformité avec le programme d'études de l'Académie⁸. Le séjour genevois lui donna surtout l'occasion de connaître et fréquenter Henri Estienne qui, tout en n'étant pas titulaire d'une chaire à l'Académie, eut un très fort ascendant sur le jeune étudiant. D'onze ans son aîné, Henri Estienne finit par devenir son véritable maître. Joseph-Juste Scaliger (1540–1609) qualifie du moins ainsi son ami Florent : « il avoit appris à escrire en Grec d'Henry Estienne, & escrivoit fort bien tout comme son Maistre en Grec, en Latin & en François »⁹. Patrick Andrist a évoqué ce témoignage de Scaliger dans l'étude que nous avons publiée conjointement, il y a une dizaine d'années, sous le titre : « *Poesis et mores* : Florent Chrestien, Joseph-Juste Scaliger et les *Psaumes*

⁵ Stephanus, *Florilegium* 1566.

⁶ Stephanus, *Pindari* 1566. Il s'agit d'une édition en deux tomes (reliés ensemble dans l'exemplaire genevois reproduit par e-rara.ch). Le premier tome est entièrement consacré à Pindare ; la page de titre du second tome porte des indications partiellement modifiées par rapport à celles que l'on trouve sur la page de titre du premier : *Carminum poe- / tarum nouem, lyricae poe- / sews principu(m) fragmenta. / Alcaei, Sapphus, Stesichori, Ibyci, / Anacreontis, Bacchylidis, Simonidis, Alcmanis, / Pindari. / Nonnulla etiam aliorum. / Cum Latina interpretatione, partim / soluta oratione, partim carmine. / Editio II. multis versibus ad cal- / cem adiectis locupletata. / Anno M. D. LXVI / Excudebat Henricus Stephanus, illustris uiri / Huldrichi Fuggeri typographus.*

⁷ Stephani, *Psalmorum Davidis* 1566 (le petit recueil des *Psaumes en vers grecs* est publié en appendice du livre, après la paraphrase en vers latins des 150 *Psaumes* par Georges Buchanan ; les 48 pages de l'appendice ont une numérotation propre). L'exemplaire du livre reproduit par e-rara.ch sous la cote e-rara 6199 se trouve à la Bibliothèque de Genève, où il porte la cote Su 1866 (1).

⁸ Pour le programme d'études prévu par les statuts de l'Académie, voir par exemple Borgeaud, Martin 1900 : 626, ou bien *Calvinism in Europe* 1992 : 218–219.

⁹ *Scaligerana* 1695 : 91.

en vers grecs du *Bernensis* A 69 »¹⁰. Rédigé de la main de Florent Chrestien, le *Bernensis* A 69 contient quatre *Psaumes* en vers grecs paraphrasant les Psaumes 1, 2, 6 et 8 et correspondant précisément à ceux que les Estienne ont publiés sous le nom de Chrestien dans le petit recueil de *Psaumes* de 1566¹¹. Or, notre confiance dans le jugement élogieux de Joseph-Juste Scaliger au sujet des qualités poétiques de son ami a été mise à dure épreuve le jour où, au cours de la préparation de notre article sur le *Bernensis*, Patrick Andrist, en errant dans les papiers du Fonds Dupuy de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France, a trouvé un document troublant. Dans les folios 161r-164v du volume 395 du Fonds Dupuy, qui réunit des papiers en rapport avec Joseph-Juste Scaliger, Patrick est tombé sur cinq *Psaumes en vers grecs*¹². Du premier (*Psaume* 6) ne sont écrites que quatre lignes, qui correspondent aux quatre premières lignes du *Psaume* 6 attribué à Florent Chrestien dans l'édition des Estienne de 1566, et sont suivies par cette note :

Reliqua, post paraphrasin Psalmorum Geor. Buchanani. et editus hic psal. sub nom. Flor. Christiani.

*Iste Psalmus. editus sub nomine Fl. Christiani Aurelian. adeone tanti nostra sunt, ut quae ipsa vix se tueri possunt, etiam aliis famam quaerere debeant ? qui ne tanto ingenio adscribantur. J. Scal*¹³.

¹⁰ Andrist, Lukinovich 2005 : 674. Une partie des informations que je donne en tête du présent article proviennent de notre publication, à laquelle je renvoie le lecteur pour les références bibliographiques à l'appui ; je me suis parfois permise de reprendre textuellement certaines formulations de l'époque faute de savoir en imaginer des meilleures. Je tiens à rappeler ce que nous précisons en ouverture de notre texte : « Patrick Andrist s'est plus particulièrement concentré sur les questions historiques et codicologiques, alors qu'Alessandra Lukinovich a développé le commentaire littéraire et poétique, y compris les observations grammaticales ; la transcription du *Bernensis* A 69 et les appareils critiques sont le résultat d'un travail commun. » (Andrist, Lukinovich 2005 : 673, note 3).

¹¹ Je maintiens la convention que nous avons adoptée pour notre article de 2005 : « *Psaume* » en caractères romains se réfère aux modèles bibliques, « *Psaume* » en italiques, aux versions ou aux paraphrases (Andrist, Lukinovich 2005 : 673, note 1). De manière systématique, nous nous référons aux *Psaumes* selon la numérotation de la Bible hébraïque, comme l'ont fait les auteurs des *Psaumes en vers grecs* de l'édition des Estienne de 1566.

¹² Cf. Dorez 1899 : 358.

¹³ « Le reste [se trouve] après la paraphrase des Psaumes de Georges Buchanan. Et ce *Psaume* [a été] publié sous le nom de Florent Chrestien. Ce *Psaume*. Publié sous le nom de Florent Chrestien d'Orléans. Se peut-il que nos œuvres aient tellement de valeur que même celles qui peuvent à peine se défendre doivent chercher la gloire aussi pour d'autres ? ... à qui l'on ne devrait pas attribuer tant de génie. Joseph Scaliger. » J'ai légèrement modifié la traduction par rapport à celle que nous proposons dans l'article de 2005 (Andrist, Lukinovich 2005 : 676).

Le *Psaume* 45, qui se limite aussi à quatre lignes correspondant aux quatre premières lignes du *Psaume* 45 attribué à Florent Chrestien dans l'édition des Estienne, est suivi d'une mention équivalente. Cette découverte étonnante nous a amenés à donner une orientation toute nouvelle à notre projet initial, qui était d'éditer et publier le *Bernensis* A 69 dans le simple but de porter à la connaissance du public savant l'existence d'un manuscrit grec conservé dans le Fonds Bongarsiana de la Burgerbibliothek de Berne et resté jusqu'alors inédit. Dans mes analyses stylistiques des *Psaumes* du *Bernensis*, j'ai conséquemment accordé une attention particulière à déceler des éléments permettant de confirmer l'attribution du *Psaume* 6 à Joseph-Juste Scaliger. Comme je le montre clairement dans l'article de 2005, le style du *Psaume* 6 n'est pas celui des *Psaumes* 1, 2 et 8 signés Florent Chrestien dans le recueil de 1566 et figurant également dans le *Bernensis* A 69.

Ce résultat joue en faveur de la fiabilité des déclarations de Joseph-Juste Scaliger plus encore que je ne l'avais compris en 2005 (même si je reste encore toujours prudemment sur mes gardes). Dans la note trouvée dans le Fonds parisien Dupuy, Scaliger dit bien que ses vers *vix se tueri possunt*. Il n'en est pas entièrement satisfait¹⁴. Et il est vrai que comparé aux autres *Psaumes* signés Florent Chrestien, le *Psaume* 6 se donne à lire comme la composition d'un véritable virtuose du lexique, d'un connaisseur des aspects les plus sophistiqués de la langue poétique élevée, mais aussi comme l'œuvre d'un auteur qui manque indiscutablement de la légèreté, de l'élégance naturelle et du brio d'un Florent Chrestien. Il se peut donc que Joseph-Juste Scaliger ait reconnu la supériorité de la veine poétique de son ami Florent malgré l'« emprunt » – sans doute concerté – des *Psaumes* 6 et 45 dans l'édition de 1566, et que les mots élogieux cités plus haut soient sincères : « il avoit appris à escrire en Grec d'Henry Estienne, & escrivoit fort bien tout comme son Maistre... » (*Scaligerana* 1695 : 91). Ces paroles ne visent certes pas à suggérer malignement que les compositions grecques de Florent, du moins celles de sa jeunesse, n'auraient été rien sans l'assistance du « Maistre », mais donnent néanmoins à penser que, selon toute vraisemblance, Florent Chrestien a composé les *Psaumes* publiés en 1566 sous la houlette d'Henri Estienne. Il serait vain à mon avis de vouloir faire la part entre ce qui relève de l'*ingenium* propre au jeune homme et ce que le grand humaniste a pu lui suggérer. Henri Estienne écrit dans la postface du recueil de *Psaumes en vers grecs* publié en 1566, postface qu'il intitule « Henricus Stephanus Musarum Graecarum studiosus »¹⁵ :

¹⁴ L'expression *qui ne tanto ingenio adscribantur* peut conséquemment être comprise comme de l'auto-ironie.

¹⁵ Stephani, *Psalmorum Davidis* 1566 : 46.

[...] *Sunt enim ex his Psalmis aliquot in quibus tam felicem elegantiam mihi visus sum perspexisse, vt quid ad eam accedere possit non videam. Quibus & caeteros, etsi non tamquam παραλλήλους cum illis componendos, apponēdos tamen certis de causis existimaui. [...] at Apollinarii versus ne vmbra quidem vllam vel poeseως, vel fidae interpretationis prae se ferūt.*

Fait-il allusion à certains *Psaumes* de Chrestien lorsqu'il écrit : *Sunt enim ex his Psalmis aliquot in quibus tam felicem elegantiam mihi visus sum perspexisse, vt quid ad eam accedere possit non videam* ? Il serait fort intéressant de l'apprendre. Et à quels *Psaumes* fait-il allusion dans la phrase suivante : *caeteros, etsi non tamquam παραλλήλους cum illis componendos, apponēdos tamen certis de causis existimaui* ? Inclut-il les deux *Psaumes* composés par Scaliger au nombre des *Psaumes* qu'il juge moins réussis ?¹⁶ Ces questions semblent hélas destinées à rester sans réponse. Ces seuls faits me semblent assurés : Florent Chrestien signe le plus grand nombre des *Psaumes* que les Estienne publient dans leur recueil de 1566 ; ses compositions sont des plus passionnantes et agréables à lire pour celle qui écrit ces lignes et nourrit la profonde conviction que d'autres amateurs de poésie partageront son jugement¹⁷.

C'est surtout en raison de ce « plaisir du texte », que j'ai pris le parti de proposer à Tartu une nouvelle analyse poétique d'un *Psaume* en vers grecs signé Florent Chrestien¹⁸. Mais une autre raison encore explique mon choix du *Psaume* 127. C'est qu'il en existe une copie autographe jusqu'ici méconnue, conservée à Leyde, que son auteur a pourtant fièrement signé

¹⁶ Henri Estienne n'a pas toujours eu les meilleurs rapports avec Joseph-Juste Scaliger, comme nous l'évoquions dans notre article de 2005 (Andrist, Lukinovich 2005 : 711, note 141).

¹⁷ J'ai aujourd'hui une nouvelle hypothèse concernant la présence des deux *Psaumes* de Scaliger *sub nomine Fl. Christiani* dans le recueil de 1566. Jeanne d'Albret engage Florent Chrestien – qui a 24 ans – comme précepteur du jeune Henri de Navarre, le futur roi de France Henri IV, précisément dans l'année de parution du recueil (cf., par exemple, Caze 2006 : 217). A cette occasion Henri Estienne souhaite sans doute mettre en valeur les qualités de son disciple préféré. Cela expliquerait le fait que Chrestien signe le plus grand nombre de *Psaumes* publiés dans le recueil. Grâce aux deux *Psaumes* composés par Scaliger, le nombre des *Psaumes* signés par Chrestien dépasse de deux unités celui des *Psaumes* signés par l'autre jeune auteur, Frédéric Jamot, qui n'a que seize ans dans l'année de parution du livre... Cette hypothèse pourrait fournir un début d'explication pour cette formulation sibylline, hautement diplomatique, de la postface d'Henri Estienne : *Quibus & caeteros, etsi non tamquam παραλλήλους cum illis componendos, apponēdos tamen certis de causis existimaui.*

¹⁸ Dans le recueil de 1566, Florent Chrestien signe ces dix *Psaumes* : 1, 2, 6, 8, 11, 12, 15, 45, 127 et 133 (numérotés d'après la Bible hébraïque ; le Ps. 133 est fautivement annoncé dans son titre comme Ps. 130). Je rappelle que j'ai analysé dans l'article de 2005 (Andrist, Lukinovich 2005) les *Psaumes* figurant également dans le *Bernensis* A 69, c'est-à-dire les Ps. 1, 2, 6 et 8, et que Joseph-Juste Scaliger réclame la paternité des Ps. 6 et 45. Je me propose de préparer pour une prochaine occasion le commentaire du Ps. 133 (portant dans le recueil de 1566 le titre erroné de Ps. 130).

Φλορ. Χριστιανοῦ, et que cet autographe, comme j'essaierai de le démontrer, est antérieur à l'édition des Estienne de 1566 ! En effet, pendant la préparation de notre article de 2005, Patrick Andrist a déniché à l'Universiteitsbibliotheek de Leyde un magnifique fascicule manuscrit de quatre pages (un grand folio de papier plié en deux) qui contient les *Psaumes* 133 (132 LXX) et 127 (126 LXX) publiés dans l'édition des Estienne de 1566 sous le nom de Florent Chrestien¹⁹. Patrick a aussitôt reconnu l'élégante écriture de Chrestien dans ce document de Leyde que de Meyier avait catalogué comme étant de la main de Joseph-Juste Scaliger²⁰. Notre *Bernensis* A 69 est rédigé par la même main, dans une forme peut-être un peu plus hâtive. Pour notre plus grand bonheur le professeur Dieter Harlfinger a confirmé cette identification lors de la discussion qui a suivi mon exposé au colloque de Tartu de 2014²¹.

¹⁹ Ce fascicule est inclu dans la *Collectio chartarum, inter alia manu I. I. Scaligeri et Bon. Vulcanii : epistulae, carmina, varia (belgique, gallice, graece, latine, italice)* portant la cote *Leid. BPG 77* ; il y est classé comme « Fasc. 8 ». Nous avons pu examiner le document grâce à l'excellente reproduction photographique fournie par l'Universiteitsbibliotheek de Leyde, que nous tenons à remercier ici. Mart van Duijn, conservateur des manuscrits occidentaux de l'Universiteitsbibliotheek, nous a gracieusement donné la permission de publier la page 2r dans ce livre. La première page et la dernière du fascicule sont vides (p. 1r et 2v). Les *Psaumes* 133 et 127 occupent les deux pages internes du fascicule, respectivement la p. 1v et la p. 2r. Le *Psaume* 127 se trouve sur la page de droite (2r) parce qu'il a été sans doute inscrit dans le fascicule avant le *Psaume* 133, ajouté ultérieurement sur la page de gauche (1v). Cela pourrait expliquer le fait que les deux *Psaumes* apparaissent dans l'autographe dans un ordre qui n'est pas celui de leur numéro d'ordre biblique, respecté par l'édition des *Psaumes* des Estienne (1566). Je suppose que Chrestien considérait sa triade pindarique (le *Ps.* 127) comme une composition plus importante que sa petite chanson iambique (le *Ps.* 133), c'est pourquoi il l'a inscrite de sa plus belle écriture d'abord et à la place d'honneur (page de droite) dans le beau fascicule. Un petit indice qui va dans ce sens est le fait que Chrestien a parafé aussi le *Psaume* 133, mais sous une forme bien plus abrégée (Φλ. Χρ.). L'auteur a probablement rédigé le fascicule à l'intention de son ami Joseph-Juste Scaliger, ce qui explique la présence de cet autographe à Leyde.

²⁰ Voir de Meyier, Hulshoff Pol 1965 : 157. La notice de K. A. de Meyier est très sommaire ; elle ne fournit en tout cas pas de description complète de l'aspect matériel du manuscrit.

²¹ En 2005, une fois terminé l'article concernant les *Psaumes* du *Bernensis*, Patrick Andrist et moi-même avons conçu le projet de poursuivre notre collaboration en complétant notre recherche commune par l'édition, le commentaire et la publication des deux *Psaumes* de l'autographe de Leyde. Comme dans l'article de 2005, chacun aurait travaillé en fonction de ses compétences, Patrick sur les questions historiques et codicologiques, moi-même sur la traduction des textes et tout particulièrement sur le commentaire poétique ; de nouveau, nous nous serions occupés ensemble de la transcription et de l'établissement des textes. Les complications de la vie nous ont jusqu'à présent empêché de réaliser ce projet. Le congrès humaniste de Tartu aurait pu finalement être le καίρος pour le relancer, mais Patrick a dû, à grand regret, se retirer. C'est pourquoi j'ai décidé d'entreprendre de mon côté la partie de ce projet commun qui me tenait le plus à cœur, à savoir le commentaire poétique des deux *Psaumes*. Je traiterai du *Ps.* 133 (fautivement 130 dans l'éd. de 1566) dans une publication à venir : la métricienne a notamment beaucoup de choses à dire sur le choix de Chrestien de composer ce *Psaume* en rythme iambique.

Lecture commentée du Psaume 127 de Florent Chrestien

Dans les pages suivantes, le lecteur trouvera :

A. la transcription du texte du *Psaume 127* tel qu'il figure aux pages 39 et 40 de l'édition des Estienne de 1566 (voir ILL. A et B)²², accompagnée de l'analyse métrique²³ et de la traduction²⁴ ;

Dans l'édition des Estienne les majuscules ne portent ni esprit ni accent. Pour des raisons de clarté, j'ai rajouté ces signes manquants.

L'accent qui affecte l'omicron de l'adjectif ἀγλαόν (v. 1 de la strophe) a une forme légèrement ambiguë comme cela arrive parfois dans l'édition (cf. δὲ au v. 2 de l'épode, παιδῶν au v. 4 de l'épode). Je le lis plutôt comme un accent grave, d'autant plus que dans l'édition des Estienne les oxytons situés en fin de vers portent généralement un accent grave (y compris devant une virgule).

B. l'analyse des variantes de l'autographe de Leyde (*Leid.* BPG 77, Fasc. 8, p. 2r ; voir ILL. C) ;

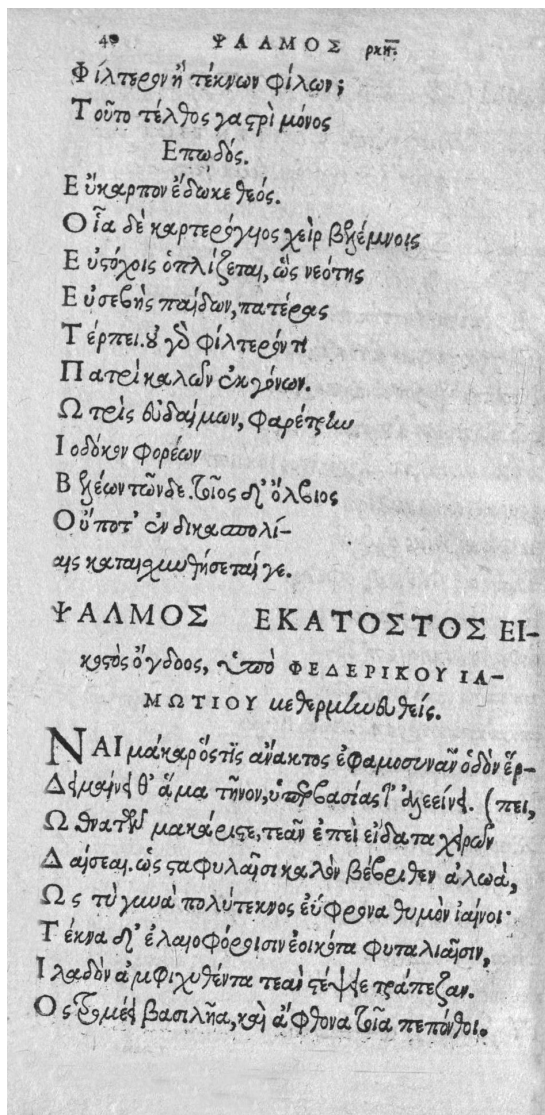
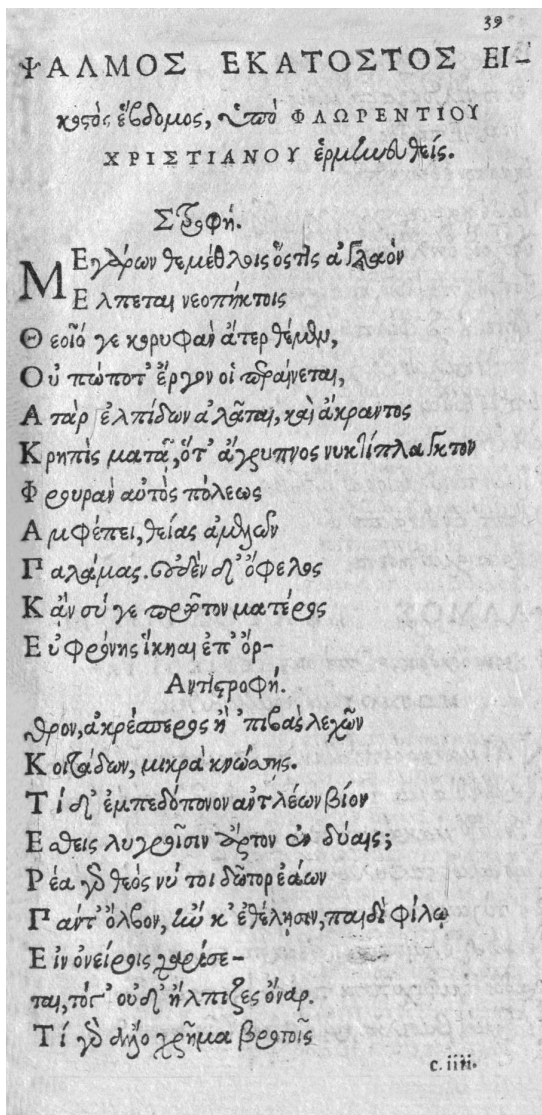
C. le commentaire du *Psaume* divisé en trois sections : « C1. Le modèle poétique », « C2. De la structure et de la traduction », « C3. De la langue et du style ».

Quand il le faudra, l'abréviation « st », « ant » ou « ép » suivra le numéro des vers de Chrestien pour les localiser respectivement dans la strophe, dans l'antistrophe ou dans l'épode.

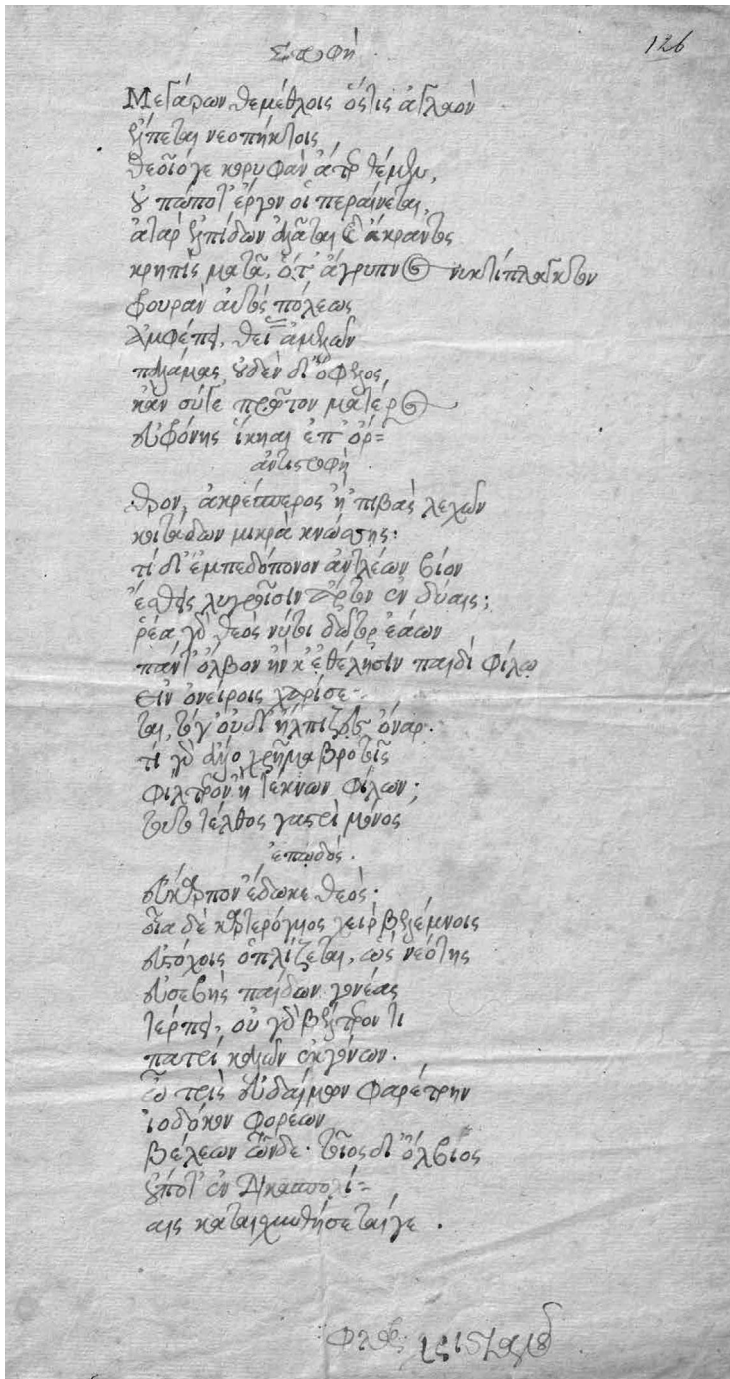
²² Patrick Andrist a repéré deux tirages de Stephani, *Psalmorum Davidis* 1566 (Andrist, Lukinovich 2005 : 676–678). Pour ma lecture commentée du *Psaume 127* de Florent Chrestien, je m'appuie sur le tirage qui, selon toute probabilité, est le plus récent : il donne un texte meilleur. Il s'agit de l'exemplaire mentionné *supra*, à la note 7, reproduit par e-rara.ch sous la cote e-rara 6199 ; il se trouve à la Bibliothèque de Genève, où il porte la cote Su 1866 (1). Les illustrations A et B qui accompagnent cet article reproduisent les pages 39 et 40 de ce second tirage.

²³ h = hiatus entre un vers et l'autre. Pour que la métrique soit plus « incarnée », tout en tenant compte du *sandhi* phonique, je souligne les syllabes fermées (longues) dans chaque mot séparément.

²⁴ Sans être littérale, cette traduction a été conçue comme une simple aide à la compréhension. A mon grand regret, je suis incapable de composer un *Psaume* en vers français... Je remercie Camille Cellérier d'avoir amélioré le français de ma traduction.



ILL. A et B : le Psaume 127 de Florent Chrestien dans l'édition des Stephani, *Psalmorum Davidis* 1566 (Bibliothèque de Genève, <http://www.e-rara.ch/doi/10.3931/e-rara-6199>).



ILL. C : autographe du Psaume 127 de Florent Chrestien. Leid.
 BPG 77, Fasc. 8, p. 2r. (Universiteitsbibliotheek de Leyde).

A1. *Psalme 127* de Florent Chrestien : titre, strophe et antistrophe (édition de 1566)

ψαλμὸς ἑκατοστὸς εἰκοστὸς ἔβδομος, ὑπὸ Φλωρεντίου Χριστιανοῦ ἐρμηνευθεῖς.

<i>Στροφή.</i>	<i>Ἀντιστροφή.</i>
1 Μεγάρων θεμέθλοις ὄστις ἀγλαὸν ⊂ ⊂ - ⊂ ⊂ - - ⊂ - ? ⊂ ⊂	θρον, ἀκρέσπερος ἦ ἰπιβάς λεχῶν ⊂ ⊂ - ⊂ ⊂ - ⊂ ? ⊂ - ⊂ -
2 Ἔλπεται νεοπήκτοις - ⊂ - ⊂ ⊂ - -	Κοιτάδων, μικρὰ κνώσσης. - ⊂ - ⊂ ⊂ - -
3 Θεοῖο γε κορυφὰν ἄτερ θέμεν, ⊂ - ⊂ ⊂ ⊂ ⊂ - ⊂ - ⊂ ⊂	Τί δ' ἐμπεδόπονον ἀντλέων βίον ⊂ - ⊂ ⊂ ⊂ ⊂ - ⊂ - ⊂ ⊂
4 Οὐ πάποτ' ἔργον οἷ περαίνεται, ἡ - - ⊂ - ⊂ - ⊂ - ⊂ -	Ἔσθεις λυγροῖσιν ἄρτον ἐν δύαις ; - - ⊂ - ⊂ - ⊂ - ⊂ -
5 Ἄτὰρ ἐλπίδων ἀλάται, καὶ ἄκραντος ⊂ ⊂ - ⊂ - ⊂ - - ⊂ ⊂ - -	Ῥέα γὰρ θεὸς νύ τοι δῶτορ ἑάων ⊂ ⊂ - ⊂ - ⊂ - - ⊂ ⊂ - -
6 Κρηπὶς ματᾶ, ὄτ' ἄγρυπνος νυκτίπλαγκτον	Πάντ' ὄλβον, ἦν κ' ἐθέλησιν, παιδι φίλω ἡ
- - ⊂ - ⊂ ⊂ - - - ⊂ - - - -	- - ⊂ - ⊂ ⊂ - - - ⊂ - - ! -
7 Φρουρὰν αὐτὸς πόλεως - - - - ⊂ ⊂ -	Εἶν ὄνειροις χάρισε- - - ? - - ⊂ ⊂ ⊂
8 Ἀμφέπει, θείας ἀμελῶν - ⊂ - - ? - ⊂ ⊂ -	ται, τὸ γ' οὐδ' ἠλιζες ὄναρ. - ⊂ - - - - ⊂ ⊂ -
9 Παλάμας, οὐδὲν δ' ὄφελος ⊂ ⊂ - - - ⊂ ⊂ -	Τί γὰρ ἄλλο χρῆμα βροτοῖς ⊂ ⊂ - - - ⊂ ⊂ -
10 Κᾶν σύ γε πρῶτον ματέρος - ⊂ ⊂ - - - ⊂ ⊂	Φίλτερον ἢ τέκνων φίλων ; - ⊂ ⊂ - - - ⊂ -
11 Εὐφρόνης ἴκηαι ἐπ' ὄρ- - ⊂ - ⊂ - ⊂ ⊂ -	Τοῦτο τέλος γαστρὶ μόνος - ⊂ - - - - ⊂ ⊂ ⊂

Traduction du titre, de la strophe et de l'antistrophe

*Psaume 127 traduit par Florent Chrestien**Strophe*

Qui espère achever splendidement les fondations nouvelles d'un palais sans l'aide de Dieu n'a aucune chance de réussir dans son entreprise. Loin de ce qu'il espère, c'est en vain qu'il traîne ses sandales celui qui, sans compter sur la main de Dieu, croit protéger lui-même la ville en faisant la ronde de nuit sans fermer l'œil. Il ne te sert à rien, dans la douceur maternelle de la Nuit, d'arriver au point

Antistrophe

du jour, ou d'aller au lit²⁵ tard le soir et de t'accorder juste un bref sommeil (pour te lever aussitôt). Pourquoi dissipes-tu ta vie dans le labeur incessant et manges-tu ton pain dans l'affliction ? Dieu, le dispensateur des biens, t'offrira sans peine, si tu le veux, tout bonheur dans tes rêves, tout ce que tu n'espérais pas même en rêve, car tu es son enfant chéri. Quelle ressource est plus chère aux mortels que leurs enfants²⁶ ? Dieu seul accorde au ventre

A2. *Psaume 127* de Florent Chrestien : épode (édition de 1566)

Ἐπωδός.

1 Εὐκαρπον ἔδωκε θεός.

- - ∪ ∪-∪∪-

2 Οἷα δὲ καρτερόγυιος χεῖρ βελέμνιοις

-∪∪ - ∪∪ - - - ∪ - -

3 Εὐστόχοις ὀπλιζεται, ὧς νεότης

- ∪ - × -∪∪ - ∪∪-

²⁵ L'adjectif κοιτάς, -άδος (v. 2) n'est pas attesté en grec ancien, mais apparaît ailleurs dans le recueil des *Psaumes en vers grecs* publié par les Estienne en 1566 : on lit en effet κοιτάδα κλίναν au v. 32 du *Psaume 6* que Florent Chrestien signe (Stephani, *Psalmorum Davidis* 1566 : 12-14), mais dont l'auteur probable est Joseph-Juste Scaliger (Andrist, Lukinovich 2005 : 675-676, 704-711). Le *Psaume 6* est riche en *hapax* (Andrist, Lukinovich 2005 : 708, note 119). Le modèle pourrait être Triphiod. 194 : πτυχὰ κοιλάδος εὐνής.

²⁶ Le génitif τέκνων φίλων n'est sans doute pas un génitif de comparaison, mais dépend d'un χρήμα sous-entendu. Selon R. Kühner et B. Gerth, il n'y a aucune attestation d'un véritable double emploi de la disjonctive ἢ avec un génitif de comparaison (Kühner, Gerth 1904 : 311-312, Anmerkung 3). Il est improbable que Florent Chrestien ait commis une faute de grec pareille et qu'Henri Estienne l'ait laissée passer.

- 4 Εὐσεβῆς παίδων, πατέρας
- υ - - - υ υ -
- 5 Τέρπει. οὐ γὰρ φίλτερόν τι
- υ[?] - - - υ - υ
- 6 Πατρὶ καλῶν ἐκγόνων.
- υ - - - υ -
- 7 ᾿Ω τρίς εὐδαίμων, φαρέτρην
- υ - - - υ - -
- 8 Ἰοδόκον φορέων
- υ υ - υ υ -
- 9 Βελέων τῶνδε. τοῖος δ' ὄλβιος
υ υ - - υ - - - υ υ
- 10 Οὔποτ' ἐν δικασπολί-
- υ - υ - υ υ
- 11 αις κατασχυνθήσεταιί γε.
- υ - - - υ - υ

Traduction de l'épode

Epode

cette récompense porteuse de beaux fruits. Comme un bras vigoureux s'arme de traits efficaces, de même la jeunesse pieuse des enfants fait le bonheur des pères, car rien n'est plus cher à un père qu'une bonne progéniture. Oh trois fois heureux celui qui porte un carquois rempli de ces flèches ! Un homme si fortuné ne sortira jamais humilié d'un procès.

B. Variantes de l'autographe de Leyde

Dans l'autographe, seuls les mots *στροφή* et le premier mot du poème (*μεγάρων*, v. 1st) sont écrits avec une majuscule. Les enclitiques sont souvent joints au mot qui les précède (v. 3st, 10st, 5ant : *θεός νύτοι*²⁷, 11ép)²⁸.

²⁷ Dans l'autographe aussi bien que dans l'édition de 1566, *θεός* porte un accent grave au lieu de l'aigu que l'on trouverait dans une édition d'aujourd'hui en raison du *νυ* enclitique qui suit.

²⁸ Dans l'édition des Estienne, cela arrive aussi (moins souvent), cf. v. 8ant : *τόγ'*, mais v. 10st : *σύ γε*.

L'épode comporte deux variantes lexicales : γονέας au lieu de πατέρας (v. 4) et βέλτερον au lieu de φίλτερον (v. 5). L'édition offre à mon avis un texte nettement meilleur au v. 4 : dans le contexte il vaut mieux parler de « pères », le pluriel γονέας pouvant signifier « parents (père et mère) », alors qu'au v. 5 ma préférence va au βέλτερον de l'autographe. Le mot φίλτερον (« plus cher ») est déjà employé au v. 10 de l'antistrophe dans une affirmation très similaire ; le retour de φίλτερον dans l'épode donne l'impression d'une redite. Le mot βέλτερον (« mieux ») introduit une nouveauté dans la démonstration : les fils ne sont pas seulement chers aux pères, mais aussi utiles, comme l'explique la partie finale du texte.

Toujours dans l'épode, on lit βέλεων (v. 9). Le mot est correctement accentué dans l'édition (βελέων). La faute n'était pas méchante : la tradition accentue bien πόλεων, πράξεων, μάντεων, ὄφρων. Le grammairien George Chæroboscus (IX^e s. de n. è.) se lance même dans une ζήτησις pour trouver la raison pour laquelle τειχέων καὶ βελέων καὶ ὄρέων καὶ ὀφίων καὶ πολιῶν καὶ σταχύων καὶ βοτρύων οὐ προπαροξύνονται²⁹.

Trois iota souscrits présents dans l'édition sont omis dans l'autographe (v. 6st ματᾶ, v. 10st κᾶν, v. 6ant ἐθέλησιν).

Dans six cas, la ponctuation est absente de l'autographe alors que l'édition en présente une : v. 5st ἀλᾶται καὶ – v. 2ant κοιτάδων μικρὰ – v. 6ant ὄλβον ἦν et ἐθέλησιν παιδὶ – v. 4έρ παιδῶν γονέας – v. 7έρ εὐδαίμων φαρέτρην. Dans les six cas, la ponctuation de l'édition améliore le texte en facilitant sa compréhension. Dans la strophe (v. 5), une virgule fait ressortir une articulation du texte autrement difficile à saisir (changement du sujet du verbe) ; de manière semblable, dans l'antistrophe, au v. 2, la virgule contribue à clarifier l'articulation d'une phrase complexe. Toujours dans l'antistrophe, au v. 6, deux virgules entourent opportunément une incise. Dans l'épode, au v. 4, une virgule suggère le rattachement du génitif παιδῶν à νεότης en évitant que le lecteur le rattache au mot πατέρας qui suit immédiatement. Enfin, au v. 7 de l'épode, la virgule de l'édition sépare, comme on l'attend, le vocatif du corps de la phrase.

Dans cinq cas, l'autographe présente une ponctuation différente de l'édition : παλάμας, οὐδὲν (v. 9st), κνώσσης : (sic)³⁰ τί (v. 2–3ant), θεός · οἶα (v. 1–2έρ), τέρπει, οὐ (v. 5έρ), τῶνδε · τοῖος (v. 9έρ). De nouveau, la ponctuation de l'édition est meilleure. Dans la strophe, au v. 9, un point articule mieux le texte qu'une virgule. Après κνώσσης, au v. 2 de l'antistrophe, le point de l'édition marque convenablement la pause syntaxique. Après θεός, au v. 1 de

²⁹ in *Theod.* (GG 4.1 Hildgard) 179.24–180.2.

³⁰ Il s'agit vraisemblablement d'un point en haut (·) avec une tache dessous.

l'épode, un point est opportun étant donné le changement de propos. La pause syntaxique est également plus opportunément marquée par un point aux v. 5 et 9 de l'épode³¹.

Cette analyse montre à l'évidence que l'édition des Estienne de 1566 propose le texte du *Psaume* 127 de Florent Chrestien dans une version améliorée par rapport à l'autographe. L'autographe n'est donc pas une copie dressée à partir du texte publié. C'est presque certainement avant la publication de ses *Psaumes* 127 et 133 que Chrestien en a dressé la copie qui se trouve maintenant à Leyde. Si la copie est postérieure à la publication, aucun cas n'est fait du texte publié.

C. Commentaire

C1. Le modèle poétique

Le Psaume 127 explique que Dieu est l'agent de toute réussite ; sans la faveur divine tout projet humain et tout effort sont vains³². Le bien-aimé de Dieu peut en revanche dormir tranquille : pendant son sommeil Dieu œuvre pour lui et le comble de bienfaits. Les fils sont la preuve vivante de la vérité de cette affirmation, eux qui sont pour un père une précieuse ressource et une arme tout aussi utile et efficace que les flèches pour le guerrier. C'est un enseignement de sagesse que ce Psaume livre, autrement dit il appartient à la catégorie des psaumes sapientiaux. Dans la poésie hellénique, l'œuvre de Pindare est l'une des plus riches qui soit en enseignements de vérité et de sagesse. Le choix d'une ode de Pindare comme modèle pour une « traduction en vers grecs » du Psaume 127 est donc pleinement justifié. Par ailleurs, plusieurs thèmes traités dans le Psaume 127 reviennent chez le poète grec : (1) l'aide divine est la garantie incontournable du succès de toute entreprise humaine ; (2) cela vaut aussi bien pour la sphère gentile de l'οἶκος (« maisonnée ») que pour le domaine politique de la πόλις (« cité ») ; (3) les fils représentent un trésor précieux pour leurs pères. Il n'a pas été bien difficile pour Florent Chrestien – ou pour Henri Estienne – de songer à Pindare : comme nous l'avons évoqué plus haut, Henri Estienne a publié en 1566 la deuxième édition augmentée de son *Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia, caeterorum octo lyricorum carmina*, dont la première édition a vu le jour en 1560 ; le jeune Florent est précisé-

³¹ En fait, la métrique correspond mieux à la ponctuation de l'autographe dans trois cas : v. 6ant, v. 5ép et v. 9ép. La ponctuation plus forte de l'édition fait davantage obstacle au *sandhi* phonique.

³² Le lecteur trouvera plus loin (« Section C2. De la structure et de la traduction ») le texte du Psaume 127 en hébreu, en grec et en latin ainsi que la version allemande de l'hébreu par Martin Buber (*Die Schrift* 1986).

ment arrivé à Genève en 1559 pour rester dans cette ville environ une année. Quel modèle pindarique pourrait être plus prestigieux qu'une *Olympique* ? La *Treizième Olympique* faisait l'affaire à merveille³³ : au cœur de cette ode en cinq triades, plus précisément dans l'épode de la troisième triade et dans la quatrième triade, il est question du mors en or offert à Bellérophon en rêve par Athéna, un moyen qui lui permettra de dompter Pégase, le cheval ailé. A son réveil, Bellérophon trouve le don à côté de lui, et grâce à cette aide divine il aura le dessus sur les Amazones, sur la Chimère et sur les Solymes : *τελεῖ δὲ θεῶν δύναμις καὶ τὰν παρ' ὄρκον καὶ παρὰ ἐλπίδα κοῦφαν κτίσιν* « Réalise la puissance des dieux même outre serment, même outre espoir aisément l'entreprise »³⁴. Le développement mythique de Pindare illustre magnifiquement l'enseignement central du Psaume 127. De la première ligne à la dernière, le Psaume constitue un commentaire et une démonstration de la vérité de son enseignement central. C'est donc principalement en raison de la thématique traitée dans l'épode de la troisième triade et dans la quatrième triade tout entière de la *Treizième Olympique* que Florent Chrestien – ou Henri Estienne pour lui – a choisi ce poème comme modèle pour la version du Psaume 127. Néanmoins, pour ce qui en est de la métrique du Psaume 127, deux petits indices montrent que l'auteur a eu la première triade de l'ode sous les yeux. Le vers 7 de la strophe du Psaume 127 s'achève sur le mot *πόλεως*, comme le v. 7 de l'*Ol.* 13 s'achève sur le mot *πολίων* dans l'édition Estienne de Pindare. J'évoquerai plus tard une synaphie lexicale (*dovetailing*) entre deux vers du Psaume qui a son modèle dans la première triade de l'*Ol.* 13.

Je me demande si pour s'aider dans la composition, suivant un conseil d'Henri Estienne ou de sa propre initiative, Florent Chrestien a consulté les scholies métriques aux *Odes* de Pindare ou un ouvrage de son temps expliquant la métrique de ce poète. Les scholies métriques transmises par les manuscrits accompagnent déjà l'édition romaine des *Odes* de Pindare parue en 1515 par les soins du crétois Zacharias Calliergis. En 1542 Peter Br(a)ubach réimprime à Francfort l'édition de Calliergis sous une forme améliorée, toujours avec les scholies métriques³⁵. Six ans plus tard, l'imprimeur Christian Wechel publie à Paris, « à l'enseigne du Pégase (*sub Pegaso*) », *De generibus carminum Graecorum* de René Guillon, qui propose l'analyse métrique de la

³³ Dans son importante monographie consacrée à la réception de Pindare dans la Renaissance française, Thomas Schmitz fait déjà allusion, dans une note, à l'*Ol.* 13 de Pindare comme modèle métrique du Ps. 127 de Chrestien, l'indication « Ps. 120 » étant évidemment fautive (Schmitz 1993 : 132).

³⁴ Vers 83, traduction de Jean-Paul Savignac (Pindare 2004 : 153).

³⁵ Cf. Tessier 1989 : XX ; Schmitz 1993 : 268–269 et 274 ; cf. aussi Irigoin 1958.

première triade (eh oui !) de chaque *Olympique* de Pindare en conformité avec les indications des scholies des manuscrits ; Andreas Wechel fait paraître une deuxième édition de cet ouvrage en 1560³⁶. Quoi qu'il en soit, les deux éditions de Pindare publiées par Henri Estienne en 1560 et en 1566 présentent les odes dans la colométrie des manuscrits³⁷. Or, tout en suivant fidèlement cette colométrie, Chrestien ne semble pas toujours en accord avec l'interprétation métrique des *kôla* que proposent les scholies, comme on le verra dans l'analyse (sélective) qui va suivre.

Pour commencer, je citerai deux définitions modernes de la métrique de l'*Olympique* 13, en commençant par celle proposée par Herwig Maehler sur la lancée de Bruno Snell³⁸ : « *metrum strophae : aeolica ad dactyloepitrita vergentia ; epodi : dactyloepitrita* ». En rupture avec la colométrie de la tradition manuscrite, les critères d'analyse de Snell et Maehler enlèvent au *métron* son rôle de principe d'analyse fondamental et aboutissent à des périodes plus amples, c'est-à-dire des vers réunissant souvent plusieurs *kôla*³⁹. Plus récemment, Liana Lomiento⁴⁰ prône un retour à la tradition manuscrite et repropose en conséquence les *métra* comme unités d'analyse fondamentales. A l'intérieur des strophes, elle définit des sous-unités nettement plus brèves que celles de Snell et Maehler, des *kôla* proches de la tradition manuscrite mais divergeant parfois légèrement de celle-ci, qu'elle analyse souvent en *métra* sur le modèle des scholies, mais pas toujours en accord avec celles-ci. Pour Liana Lomiento, les strophes/antistrophes de l'*Ol.* 13 se présentent comme des « *struttura miste*

³⁶ Guillon, *De generibus* 1560. Cf. Schmitz 1993 : 275 et 283.

³⁷ Andrea Tessier, que j'ai consulté à ce propos, m'a rendue attentive au fait que contrairement à ce qui arrive pour les chœurs des poètes tragiques, les manuscrits présentent toujours l'œuvre de Pindare dans une colométrie soignée et l'accompagnent souvent des scholies métriques. A Tessier va aussi ma reconnaissance pour sa relecture attentive de mon manuscrit achevé. Ses remarques m'ont été d'une grande utilité.

³⁸ Snell, Maehler 1984 : 51. Je ne reproduirai pas ici le schéma métrique proposé par Snell-Maehler, car il n'est pas de grande utilité pour comprendre mon analyse métrique du *Psaume* 127.

³⁹ « This kind of analysis is necessarily of an *ad hoc* nature (...), but it is far from arbitrary. What we are trying to do in analysing these musical paragraphs is to follow a train of thought. The basic ideas are drawn from the common stock of metrical figures, but the poets develop and embroider them in the course of composing a strophe, producing sequences which appear bewildering when we look at them in isolation and try to fit label to them, but which are easily derived from what has gone before. Their etymology is more important than their definition. The recognition of this principle is due to the insight of B. Snell ; cf. his *Gr. Metrik* (4th edn., 1982), 54–7. » (West 1982 : 63–64)

⁴⁰ Pindaro, *Le Olimpiche* 2013 : 314–315. Une fois de plus, je ne reproduirai pas ici le schéma métrique proposé par Lomiento, car il n'est pas de grande utilité pour comprendre mon analyse métrique du *Psaume* 127.

giambico-polischematiche » et l'épode est formé de « kat' enoplion » et d'« epitrity ». Vouloir déterminer si la perception métrique de Florent Chrestien et d'Henri Estienne se rapproche davantage de Snell et Maehler ou de Liana Lomiento n'a pas beaucoup de sens. Florent Chrestien travaille en poète⁴¹, et non en métricien. L'*Olympique* 13 qu'il imite est certainement celle qu'imprime Henri Estienne (1560 et 1566) dans la colométrie des manuscrits. Comme on le constatera, pour Chrestien les lignes (στίχοι) composant les unités strophiques constituent avec le système triadique les unités fondamentales de la forme dans laquelle il moule sa version du Psaume 127. Si les scholies anciennes appellent κῶλα les sous-unités des strophes (d'où l'expression « colométrie »⁴²), Florent les considérait certainement comme des « vers »⁴³. Sa perception des vers de Pindare passe par le filtre de ses lectures précédentes, notamment des œuvres d'Homère et d'autres poètes hexamétriques grecs, du théâtre attique, des poètes lesbiens, de la poésie latine aussi, par exemple d'Horace... Dans son imitation de la triade pindarique, il exploite à sa convenance quelques possibilités de variations libres métriques et prosodiques qu'il connaît déjà fort bien d'ailleurs, même si sa mise en œuvre de ces possibilités ne correspond pas toujours à la manière de Pindare : *brevis in longo* en fin de vers, *correptio Attica*, position *anceps* dans le mètre iambique (× – ∪ –) et trochaïque (– ∪ – ×). Chrestien imite la pratique de la synaphie lexicale entre les vers qu'il observe chez Pindare : aux vers 7 et 8 de l'antistrophe de son *Psaume* il place en rejet la syllabe ται, finale de la forme verbale χαρίσεται, tout comme Pindare (édition Estienne) place en rejet la syllabe ται, finale du mot κασίγνηται aux vers 6 et 7

⁴¹ Pour simplifier mon texte, dorénavant je ne préciserai plus « avec l'assistance d'Henri Estienne ». Je n'évoquerai que le nom du jeune mais déjà brillant auteur qui signe le *Psaume* dans l'autographe et dans l'édition de 1566. Finalement, il n'a peut-être pas eu un si grand besoin de l'aide de son maître.

⁴² A l'aide du *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG), je n'ai trouvé qu'une seule occurrence du terme κωλομετρία. Il est employé dans la *Souda* (x^e s. de n. è. ; ε 3391.16 Adler) à propos du grammairien Eugène (v^e s. de n. è.).

⁴³ En annexe de son édition de Pindare, Henri Estienne publie *De strophis, antistrophis & epodis. Ex prolegomenis scholiorum in Pindarum*, où il est bien dit (je cite la traduction latine d'Estienne, Stephanus, *Pindari* 1566 : 567) : *Haec autem è colis constant : at cola uariam mensuram habèt, quae ex pedibus constat*. Néanmoins, comme d'autres humanistes, Estienne devait considérer les termes *cola* et *versus* comme interchangeable, cf. notamment le titre de son recueil de *Psaumes : Psalmi aliquot in versus item Graecos nuper a diuersis translati*. René Guillon, par exemple, écrit dans son *De generibus carminum Graecorum : Decimae tertiae odes strophe & antistrophus est versus vndecim* (Guillon, *De generibus* : 46). Comme cet auteur, et sans doute comme Estienne et Chrestien, j'appelle donc « vers » les unités métriques que les scholies appellent κῶλα.

de la strophe de la première triade de l'*Olympique* 13⁴⁴. Mais il va plus loin que son modèle lorsqu'il introduit une synaphie lexicale entre la strophe et l'antistrophe : ἐπ' ὄρ - θρου ; Pindare ne fait jamais cela⁴⁵. Pourtant, il ne s'agit pas d'une « faute » ou d'une simple maladresse, comme je le montrerai plus tard dans la section « C2. De la structure et de la traduction ». Voici maintenant le commentaire de quelques choix métriques particuliers de Florent Chrestien dans la strophe et dans l'antistrophe.

• Vers 1 – Le v. 1st du Ps. 127 de Chrestien (μεγάρων θεμέθλοις ὄστις ἀγλαὸν) reprend fidèlement le schéma métrique du premier vers de l'*Ol.* 13 de l'édition Estienne 1566 (Stephanus, *Pindari* 1566 : 138) : τρισολυμπιονίκαν ἐπαινέων. La quantité de la syllabe finale représente la seule différence : elle est négligeable. Les deux premiers mots du *Psaume* soulignent explicitement l'élan anapestique initial du schéma métrique : μεγάρων θεμέθλοις (UU – UU –). Se terminant par deux syllabes longues, le splendide mot initial de Pindare (τρिसολυμπιονίκαν) évoque davantage un *kólon* éolien : Snell et Maehler l'interprètent comme un phérécraéen catalectique (UU – UU –). Dans le *Psaume* la syllabe -ς ὄσ- correspond métriquement à la syllabe longue -κα- du vers de Pindare, c'est-à-dire que chez Chrestien la position longue est rattachée plutôt à la clausule du vers. Le deuxième et dernier mot du vers de Pindare (ἐπαινέων) a l'allure d'un mètre iambique à *anceps* brève⁴⁶. Dans le *Psaume* de Chrestien on retrouve cette même allure dans les quatre dernières positions du v. 1 aussi bien de la strophe (-τις ἀγλαὸν) que de l'antistrophe ('πιβὰς λεχῶν). Dans l'antistrophe les mots du *Psaume* soulignent explicitement l'interprétation iambique des quatre positions. Le v. 1 de l'antistrophe (θρου, ἀκρέσπερος ἢ 'πιβὰς λεχῶν) pose néanmoins un curieux problème de responsion : le v. 1ant n'a pas de « longue supplémentaire » – exigée par le schéma de Pindare – entre le début anapestique (θρου, ἀκρέσπερος ἢ) et les quatre positions finales d'allure iambique ('πιβὰς λεχῶν). Est-ce que la position manquante est présente en filigrane malgré l'aphérèse affectant 'πιβὰς ? Si cette interprétation est correcte, la syllabe en filigrane étant brève, Chrestien ferait de la position

⁴⁴ Rem. la ressemblance phonique entre le χαρίσεται de Chrestien et le κασίγνηται de Pindare. J'ai déjà évoqué *supra* cet indice du fait que Chrestien compose son *Psaume* en prenant pour modèle métrique et prosodique la première triade d'*Ol.* 13 plutôt que les triades 3 et 4.

⁴⁵ Janika Päll m'a signalé qu'on trouve des synaphies lexicales interstrophiques aussi chez les pindarisants qui ont précédé Florent Chrestien, par exemple chez Robortello dans sa *Biochrestmodia* (1548) et chez Pietro da Cortona dans son ode pour Jer. Gonzaga (1555). Je remercie Janika de sa relecture attentive de mon manuscrit achevé. Ses précieuses remarques m'ont incitée à améliorer des points importants de mon texte.

⁴⁶ C'est l'interprétation que l'on trouve également dans l'édition Snell-Maehler 1984 : 51.

en question une position *anceps*. Il est néanmoins curieux qu'il ait alors mis en péril la responsion par l'introduction de l'aphérèse. Avant de considérer cette responsion imparfaite comme une « faute métrique » de Florent (et d'Henri Estienne, son maître et éditeur), il faut prendre en considération d'autres hypothèses : a. un jeu érudit parodiant le style pindarique (la responsion n'est pas toujours exacte chez Pindare) ; b. une modification intentionnelle du schéma métrique du modèle : la « longue supplémentaire » pourrait avoir été « éliminée » du v. 1 de la strophe comme du v. 1 de l'antistrophe. En effet, l'auteur pourrait avoir donné au premier alpha d'ἀγλαὸν (v. 1st) la valeur d'une syllabe brève par *correptio Attica* : ἀ-γλαὸν. Dans ce cas, les mots ὄστις ἀγλαὸν équivaldraient à un mètre iambique à *anceps* longue et au premier *longum* résolu, et l'on retrouverait une responsion régulière avec le mètre iambique du v. iant (πιβάας λεχῶν)⁴⁷.

- Vers 5 – Florent Chrestien modifie le schéma pindarique du v. 5 : dans la sixième position on trouve chez lui une brève au lieu d'une longue et dans la septième une longue au lieu d'une brève. Cette permutation accentue le caractère iambique du vers, déjà relevé par les scholies.

- Vers 7 – Aussi bien les scholies que les analyses modernes interprètent de manière « dactylique » (– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –) la séquence de l'*Olympique* 13 qui correspond au v. 7 du *Psaume*. Chrestien transforme cette séquence en substituant, en tout cas dans la strophe, le premier couple de brèves de Pindare par deux longues. Le vers s'alourdit tout en assumant une allure anapestique conforme au sens du segment de la strophe. Le même vers est plus léger dans l'antistrophe : la syllabe occupant la deuxième position peut être interprétée comme une longue⁴⁸, mais aussi comme une brève, et la dernière position est en tout cas occupée par une brève. Chrestien a-t-il respecté la responsion ou a-t-il donné au vers de l'antistrophe un élan trochaïque (accentué par une résolution) en accord avec la sémantique ?

- Vers 10 – C'est sur la base de l'*Olympique* 13 éditée et publiée par Henri Estienne (str. 1, v. 10 : ἀνδράσι πλούτου, χρύσεαι ; ant. 1, v. 10 : εἰν ἀέθλοισιν ·

⁴⁷ Rien ne permet d'affirmer que Florent Chrestien et Henri Estienne aient tenu compte de l'analyse compliquée des scholies métriques anciennes, où le v. 1 de la st/ant de l'*Ol.* 13 est présenté comme un trimètre antispastique « irrégulier » (Tessier 1989 : 11 ; Guillon, *De generibus* 1560 : 46).

⁴⁸ Il est possible de fermer et, par conséquent, d'allonger la première syllabe d'ὄνειρος en redoublant la nasale, comme dans la prosodie homérique.

πολλὰ δ'ἔν) que Chrestien a imprimé un élan dactylique à son vers. Si les scholies métriques anciennes à l'*Ol.* 13 définissent ce dixième *colon* comme un lécythe (Εὐρυπίδειον)⁴⁹, les *scholia recentiora* (Triclinius) précisent qu'il s'agit d'un lécythe « commençant par un dactyle » (ἐκ δακτύλου ἀρχόμενον)⁵⁰. Dans l'édition d'Henri Estienne, le vers 10 des strophes et des antistrophes de toutes les triades de l'*Ol.* 13 correspond à cette dernière définition (donc aussi le v. 10ant de la cinquième triade !)⁵¹.

C2. De la structure et de la traduction

Pour plus de commodité, je reproduis ici le texte biblique du Psaume 127 en hébreu translittéré, dans le grec de la LXX et dans les deux versions latines de la *Vulgate* (*iuxta Hebraicum translatum* et *iuxta LXX emendatum*). J'ajoute la paraphrase hexamétrique d'Apollinaire de Laodicée, que Chrestien connaissait certainement, comme il était au courant du mépris que son maître vouait à cet auteur. On trouvera enfin (en note) la version allemande de l'hébreu par Martin Buber (*Die Schrift* 1986), qui rend au plus près et au mieux le souffle poétique de l'hébreu. Les éditions du Psaume reproduites comportent toutes une présentation colométrique du texte. Tout en ayant une tradition variable et pas toujours suivie, la présentation colométrique des Psaumes remonte pour les trois langues à l'Antiquité⁵², c'est la raison pour laquelle on la retrouve dans des éditions scientifiques comme la *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, la *Septuaginta* de Göttingen et la *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem* de la Württembergische Bibelanstalt. Me laissant guider par la sémantique, j'ai groupé moi-même les vers bibliques deux par deux⁵³ ; j'ai par ailleurs ajouté à la

⁴⁹ Tessier 1989 : 11 ; Guillon, *De generibus* 1560 : 47.

⁵⁰ Abel 1891 : 384. Guillon ne donne pas cette indication (*De generibus* 1560 : 47).

⁵¹ Au v. 8 de l'épode du *Psaume* (hémipès : – ∪∪ – ∪∪ –), la syllabe longue finale se présente comme une « régularisation » de la brève qui occupe la même position dans la première épode d'*Ol.* 13. Ce changement simple ne présuppose toutefois nullement un examen de toutes les épodes du modèle pindarique.

⁵² Il vaut la peine de consulter à ce propos, pour la tradition hébraïque et juive, Klaus Seybold, en particulier le chapitre 2.2 « Das überlieferte Schriftbild. Zur Stichographie (Graphemik) » dans son livre sur la poétique des Psaumes (Seybold 2003 : 60–81). Pour la tradition gréco-latine, cf. Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, en particulier la première section du ch. 6 intitulée : « Stichometry and Colometry » de son manuel de paléographie grecque et latine (Thompson 1912 : 67–71).

⁵³ Dans le texte hébreu, j'ai légèrement régularisé la présentation des lignes tripartites des versets 2 et 5. Etant donné que le vers 3 comporte une opposition, j'ai aligné son troisième élément (le second de l'opposition) sur les seconds hémistiches des autres vers. Dans le verset 5, j'ai aligné le troisième élément du v. 7 sur le second hémistichon du v. 8 me laissant guider par l'homophonie des 'et-.

translittération de l'hébreu les occurrences du pāsēq (« séparateur »), la barre verticale qui met en évidence l'effet disjonctif de certains accents graphiques. Antoine-Raoul Chevallier, premier professeur d'hébreu de l'Académie de Genève, a enseigné la valeur des accents graphiques de la Bible hébraïque avec beaucoup de soin, même s'il n'a pas pratiqué la cantillation. On l'apprend de son manuel, *Rudimenta Hebraicae linguae*, paru à Genève chez Jean Crispin en 1560 et en 1561. Ce manuel contient d'ailleurs, après l'introduction de l'auteur (datée de décembre 1559) un poème en grec de Florent Chrestien (six distiques élégiaques) πρὸς τοὺς φιλεβραίους⁵⁴.

1. Psaume 127 hébreu (éd. BHS 1990 : 1211 ; translittération : <http://www.tanakhml.org>)⁵⁵

šīr hamma'ālōt lišəlōmōh

'im-γəhwāh | lō'-yibəneh bayit
'im-γəhwāh lō'-yišəmar-'īr

šāwə' | 'āməlú ḥônāyw bō
šāwə' | šāqad šōmēr

²šāwə' lākem | mašəkímē qūm
'ōkəlē lehem hā'šābīm

mə'aḥārē-šebet
kēn yittēn lidīdō šēnā'

³hinnēh nahālat γəhwāh bānīm
⁴kəḥiššīm bəyaḍ-gibbōr

šākār pəri habbāten
kēn bənē hannə'ūrīm

⁵ašərə haggeber 'āšer millē'
lō'-yēbōšū ki-γəḍabbərū

'et-'ašəpātō mēhem
'et-'ōyəbīm baššā'ar.

⁵⁴ Chevallier, *Rudimenta* 1560. Une édition revue et augmentée de cet ouvrage a paru en 1567 chez Henri Estienne (Chevallier, *Rudimenta* 1567). Dans la conclusion de son chapitre *De accentibus* (Chevallier 1567 : 12–17), Chevallier écrit : *Accentus omnes syllabam afficiunt. Grammatici pronuntiationem decore inflectunt, ac notularum quoque musicarum loco a Iudaeis usurpantur. [...] Musicam Iudaeis relinquimus, quam qui scire affectabit, poterit ab iis petere qui de accentibus ex professo scripserunt : inter quos est Abraham Balmes, Elias, Reuchlinus, & Ioanes Valensis* (Chevallier 1567 : 16).

⁵⁵ Traduction de Martin Buber (*Die Schrift* 1986 : 188) : « CXXVII. Ein Aufstiegsgesang Schlomos. Will ER ein Haus nicht erbauen, / wahnhaft mühn sich dran seine Erbauer. / Will ER eine Stadt nicht behüten, / wahnhaft durchwacht der Hüter. / Wahnheit ists euch, / die ihr überfrüh aufsteht, / die ihr euch überspät hinsetzt, / die das Brot der Trübsal ihr esset : – / Rechtes, / im Schlaf gibt ers seinem Freund. // Da, von IHM eine Zueignung : Söhne, / ein Sold : die Frucht des Leibes. / Wie Pfeile in des Wehrmanns Hand, / so sind die Söhne der Jugend. / O Glück des Mannes, / der seinen Köcher mit ihnen gefüllt hat ! / Die werden nicht zuschanden, / wenn sie mit Feinden reden im Tor. »

2. Psaume 126 LXX (éd. Rahlfs 1979 : 309–310)

Ἰδιῆ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν· τῷ Σαλωμων.

Ἐὰν μὴ κύριος οἰκοδομήσῃ οἶκον, εἰς μάτην ἐκοπίασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες αὐτόν·
ἐὰν μὴ κύριος φυλάξῃ πόλιν, εἰς μάτην ἠγγρύπησεν ὁ φυλάσσων.

²εἰς μάτην ὑμῖν ἐστὶν τοῦ ὀρθρίζειν, ἐγείρεσθαι μετὰ τὸ καθῆσθαι,
οἱ ἔσθοντες ἄρτον ὀδύνης, ὅταν δῶ τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς αὐτοῦ ὕπνον.

³ἰδοὺ ἡ κληρονομία κυρίου υἱοί, ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ καρποῦ τῆς γαστροῦς.
⁴ὥσει βέλη ἐν χειρὶ δυνατοῦ, οὕτως οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἐκτετιναγμένων.

⁵μακάριος ἄνθρωπος, ὃς πληρώσει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτῶν·
οὐ κατασχυνθήσονται, ὅταν λαλῶσι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτῶν ἐν πύλῃ.

3. Psaume 126 Vulgate (éd. Vulgata 1983 : 932–935)

3a. Canticum graduum Salomonis 126 (iuxta Hebraicum translatum)

Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum in vanum laboraverunt qui aedificant eam
nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem frustra vigilat qui custodit eam

²frustra vobis est de mane consurgere postquam sederitis qui manducatis panem idolorum
sic dabit diligentibus se somnum

³ecce hereditas Domini filii mercis fructus ventris

⁴sicut sagittae in manu potentis ita filii iuventutis

⁵beatus vir qui implevit faretram suam ex ipsis
non confundentur cum loquentur inimicis in porta

3b. Canticum graduum Salomonis 126 (iuxta LXX emendatum)

Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum in vanum laboraverunt qui aedificant eam
nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem frustra vigilat qui custodit (eam)

²vanum est vobis ante lucem surgere surgere (surgite) postquam sederitis
qui manducatis panem doloris cum dederit dilectis suis somnum

³ecce hereditas Domini filii mercis fructus ventris

⁴sicut sagittae in manu potentis ita filii excussorum

⁵beatus vir qui implebit (implevit) desiderium suum ex ipsis
non confundentur cum loquentur (confundetur cum loquetur) inimicis suis in porta

4. *Psaume* 126, paraphrase hexamétrique d'Apollinaire de Laodicée (éd. Ludwig 1912 : 267) :

Δωδεκάτη δεκάς ἦδε, μέλος δ' ἔχει ἕκτον ἀγητόν.

*εἰ μὴ παμβασιλεὺς ἐθέλων δωμήσεται οἶκον,
 ἃ πόσα μοχθίζουσι μάτην περὶ τέκτονες ἄνδρες ·
 εἰ μὴ παμβασιλεὺς ἀριδείκετον ἄστῃ φυλάξῃ,
 μασιδίως ἄγρυπνον ἔχει πυλαωρὸς ὄπωπῆν.
⁵ ἔκ δ' ἠοῦς κενεῇ πέλεται φυλακὴ τις ἐκάστῳ ·
 ἔγρεσθε, τί μοι ᾧδε κατὰ σφέας ἐδριάσθε
 δαιτὸς ἀπαινύμενοι μογερῆς πολυώδυνον ἄρτον ;
 εὖτε γὰρ οἴσι φίλοισι μόλοι περινήδυμος ὕπνος,
 δέρκεό μοι βασιλῆος ἰὼν κλήρόν τε καὶ νῆας,
¹⁰ γαστρὸς καρποτόκοιο φίλον καὶ ἀγακλέα μισθόν ·
 ὡς τε γὰρ ἀλκῆντι πέλει μετὰ χερσὶ βέλεμνα,
 ᾧδε τιναχθέντων σθεναροὺς θηήσεται νῆας.
 ὄλβιος, ὃς τίς ἐθεν φίλον ἴμερον ἐκτολυπέυσει ·
 οὐδ' ἔχθοις λαλέοντας ἔλοι ψύθος ἅντα πυλάων.*

Il est certain qu'une présentation colométrique aide à percevoir la structure du Psaume et par conséquent à le comprendre plus pleinement. Cependant, comme les manuscrits et les éditions bibliques ne l'ont jamais universellement adoptée, il est difficile d'établir si Chrestien travaillait sur des versions du Psaume élaborées selon une graphie rythmique de n'importe quel type. Quoiqu'il en soit, les parallélismes sémantico-syntaxiques d'une part et la connaissance des accents graphiques de la Bible hébraïque d'autre part pouvaient également l'aider à établir la colométrie⁵⁶, d'autant plus que la construction du texte se laisse très facilement percevoir dans le cas particulier du Psaume 127 :

- première unité, deux vers (verset 1) : sans l'aide de Dieu, rien ne réussit, ni dans le domaine privé, celui de la construction de la maison (*bayit*, οἶκος, domus), ni dans le domaine collectif, celui de la sauvegarde de la ville ('*ir*, πόλις, civitas)⁵⁷ ; la transition sémantique vers la deuxième unité –

⁵⁶ Cf. *infra*, mes remarques sur le système de correspondance que Chrestien a mis en place entre ses vers et les vers hébreux.

⁵⁷ Pour la tradition religieuse juive, *bayit*, « maison », signifierait ici le Temple. Cette compréhension du texte est réfutée par Erhard S. Gerstenberger (Gerstenberger 2001 : 344–348). Il se pourrait toutefois que l'auteur du Psaume ait composé un texte ambigu, destiné à être compris à deux niveaux, et que les deux sens de « Temple » (sphère collective) et de « maison particulière » (sphère de l'οἶκος) se superposent.

- où il est question de sommeil – est assurée par le verbe « veiller » (šāqad, ἡγρόπνησεν, *vigilat*) ;
- deuxième unité, deux vers (verset 2) : pourquoi se priver du sommeil et « manger un pain pétri de douleurs » si Dieu offre ses dons à son bien-aimé pendant que celui-ci dort ?⁵⁸ Le dernier mot de ce verset pose un problème d'interprétation. Le mot hébreu šēnā' signifie « sommeil » ; la LXX et la *Vulgate* le rendent par des mots équivalents (ὕπνος et *somnus*), qui, par ailleurs, ne signifient jamais « rêve »⁵⁹. Du point de vue syntaxique, la version grecque et les deux latines comprennent le mot comme le complément d'objet direct du verbe : Dieu donne le sommeil aux hommes qu'il aime (LXX et *Vulg. iuxta LXX*) ou aux hommes qui l'aiment (*Vulg. iuxta Hebr.*). Elles n'ont donc pas retenu l'emploi du terme hébraïque comme adverbe temporel (« pendant le sommeil »)⁶⁰. Or c'est précisément ainsi que Chrestien l'a compris, tout en le traduisant par des expressions grecques qui signifient « en rêve » plutôt que « pendant le sommeil » (v. 7–8ant : εἰν ὄνειροις, ὄναρ)⁶¹.
 - troisième unité, deux vers, versets 3 et 4 : les fils (les descendants d'Israël) font partie de la naḥālāṭ yəhwāh, c'est-à-dire de la « part de Dieu », de la part privilégiée que Dieu s'est réservée, et ces fils, ce « fruit du ventre »⁶², le Seigneur le prélève sur ses biens personnels pour l'offrir à son bien-aimé en récompense (en récompense de l'amour et de la fidélité que le bien-aimé lui voue en retour). Ce que sont les flèches pour un guerrier

⁵⁸ Dans la Bible hébraïque il n'y a que huit occurrences du terme jādīd, « bien-aimé », qui relève du vocabulaire érotique. L'expression iādīd yəhwāh « bien-aimé de Dieu » est employée pour Benjamin (Dt 33.12) et pour les fils (= le peuple) d'Israël (Ps 60.7 = Ps 108.7 ; Jr 11.15). Dans le « chant du bien-aimé et de sa vigne » (Es. 5.1), Esaïe appelle Dieu jādīd, sans doute parce qu'il est « l'époux » et le peuple d'Israël « son épouse et son bien-aimé ». Pour l'interprétation des versets 2 et 3, j'ai consulté les articles jādīd (Zobel 2003), nāḥal/naḥalā (Lipiński 2005), šakar (Lipiński 2008) et pārā/pārī (Kedar-Kopfstein 2007) du *GLAT* 1988–2010 (traduction italienne du *TWAT* 1973–2000).

⁵⁹ « Rêve » se dit en latin *somnium*.

⁶⁰ Au sujet des adverbes hébraïques issus de substantifs figés « à l'accusatif », cf. Lettinga 1999 : 145 (§ 61f).

⁶¹ En grec aussi, le mot ὄναρ peut être employé comme adverbe (forme d'accusatif figé) : cet emploi est attesté, par exemple, chez Eschyle (*Eum.* 116) et chez Platon (*Theaet.* 173d).

⁶² Dans la Bible hébraïque, le ventre dont les enfants sont les fruits est très souvent celui de l'homme, mais parfois aussi celui de la femme, tout dépend du contexte. Les emplois de la métaphore établissent une correspondance entre les « fruits du ventre (humain) » et ceux des arbres et du sol. L'analogie avec les fruits des arbres prévaut, même si l'hébreu pārī peut également être utilisé en référence aux céréales (comme le mot grec καρπός).

vigoureux⁶³, les fils « de la jeunesse » le sont pour un père. Le thème du « don gracieux fait par Dieu à son bien-aimé » (deuxième unité) est explicité et développé dans la troisième unité : le don divin que le bien-aimé reçoit pendant qu'il dort, ce sont en l'occurrence les fils. Cette conception est étroitement associée à l'expérience agricole : l'homme sème, mais Dieu seul fait germer les graines « pendant que l'homme dort »⁶⁴. Aussi bien la LXX que la *Vulgate* traduisent le verset 3 du Psaume d'une manière alambiquée. En latin notamment on s'attendrait à « ecce hereditas Domini filii, mercēs fructus ventris » au lieu de « ecce hereditas Domini, filii mercis, fructus ventris » (ou faut-il comprendre « ecce hereditas Domini filii, mercis fructus ventris » ?)⁶⁵. La version que Chrestien propose pour ces deux versets est relativement plus proche de l'hébreu que celle de la LXX, sans parler de celle, très différente, de la *Vulgate*. Je précise : « relativement », car la traduction de bānîm (« fils ») par des termes génériques signifiant « enfants, progéniture » (v. 10ant : τέκνων, v. 4ép : παιδων, v. 6ép : ἐκγόνων) provoque déjà à elle seule un glissement de sens important par rapport à l'hébreu⁶⁶. Par ailleurs, Chrestien semble ne pas avoir vraiment compris ce que vient faire là l'« héritage du Seigneur » (verset 3 : nah̄lat̄ yəhwāh). Il change le sens de la phrase en remplaçant la notion d'« héritage » par une autre, similaire, mais plus vague : « bien utile, bien d'usage, ressource ». De même, il a des idées assez confuses à propos de l'hémistiche šākār pərî habbāten (verset 3), puisque les « enfants » deviennent chez lui « la rémunération porteuse de beaux fruits » que Dieu « accorde au ventre » (v. 11ant – 1ép). Chrestien propose néanmoins une interprétation originale et intéressante de l'expression difficile bənê hannə'ūrîm (verset 4). On comprend généralement bənê hannə'ūrîm comme « les fils de la jeunesse » et l'on explique cette expression comme « les fils que le père a eus dans sa jeunesse », Chrestien traduit comme si l'état construit était de type qualifiant (« les fils jeunes »), c'est la raison pour laquelle on lit chez lui : « la jeunesse des enfants réjouit les pères » (v. 3–5ép). On peut contester son interprétation, mais il faut reconnaître qu'elle s'accorde assez bien avec

⁶³ Le *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros* de Ludwig Koehler et Walter Baumgartner (Koehler, Baumgartner 1985) donne pour gibbôr les définitions suivantes : « 1. mannhaft, kraftvoll manly, vigorous ; 2. Held (im Kampf) fighter ».

⁶⁴ Cf. dans l'*Évangile selon Marc* (4.26–29), la parabole de la semence qui pousse d'elle-même.

⁶⁵ Je comprends ici le mot merx, mercis comme « commerce », mais je pourrais être dans l'erreur.

⁶⁶ La LXX traduit correctement vioi. Elle est suivie aussi bien par la *Vulgate* que par Apollinaire.

les dernières paroles du Psaume hébraïque. C'est peut-être en pensant à lui-même et à ses camarades d'études à l'Académie de Genève que le jeune protestant fervent rajoute ici une épithète de son cru : « la jeunesse *pieuse* des enfants réjouit les pères »⁶⁷. Quant au mot καρτερόγυιος (v. 2ép), il représente une bien meilleure traduction de gibbôr (verset 4) que le fourvoyant δυνατός (« puissant ») de la LXX.

- quatrième unité, deux vers, verset 5 : heureux le jeune homme vigoureux (le « gaillard » : haggeber) qui remplira son carquois de ces fils-flèches. Ils ne seront pas humiliés, lui et ses fils, lorsqu'ils débattront avec leurs ennemis baššā'ar, « à la porte » (dernier mot du Psaume !). Selon l'interprétation la plus courante, « à la porte » signifie « lors d'un procès »⁶⁸, mais il me semble que la formulation pourrait s'appliquer également à des pourparlers aux portes avec les ennemis de la ville, dans un contexte de guerre (lors d'un siège). L'auteur du Psaume pourrait avoir choisi exprès une formulation ambiguë, qui convient aussi bien à la sphère privée (la défense des intérêts de l'οἶκος) qu'à la sphère collective (la défense de la ville contre l'ennemi extérieur), en correspondance avec l'évocation parallèle de ces deux sphères au verset 1 (v. 1-2). Quant à Chrestien, il traduit le premier vers de cette unité d'après la Bible hébraïque, alors que la LXX en donne une version complètement « démilitarisée » : μακάριος ἄνθρωπος, ὃς πληρώσει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτῶν, « heureux l'homme qui comblera son désir avec eux ».

Pour conclure cette section de mon analyse, je vais montrer comment Florent Chrestien a préparé son *Psaume 127* à l'aide d'un boulier compteur. Même si ce n'était pas la quadrature du cercle, il s'est trouvé confronté à un problème complexe. La triade à composer sur le modèle de l'*Olympiade 13* (édition Estienne) devait compter trente-trois vers répartis de manière égale en trois unités : onze vers dans la strophe, onze dans l'antistrophe et onze dans l'épode. Le tout est donc gouverné par des nombres impairs. Or, le Psaume 127 est le règne du pair : il compte huit vers répartis en quatre unités de sens comportant chacune deux vers. Ces quatre unités peuvent à leur tour être réparties en deux

⁶⁷ Chrestien ajoute une remarque conclusive, également de son cru, au verset 4 du Psaume biblique (Ps. v. 5-6ép). Je rappelle que j'ai déjà traité de la question des variantes βέλτερον (autographe) et φίλτερον (édition de 1566). La variante de l'autographe est mieux adaptée au sens du contexte, car elle anticipe sur ce qui va être dit dans le *makarismos* final à propos de l'utilité des fils.

⁶⁸ On se réunissait aux portes de la ville pour régler les affaires concernant la justice. Les verbes de la dernière ligne sont au pluriel, c'est pourquoi on leur a donné pour sujet tantôt « les fils » tantôt « les pères » (pluriel de généralisation : « tout père »). Je n'ai trouvé nulle part l'interprétation que j'avance (« le père en compagnie de ses fils »).

sections (v. 1–4 et v. 5–8). Sur les huit vers du Psaume, six sont divisés en deux hémistiches, alors que deux vers sont tripartites, le v. 3 (le premier du verset 2) et le v. 7 (le premier du verset 5). Par ailleurs, des disjonctions accentuelles d'emphase suivent des mots importants dans les hémistiches 1a, 1b, 2b et 3a⁶⁹. Voici comment Florent a organisé sa triade pour qu'elle reflète le rythme colométrique de l'hébreu⁷⁰ :

Ps. 127 hébreu	Ps. 127 Chrestien	
vers 1 (2 hémistiches)	4 v.	1st–4st
vers 2 (2 hém.)	4 v. +	5st–8st +
vers 3 (triparti, mais transposé par Chr. comme s'il était biparti)	+ 4 v. : (v. 3 « a » héb. >) + 2 v. + (v. 3 « b » héb. >) – 2 v.	– 9st–2ant
vers 4 (2 hém.)	6 v. : (v. 4a héb. >) 2 v. (v. 4b héb. >) 4 v.	3ant–8ant
vers 5 (2 hém.)	4 v. : (v. 5a héb. >) 2 v. (v. 5b héb. >) 2 v.	9ant–1ép
vers 6 (2 hém.)	5 v. : (v. 6a héb. >) 2 v. – (v. 6b héb. >) + 3 v.	2ép–6ép
v. 7 (triparti)	2 v. +	7ép–8ép +
v. 8 (2 hém.)	+ 2 v.	– 9ép–11ép

La distribution des huit vers du Psaume biblique dans la triade est équilibrée : v. 1 à 3 dans la strophe, v. 3 à 5 dans l'antistrophe et v. 5 à 8 dans l'épode⁷¹.

⁶⁹ Dans l'hémistiche 4b, en l'absence de toute pause et de tout accent disjonctif, Martin Buber isole emphatiquement le mot « / Rechtes, / » qui traduit kēn. Il vise certainement à mettre ainsi en évidence l'affirmation fondamentale du Psaume : « im Schlaf gibt ers seinem Freund » (*Die Schrift* 1986 : 188).

⁷⁰ La première colonne indique les vers hébreux (et non les versets !) ; dans la deuxième colonne, je précise – quand cela est faisable – combien de vers de sa triade Chrestien attribue à chaque hémistiche du Psaume traduit. Les signes « plus » (+) et « moins » (–) signifient qu'il faut ajouter ou retrancher un vers incomplet au début ou à la fin de la séquence indiquée.

⁷¹ Apollinaire de Laodicée a construit sa paraphrase bien plus simplement. Sa composition compte 14 hexamètres (v. son texte que j'ai reproduit *supra* d'après Ludwich 1912) : un hexamètre par hémistiche pour les six premiers vers du Psaume, et un hexamètre par vers pour les deux derniers vers du Psaume.

Quant au nombre des vers accordés par Chrestien aux hémistiches bibliques, l'hémistiche 4b détient la part du lion (quatre vers : v. 5ant – 8ant). Et pour cause : c'est l'hémistiche du « don accordé par Dieu à son bien-aimé pendant le sommeil ». Cet hémistiche occupe par ailleurs la place d'honneur dans la triade de Chrestien : étant au centre de l'antistrophe (v. 5ant – 8ant), il se trouve au centre du poème⁷². Dans les huit vers du Psaume biblique l'hémistiche 4b conclut la première section du texte avant le passage à la seconde section. Pour que le contenu sémantique de cet hémistiche fût vraiment au centre de la composition, il aurait fallu le placer à cheval sur les vers 4 et 5 en introduisant un enjambement : le centre d'une composition de huit vers ne saurait être autre chose que la transition du vers 4 au vers 5.

Qui dit répartition dit aussi présence ou absence de lien entre les parties. Chrestien sait que l'enjambement ou rejet et la synaphie lexicale comptent parmi les instruments que les poètes grecs, Pindare en particulier, utilisent pour établir des liens entre des vers ou entre des groupes de vers⁷³. Comme nous l'avons remarqué plus haut, il a observé de près la manière dont Pindare met en œuvre la synaphie lexicale dans la première triade de l'*Olympique* 13. Voici maintenant une liste commentée de quelques enjambements et synaphies lexicales présents dans le *Psaume* 127 :

- v. 7st > 8st : mot en rejet interne à l'unité correspondante au vers 2 du Psaume hébreu ;
- v. 8st > 9st : mot en rejet qui crée une jointure entre les vers consacrés à la première unité de sens du texte hébreu (v. 1–2) et les vers consacrés à la seconde (v. 3–4) : ces deux unités font en effet partie d'une seule et même section (v. 1–4). Ce rejet permet en outre de mettre en valeur, en l'isolant en fin de vers, l'expression οὐδὲν δ' ὄφελος qui traduit l'hébreu šāwə' lākem « il ne vous sert à rien » (début de l'hémistiche 3a). Le mot hébreu lākem est marqué d'un accent disjonctif que souligne un pāsēq (« séparateur »).
- v. 11st > 1ant : synaphie lexicale entre la strophe et l'antistrophe. Cette synaphie lie les deux couples de vers que Chrestien consacre au parallélisme qui constitue le v. 3 de l'hébreu : « tôt le matin » (2 v.), « tard le soir » (2 v.). On ne trouve jamais chez Pindare de synaphie lexicale entre la strophe

⁷² Il n'est pas rare de trouver des motifs ou des mots importants au centre des odes de Pindare ou au centre de leurs sous-unités rythmiques. D'une manière générale, ce poète organise la matière de son chant en la répartissant subtilement dans ses strophes et dans ses triades.

⁷³ Selon Milman Parry (Parry 1929), il n'y aurait toutefois pas de véritable enjambement dans les poèmes homériques.

et l'antistrophe⁷⁴ : ce « folastre » de Chrestien innove !⁷⁵ En plus, le choix du mot qui crée la synaphie est cocasse : c'est comme si le passage entre la strophe et l'antistrophe coïncidait avec la transition de la nuit au jour dans ce temps intermédiaire appelé « point du jour » (ὄρθρος). En ce qui concerne le *Psaume*, ce passage est synonyme d'espérance à trois niveaux : pour les hommes que le texte décrit comme venant de la nuit au point du jour pour poursuivre leurs travaux ; pour les lecteurs du *Psaume* qui trouveront enfin dans l'antistrophe une parole consolatrice (les dons de Dieu à son bien-aimé) ; pour le poète qui, après avoir achevé la partie initiale et peut-être la plus laborieuse de sa composition, aborde avec l'antistrophe le cœur de la triade, son « centre vital ».

- v. 7ant > 8ant : cette synaphie lexicale est une imitation de Pindare, *Ol.* 13, première triade, v. 6st – 7st : κασίγνη- / ται (édition Estienne)⁷⁶. Elle est interne à l'unité correspondant à l'hémistiche 4b du Psaume hébraïque. Le verbe qui produit la synaphie est bien choisi : χαρίσεται, le verbe de la Grâce divine !
- v. 11ant > 1ép : synaphie syntaxique entre l'antistrophe et l'épode. Cette synaphie est interne au couple de vers que Chrestien consacre à l'hémistiche 5b du Psaume hébraïque.
- v. 3ép > 4ép : synaphie syntaxique interne à l'unité correspondant au v. 6 du Psaume hébraïque. Elle est située entre les deux vers consacrés à l'hémistiche 6a et les trois vers consacrés à l'hémistiche 6b. La synaphie met en valeur le syntagme nominal νεότης εὐσεβής, « la jeunesse pieuse », c'est-à-dire le sujet grammatical de l'unité réservée à l'hémistiche 6b. Cette dernière unité gagne ainsi du terrain en le dérochant à l'unité précédente : elle s'étale sur plus de trois vers, une plage presque aussi « royale » que celle de l'illustre hémistiche 4b. Chrestien voulait-il peut-être faire plaisir à son père ? Ou décoche-t-il ici une pointe à Henri Estienne ?
- v. 4ép > 5ép : mot en rejet à l'intérieur de l'unité correspondant à l'hémistiche 6b du Psaume hébraïque. Chrestien soigne beaucoup cette unité. C'est le verbe τέρπει qui se trouve en rejet : il est tentant de lire ce rejet comme la trace d'un certain narcissisme.

⁷⁴ Andrea Tessier m'a signalé une étude récente sur la jonction entre les triades par Elisabetta Pitotto (Pitotto 2013).

⁷⁵ C'est son ami Joseph-Juste Scaliger qui décrit Florent comme un « folastre », cf. *Scaligerana* 1695 : 90. Patrick Andrist cite ce témoignage à la fin de notre article « *Poesis et mores* » (Andrist, Lukinovich 2005 : 711).

⁷⁶ Stephanus, *Pindari* 1566 : 240.

- v. 9ép > 10ép : synaphie syntaxique qui permet d'anticiper le commencement de l'unité consacrée au v. 8, le vers final du Psaume 127. Cette synaphie donne du relief aux mots τοῖος δ' ὄλβιος qui réitèrent en quelques sorte la formule du *makarismos* se trouvant au v. 7 : ὦ τρις εὐδαίμων. En hébreu, la formule est mise en évidence par la tripartition du v. 7, qui isole ašarê haggeber, « heureux le gaillard » au début du vers.
- v. 10ép > 11ép : Chrestien semble avoir pris goût aux synaphies lexicales à la Pindare puisqu'il en introduit encore une à la toute dernière occasion. Grâce à cette synaphie lexicale, le vers final de la triade (αἰς καταισχυθήσεται γε) acquiert non seulement une forme symétrique remarquable (un long mot entouré de part et d'autre de deux monosyllabes), mais aussi un élément phonique qui en vient parfaire l'étonnante sonorité : trois /ai/ se font écho à travers une suite phonique où alternent des sons vocaliques /a/ et /e/ – avec un /u/ au centre – et des consonnes dures, groupées notamment en jointures dures.

C3. De la langue et du style

Avec ses allures parodiques, le dernier vers du *Psaume* 127 est représentatif de la « manière pindarique » signée Florent Chrestien. Le mot démesurément long qui occupe presque entièrement le vers, ses petits parèdres⁷⁷ et le jeu phonique montrent comment Florent s'amuse à imiter Pindare en exagérant les traits caractéristiques de son style. Dans le *Psaume* 127, la parodie du style pindarique est reconnaissable non seulement au niveau métrique, mais aussi au choix du lexique, à l'ordre des mots et, d'une manière générale, à l'*éthos* élevé (σεμνόν). Chrestien use à tout moment des procédés de l'amplification, comme la périphrase, la redondance, l'ajout d'épithètes, l'hyperbole. Quant aux formes doriennes, elles sont rares et se limitent, comme dans les chants choraux du théâtre attique, à des mots avec un alpha long au lieu d'un éta ionien-attique⁷⁸. Chrestien a néanmoins réussi à donner à son ode une coloration dorienne en accumulant des mots attiques ou épiques qui comportent un alpha long. Cet expédient est particulièrement perceptible dans la strophe, mais est employé aussi dans l'antistrophe et dans l'épode. Quant au lexique, il y a quelques passages de Pindare qui ont été des sources particulières d'inspiration pour Florent Chrestien. Tout d'abord, il emprunte à la quatrième

⁷⁷ La triade de Chrestien se termine sur un monosyllabe constitué par une syllabe ouverte brève et de surcroît atone (γε), alors que la fin d'une séquence métrique est souvent marquée par une suite de syllabes longues !

⁷⁸ Cf. v. 3st, 9st et 10st.

triade de l'*Olympique* 13 le verbe κνώσσω (*Ps.* 2ant, cf. *Ol.* 13, 71 : κνάναιγς ἐν ὄρφνα κνώσσοντί οἱ παρθένος τόσα εἰπεῖν ἔδοξεν)⁷⁹. La formule du *makarismos* (v. 7ép. : ὦ τρίς εὐδαίμων) fait écho au premier mot de l'*Olympique* 13 (τρισολυμπιονίκαν). Par ailleurs, Chrestien a remplacé le mot μακάριος, typiquement biblique, par εὐδαίμων (v. 7ép) et ὄλβιος (v. 9ép), deux mots plus « helléniques » qui recouvrent ensemble les différentes facettes sémantiques de μακάριος. Les vers 54 à 64 de la *Première Olympique*, où il est question de la punition de Tantale (une pierre suspendue sur sa tête), contiennent à eux seuls trois expressions imitées par Chrestien : εὐφροσύνας ἀλάται (cf. *Ps.* 5st : ἐλπίδων ἀλάται), ἐμπεδόμοχθον (cf. *Ps.* 3ant : ἐμπεδόπονον⁸⁰) et εἰ δὲ θεὸν ... τις ἔλπεται <τι> λαθέμεν ..., ἀμαρτάνει (cf. *Ps.* 1st – 4st : ὅστις ... ἔλπεται ... θεοῖό γε ... ἄτερ θέμεν, οὐ ... περαίνεται). Toujours dans la *Première Olympique*, un peu plus loin, la séquence de l'attelage offert par Poséidon à son fils Pélops (en réponse à sa prière) fournit à Chrestien l'épithète ἄκραντος (*Ol.* 1, 86 et *Ps.* 5st), que les scholies expliquent⁸¹. L'expression θεία παλάμα (v. 8st – 9st) est empruntée à la *Dixième Olympique* (v. 21 : θεοῦ σὺν παλάμαις)⁸². Certains mots du *Psaume* reviennent assez fréquemment chez Pindare, surtout ἀγλαός (v. 1st), mais aussi κορυφά (v. 3st), ἀμφέπειν (v. 8st), et βέλος (v. 9ép). En revanche le mot βέλεμνον, dont il n'y a que quatre occurrences dans les poèmes homériques, n'est pas attesté chez Pindare. Ce sont les poètes de

⁷⁹ Dans cette section, j'utilise la numérotation de Boeckh pour renvoyer aux vers de Pindare.

⁸⁰ L'adjectif ἐμπεδόπονος n'est pas attesté ; il s'agit donc d'une création de Chrestien inspirée par l'ἐμπεδόμοχος pindarique. De même, καρτερόγυιος (v. 2ép) n'est pas attesté. Chrestien a peut-être formé ce composé sur le modèle de καρτερόχειρ (épithète d'Arès dans *hy. hom.* 8, 3 ; autres occurrences : Bacchyl. *Ode* 1, 141 ; *hy. orph.* ; auteurs tardifs et byzantins, notamment *Anth. Gr.* 9, 210, 4 : Agathias ou Paul le Silencieux). En revanche, il a probablement repris l'adjectif νεόπηκτος (v. 2st) de Grégoire de Nazianze, qui l'affectionne (les lexiques byzantins consacrés à son vocabulaire expliquent ce terme), cf. par ex. *carmina de se ipso* MPG 37, 1259.13 (vηός v.) et 1265.7 (τριάς, θεότης v.), plutôt que de la *Batrachomyomachie* (v. 38), où l'adjectif est référé au fromage frais. L'épithète νυκτίπλαγκτος (v. 6st) est eschyléenne (cinq occurrences en tout dans *Ag.*, *Choeph.* et *fr.*), tandis que le rare ἀκρέσπερος (*Ps.* 1ant) est employé dans le sens de « tard le soir » par Théocrite (*Idyll.* 24, 77 Gow) et par Nicandre (*Ther.* 25). La formule φαρήτην / ιοδόκον (v. 7ép – 8ép) se trouve dans les poèmes homériques avec le même enjambement ; cf. *Il.* 15, 443–444 ; *Od.* 21, 59–60 (arc d'Ulysse) et 11–12 (au nominatif). Les scholies et Eustathe commentent cette formule et Hésychios explique ιοδόκος. Les épigrammatistes reprennent la formule en variant la position métrique et en antéposant l'épithète. Pour l'expression λεχῶν / κοιτάδων que Chrestien emploie dans son antistrophe (v. 1–2), cf. *supra*, note 25.

⁸¹ Les deux autres occurrences pindariques de ce terme sont aussi intéressantes pour notre propos : *Ol.* 2, 87 (les « corbeaux » ; métadiscours poétique) et *Py.* 3, 23 (ἀκράντοις ἐλπίσιν). A la *Troisième Pythique* Chrestien a probablement emprunté le verbe ἀντλέω (v. 3ant), cf. v. 61–62 : μῆ, φίλα ψυχά, βίον ἀθάνατον / σπεῦδε, τὰν δ'ἔμπρακτον ἄντλει μαχανά.

⁸² On trouve la même image dans les *Pythiques* : θεῶν παλάμαις (1, 48) et Ζηνός παλάμαι (2, 40).

l'époque hellénistique et de l'Antiquité tardive, surtout Nonnos, qui en font un usage abondant. Apollinaire de Laodicée l'emploie au vers 11 de sa paraphrase du Psaume 127 (126 LXX). Ce mot et le remplacement de μακάριος par ὄλβιος constituent les deux seuls points de contact de quelque intérêt entre le *Psaume* de Chrestien et la paraphrase d'Apollinaire. Personne ne saurait prétendre que Chrestien s'est inspiré d'Apollinaire ne serait-ce que pour ces deux détails. L'occurrence du mot τέλθος (pas attesté chez Pindare), que Chrestien utilise pour śākār à la place du μισθός de la LXX, a de quoi intriguer. Il apparaît à deux reprises dans les *Hymnes* de Callimaque (*Lav. Pall.* 106 et *Cer.* 77); une scholie (*ad Lav. Pall.* 106) et Hésychios l'expliquent comme l'équivalent de χρέος. Se référant à une étude moderne, le *Dictionnaire étymologique* de Pierre Chantraine informe que ce mot « est considéré comme un dorisme »⁸³. C'est comme si, avec l'assistance de son maître Henri Estienne ou peut-être même sur la base de ses propres déductions, Florent Chrestien tenait déjà le mot τέλθος pour un mot typiquement dorien et, par conséquence, pour un mot apte à figurer convenablement dans une ode pindarique⁸⁴. Il reste néanmoins toujours possible qu'il ait choisi le mot uniquement en fonction de sa rareté⁸⁵.

Le génie folâtre de Florent le pousse parfois à s'essayer à des élégances érudites périlleuses. Voici trois exemples :

- Florent trouve chez Pindare le mot κρηπίς, qui signifie tantôt « sandale » tantôt « fondement, assise, fondations »⁸⁶, et place ce terme dans le sens

⁸³ S. v. τέλος (Chantraine 1984 : 1102, col. 2).

⁸⁴ Les deux humanistes pouvaient déduire le caractère dorien du mot τέλθος du fait que les deux hymnes de Callimaque où le mot est attesté (*Lav. Pall.* et *Cer.*) sont composés dans le dialecte dorien littéraire. Callimaque était originaire de Cyrène, colonie dorienne. Il figure parmi les auteurs inclus dans le recueil *Poetae Graeci principes heroici carminis* qu'Henri Estienne publie en 1566 (Stephanus, *Poetae Graeci* 1566).

⁸⁵ Pour le mot δικασπολία (*Ps.* 127, v. 10ép – 11ép), qui n'est ni pindarique ni homérique, il est difficile de comprendre si Chrestien s'est inspiré d'un auteur précis ou d'un genre poétique précis. Le *TLG* d'Irvine recense en tout et pour tout 17 occurrences de ce mot. La source d'inspiration la plus probable me paraît néanmoins être Grégoire de Nazianze (2 occ. plus un lemme dans les lexiques spécialisés consacrés au vocabulaire de cet auteur). Tout d'abord, chez Grégoire le mot est au datif pluriel comme chez Chrestien (δικασπολίησι dans les deux occ.) : ce n'est pas le cas dans les *Argonautiques orphiques* (2 occ.), chez Quintus de Smyrne (2 occ.) et chez Collouthos (1 occ.). Des 6 occ. de l'*Anthologie Grecque* une seule est au dat. pluriel. L'une des occurrences chez Grégoire figure ensuite – cela me semble l'indice le plus probant – dans une prière où le poète demande à Dieu la force de la parole, utile en plus d'une occasion, et notamment dans les procès (*Carmina quae spectant ad alios*, MPG 37, 1510, 3–5 : Ὡ πάτερ, ἐν ποθέω, μύθων κράτος, ἀντί νυ πάντων. / Καλὸν μὲν ῥήτρης πυρόεν μένος, ἐν τ'ἀγορήσιν, / Ἐν τε δικασπολίησι, καὶ εὐφήμοισι λόγοισιν).

⁸⁶ Jason, « l'homme à la seule sandale » dont la venue avait été annoncée à Pélios par un oracle, est appelé μονοκρηπίς dans la *Quatrième Pythique* (v. 75) ; on trouve κρηπίς dans le sens de « fondement, assise, fondations » dans deux autres passages des *Pythiques* (4, 138 et 7, 3/4).

de « sandale » tout près de la frontière séparant les deux séquences de la première unité de son *Psaume*, la première séquence étant consacré à la construction d'une maison (v. 1 du Psaume hébraïque) et la deuxième au garde faisant la ronde de nuit pour protéger la ville (v. 2 du Psaume hébraïque). Même si le jeu sur les deux acceptions du mot est justifié⁸⁷, la compréhension du texte perd sensiblement en immédiateté (on louche un peu en découvrant le mot κρηπίς).

- Avec ses dérivés, l'adjectif εὐφρων constitue une famille de mots bien pindarique, même si ce n'est que dans la *Septième Néméenne* (v. 3) que Pindare emploie le substantif féminin εὐφρόνα (« la bienveillante ») dans le sens de « nuit ». Pour évoquer la nuit, Chrestien opte pour une expression eschyléenne qu'il rend vaguement dorienne à l'aide d'un seul alpha long : ματέρος / εὐφρόνης, « la Mère Bienveillante » (v. 10st – 11st)⁸⁸. Il s'inspire d'un passage des plus suggestif d'Eschyle ; les premières paroles de Clytemnestre lors de son entrée en scène dans l'*Agamemnon* (v. 264–265 : εὐάγγελος μὲν, ὡσπερ ἡ παροιμία, / ἕως γένοιτο μητρὸς εὐφρόνης πάρα)⁸⁹. Dans le contexte du *Psaume*, ce syntagme jette toutefois une lumière à mon avis beaucoup trop sinistre sur les aubes sans lendemain de ces pauvres hères qui croient tout réussir par eux-mêmes sans l'aide de Dieu. Le texte hébraïque ne me semble pas les peindre comme des individus aussi perfides que la Clytemnestre de l'*Agamemnon*. Dans le *Psaume* de Chrestien, le génitif peut être interprété de différentes manières : si l'on tient compte du modèle eschyléen, comme un génitif d'appartenance ou d'origine dépendant de ἐπ' ὄρθρον (« au point du jour, ce fils de la Mère Bienveillante »), autrement comme un complément circonstanciel de temps (« dans la nuit, cette M. B. ») ou encore comme un complément circonstanciel

C'est certainement aussi de la *Quatrième Pythique* (v. 268 : μόχθον ἄλλοις ἀμφέπει δύστανον ἐν τείχεσιν) que Chrestien s'est inspiré pour son emploi du verbe ἀμφέπει (v. 8st), même si l'on trouve sept autres occurrences de ce verbe chez Pindare.

⁸⁷ Sans l'aide de Dieu, les « bases » des deux activités sont réduites à néant, aussi bien les fondations de la maison que les pieds solidement chaussés du garde qui fait la ronde de nuit.

⁸⁸ En fait, le mot εὐφρόνη, « nuit », est plutôt ionien. Il est attesté une fois chez Hésiode (*Op.* 560) et fréquemment chez les auteurs ioniens, dans le théâtre attique et chez les prosateurs postérieurs écrivant en bon attique. Il est intéressant de relever que Chrestien écrit ματέρος à la dorienne, mais conserve la forme ionienne-attique pour εὐφρόνης.

⁸⁹ « Bonne messagère, comme lance le proverbe, / ah ! que l'aurore le soit, elle qui nous vient de notre Bienveillante Mère [mère commune, dont nous sommes les filles, l'aurore et moi-même] » (trad. – sensiblement modifiée – de L. Bardollet et B. Deforge, *Les tragiques grecs* 2001 : 307). Pour la Nuit comme mère de l'aurore, Martin Steinrück m'a signalé un parallèle intéressant : au début de la parodos des *Trachiniennes* de Sophocle (v. 94–96), le chœur (féminin !) dit de la Nuit qu'elle « enfante le Soleil » (le matin) et le « recouche » (le soir).

indiquant la provenance (« même si tu arrives au point du jour depuis la nuit, sortant de la nuit, ta M. B. »)⁹⁰.

- Au v. 5 de l'antistrophe, précisément dans la partie centrale et la plus importante de la triade, on est surpris de découvrir une faute de grec : le vocatif δῶτορ ἑάων, « dispensateur de biens », est apposé de manière patente au nominatif θεός, qui est le sujet du verbe principal de la phrase (χαρίσεται, v. 7–8). Florent Chrestien s'est sans doute inspiré de Callimaque, qui, à la fin de l'*Hymne* 1, s'adresse à Zeus par le vocatif δῶτορ ἑάων (v. 91), alors que cette adresse au vocatif – il s'agit d'une formule de fin de vers – est généralement utilisée pour le dieu Hermès dans l'*Odyssée* (8, 335), dans les *Hymnes homériques à Hermès et à Hestia*, tout comme dans les fragments orphiques⁹¹. L'*Odyssée* (8, 325) et Hésiode (*passim*, par exemple *Th.* 46) utilisent la formule également au nominatif pluriel (θεοὶ δοτῆρες ἑάων), alors que le nominatif singulier δῶτορ n'est attesté que chez les grammairiens (Hérodien, scholies, lexiques, Eustathe).

Ma lecture commentée du *Psaume* 127 de Florent Chrestien touche à sa fin. Je prends congé de mon aimable lecteur avec ces quelques vers de Robert Lax⁹² :

commencé une fois
 & jamais près
 de se terminer
 – – –
 le travail
 de la rivière
 le travail
 de la
 pluie
 – – –
 le travail
 de l'esprit

⁹⁰ Le moment que nous appelons « point du jour » fait encore partie de la nuit pour une grande majorité des auteurs grecs, quelle que soit leur époque, comme on peut le vérifier en s'aidant du *TLG* d'Irvine.

⁹¹ Toujours pour Hermès, on trouve dans l'*Anthologie grecque* la formule dérivée δῶτορ ἐφηβοσύνας, « dispensateur de jeunesse » (6, 282, 6 : Théodoros), alors que la formule d'origine δῶτορ ἑάων n'y est employée que pour Païan et pour Télésphoros.

⁹² La traduction est de Vincent Barras (Lax 2011 : 117).

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Résumé

Dans le petit recueil de 29 *Psalmi in versus Graecos nuper a diversis translati* qu'Henri Estienne a publié avec son frère Robert en 1566, dix compositions sont signées par Florent Chrestien, à l'époque jeune étudiant à l'Académie de Genève. Alessandra Lukinovich propose ici une analyse stylistique du *Psaume* 127 que Florent traduit sous la forme d'une triade pindarique. Dans un article paru en 2005, elle avait déjà publié l'analyse stylistique de quatre autres *Psaumes* (*Ps.* 1, 2, 6, 8) figurant dans le recueil de 1566 sous le nom de Florent Chrestien, mais aussi dans un manuscrit autographe conservé à la Burgerbibliothek de Berne (*Bernensis A 69*). Le *Psaume* 127 figure également, avec le *Psaume* 133, dans une copie autographe signée par Chrestien.

Cet autographe conservé à Leyde, jusqu'ici méconnu, comporte quelques variantes relevées et commentées dans cette étude. Comme troisième pièce d'un « triptyque d'articles » consacrés à Florent Chrestien, Alessandra Lukinovich va publier à l'avenir une analyse stylistique du *Psaume* 133.

Abstract

Florent Chrestien Pindarises under the Guidance of Henri Estienne.
A Greek Verse *Psalm* (Ps.127 in the Hebrew Bible) in an Edition
from 1566, and Its Autograph

In the little collection of *29 Psalms in Greek Verses, Translated Recently by Different Authors (Psalmi in versus Graecos nuper a diversis translati)*, published by Henri Estienne and his brother Robert in 1566, there are 10 compositions signed by Florent Chrestien, who at this period was a young student in the Academy of Geneva. In her paper, Alessandra Lukinovich proposes a stylistic analysis of *Psalm* 127, which Florent translates in the form of a Pindaric ode. This paper follows a paper from 2005, where she published the stylistic analyses of four other *Psalms* (Ps. 1, 2, 6, 8), which we read under the name of Florent Chrestien in the above-named collection from 1566 but also in an autograph from Burgerbibliothek in Bern (Bernensis A 69). *Psalm* 127 also appears together with *Psalm* 133 in an autograph signed by the author from Universiteitsbibliotheek of Leyden (*Leid. BPG* 77, Fasc. 8) which has not been discussed previously. This manuscript includes several text variants, which are presented and commented on in the paper. Alessandra Lukinovich will also publish in a forthcoming paper a stylistic analysis of *Psalm* 133, constituting the third part in a “triptych” of articles on Florent Chrestien.

SPRINGLESEN: EINE AKROSTICHISCHE FORM BEI PROPERTIUS UND FILELFO

Martin Steinrück

Einleitung: Tradition des Properz

Im ersten Gedicht des dritten Elegienbuches tritt Properz nicht nur in den Hain der hellenistischen Dichter ein, sondern macht ihnen nach, was unterdessen (und bis zur Thomas Grays *Elegy written in a country churchyard*) zum Standardspiel mit Inschriften im Text gehört. Die Kommentare Fedelis¹ und anderer Herkunft scheinen ein Akrostichon zu missachten oder an ihm vorbei zu lesen, das doch dem Schluss des hier wiedergegebenen Textes eine auto-referentielle Qualität verleiht².

Callimachi Manes et Coi sacra Philitae,
in vestrum, quaeso, me sinite ire nemus.
primus ego ingredior puro de fonte sacerdos
Itala per Graios orgia ferre choros.
dicite, quo pariter carmen tenuastis in antro
quove pede ingressi? quamve bibistis aquam?
ah valeat, Phoebum quicumque moratur in armis!
exactus tenui pumice versus eat,
quo me Fama levat terra sublimis, et a me
nata coronatis Musa triumphat equis,
et mecum in curru parvi vectantur Amores,
scriptorumque meas turba secuta rotas.
quid frustra immissis mecum certatis habenis?
non datur ad Musas currere lata via.

¹ Fedeli 1985.

² Es handelt sich jedenfalls um eine Inschrift, mit welcher sich Properz einerseits von seinem Angriff gegen Patroklos und Apollon freikaufte, weil der lykische Gott auch ein Schutzherr des Maioniden (i.e. Homer) ist und sich wohl auch in die Ruhmesmaschine Homer einschleust. Zur Begründung der literarischen und logischen Autoreferenz, Tarski gegen Russell und nach ihnen Jakobson, siehe Kuttner-Homs 2013 und 2016.

multi, Roma, tuas laudes annalibus addent,
 qui finem imperii Bactra futura canent.
 sed, quod pace legas, opus hoc de monte Sororum
 detulit intacta pagina nostra via.
mollia, Pegasides, date vestro sarta poetae:
 non faciet capiti dura corona meo.
at mihi quod vivo detraxerit invida turba,
 post obitum duplici faenore reddet Honos;
omnia post obitum fingit maiora vetustas:
 maius ab exsequiis nomen in ora venit.
nam quis equo pulsas abiegnos nosceret arces,
 fluminaque Haemonio comminus isse viro,
 Idaeum Simoenta Iovis cum prole Scamandro,
 Hectora per campos ter maculasse rotas?
Deiphobumque Helenumque et Pulydamantis in armis
 qualemcumque Parim vix sua nosset humus.
exiguo sermone fores nunc, Ilion, et tu
 Troia bis Oetaei numine capta dei.
nec non ille tui casus memorator **Homerus**
 posteritate suum crescere sensit opus,
 meque inter seros laudabit Roma nepotes:
 illum post cineres auguror ipse diem.
ne mea contempto lapis indicet ossa sepulcro
 provisumst Lycio vota probante deo.

Oh Kallimachos' Geist und Tempel des Koers Philitas
 lasst mich, ich bitte euch sehr, in euer Heiligtum ein!
 Ich komm zum ersten Mal, aus reiner Quelle ein Priester,
 bringe die Riten Roms in einen griechischen Tanz.
 In welcher Grotte, habt ihr das Lied zusammen verfeinert,
 welcher Fuss trat da ein, und welches Wasser trankt ihr?
 Fort mit den Leuten, die da Phoebus in Waffen aufhalten,
 Auftritt des Verses, den wir schleifen mit feinerem Korn.
 Durch ihn erhebt mich der Ruhm vom Boden und meine Muse
 feiert Triumphe durch ein Kränze erringendes Pferd.
 Auf meinem Wagen jedoch, mit mir, fahren kleine Eroten
 und diese Schreiberschar, die meine Räder verfolgt.
 Wozu gebt ihr vergeblich die Zügel mit mir um die Wette:
 Unser Musenkampf kennt nicht die breitere Bahn!
 Viele werden, Rom, durch dein Lob die Annalen vermehren,
 schreiben sie, Baktrien sei künftige Grenze des Reichs.
 Dieses im Frieden zu lesende Werk hat vom Berge der Schwestern

ohne Zwischenfall unsere Seite gebracht.
 Mit etwas Weichem bekränzt, ihr Kinder der Dichtung, den Dichter,
 ein zu harter Kranz wird's meinem Haupte nicht tun.
aber was mir im Leben sooft die Kritiker nehmen,
 bringt mir nach meinem Tod doppelt mit Zinsen der Ruhm.
Obenhinaus wird das Leben fingiert mit der Zeit nach dem Tode,
 Nach dem Begräbnis klingt grösser der Name im Mund.
 Niemand wüsste vom Pferd aus Tanne, das Mauern zerstörte,
 und dass ein Hämon-Mann handgemein Flüsse bekämpft.
Idas Sohn Simois mit dem Sohn des Zeus, dem Skamander,
 Dass auf dem Feld Hektor dreimal die Räder gefärbt,
Deiphobos und Helenos und, unter Polydamas' Waffen,
 Paris, wie ihn hätt' erkannt kaum noch der eigene Grund.
eher selten wär' heute von Ilion und dir die Rede,
 Troia, das, Oetagott, Herakles zweimal nahm ein.
Nicht zuletzt hat **Homer**, der deine Geschichte erzählte,
 in der Nachwelt sein Werk immer mehr wachsen gesehn.
 Rühmen wird Rom mich auch durch seine späteren Enkel
 Jenen Tag nach dem Tod weihe ich hiermit selbst ein:
 dass nicht ein Stein nur einfach markier' ohne Grab die Gebeine
 sorg ich und meinen Wunsch segnet der Lykergott ab.

Die (von Ovid mehrfach in Anspielung aufgenommene)³ „Inskrift“ *Maoniden*, wird für Leser, die mit dem hellenistischen Verfahren nicht vertraut sind, am Schluss mit einer Auflösung versehen: Homerus. Um nicht ins Schussfeld unerquicklicher Zeitungschleudern zu geraten, wie das in letzter Zeit mit Kollegen geschehen ist, sei hier gleich gesagt, dass es mir weniger darum geht, ob Properz das nun wollte oder, wie in solchen Fällen gerne behauptet, dass ihm selbst entgangen ist, was ihm dann eben *lalangue* in den Text gesetzt hätte, sondern darum, zu verstehen, woher die Properz kommentierenden Humanisten Filelfo und Poliziano und später Wettstein (siehe Anhang) ihre elegische Akrostichontechnik haben⁴: sie verwenden nicht die Anfangsbuchstaben von Hexameter und Pentameter, sondern nur den ersten Buchstaben des Distichons, d.h. des Hexameters. Und sie setzen jeweils ein Bestätigungswort in den Text.

³ E.g. *Amores*, 1.15.9: *Vivet Maeonides*, 3.9.25: *adice Maeoniden etc.*

⁴ Cf. zu Poliziano die Nummer 18 in Pontani 2002, wo nach demselben System der homerische und der byzantinische Ausdruck für das Adverb „schnell“ zu finden wäre.

Akrostichon bei Filelfo 1.8

Mit einem Bestätigungswort scheint jedenfalls der italienische Humanist Filelfo in 1.8 seiner *Psychagogia*, einem Werk aus drei Büchern und 44 Gedichten vorzugehen: in sapphischen Stanzen⁵ für Palla Strozzi, den goldenen Ritter, der so stolz darauf war, dass die Unbill seines Exils von Florenz an seinem Frohmut abperlte wie Wasser an Entendaunen. Wie schon in 1.2, versucht sein Freund Filelfo, diese stoische innere Festung aus Gedanken zu loben, indem er vom Denken nicht nur spricht, sondern es auch als verborgenes Akrostichon aus den ersten Buchstaben der Stanzen sichtbar macht. Das Aoristpartizip NOHΣΑΣ, im Folgenden in fett markiert, wird in der ersten Strophe des Akrostichons im Text angekündigt und in der letzten Stanze durch den Infinitiv Aorist wiederaufgenommen.

N οὖν πρέπει τοίνυν ζοφερῆς ἀπ' ἄκρης αἶρειν ὑψιστον φάος εἰς Ὀλύμπου· οὐδείς εὐδαίμων πέλεται νοήσας , ἔργα δὲ φεύγων.	Νοῦν νοήσας ἔργα
O ἴμοι ἀλοῦντος πολὺς ἐστὶ μόχθος ἥτορος δὴ μοι τάγαθὸν φρονοῦντι τοῖον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν κατὰ τοῦτο ζῶντι γῆς ἐπὶ πόντῳ.	
H γεμῶν ἡμῖν λόγος ἄστρο φαίνει· ταῦτα δ' οὐ χωρεῖ πάθος εἰσοράσσαι· ἠδὲ τοῖς ἐσθλοῖς ἀρετῆ πεφύκει, πικρὸν οὐκ οὔσιν.	ἀρετῆ
Σ υλλαβεῖν κύκλου πόνος ἐστὶ κέντρον , ἀλλὰ τὴν ἔξω ῥάδιόν γε χώραν. ἔστ' ὁδὸς μούνη ἀρετῆν εἰς ἄκραν, πολλὰ ἐς αἴσχος.	κύκλου κέντρον ἀρετῆν
A λλά σοι Πάλλα θεὸς ἐστὶν εὐνοῦς ἀνδρὶ, πᾶν θυμοῦ πάθος ὅς δαμάσσας τὴν λόγου μούνην ὁδὸν εἰσβαδίζεις οὐρανὸν ἦκων.	

⁵ Für den Text, siehe Cortassa, Maltese 1997. Es ist nicht ganz korrekt, von *Strophen* zu reden, da dieser Terminus der Responsionsform von Strophe und Antistrophos reserviert bleiben sollte und Sapphos Lieder schon in der Antike von Hephaistion als *monostrophika asmata* bezeichnet werden, als katalogische Serie der gleichen Form, ohne Untergruppen. Auch wenn der Terminus *Strophe* zuweilen in den Scholien und bei Hephaistion auf Sappho angewendet wird, so scheint die sprachliche Münze *sapphische Strophe* eher nachhumanistischer Prägung zu sein. Stanze, „Zimmer“ passt ganz gut zu dem Bild des Oikos, das bereits Alkaios spielerisch auf die rhythmische Einheit anwendet und in der griechischen Liturgie, vielleicht vom arabischen *bajt*, Haus (für Stanzen) her, wiederverwendet wird. Siehe dazu Steinrück 2013.

<p>Σ αὐτὸν ἐν πᾶσιν κατὰ ζῶντι ἔργοις ἐστὶ τοῦ θείου τάγαθὸν νοῆσαι, ἐν φάουσι ὡσπερ ἀτρεκοῦς καθόπτρω· ὦ μάκαρ οὗτος.</p>	<p>ἔργοις νοῆσαι</p>
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Wenn wir hier Typologien oder Traditionen (und damit auch Argumente in einem methodisch sonst eher desolaten Gebiet) suchen wollen, dann muss man erstens anmerken, dass beide Beispiele, Properz 3.1 und Filelfo 1.8, Wörtern, die sich vielleicht im Laufe der Textgenese ergaben, mit Kontextangaben im Text gestützt haben. Dieser zweite Typ von Akrosticha wäre durch die semantische Verbindung das erste Argument dafür, dass hier in den Text mehr gelesen wird als der Verfolgungswahn eines Philologen des 21. Jahrhunderts.⁶

Das zweite Argument könnte die Form sein, in welche ein solches Gebilde sich einfügt. Hier bilden wiederholte Lexeme das, was die deutschen Philologen vor 100 Jahren begannen,⁷ eine Ringkomposition zu nennen (νοήσας ἔργα ἀρετῆ κύκλου ἀρετῆν ἔργοις νοῆσαι). Diese von den wiederholten Wörtern nur angedeutete, auch semantische Ringkompositon wird von einem parallelistischen Aussenrahmen (xyz –xyz) umkleidet. Das Akrostichon interagiert also nicht nur durch seine Ausdehnung mit der Ringkompositon, sondern fügt sich auch noch ins Zentrum des Aussenrahmens ein.

Ginge es hier um semantische, phonische oder gar intertextuelle Probleme, dann reichten diese zwei Argumente wahrscheinlich aus. Aber die Philologenangst davor, Puerilität in den Text zu lesen und als *puer*, als *μειράκιον* zu gelten, wie die alexandrinischen Scholien den Leser schon warnen, die Wiederholungen im Text nicht zu lesen, die das Scholion selbst hervorhebt, weil das *μειρακιώδης* wäre, diese Angst schafft bis heute ein seltsames Schweigen im Vortragssaal. Der Einwand, dass der Autor nicht bemerkt haben könne, was der Automatismus, die Muse oder *lalangue* zweifelsohne in den Text gesetzt haben, wird als billiges (Zweifel kostet keine Beweise) rhetorisches Mittel verwendet, einen Mitforscher zu diskreditieren, als *locus communis* im Sinne der antiken Progymnasmata, der leider mit den Regeln wissenschaftlichen Dialogs nichts zu tun hat, wo Argumente und Beweise zählen. Im besten Falle wird dem Vorschlagenden die Bürde einer Wahrscheinlichkeitsrechnung auferlegt. Eine solche wäre im Grunde Aufgabe der Zweifelhypothese, da man die Wahrscheinlichkeit eines positiven Ereignisses negativ berechnet. Vor allem

⁶ Nach Barthes ist Lesen eine Form von Paranoia, anders entsteht kein Sinn (Barthes 1973: 99).

⁷ Zum ersten Mal wird der Terminus erwähnt von Ziegler 1927, aber das Konzept geht zurück auf Müller 1908. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1914: 35, 54, 71, 78f. und Van Otterlo 1944: 131ff. leiten eine inzwischen 100-jährige Bibliographie ein.

aber, kann man bei sprachlich-poetischen Ereignissen anders als in der Versicherungsmathematik, nicht von purer mathematischer Wahrscheinlichkeit ausgehen, weil die reellen Corpora, die *Odyssee*, die *Ilias* oder die *Äneis* bereits eine poetisch ausgerichtete Anordnungen haben.⁸ Es sind, wie befreundete Statistiker bemerken, nur Vorgehen wie die Monte-Carlo-Methode denkbar, in welcher existierende oder nach Umstellungsregeln geschaffene Corpora miteinander verglichen werden. Das heisst, dass absolute Wahrscheinlichkeitswerte schwer zu gewinnen sind, aber die relative Verteilung solcher Phänomene in Filelfos *De Psychagogia* bringt ein weiteres Argument bei.

Akrostichon bei Filelfo 1.1

So finden wir zum Beispiel ein Akrostichon ganz am Anfang des Katalogs, in 1.1: ATOKOS, „der keine Nachkommen hat“, in den elegischen Hexametern: Die Form des langen elegischen Briefes in der Tradition des Aulus Sabinus ist leicht an den wiederholten Wörtern abzulesen: ABC DE FGH FGH ED ABC, verpflichtet der in der byzantinischen Tradition vorherrschenden, parallelistischen Form des Katalogs, unterbrochen nur von einem kleinen Chiasmus.

Ἀλφόνσε ἐμοῖς μέλεσιν, θεὸς
 Ἀφρικῆ, Ἰταλίας
 σοφὸν τε εὖ ποιεῖν, Μοῦσαι
 σοφοῖς τε εὖ ποιῶν Μοῦσα
 Ἰταλῶν, Ἑλλήνων
 Ἀλφόνσον, ἐν μέλεσιν, θεὸν

Das Akrostichon deckt den Teil von v. 1 bis 11 ab, baut sich also schön in die rhythmische Aufteilung des Briefes ein. Probleme scheint zunächst nur die Beziehung zwischen Akrostichon und der semantischen Ebene des Briefes zu bieten. Warum von Kinderlosigkeit bei einem Manne sprechen, dessen Macht man auf der semantischen Ebene rühmt?

Ἄ στρον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὃ πάντων φέγγος ἀνάκτων
 εἰ κλέος ἡμετέρων καὶ μέγα θαῦμα χρόνων·
 τ ἄς πράξεις Ἀλφόνσε λίην πολλὰς τε καλὰς τε
 ὕ ὕν σέο βουλόμενος ἄσαι ἐμοῖς μέλεσιν,

Ἀλφόνσε
 ἐμοῖς μέλεσιν

⁸ Es gibt eine metrisch-prosodische Tendenz zu mehr vokalisch anlautenden Wörtern am Anfang eines Verses als in der Mitte.

ο ὑδὲν ἔχω γε λαβεῖν πέρας, οὐδὲν μέτρον ἐπαίνων, ο ἴς σε θεὸς κοσμεῖ σὴν διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν·	5	θεὸς
κ αἰ γὰρ ὁ τῷ θείῳ ταῖς πράξεσι χρώμενος ἴσαις, π ἅντα καλῶς πέπραχεν, πάντ' ἀγαθῶς τέλεσεν·		
ο ὑ βροτὸς οὐ βασιλεὺς ἕτερος ζῶν ποῦ ποτε γαίης ἐ στί σέο κρείττων ἢ λόγῳ ἠδὲ νόφ·	10	
σ ἧς μέγεθος ψυχῆς Ἀφρικῆ πολυλήϊος εἶδεν Ἰταλῆς τ' ἕθνος ὄπλα φρουρασόμενον·		Ἀφρικῆ Ἰταλῆς
ἔσχατος ἰφθίμων σὸν τοῦνομα λαὸς Ἰβήρων αἰδεῖται· σέ Θετίς Ὠκεανός τε σέβει.		
Οὐδὲ μία κοσμεῖ σ' ἀρετὴ ὧ κοίρανε· πάσας μοῦνος ἔχεις, ὅσοι ἀνδράσιν εἰσὶν ὄλοις.	15	ἀνδράσιν
Ἐν πρώτοις παρὰ σοὶ διαλάμπει θυῶσιον ἴσον, καῦσεβὲς ὧ βασιλεῦ καὶ μετὰ δία δίκη.		
Σώφρονα πάντα τὰ σοῦ, μεγαλήτορα πάντα σοφόν τε (μεγαλήτορα) σοφόν τε ἔργα τε καὶ συνετὸν κοίρανε θεῖε πόρην·	20	
Οὐδὲν ἀπ' ἀγνοίας τελέεις· νοῦς πάντα κελεύει καὶ λόγος εὖ ποιεῖν , ὅσσα περ αὐτὸς ἄγει.		εὖ ποιεῖν
Ἄξιος εἶ τοίνυν ὄν πάντες θαύματι μοῦνον ἀσπάζονται ἄναξ ἠδὲ ποθῶσι σέβειν.		
Οὐ γὰρ χάριν σέ θεαὶ Μοῦσαι Φοῖβος τε φιλοῦσιν καῦτὸς ἀγαλλόμενος σαῖς ἀρεταῖς ἄγαμαι	25	Μοῦσαι
τοῦνεκα σοὶ γὰρ πάρα λογίοις τόπος ἐστὶ σοφοῖς τε ἄξιος ἀνδράσι δὴ οἱ σε κοροῦσιν ἄναξ.		σοφοῖς τε
Ὡς πάντες ποταμοὶ δία χωροῦσι θαλάσση, ὧς τεὰ τοῦς ἀγαθοῦς δώματα πάντας ἄγει.	30	
Εὖ δὲ σὺ καὶ ποιῶν τυγχάνεις κοίρανε φήμην τιμήσας· αὐτὴ ἀθάνατος πέλεται.		Εὖ ... ποιῶν
Πῶς γὰρ ἔλοι θάνατος φήμην βασιλεῦσιν ἀρίστοις ἦν θεία γλυκεροῖς ἄσμασι Μοῦσα τρέφει·		Μοῦσα
ἀλλὰ σοὶ ὧ βασιλεῦ ταύτην ἄρ ὀφείλομεν ἄνδρες πάντες ὁμοῦ, ὅσους φράσεως ἰσχὺς ἔχει,	35	ἄνδρες
οὐδ' Ἰταλῶν μούνη σὸν τοῦνομα γλώττα φυλάττει, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων βάρβιτος ἠδὲ λύρα.		Ἰταλῶν Ἑλλήνων
Οὐ γὰρ ἄναξ Ἄλφόνσε βροτοῖς θνητοῖσιν ὑπάρχεις ἵκελος, ἀλλὰ θεῶ, οὐρανὸν ὅστις ἔχει.	40	

Μοῦσα Διὸς θύγατερ, ὃς Ὀλύμπου δώματα ναίει,
 ἄδε τὸν Ἄλφόνσον γλυκεροῖς ἐν μέλεσιν, Ἄλφόνσον... ἐν μέλεσιν
 τῷ τίνα Πελλαῖον, τίνα Καίσαρα Πιερίς ἄλλον,
 ἢ τίνα Πηλήδην Δαρδάνιον τε βάλοις;
 τοῦτον ἂν ἡμέτερός τε Μάρων καὶ θεῖος Ὀμήρου 45
 θυμὸς ἀοιδῆσιν πρῶτον ἔλειν ἔθελεν·
 μοῦνον ἐγὼ τοῦτον τολμῶ βασιλεῦσι βροτοῖς τε
 οὐκ ἀδικῶν γε βαλεῖν πᾶσιν ἄνακτα πάρα.
 Οἶδα θεοῦ τούτῳ τῇ γνώμῃ πάντα γενέσθαι,
 ὃς θεὸν ἐν πάσαις πράξεσιν ἀρχὸν ἔχει. 50 θεὸν

Auch wenn König Alfonso wohl für die Kinderlosigkeit seiner offiziellen Ehe bekannt war, erscheint ein gewollter oder nachträglich akzeptierter Hieb etwas überflüssig. Aber der Genesekontext des Briefs bietet eine Verbindung. Wir wissen, dass das Gedicht um den 13. November 1453 verfasst wurde, als gerade die Tochter von Alfonsos unehelichem Sohn geboren wurde, Beatrice, die zukünftige Königin von Ungarn. So wird die halb versteckte, halb hervorgehobene Botschaft zur ironischen Kritik an den Kritikern des Königs und damit sinnvoll in einem Loblied.

Akrostichon bei Filelfo 1.4

Das folgende Akrostichon findet sich wieder am Anfang der sapphischen Strophen von 1.4, für Hieronymus Castello: KOINH, zusammen.

Κ ἄσταλις φίλον λυρικοῖς ἐταῖρον
 ἄδε Κάστελλον μέλεσιν. κατ' ἄκρον
 Μοῦσα Παρνασσὸν παρὰ τῷ κρατοῦντι
 ὕμνεε Φοῖβω.
Ο ὕτος ἐν λαμπροῖς γαυριᾷ σοφοῖσιν,
 οὐδὲν ἀσπάζων νοσερὸν κατ' ἦθος
 ἀλλὰ ταῖς σεμναῖς ἀρεταῖς νομίζει
 τοῦλβιον εἶναι·
ι σχὺν ὃς πάσης φύσεως νοήσας,
 αἰὲν ἀνθρώπους βλαβερῶς νοσοῦντας
 εὔχεται τέχνην θεραπεῦσαι ἴφι
 θαύματα ρέξας.
Ν ἔστορος γλῶτταν γλυκερὰν παροῦσαν
 δείκνυσιν, λέξας ἄπερ αὐτὸς εὔρεν
 Σωκράτης πρῶτος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὄντες
 ἄστρ' ἐπὶ γαίης.

Ἦ γεμῶν τούτου χάριν αὐτὸν ἄδην
 Βόρσιος φιλεῖ μέγας ὦν καὶ ἄλλοις
 τῶν χρόνων τούτων κλέος ἐν βροτοῖσιν
 πᾶσι καὶ ἄστρον.

Κοίρανον πάσης ἀρετῆς **τὸ θεῖον**

τὸ θεῖον

Βόρσιον κοσμεῖ ὑπὲρ ἄνδρα ἦθος,
 Βόρσιος καλὸς κἀγαθὸς σοφὸς τε
 ἀρχὸς ὑπάρχει.

Ὡ **σὺ** Κάστελλ' εὖ πεπραγὼς τὸ λήην
 ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνη ἀγὼν ἐξ ἀρίστων
 κτώμενος ζῶην κατὰ τὴν τελείην
 Βόρσιον ἄνδρα.

σὺ

Τοῦτον οὖν ἀμφοῖν **φιλε** νῦν αἰδεῖν
 ἀξίους ἡμῖν ἔπεσιν τὸν ἥρω
 ἐστίν, ὃς πᾶσιν μόνος ἔστ' ἐπαίνοις
 ἄφθονος ὕλη.

φιλε

Τῇ κόμῃ **Φοῖβον** παρέχει, Ἀθήνην
 τοῖσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς, Δία τῷ μετώπῳ,
 χερσὶν Ἡρακλῆν Ἄρεός τε δία
 στέρνα βριμοῖο.

Φοῖβον

Ἄλλὰ μὴ πολλοῖς ἔπεσιν **τριβοῖην**
τὸν χρόνον· κάλλος μέγεθός τε πάντη
 καὶ φυὴν θείου κατὰ πᾶσαν ἔξιν
 σώματος ἴσχει.

τριβοῖην
τὸν χρόνον

καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρείας κλέος ἢ δικαίου
 τόσσον ἀνθρώπους ὑπερίσχει ἄλλους
 ὥστε συγκρίναι περὶ τῶν ὁμοίων
 ἐκ μέσου εἶναι.

Βόρσιος σώφρων συνετός τε πρῶτος
 δῶρα καὶ δοῦναι ἰλαρὸς καλοῖσι,
 ὅσσον οὐδ' ἄλλον κατὰ τοὺς νῦν ἄνδρας
 ἔστ' ἀποφαίνειν.

Ἄξιος τοίνυν ἀγὸς ὥστ' ἀπάντων
 καὶ βροτῶν ἄρχειν περὶ πάντα κόσμον,
 ὅστις εὖ ποιεῖν ἀγαπᾷ φιλοῦντας
 ἔξοχα πάντων.

Ταῦτα νῦν **ἡμεῖς** γράφομεν τοσοῦτοις
 ἄσμασιν, πλείω **χρόνος** οὐκ ἀφῆκεν·
 ἀλλὰ Κάστελλος καταλέξει ἄδων
 μείζονα πλήκτρῳ.

ἡμεῖς
χρόνος

Σφορτιάδων φάος ἡγεμόνων Φραγκίσκε Λατίνοις ἐλπὶς αἰοιδοῖσιν, οἱ σε φιλοῦσι πάτερ, σὴν θεῖαν ἀρετὴν πόθος ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἀεῖσαι, ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς φήμης θαύμακε κόσμος ἅπας.		πάτερ
Οὐ γὰρ ἔχει ζοφερὸν σκότος, ἄς μεγαλώνουμε πράξεις 5 αἰὲν ἄνερ τελείεις ἤτορι σὺν συνετῶ. Πάντα σοφῶς πράττεις· ἀλκῆ ῥώμη τὲ φρονήσει σῆς ἔπεται ψυχῆς, ἦν θεὸς αὐτὸς ἄγει· οὐδὲν ἄγεις ἀμαθῶς· οὐδὲν μὴ πάντα δικαίως σῆς μέγεθος κραδίης αἴρεται οὐρανόσε. 10 Εὐ ποιῶν πάντας κοσμεῖς, καὶ μούνος ἀρίστοις ἄξιος ἀνθρώποις ἄξια δῶρα νέμεις, πυρότατος χαρίεις τε πέλεις, καλὸς τάγαθός τε μούνος ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἵκελος οὐρανίδαις. Οὐδέ σέο γὰρ τοῖαι καὶ τόσσαι εἰσὶ βροτοῖο, 15 ἀλλὰ θεοῦ πράξεις, ὅς τὰ σὰ πάντα βλέπει. Σὴν καθαρὰν ψυχὴν σωτήρ θεὸς ἐντὸς ὀράσσας τῆσιν ἀγαλλόμενος πράξεσιν ἐστὶ πάρα·		
ἔνθεν αἰεὶ νίκας παμπόλλας λαμπρὸς ἀπάντων ἐξ ἐχθρῶν ἔλαβες, εὐσεβὲς αἰὲν ἔχων· 20	ἔνθεν	
ἔνθεν ὁ Φίλιππος Βλάγκαν σοὶ δῶκε Μαρίας Ἄγγλος ἐοῦ θύγατρα, υἷα σαυτὸν ἄγων.	ἔνθεν	
ἔνθεν ἔχεις τόσσας τὲ πόλις τόσσον τὲ φαλάγγων πλήθος ὑπερβαίνων χρήμασι καὶ κλεέσιν· Φράγκον ὑπερφίαλον καὶ ἄφρονα Ἴφι δαμάσσας 25 πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ δεῖξας τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ μέγα. καὶ τί γὰρ ἰφθίμων δύναμιν καὶ πλήθος Ἰβήρων μνήσομαι οἱ σοὶ νῶτα τραπέντες ἔσαν; Πᾶσ' ἰδοῦ Ἰταλίη σὺν τοῦνομα θαῦμα θεοῖο αἰδεῖται· Δελφοὶ δώματα πᾶσι σέο. 30	ἔνθεν	
Τὰς Καραβαγίνας τὲ μάχας τόσσοθς τὲ θριάμβους λήψεται οὐ λήθη, οὐ χρόνος, οὐ θάνατος. Νῦν σέο καὶ μούνου Μαιομέτ σὺμ πᾶσ' ἀσεβέσσι ἡγεμόνος θεοῦ ὄπλα φοβεῖται ἄγαν.		
Τοῦτον ἄρ' ὦ πάντας σώσας θνητούς τε θεοῦς τε 35 ἡμῖν Χριστὲ πάτερ σῶσον ἄγ' ἀθάνατε. Εἰ γὰρ ἐκὼν θάνατον σταυρῶ πάθης αἰσχρὰ θελήσας ἀρχαίων γονέων σφάλματ' ἀμῦναι ἄταις, ὅσση μᾶλλον ἰδὼν τοῦτον δὴ πάντα τελοῦντα τὴν κατὰ σοῦ πίστιν Χριστὲ σὲ σῶσαι ἔδει. 40	Χριστὲ πάτερ σῶσον Χριστὲ σῶσαι	

Der „Aufbau“ hat etwas von einer ABCA-Form, der erste lange Teil beginnt mit der Anrede Sforzas als Vater und endet mit einem kürzeren Teil, der Christus als Vater anruft, dazwischen finden sich zwei Teile, von welchen der erste ganz generell von Sforzas Taten spricht, der zweite die Beispiele beibringt. Das Akrostichon würde den allerersten Teil beenden.

Interessant ist, dass die Zeilen 12b–14a im Autograph L fehlen, aber im Autograph B vorhanden sind.¹⁰ Das scheint ein Fehler beim Abschreiben zu sein, ein Sprung zwischen Homoioteleuta, der die Herausgeber dazu veranlasst, das Akrostichon nicht anzuzeigen, zumal Unsicherheit über die Chronologie besteht und sie der Handschrift L mehr vertrauen. Ist es denkbar, dass Filelfo sein eigenes Akrostichon übersieht? Ohne die Auslassung gewinnen wir ohne grossen Sinnverlust eine etwas weniger geschwätzig Antithese. Ist es denkbar, dass L tatsächlich, wie die Herausgeber vermuten, das Original ist und bei einer Abschrift Filelfo die Möglichkeit eines Akrostichons durch die Hinzufügung eines Verses und zweier Halbverse bemerkt hat? Mit dem Akrostichon hat das Gedicht allerdings runde 40 Verse, ohne nur 38.

Das vierte Akrostichon ist das bereits besprochene in 1.8. Das fünfte findet sich etwa in der Mitte von 1.9, aber ohne klare Koordinaten, die es in die Form einfügen, an Kardinal Bessarion gerichtet: es handelt sich um das lateinische Wort ΠΟΜΠΑ und findet sich im Kontext der Beschreibung des Purpur. Vielleicht ist da noch ein sechstes in 1.13, ein byzantinisches Wortspiel mit dem Namen des Adressaten Theodor Gaza, ΧΑΣΑΣ, „du hast verloren“, aber die formale und die kontextuelle Argumentation bleibt schwach.

Ein letztes Argument für die Bemerktheit dieser Konfiguration ist die Anordnung in der Sammlung. Wenn die These der Skeptiker korrekt wäre und alle diese von der *lalangue*, dem (einer statistischen Notwendigkeit unterliegenden) Zufall oder der Muse geschaffenen Wörter vom immer auch lesenden Autor unbemerkt geblieben wären (und eine solche Unaufmerksamkeit wird beinahe immer vorausgesetzt), dann müssten die Wörter wie in der sicherlich mündlichen und ohne das Bewusstsein von vertikal gesetzten Verslinien gehörte *Odyssee* normalerweise nicht 4 Buchstaben überschreiten (72 mal) und bei den wenigen 5 Buchstaben umfassenden Akrosticha (15) nie einen Bezug zum Text aufweisen, vor allem aber in schöner Regelmässigkeit auftauchen.¹¹ Genau dies ist aber nicht der Fall in der Sammlung der *Psychagogia*. Denn alle

¹⁰ Siehe Cortasse, Maltese 1997.

¹¹ Ein Vergleich der *Odyssee* mit den (hochgerechneten) *Posthomeric*a ergibt die folgenden Zahlen:

	<i>Odyssee</i>		<i>Posthomeric</i> a
4 Buchstaben	72	–	68
5 Buchstaben	15	–	12
6 Buchstaben	1	–	8

Akrosticha finden sich am Anfang von Buch I (in 1–9) und die Texte machen nur 23% der Ausgabe aus. In der Folge der Ausgabe (1.10–16, 2.1–14, 3.1–14) findet sich nichts mehr. Statistisch ist die Skeptikerthese also unhaltbar. Wenn wir das Prinzip Filelfos einrechnen, immer zwischen sapphischen Stanzen und elegischen Disticha zu alternieren, dann muss die Verteilung von 5 Akrosticha auf die ersten 9 Gedichte der Versuch sein, das aufgelaufene Material in der Ausgabe so zu ordnen, dass alle Akrosticha am immer meistgelesenen Anfang stehen. Filelfo muss die Arbeit der Muse also bemerkt haben, ihr geholfen oder zuweilen sogar sie übernommen haben.

Methodisch gesehen kann man die antiken gewollten oder unbemerkten *acrostichides*, von denen Cicero redet, die *akrosticha* (2 mal *Nikandros* bei Nikander), die *telesticha* (*Misellus* in einer Inschrift über den dritten Bischof von Toledo), die *strophogrammata* (oder *boustrophedon: a stilo Vergilii Maronis* in *Aeneis* 1.1–4¹²), die *dochmiogramma*¹³ und die *keratogramma*¹⁴ in drei Gruppen einteilen:

- 1) eine erste, bei der man annehmen muss, dass der Autor von Anfang an gemerkt hat, was sein Text macht, und übernommen hat, oder tatsächlich so etwas wie einen Plan hatte, da diese Akrosticha sich meistens auf die Textgenese beziehen, den Autor oder das Dichten;
- 2) eine zweite Gruppe, bei welcher der Autor am Schluss, beim Durchlesen, gemerkt hat, was geschehen ist und vielleicht den Text dahingehend ändert (diese Gebilde haben oft etwas mit der Semantik des Textes zu tun);
- 3) und die dritte Gruppe von längeren Lexemen, die sich in jeder nach nicht semantischen Prinzipien angeordneten Serie von etwa 150 Buchstaben ein oder zweimal notwendigerweise bilden, ohne deswegen im semiotischen Prozess vorgesehen zu sein. Wenn der Autor sie nicht bemerkt, dann ist meist die Absenz von Echos mit der semantischen Kette, dem Text ein Zeichen dafür, aber nichts hindert diese Wörter daran von den Lesern als versteckte, also wichtige Botschaft aufgenommen zu werden.¹⁵

Die Filelfo-Akrosticha würden sich also leicht in die zweite Gruppe einfügen.

Im geschriebenen Text des Quintus sind die 6-buchstabigen Akrosticha häufiger und meist im Bezug zur Semantik, die kleineren Akrosticha (der dritten Gruppe) etwas seltener.

¹² Cf. Castelletti 2012, was Calpurnius in seiner Ekloge über Vergil und Theokrit insofern aufzunehmen scheint, als er einen Vergil darstellenden Hirten mit dem weder griechischen, noch vorher lateinisch bezeugten Namen *Astilus* belegt.

¹³ Siehe Laurent 2015.

¹⁴ In Hörnchen- oder Halbmondform wie *lepte* bei Arat, *Phaenomena* 783–787.

¹⁵ Maxime Laurent hat sehr sprechende Beispiele für dieses Kapitel der Geschichte des Lesens, aber sie sollen ihm nicht vorweggenommen werden. Zu Beispiel aber ist *dapses*, ein homerisch unmögliches Akrostichon von den hellenistischen Lesern wahrgenommen worden und dazu gehört auch die *leuke* im 24. Buch der *Ilias*.

Schlussbemerkungen

Interessanter ist die am Anfang angedeutete Springregel. Dafür Modelle zu finden ist nicht so einfach, wie es scheint. Das Akrostichon und Ähnliches (Julius Caesar Scaliger spricht von *serpentinum, cancrinum, versus correlativi, concordantes, intercalares*)¹⁶ wird in der Neuzeit zu einem häufigeren Phänomen, über welches laut Robortello seine Zeitgenossen *laborant*, und Scaliger sieht eine Entwicklung von den Griechen zu den Römern (*facetum genus, quod frigide Graeci, Latini acutius exercuere*).¹⁷ Im 17. Jh wird das Anspringen dieser Gedichte mit dem *curriculum* Johannes Sturms in Strassburg in Verbindung gebracht.¹⁸ Im 18. Jh. verschwindet das barocke Spiel. Aber über den Anfang der Renaissance ist wenig zu finden, immerhin ist das Anfangsprinzip von Kapiteln bei Francesco Colonna von 1461 attestiert (alle Kapitelanfänge der *Hypnerotomachia* ergeben *Poliam Frater Franciscus peramavit*),¹⁹ 6 Jahre vor der Zusammenstellung von *de Psychagogia*. Auch kann man in der Spätantike die Prinzipien Romans des Meloden anführen, der die Stanzenanfänge der Liturgie zu längeren Syntagmen verband, oder Gottfried von Strassburg, des Tristanstanzen mit rubrizierten Anfangsbuchstaben den Namen *Dietrich* ergeben. Soll man also annehmen, dass Filelfo eine allgemeine Praxis seiner Epoche auf sapphische Stanzen und elegische Distichen anwendet? Was aber konnte das eindeutig der zweiten Gruppe zuzuweisende Akrostichon bei Properz für den eifrigen Properzleser Filelfo bedeuten, der jedenfalls an von Petrarca Lauragedichten ans Akrostichonlesen gewohnt war? Hat er das Properzspiel bemerkt? Jedenfalls ist es nicht einfach, Vergleichbares bei den Römern, und noch schwerer bei den Griechen der Antike zu finden. Weder die Fragmente oder die Epigramme des Kallimachos geben Springlesern Nahrung noch die *Anthologia Palatina*.²⁰

Ein mögliches Beispiel für Springlesen, aber ebenfalls ausserhalb der Elegie, ist die Doppelaxt (Πέλεκυς) des Simmias, wo der semantische Kontext eine Einzelaxt auf dem Papyrus schafft, aber erst die Akrostichonlektüre eine Doppelaxt, nämlich durch eine Lektüre des ersten Buchstabens jeweils des zweiten Verses (und analog nach dem ersten Durchgang: „da es nun so ist in Asien“, *hat'ontos hood' Asiaa*)²¹. Bei den Römern sind solche elegischen

¹⁶ Scaliger 1561: 69.

¹⁷ Robortello 1548: 40.

¹⁸ Cf. Milewska-Ważbińska 2013.

¹⁹ Siehe Didbin 1918: 147.

²⁰ Natürlich entgeht einem vieles, aber die Ausbeute ist schmal: z.B. 5.73 (*dinai*).

²¹ Laurent 2015 hat diese Lektüre verfeinert.

Akrosticha schon etwas häufiger, aber bei Sabinus²², Ovid²³ oder Tibull findet sich nichts annähernd Langes wie bei Properz²⁴. Aber auch bei Properz sind die linearen Lektüren viel überzeugender als die Springlektüren. Die Stelle in 3.1 ist die einzige in seinem Corpus, die mit 8 Buchstaben nicht nur weit über den Durchschnitt der 4 Buchstaben hinausgeht, sondern auch einen Querverweis zum Text bietet. Insofern ist sie bis zu neuen Entdeckungen nach den vorgeschlagenen eine gute Kandidatin für die Entdeckung dieser Form durch Properz bei sich selbst (im Sinne des zweiten Typs) und da sich eher andere Typen von Akrosticha bei andere antiken Autoren finden, auch vorläufig das beste antike Vorbild für Filelfo.

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²² Kaum überzeugend ist in Aulus Sabinus’ Antwort auf Ovids Penelopebrief das *Victoria* (VIQTA) in 73–81, eine Stelle über den trojanischen Krieg.

²³ In den *Fasti* Ovids zum Beispiel tritt ein mindestens 4 Buchstaben betragendes Wort 7 mal mit dem sprunghaften Lesen auf, mit linearem Lesen 13 mal, d.h. alle 350–400 Verse muss statistisch eines auftreten, es gibt also keinen Unterschied zwischen Lesetypen. Aber die springende Lektüre findet in diesem Corpus nie ein Wort am Anfang, während die lineare Weise zum Beispiel das Keratogramm *Iane* am Anfang einer Einheit bietet, das vom Nominativ *Ianus* ausgeht und wahrscheinlich von Ovid bemerkt wurde, weil das dort beschriebene Doppelwesen dieses Gottes recht gut zur aratäischen Ambiguität des Keratogramms passt. Aber die Keratogramme sind so selten nicht, wie man denken könnte. In den *Litterae ex ponto* ist die springlesende Auswahl zwar grösser, aber die einzigen mit dem Text verbundenen Akrosticha gehen nicht über vier Buchstaben: I *iouas* 2.30, *nunc ais sequi* 7.23, *nuas* 8.59, II *mihi* 1.69, *pauca* (multis) 7.45, *vane* 8.3, *nisu* (*vana laborantis*) 9.23, *nuat* 9.53, IV *fata* 14.39. Man kann allenfalls eine gewisse Besessenheit mit dem Wort *vanus* hervorheben.

²⁴ I *noni* 3.37, *opes* 18.25 II *deus* 18b.1 III *maoniden* (Homerus) 1.19, *spes* 5.17, *fine* 13.25, *fruit* 15.3, *unire* 21.9, *flave* 25.7, IV *oidas* 2.21, *spes* 5.25, *licia es atc lidia* 8.59.

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Anhang: Akrosticha von Wettstein

In: *Viro Reverendo* 1667.

III.

Σ ιγαλόεντα Θεοῦ δωρήματα νυνὶ αἰίσω
 Ἄ ττινα ἐν τούτῳ δείκνυσιν ἄμμι χρόνον
 Ἄ λγεα λυγρὰ τλάσει ἐκκλησία ἰρὰ ἐπ' αἶαν,
 Ν υκτί τ' ἀεθλοσύνων δεινοτάτως θλίβεται·
 Μ ἄλλον δ' ἄμμι δίδωσιν αἰεὶ φάος ἢ ἀμίαντον
 Δ ηῖέου ῥήξας πνεύματος αἰνὰ βέλη·
 Ο ὑρανίης διδαχῆς μύστας καλὰ φάεα γαίη
 Ρ αυρακέων πορέει, ὡς Σέ γε, κλειτὲ ἄνερ!
 Υ ψιμέδων βούλοιο πατῆρ σέθεν ἔμμεναι ἄστρον
 Ε ὑ²⁵ κλεῆς ἐν βροτέοις, καὶ μάλα λαμπετόον!
 Ἡ νὶ φέρεις στέφανον κροτάφοισι ἐπάξιον ἤδη,
 Ἄ θλον σῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀγλαότιμος ἐών·
 Λ ἴσσομαι ἀθάνατόν ῥα παρεῖναι σεῖο μενοιναῖς,
 Σ ἄς τε ποθὰς τελέειν, ὡς † θεοῦ οὔνομ²⁶ ἔχεις! † ἸΑΝΩ

Observantiae testif. gratiam

f.

JOH. RODOLFUS WETSTENIUS,
 Basil. S. Theol. Stud.

In: *Votivi applausus*, 1666:

Ἀρετῇ καὶ παιδείᾳ παντοδαπῇ ΚΥΡΙΩΙ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΩΙ ΤΩΙ ΕΓΛΙΓΤΗΡΩΙ ...
 ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΡΑΘΥΛΦΟΣ Ο ΟΥΕΤΤΙΣΤΕΝΙΟΣ
 [...]

ΚΑΛΛΙΟΨΗ.

ἘΓΛΙΓΤΗΨ στεφάνη ἀριδικέτα Ἰητήρων,
 - - - - - Ο Ο - Ο Ο - Ο Ο - - - - -
 ἐλλογίμως ζῶν, παμμάκαρ εἶ, διάγων!
 - Ο Ο - - - - - Ο Ο - Ο Ο -
 ΚΛΕΙΩΨ.

Ἐ ρως μαθημάτων τεῖν κόμην δέει
 Ο - Ο - Ο - Ο - Ο - Ο -
 φύλλω δάφνης· καρπὸς φέρον θάλλοι αἰεί!
 - - - Ο - - - - Ο - - - - Ο -

²⁵ Hat der Setzer den Auftrag erhalten, den fehlenden spiritus asper beim γ von Υ ψιμέδων nachzutragen, und hat stattdessen das υ von Εὐκλεῆς in ein ὑ verwandelt?

²⁶ ὄνομ' Corr.

ΕΡΑΤΩ΄.

Γ λαύκους ἐνὶ βροτοῖς ἧ ἑρατώτερον

- - -ο ο - -οοο-οο

Ἐνδοξόν τε τεοῦ πότνιον οὔνομα!

- - - ο ο - - ο ο - ο ο

ΘΑ΄ΛΕΙΑ

Λ ητοΐδης φιλότητα ἀμῶν ὡς κοσμεῖ Ἀπόλλων,

-οοο- οοο-ο - - - ο ο - -

Ἀὖ μετὰ ταῦτα σέβου, πλείονα τῶν πορίσει!

- οο - οο - -οο - οο-

ΜΕΛΠΟΜΕ΄ΝΗ.

Ἴσος ἀγλαοῖς νικηταῖς, ἐξ ἐναντίοις ἄγεις

- ο - ο - - - - ο - ο - ο -

νῦν θρίαμβον, εὖχος, εὖχομαι, ἀμέτρως αὐξάμεν!

- ο - ο - ο - ο - ο - - - ο -

ΤΕΡΨΙΧΟ΄ΡΗ.

Γ αῖη ἡελίου ἐφ΄ ὄσσον αὐγή

- - -οοο-ο - ο - - -

μαρμαίρει, μέχρῃς οὐρανοῦ ἰκάνοις!

- - - ο ο ο - ο - ο - -

Ε΄ΥΤΕ΄ΡΠΗ.

Γ αῖεις νῦν δάφνη, ἀρετῆσι κεκασμένε, πολλὰ·

- - - - - οοο-οοο- οοο - ο

Νούσφ θηκομένοις ἠδιμος ἴσθι ὁμῶς

- - - οοο - -οοο-οοο-

ΠΟΛΥ΄ΜΝΙΑ

Ἦ ματι δοίη Παντὶ βίοιο Τοί γ΄ ἀγακλειτὲ

- οοο-- οοοο-ο - οοοο-ο

Τερπικέρανος Ὀλβια φαιδρῶ!

- οοοο- ο -οοο - -

Ο΄ΥΡΑΝΙ΄Η.

Ῥαυρακέων δηθὰ φάνοις ἄστρον

- οοο- - οοο - - ο

Ἄκρον, ἕως τ΄ οὐλύμπι΄ ἔποιντο!

- ο οο - - - ο οοο

Ταῦτα Μουσῶν χρυσᾶ ἔπη ἀκούσας

- ο - - - οοοο-οο - -

Λανθανόντως, γηθόσυνος μάλιστα

- οο - - - οοο - οοο

Ἐν παρεζεύγνυν καὶ ἔγωγε ρῆμα·

- οο-- - οοοο-οοοο

ΠΑ΄ΝΤΑ ΓΕ΄ΝΟΙΤΟ!

- ο οο - οο

Abstract

When you find acrostichs in a poem, you are usually confronted with methodological problems. Filelfo's Greek elegiac epigrams and Sapphic stanzas, however, make it easier to find arguments to accept those letter-plays as a part of the text. Some of them shall be presented and an argumentation developed in favour of their genuineness. The presentation is introduced by an acrostich by Propertius, ignored by classical scholarship, and accompanied by two acrostichs poems by Rudolf Wettstein, that also represent this tradition.

METRIC “MISTAKES” IN THE GREEK EPIGRAMS OF ANGELO POLIZIANO

Martin Steinrück

ἦν εἶπωσι σοφοὶ μέτρῳ γ' ὅτι ! ἤμβροτε πολλὰ
Πουλιτιανὸς, ἐγὼ κείνοις τὰ ἔπη καταλέξω
ὣν ὅ τι πλὴν ἐμέλησε, νόῳ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπέδειξε
πλαζόμενος τε ποσὶ, φάσκων ἢ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα.
ἐκβαίνει τούτων ὅτι ! εὖ εἰδὼς τὰ γ' ἔπαιξε.

What I first heard about Poliziano was that he made mistakes in metre and accent. For sure, Ardizzoni in his edition corrects both of them many times, but Pontani is more conservative, and, as I shall try to show, perhaps rightly so.¹ After all, the origin of the word *tropus* as a rhetorical feature, invented in Pergamon by Tauriskos, can be traced back to what the competitors of Tauriskos in Alexandria considered to be errors.

On the level of method, normative thinking might be useful, but when a poet and scholar makes mistakes, we should look into the possibility that some of them were intended.² There is no overinterpretation in the analysis of form: all we can do is to find the interaction of repeated elements and construct an argument in favour of one or another explanation. Here metre, polysemy and lexical repetition work hand in hand. The paratexts' interpretation *in invidum* (as in epigr. I below) is in a way misleading: the task of interpretation falls on the reader.

In the following, Poliziano's possibly intended metrical mistakes and other special usages of metre will be analyzed, together with the transcript of each epigram.

¹ Ardizzoni 1951 and Pontani 2002.

² The text is presented according to the transcription made by Janika Päll from the Aldine edition (Poliziano 1498), the English translations of all discussed epigrams are by Janika Päll and Martin Steinrück. We have consulted Ardizzoni's and Pontani's editions.

Epigr. 1: 1471. *etatis meae anno 17. in invidium quendam.*

Ὡ φίλε χαῖρε λέγεις ὅτε σὸν ποτὶ δῶμα καθήκω,	0p ³
- υυ/- υ/υ -/υυ - υυ -υ υ - -	
αὐτὰρ ἔμ' οὐκ ἔλαθεν ῥῆμα χαριζόμενον.	0
- υυ - υυ -/ -υ υ -υυ -	
Οὐδ' ἐθέλεις φθονερός χαίρειν ἐμέ, οὔτε φιλεῖς με	1p6
- υυ - υυ - - - υυ -υ υ - υ	
Καὶ γὰρ σημαίνει τοῦτο τὸ χαῖρε δύο.	2
- - (-) - - - υυ - υυυ	
Ἔστιν σώζεσθαι χαίρειν, ἔστιν δ' ἀπολέσθαι	4p2468
- - - - - - - - - υυ - -	
Τοιγὰρ ἔγωγε λέγω σοὶ φίλε χαῖρε μάλα.	0
- υ υ -υ/υ - - υυ - υ υυ	

Epigr. 1: *In 1471, in the 17th year of my life. Against an envious man.*

*My friend, "khaire" you say when I come to your house,
but the word you offer cannot fool me:
You are envious and want me neither to be glad nor your friend,
For this "khaire" means two things:
It means both to be welcome and to get lost.
Thus, I say to you, my friend: "khaire" very much.*

The polysemy of the word χαῖρε is quite a common theme, and I only wish to add one text to the list which the commentators seem to have overlooked. This word-play could be inspired by Kallimachos' 27th epigram and his false friendliness towards the *lepton* of Aratos (Fr. 27 Pfeiffer/D'Alessio).⁴

³ First Arabic number (e.g. 0) indicates the number of contractions of two short syllables into a long one per line, p indicates a penthemimeres caesura after the 5th element; k stands for the *kata triton trokhaion* caesura (i.e. a short syllable at word-end after the penthemimeres), the number after the type of caesura indicates the positions of the contraction. The surface schema of this verse, with the positions marked, is the following:

caesurae : p(enthemimeres), k(ata triton trokhaion), h(epthemimeres) I: Leo's diaeresis

- υυ - υυ - p ukul - h υυ - υυ - x
position 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

p4 = hexameter with a penthemimeres caesura and a "long" syllable (-) instead of two "short" (υυ) ones at the fourth position.

⁴ See d'Alessio 1996 (more complete than the classical edition, Pfeiffer 1949). I also present a German translation here:

Von Hesiod ist das Lied und die Form, er hat nicht den letzten
Sänger, aber vielleicht doch den gefälligsten Vers,
durchgepaust der Sohn von Soloi. Und so grüss ich euch, feine
Sätze, des Aratos nächtliche Qual ohne Schlaf.

Ἡσιόδου τό τ' ἄεισμα καὶ ὁ τρόπος· οὐ τὸν αἰοιδόν
 ἔσχατον, ἀλλ' ὀκνεῖω μὴ τὸ μελιχρότατον
 τῶν ἐπέων ὁ Σολεὺς ἀπεμάξατο· χαίρετε λεπταί
 ῥήσιες, Ἄρητος σὺντονος ἀγρυπνίης

*From Hesiod is the song and the form; but I'm afraid that
 the son of Soloi has not imitated away the last aoid,
 but the most lovely verses. And so, "khaire", fine
 words, the token of Aratos' sleepless nights.*

Like in Kallimachos' text, χαῖρε means both welcome and good riddance. Poliziano has spent some time on the extant works of the Hellenistic poet and probably understood the twofold semantic structure of his epigrams. But again, we find many other possible sources in Pontani's commentary.

On the level of metrics, the initial numbers on the right side of the verses indicate positions of long syllables, instead of two short syllables, and their increasing number, 001240, is well in tune with the semantic progress. Since my academic youth, I have been used to the question whether this was intended or not, always beside the point of literary analysis, but inextinguishable: all I could and can offer as an answer is the relatively strange usage of Homeric preposition ποτί instead of the Attic πρός; both fit the semantic and the metric bill, but only ποτί gives the first verse a pure, holodactylic rhythm. A second thought was triggered by the echo between the first and the last words φίλε χαῖρε. Normally this would mean that also the rest of the text forms a circular composition.⁵ Yet there is no *abcba* structure. Thus, there could be another function to this echo. The solution might come from the strange Greek syntax of verse 1: ὅτε σὸν ποτί δῶμα καθήκω (transl. *when I come to your house*). In Byzantine aesthetics, in the hymnic tradition of Romanos the Melodist, perhaps inspired by the Arabic tradition, larger metrical units, something like strophes (or epigrams) are called *iki*, or in Arabic *bajt*, the house. Theodore Prodromos, Glykas and Malakas use this image, which is not very far from the Italian word *stanza*.⁶ So here we enter the house (poem) by reading aloud χαῖρε and we

Kallimachos mocks Aratos by imitating his obsession with cutting up syntagms as well as stars. The end about a never sleeping poet is both a hint at a rather laborious conception of the "fine", and an allusion to Aratos' leptē-acrostich that forms a decrescent moon and proves that its author is working at night.

⁵ For ring composition, a repetition-figure "found" by G. Müller (1908), adopted by German scholars in the 1920s as *Ringkomposition* (translated as *onion skin structure* or *structure annulaire*), there is an abundant bibliography in Steinrück 1997, for example Van Otterlo 1944, Lohmann 1970.

⁶ Cf. Steinrück 2013: 484 ff.

leave it, constrained to read the same word, but as we have learned, with the meaning of *goodbye*. The rhythm of the last pentameter cannot be spondaic, since the second colon of the pentameter has always⁷ its double shorts. So Poliziano might have used the holodactylic hexameter at the beginning, as a rhythmic echo to the end. In the interaction of repeated elements, metre, poly-semy and lexical repetition work hand in hand.

Let us move to the first of metrical errors, found in the seventh epigram. Ioannes Battista Bonisegni (Giambattista Buoninsegni, 1478–1510?)⁸ is the person addressed in this text. There are erotic overtones in the citations⁹ used both here and in two other epigrams for Giambattista.

Epigr. 7: 18. *aetatis anno. ad eundem.*

Ἦ πρόποι ὅσον ἔγωγε σὲ μείζονα ἢ ἐπέπεισμαι	0k
πλήρῃς τοι μουσῶν τὸ στόμα καὶ χαρίτων	2
Καὶ σοὶ ἄρ' αὐτομάτως κροτάφους περιέδραμε δάφνη	0p
βριθομένη πετάλοις ἄνθεα λευκὰ χέει	0
Ἄλλά που εὐρήσω τὰ σὰ ἴχνεα μαιομένος περ	1p
κύματα· γῆν· αὔρας· νηὶ· ποδι · πτέρυγι.	1
Ἄιεν ἐγὼ ποτὶ σὲ γλυκερῷ βεβολημένος οἴστρω	0p7
ὡς βόες ὑλοφάγοι ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα θέω	0
Ῥῖνα μὲν ἐγκλίνων ἐπὶ γῆν, τὰ δ' οὔατ' αἰείρων,	1p7 8 (too)
ὄμμασι <u>παπταίνων</u> πλαζόμενος τε ποσί,	1
Γούνατε δὴ καμέτην, ποὶ γοῦν ἀλαόν σε διώξω	1p6
ποῖ δ' οὔτω φεύγεις τὸν φιλέοντα φίλος,	2
Ἄνδρι ἄτερ γε φίλου δνοφερῆ τ' ἠὼς ἀνατέλλει	1p8
πικροὶ δ' οἱ σχαδόνες, πᾶς δ' ὁ βίος θάνατος.	1
Χωρὶς δ' αὐτὸν κείνων οὐδ' ἀθάνατός γε θέλοιμι	3p246
<u>ἔμμεναι</u> , οὐδ' <u>αὐτῶν</u> κοίρανος ἀθανάτων.	1

⁷ I only can remember one exception in Neo-Latin verses by Kochanowski.

⁸ Cf. Maier 1966: 146.

⁹ Especially AR, *Argonautica* 1.1260–1270 (Hylas' episode).

Epigr. 7: *In the age of eighteen. To the same [Giambattista Buoninsegni]*

Oh, alas, how much greater are you than I believed,
 the mouths of Muses and the Graces are full of you.
 And the bay your surround spontaneously temples by,
 it is heavy with leaves and spreads white flowers.
 But where can I find your footsteps, being mad after you,
 in waves, on land, in the air? By ship, on foot, by wings?
 I'm always drawn to you by the sweet passion
 and I run here and there as the cows, who eat in forests,
 Putting the nose down to the earth and raising the ears,
 searching with the eyes and erring with the feet.
 My knees are tired, when I'm following you, wanderer,
 wherever you, my beloved, flee from your lover.
 Without a beloved man a murky Dawn will rise,
 the honeycombs will be bitter, the whole life a death.
 Without them I wouldn't want to be immortal,
 even not the ruler of immortals.

There seems to be a metrical error in the centre of this epigram: in τὰ δ' οὔατ', the ears, i.e. 'hearing' like in a metaphor for reading.¹⁰ This τὰ is an open syllable with a short vowel, thus a short syllable in a position where two shorts or a long syllable is expected. But this is not one of the mistakes you would usually make when composing Greek hexameters or heroic verse, such as a wrong accent to support an ictus, based on medieval or Byzantine or Latin-influenced rhythm. This is an error every reader could see, and for the method's sake we should at least look for a function of this mistake before correcting the text into τὰ δὲ οὔατ' (like the ardent Ardizzoni does) and condemn Poliziano to a hiatus that he had by then learned to avoid, as we can see in other texts. Also τὼ δ' οὔατ', the dual we could propose,¹¹ would still not make the counterproof, by understanding the error as a virtue.

Now, one classical scholar and poet used the same joke as Catullus and Horatius: Nietzsche in the Dionysian dithyrambus "Die Sonne sinkt" allows the metrical feet to break down when he says that the real feet are exhausted.¹²

¹⁰ Cf. the first verse by Gregory of Nazianzus, Πολλῶν ἀκούω, καὶ λέγοιμι μὴ μάτην of the iambos *De virtute* (Crimi C. ed. Kertsch M. vert. Guireau app., *Sulla virtù: carme giambico* (I,2,10), Pisa 1995 = *Carmina moralia* Page 680, line 9), but the expression can be found as early as in Seneca's letters (e.g. 6.5).

¹¹ Objected to as artificial by Pontani 2002: 30.

¹² Cf. Groddeck 1991.

Heiterkeit, güldene, komm!
 du des Todes
 heimlichster süssester Vorgenuss!
 – Lief ich zu rasch meines Wegs?
 Jetzt erst, wo der Fuss müde ward,
 holt dein Blick mich noch ein,

This is exactly what happens in Poliziano’s first distichon of the second half:

Ἵνα μὲν ἐγκλίνων ἐπὶ γῆν, τὰ δ’ οὔατ’ ἀείρων,
 ὄμμασι παπταίνων πλαζόμενος τε ποσί,
 Putting the nose down to earth, and raising my ears
 Searching with my eyes and **erring with my feet**.

Now, this playful “erring with my feet” in verse 10 gives a possible function for the error in the 4th foot of verse 9, and thus we should print τὰ δ’. It might be a coincidence for some, myself included, but for some it is not, that the acrostich composed by the first letters of the hexameters reads ἽΚΑ and ἈΠΤΑ, the first word meaning in Homer something like ‘quickly’, while the other is an adverb ‘slowly’ in Byzantine Greek.

Epigram number 9 in Poliziano’s *liber epigrammatum graecorum* does not contain real errors but shows that he is concerned with different extreme forms of archaic heroic verse.

Epigr. 9: 18. *etatis anno*. προσευχή πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

1 Ὡ πάτερ ἡμέτερε χρυσόθρονε αἰθέρι ναίων	p 6	enoplios
2 Ὡ πάντων βασιλεῦ θεὸς ἄφθιτε αἰθέριε πάν	p2	meiouros?
3 Πάντα ἰδὼν καὶ πάντα κινῶν, καὶ πάντα κατέσχω	7 4 8	tripertitus lagaros?
4 Πρεσβύτερός τε χρόνου πάντων ἀρχὴ τε τέλος τε.	p 68	
5 Παμμακάρων δάπεδον καὶ οὐρανίων σέλας ἄστρον	p 6	lagaros?
6 Σὺ πάτερ ἡελίον τε μέγαν λαμπρὰν τε σελήνην	k7 8	acephalus
7 Πηγὰς καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ γῆν καὶ πόντον ἔτευξας	p 68	
8 Πάντα ζωογονῶν σῶ πάντα πνεύματι πληρῶν.	P2 68	
9 Οὐράνιοι χθόνιοί τε καὶ οἱ ὑπένερθε καμόντες	p	
10 Πάντες ὑποχθόνιοι σὴν ἐκτελεύουσιν ἐφετμήν	p 6	enoplios
11 Νῦν δὴ κικλήσκω σὲ <u>τεῖ</u> κτίσις, ἔνθα χαμευνάς	k24	
12 Ἄθλιος ὠκύμορος θεὸς γήινος ἀνθρωπίσκος	p 10	spondeiazon
13 Ἄλγῶν ὧν ἡμαρτόν σοι <u>καὶ</u> δάκρυα χεύων	7 24 68	

seems to commit a fairly common mistake¹⁶ by interpreting the iota of κινῶν as a short vowel, the word being comic or philosophical rather than Homeric. Every introduction to Homeric meter would mention the *spondeiazon*, and there it is (vv. 12 and 18 – ∪∪ – ∪∪ – ∪∪ – ∪∪ – – – ×), together with a *holodactylus* (v. 14 and 16) and an *enoplius* (v. 1, 10).¹⁷

The prayer moves on in v. 15 not to the οὐσία, but to the desire of the ὄντα, i.e. the world. Neoplatonism has no other explanation for this world than a privation of purity, and accordingly we find here a type of hexameter the ancient metrics usually do not mention, *versus Leoninus*, which is common in imperial and Byzantine texts.¹⁸ It is a certainly wrong consequence of a rhythmic musical reinterpretation of Homeric verse in the 5th century BC into an *hexametros tonos* first mentioned by Herodotos, a verse that would have six even tact-units, the fingers or *daktyloi*. The caesura seems then to be the touch of God’s finger.

The plurality of the creation represented thus by different, even marginal forms of hexameters (almost deviations, but still recognized as hexameters) as a part of the creation is well in tune with the plea for forgiveness in the last verses.

The first and the last verse of the central part (v. 7 and v. 13) have hephthemimeres caesurae. In most of his epigrams Poliziano marks the borders of his units or, as he says in the first epigram, of his houses, by a special caesura, usually the rather Greek form of the trochaic caesura (*kata triton trochaion*, κ).

The next epigram is dedicated to Gioviano Crasso of Monopoli.

Epigr. 10: 18. anno ad Iuuianum Monopoliten.

Τὶ στάχνας Δήμητρι, τὶ κύματα δοῦν ἐθελείς με	k4
Πρωτεῖ ποντοπόρῳ Νυκτελίῳ τε βότρυν	1
Σὺ μόνος ἐκ γλώττης γλυκερὸν μέλι, σὺ μόνος αὐδήν	p4
Ἀμβροσίην στόματος ἐκ λιγυροῖο χέεις	0
Τὴν μὲν καὶ σκόπελοι καὶ οὔρεα μάκρ’ ἐφέπονται	p6
Ὡς πόκα θρηκίης ἄμβροτον ἄσμα λύρης	0

¹⁶ E.g. *Anth. Graec. App. Epigr. exhort.* 101.24.

¹⁷ Steinrück 2007.

¹⁸ A verse without a classical caesura, but with a diaeresis after the third dactyl, theorised not only by Irigoien, but also by Alexander of Aphrodisias, and used by Leon the Philosopher in the 9th century. See Irigoien 2009.

Εἰ δέ μοι ὠκυπέτης ἐριούνιος οὔνομα θῆκεν	p
Ὡς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους θεῖον Ὀμηρον ἄγειν	0
Σὺ δ' ἄρ' ἔχεις μεγάλου Διὸς οὔνομα παμβασιλῆος	p
Ὡστε σ' ἄνακτα πάσῃ ἔμμεναι ἐν σοφίῃ	0
Σὸν γὰρ νεκταρέοιο γάλακτος λαιμὸν ἐπλήρου	k2 8
Ἐννέα δὴ θύγατρες Μνημοσύνης καὶ Διὸς	0
Αὐτόματος δὲ τειν περιπέπταται ἀμφὶ ἔθειραν	p
Κισσὸς τηλεθάων ἄνθεα πολλὰ χέων	1
Ὡ μάκαρ, ἀθανάτοισι βροτῶν ὧ φίλτατε πάντων	k7 8
Χρυσοκόμων θεράπων ὄλβιε Πιερίδων	0
Ὡ χαῖρ' ἱερῆ ¹⁹ κεφαλὴ λιγύφωνος ἀοιδέ	p2
Τῆρει δ' ἡμέτερον αἰὲν ἔρωτα φίλος.	1

Epigr. 10: In the age of 18, to Gioviano Crasso of Monopoli.

*Why do you want me to give grain to Demeter, why waves
to Proteus who goes on the sea, or the bunch of grapes to Dionysos Nyktelios?
You are the only one who pour from your tongue the sweet honey, the only one to pour
from clearly sounding mouth the Ambrosian voice,
Followed by cliffs and big mountains
like they once followed the immortal song of Thracian Lyre-player.*

*When swiftly flying woolly Hermes has given me the name
for bringing divine Homeros to the Romans,
You have the name of the great divine king
in order to remain the ruler in wisdom.*

*They filled your throat with the milk of nectar,
the nine daughters of Mnemosyne and Zeus,
And around your neck from spontaneously
a luxuriant ivy stretches, spreading many flowers
O, the blessed one, the most beloved by the immortals among all mortals
the prosperous servant of golden-haired Pieridesthe;
Be welcome, the holy head, the singer with clearly sounding voice,
and guard always as a friend our love.*

In this epigram there are real mistakes at the prosodic level, such as the short (but occasionally possible) 'α' in πάσῃ and the already known Byzantine use

¹⁹ Pro ἱερῆ [∪∪ -] metri causa.

of καί as a short syllable. But in the lyric papyri sometimes the Doric short ‘α’ occurs and we cannot consider this case as a real mistake, but as Poliziano’s usage.²⁰

The situation is different in epigram number 11 of the Liber.

Epigr. 11: 19. *AEtatis anno. ad Io. Argyropulum. Dorice.*

1 Ὅσσον διψᾶν ἔλαφος κράνα μελανύδρω	p24	
ἄδεται· ὅσσον οἷς θέρεος μέσω, εὐσκίψ ἄλσει	p	
Ὅσσον ἄλω μάρμαξ, ὅσσον κάποισι μέλισσα	p 468	
ὅσσον δένδρεω τέττιγες, ὅσσον δ’ ἀόλολυγών	024 8	
Ὅσσον δ’ ἀλαλία τε χελιδονίς εἴαρι πράτω	k24 8	5
τόσσον νῦν πάντες μουσᾶων εὐφρανθεν ὄπαδοί	p2468	
Χάμμες δ’ ἐν πράτοις ὅτε <u>τεῦ</u> ἀγγέλλετο νόστος	p24 8	
τᾶς ἱερᾶς κεφαλᾶς, σοφίας <u>πρόμος</u> Ἀργυρόπουλε ²¹	p	
Κοῦδ’ οὔτω βορέω χρυσοπτέρυγας πόκα κούρωσ	p 6	
φινέα φαντί ποθεῖν ὥσθ’ ἀρπυίας ἀπελαύνειν	p 68	10
Ὡς τό γε πάντες νῦν σοφίας μαιήτορες ὅσοι	p 4 8	
ἀθανάτω, πελόμεσθ’ ὁμοθυμαδὸν ὧδε ποθεῦμες	p	
Ὡστε νόω βλεφάρων ἀχλὺν <u>ἱλιγγᾶς</u> τ’ ἀποβάλλεν	p 8	
νῦν γὰρ φεῦ σφέτλιοι λοξῆσι πλανώμεθ’ ἀταρποῖς	p2 6	
15 Κοῦχ οἶον τε τυφλῶς εὐρεῖν <u>εὐκαμπέα οἶμαν</u>	p2 68	
ὀρθοπόρω βιότοιο, καὶ ἐξυπαλύξαι <u>βάραθρον</u>	k	
Ἄνδρομέας ἀνοίας ²² πολύφλοισβόν τε κυδοιμόν	p (6)8 poulu cf. Glykas	
εἰ μὴ χεῖρα λαβὼν σύ γε νῦν πάτερ ἄμμιν ὀδαγοῖς	p2	
Πυρσῶς ἀτρεκέων ὑποθημοσυνάων ἄψας	p2 10	
<u>20 ἀλλὰ</u> τί οὐ σπεύδεις ἐνθῶν, τί δ’ ἄρ’ οὐχ ὑπακούεις	p746	
Πάντες κοινᾶ κοινὸν ὅπι κληίζομες <u>αἰέν</u>	k24 8	
ἐνθεῖν <u>οἶα</u> βρέφη ποθ’ ἐὸν κνυζῶντα τιθηνόν	p2 8	
Πάντων δ’ αὐτὸς ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι τάκομαι ὥστις	k2	
πιδακόεσσα λιβᾶς σέλας ἀλίψ ἀνίκα φρύγη	p	

²⁰ See for Poliziano’s use of α, ι, υ as *ancipitia* in Pontani 2002: CXXV.

²¹ E.g. Christodoros, *Anth. Graeca* 2.1.17: Ἄγχι δ’ ἐκείνου ἦεν Ἀριστοτέλης, σοφίης πρόμος. Cf. *ibid. Epigrammata demonstrativa*, 336.3: Οὐχ ὄπλοισ κρατέων σοφίης πρόμος ἔπλετο μάρτυς and *Anthologiae Graecae Appendix, Oracula* 120.23.

²² ∪∪ — for ∪ — —.

25 Ἡμᾶν καὶ λευκῶ λίθακος καὶ ἄσματος ἔσται	p24 8
τῆνο τὸ ἄμαρ ἐμοὶ πάνυ ἄξιον, ὀππόκα κέν τυ	p
Ἄψ' ἀπονοστήσαντα φίλαν ὀράοιμι πρόσοψιν	k 4

Epigr. 11: *In the age of 19, to Johannes Argyropoulos*

*As much a thirsty deer enjoys a dark-deep
Fountain; as much the lamb a shadowy grove in summer;
As much the ant enjoys the garden, as much the bee an orchard;
As much as cicadae enjoy a tree, as well as the nightingale
And the talkative swallow the first days of spring
– That much all the pursuers of Muses were enjoying themselves
And we among the first, when the return of your
Holy head was announced, Argyropoulos, the Knight of wisdom.*

*And it is said, that no-one has ever longed so much, as Phineas longed
For the sons of Boreas with golden wings to drive away the harpies.
That much are we all now seeking the immortal
Wisdom, all together, and so we long
To push away the mist and whirlpools from the eyes,*

Because now, alas, we are erring on suspicious ways

*And, like the blind, we are not able to find the way on the well-bent path
Of rightful life and to escape the abyss
And loud-roaring hubbub of human mindlessness;
Only if you, our father, take us now by hand and lead us,
Having lighted the fires of unerring counsels.*

*But why don't you hurry with coming? Why don't you listen?
We all together, with united voices pray always to you
To come, like the babies whimper, calling their nurse.
I'm now melting away in my hopes for everyone like
A gushing stream, while the sunshine is parching.
Indeed, this day will be for me very much worth of
The white stone and the song, when I'll see
You returning, your beloved face.*

One prosodic mistake occurs in the center of this text written for the venerable teacher Argyropoulos, where we would expect the former pupil to check and double-check every syllable. But once again, the “slip” is to be found in a context that speaks of folly, perhaps a reminiscence of the middle part of Plato’s

Parmenides: the βάραθρον ἀνοίας²³ (if it is not ἀγνοίας), a metaphor echoing the *knight of the knowledge* at the end of the first part (σοφίας πρόμος). What follows is a single short in πολυφλοισβόν τε that would produce a *lagaros*, mistake or very rare form, whereas with πουλυφλοισβόν τε and scanning ἀνοίας as ∪∪– we’d have a regular hexameter. Does Poliziano want the old master to notice the joke and try to coax an answer out of him?

Another metrical error that is not a matter of syllabic quantity is to be found in number 18:

Epigr. 18: Εἰς Κορνήλιον ἰαμβικός

Οὐκ ἐμὰ λέγεις ἔμμεν' ὄσα σοὶ γράφω ἔπη	- ∪ ∪ -	- ∪ ∪ -	∪ - ∪ -
κορνήλι' ἀλλ' ὄμως ἀοιδὸν ἐμὲ καλεῖς	- - ∪ -	∪ - ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ -
Σὺ γοῦν βόας τὲ μὴ φύσει κερασφόρους	∪ - ∪ -	∪ - ∪ -	∪ - ∪ -
λέξεις, ὄμως δὲ βόας καλέ<σ>σεις ²⁴ τοὺς βόας	- - ∪ -	∪ ∪ - ∪ -!	- - ∪ -
Τοῦτο δ' ἔτυχες λέξας ἐπεὶ μέτρον οὐπω γράφεις	- ∪ ∪ ∪ -	- - ∪ - ∪ ∪	- - ∪ -
οὕτω βραδύπους ὄνος ἐλάφους ὄντας ταχέας	- - ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ -	- - ∪ -
Ἀρνεῖται, οὕτως ὁ λαγῶδὸς θρασὺν λύκον.	- - ∪ -	- / ∪ ∪ - -	∪ - ∪ -

Epigr. 18: To Cornelius, in a iambic manner.

*You say that the words which I write to you,
Cornelius, are not mine, but you still call me singer.
Thus you'll also tell that the cows do not have horns by nature,
But you are still going to call the cows cows.
These things you happened to say, although you don't yet write metres,
Like this the slow-footed donkey denies that deer
Is fast, and the hare that wolf is savage.*

Of course, from the perspective of metrics, there is nothing iambic about these verses – neither in the Greek sense of archaic *iambeia* nor in that of classical or hellenistic trimeters – but these verses could be Roman senars, with the exception of the third foot in line 5 where the text speaks about the absence of the **metron**, of rhythmicity (*This you have said, whereas you don't yet write metres*). To be sure, the characterisation as iambic never meant that a text has to be written in trimeters or *iambeia*, iambicity is a matter of discourse, of the audience.²⁵

²³ Cf. Plato, *Parmenides* 130d 7, βυθὸν φλυαρίας.

²⁴ Here both are possible: an omitted σ or reading stress for a long syllable.

²⁵ For this, see Steinrück 2000, Seinrück 2009.

The iambographer invoked here is Catullus. The joke about βόες with or without horns is based on the etymology of the addressee's name, Cornelius, just like the historian to whom Catullus' little book is dedicated.²⁶ The joke on the feet and thus the unmetric Cornelius is of course on the cognomen of Cornelius Nepos, interpreted as the Homeric epithet of the seals, *nepos*, who have no feet,²⁷ understood here as the one who has no meters.

The case of epigram number 23 is similar.

Epigr. 23. Ἐρωτικὸν δωριστὶ

Διττὸς ἔρωσ ἀνιᾶ με· δυοῖν ὑποτάκομαι παίδοι	k
Ἴσον τοι χαροποῖν, Ἴσον ἐπαφροδίτοι	1 ∪-
Δριμύς ὁ μὲν γ' ἰταμὸς θ' ὄδε παρθένω ἴκελος ὄψιν	p
ἄμφω ἔρωτας ὁμῶς εἰσπνέετον μαλακῶς	0
Τῶδε κόμαι ἰοειδέες ἐκ καράνοιο τέτανται	0 ∪∪ - ∪
τῶδ' ἐτέρω ξανθὰ σεῖεται ἄπλοκαμῖς	1
Τὰ πλεῖστ' οὐδὲν ὁμοίω ἀμειλιχίην δὲ θ' ὁμοίω	k2
νικᾶ δ' οὐτ' ἄλλος κάλλει καὶ χάρισιν	2
Ἄμφω δ' οὐχ' οἶον θ' ὑποτλεῖν, Κύπρι· τὸ δ' ἄρα σύμ μοι	p24 ms? ὑποτελεῖν
βούλευσον ποτέραν ταίνδε φέρομι φλόγα.	0

Epigram 23: Love-epigram. In Doric.

Double Eros is hurting me, I'm melting away because of two boys

Equally bright, equally fascinating.

*One is reckless and piercing, and this one has looks like a virgin,
both inspire likewise soft loves.*

*One's long hair is black like violets and falling from his head,
The other is shaking his blond locks.*

*Mostly they are not alike at all, but they are alike in relentlessness,
neither of them wins by beauty or grace.*

*It is not possible, Kypris, to pay both a tribute, so give me
advice, which flames of these two I should bear.*

This epigram attests that Poliziano has read Eunapios of Sardes! The theme of Eros and Anteros, two demons he might have understood correctly as an image of Justice (ἴσον, ἴσον, ὁμῶς) or, in the context of the epigrams, as the opposition of philosophy and rhetorics, starts with statues in 5th-century Athens which

²⁶ *Cui dono lepidum novum libellum?/ Corneli tibi* (Catullus 1).

²⁷ Cf *Od.* 4.404: ἀμφὶ δέ μιν φῶκαι νέποδες.

Pausanias 1.30.1 tells us about.²⁸ Then the theme goes through references to Euripides, Kerkidas of Megalopolis, Philostratos’ *Images*, Themistios 24, but the detail of the hair comes from Eunapios’ chapter on the philosopher Iamblichos (*VPS* 5.2.5–6). Once again the image of justice might be a pretext to speak of other boys all the more as the paratext announces a text in Dorian dialect, which – except for some forms like ὑποτάκομαι and μαλακῶς – is not true: ἴκελος, normally with a short *iota*, is the Ionian form of εἴκελος, which would fit the metre, and we can find this variant in other epigrams too. It therefore is not a mistake.²⁹

But if “Dorian”, like later in E. Bethé’s text *Die dorische Knabenliebe* or in Oscar Wilde’s *The Portrait of Dorian Gray*, already had this connotation,³⁰ Poliziano has found an other ambiguity-cliché. There is of course a quote of the *Cratylus* etymology of eros as ἐς-ρεῖν.³¹

A conjecture ὑποπλεῖν would give an image very well in tune with the tradition of Kerkidas and Euripides who understand the two as love of the calm sea or sex on one hand, and as the tempest, or what the Americans call *caring for*, the Roman *cura* on the other hand.³² But in the first edition we read the unmetric ὑποτελεῖν³³ (in Aldus’ edition there seems to be an abbreviation mark on the ‘τ’, thus ὑποτελεῖν) which once again could reflect Poliziano’s thirst for an “ethical metric”: three shorts do not go under the yoke of one metre, it is impossible to pay the tribute.

Example:

ὑποτλεῖν

²⁸ Cf. Steinrück 2012.

²⁹ There are some other examples of possible mistakes: ι of Aphrodite is mostly long and does not really fit a pentameter, but there is least one possible reading for short ι in Anth. Graec. App. 128.2 (Ερμῆς Ἀφροδίτῃ παρέδρος· ἀλλὰ χαίρετε) and we can perhaps forgive the scanning of Eraphroditos. He also treats alpha as short, although it is different in one of his possible model texts: Anth. Graec. 9.40.12: εὐπλόκαμον τὸ κάρανον, ἔχει δ’ ἰταμόν τὸ πρόσωπον. See Pontani 2002: cxxv for the treatment of a i e u as *ancipites* by Poliziano and other humanists.

³⁰ Bethé 1907. For Poliziano’s homosexuality, see the references in Pontani 2002: 105–106.

³¹ *Cratylus* 420b2.

³² Cf. for instance Virgil *Aeneid* 4.1: *saucia cura*.

³³ Pontani 2002: cvi finds Poliziano’s grammatical error strange and does not exclude the possibility of a typographical error by Aldus.

The next epigram is our last example from the first part of the book.

Epigr. 35: Εἰς Κόθορνον. Αὐτοσχέδιον καὶ τοῦτο·

Ἦν ποτέ τις πολίτης ἀγαθὸς καλαῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις	p	8
Ἵν σὺ κόθορνον ἔφης ἄττικῆ ξεινοφῶν	0	
Οὔτος ἀριστήεσσι καὶ αὐτῷ ἐφήρμοσε δῆμῳ	k	4
Τοῦνεκα κεῖς θάνατον προῦδοθ' ὑπὸ Κριτίου·	0	

Epigram 35: To Kothornos. Improvised as well.

*Once there was a good Citizen in beautiful Athens,
Whom you, Xenophon from Attica, name Kothornos (High-Boot).
He made himself suitable for the aristocrats as well as for demos,
Therefore he was sent to death by Kritias.*

The story is found in Xenophon's *Hellenica* 2.3.30. The joke is in the error: καλός, like here, is with a long α in Homer, but not in the context of Attic dialect. The word πολίτης ('citizen') has a long ι, but it fits the meter with a short ι only. It could, however, have a short ι, if we read it as a name, a short form of Poliziano. Could it hint to the fact that this word not only denotes Theramenes, but Poliziano as well, who is similarly caught between the Medici and the people?

In the second part of the liber there are almost no metric errors, only the last one, number 57 contains a false error.

Epigr. 47: 1493 Εἰς τοὺς κώνωπας·

Τοὺς κώνωπας ἐρᾶν μᾶλλον πρέπει, ἤεπερ ἄνδρας	p2	6
Φύντας τῶν γονίμων ὡς Κύπρις ἐξ ὑδάτων	1	
Καὶ μμησαμένους ἀερσιπότητον Ἔρωτα·	p2	
Εἰρεσίους πτερύγων, τῷ τ' ἔμεν' αἰμοπότας	0	
Τὸν κῶμον τ' ἄδοντας ἐγερσιγύναικα πλανήτην	k24	
Αἰνῶς ὑπναπατῶν ἰεμένους δάρων	1	
Ἐς λέχος ἐμπταίοντας, ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πολλὰκι μαστοῦς	k	4 8
Κάμφαφῶντας ὄλης ἄψαα θηλυτέρης·	0	
Ἀγρῶπνους ἰταμοὺς σκοτοδερκέας, ἄρά τις ἄνδρῶν	p2	
Ἵσσαγε κώνωπας δεῖγματατ' ἔρωτος ἔχει.	1	

Epigr. 47: *To the Gnats.*

*One should love gnats more than men,
 As they have been created, like Kypris, from fertile waters
 And they imitate Eros who is flying in the airs,
 by the oars of wings and by drinking blood,
 By singing the stray revellers-song which arouses women
 and sending marvellously sleep-deceiving songs
 Which fall into their beds, and often on their breasts themselves
 and go around, touching every part of women's bodies,
 They pass sleepless nights, are reckless, they see in darkness. Is there a man
 who can show more signs of Eros than the gnats?*

The source of a mistake in v. 3 is that Poliziano thought that ἀερσιπότητον comes from ἀήρ, air, but actually it has a long syllable.

Our first conclusion is then that not all metrical mistakes rely on a false presumption of correctness, but that there are some mistakes which Poliziano could have corrected, if he had wanted to. These occur in the semantic context of error and can thus be a youthful play with the knowledge of his readers.

This is, however, but one conclusion one can draw from the metrical and accentual analysis of the whole *liber* and I would like to add a remark, which is a result of my observation that there are also accentual false mistakes in Poliziano (not discussed here).

Let us face it: Greek as a discipline was, in the 19th and 20th centuries at least, and it seems likewise in the *quattrocento*, a harbour of gay discourse. Whether gay themselves or not, Welcker, Bethe, Winckelmann, Winkler and many classical scholars I prefer not to mention, could speak more freely of homosexuality within an ancient Greek frame than outside. Even discourse on transgenering could use this code, like the film *Some Like It Hot* linked the 1920s Chicago to the Daphne-Apollo-legend.³⁴ Poliziano has been exhumed together with his lover Pico della Mirandola, both skeletons being replete with arsenic, a poison that in this half-secret Greek code tells where the blow came from: from straight men, the word arsenic being derived from ἄρσην, 'male'. Italian gay sites claim the Latin, but also the Greek poems of Poliziano as their own heritage, and of course, straight sites try to relativise them. Homosexuality does not have to be exclusive: there are epigrams to Alessandra Scala by

³⁴ Think about the moment before getting on the train, when Geraldine suddenly declares: "I'm Daphne!"

Poliziano, which end with a clear invitation to have sex with him and date from the same time when Pico and Poliziano are considered to be an item. When Gianbattista writes to him not to expect an answer in Greek, this cannot mean that he is not able to provide one, even if Poliziano chooses to interpret the warning like that (because Buoninsegni is famous for his Greek poems). It was a way of saying that he was not interested in this “Orphic” double discourse, only in the Humanist side.

Within a discourse whose ability of harbouring a second layer of meanings was expected rather than established, where a reader, always a hellenist, could chose to consider a mistake just a mistake or to give it the benefit of doubt and to read something into it, accentual and metric errors can have this double function. Some of the examples have been presented here.

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Abstract

There are many metrical mistakes in Poliziano's Greek epigrams that seem to be linked to what the text speaks of: "erring with my feet", "since you do not write the metre", etc. It seems that for Poliziano, making those mistakes is a mimetic figure, a joke, a proof of metrical knowledge rather than of ignorance.

IMITATION OF THE *CARMINA MORALIA* OF ST. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS IN THE 16TH-CENTURY GREEK POETRY OF LITHUANIA¹

Tomas Veteikis

Introduction

St. Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 329–390), his name and his ideas, appeared in Lithuania for the first time in the 16th century at the latest (though possibly earlier)² and started spreading through schools, churches, libraries and printing houses. This general statement could be derived from my doctoral thesis, defended almost 10 years ago (Vilnius, June 18, 2004), which discussed the place of Greek language in the educational system of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) and initiated the study of the local production of literature written in the Renaissance-humanist variant of Ancient Greek.³ However, one

¹ The article is based on the paper delivered at the international conference “HUMGRAECA: Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe. Learned Communities between Antiquity and Contemporary Culture”, Tartu 2014, May 8–10.

² This is a matter of some future discussion, but in view of the current state of our knowledge drawn from indirect evidence concerning the worship of this saint in the area of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania inhabited by Orthodox Slavs (below: GDL) and in the adjacent Moscovia, the dating of the reception of St. Gregory Nazianzus in Lithuania could be moved back by at least 200 years. For the discussion of the reception of St. Gregory in Russian-speaking areas see especially the article in the Russian *Orthodox Encyclopedia* (*Православная Энциклопедия*): <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/166811.html>. The same article, when it mentions the important mosaic picture of the saint in Kyiv (in St. Sophia Cathedral), gives a tiny hint at the cult of this saint in Ukraine, part of which in the 16th century belonged to the GDL (not to mention the earlier period of Lithuanian predominance, since the 14th century until the Union of Lublin in 1569) and exerted certain influence on the Ruthenian Orthodox community of Lithuania.

³ See Veteikis 2004. The dissertation is written entirely in Lithuanian, and only a few copies of it are available in Lithuanian libraries. This paper is a part of my project to renew my studies of the subject and begin preparing all the former material together with the new findings for a new publication that would be more easily available.

essential remark must be added at once: the reception of this important Christian theologian in Lithuania alone has not been studied yet (my dissertation did not focus on this topic, either, and thus is of little use for the present discussion); the data concerning this topic still have to be gathered from various sporadic articles related to Greek patristics and various cultural aspects of 16th-century Lithuania. Their number in the Lithuanian language is modest,⁴ while the research material in other languages was neither satisfactorily available while preparing this paper, nor promising in view of the scarcity of bibliographical data connecting the key topics of the article (i.e. Greek patrology and humanism in Lithuania) characteristic of the present paper. This means that this paper can claim originality in the topic chosen for examination, but not the comprehensiveness of the analysis and discussion.

Who then was Gregory of Nazianzus and what makes him important for Lithuania? The answer to the first half of the question is to be found in the brief biography and description of the works of this Christian writer in Appendix 1 of this paper. The significance of this saint to the early history of Central-Eastern Europe depends not so much on the degree of his veneration as on how much the impact of his writings on our education has been investigated. Nowadays, there is actually no popular or special worship of him in Lithuania, but his influence on our culture through various spheres of religious life and education, especially that of the several preceding centuries, about which we have most evidence, is an interesting topic for study that has remained basically untouched up to now. This paper then could be also regarded as a kind of an introduction to such a study.

Education in Lithuania and St. Gregory of Nazianzus

During the 16th century, the system of education in Lithuania was only taking shape, but (thanks to continuous inter-confessional tension) the process was rapid enough, so that at the end of 1570s the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) acquired the first center of higher education, Vilnius Jesuit Academy and University, reorganised (in 1579) from the former college (*Collegium Vilnense Societatis Jesu*, 1570–1578). This Academy contributed considerably to the gradually growing network of Jesuit colleges throughout the whole Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and became an important link stimulating both

⁴ The modest Lithuanian contribution to research on St. Gregory of Nazianzus is represented by these recent papers: Gelumbeckaitė 2006: 245, Gelumbeckaitė 2009: 68, Alekna 2012.

inter-confessional competition and inter-institutional collaboration (e.g., members of other religious and educational organisations, such as the Vilnius diocesan seminary, founded in 1582, or the Papal seminary, founded in 1583, were studying and working there). By the end of the century, the Evangelical and Orthodox part of the population of the Duchy of Lithuania, supported, as was frequently the case, by influential noble families, characterised by confessional diversity and volatility, had established their own schools providing secondary education⁵. The educational competition involved the radical streams of Reformation as well (e.g. antitrinitarians had their schools at Vija/Yvija, Naugardukas, Węgrów and their printing press in Węgrów, later in Łosk),⁶ while the western “front” of Catholic Reform in the last decade of the century was reinforced by the Eastern Rite (Ruthenian) Catholics, called Uniates, and Basilian monks who spread their influence largely in the subsequent century.⁷ Gregory of Nazianzus (his theological, rhetorical, poetical legacy) was not insignificant in the context of these educational processes. His works (though not all at once) had been frequently printed in Europe since the beginning of the century⁸ with Latin translations following almost simultaneously.⁹ Before the foundation of Vilnius University, printed editions and Latin translations of his works were in private book collections of various members of Lithuanian

⁵ For the general outline of the educational processes in Lithuania one can refer to several Lithuanian books, first of all, to the collection of articles covering different periods until the end of the 20th century (see Karčiauskienė, Lukšienė 1983) and to an insightful study by Juozas Jurginis and Ingė Lukšaitė from 1981. Many useful observations in this sphere are made by Marcelinas Ročka (1912–1983) in his numerous articles and in the posthumous collection of his works (Ročka 2002). The slightly more up-to-date rethinking of these problems is provided by Romanas Plečkaitis (2012). A good survey in English is the article by J. A. Račkauskas (1976). Among the most recent studies dealing with the education of Orthodox community of Lithuania I would mention the paper with a sound critical approach to the earlier historiography by Darius Baronas (2012).

⁶ A very good survey of the educational system of the 16th-century Lithuanian Evangelical church and its branches can be found in several chapters of the book by Ingė Lukšaitė (1999).

⁷ The most authoritative institution providing Uniates with education and preparing them for their missionary work was the *Collegium Graecum* in Rome. Although Vilnius Papal aluminate (and Vilnius Jesuit academy) was also designed to accomplish similar tasks, we do not have any substantial evidence that Uniates studied there earlier than the beginning of the 17th century. On this question see Artūras Grickevičius (2008: 128–129). For the survey of the current state of the investigations dealing with various aspects of the Union of Brest and its cultural significance see the paper by Mintautas Čiurinskas (2007).

⁸ VD 16 alone lists 77 different editions of his works (G3019–3095).

⁹ Among the early translators of St. Gregory’s works one can find such important European educators as Raffaello Maffei (Raphael Volaterranus), Willibald Pirckheimer (Bilibaldus Pirckheimer), Peter Schade (Petrus Mosellanus), Johann Heussgen (Joannes Oecolampadius), Philipp Schwartzerd (Philippus Melanchthon), Jacques de Billy de Prunay (Jacobus Billius Prunaeus) etc.

nobility and, possibly, in some church schools and monasteries,¹⁰ too. At least two book collections that contained the works of Gregory of Nazianzus are known to have come after their owners' death to Vilnius Jesuit College and Academy in the 16th century, namely, that of the suffragan of Vilnius, George Albinus (Jurgis Albinijus, ca. 1510–1570)¹¹ and Lithuanian-Polish ruler Sigismund Augustus (1520–1572).¹² No editions of Gregory of Nazianzus were printed in the territory of GDL, but certain traces of increasing attention to this author can be observed in at least two notable publications in the neighbouring Poland, namely *Duo poemata Gregorii Nazianzeni* (Cracoviae 1565), edited by polymath Stanislaus Grzepecki (1524–1570),¹³ and *Sententiae et Regulae vitae, ex Gregorii Nazianzeni scriptis collectae* (Cracoviae 1578) edited by Hungarian philologist Joannes Sambucus (János Zsámboky, 1531–1584) and translated into Latin by Joannes Novacius (Nowacki).¹⁴ Gregory of Nazianzus was not only significant for the study of Greek, but also for the religious purposes, as an important authority on theology and Christian ethics. On the basis of sporadic discussions by Lithuanian and (even though limited) foreign scholars, we can say that this theologian was a rather important source of reference in

¹⁰ The revival of the significance of monastic libraries after the Council of Trent could be illustrated by popular sayings of that time, such as the following: “Monasterium sine libris est sicut civitas sine opibus, castrum sine muro, coquina sine suppellectili, mensa sine cibis, hortus sine herbis, pratum sine floribus, arbor sine foliis” (cf. Vladimirovas 1970: 96, and also Löffler 1922: 7).

¹¹ One book which most probably came to the Vilnius Jesuit college from the book collection of Jurgis Albinijus is now at the Vilnius University Library (catalogue number II 1753): DIVI GREGORII || THEOLOGI, EPISCOPI NAZIANZENI OPERA, || quae quidem extant, omnia, tam soluta quam pedestri oratione || conscripta, partim quidem iam olim, partim uerò || nunc primum etiam è Græco in || Latinum conuersa. || [...] BASILEAE, PER IOAN-||nem Heruagium, Anno M. D. L.

¹² More details concerning these book collections can be found in the following studies by Lithuanian and Polish researchers: Pacevičius 2012: 174–204 (esp. 183–186 about the book collection of George Albinus); Kawecka-Gryczowa 1988 (esp. p. 193 concerning the editions of St. Gregory Nazianzen); Brensztejn 1925; Narbutienė 2001: 138–152.

¹³ *Duo Poemata Gregorii Nazianzeni Theologi, alterum de virtute Hominis, alterum de Vitæ itineribus, et vanitate rerum huius seculi. Scholijs explicata per M. Stanislaum Grepsium, Academiae Cracouiens. Professorem. Cracoviae Lazarus Andreae excudebat. 1565.* Quoted from: Streicher 1910: 71.

¹⁴ For full title, see the online edition: <http://www.dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=8045&from=publication>. The Basel edition of 1567 (Divi Gregorii Nazanzeni [sic!] [...] Graeca quaedam et sancta Carmina: Cum Latina Ioannis Langi Silesij interpretatione [...] [from the Colophon: Basileae, Ex Officina Ioannis Oporini [...] M. D. LXVII. Mense Martio], extant in Vilnius University library (catalogue number: VUB II 3979), is noteworthy, too: the collection of moral verses by Gregory is arranged in such a way that each student could follow both Greek and Latin text and catch the main idea which is inscribed in a short sentence or rule (such as “Principij boni finis bonus”) before each Greek verse (or a couplet of verses).

inter-confessional struggle: his soteriological thoughts, statements of Trinitarian theology and moral admonitions were quoted by Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist authors¹⁵ in their letters, disputations, sermons, and even in early Lithuanian *Postillae*, most notably, in the so-called *Postilla of Wolfenbüttel*, a manuscript collection of sermons written in 1573 in Prussia by an unknown Lithuanian Lutheran priest,¹⁶ and in the first Lithuanian catholic *Postilla* of 1599, edited by the canon of the Samogitian Chapter, Mikalojus Daukša (Nicolaus Dągsza, 1527–1613).¹⁷ For more details concerning these examples, see Appendix 2.

One more observation can be added to these examples, although not confirmed with substantial evidence yet: that Gregory of Nazianzus was quoted in the early printed religious books in Old Slavonic aimed for Orthodox communities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, particularly the *Didactic Gospel* (*Evangelije uchitelnoje*).¹⁸ An indirect argument to support this view can be found in the recent doctoral thesis by Ivan Jakshin (2012) in which the Cappadocian theologian is mentioned as one of the numerous sources of the hand-written *Didactic Gospel*, translated from Greek into Slavonic in the 14th century.¹⁹ Finally, it is worth noting that Gregory of Nazianzus enjoyed universal authority among all Christians who recognised the doctrine of Holy

¹⁵ Among the studies which reveal the influence of St. Gregory of Nazianzus' theological writings on different Christian communities and leading personalities of the 16th century, see especially Meijering 1983 (esp. 59–64); Hall 2014; McGinness 1995: 16–17; Backus 2000: 253–278.

¹⁶ The most recent edition with excellent commentaries of this book is WP 2008.

¹⁷ The newest facsimile edition of a photocopy: Daukša 2000 (ed. Palionis).

¹⁸ 16th-century Lithuania had two notable editions of this work: 1) the edition of 1569 in Zabłudiv/Zabludów, Ivan Fyodorov and Pyotr Mstislavets printing house; 2) edition of 1595 in Vilnius, Luke and Kuzma Mamonichi printing house

¹⁹ Cf. “Нами впервые были обнаружены и другие источники поучений ЕУ – выяснилось, что составитель пользовался при написании этого сборника не только толковыми текстами, но и многими другими сочинениями христианских писателей. Он дословно цитировал не только Беседы Иоанна Златоуста на Евангелия, но и его богословские и учительные речи. Использовались им также сочинения прочих известных theologов: Василия Великого, Григория Богослова и Григория Нисского.” Jakshin 2012: 15. It is worth mentioning that at the beginning of the original *Didactic Gospel* there was a prayer in the form of an alphabetical acrostich (Rus. “Азбучная молитва”, “азбучный акростих”) and that the poetry of St. Gregory of Nazianzus is regarded as the main source of inspiration for such poetry. More information about this Old Slavonic verse is available online at the following address:

<http://www.pravenc.ru/text/82713.html> (Turilov 2008: 332) (“А. м. написана 12-сложным размером, с цезурой после 5-го слога. Образцом для автора в отношении метрики и акростиха послужило поэтическое творчество свт. Григория Богослова.” (here and elsewhere in this paper the underlying is mine – T. V.)

Trinity (Catholic, Orthodox, Evangelical),²⁰ but his veneration in the Slavic-speaking Orthodox environment long predated that of the Western tradition.

St. Gregory of Nazianzus and Vilnius University: A Collection for George Chodkiewicz

Pope Gregory XIII (Ugo Boncompagni, 1502–1585) and the Jesuits paid special attention to Gregory of Nazianzus. Pope Gregory XIII was a patron of the Society of Jesus who not only founded many new colleges throughout Europe (and his bull of October 29, 1579 confirmed the establishment of Vilnius Jesuit Academy), but also was the initiator of another remarkable event: at his behest, in June 11, 1580 the relics of Gregory of Nazianzus were relocated from the church of Santa Maria della Concezione in Campo Marzio to the new burial chapel of pope Gregory XIII, the Cappella Gregoriana in St. Peter's Basilica (built 1572–1579).²¹ The same pope ordered Cesare Baronio to write a Latin biography of St. Gregory of Nazianzus.²² These facts made the Cappadocian bishop more and more noticeable to the leading Christian intellectuals of that time. Moreover, his writings were highly esteemed by leading Jesuit educators and theologians and were included in their teaching system, as excerpts from the collection of rules for college teachers, *Ratio studiorum*,²³ witness (see example 3.3 in Appendix 3). It should be noted that the canon of the recommended authors in the Jesuit colleges was settled only after the third edition (Rome 1599). Before that each college had its own peculiarities. This is evidenced by the different course schedules of Vilnius College that

²⁰ Cf. the information about the commemoration of this saint below, in the appendix of this paper, under the heading "Dates of commemoration". St. Gregory of Nazianzus stands as an important figure even in the 21st century in the dialogue between the Western and Eastern Church. On November 27, 2004, during a prayer service in St. Peter's Basilica, Pope John Paul II consigned part of the relics of St. Gregory of Nazianzus and St. John Chrysostom (the two fourth-century doctors of the Church) to Ecumenical Orthodox Patriarch Bartholomew I of Constantinople. The Pope declared this act "a blessed occasion to purify our wounded memory and to strengthen our progress toward reconciliation" (http://www.fsspx.org/en/a_translation-of-the-relics-of-st-john-chrysostom-and-saint-gregory-nazianzen-to-constantinople); cf. also Lithuanian comment on this event in Buika 2005.

²¹ This event was perpetuated in a couple of Italian literary descriptions by Giovanni Bernardino Rastelli (Perugia 1580) and Fortunio Lelio (Venice 1585). Cf. Schraven 2014: 153, n. 98.

²² Cf. Guazzelli 2012: 57, n. 11.

²³ The first edition appeared in Rome in 1586, the second in 1591, and the third, which became exemplary to all Jesuit provinces, in 1599.

survive from the academic years 1570/71 and 1583/84.²⁴ Neither of these had St. Gregory Nazianzus in their programmes (but he is present in several later course descriptions from the 17th century).²⁵ Actually, it was the edition of *Ratio studiorum* of 1591 that introduced the Fathers of the Eastern Church as an important part of Jesuit curricula.²⁶ About the same time St. Gregory of Nazianzus received notable attention from Antonio Possevino (1533–1611) in his influential *Bibliotheca selecta*, first published in 1593, and was frequently referred to by Robert Bellarmine (Roberto Bellarmino, 1542–1621) in his *Disputationes de controversiis Christianae fidei* (first edition in 1581–1593) (see examples No. 3.1. and 3.2.). It is also interesting to note that both Possevino and Bellarmino substantially contributed to the debate on the authenticity of the tragedy or tragic cento (compilation of various verses from Euripidean dramas) *Christos Paschōn*, popular in their age, and usually assigned to Gregory of Nazianzus.²⁷ Keeping all this in mind, it is perhaps not a mere coincidence that around that time we find the works of St. Gregory of Nazianzus read in Vilnius Jesuit academy and his phrases imitated in students' occasional literature.

When writing my doctoral thesis, I had noticed that some commemorative texts by the students of Vilnius University echo the phrases and maxims used by the Greek Fathers of the Church. This feature is especially distinctive in the collection *Parentalia in obitum Illustris et Magnifici Domini D. Georgii Chodkiewiczii Generalis Capitanei Samogitiae etc. etc.* (Vilnae 1595, see illustration on

²⁴ About these schedules of classes, see Piechnik 1984: 206 – 215. Useful comments on the first schedule and the whole first public catalogue of Vilnius College are presented in Beall 2009: 2–18.

²⁵ For more details, consult Piechnik 1983: 269–280.

²⁶ The preliminary drafts of *Ratio studiorum*, issued in 1586 and 1591 respectively, after having been distributed to all Jesuit provinces and having undergone revisions, introduced changes to the organisation of studies of Vilnius college and academy. This, however, could be seen not directly from the specific schedules of classes (which, unfortunately, have not survived to our times), but indirectly and, for the most part, from the printed editions of the collections of literary congratulations and consolations composed for different occasions; examples of Greek poetry in those collections show the richness of the canon of Greek authors with which students were acquainted during their school exercises (the lexical and phraseological analysis of those poems reveals that Homer and Greek Fathers of the Church – i. e. the authors who were not prescribed in the former plans of Vilnius Jesuit college/academy for the years 1570 and 1583 – were not unknown for the academic composers of poetry of the last decade of the 16th century). According to L. Piechnik, the list of canonical authors like Isocrates, Demosthenes, Xenophon, Homer, Pindar, Euripides, Sophocles was introduced to the Jesuit college curriculum not until the project of *Ratio studiorum* issued in 1591 (Piechnik 1984: 86).

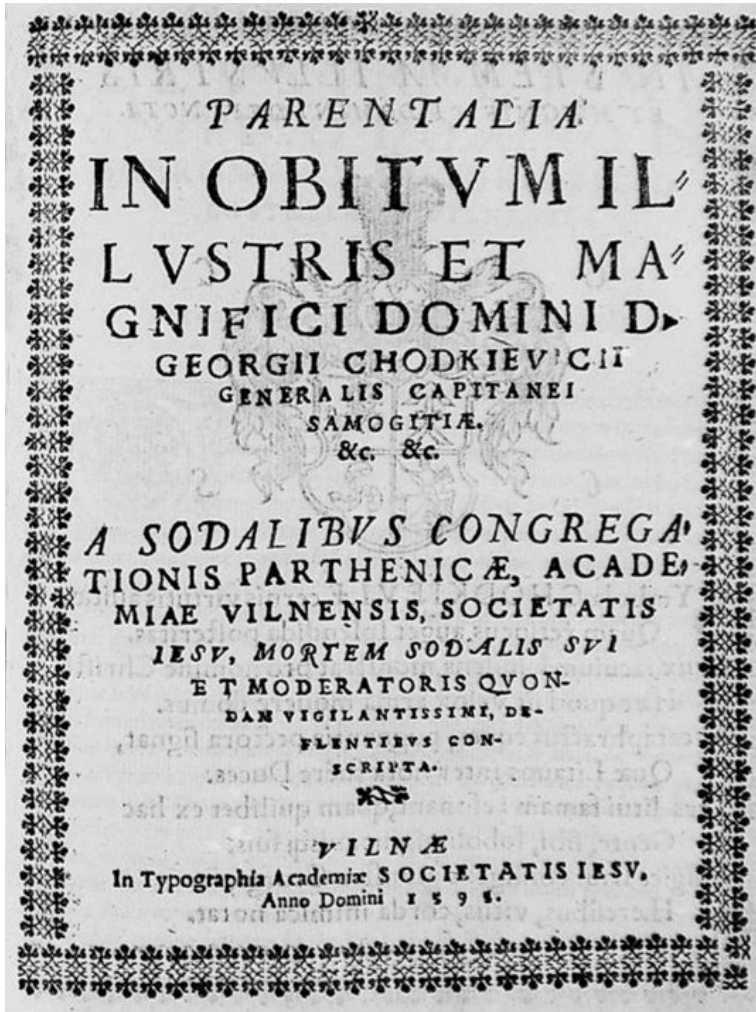
²⁷ See Appendix 3.2. and the note to it. The question of authenticity remains open to this day, but the accurate study of the manuscripts by André Tuilier (1969: 75–116) provides the basis for the currently predominant sceptical opinion.

p. 344) devoted to the commemoration of the death of George Chodkiewicz (Jurgis Chodkevičius, 1570–1595), the Elder of Samogitia (since 1590) and the Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Tribunal (i.e. Marshal), who died young (one year after his wedding).²⁸ The collection features polyglot and multi-ethnic authors: poems are written in three languages – the majority in Latin, a few in Greek and Polish; the students are not only Lithuanian, Polish, or Ruthenian, but also from other parts of Europe, e.g. from Sweden, England, Germany, or Moscovia. This fact implies that Vilnius University (or Vilnius Jesuit Academy, as it was frequently called since 1579) was an attractive place for students of different confessions (usually various Catholic convertites and neophytes). Although by the end of the century all foreigners were normally the members of Vilnius Papal Seminary, founded in 1583 (officially opened in 1585), they attended academic courses at Vilnius University,²⁹ and it was precisely due to the educators and, more generally, the pious and inspiring environment of the Catholic Vilnius University that the study and imitation of Greco-Roman Classics and Christian literature gained considerable popularity in GDL.

In other words, no matter what the actual position of the authors was (novices or members of the Jesuit order, lay residents of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, or foreign convertites, members of the Papal Seminary), all of them were closely related to Vilnius University and could be with great degree of safety called its students. They had diverse national origins, not always clearly identifiable.

²⁸ The basic facts of his life: George Chodkiewicz (Jurgis Chodkevičius, *Юрвій Хадкевіч, Jerzy Chodkiewicz*, 1570–1595), son of the Trakai castellan George Chodkiewicz (one of the three sons of Alexander Chodkiewicz, owners of patrimonial estates in three different areas) and Sofija Slucka-Olelkaitė (Zofia Olelkowicz Slucka 1536–1571). He was of Ruthenian origin and belonged to the Supraslian branch of the Chodkiewicz family (their main residence was in Supraśl; modern Supraśl is in Podlaskie Voivodeship of Poland). He was count and courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania. From March 31, 1588 he held the office of Grand Carver of Lithuania (LDK raikytojas, krajczy), from February 12, 1590 that of the Elder of Samogitia, and from 1594 that of the Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Tribunal (i.e. Marshal). It seems that he was educated by his parents as Orthodox, but later (probably during his studies in Vilnius Jesuit Academy) he became a Catholic. In 1594 he married Sofija Radvilaitė (Zofia Radziwiłł (Dorohostajska), ?– 1614). Their wedding feast was celebrated by the members of Vilnius Jesuit Academy. Unfortunately, their life together was short and their only child (Mikalojus Chodkevičius, Mikołaj Chodkiewicz) died in his infancy. George Chodkiewicz died on October 26, 1595 in Berastavica (*Вялікая Бераставіца, Brzostowica Wielka*). He was buried in the church of the Orthodox monastery of Supraśl (*Ławra Supraska* or Monaster Zwiastowania Przenajświętszej Bogurodzicy i św. Jana Teologa w Supraślu). Cf. Józef Jasnowski (1937, 369)

²⁹ For this information and for many more details concerning the Papal Seminary (also called as Papal Aluminate), see Grickevičius 2008, esp. 109–113 (on the geographical origin of the alumni) and 123 ff.



Title page of *Parentalia in obitum Illustris et Magnifici Domini D. Georgii Chodkiewiczii Generalis Capitanei Samogitiae etc. etc.* [...] (Vilnae 1595). A digital copy made from the microfilm of Vilnius University library (Mf.156).

The same can be said about the authors of the above-mentioned collection of funeral poetry who wrote poems in Greek: since we have almost no historical or biographical data on these persons, it is very difficult at present to say if anyone of them was from Lithuania proper. What relates the book to Lithuania is references to the city of Vilnius and its Academy, general Latin name of Lithuanians (“Lithavi”) and their western group Samogitians (Lith. “žemaičiai”, Lat. “Samogitarum gens”), famous noble families from Lithuania – the Chodkiewiczzes (Lith. Chodkevičiai) and the Radziwills (Lith. Radvilos). One of

them – George Chodkiewicz – is honoured on his death (he died in October 1595), the others are mentioned as mourners of his death, as recipients of the consolatory verses (the collection is dedicated to Hieronymus Chodkiewicz, Castellan of Vilnius, the brother of the deceased) and as guardians of Lithuania deserving God's grace. Lithuanian realities are barely discernible in Greek epigrams of this collection.

Echoes of St. Gregory in Separate Poems

Who imitates Gregory of Nazianzus in the collection under discussion and how? At least six Greek poems from the total of nine contain clearly discernible signs of imitating Gregory of Nazianzus. The number is not, however, exact, because there might be some instances of latent imitation among the rest, too (on which there will be a short comment below). Each of these poems are introduced with their authors' names rendered in Latin and short titles (or, in several cases, exhortatory maxims instead of the titles) in Greek: Φυγή καὶ Ἔρωσ by Ioannes Florentius; Τυφλὸς ὀρῶν by Hieronymus Grabowski; Πᾶσα γῆ τάφος by Valentinus Skrobaczewski; Ἐπωνυμικόν by Simon Wloscius (or Wloski); Γρηγορεῖτε ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε τὴν ἡμέραν (cf. Mt 25, 13, 1) by Nicolaus Zaleski; Μελέτησον τὰ ἔσχατά σου by Adam Zerdenski.

Most of the authors are historically insignificant persons, but all of them probably (as could be inferred from the title page of the collection) shared the membership of the *Sodalitas Parthenica Academiae Vilnensis* (active since 1586), a special group of devotees belonging to a network of the Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin Mary (*Congregatio Mariana, congregationes seu sodalitates B. Mariae Virginis*) which was first founded in 1563 by the Belgian Jesuit father Jean Leunis (1532–1584) and ratified in 1584 by Pope Gregory XIII in his Bull “Omnipotentis Dei” (December 5, 1584). First congregations in Lithuania and its vicinity appeared not long after the establishment of the first colleges in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 1570s. Members of *Sodalitates Mariana* were usually the multinational students of Jesuit colleges who shared certain rules of pious Christian life.³⁰

Only one of these poems reveals a slightly more personal relation to the deceased addressee, the Ἐπωνυμικόν by Simon Wloscius, since it plays with different meanings of his name, but in general all these short poems are rather

³⁰ All this information could be gathered from various sporadic articles in religious encyclopedias (e.g. *Catholic Encyclopedia*) and online histories of Lithuanian and Polish religious brotherhoods (cf. one of them: http://www.ogrodowa.pl/sodalicia_marianska/historia_sodalicji_marianskiej_w_polsce/).

neutral (not to say simply frigid), and a religious, philosophical, ethico-didactic tone is much stronger in them based on popular topics of *epicedia* (such as *laudatio-comploratio-consolatio*)³¹, decorated with a variety of rhetorical means, such as antithesis, rhetorical questions, similes, or various sorts of iterations. I shall review these poems in the order in which they appear in the collection, for the texts, see Appendix 4 and 5.

The poem Ἐπώνυμικόν by **Simon Wloscius** of Strzelna (see Appendix 4a) makes an etymological link between the name of George Chodkiewicz and the Greek word, meaning “farmer”, and promises to the deceased a reputable position of the farmer of the heavenly land or true homeland, ζώντων γαῖα – “the land of the living”, which is called so in an allusion to Psalm 141(142), 6 (which refers to the homeland³² of Hebrews during their Babylonian captivity); in addition, the poem predicts the meeting of the deceased with St. George (his holy patron by name). Therefore, his name is said to become twice and even thrice glorious.

The poem has two parallel pentametric lines, in which even the five last words echo each other without changes: ἐκεῖ τ’ ἔμπρεπον [= ἐμπρέπον] οὔνομ’ ἐχεῖς [= ἔχεις] (“and you (will) have famous name there”). It is the last three words – ἐμπρέπον οὔνομ’ ἔχεις – that allow us to assume that the poet here followed the particular couplet from Gregory’s *Carmina moralia* (PG 37, I, 2, 915, 1–2) on the impermanence of the body and the longevity of good reputation: Gregory’s couplet ends also in similar three words – δεξιὸν οὔνομ’ ἔχειν, with the difference that they constitute the predicate to the phrase ἔξοδιη τιμῆ (“the ultimate honor”) and mean generalisation (or maxim) that the ultimate honour is to have a good name; meanwhile Simon Wloscius applied this phrase to the particular case – to create a hyperbolic exaltation of George Chodkiewicz.

The poem by **Hieronimus Grabowski** (Appendix 4b), as its oxymoronic name suggests (Τυφλὸς ὁρῶν – “blind, though seeing”), is based on the paradox of blindness and seeing. The young poet playfully juxtaposes the imaginary appearance and behaviour of personified death, Thanatos, borrowed from Classical antiquity: death is like the Grim Reaper (a personified folk-tale figure), without eyes; however, it has accuracy or precision – a trait of character especially associated with sight. Death (in a rhetorical address to it) is defined as all-finding, reaching everyone, whether it is a king or a shepherd, rich or

³¹ Cf. Zabłocki 1965: 15–16; Jurgelėnaitė 1998: 24–25.

³² Cf. the commentary on Psalm 141 by John Chrysostom: Ἐν γῆ ζώντων. Πῆν ζώντων ἐνταῦθα τὴν οἰκίαν πατρίδα καλεῖ. (PG 55, 445, 3–4).

poor. On the other hand, the poem still retains the motive of death's spontaneity: if it does not see, it carries away with it each one who happens on its way, without neither counting nor selection, that is, without accuracy.

The imitation of Gregory here is for the most part indirect, probably a phrase from one line of his poem (PG 37, I, 2, 912, 5 [Γνώμαι δίστιχοι, 19]³³) was borrowed to form the title of the new creation. However, the couplet of the Cappadocian theologian is not about death personified, but about an ordinary man who is blind, though seeing, even if he does not see the destructiveness of his own evil; meanwhile, it is the task of the deeply seeing eyes to look for traces of the beast or evil personified (Ἰχθία μαστεύειν θηρός, ἄκρων φαέων).³⁴

In his five elegiac couplets **Nicolaus Zaleski** (Appendix 4c) develops the motives of *memento mori*, volatility of human life and unpredictability of fate. After making a general address to a man (not specified by name), the poet (lyric hero) provides advice to be vigilant, live for today, not to place hope in tomorrow, and in the middle (i. e. the third) couplet he gives the motivation for such behaviour, using a popular paraphrase of the proverb attributed (*inter alios*) to Aristotle or Dionysius Thrax³⁵: Πόλλ' ἄκρων πίπτει χειλῶν κύλικός τε μεταξύ. | Ὡρα τε πολλὰ μόνη ἀέκοντι φέρει (by the way, the poet could have been aware of its shortened Greek and Latin version³⁶ through Erasmus *Adagia* I.5.1. (401th proverb)).

After repeating in the fourth couplet the idea, found among Seneca's works, about the unexpectedness of death (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 4, 2–4), Zaleski ends the poem (v. 9–10) with the paraphrase of Gregory of Nazianzus' iambic couplet containing the metaphor of life as a constantly turning wheel (cf. PG 37, I, 2, 787, [19], 1–2). The number of words and morphemes of the original poem used for this paraphrase is impressive (8 from the total of 11), but the more

³³ Each poem of Gregory of Nazianzus in Caillau-Migne edition (1862), i. e. in PG 37, has a separate title, but it lacks the continuous numbering of lines; this is why I use the square brackets when referring to these two important attributes of each poetical work.

³⁴ Cf. the comment by Cyrus Nicetas (de Dadybra), translated into Latin by Iacobus Billius Prunaeus (Jacques de Billy Prunay) and cited in *D. Gregorii Nazianzeni [...] Opuscula quaedam [...] magna ex parte Cyri Dadybrensis Episcopi commentariis illustrata [...] Parisiis, M. D. LXXV [=1575], p. 205*: “Qui loca tritae ferae) Ad verb. Vestigia ferae indagare acutissimum est oculorum. i. diaboli cogitationes peruestigare, atq[ue] intellectualibus oculis, hoc est, compressum vitij cursum, initium esse progressus ad virtutem”.

³⁵ Cf. Aristoteles, *Fragmenta varia*, 8, 44, fr. 571. *Schol. in Apollon. Rh.* 1, 188 p. 315, 16 (Keil), Zenob. *Prov.* (coll. Milleri 2, 96: Mél. p. 368). Cf. Dionysius Thrax, *Fragmenta*, fr. 36 a–c: a. Σ *Hom.* χ 9, Zen. V 71, cf. *Et. M.* 365, 22: πολλὰ μεταξύ κύλικος.

³⁶ “Multa cadunt inter calicem supremaque labra”. Cf. its English equivalent: “There's many a slip twixt the cup and the lip”.

so is the gracefulness of their transposition and semantical extension of the metaphor of ever-changing life.

The poem by a Swedish youth, **Ioannes Florentius** (known also as Ioannes Florentii Stockholmiensis), student of the Papal seminaries both in Braunsberg (Braniewo) and Vilnius, and the future long-time teacher at Vilnius University (1605–1630)³⁷ (Appendix 4d), contrasts mundane and putrescent world (κόσμος οὐλόμενος) with heavenly life (ζωὴ οὐρανία), explains that the disastrous and ruinous world is loved or blamed by many, but only few take care to break away from it. Through rhetorical questions the poem articulates the idea that when life on earth becomes severe, no passion ever binds human soul, so everyone should keep in mind the name of death without fearing it as something harmful. The poem closes with the exhortation to spread sails towards the divine life. It is here that Joannes Florentius relies on the metaphor used by Gregory of Nazianzus and expresses it in very similar words.

Valentinus Skrobaczewski in his quatrain (Appendix 4e) paraphrases the metaphysical ideas of the impermanence of the human body and the eternal circle of life, rising out of the earth and returning to the earth – a popular topos of Christian liturgy and ancient *epicedia*. The second couplet sounds like an exhortation from a series of *memento mori* topoi (“μνῶεο Μοίρας”). In this short poem the phrases of the poems of Gregory are quite easily discernible, but they are adapted to different contexts.

For example, the second half of the first pentameter αὐτίκα δυσσομένη (“which will soon sink/plunge in”) has only one single match in the entire corpus of TLG – the end of line 2 (also pentameter) of the 31st poem, having the general title Γνώμαι δίστιχοι, from the collection of the moral poems of Gregory of Nazianzus, i.e., *PG* 37, I, 2, 910, 13 (for more details see Appendix 4e). But Gregory creates a metaphor of a man as a ship crossing the sea of life and reminds the readers that a ship that is too heavy will sink quickly (in other words, he advises a man to be naked – or not encumbered by material things – while plowing the sea of life), while Skrobaczewski draws the image of the (mother) Earth which will soon submerge (αὐτίκα δυσσομένη) all bodies into herself. The subsequent lines of Gregory’s poem (*PG* 37, I, 2, 911, 1–2 [Γνώμαι δίστιχοι, 3–4]) also have notable similarities with the poem of Skrobaczewski and pose little doubt as to its use as a model (for more details see Appendix 4e).

Adam Zerdenski in his quatrain (Appendix 4f) again speaks about vigilance, carefulness, and the anticipation of what will be in the end. The second distich basically restates the essence of numerous maxims expressing the

³⁷ For more details about this “Swedish Papal scholar” see Garstein 1992: 250 and 320.

different effects of good and bad beginning (cf. Latin maxim, “bonum initium est dimidium facti”). It is the final pentameter that most clearly indicates the imitation of the first line of St. Gregory of Nazianzus’ *Gnomic Distichs*, written in iambic trimeters. Cf. Zerdenski, v. 4: “Τῆς δὲ καλῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τέλος ἐστὶ καλόν” and PG 37, I, 2, 916, 1–2: “Ἀρχῆς καλῆς κάλλιστον εἶναι καὶ τέλος, | Ὅρθῶς δοκοῦσιν οἱ ὄροι τῶν πραγμάτων.”

The degree of lexical and syntactical similarity seems high enough for the corroboration of this argument, although the influence of other sources of similar maxims cannot be excluded either.³⁸

We cannot categorically state that the remaining three Greek poems of the discussed collection do not contain imitations of the saint from Nazianzus. In them, as in the poems briefly discussed here, there are common motifs characteristic to funeral poetry of the Classical (Greco-Roman) and Judeo-Christian tradition (e.g. *Psalms*), clouding the possibility of a direct influence from the Cappadocian poet.

For example, the poem by **Albertus Krzekotowski** titled Ἀρετὴ μόνη τῶν κτημάτων ἀθάνατον at first glance recalls the statement by Isocrates from his popular discourse *Ad Demonicum* (19), full of admonitory maxims, but the content and style resembles the juxtaposition of earthly and divine goods, even plain listing of nouns denoting transient values which is quite often characteristic of the poetry of St. Gregory of Nazianzus (see Appendix 5).

Sources for the Poems of St. Gregory of Nazianzus

The possible sources from where the poems of St. Gregory of Nazianzus were drawn include, first of all the printed editions of the theologian’s poetry, starting from the Aldine publication of 1504 (*Gregorii Nazanzenii Carmina, cum versione latina*).³⁹ Next comes the earliest edition which aspired to completeness (i. e.

³⁸ Cf. Joannes Chrysostomus, *In epistulam ad Ephesios* (homiliae 1–24), Vol. 62, pg. 149: “Ὅταν γὰρ πράγμα τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν λάβῃ καλὴν καὶ ἰσχυρὰν καὶ κοσμίαν, ὁδῶ πάντα καὶ νόμῳ προβαίνει λοιπὸν μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς εὐκολίας”. One of the titles of the verse-by-verse commentaries (*Catena*) to the New Testament includes a similar-sounding expression: “Περὶ τοῦ καλῆν ἀρχὴν εἰς καλὸν τέλος προαγαγεῖν.” (*Catena in epistulam ad Hebraeos* (e cod. Paris. Coislin. 204)). Other examples related to the non-Christian context, include a fragment with an opposite meaning attributed to Euripides (“κακῆς <ἀπ> ἀρχῆς γίνεταί τέλος κακόν”, Euripides, fr.32,1; Joannes Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, 3.4.11.2) and a scholiast’s comment to Pindar’s 1st *Pythian ode* (“ἔοικὸς γὰρ καὶ πρέπον ἐστὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀγαθῆς ἀρξάμενον, τοῦτον καὶ τέλους εὐδόξου τεύξεσθαι”, *Scholia In Pindarum*, Ode P 1.34, scholion 67, s.v. “ἔοικότα γάρ”).

³⁹ The short titles in this section of my paper (when not indicated otherwise in the footnotes) are from Hoffmann 1833: 311–321.

containing ἅπαντα εὕρισκόμενα) from 1550 (edited and published in Basel by Johann Herwagen, 1497–1559), perhaps the largest source of the printed Greek texts of Gregory the Theologian for the whole century.⁴⁰ Only one copy of the latter edition remains in Lithuania, preserved in Kaunas County Public Library (KCPL)⁴¹ with a proveniential inscription showing that its first storage location was the Kretinga Bernardine Monastery, founded by the noble family of Chodkevičiai (Chodkiewicz),⁴² but this does not mean that by the end of the 16th century no copy existed at Vilnius University (or in the hands of its academic staff, esp. students of Chodkevičiai family). This only means that neither of the above-mentioned editions can be excluded from our hypothetical list of the potential sources used by Lithuanian students.⁴³

However, the hypothetical list does not end here since there were quite a number of editions of separate or selected poetical works of this saint. According to Samuel F. W. Hoffmann's bibliography and VD 16, the collection of Gregory's moral poetry was published separately⁴⁴ for the first time in about the year 1550, and soon the more popular Basilean and Antwerpian collections of maxims appeared.⁴⁵ The popularity of this type of poetry, as

⁴⁰ Only the beginning of the 17th century saw the more complete compilation of Greek works of this saint that included Latin translations (in 2 vols.) compiled by Jacques de Billy de Prunay, *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni, cognomento theologi, opera. Nunc primum Graecè et Latinè coniunctim edita* [...] Lutetiae Parisiorum [Paris]: Typis Regiis, apud Claudium Morellum, 1609–1611 (cf. Hoffmann 1833: 311).

⁴¹ Catalogue number: RS R 47729.

⁴² On this proveniential inscription (namely: “*Georgius Czieklinski curavit et pro loco Cretin-gensi deputavit Oretur pro eo*”) and its relation to Chodkevičiai see Lūžys 2009: 37–38

⁴³ One should also keep in mind that the Latin edition of Gregory of Nazianzus' *Opera omnia* like that mentioned above (see note 11) or the edition by Hans Lewenkaw (Johannes Leun-clavius, 1541–1594) (Basel 1571) (cf. VD 16 G3023) could not be listed as the first rate sources in this discussion since they do not contain the Greek text.

⁴⁴ An example of a compound bilingual edition where the maxims (γνώμαι) of Gregory of Nazianzus are included (perhaps for the first time) in a larger printed collection containing moral instructions from different authors: ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ || ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΡΙΘΑΥΜΗΡΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ || ΤΩΝ ΟΚΤΩ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΜΕ=||ΡΩΝ, ΚΑΙ ΣΧΗΜΑΤΙΣ=||ΜΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΧΡΟΝΩΝ.|| Γρηγορίου, τοῦ θεολόγου γνώμαι μονόστιχοι κατὰ || ἀλφαβήτου, ἰαμβικόν.|| Χρυσῶ ἔπη τοῦ Πυθαγόρου. Εἰσαγωγικός. || COMPENDIVM GEORGII RIT=||haymer in octo partes orationis, et tem=||porum formationes.|| Gregorii Theologi sententiae, per ordinem || literarum, singulae singulis Iambicis clausae. || Carmina aurea Pythagorae.|| ... ||(Viennae Pannoniae per Ioannē Singreniū, Vigesima-||quinta Aprilis, Anno ... ses=||quimillesimo uigesimo quarto.)) [Wien : Singriener, Johann d.Ä., 1524] (VD 16 G 3087; VD16 R 2517).

⁴⁵ E.g. *Gregorii Naz. Sententiarum spiritualium libelli III. Graece et latine*. Basil. 1561; *Gregorii Nazianz. Graeca quaedam et sancta carmina, cum interpretatione Latina Io. Langi, Silesii, et eiusdem Silesii poemata aliquot Christiana*. Basil. per I. Oporinum 1561; or *Sententiae et regulae vitae, ex Gregorii Nazianzeni scriptis collectae, Graece; ejusdem iambi aliquot, Graece, nunc primum editi studio Ioannis Sambuci*. Antuerpiae, Christoph. Plantinus 1568.

already mentioned earlier in this paper, is also witnessed by the two Cracovian editions.⁴⁶

The discussed poems raise many questions that have to be answered in the future. I will add only one more short comment concerning the question, why it is particularly *Carmina moralia* of Gregory of Nazianzus that were imitated in the Greek epigrams of the Vilnius academy publication of 1595. Presumably the reason is partly because they were regarded as important models for educating pious and prudent young Christians of different confessional backgrounds and because they were chosen for poetical exercises by the teacher of rhetoric and/or poetics of that year.⁴⁷ Another reason could be the general emphasis on the reassessment of poetry and its religious function in the contemporary theories of Jesuit education:⁴⁸ the years 1593 and 1594 saw the first publications of two separate new treatises on the subject – *Tractatio de Poesi et Pictura ethnica, humana et fabulosa collata cum vera, honesta et sacra* (Lyon 1593) by Antonio Possevino, an important work of the Post-Tridentine church programme (part of his famous *Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum*, which “is as if a bibliographical informant and assistant while dealing with the ancient world”)⁴⁹ and *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres* (Ingolstadt 1594) by Jacob Spanmüller (Iacobus Pontanus, 1542–1626).

The former recommended the imitation of Christian authors, with St. Gregory of Nazianzus having no shortage of attention; the latter taught in detail the principles of composing different kinds of poetry which were easily adaptable to student exercises and writing occasional verses. On the other hand, the increased attention to St. Gregory could have been encouraged by some political and religious motives. As we can infer from the factual information presented by the discussed edition of funeral poetry, the authority of the Cappadocian saint was recognised in a confessionally diverse environment

⁴⁶ See notes 13 and 14 and the discussion above.

⁴⁷ Cf. the instructions of *Ratio studiorum*, addressed to the professors of rhetoric and poetics (see Appendix 3, section 3.3). The imitation of this theologian in advanced classes (by students and professors of philosophy and theology) is not an impossible phenomenon, too (e.g. in the form of cooperation with their younger colleagues, the members of *Sodalitas Parthenica*), but the current lack of evidence prevents me from making any far-reaching assertions in this direction.

⁴⁸ The double or triple benefit and purpose of the moral poetry of St. Gregory of Nazianzus is well defined in the title of one rare edition (VD 16 G3084): “Seorsim edita in vsum Graecae linguae & since-||rae pietatis studiosorum. Quin enim huius summi theologi scripta omnia theologis ipsis cognoscenda sint, || dubium esse nemini potest.”

⁴⁹ Nedzinskaitė 2012: 155.

to which the Chodkevičiai (Chodkiewicz) belonged,⁵⁰ while, as we know from historical sources, Lithuania experienced the full swing of the debate on Church Union at that time.⁵¹ In this context, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, appreciable by both Orthodox and Catholic Christians, might have served as a proper symbolic authority to be used for references when dealing with the members of the confessionally diverse society of GLD.

Conclusion

Everything that has been said so far about the imitation of the moral poetry of St. Gregory of Nazianzus in Lithuania is not much more than an outline for further research. The reception of this great Byzantine theologian and poet in Lithuania awaits more thorough inspection after a critical reassessment of the data gathered. And yet, after reviewing the references and facts of imitation cited above, I became much more confident (than I was a decade earlier) in saying that during the second half of the 16th century the literary legacy of St. Gregory of Nazianzus had really attracted the interest of the intellectuals, politicians, representatives of educational and religious services of our country; his verses, commemorating the Christian ethical principles (which parallel Greco-Roman tradition), were attractive material for study, creative imitation and publication.

Bibliography

(not including the works quoted in the Appendices)

I. Abbreviations

CE = *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Online: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/>.

DP (1599/2006) = Daukša, Mikalojus (1599) *Postilė*. Online edition (2006) by V. Adamonytė, M. Lučinskienė *et al.*: <http://www.lki.lt/seniejirastai/db.php?source=2>.

⁵⁰ Their family was originally associated with the Orthodox community, but George Chodkiewicz, the addressee of the poems discussed, was a Catholic convert.

⁵¹ Representatives of the Orthodox metropolitanate of Kiev (and Lithuania) in 1595 held talks in Rome with Pope Clement VIII on the union and signed the Act on 23 December; the latter was announced in 1596 in Brest, although in practice it from the start caused the Orthodox Church of the GDL to split into two opposite camps, Uniates, and Disuniates. For the concise description of these events see *inter alia* Kloczowski 2000: 116–118.

- OE(R) = *Orthodox Encyclopedia (Russian)* = *Православная Энциклопедия*. Online: <http://www.pravenc.ru>.
- PG = *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. Jacques Paul Migne. 161 vols. 1857–1866.
- TLG = *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae® Digital Library*. Ed. Maria C. Pantelia. University of California, Irvine. Online: <http://www.tlg.uci.edu> (accessed January–February, 2015).
- VD 16 = Bezzel, Irmgard (red.). *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (herausgegeben von der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München in Verbindung mit der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel), I Ableitung, Bd. 1–22. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1983–1995.
- WP (1573) = *Wolfenbütteler Postille von 1573* = *Postilla Lithuanica* (Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 11.2 Aug. 2°; Heinemann-Nr. 2123). Online: <http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=mss/11-2-aug-2f&pointer=489>.
- WP (2008) = Gelumbeckaitė, Jolanta (ed.) (2008). *Die litauische Wolfenbütteler Postille von 1573*. Bd. 1: *Faksimile, kritische Edition und textkritischer Apparat*; Bd. 2: *Einleitung, Kommentar und Register*. (*Wolfenbütteler Forschungen*; 118.1–2.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag in Kommission.

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- WP (1573) = *Wolfenbütteler Postille von 1573* = *Postilla Lithuanica* (Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 11.2 Aug. 2°; Heinemann-Nr. 2123). Online: <http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=mss/11-2-aug-2f&pointer=489>

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Appendix 1. Life and works of
Saint GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS (ca. 329–390)

Modern accounts of the life of this saint include Jean Bernardi (1995),⁵² John McGuckin (2001)⁵³ and Guthrie (PhD 2005)⁵⁴ and numerous articles in online encyclopedias (e.g. *Catholic Encyclopedia* (= CE)⁵⁵ or *Russian Orthodox Encyclopedia*⁵⁶).

Birth and early life. Gregory was born ca. 329 in estate of Arianzus near Karballa (or Καλβαρή)⁵⁷ village (modern Güzelyurt in the Aksaray province, near the Ihlara Valley) in Cappadocia and spent most of his life in the small town of Nazianzus, save for about 20 years when he was acquiring his education (ca. 341–359?) and his brief stay in Constantinople (379–381). His father, Gregory of Nazianzus the Elder (ca. 275–374), was the bishop of Nazianzus, “a convert to Christianity at the age of 50 years probably on his marriage”.⁵⁸ He previously belonged to the sect “Hypsistarii” or “Hypsianistai”, worshippers of the “Υψιστος (the “Most High” God), spread in Asia Minor and around the coasts of the Black Sea.⁵⁹ Gregory’s mother, Nonna, came from a Christian family which lived in “nearby Iconium, a city whose Christianization goes right back to Paul himself.”⁶⁰ Gregory had an older sister, Gorgonia (who later married a man from her mother’s native city, Iconium) and a younger brother, Caesarius, who studied medicine in Alexandria and Constantinople and became a court doctor in 361.

In his formative period Gregory was taught by his paedagogos, Karterios (or Carterius) who subsequently oversaw his education in the nearby city of Caesarea (orig. Mazaka), capital of Cappadocia. Here he for the first time met Basil (ca. 329–379), one of his best friends in later life. From Cappadocian Caesarea Gregory travelled to the great Christian cities in the East: to Cilician city of Tarsus, then to Antioch (near the modern Antakya, Turkey), to Palestinian Caesaria (the place where

⁵² *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze: le théologien et son temps. Initiations aux Pères de l’Église.* Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1995.

⁵³ *Saint Gregory of Nazianzus. An Intellectual Biography.* New York: S. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2001.

⁵⁴ Sarah Julia Guthrie, *The Text of the Gospels in the Works of Gregory of Nazianzus.* (Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of PhD), The University of Leeds, Department of Theology and Religious Studies, September 2005. The link to this dissertation (pdf): http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/1090/1/uk_bl_ethos_422004.pdf

⁵⁵ <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07010b.htm>

⁵⁶ <http://www.ppravenc.ru/text/166811.html>

⁵⁷ The original Greek name of this village is unknown. Cf. W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 285.

⁵⁸ Guthrie, *op. cit.*, p. 5–6

⁵⁹ “Perhaps originally a Jewish proselyte group, they kept the Sabbath and certain food laws, but did not practise circumcision” (Guthrie, *op. cit.*, p. 6).

⁶⁰ Guthrie, *op. cit.*, p. 7

Origen, Pamphilus, and Eusebius worked), Jerusalem, after which he shortly visited Alexandria and afterwards set sails to Athens where he spent at least 8 years. Athens enjoyed the reputation of being the intellectual centre where literature and philosophy flourished. Gregory met his friend Basil there, and they studied rhetoric together with the would-be emperor, Julian, “afterwards known as the Apostate, whose real character Gregory asserts that he had even then discerned and thoroughly distrusted him.” (CE). Their teachers were pagan sophist Himerius of Bithynian Prusa (ca. 315–386) and Christian Prohaeresius, perhaps of a Cappadocian origin. After completing his studies, Gregory stayed for several years in Athens and taught rhetoric there.

Pastoral, theological and rhetorical activity. When he was about thirty (ca. 359) Gregory returned from Athens to his birthplace (his friend Basil having already done the same in 356). The two friends planned to found a monastic community, where they might study, write and contemplate. Basil (under influence of the Armenian ascetic Eustathius of Sebaste) retired to Pontus (Neocaesaria) to lead the life of a hermit and founded a new community there at Annesi/Annesoi.⁶¹ Gregory, being strongly attracted to this way of life, visited his friend there a number of times. During his sojourn Gregory edited (together with Basil) some of the exegetical works of Origen, and also helped his friend in the compilation of his famous rules (*Asketika* or *Regulae*). In late 361 or at the beginning of 362 Gregory was ordained a priest (presbyter) of Nazianzus by his father, but he resented his father’s will and temporarily fled to his friend in Annesoi. Basil, however, persuaded Gregory to return home and assist his father. After some weeks’ reflection, again in Nazianzus (spring of 362), Gregory started his duties as a priest and preached his first sermon on Easter Sunday, and afterwards wrote an apologetic oration, in fact, a treatise on the priestly office, which inspired countless subsequent writings on the same subject (including Chrysostom’s *Περὶ ἱερωσύνης* and Gregory the Great’s *Regula Pastoralis*).

The rest of Gregory’s life was characterized by tensions between his ecclesiastical duties and longing for solitude. Using his diplomatic talent and rhetorical tools, he helped to heal and bring back to orthodoxy the Christian community of Nazianzus which was split into sects due to theological controversies and his father’s mistake of approving of heretical creeds. In 362 he also wrote two long orations against Emperor Julian the Apostate, who had issued (on June 17, 362) the edict banning Christians from teaching in public schools and using classical authors (e.g. Homer) for their

⁶¹ “The village of Annesoi has traditionally been located just to the west of the confluence of the rivers Iris and Lycus in Pontus, by the modern village of Sounisa [otherwise “modern Sonusa or Uluköy”]. The monastic estate has been placed on the opposite bank of the Iris at the foot of the Mt Heris Dag. Cf. G. de Jeraphion [...]. Recently George Huxley has argued in the *Analecta Bollandiana* that it was at the pre-historic site of Annisa, just outside Kayseri/Caesarea itself, making the “retirement” of Basil perhaps far less of the withdrawal from the local Church scene than has hitherto been imagined” (John Anthony McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus...*, p. 88, n.16)

education. During this time Gregory wrote letters to Basil, sympathising with him for abandoning his solitary life and becoming a priest at Caesarea (assistant of bishop Eusebius), to Basil's brother Gregory of Nyssa and to his own brother Caesarius trying to persuade them not to be too interested in the charms of rhetoric and secular life.

During the next few years (368–370) his brother Caesarius and his sister Gorgonia died, and Gregory preached two of his most eloquent orations at their funerals (*Or.* 7; *Or.* 8). About 370 Basil was made the bishop of Caesarea and the Metropolitan of Cappadocia, but soon afterwards Emperor Valens, supporter of Arians, divided Cappadocia into two provinces. Basil continued to claim ecclesiastical jurisdiction over whole Cappadocia, but now he met the resistance of Anthimus, bishop of Tyana (the capital of New Cappadocia), who claimed autonomous jurisdiction for his province. To strengthen his own position, Basil founded a few new sees, one of them at Sasima, and soon (372) consecrated Gregory as its first bishop, though greatly against the latter's will. "Gregory, however, was set against Sasima from the first; he thought himself utterly unsuited to the place, and the place to him" (*CE*); as a result, he soon abandoned his diocese without having exercised any episcopal functions there and returned to Nazianzus as a coadjutor to his father. "This episode in Gregory's life was unhappily the cause of an estrangement between Basil and himself which was never altogether removed" (*CE*). Before the death of Gregory's father (374), Anthimus visited them both at Nazianzus in order to win them over, but they remained loyal to Basil, bishop of Caesarea.

When Gregory's parents died (both in 374), he gave away most of his inheritance to the poor, keeping for himself only a small plot of land at Arianzus. "He continued to administer the diocese for about two years, refusing, however, to become the bishop, and continually urging the appointment of a successor to his father" (*CE*). At the end of 375 he withdrew to the monastery of Saint Thecla at Seleucia in Isauria, living there in solitude for about 4 years. When Basil died in January 1, 379, Gregory's own state of health prevented him from attending the funeral, but he wrote a letter of condolence to Basil's brother, Gregory of Nyssa, and composed twelve epigrams commemorating the departed friend.

Around this time, after the death of Emperor Valens (August 9, 378), Gregory was invited by the Orthodox Christians of Constantinople to become their leader and to strengthen their position there. He accepted their invitation and came to Constantinople in 379. Since, however, at his arrival all churches were in the hands of the Arians, Gregory was forced to use his relative's private dwelling as a church (Gregory surnamed it "Anastasia" ("Resurrection"). In Constantinople Gregory faced both verbal accusations concerning his sermons, and acts of violence, but this only made his character stronger.

During the first year of preaching he gained respect and reputation in the city, and his five *Theological orations* (delivered in the course of year 380), proclaiming the orthodox Trinitarian doctrine, earned him the title of honour, *Theologos* in the subsequent Greek tradition. Moreover, in the same year he gained recognition and support from Emperor Theodosius.

During his sojourn in Constantinople Gregory experienced 3 major critical moments later described in his autobiographical poem (*De vita sua*): 1) episode of Maximus the Cynic; 2) his recognition by Theodosius; 3) the Council of Constantinople. Maximus the Cynic, the erstwhile pagan philosopher, now a convert to Christianity, came from Alexandria to Constantinople, claiming to be Orthodox according to the Nicene Creed. Gregory liked him and even shared his home and food with him, and positively described him in one of the speeches (*Or.* 25). But Maximus was secretly preparing an intrigue, realised in the summer of 380, when a group of bishops from Egypt secretly tried to consecrate Maximus as the new bishop of Constantinople and to remove Gregory from this post. However, the local Christian community disclosed this intrigue and made Maximus flee from Constantinople.

Later he was still trying to get recognition of the emperor, but to no avail. Meanwhile, emperor Theodosius, when in Constantinople in November of 380, showed special respect to Gregory, accompanying him in a solemn procession to the Church of the Holy Apostles (Ἅγιοι Ἀπόστολοι), thus actually recognising him as the archbishop of Constantinople. However, the matter of the new archbishop was left to the First Council of Constantinople (or Second Ecumenical Council), held in May of 381. It condemned Maximus the Cynic (made his consecration invalid), and initially appointed Gregory as the archbishop of Constantinople (thus he led the Synod for a while). However, on the arrival of the bishop of Alexandria, Timothy, Gregory's right to the bishopric was challenged again, and the latter, wishing not to cause discord and probably silently opposing the prevailing opinion concerning some theological questions, voluntarily retired (with his position being soon occupied by Nectarius).

The last years of life, death and posthumous fate of the relics. After returning from Constantinople to Nazianzus, Gregory found the dioecese without a bishop and was again asked by his fellow clergymen to take on the duties. Despite health problems, he supervised the church of Nazianzus until the end of 383 when he was finally granted a successor (Eulalius) and retired to his family land at Arianzus. He spent his last years in quite ascetic conditions there, devoted to contemplation and literary work.

Gregory died in 389 or 390 (according to the Orthodox tradition, January 25, 389). He bequeathed the majority of his family riches to the church of Nazianzus for the care of the poor. He was buried in Arianzus, but in 950 Emperor Constantinus VI Porphyrogenitus (912–959) transferred his relics from Arianzus to Constantinople and placed them in the churches of Holy Apostles and St. Anastasia. During the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), parts of his relics were brought to Rome by the crusaders. After a 800-year break (on November 27, 2004), large portions of those relics, along with those of John Chrysostom were officially returned to Istanbul (Constantinople) by Pope John Paul II and placed in the Patriarchal Cathedral of St. George in the Fanar district.

Dates of commemoration. Catholic (since 1969) and Anglican Churches commemorate St. Gregory of Nazianzus on January 2 (together with St. Basil the Great). From

the beginning of the 16th century to 1969 Catholics had celebrated his feast on May 9. The Orthodox Church commemorates Gregory the Theologian twice, i.e. on January 25 (Julian calendar) / February 7 (Gregorian calendar), the day of his death, and on January 30 / February 12, the day of the Three Holy Hierarchs – St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. John Chrysostom. The Lutheran Church commemorates Gregory of Nazianzus on June 14 (together with the other contemporary Cappadocian theologians, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa and Macrina).

Works and text transmission. The writings of Gregory Nazianzen fall into three categories: poems (between 18.000 and 19.000 verses),⁶² letters (249), and sermons (called orations, no fewer than 45). Much, though by no means all, of what he wrote has been preserved, and has been frequently published, the *editio princeps* of the poems being the Aldine (1504), while the first edition of his *opera omnia* appeared in Paris in 1609–11; the Bodleian catalogue contains more than thirty folio pages enumerating various editions of Gregory's works, of which the best and most complete are the Benedictine edition (two folio volumes, 1778–1840), and the edition of Migne (PG XXXV–XXXVIII, Paris 1857–1862) (*CE*). The 16th century alone saw at least 77 different editions of Gregory's various works (cf. *VD* 16, Bd. 8, 1987, entries No. G3019–3095).

This information should be supplemented with references to the recent editions of Gregory's orations (e.g. in the series "Sources chrétiennes: textes grecs", published since 1978) and poetry (e.g. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Poemata arcana*, ed. Claudio Moreschini, transl. Donald A. Sykes, Oxford: OUP, 1997) and the first results of the modern research project, supervised by the Centre for the Study of Gregory of Nazianzus (C.E.G.N.) at the Oriental Institute of the Catholic University of Louvain, the members of which have already issued important data concerning the textual tradition of Gregory's works (such as 6 vols. of *Repertorium Nazianzenum* by Justin Mossay and *Histoire des collections complètes des Discours de Grégoire de Nazianze* (Louvain, 1997) by Véronique Somers).

There is disagreement among scholars with respect to the time when Gregory wrote his poetry. Some authors believe that he wrote poetry only in the last five years of his life, others that he wrote it in general at the end of his life; and according to J. Planche, that proves the force of his genius. Theodor Damian believes that if Gregory was a genius in poetry, he did not have to wait until the end of his life to write his beautiful poems but wrote them throughout, referring to A. Benoit's opinion that Gregory

⁶² According to *CE*, Jerome and Suidas wrote that Gregory produced 30.000 verses. As for today's corpus: Louis Montaut mentions 17.000 verses, Francesco Corsaro 17.500, Vasile Ionescu and Nicolae Stefanescu 18.000 (in 507 poems), while Jean Bernardi raises the number to 20.000 (in 185 poems plus epitaphs), see Theodor Damian, "The Poetry of Gregory of Nazianzus in the Christian Poetical Context of the Fourth Century" (<http://theodordamian.wordpress.com/english-pages/%E2%80%9Ethe-poetry-of-gregory-of-nazianzus-in-the-christian-poetical-context-of-the-fourth-century%E2%80%9C/>)

started to write poetry since his young age, otherwise one could not explain the vast amount of literary works he produced.⁶³

Immediately after the death of Gregory of Nazianzus, his works began to be translated into various languages of ancient Christian Orient: first into Coptic, Syriac and Armenian, then into Arabic, Georgian, Slavonic and Ethiopian (into some of these languages even several times). An ancient Latin version, made while the author was still alive, must be added to the list. Each of these translations was quickly and widely distributed, and exerted within corresponding areas a similar influence as the Greek text among the Byzantines.⁶⁴

The *Carmina moralia*. *Carmina moralia* is a conventional name of the particular section of Gregory's poetry which in general deals primarily with the moral aspect of Christian doctrine. This set of about 6000 verses of 40 poems composed in different meters acquired its name from the second volume of the edition of Gregory's works by Armand Benjamin Caillau (1840) (reprinted in the third volume of Gregory's works as cols. 521–968 in vol. 37 of *Patrologia Graeca*, Paris 1862). This collection is alternatively referred to as section 2 of book 1 [= 1.2] of Gregory's poems of the same edition. It is "an anthology of ethical poems and maxims, including several gnomologia and an alphabetic acrostic of gnomonic verses."⁶⁵ This collection of poetry and its influence on later Christian literature remains relatively unexplored,⁶⁶ but it is usually treated as an integral part of the whole poetical "corpus Nazianzenum," a part of Gregory's "poetic project".

Brian A. Daley, SJ in his discussion of Gregory's *Poemata arcana*⁶⁷ envisages that Gregory of Nazianzus might have had a plan to create a systematic summary of Christian theology in verse, attempting to consolidate all basic aspects of the Orthodox Christian doctrine known to his time into one work. His *Poemata Arcana*, in the general idea of manual or compendium, resembles the *Catechetical Discourse* (ca. 383)

⁶³ Theodor Damian, "The Poetry of Gregory of Nazianzus in the Christian Poetical Context of the Fourth Century" (<http://theodordamian.wordpress.com/english-pages/%E2%80%9Ethe-poetry-of-gregory-of-nazianzus-in-the-christian-poetical-context-of-the-fourth-century%E2%80%9C/>)

⁶⁴ <http://nazianzos.fltr.ucl.ac.be/002PresentE.htm>

⁶⁵ Walter T. Wilson, *The Mysteries of Righteousness. The Literary Composition and Genre of the Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr 1994 (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum; 40) p. 24.

⁶⁶ First of all, it lacks a comprehensive critical edition. There is only one alternative (not seen by me, unfortunately) to Caillau's edition comprising all of the collection of *Carmina moralia*: Gregorio Nazianzeno, *Poesie*, 2 vols., eds. Claudio Moreschini (vol. 1), Carmelo Crimi (vol. 2), Roma: Città Nuova, 1994–1999. Secondary literature on *Carmina moralia* is rare and was mostly unavailable to me while I was preparing this paper.

⁶⁷ "Systematic Theology in Homeric Dress: *Poemata arcana*", in: *Re-reading Gregory of Nazianzus. Essays on History, Theology, and Culture*, ed. Christopher A. Beeley, Washington: The CUA Press, 2012, pp. 3–12.

by Gregory of Nyssa and other “synthetic prose summaries,”⁶⁸ such as the compendia of Platonic doctrine – *Didaskalikos* (2nd century) by certain Alcinous (possibly Albinus) or *Peri theōn kai kosmou* (4th century) by Flavius Sallustius. However, according to the selection and arrangement of topics, Gregory’s work follows closely the arrangement of the materials in Origen’s *Peri archōn* (*De principiis*, ca. 212–215) and its “rule of piety.”⁶⁹ In view of stylistic features, *Poemata arcana* could be included into the old tradition of imitation of Homeric, Hesiodic, Callimachean epics and iambic verses of classical Attic dramatic dialogues. The manner of presenting thoughts and instruction closely imitates the style of numerous didactic poems (Theognis being among the chief models)⁷⁰ which dealt *inter alia* with “technical, scientific, and even theological subjects.”⁷¹

According to B. A. Daley, various ancient Greek hymns (including more narrative-centered Homeric, and more refined Callimachean as well as mystic Orphic hymns) could be categorised as theological poems. In close association with the classical epico-didactic tradition several 4–6th-century Christian Biblical paraphrases (*Evangeliorum libri* by Juvencus who was of a Spanish origin, *Metabolē kata Iōannou* by Nonnus of Panopolis, *De Actibus Apostolorum* by Arator of Liguria), and Latin non-biblical poem *Psalmus contra Partem Donati* by Augustine (394) fit in this context as well. “Greek Christian didactic poetry began [...] probably in the 360s, with the work of the grammarian Apollinarius of Laodicea” [the elder]. He “is said to have written an epic in twenty-four books on the “antiquities of the Hebrews” from the beginning of Genesis to the time of Saul, as well as other Biblical paraphrases in dramatic and comic meters.”⁷²

The main motive for Gregory’s writing in verse was his desire to provide Greek Christians (perhaps both young and intellectually advanced ones) with Orthodox literature “conforming to classical Greek forms and standards”. His wish to constrain his own prolixity, to prove to the “sophists” of his age the ability of Christians to create their own literature, and to console himself in difficult moments of life are also the reasons provided in his autobiographical poems. Gregory’s poetry includes works of varying length, metre and content: long and dramatic autobiographical narratives, “treatises on the virtues or the ascetic life; [...] “occasional verse” – soliloquies, prayers, epigrams, verse letters, epitaphs – many of them in the more complicated meters and dialects of Greek lyric poetry.”⁷³

Eight poems, overviewing the core of Christian doctrine, the so-called *Poemata arcana*, were among the most celebrated in this corpus. His poems have several dominant topics which frequently occur throughout all his writings: “his central focus on

⁶⁸ Daley, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁶⁹ Daley, *op. cit.*, p. 8–12.

⁷⁰ Cf. Demoen, 1993: 239; Simelidis 2009: 119.

⁷¹ Daley, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁷² Daley, *op. cit.*, p. 5

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

the Trinity, conceived in precise terms of shared being and distinctive relationships, not to be conceived as any material generation, but imagined most accurately as self-communicating light; his emphasis on the Word as the agent of both creation and the economy of redemption, and on the paradoxical human presence of the Word among us, as the stunning culmination of that history; his stress on our own need to be purified and led by God's Spirit, if we are to have any understanding of God and God's works [...]; his allusions to the present human condition as a laborious yet hopeful pilgrimage [...]; his hint of a promise of divinization, as the work of the Holy Spirit [...]⁷⁴. These topics are intermingled with various precepts of the more general nature, having parallel examples in Classical literature and oral tradition (popular maxims, proverbs, aphorisms etc.).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11–12.

Appendix 2. Excerpts from the late-16th-century works of Lithuanian authors quoting Gregory of Nazianzus as an important authority (examples of Lutheran, Calvinist, and Catholic authors)

2.1. Excerpt from the first Lithuanian manuscript collection of sermons, usually referred as *The Sermon Book of Wolfenbüttel* (1573), aimed for Lutheran communities:

O kaip gieras ir fufsi= || milltus ira Panas &c **Gregorius Nazian=** || **cienus** Monodiai⁷⁵ rascha, kaipaieg kad gim= || ditaiei Bafilij magni del perfekdineijma || [30] a nepalaubima nog Paganifzka Cefara Die= || wa fžadzia del girai flapefsi te iemus netu= || rint iau neka walgiti Du Elinu ifch giras || sawa waliu ataiia iump ir pafsidawe iemus || ing rankas idant iu mefu per ta walanda || pennetu[n]si⁷⁶. (WP 1573 [fol. 243r₂₆₋₃₅])

The source of the translation is not, however, the Greek text, but the Latin one, as identified by Prof. Jolanta Gelumbeckaitė in her edition (WP 2008) (the highlighting of the name is mine – T. V.)

2.2. Excerpt from the epistle of the Calvinist Andreas Volanus (ca. 1530–1610) to the bishop of Kyiv, Nicolaus Pac (Pacius, ca. 1570–1624), written on April 1, 1565 and published in the book (by the same Nicolaus Pac) *Orthodoxa fidei confessio de una eademque Dei Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti divinitate, ac tribus personis [...]* Regiomonti Borussiae (In officina Iohannis Daubmanni), 1566⁷⁷:

⁷⁵ “Monody” here means a kind of funeral oration, basically a lamentation. This directs us to the 43rd oration of the Nazianzenian corpus where in §§5–7 we can find the story of the persecution of St. Basil’s parents and their rescue from starvation by the “ὄψων αὐτόματων, ἀπραγμάτευτος πανδαισία, ἔλαφοι τῶν λόφων ποθὲν ὑπερφανέντες ἄθρόως”. This “Monody” by St. Gregory had several editions in the 16th century, cf. VD 16 G3065–3070.

⁷⁶ Transcription into contemporary Lithuanian: “O koks geras ir susimilstantis (= gailėstingas) yra Ponas (= Viešpats) ir tt. Grigalius Nazianzietis *Monodijoje* rašo, kaip kad (= kaip) Bazilijaus Didžiojo (Lat. Basilii Magni) gimdytojai dėl nepalaujamo pagonių cezario (= imperatoriaus) persekiojimo dėl Dievo žodžio girioje slėpėsi; ten jiems neturint jau nieko valgyti, du elniai iš girios savo valia atėjo pas juos ir pasidavė jiems į rankas, idant jų mėsa (per) tą valandą (= laiką) penėtūsi (= maitintūsi)” [Translation into English: “And as to how good and merciful is the Lord, and so on, Gregory Nazianzen in *Monody* writes that parents of Basil the Great, because of the incessant persecution by the pagan emperor for [their love and observance of] the Word of God, were hiding in the woods; thereat when they no longer had anything to eat, two deer from the forest came voluntarily to them and gave themselves into their hands, so that they could eat their meat at that hour (= time)”]. Electronical version of the facsimile of this page: <http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=mss/11-2-aug-2f&pointer=489> On the term “Monody” see the previous footnote.

⁷⁷ The text presented here is taken from the modern edition of A. Volanus’ works (see Volanus 1996: 322).

“Neque enim alium ego in pectore christiano unquam reputo fuisse sensum, nisi ita semper aeternum adoratum et invocatum esse patrem, ut pia mens nunquam segregaret a patre filium et spiritum sanctum, ac in uno eorum quoque semper tres coleret et adoraret. Quocirca **placet mihi imprimis pia illa et elegans Nazianzeni sententia**: Non possum (inquit) unum cogitare, quin trium fulgore circumfundar: non possum tria dividere, quin subito ad unum referar.”⁷⁸

2.3. Excerpt from the epistle of the Calvinist Mikalojus Radvila Juodasis (Nicolaus Radziwiłł the Black, 1515–1565), voivode of Vilnius, Grand Chancellor and Grand Hetman of Lithuania, written on July 14, 1561 to Jean Calvin (1509–1564) concerning the “Orthodoxy” and “Catholicity” (i.e. faithfulness to the true doctrine of the Reformed Church) of Giovanni Giorgio Blandrata, whom Calvin heavily distrusted and blamed for forstereing anti-Trinitarian ideas:

“[...] publice siquidem fassus est D. Blandrata, se tantum modo cum Praestantia tua disputasse, nihilque unquam asserti habuisse [...] satisque illi esse credere (in hoc recondito mysterio) in unum Deum patrem, in unum Dominum Iesum Christum filium et in unum sanctum spiritum, qui tres dei non sunt sed eiusdem naturae, aeternitatis et aequalitatis. Hanc vero puritatem doctrinae non fastu, non invidia aut malitia sequi velle asseverat, sed iudicium orthodoxorum amplecti, **Nazianzeni praesertim in libro de moderandis disputationibus**: quam doctrinam admittendam esse, tanquam sanam et catholicam, ecclesiae nostrae censuerunt.”⁷⁹

2.4. Excerpt from the first Lithuanian printed Catholic *Postilla* (1599) by Mikalojus Daukša,⁸⁰ translated from the Polish version of J. Wujek’s *Postilla*, with reference to the story from the oration of Gregory of Nazianzus (cf. *Contra Julianum I*, 55–56 (PG 35, 577–580) the story is too long to be quoted here):

⁷⁸ Cf. Calvin, *Institutio Christianae religionis* (1559), I, 13, 17. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 40, 41 (PG 36, 417, 28–30): Οὐ φθάνω τὸ ἐν νοῆσαι, καὶ τοῖς τρισὶ περιλάμπομαι· οὐ φθάνω τὰ τρία διελεῖν, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐν ἀναφέρομαι.

⁷⁹ The source of the text quoted is the recent monograph on the early stage of Reformation in Lithuania: Pociūtė-Abukevičienė 2008: 468, n. 144.

⁸⁰ The text used for the present quotation is taken from the newest edition, based on photocopies of the original. See Daukša / ed. Palionis 2000: 956 (the original page number of the edition of *Postilla* of the year 1599 is 455; cf. the next footnote).

“Tafai žėklas ir nūdús ir wélinus atatrėmia tolin’, ir l mókflą iūdújų kunįgų gadina, ką ir Julionas Apoštáta prakeiktafsis priš l tire, nórint’ iau vžlįginęs Chriřtaus kad izgąftiįę tų žėklu pažėklinos.”⁸¹ (This text has a short printed note in the margin: “Gregorius l Nazia[n]zenus l Lib. 8. cap: l 20.”⁸²)

[Translation: “This sign pushes away both poisons and devils, and damages the teaching of black priests, and that is what Julian the Apostate, the cursed one, experienced, when in the moment of fear he signed himself with this sign, although he had already denied Christ”]

⁸¹ The transcription of the original text is made with the substantial help by my colleague Mindaugas Strockis (the head of the Centre of Digital Philology at Vilnius University). Transcription into contemporary Lithuanian: “Tas ženklas ir nuodus, ir velnius atitremia [= atstumia] tolyn, ir mokslą juodųjų kunigų [= burtininkų] gadina, ką ir Julijonas Apostata [= Atsimetėlis] prakeiktasis prityrė [= patyrė], nors jau išsigynęs [= atsisakęs] Kristaus, kai išgąstyje [= išsigandęs] tuo ženklų pasiženklino.” A slightly different transcription is found online (*DP* 1599/2006: 455, 47–49): <http://www.lki.lt/seniejirastai/db.php?source=2&page=16>

⁸² The reference to the book and the chapter is not clear. It is difficult to find any eight-volume edition of the works of St. Gregory of Nazianzus printed in the 16th century. The only possibility seeming plausible at the present moment is that the reference is related to the special ten-volume edition of the selected works printed in the early 16th century: *Libelli X Divi Gregorii Nazianzeni* [...] ed. a J. A. Mulingo (Argentina [= Strasbourg]: J. Knobloch, 1508; cf. VD G3045, G3046).

Appendix 3. Examples of some late-16th-century authoritative publications
by the members of the Jesuit order quoting or commending
Gregory Nazianzen's writings

3.1. Antonio Possevino (1533–1611) in *Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum*, 1593, cap. XXV, p. 108 (quoting Latin translation of Gregory's poem as an example of poetry full of pure Christian piety):

“Turpissimae autem illae sordes, quas inspersere suis poematibus, quem non dimouerunt e statu tandem ac firmamento veritatis? Introducere denique Protheum ad Christi Natiuitatem; et vitam praedicendam (quod fecit Sannazarus) ecquid dignitatis afferre potuit? Sapienter igitur **Gregorius Nazianzenus**, cuius (sicuti et Latinorum) non desunt **honestissima et iucundissima carmina**: Organum, inquit, Dei sum; ac bene modulatis carminibus, Dei, quem omnia contremiscunt, laudes cano. Cano, inquam, non Troiam, non Argonautas, non aprinum caput, non celebrem Herculem; non, quomodo aptissima compage terra cum mari cohaereat; non gemmarum splendorem, non caelestium orbium cursum, non furiosos amores; non eximiam iuuenum, lyram prioribus digitis molliter pulsantium, formam: verum Deu[m] illum magnum, Trinitatisq[ue] lumen cano, magnosq[ue] Angelorum hymnos, quibus propius stantes, certatim Deum celebrant. Cano etiam mundi concentum, et quidem praesentis vitae concentu longe praestantiozem; quae, omnibus rebus ad vnum finem properantibus, auide expecto. Cano insuper immortalem Christi passionum gloriam, quibus me, humanam formam caelesti admiscens, diuinitate affecit. Mixtionem meam, et temperationem cano (neque enim creationis meae ratio villo sermone pro dignitate explicari potest) quoque pacto ex caelesti et terrena natura concinnatus sim. Hominibus postremo Dei legem; mundi[ue] facinora, ac consilia, rei[ue] vtriusque fidem cano, vt nimirum et illa animo tuo condas, et ab his quam longissime fugias, diemq[ue] aduentantem extimescas. Haec sunt, quae lingua mea, cytharae cuiusdam instar, modulatur. Quo magis nobis, qui sacerdotii munus obimus, prouidendum est, ne quem vllum sonum edamus, qui ab huiusmodi concentu discrepet. Equidem ipse puris sacrificijs, quibus magnum illum Regem mortalibus co[n]cilio, puram linguam seruabo. Neq[ue] enim committa[m], vt ab aliena lingua, foedaq[ue] atque obscena mente viuificum illud sacrificium purissimo Deo mittam. ex vno eodemq[ue] fonte non simul et dulcis et amarulenta aqua scaturiet; purpureae vesti coenum [= caenum] minime conuenit. Quid enim? Non ne sacerdotis filijs ignis alienus olim exitium attulit, quod sacrificio manus suas impure admouissent?⁸³ Nonne sacrosancta Dei arca mortem ei accersiuit, qui labantem et inclinatam

⁸³ Cf. *Leuiticus* 10, 1–2: “1 Arreptisque Nadab et Abiu filii Aaron thuribus, posuerunt ignem, et incensum desuper, offerentes coram Domino **ignem alienum**: quod eis praecipuum non erat. 2 Egressusque ignis a Domino, devoravit eos, et mortui sunt coram Domino.” For the identification of this *locus Biblicus* I am grateful to my colleague Ona Daukšienė.

contrectauit?⁸⁴ His exemplis commoueor, grauissime[ue] vereor, ne quid mihi mali, puram Trinitatem impure attingenti, diuinitus accidat. Atque vtina[m] scelerata[m] quoque mentem dies multos huc illhuq[ue] temere vagantem, velut fr̄eno quodam, propius ad metam cogere, atque inflectere, aut certe a fraude et impostura omnino liberam in pectore retinere liceret. **Haec (Graeco licèt carmine) Nazianzenus**⁸⁵

3.2. Opinion of Roberto Bellarmino (1542–1621), first published in the third volume of his *Controversiae* (1593), concerning the authority of Gregory of Nazianzus in his play *Χριστός πάσχω*:⁸⁶

“TERTIVS DECIMVS sit **GREGORIVS NAZIANZENVS**, qui in carminibus de CHRISTO patiente: *Neque enim, inquit, Deus necessitatem adducet, vt sit bonus, sed in electione, & sententia tua id situm est.*”⁸⁷

⁸⁴ 2 *Samuelis* (Vulg. 2 Regum) 6, 6–7: “6 Postquam autem venerunt ad aream Nachon, extendit Oza manum **ad arcam Dei**, et tenuit eam: quoniam calcitrabant boves, et **declinaverunt** eam. 7 Iratusque est indignatione Dominus contra Ozam, et percussit eum super temeritate: qui **mortuus est ibi juxta arcam Dei.**” For the identification of this *locus Biblicus* I am also indebted to Ona Daukšienė.

⁸⁵ Cf. PG 37, II, 1, 1312,7 – 1315, 4: “Ὁργανόν εἰμι Θεοῖο, καὶ εὐκρέτοις μελέεσσι | Ὑμνον ἄνακτι φέρω, τῷ πᾶν ὑποτρομέει. | Μέλω δ’ οὐ Τροίην, οὐκ εὐπλοον οἶά τις Ἀργῶ, | Οὐδὲ σὺδὸς κεφαλῆν, οὐ πολὺν Ἡρακλέα, | Οὐ γῆς εὐρέα κύκλα ὅπως πελάγεσσι ἀρηεν, | Οὐκ αὐγὰς λιθάκων, οὐ δρόμον οὐρανίων· | Οὐδὲ πόθων μέλω μανίην, καὶ κάλλος ἐφήβων, | Οἷσι λύρη μαλακὸν κρούετ’ ἀπὸ προτέρων. | [1313.1] Μέλω δ’ ὑψιμέδοντα Θεὸν μέγαν, ἠδὲ φαεινῆς | Εἰς ἓν ἀγειρομένης λάμπιν ἐμῆς Τριάδος, | Ἀγγελικῶν τε χορῶν μεγάλους ἐρηχέας ὕμνους | Πλησίον ἑσταότων, ἐξ ὁπὸς ἀντιθέτου | Κόσμου θ’ ἀρμονίην, καὶ κρείσσονα τῆς παρεούσης, | Ἦν δοκέω, πάντων εἰς ἓν ἐπειγομένων | Καὶ Χριστοῦ παθέων κλέος ἀφθιτον, οἷς μ’ ἐθέωσεν, | Ἀνδρομένη μορφῆν οὐρανίη κεράσας. | Μέλω μίξιν ἐμήν. Οὐ γὰρ φατὸν ἔργον ἐτύχην | Ἔργον, ὅπως πλέχθη θνητὸς ἐπουρανίος. | Μέλω δ’ ἀνθρώποισι Θεοῦ νόμον, ὅσα τε κόσμου Ἔργματα, καὶ βουλὰς, καὶ τέλος ἀμφοτέρων· | Ὅφρα τὰ μὲν κεύθησιν σῆσι φρεσὶ, τῶν δ’ ἀπὸ τῆλε | Φεύγης, καὶ τρομέης ἡμᾶρ ἐπερχόμενον. | Τόσων γλώσσαν ἔχω, κιθάρην· φράζεσθ’, ἱερῆς, | [1314.1] Μὴ τι παρακρέξῃ ἔκτροπον ἀρμονίης. | Γλώσσαν καὶ θυέεσσι ἀγνήν ἀγνοίσι φυλάξω, | Οἷσιν Ἄνακτα μέγαν εἰς ἓν ἄγω χθονίος. | Οὐ γὰρ ἀπ’ ἀλλοτρίης γλώσσης, χραντοῦ τὸ νόσιο | Πέμψω τῷ καθαρῷ ζωοφόρον θυσίην. | Εἷς πόρος οὐ γλυκερόν τε ρόον καὶ πικρὸν ἀνήσει, | Εἵματα πορφυρέω βόρβορος ἀλλότριον. | Καὶ πῦρ ξείνον ὄλεσσε θυηπόλου ἐν προτέροις | Παῖδας, μὴ καθαρῶς ἀπτομένους θυσίης. | Τὴν δ’ ἱερὴν ποτ’, ἄκουσα, Θεοῦ μέγαλοιο κιβωτὸν, | Ὡς καὶ κλινομένη κτεῖνε τὸν ἀψάμενον. | Ταῦτ’ αἰνῶς τρομέω, καὶ δεΐδια, μὴ τι πάθοιμι, | Μὴ καθαρῶς καθαρῆς ἀπτόμενος Τριάδος. | Αἶθε δὲ καὶ νόον ἦεν ἀτάσθαλον, ἀστατέοντα | Τῇ καὶ τῇ, πολλοῖς οἴμασι μασιδίος | [1315.1] Κάμπτειν τέρματος ἄσπον, ἐπὶ στρεπτήρι χαλινῷ, | Ἦ πάμπαν κατέχειν ἄκλοπον ἐν κραδίῃ | Μᾶλλον κε Χριστοῖο μεγακλέος ἄσπον ἐλαύνων, | Λάμπετο μαρμαρυγαῖς τοῦ μέγαλοιο φάους!

⁸⁶ Based on the paper by Michelle Lacore (1995–1996).

⁸⁷ *Disputationum Roberti Bellarmini Politiani [...] De Controversiis Christianae Fidei [...] Tomus Tertius [...] Coloniae Agrippinae, 1615, lib. V, cap. XXV* (“Testimonia Graecorum Patrum [...] pro libero arbitrio in moralibus”), p. 268. The quotation follows the digital edition available at the

3.3. Two excerpts from the *Ratio studiorum* of 1599:

[a] (*Regulae Professoris Rhetoricae*, 13): “Graeca praelectio siue oratorum, siue historicorum, siue poetarum non nisi antiquorum sit, & classicorum, Demosthenis, Platonis, Thucydidis, Homeri, Hesiodi, Pindari, & ¶ aliorum huiusmodi (modo sint expurgati) inter quos **iure optimo SS. Nazianzenus**, Basilius, & Chrysostomus reponendi.”

[b] (*Regulae Professoris Humanitatis*, 9): “Graeca praelectione alternis diebus Grammatica, & auctor explanabitur. [...] Auctor verò primo semestri solutae orationis sumetur ex facilioribus, vt aliquae orationes Isocratis, & Sanctorum Chrysostomi, & Basilij, vt ex epistolis Platonis, & Synesij, vt aliquid selectum ex Plutarcho: altero semestri carmen aliquod explicabitur, exempli gratia ex Phocylide, Theognide, **Sancto Gregorio Nazianzeno**, Synesio, & horum similibus.”

Appendix 4. Examples of the epigrams by the students of Vilnius
Jesuit Academy containing the elements of imitation of the *Carmina moralia*
by Gregory of Nazianzus

Greek verses from the collection of funeral poetry <i>Parentalia in obitum Illustris et Magnifici Domini D. Georgii Chodkiewiczii Generalis Capitanei Samogitiae etc. etc.</i> (Vilnae 1595)	Verses from Gregory of Nazianzus <i>Carmina moralia</i> imitated in each particular poem
<p>[a] Simon Wloscius Strzelnensis Ἐπωνυμικόν</p> <p>Ἀρκεῖτω μέχρι τοῦ γαῖάν σε<,> Γεωργὲ<,> γεωργεῖν, Οὐρανοῦ ὅττ' ἄκρου αὐτε γεωργὸς ἔση. Γῆ σ' ἦδει; τὰ δ' ἄνω τῶν ζώντων γαῖα καλεῖται, Τὴν ναῖε, καὶ δις ἐκεῖ τ' ἐμπρέπον⁸⁸ οὐνομ' ἔχεις⁸⁹, Ἄλλὰ γ' ἐκεῖ χ' ἅγιον βλέψεις οὐ στέμματ' ἔχαιρες Καὶ διὰ τοῦ τρίς ἐκεῖ τ' ἐμπρέπον⁹⁰ οὐνομ' ἔχεις⁹¹.</p>	<p>4, 6 cf. Greg. Naz. <i>Γνώμαι δίστιχοι</i>, 55–56 (<i>Carm. moral.</i> 915, 1–2): Σῆτες ἔδουσιν ἅπαντα· λίπης τὰ σὰ μηδὲ τάφοισιν· Ἐξοδίη τιμῆ, δεξιὸν οὐνομ' ἔχειν.</p>
<p>[b] Hieronimus Grabowski Τυφλὸς ὁρῶν</p> <p>Ὄφθαλμοὺς θανάτοιο θεωρῶμεν, εἰ δυνατόν γε, Τυφλὸς γὰρ λέγεται, ὀξυβλέπειν δὲ δοκεῖ. Μηδὲν ὀρᾶς<,> θάνατ' <,> ἂν βασιλεύς<,> ἂν βουκόλος ἀνήρ, Οὐδὲ περισκοπέεις, πλούσιος ἢ πένης, Ἄλλ' οὕτως καὶ μηδὲν ὁρῶν ξύμπαντας ἐφευρεῖς Οὐδέ γε μικρότατος τ' ὄμμα σὸν ἐκφυγέει.</p>	<p>Tit. cf. Greg. Naz. <i>Γνώμαι δίστιχοι</i>, 19 (<i>Carm. moral.</i> 912, 5): Τυφλὸς ὁρῶν, ὅς ἐῆς κακίας οὐκ ὄσσετ' ὄλεθρον</p>
<p>[c] Nicolaus Zaleski Ἰρηγορεῖτε ὅτι οὐκ οἶδατε τὴν ἡμέραν [cf. Mt 25, 13, 1]</p> <p>Σήμερον ἐγερθεῖς, ἄνθρωπε, τό σ' ἔσχατον ἡμᾶρ Τῆς ζωῆς οἴου ἔμμεναι ἀργαλέας. Μηδὲ ἀπημοσύναισιν ἀπερχομένησι πεπειθῶς Τόλμα ἐπίσχεσθαι αὐριον ἀμφίβολον. Πόλλ' ἄκρων πίπτει χειλῶν κύλικός τε μεταξὺ. Ὡρα τε πολλὰ μόνη ἀέκοντι φέρει. Κεῖνος μὲν παίζων ἔπεσεν, κείνος παρὰ δαιτὸς Ἐπνίγη, αὐτὰρ ὁ χθὲς ἐν κλισίῃσι σάος. Ἄστατός ἐστι τροχός, μικρῶς τε πεπηγμένος οὗτος Τυφλός, ἀείστρεπτος, πουλύτροπός τε βίος.</p>	<p>9–10 cf. Greg. Naz. <i>Περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς</i> (sc. <i>ζωῆς ἀνθρωπίνης</i>), 1–2 (<i>PG</i> 37, I, 2, 787, 14–788, 1): Τροχός τις ἐστὶν ἀστάτως πεπηγμένος, Ὁ μικρὸς οὗτος καὶ πολύτροπος βίος</p>

⁸⁸ Originally printed: ἔμπρεπον

⁸⁹ Originally printed: ἐχεῖς

⁹⁰ Originally printed: ἔμπρεπον

⁹¹ Originally printed: ἐχεῖς

[d] Ioannes Florentius

Φυγή και Ἔρωσ

Πολλοὶ μὲν κόσμιοι κατήγοροι οὐλομένοιοι,
 Ἄλλ' ὀλίγοι τούτου βουλόμεθ' ἐξοριᾶν [=ἐξοριάν].
 Εἰ δεινὸς βίος, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, κακὸς τε πέφυκε,
 Τίς, πόθεν ἐσθ' οὗτος;<,> τῷ περιδηῖσαι ἔρωσ;
 Οὐ ἔνεκα μνήμην θανάτου καὶ οὐνομα φεύγεις
 Τὸ ψιλὸν<,> μηδὲν βλάψαι ἐπιστάμενον.[= ;]
Δεῦρ' ἄγε κόσμον ἅπαντά τε λείψας μήδεα κόσμου,
 Ἔκτ<ε>ινον ἐς ζωὴν ἰστίον οὐρανίαν.

7–8 Greg. Naz. *Γνώμαι δίστιχοι*, 59–60 (PG 37 I, 2, 915, 5–6): **Δεῦρ' ἄγε, κόσμον ἅπαντα** καὶ ἄχθεα τῆδ' **ἀπολείψας, | Ἴστίον ἐς ζωὴν οὐρανίην πέτασον.** | cf. Greg. Naz., *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ βίου ματαιότητος καὶ ἀπιστίας, καὶ κοινοῦ πάντων τέλους*, v. 51–56 (PG 37 II, 1 (*Carm. de se ipso*) 1304, 8–1305, 1): **Δεῦρ' ἄγε, κόσμον ἅπαντα**, καὶ ὅποσα τῆδ' ἀλάληται, | **Ῥίψαντες**, κακότητος ἐπιχθονίου βασιλῆος, | Ἄρπαγος ἀλλοτρίων, δηλήμονος ἀνδροφόνοιο, | Πλοῦτον, εὐκλείην, θάκουσ, γένος, ὄλβον ἄπιστον, | Προτροπάδην φεύγωμεν ἐς οὐρανὸν, ἧχί τε πολλὰ | Κάλλαε μαρμαίροντα φάος περὶ τρισσὸν ἄφραστον.

[e] Valentinus Skrobaczewski

Πᾶσα γῆ τάφος

Εἷς πέλεται θανάτου βαθμὸς δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι,
 Γῆ τε μία πάντας αὐτίκα δυσομένη.
 Ὡσθ' οὕτως πάντη τε καὶ αἰεὶ **μνώεο Μοίρας,**
 Ὡς πάντη καὶ αἰεὶ **χθὼν χθόνα** πουσί πατῆς.

Tit. cf. Greg. Naz. *Γνωμικὰ δίστιχα*, 43 (PG 37 I, 2, 919, 8): Παντὶ βροτῷ θνήσκοντι **πᾶσα γῆ τάφος**.
 2 cf. Greg. Naz. *Γνώμαι δίστιχοι*, 1–2 (PG 37 I, 2, 910, 12–13): Γυμνὸς ὅλος βιότοιο τάμοις ἄλα, μηδὲ βαρεῖα | Ναῦς ἐπὶ πόντον ἴοι, **αὐτίκα δυσομένη.** || cf. PG 37, II, 1, 1351, 1–3: Εἷς νόμος, εἷς δὲ Θεὸς, κλήσις **μία· πάντας** ὁμοίως | Σωθῆναι Χριστὸς σὰρκ' **ἀποδυσασμένους** | Βούλεται. [...]
 3 cf. Greg. Naz. *Γνώμαι δίστιχοι*, 3–4 (PG 37 I, 2, 911, 1–2): Ὡς αἰεὶ κρυεροῖο παρεστατός **θανάτοιο** | **Μνώεο**, καὶ θανάτου ἥσσοнос ἀντιάσεις.
 4 cf. Greg. Naz. *Περὶ ζωῆς ἀνθρωπίνης*, 2 (PG 37 I, 2, 786, 11): **Τῇ γῆ γὰρ ἡ γῆ** συμβιβάζεται πάλιν || cf. Greg. Naz. *Γνωμικὰ δίστιχα*, 44 (PG 37 I, 2, 919, 9): **Πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἐκ γῆς, γῆ τε καὶ εἰς γῆν πάλιν.**

[f] Adamus Zerdenski

Μελέτησον τὰ ἔσχατά σου.

Μήποτε μελλούσης ὅτε ζῆς ἀμέλησον ὁδοῖο
 Καὶ πρόσβλεψον αἰεὶ ἐς πέρας ἀρχόμενος.
 Δυσσεβέος βιότου πέλεται καὶ τῆσχατα πικρά,
Τῆς δὲ καλῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τέλος ἐστί καλόν.

4 cf. Greg. Naz. *Γνωμικὰ δίστιχα*, 1–2 (PG 37 I, 2, 916, 1–2): **Ἀρχῆς καλῆς κάλλιστον εἶναι καὶ τέλος,** | Ὁρθῶς δοκοῦσιν οἱ ὅροι τῶν πραγμάτων.

Appendix 5. Example of indirect imitation of Gregory of Nazianzus

Albertus Krzekotowski

Ἄρετή μόνη τῶν κτημάτων ἀθάνατον

Εὐφραδία, γνώμη, δείνωσις, χρήματα, ῥώμη,

Δόξα, θεοφοροσύνη, καλλιπέπεια καμείς [=???];

Φεῦ<, > τίς πιστεύει κλήρω<, > αἶ κεν τόσα δῶρα[.];

Καὶ τὰς νοῦ δυνάμεις μοῖρα τάχει ἄϊρει;

Μήτι γε δὴ ἀρκεῖ φήμην ἦν πράγματα τίκτει,

Οὐκ θέλει ἀθάνατον μοῖρα φθίνειν τε κλέος.

Ἀφθαρτὴ ἀρετὴ νεανίζει, ζᾷ διὰ παντός·

Καὶ ἀρετῆς πομπὸς δόξα γεραῖα θαλεῖ.

Εἰ ζητεῖς ἐπὶ τύμβῳ ζωὴν ἀμβροσίαν ζῆν,

Μῆτε σοι, ἀλλ' ἀρετῇ, ζῆθι σύ, ζῆθι θεῶ.

1–2 cf. Greg. Naz. *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ βίου ματαιότητος καὶ ἀπιστίας, καὶ κοινοῦ πάντων τέλους*, v. 49–56 (PG 37, II, 1 (*Carm. de se ipso*) 1304, 6–1305, 1):

Ταῦτ' οὖν εἰσορόωντες, ἐμοὶς πείθεσθ' ἐπέεσσι,
Παῖδες ἐμοὶ (παῖδες γὰρ, ὅσον πλέον εἴρυσσιν
πνεῦμα),

Δεῦρ' ἄγε, κόσμον ἅπαντα, καὶ ὅπποσα τῆδ'
ἀλάληται,

Ῥίψαντες, κακότητος ἐπιχθονίου βασιλῆος,

Ἄρπαγος ἀλλοτρίων, δηλήμονος ἀνδροφόνοιο,

Πλοῦτον, ἐνκλεινῶν, θώκου, γένος, ὄλβον ἄπιστον,

Προτροπάδην φεύγωμεν ἐς οὐρανόν, ἧχί τε πολλὰ

Κάλλεα μαρμαίροντα φάος περι τρισσὸν ἄφραστον.

cf. Greg. Naz. *Περὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως* (PG 37, I, 2 759, 11–12):

Ἀδρανίη, πενίη τε, τόκος, μόρος, ἔχθος, ἀλιτροί,

Θῆρες ἀλός, γαίης, ἄλγεα, πάντα βίος.

cf. Greg. Naz. *Περὶ τῶν τοῦ βίου ὁδῶν* 7–28 (PG 37, I, 2 779, 1–780, 9):

Κοῦδὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι καλόν, κακότητος ἄμικτον.

Αἶθε δὲ μὴ τὰ λυγρὰ πλείονα μοῖραν ἔχεν!

Ὁ πλοῦτος μὲν ἄπιστος **ὁ δὲ θρόνος**, ὀφρὺς ὀνειρώπων·

Ἄρχεσθαι δὲ μόγος, ἢ πενίη δὲ πέδη.

Κάλλος δ' ἀστεροπέης, τυτθὴ χάρις, ἢ νεότης δὲ,

Βράσμα χρόνου πολιῆ, λυπρὰ λύσις βίτου.

Οἱ δὲ λόγοι πτερόντες· ἀήρ, **κλέος**· αἶμα παλαιὸν

Εὐγενέται, ῥώμη καὶ συδὸς ἀγροτέρου.

Ἐβριστῆς δὲ κόρος· δεσμὸς, γάμος· εὐτεκνίη δὲ,

Φροντὶς ἀναγκαίη· δυστεκνίη δὲ, νόσος.

Αἰ δ' ἀγοραὶ, κακίης μελετήματα· ἡρεμίη δὲ,

Ἀδρανίη· τέχνη, τῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων.

Στεινὴ δ' ἀλλοτρίη μάζα. Τὸ δὲ γαῖαν ἀρόσσειν,

Μόχθος. Ποντοπόρων τὸ πλέον εἶν αἰδῆ.

Ἡ πάτηρ δὲ, βέρεθρον ἑόν· ξενίη δὲ τ' ὄνειδος.

Πάντα μόγος θνητοῖς τὰνθάδε· πάντα γέλωσ

Χνοῦς, σκιά, φάσμα, δρόσος, πνοιή, πτερὸν, ἀτμίς,

ὄνειρος,

Οἶδμα, ῥόος, νηδὸς ἵχνιον αὔρα, κόνις,

Κύκλος αἰεδίνητος, ὁμοῖα πάντα κυλίνδων,

Ἐστηώς, τροχάων, λυόμενος, πάγιος,

Ἦραις, ἡμασι, νυξί, πόνοις, θανάτοισιν, ἀνίαις,

Τερπωλῆσι, νόσοις, πτώμασιν, εὐδρομαίαις.

Abstract

Saint Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 329–390), important representative of both Eastern and Western Christianity, and one of the most prominent orators of his age (4th century AD), has left among his heritage an interesting collection of Greek poetry on moral subjects which (along with his rhythmical orations) has been a source of inspiration for a number of subsequent and much later generations of Christian intellectuals, clergymen, scholars and students. This paper very briefly surveys the possible reasons and ways which attracted St. Gregory to be studied in Lithuania, and mainly focuses on the direct evidence of the imitation of the part of his poetry generally called *Carmina Moralia* (PG 37, 521–968). The main source of my argument is the collection of funeral poetry *Parentalia in obitum Georgii Chodkiewicz [...]* Vilnae [...] 1595, published by the members of pious academic society of Vilnius University (Vilnius Jesuit Academy) in honor of recently deceased Georgius Chodkievicius (Юрый Хадкевіч, Jerzy Chodkiewicz, Jurgis Chodkevičius, 1570?–1595).

IV

Humanist Greek Texts

A NEW EPIGRAM OF MATTHEW DEVARIS¹

Grigory Vorobyev

Matthew Devaris (ca. 1505–1581), known as Ματθαῖος Δεβαρῆς, Matteo Devaris, Matteo de Varis, Matteo di Bari or simply Matteo Greco, born in the island of Kerkyra (Corfu), was a pupil of Janus Lascaris and Marcus Musurus and one of the prominent Hellenists in 16th-century Rome.²

Devaris produced a treatise on Greek particles, an index to Eustathius' commentaries on Homer³ and a Greek translation of the decrees of the Council of Trent. Besides, he composed Greek epigrams. Twenty of them were printed in the preface to the posthumous edition of his *Liber de Graecae linguae particulis*, prepared for publication in Rome in 1588 by his nephew Peter⁴ under the supervision of Fulvio Orsini and Guglielmo Sirleto.⁵ As for the rest, numerous epigrams are preserved in the autograph codex Vat. gr. 1414, twenty-five of which are not included in the 1588 edition; four epigrams can be found in different codices from Veneranda Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, three of which are

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to Gianfranco Agosti, Dieter Harlfinger, Martin Steinrück, Erkki Sironen, Antoine Haaker, Janika Päll, Jean-Marie Flamand and Alessandra Lukinovich for the important suggestions and improvements they provided during the discussion of my conference presentation. I also thank Vsevolod Zelchenko for his valuable advice concerning the layout of the edition of the poem and Alexandra Chirkova from the Archives of the Institute for History who helped me get access to the manuscript leaf and kindly provided its photo so that I was able to compare the handwriting with that of the Vatican codex. A preliminary version of the present paper, with a title “Еще одна эпиграмма Матфея Девариса” [Yet another epigram of Matthew Devaris], was included in the samizdat Festschrift presented to Elena Ermolaeva: *EAENEIA: litterulae chartulaeque ab amicis et discipulis ad Helenam Leonidae E. Ermolaevam pro munere natalicio missae*. Письма и открытки ко дню рождения Е.Л. Ермолаевой. Petropoli, 2014, 47–50. <http://ru.scribd.com/document/225753532/FS-Ermolaeva>.

² Details of Devaris' biography are drawn from Ceresa 1991.

³ Cf. below n. 27.

⁴ On Peter Devaris see Agati 2000.

⁵ Cf. Devarius 1588 (*Matthaei Devarii Liber de Graecae linguae particulis*. Romae, apud Franciscum Zannettum, 1588, f. b1^r–c1^v) and the new edition: Devarius 1835: XXII–XXX. The text of the preface by Peter Devaris was reprinted later by Legrand, yet with only one out of twenty of Matthew's poems: Legrand 1885: 52–60.

also present in the Vat. gr. 1414;⁶ one poem is in the Vat. gr. 1902 (it is printed in the 1588 edition).⁷ Other two epigrams were printed in 1581 and 1719 in the prefaces of two different books.⁸ So, all in all there are 48 known poems by Devaris.

In 1962 Faidon Bubulidis published the first study of Devaris' poetry, where he listed all of the known poems⁹ and edited the following ones: 1) nine out of twenty-five unpublished epigrams from the Vat. gr. 1414; 2) one from the Ambrosiana manuscripts;¹⁰ 3) five poems out of the twenty that had been already printed in 1588.¹¹ In 1978 further thirteen epigrams from the Vat. gr. 1414 were published by Anna Meschini Pontani.¹² In the introduction to that publication, where she criticized Bubulidis' edition harshly,¹³ Meschini Pontani supposed that the corpus of Devaris' epigrams, consisting of 48 poems, might turn out to be larger thanks to possible new finds.¹⁴ Indeed, one of his unpublished epigrams has now come to light in Saint Petersburg.

The Archives of the Saint Petersburg Institute for History (Russian Academy of Sciences) possess, among numerous other manuscripts of Italian provenance, a folded paper leaf (Carton 671, No. 54), 210×140 mm, containing an untitled Greek poem of 12 verses on its first *recto* (ff. 1^v and 2^{rv} are blank), with a subscription in Latin "Matth(aei) Devarii" by the same hand that copied the text. The leaf has not been described anywhere, except for a three-word-long entry in the card catalogue available at the Archives. Purchased by a Russian palaeographer and collector Nikolay Likhachev from an unknown European

⁶ All four poems are present in Ambr. Q 114 sup., part C, f. 24^r; three of them appear also in Ambr. N 234 sup., ff. 9^r and 11^r; one out of these three (the only one absent in the Vat. gr. 1414) is Devaris' epitaph of Michael Sophianos which can be found also in Ambr. N 156 sup., f. 76^r, and in Ambr. P 242 sup., f. 41^v. Cf. Meschini 1981: 10, 24–27, 45–46.

⁷ Vat. gr. 1902, f. 314^r. See n. 25 below. Cf. Canart 1970: 607.

⁸ Bubulidis 1961–1962: 391–392.

⁹ Bubulidis erroneously counted 50 instead of 48, cf. note 14 below.

¹⁰ Namely, the epitaph of Sophianos, cf. n. 6 above.

¹¹ Bubulidis 1961–1962, reprinted as Bubulidis 1962.

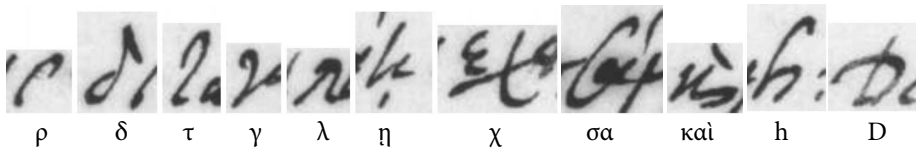
¹² Meschini 1978. Cf.: "Scopo del presente lavoro è di arricchire la silloge "in fieri" del Devaris con la pubblicazione degli epigrammi del Vat. gr. 1414 tralasciati dal Bubulidis", Meschini 1978: 57.

¹³ Meschini 1978: 54–57. Cf., e.g.: "Il tentativo di ampliare la silloge del Devaris fu lodevole; non altrettanto il risultato", Meschini 1978: 54.

¹⁴ "Si è per ora rinunciato a esplorare sistematicamente i cataloghi di manoscritti e alcuni codici non catalogati della Vaticana; aggiunte alla silloge di 50 epigrammi di cui parla Bubulidis (in realtà sono 48) sono, pertanto, ancora possibili", Meschini 1978: 57 n. 17.

bookseller or antiquarian in the late 19th or early 20th century,¹⁵ the leaf became part of his collection that later formed the Archives in question.

The ff. 106^r–137^v of the Vat. gr. 1414 represent Devaris' personal notebook of drafts, consisting mainly of epigrams. In this codex one can observe his work in progress: many epigrams contain variants and corrections. In contrast, the text of the epigram from Saint Petersburg appears to be a fair copy, maybe supposed to be presented to the dedicatee. Matthew's handwriting in the Vat. gr. 1414 is not homogeneous; still it can be generally defined as quite fluid and sometimes it even resembles that rapid cursive writing, which is well known from his *pinakes*, notes and corrections in different Vatican manuscripts¹⁶ and in those of cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi¹⁷. Our leaf's handwriting is far more accurate and balanced; yet, a lot of peculiar letter forms and ligatures used in our text occur in the Vatican codex, too (especially in the ff. 121^r, 126^v, 127^r, 128^r, 129^v, 131^v), and definitely allow to consider the leaf from Saint Petersburg an autograph (see ILL. 1 and ILL. 2). We can mention the delta with a sharp angle instead of the curve on its top, a particular curve in the right stroke of the lambda, the exclusively used *Krückstock*-tau, a characteristic execution of the ligature sigma-alpha, the minuscule gamma with a strong incline to the right, the chi with a peculiar execution of the first stroke, a simplified form of rho, and the inclined minuscule eta. The form of the last stroke of the abbreviation for καὶ is also instructive.¹⁸ Finally, the *h* and *D* in the Latin subscription are written exactly in the same way as Devaris used to do it in the Latin parts of the Vat. gr. 1414 (cf. f. 95^r).



ILL. 1. Characteristic letter forms by the hand of Matthew Devaris. Saint Petersburg, Institute for History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Archives, Western European Department, Carton 671, No. 54, f. 1^r.

¹⁵ The current state of research on the constitution of Likhachev's collection does not allow us to define precisely where he obtained the leaf. On the creation of the collection cf. Klimanov 2012b; Klimanov 2012a: 38–39.

¹⁶ Cf. Gamillscheg *et al.* 1981–1997. Bd. 3A: 165–166, No. 440 (see also below, n. 18).

¹⁷ Cf. Muratore 2009: *passim*.

¹⁸ In the *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten* (Gamillscheg *et al.* 1981–1997) there are entries on the manuscripts containing Devaris' handwriting in vols. 2A (p. 139–140, No. 364) and 3A (p. 165–166, No. 440), with bibliography; both palaeographical descriptions (in vols. 2B and 3B) and plates (in vols. 2C and 3C) are absent.

The epigram is dedicated to a certain Σίρλετος (verse 11). It must be Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–1585), who came to Rome in 1539–1540, was assigned to compile an inventory of Greek codices of the Vatican library in 1548, became its *custos* in 1554, was named cardinal in 1565 and the prefect of the Vatican library in 1570.¹⁹

Around 1535 Devaris entered the *familia* of cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi and was responsible for his private library.²⁰ After the death of Ridolfi in 1550, Matthew served Camillo Colonna and after 1551 Alessandro Farnese. At the same time, already in 1535 he had started working for the Vatican library. According to Massimo Ceresa, in 1541 he was employed there as a *corrector* of Greek manuscripts,²¹ whereas Maria Luisa Agati asserts that from 1541 till his death he was just a *scriptor*; his assumption of the *corrector*'s position refers only to the years 1562–1565.²² Anyway, in 1565 Pius IV replaced Devaris with another employee, but Matthew was provided with a stipend. In 1566 the next Pope, Pius V deprived Devaris of the stipend, and cardinal Alessandro Farnese had to write a letter to Guglielmo Sirleto in Devaris' favour; Matthew's unstable situation lasted till the end of 1570.²³

In the light of this biographical information on Devaris and Sirleto we can suppose that the poem was created between 1539 and 1581 (maybe after 1548 or, most probably, after 1554 when the contact between the two should have become closer).²⁴ Given the flattering tone of the epigram, we could venture a hypothesis of a narrower dating, i.e. between 1566 and 1570, for it was during that period that Matthew experienced financial difficulties and was expecting help from Sirleto. Still, this latter dating is merely speculative.²⁵

Anna Meschini Pontani noticed both for the epigrams she was publishing and for those printed in 1588 that Devaris used to respect the metre and strophe

¹⁹ Denzler 1964.

²⁰ Cf. Muratore 2009: vol. 1, 54–56.

²¹ Ceresa 1991: 514.

²² Agati 2000: 215. Cf. De Maio 1962: 290–292.

²³ Ceresa 1991: 515.

²⁴ The paper leaf does not contain a watermark that could help dating the poem.

²⁵ The codex Vat. gr. 1902 contains different papers of Sirleto, including several epigrams dedicated to him. Our text is not among them, even though there are some materials by Devaris in this manuscript, including one of his poems published in 1588, namely the one in praise of Gregory of Nazianzus (see n. 7 above). Cf. Canart 1970: 587–615, especially 605–613; Canart 1979: 89–90.

for an erudite style.²⁶ The same seems to apply to our poem. Indeed, Devaris does not make a single metrical mistake in it. As for the vocabulary, it is an eclectic combination of Homeric words and word forms (ἀμφασίη; ὑπολιζοντας; ἄν ἀρθῆ as a prospective subjunctive in the main clause; ἴμενον plus genitive, meaning ‘yearning for something’; various common epic forms: ἦϋτε, ῥά, ἐνί, ἔσπετο, ὕμνοισιν, αἶρειν, ἀναείρειν, ἐπέων)²⁷ with post-classic components (διταλάντων used as a noun; ἀκροτάτη ἀρετή, a combination frequently used by Christian authors; the verb ἐπιστομέω) and with rare lexical material (ισόσταθμος), which is normal for Devaris and for the humanist Greek poetry in general.²⁸

As for the sources of the poem’s vocabulary, only the more or less certain ones are included in the apparatus of our edition (see Appendix).

Such epic verse beginnings as ταῦτ’ ἄρα, τίς γὰρ, καὶ ῥ’, ἀκρότατος definitely belonged to the common humanist background. In a similar way, some textual affinities with the epigrams by Janus Lascaris, Devaris’ preceptor, probably represent nothing but a result of the free circulation of poetic vocabulary. Apart from two instances in Lascaris’ epigrams in which the forms of αἶρειν are present at the end of a hexameter verse (αἶρειν²⁹, ἀερθεις³⁰), like in our verses 5 and 9, the whole clausula of our verse 3 (ὑπέρτατον οὐκέτ’ ἄν ἀρθῆ) appears similar to that of the verse 7 from Lascaris’ epigram dedicated to Alessandra Scala: ὑπέρτερον αὐχέν’ ἀερθεις.³¹ Talking about commonplaces in the humanist epigrams, Bubulidis reports three passages from Devaris’ poems that are similar to those written by other humanists of Hellenic origin, living both earlier and later than Devaris: Demetrius Moschus, Marcus Musurus, Maximus Margunius and others.³² In the same way, the resemblance between our text and poems by Janus Lascaris in the cited cases should not necessarily mean a loan.

It is absolutely no wonder that words which are common for the epigrammatic genre often reappear in different poems by the same author (cf. Devaris’

²⁶ Meschini 1978: 57–58.

²⁷ Devaris must have been a particularly profound connoisseur of Homeric language, since he compiled an index to Eustathius’ commentaries on Homer (printed in 1550, then in 1828, see Devarius 1828).

²⁸ Cf. Meschini 1978: 62: “E’ tipica della composita lingua letteraria degli epigrammi umanistici la coesistenza di reminiscenze omeriche con parole della poesia tarda”. Cf. Bubulidis 1961–1962: 399–400.

²⁹ Laskaris 1976, No. 28, verse 5.

³⁰ Laskaris 1976, No. 62, verse 1.

³¹ Laskaris 1976, No. 15, verse 7.

³² Bubulidis 1961–1962: 401–402.

frequent use of ἀρετή, σέβας, ἄκρος, the vocative διε etc.). Yet, it could be interesting to observe several parallels between our text and other epigrams by Devaris, regarding less common words and word combinations. Forms of the word τέρμα are used in the clausulae both in our poem (τέρματος ἰέμενον and τέρματος ἀκροτάτου, verses 4 and 10) and in two others: τέρματα καὶ πελάγευς (1588, f. b4^r, 20; 1835, p. XXVIII, 10);³³ τέρματ' ἔθηκε πόνων (1588, f. b3^r, 10; 1835, p. XXVI, 10). The Homeric ἡραx ὑπολίζων is encountered not only in our epigram (verse 5), but also in another one: οὐποθ' ὑποτλαίης ὑπολίζονα... (1588, f. c1^v, 3; 1835, p. XXX, 13).³⁴ The word πυκινός (πυκιναῖς ἀναεῖρειν, verse 9) is used in the same position in a clausula another time, though as an adverb, followed by a similar verb form: πυκινῶς ἀνασεῖειν (1588, f. b2^r, 23; 1835, p. XXIV, 29). In our poem πυκινός is an attribute of τέχνη, while in yet another one it is used – which is a more frequent combination – together with νόος (πυκινός νόος; 1588, f. b4^r, 13; 1835, p. XXVIII, 3). Forms of the superlative ἀκρότατος at the end of a pentameter verse (τέρματος ἀκροτάτου, verse 10) are encountered two more times: Φαρνέσι' ἀκρότατε (1588, f. b2^r, 2; 1835, p. XXIV, 8); στήση ἐπ' ἀκροτάτης (1588, f. c1^v, 18; 1835, p. XXXI, 2).³⁵ The verb ἀπεκρούω (verse 11) is used, also in its transferred meaning, in another epigram: οἱ σ' ἀπεκρούσαντο (1588, f. b2^r, 13; 1835, p. XXIV, 19). In our verse 12 the first half of the pentameter is σὰς ἀρετὰς ἐνέπειν, while in another Devaris' poem a pentameter begins with σὰς ἀρετὰς ἐνέποι (1588, f. b4^v, 8; 1835, p. XXIX, 6). The second half of verse 12 is τοῖον ἔχει με σέβας, while the second half of the verse 6 of another epigram sounds τοῖον ὄρινε σέβας (Meschini 1978, p. 60, poem No. 8). Finally, verse 6 of our text (οὐ χαλεπὸν, πιθαναῖς πίστεσι θαλπομένας) resembles a verse from another epigram by Devaris: αἰεὶ ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς ἐλπῖσι θαλπόμενος (1588, f. b2^r, 22; 1835, p. XXIV, 28). It should be observed that the combination of θάλπω and ἐλπῖς is frequent in various later authors (including those accessible to Devaris in printed editions, cf. Philo *De migr. Abr.* 123, 4; Joseph. *BJ* IV, 221, 1; Lucian. *Trag.* 28–29; Basil. *Caes. Ep.* 92, 1, 15), while the combination with πίστις may be considered Devaris' own creation.

³³ I use the numbers 1588 and 1835 to designate the editions of the respective years, followed by folio/page and verse numbers (see n. 5 above).

³⁴ In the 1588 edition this epigram is attributed to Peter Devaris, but in fact it is a poem by Matthew, adapted by Peter for a new dedicatee. Cf. Bubulidis 1961–1962: 390. Matthew's original can be found in the Vat. gr. 1414, f. 107^r.

³⁵ Like in the previous note, this is an epigram attributed in the 1588 edition to Peter Devaris, but it is in fact a modified poem by Matthew. Cf. Bubulidis 1961–1962: 390. Matthew's original is found in the Vat. gr. 1414, f. 136^r (as well as in Ambr. N 234 sup., f. 9^r, and in Ambr. Q 114 sup., part C, f. 24^r).

The text, extolling the virtues of Sirleto, is based on the metaphor of the scales, or balance. The metaphor of the scales as a measure of moral qualities had been wide-spread throughout the Classical and Byzantine literature, so it is hardly possible to identify any direct source of this key image of the epigram. If one tries to reconstruct strict connections between the components of the first part of the poem, concerning the mechanism of the balance (what is the position and attitude of the person who pushes up the first scale? what is put on the second one? etc.), and those of the second part, concerning the praise of virtues, it is difficult to get a univocal interpretation. Maybe my approach is simplistic, but, to my mind, the author's intention was not that sophisticated and he concentrated merely on the function of balance. So, the comprehension of the scales metaphor should be probably limited to the following: the idea of the impossibility to praise the extraordinary virtues of the dedicatee is represented by the image of a device whose one part technically cannot be lifted too high, as Sirleto's virtues would deserve.

The logical transitions in the text are supported by lexical parallelisms: ἀκροτέρου τέρματος, verse 4, ἀκροτάταις δ' ἀρεταῖς, verse 7, and τέρματος ἀκροτάτου, verse 10; ὑπέρτατον, verse 3, and ὑπέρβασις, verse 10; ὕμνοισιν αἰεῖν, verse 5, and τέχνας πυκινᾶς ἀναεῖρην, verse 9. Moreover, the poem's structure is reinforced by a ring composition,³⁶ due to the appearance at the end of verse 11 of the verb ἀπεκρούσθην, meaning the failure of the attempt to praise Sirleto's virtues, while the original intention to do so – at that point regarding the scale – was expressed by a word of the same root, ὑποκρουσάμενος, at the end of verse 2.

Finally, we may think of another technique of binding the text together if we regard the alliteration (repeated /r/) in the verses 2, 3, 4, 10 and 11 as intentional.

Certainly a more thorough (and maybe more correct) analysis of this epigram will be made possible in the framework of a comprehensive study of Devaris' poems, which remains a *desideratum*, as well as their full critical edition³⁷ and a fundamental research on life and work of the Greek humanist.³⁸

³⁶ I owe this idea to Martin Steinrück.

³⁷ Bubulidis promised (1961–1962: 403 n. 2) to prepare a complete edition which, as it seems, has never been published.

³⁸ The absence of such a study has been stated by Meschini 1978: 54 n. 4, and recently by Muratore 2009 (vol.1): 54 n. 5.

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Abstract

Matthew Devaris, one of the prominent Hellenists in 16th-century Rome, is known, inter alia, as an author of Greek epigrams. Some of them were printed in the preface to his *Liber de Graecae linguae particulis* in 1588. As for the rest, several epigrams were published in 1962 by Faidon Bubulidis and a few other ones by Anna Meschini Pontani in 1978. Meschini Pontani supposed that the corpus of Devaris' epigrams might turn out to be larger. Indeed, one of his unknown poems has recently come to light in an unexpected place. A paper leaf preserved in the Archives of the Saint Petersburg Institute for History (carton 671, No. 54) is a subscribed copy of his epigram dedicated to Guglielmo Sirleto, apparently an autograph. Its first publication is offered here, together with an introductory note and some remarks concerning Devaris' possible sources.

GREEK VERSES OF DAMIANUS BENESSA

Vlado Rezar

Introduction

It is commonly accepted that Latin-speaking Europe started to become more intensively acquainted with the literary heritage of Greek antiquity only in the mid-15th century, when a larger number of learned Greeks started leaving their motherland and fled to Italy. This coincided with the publication of the first printed books, and the new invention also significantly contributed to the growing interest in and a wider dissemination of classical Greek texts in the learned West.¹ After the introduction of Greek types in 1465, the first complete text in Greek was printed in Brescia around the year of 1474, namely Pseudo-Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*. Fourteen years after Valla's Latin translation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in 1474, the Greek original was edited and published by Demetrius Chalcondyles in Florence in 1488. The *editio princeps* of Hesiod and Isocrates was printed in 1493, and from 1495 to 1498 the collected works of Aristotle appeared in five volumes.² Latin Europe got the chance to know

¹ Of course, the classical cultural heritage was of interest in the West even earlier. Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374) possessed his own manuscript copy of Homer's poetry, although he never mastered Greek to the level that would have enabled him to read the epics in the original. His younger fellow scholar Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) brought a teacher of Greek, Calabrian Leonzio Pilato (died 1364), to Florence, and during his service (1360–1362) Pilato made a prose translation of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into Latin. Yet, the first teacher of significant impact on the development of Greek philology in the West was Manuel Chrysoloras of Constantinople (1355–1415). Invited by Salutati, he came to Florence and from 1397 to 1400 he educated a generation of influential scholars, like Leonardo Bruni (1370–1444), Guarino Veronese (1374–1360) and Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439). The most acclaimed continuer of his work was Ioannis Argyropoulos of Constantinople (1415–1487), who came to Italy before the fall of Constantinople, and was teaching Greek and philosophy in Florence and Rome until his death. Another famous Greek teacher was Theodorus Gaza of Thessaloniki (1410–1475), who also wrote an influential Greek grammar (printed in 1495) and translated several works of Aristotle into Latin. See Marsh 2010: 210–211.

² The number of Greek incunables varies between 63 and 66. For a detailed list see *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (ISTC); Layton 1979.

the famous collection of Greek epigrammatic poetry known as *Anthologia Planudea* in 1494, when it was first printed in Florence. The corpus of 2400 Greek epigrams was edited by Janus Lascaris (1445–1534), a Constantinople refugee and a prominent Greek scholar.³ During his famous public reading of selected Greek epigrams in Florence in 1493 he praised the Planudean compilation as the book which cannot be surpassed in that it presented both the richness of the Greek language and the universal wisdom of life, and all of that in a concise, but graceful manner. Consequently, he recommended the following to his audience: *Haec epigrammata itaque transferat unusquisque, in his se oblectet, haec imitetur, in his se exerceat qui praeter alias utilitates tale quid etiam et tentare cupit et perficere.*⁴ One could say that this encouraging call for reading, translating, even writing one's own Greek poems after ancient Greek models was heeded most conspicuously in the poetic efforts of another recognised member of the Italian humanist elite at the end of the *quattrocento*, the Florentine poet Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494).⁵ It was exactly between 1493 and 1494 that Poliziano enlarged the existing collection of his adolescent Greek poetry with 30 newly-composed Greek poems. As he suddenly died the same year, his Greek collection, which reached a total of 50 epigrams, was soon published posthumously, along with his Latin works, in Venice in 1498, by the

³ Lascaris was born in Constantinople, but his humanist appellation *Rhyndacenus* refers to the place of his family roots, Rhyndacus in Asia Minor. Latin West is indebted to him for the discovery of numerous valuable manuscripts of classical Greek authors (he collected about 200 of them in 1492 in the monasteries of Mount Athos). Besides, Lascaris prepared printed editions of four tragedies by Euripides, and works of Callimachus, Apollonius of Rhodes and Lucian. Being in the service of French kings (Charles VIII, Louis XII, Francis I) he established the study of Greek philology in France, and together with his famous pupil Guillaume Budé founded the library in Fontainebleau, the nucleus of what would later become Bibliothèque Nationale de France. See Sandy 1996: 739–740.

⁴ The whole quotation reads as follows: *De epigrammatis quoque hoc unum satis in praesentia fuerit: a nullo nos libro tantam utilitatem posse consequi aut ad linguam et eruditionem aut ad iudicium circa humanas actiones et ad morum et uitae compositionem. Tanta est in eo uarietas, tanta copia et nominum et rerum, tam exquisita iudicia de rebus fere omnibus, quae in humanis actionibus possunt incidere, cum tanta breuitate et elegantia, tanto lepore et uenere, ut sapientissimorum omnium ingenium et iudicium non sine philotimia et concertatione quadam in unum hunc librum collatum esse existimes. Haec epigrammata itaque transferat unusquisque, in his se oblectet, haec imitetur, in his se exerceat qui praeter alias utilitates tale quid etiam et tentare cupit et perficere. Quin et in soluta oratione haudquaquam rhytmum et concinnitatem et numerum deprehendere aut deligere et constituere poteris, nisi prius carminibus saltem luseris et modulis.* See Müllner 1899: 143.

⁵ Not only is his Italian and Latin poetry considered to be among the most significant poetical achievements of the Italian *quattrocento*; Poliziano's philological work on the texts of classical authors also surpasses the standards of his time and traces a path towards modern textual criticism. See Reynolds, Wilson 1999: 143–146; Grafton 1983: 9–44.

printing house of the most famous Renaissance publisher of Greek literature, Aldo Manuzio.⁶

However, no matter how surprising it might *prima facie* appear in the context of the profound interest in the ancient Greek language and its literature among the *Res publica litteraria*, the fact is that except Poliziano's Greek collection and an only recently published collection of 44 Greek poems entitled *Peri Psychagogias* and written by Poliziano's older contemporary Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481), there were no similar attempts at composing a collection of genuine poetry in the second most important linguistic medium of Humanism in the whole Italian *quattrocento*.⁷ Moreover, even isolated excursions into the field of Greek poetry – omitting here Greeks residing in Italy – were quite rare among the learned humanists.⁸ Relevant literature and Kristeller's indispensable catalogue of humanist manuscripts cite a single Greek epigram by Chrysoloras's student Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439), two Greek sonnets by Cyriacus of Ancona (Ciriaco de' Pizzicolli, 1391–1455), a few Greek occasional poems by Scipio Forteguerra (Scipione Forteguerri (Carteromaco), 1466–1515), Giovanni Battista Buoninsegni (1453–1512) and Andrea Dazzi (1473–1548), all of them distinguished teachers of Greek; however, only a graceful Greek epigram by Alessandra Scala (1475–1506), dedicated to Poliziano and published along with his own Greek epigrams, was to gain some fame.⁹ Therefore, the status of genuine Greek poetry at the turn of the century could be best depicted through the words of the editor of Poliziano's Greek verses, Zenobio Acciaiuoli (Zanobi Acciaiuoli (Azaroli), 1461–1519). He did not hesitate to portray Italian contemporary literary production in Greek in this way: *In hoc quoq(ue) genere scriptionis, in quo Latini paulummodo mussitantes gloriari*

⁶ The consecutive appearance of Poliziano's own Greek verses can hardly be interpreted as his cordial or benevolent response to Lascaris' exhortation, but rather as an attempt to prove his own philological and poetic superiority. A strong intellectual rivalry between the two scholars was notorious, and was additionally exacerbated by the fact that they both were in love with the same person, Florentine noblewoman Alessandra Scala. See Pontani 2002: XXIV–XXIX; XLVI; Lauxtermann 2009: 52–53.

⁷ Pontani 2002: XLIII–XLV. See also Cortassa, Maltese 1997.

⁸ As for the Greek scholars in Italy, the most productive poet by far was precisely Lascaris, with more than fifty Greek epigrams of his own, published along with his Latin epigrams in Paris in 1527 (for a modern edition see Meschini 1976). Other Lascaris' contemporaries of Greek origin who lived in Italy and whose poetry in ancient Greek language has been mentioned in literature were cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472) as author of his own epitaph, then Andronico Callisto (died before 1487), Bessarion's protégé and teacher of Greek in Florence, with four Greek epigrams, and Marco Musuro (1470–1517), Lascaris' student, with few occasional poems in Greek. See Hody 1742.

⁹ See Kristeller 1962–1992. For Scala's epigram see Pontani 2002: 141–152.

solemus.¹⁰ As for the rest of the Latin West, there should be little doubt that the famous medieval words “Graeca sunt, non leguntur” in Poliziano’s time still accurately described the attitude towards the Greek language. This is clearly confirmed by the fact that the history of printing shows only some 65 Greek incunabula, exclusively of Italian origin, compared to an impressive number of some 40,000 Latin incunabula, published throughout the Old continent.¹¹ In this very context, one should certainly pay attention to the only attested case of humanist Greek poetry on the Eastern coast of the Adriatic at the turn of the century, attributed to the Ragusan humanist poet Damianus Benessa.

The Ragusan Humanist poet Damianus Benessa (1476–1539)

Benessa was one of the only four Ragusan humanist poets whose *oeuvre* has been preserved almost entirely. Although his poetry has never gained as much attention and acknowledgment as the poetic works of his contemporaries and fellow citizens, the love elegist Carolus Puteus (Karlo Pucić, 1458–1522), the *poeta laureatus* Aelius Lampridius Cerva (Ilija Crijević, 1463–1520) and the master of the epic Jacobus Bonus (Jakov Bunić, 1469–1534), Benessa is remarkable as a poet who surpassed his contemporaries in the extent of his humanist commitment, challenging his artistic skills in almost all representative poetic genres of the time, using both of the linguistic vehicles of Humanism – Latin and Greek – and creating a body of works which is noteworthy, if not for anything else, then at least for its profundity.¹² It is not known where, when and what kind of education he received, but he was definitely not a “professional” humanist. Like many other Ragusans he used to be involved in the maritime trade, travelling from Britain all the way to Asia, but even during his travels he was still sincerely devoted to poetry and philology. On his last voyage before retirement he confirmed his humanist devotion by editing and publishing an *octavo* edition of the longest Roman epic *Opus de secundo bello Punico* by Silius Italicus, in Lyon in 1514.¹³

¹⁰ Pontani 2002: XLIII (in the preface to Aldus’ edition of Poliziano’s *Opera omnia*, Venice 1498, κκ 1 verso, in: http://daten.digital-e-sammlungen.de/bsb00050563/image_896).

¹¹ See Layton 1979: 53–67.

¹² The Latin poetry of the poets mentioned here can be found at CroALa (<http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/>).

¹³ This edition was held in high regard among later editors of Silius’ epic, but today is interesting mostly as an early *contrafatto* of Aldo’s italic type. See Rezar 2013.

As for his own poetic legacy, more than 16,000 lines were preserved and gathered in two manuscripts, including the poems of his younger days inspired by Roman love elegists, the poetic fruits of his mature years, dedicated to religious and political themes, and finally the works of his later years, with the impressive Christian epic *De morte Christi* as the crown of his poetic efforts, composed in almost 8,500 hexameters.¹⁴ His intellectual profile would not be complete without the mention of the fact that he also proved himself as a writer of elegant Latin epistles, written in the best manner of humanist *antitursica*, addressed to three European monarchs, Ferdinand I, Charles V and Francis I, appealing for Christian unity and resistance to the Turkish threat.¹⁵

The prose epilogue to Benessa's poetic collection, written probably in 1539, reveals the author's serious intention to publish his recently completed works. However, it seems that Benessa's plans were frustrated by his sudden death, and in the centuries to come his work faced extremely poor literary reception. The autograph manuscript containing Benessa's Christian epic was published only in 2006, and the other one in 2017.¹⁶ This one, an autograph as well, contains his smaller-scale poetry, totalling more than 8,000 Latin verses. The poems are divided into three books of epigrams, a book of eclogues, two books of lyric poetry and a book of satires. The apparent humanist concept of this poetic venture, based on the *genre* models of classical antiquity, is even more emphasised by Benessa's seven Latin renditions of Greek epigrams from the *Planudean Anthology* and especially by Benessa's nine original epigrams composed in ancient Greek.

¹⁴ The epic *De morte Christi* is a work of the poet's late years, which nevertheless did not prevent him from composing in such a demanding literary genre. In terms of content and concept, Benessa's epic represents an obvious reaction to Girolamo Vida's innovative epic *Christias* (1535), displaying an *in medias res* narrative approach, and inserting scenes which are not part of the Christian biblical canon. After the first, introductory canto, which somewhat sets the conceptual stage for the action of the epic, Benessa devotes three cantos to an elaboration of the motif of the Last Supper, three to the motif of Christ's interrogation before the assembly of Jews and Pilate, and three to the motif of death and resurrection. The result is an untypical epic, as its narrative is mixed with extensive contemplative interpolations, which makes it closer to a narrative poem.

¹⁵ The Latin epistles were discovered and published only recently. See Rezar 2012.

¹⁶ See Rezar 2006 and 2017. Both manuscripts are being kept in Dubrovnik, the former in the Research Library (call number 4) and the latter in the Franciscan Archive (call number 78).

Benessa's Greek Epigrams: The Context

This particular segment of Benessa's *oeuvre*, a total of 30 elegiac couplets, is a *unicum* among the surviving works of Croatian humanist poets and consequently of undisputed importance for Croatian cultural history.

The poems in Benessa's books of epigrams are presented in a chronological order, and the Greek epigrams are scattered among the prevalent Latin poems in all of the three books. Judging from their location within the collection, it could be roughly estimated that the Greek epigrams were composed between 1510 and 1530. As he was born in 1476 and died in 1539, the date of the Greek poems could easily mislead us to the conclusion that Benessa was not interested in Greek in his early years. Therefore, it is important to note that his epigram written in ancient Greek, found at the end of the first book of epigrams, was preceded by six (out of seven) of Benessa's Latin adaptations of Greek epigrams by Meleager, Macedonius, Philippus of Thessalonica, Alpheus of Mytilene, Tymneus, and of an epigram belonging to the category of *adespota*.¹⁷ The fact that the first of these Latin renditions is located at the very beginning of the first book of epigrams (I, 2), in addition to the quite convincing *terminus post quem* being the year of 1494, when *Anthologia Planudea* was first published, leads us to the conclusion that Benessa's poetic endeavours began in the last years of the 15th century, on the verge of his adulthood, and that his poetic and philological interest was from the beginning focused both on the Latin and Greek language, and on their ancient literary heritage respectively.¹⁸ The same logic allows us to presume that his fascination with Greek poetry did not fade even in his later years, if we take a look at his Latin poetical rendition of the poem Εἰς τὴν ἐν ταῖς νηστεῖαις σιωπῆν (*Carmina de se ipso* 34, PG 37, p. 1307) by Gregory of Nazianzus. Its place in the manuscript, close to its end, along

¹⁷ Benessa's epigrams I, 2 and I, 4 represent Latin renditions of Meleager's V, 215 and V, 176, Benessa's I, 12 renders Macedonius' V, 224, Benessa's I, 13 renders Philippus' IX, 293, Benessa's I, 21 renders Alpheus' IX, 526, Benessa's II, 7 renders Tymneus' VII, 433, and finally Benessa's I, 10 is a Latin rendition of *adespota* IX, 126.

¹⁸ The very first epigram of the collection is mutilated and only the last line can be partially read as *Verberibus rident posse*. One cannot tell from these remaining words whether this epigram was also a Latin adaptation of a Greek original or not. Benessa's Latin rendition of Meleager's V, 215 gives us a picture of his juvenile poetic skills:

Liber epigr. I, 2 (AMB 78, f. 2)
*Sodes tolle mihi curas Heliodorae:
 Flectat Musa, mei si nihil, heu, miseret!
 Per te perque arcus, et quae me laedere solum
 iam dudum norunt spicula, iuro, Puer,
 Vel si me mactes, linquam post funera uocem,
 Quae clamabit: Amor demum homicida fuit.*

AP 5, 215
 Λίσσομ', Ἔρωσ, τὸν ἄγρυπνον ἐμοὶ πόθον Ἑλιοδώρας
 κοίμισσον αἰδεσθεὶς Μοῦσαν ἐμὰν ἰκέτιν.
 ναὶ γὰρ δὴ τὰ σὰ τόξα, τὰ μὴ δεδιδραγμένα βάλλειν
 ἄλλον, αἰεὶ δ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ πτανὰ χέοντα βέλη,
 εἰ καὶ ἐμὲ κτείναις, λείψω φωνὴν προιέντα
 γράμματ'. "Ἐρωτος ὄρα, ξεῖνε, μαιφονίαν."

with the chosen topic itself, suggests that here we deal with the poetry from the last decade of his life.¹⁹

However, the establishment of the rough chronology of Benessa's Greek poetry is less of a problem compared to the task of placing it precisely in the intellectual and educational context which granted him such profound philological competence. So far no evidence exists which would link Benessa to any of Italian or French academies or universities which used to be attended by noble Ragusans at the time. Nevertheless, it is possible to assume that the gymnasium of Ragusa provided a thorough humanist education as early as the second half of the 15th century. In fact, we know that the gymnasium was headed by the Italian humanist Daniele Clario, according to Aldo's words "vir utraque lingua doctus", in the period from 1482 to 1505, and that was exactly the period when Benessa might have attended the school.²⁰ Moreover, his older fellow citizen was Ioannes Gotius (Ivan Gučetić, 1451–1502), a humanist whose Latin poems were highly praised by Angelo Poliziano, and who was allegedly the first to introduce ancient Greek literature in Ragusa.²¹ Finally, another learned contemporary of Benessa, the Benedictine and humanist historiographer Ludovicus Cervarius Tubero (Ludovik Crijević, 1458–1527) did not fail to mention in his work that the educated citizens of Ragusa, the city which offered temporary asylum to many Greek refugees on their way to Italy, were in his time well acquainted with both classical languages and their literatures.²²

¹⁹ For Benessa's Latin translation of Gregory's poem see Bricko 1992: 238–249.

²⁰ *Aldus Manutius Romanus Iacobo Sanazaro patritio Neapolitano et equiti clarissimo S.P.D.: Georgius Interianuas Genuensis, homo frugi, venit iam annum Venetias, quo cum primum adplicuit, etsi me de facie non cognosceret nec ulla inter nos familiaritas intercederet, me tamen officiose adiit, tum quia ipse benignus est et sane quam humanus, tum etiam quia Daniel Clarius Parmensis, vir utraque lingua doctus et qui in urbe Rhacusa publice summa cum laude profitetur bonas literas, ei ut me suo nomine salutaret iniunxerat...* See Affo 1791: 62.

²¹ Poliziano's opinion of Gotius' poetry was presented in his letter to Gotius from 1483, and we quote one sentence: *Quis non attonitus audiat hominem ab Illyrio, mercimoniis (ut inquit Plautus) emundis vendundisque occupatum, florentibus adhuc annis, tantos in omni poetice fecisse progressus, ut non solum suae aetatis hominibus, sed cum ipsa plane antiquitate conferri possit?* See Butler 2006: 278–280.

In the funerary speech held on Gotius' grave Cerva said the following: *Primus enim in patriam, quantum omnes meminisse possumus, Atticas veneres et illud Isocratis mirothecion (...) advexit.* See Škunca 1971: 186.

A manuscript copy of 57 of Aesop's fables and several shorter texts in ancient Greek, made by Gotius' hand and held in Dubrovnik until 1530, has been kept in Bodleian library (Laud MS 9). A description of the manuscript can be found in Coxe's catalogue (Coxe 1853: 496).

²² Cf. Rezar 2016a. One of those refugees was a famous Latin poet Michele Marullo Tarchaniota (1453–1500), who spent his early years in the city, and later even wrote a laudatory poem *De laudibus Rhacusae* in 15 Alcaic stanzas. The poem can be read here: <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafile/croala/cgi-bin/getobject.pl?c.25:1.laud>

Before the content and the main characteristics of Benessa's Greek epigrams are laid out in detail, we still need to address the issue of their transmission and reception. As far as his contemporaries are concerned, there are only two reactions to Benessa's alphabetically recorded poetic attempts from his contemporaries. The author of the first one, a poem written between 1510 and 1520 and dedicated to a younger poet colleague, is aforementioned Aelius Lampridius Cerva, Benessa's friend and major poetic influence. Referring in the poem to the Anien (Anio, Teverone) in Italy and the Meles in Asia Minor, two river symbols of poetry in Late Antiquity, he actually alludes to Benessa's successful companionship both with the Latin and the Greek Muses:

*Damio, primaevus multum uelocior annis
Emeritum lusos poscere parce senem.
Nanque hylares quondam, mea numina sola, Camoenae
Tristitia atque annis consenuere suis.
Tu uiridem laurum uiridi sortitus in aeuo,
Exultasque nouae murmura nactus aquae.
Ast ego nempe meas laurus arescere cerno,
Quas mihi Roma sua nexuit ipsa manu,
Quoque propinabat nobis de fonte Quirinus,
Puluereus riuo est deficientis aquae.
Te decet ergo chorus uitreas Anienis ad undas
Atque Meletaeas ducere propter aquas;
Me mea saltantem riderent secula. Quod tu,
Vlterius non est Aelius: ipse fuit.²³*

The second testimony to the fact that Benessa's philological expertise was recognised and admired by his contemporaries comes from Nicolaus Petreius Corcyreus (1486–1568), the then-principal of the gymnasium of Ragusa. He wrote an epitaph for Benessa, probably at the beginning of 1540, with a fitting title: *Epitaphium Damiani Benesii patricii Ragusini, uiri utraque lingua doctissimi*.²⁴

In the next 250 years Benessa's Greek as well as Latin legacy fell into oblivion. Antonius Agich (1753–1830), a Ragusan Franciscan and devoted Latin philologist, antiquarian and poet himself, tried to rescue it from oblivion

²³ See Novaković 2004: 228–229.

²⁴ The whole epitaph reads as follows: *Te Damiane tuis rapuerunt tristia Parcae / Stamina ducentes. Sed docti et pectoris artes, / Et Sophia, aeternae pepererunt saecula uitae*. See Biblioteca comunale Augustea, Perugia, MS G 99, f. 64v. For Petreius' Latin translations from Greek see this link: <http://croala.ffzg.unizg.hr/basex/croalabib-opera-index>.

at the beginning of the 19th century.²⁵ In spite of being badly damaged, he copied both of the aforementioned manuscripts containing Benessa's poetry, with the exception of the verses in Greek, which the Franciscan did not know well. This is the very reason why he took Benessa's autograph in 1816 to the island of Corfu, where he was invited to deliver Lenten sermons, hoping that learned Greeks there would help him to interpret the poems in Greek in order to put their Latin translation in his copy of Benessa's manuscripts. However, the Greeks there were not able to read, let alone translate, Benessa's verses, so Agich in the end sought help from Girolamo Amati that same year, when he visited Rome. Amati was a scribe working with Greek texts in the Vatican Library and was considered the most accomplished paleographer of Greek in Rome, to whom the texts that others could not decipher were brought, accompanied with the note *hi codices quidem Amatio soli legendi reseruantur* (i.e., only Amati can read this). Curiously, after a few days of studying the manuscript even Amati became frustrated by Benessa's Greek epigrams and considered them mostly incomprehensible and untranslatable – in other words of no value whatsoever in terms of content, aesthetics and grammar.²⁶ Nevertheless, Amati copied six out of the nine epigrams in legible Greek script and literally translated them into Latin, and Agich later inserted into his own transcript of Benessa's poetry only Amati's Latin translation, deeming the Greek transcription unnecessary. Unfortunately, Amati's written report containing the aforementioned Greek transcription disappeared without trace.²⁷

The next one to tackle Benessa's Greek poems exactly one hundred years after Agich and Amati was the distinguished Croatian philologist Đuro Körbler. Writing about Benessa's early love poetry, Körbler also sums up the content of the Greek poems which he found in the manuscript. In addition to this, he provided a copy of the Greek original for two epigrams, while other epigrams are only referred to by their titles. Finally, as a curiosity, Körbler recounts Amati's assessment of Benessa's Greek poems, as reported by Agich, that the Greek verses hardly deserved to be called Greek because they left much to be desired, because of incorrect accents, erroneous morphology, faulty syntax, and

²⁵ See Rezar 2005: 84.

²⁶ Agich gives us information on this in his foreword to the transcript of Benessa's manuscripts (Franciscan Archive in Dubrovnik, no. 256, pp. V–10). The quote of Amati's words reads as follows: *Quo una simul omnibus hisce iudicium feram, tot in illis sensus inconcinni, uerba corrupta, constructiones peruersae, uerae quantitatis leges uiolatae, accentuum ratio neglecta, ut mage quam in Latinis, in male feriatis, et quae uix Graeca appellari possint, carminibus auctor hic culpandus sit.*

²⁷ Our attempt to find it within the collection of Agich's letters in the Franciscan Archive was unsuccessful.

even semantic nonsense, and Agich, who had not enjoyed copying Benessa's poetry either, did not fail to mention that he had added Amati's report in his copy so as to make sure nobody is deceived by the undeserved commendations Cerva bestowed once on Benessa's Greek poetry! Essentially, this condemning view was too harsh even for Körbler, who, incidentally, was also not impressed with Benessa very much: however, in his concluding words he took the sting out of Amati's assessment, arguing that Benessa had put a great deal of effort into his writing and that should be his saving grace.²⁸

Finally, Benessa's Latin rendition of the Greek elegy by Gregory of Nazianzus has recently been philologically analysed in depth.²⁹ A comparison between the two texts led the author of the study to the conclusion that since he had translated the verses from one language into another with such skill and feel, Benessa undeniably must have had a great command of both languages.

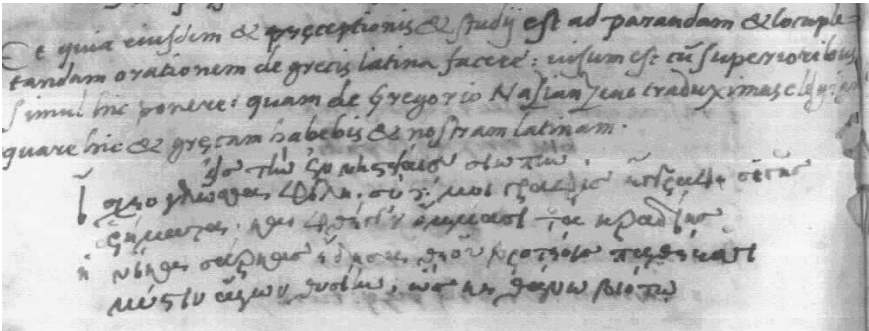
Benessa's Greek Epigrams

This is the general context which led to this latest attempt at presenting Benessa's Greek poetry as a whole. It is obvious from the aforesaid that those who have tried to do the same before us may have easily stumbled already on their very first step, as the mere reading of Benessa's script was quite a problem. The enlarged photos (see Appendix) of the manuscript text speak for themselves, and even this last philological attempt would not have succeeded had a complete scan of the manuscript not been made just before its restoration some 15 years ago, as the restoration preserved the manuscript from perishing, but reduced its readability. Greek paleography compendia also helped a lot, but owing to the philological work already done by Körbler, and especially to Benessa's own Greek transcript of the elegy by Gregory of Nazianzus, written along with its Latin translation, the deciphering of the peculiarities of Benessa's Greek script became much easier (see ILL. 1).

As a result, a textual reconstruction of all 60 Greek verses by Benessa has finally been accomplished, of course, with a possible need for variant readings, yet almost without a single lacuna. The surprising fact is that the last three epigrams, which were declared completely incomprehensible by Amati, in this very text reconstruction appear to function well in terms of grammar and substance, which is not always the case in the rest of Benessa's Greek poetry.

²⁸ See Körbler 1915: 218–252.

²⁹ See note 19.



ILL. 1. Benessa's transcript of the elegy by Gregory of Nazianzus
(AMB 78, ff. 145v–149).

Occasional morphological irregularities, which are not difficult to notice and interpret correctly (e.g. θρέψα for θρέψα, ἄστρεσι for ἀστράσι) are not so problematic, but, as Amati properly objected, the following, beyond any doubt, is: almost systematically wrong usage of diacritics, prevalent omission of the iota subscript, arbitrary marking of elisions, and generally untidy writing with uneven letter and word spacing, hindering the articulation of the words and consequently the interpretation of the written text. Sporadic miswritten vowel quantities (σπεριζόμενος for στηριζόμενος, ἡμή for ἐμή), as well as archaisms and dialectalisms (mainly Eolisms and Dorisms) used at times for metric and at other times for stylistic reasons, can lead the editor to an even greater confusion.

As for the contents of the epigrams, it could generally be said that the themes are conventional, ranging from love problems to epitaphs and spiritual matters. The first one (I, 30), consisting of three elegiac couplets written at the end of the first book of epigrams, was certainly composed before 1515 and represents the poet's farewell to love poetry.³⁰ The second epigram (II, 21) consisting of two elegiac couplets, is an epitaph dedicated to Benessa's fellow citizen and poet Carolus Puteus, who died in 1522.³¹ The next one (II, 22),

³⁰ Amati's prose translation of I, 30: *Lyrae mihi fideles, quum uobis plurimum adhaerebam, / Testes estis quantum Cypridi seruire amem: / Non amplius dulces, ut antea, recedite a me animi afflicto, / Iam enim uestra peritit omnis gratia. / Pulchrorum siquidem uerborum ipsa memoria obiit, / Ita ut cui fidatur nihil remaneat.* See AMB 256, p. 600.

³¹ Amati's prose translation of II, 21: *Nostin', quem cernis mortuum, dum aliquando uixi, / Quis eram, et cuius artis esse uociferabar? / Carolus eram. cognomine Puteus, arte uero poeta, / Artem cui et uitam simul doluit Fatum.* See AMB 256, p. 601.

the longest, consists of six elegiac couplets which praise Christ and His love.³² After that there is an epitaph (II, 27), composed in three elegiac couplets and dedicated to the fellow citizen Michael Bonus, who died in 1523.³³ The last two epigrams from the second book of epigrams are an adaptation of the ancient Greek epigram on a Spartan mother who kills her fugitive son, consisting of two elegiac couplets (II, 36),³⁴ and a poem on the Holy Eucharist, again in two elegiac couplets (II, 38).³⁵

The remaining three Greek epigrams are written down in the third book of epigrams, one after another (III, 26–28): the Latin elegy which follows them immediately and mourns the death of Benessa's fellow citizen Jacobus Bonus, who died in 1534, suggests a precise *terminus post quem non*. The first one is made of four elegiac couplets and explains the nature of the relation between the Earth and the Sky; the second one, of the same length, discusses the importance of peace for the welfare of people; the last one, consisting of four elegiac couplets again, dedicated to a certain Constantine, pessimistically laments whimsical fate.³⁶ Finally, the fact that almost all of the Greek epigrams are additionally paired up with their Latin counterparts is interesting in its own right: Latin renditions of Greek epigrams and *vice versa* were common in Renaissance humanist poetry, and Benessa himself used to do it both ways,

³² Amati's prose translation of II, 22: *Multa scire et cogitare cuiusnam erit utilitatis? / Nihil enim talia sapientibus profuere. / Valete mihi artes et uarii characteres librorum, / Vt anima semper uiuat uobis enim non inest. / Christus mihi solus sufficit, eumque mihi solum habeam / Ducem mortalium, ad quem omnia tendunt. / Hic enim finis, haec uia et acquisitio praeclara; / Totus autem orbis nihil aliud est, nisi mendacium. / Venite iterum artes, iterum accedite characteres librorum, / Vos ostendite mihi amorem, (ostendite) Christum. / Vtilissimum hoc, sapiens hoc est, quod etiamsi damna omnia / Quis proposuerit, mensuram nescit.* See AMB 256, p. 601.

³³ Amati's prose translation of II, 27: *Talis uir obiit, multis et lachrimas reliquit, / Qui omnium quum esset amicus, ab omnibus dilectus est. / Et equidem reipsa Bonus erat, cui bonum est nomen domus, / Quique mores, corpus, animam sortitus est bonam. / Nos lugemus: tu autem, Michael, requiescas, / Et mortuorum uoces heic accipias.* See AMB 256, p. 602.

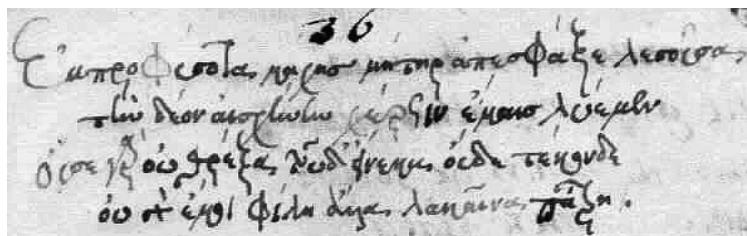
³⁴ Amati's prose translation of II, 36: *Fugientem quemdam a praelio mater suffocauit, dicens / Turpitudinem manibus meis oportet luere etc. ...: epigramma hoc male deformatum est ex epigrammate Anthologiae.* See AMB 256, p. 602.

³⁵ Amati's prose translation of II, 38: *Proponitur nobis nunc panis, quem angelus manducat, / Et mortalis, qui illo satiatur, hoc perficit. / O prodigium, Deus magne, sensibile enim os loquitur, / Et praesto sunt incompraehensibilia menti.* See AMB 256, p. 602.

³⁶ About the first of them Amati said the following: *Adeo in hoc epigrammate obscurus est sensus, et constructio peruersa ac dubia, ut transcribere et uertere illud pigeat.* His commentary on the second one is similar to the first one: *Et hoc epigramma erroribus ac mala constructione insigne est, ut tamen sensum aliquem efficiat, sed nullius momenti.* Finally, Amati treated the last one this way: *Dolores et morbi et omnino mala alia infinita, / Quis nostra obnoxia est infelix uita, / Omne sane uirtutis bonum pessumdant semper etc... sequentia similis prorsus farinae sunt cum superioribus.* See AMB 256, pp. 602–603.

as we have already seen his Latin renderings of seven ancient Greek epigrams. Regarding his Greek epigrams, judging from their location in the manuscript collection they were both models for Latin translations and renderings of earlier-composed Latin poems. The last three Greek epigrams in the collection lack Latin counterparts, without a clear reason.

Before the conclusion, let us briefly summarise general philological characteristics of Benessa's Greek poetry by analyzing one of his epigrams (ILL. 2):



ILL. 2. *Liber epigr.* II, 36 (AMB 78, f. 31).

(Literal transcription)

Ἐκπροφύγοντα μάχης μήτηρ ἀπεσφάξε λεγοῦσα
 Τὴν δέον αἰσχύνῃν χέρσιν ἔμοιο λυέμεν
 Οὔσε γὰρ οὐ θρέξα τοῦδ' εἵνεκα οὔδε τέκονδε
 Οὐ γὰρ ἔμοι φίλη ἄλλα Λακαίνα πάτηρ.

(Edited transcription, in terms of accentuation, punctuation and word division)

Ἐκπροφυγόντα μάχης μήτηρ ἀπέσφαξε λέγουσα·
 Τὴν δέον αἰσχύνῃν χερσὶν ἔμοιοις λυέμεν,
 Οὐ σὲ γὰρ οὐ θρέξα τοῦδ' εἵνεκα οὔδὲ τέκον δέ,
 Οὐ γὰρ ἔμοι, φίλη, ἄλλα, Λάκαινα πάτηρ.

As it is quite evident, many accents in Benessa's original version are placed incorrectly, some of them (ἀπεσφάξε λεγοῦσα; ἄλλα Λακαίνα) actually corresponding to the place of the *ictus* in the metrical scheme of the elegiac couplet. Inadequate accentuation is a common phenomenon in Renaissance Greek manuscripts, especially in marking enclitics, but Benessa's writing exceeds a reasonable number of aberrations indeed.

Consequently, even the accuracy of the accents which *prima facie* seem to be correct easily gets challenged by an editor.³⁷ Here in particular the adjective form ἄλλα (nom. pl. neut. of ἄλλος) could plausibly be considered as a miswritten form of the contrastive conjunction ἀλλά, and the syntagm φίλη Λάκαινα πάτρι, now appearing to be a vocative, could just as well be interpreted as a nominative combined with orthographically incorrect dative form (φίλη, Λάκαινα, πάτρι) contrasted to ἐμοί, all the easier because of Benessa's arbitrary usage of the *iota subscriptum* throughout the text and of other morphological deviations we encounter in his poems.³⁸ One of such deviations is θρέξα, the form of which should undoubtedly be interpreted as an aorist of the verb τρέφω (with correct aorist form ἔθρεψα), not as an aorist of the verb τρέχω. It lacks an augment, as well as the form τέκον, both for metrical reasons. Finally, one can to some extent be surprised by the form λυέμεν for λύειν, which represents a morphologically correct Eolism, although unattested in ancient Greek literature.³⁹ This form again, as well as the aforementioned unaugmented aorists and the form εἶνεκα instead of ἔνεκα, is chosen for metrical reasons, but this one in particular testifies to Benessa's philological, if not poetical, skill of some note.

To conclude, the question remaining after all that has been said so far is what in the first place could have led a person who was neither Greek nor Italian, living at the end of 15th and the beginning of the 16th century in remote and seemingly isolated Ragusa, to write Greek poetry. Part of the answer lies in the following. As is evident from his Latin epigram *De poetis nostrae aetatis* (*Liber epigr.* III, 14, AMB 78, f. 36v), Benessa was particularly impressed with the poetry of four of his Italian contemporaries: Giovanni Pontano, Jacopo Sanazzaro, Michele Marullo Tarchaniota and Angelo Poliziano:

*Quos iam magis commendo plurisue estimo
 Vatum meę aetatis, nec exiguus, licet,
 Horum numerus: at cęteris quos prefero
 Graius Marullus, tum tametsi animoque ei
 Iam nil amico litteratus Angelus;
 Florentia nobis profectis obuui
 Pontanus Acciusue Sincerus simul.
 Secerno solos cęteris hos omnibus.*

³⁷ Of course, this is easier if the sense of a poem is not unambiguous, and about this particular one Amati said: *epigramma hoc male deformatum est ex epigrammate Anthologiae*. See note 34.

³⁸ This change significantly alters the meaning of the verse: *I have nothing else but you, my dear Spartan homeland* (as transcribed above) vs. *Me, being a Spartan woman, didn't give you life for my own sake, but for the sake of dear homeland* (suggested alternative reading)

³⁹ The verb form was checked in word index of the TLG-e database.

His fascination with these four poets is undoubtedly confirmed by the fact that the first three of them had left a recognisable mark on his own poetry: inspired by Pontano's Latin collection *Iambici* lamenting the death of his son Lucius, Benessa also composed an iambic elegy lamenting the death of his son Pascal; inspired by Sannazaro's avant-garde Latin *Eclogae piscatoriae*, he wrote his own fisherman's eclogue *Alieuticon*; and inspired by Marullus, he also wrote exhortative anti-Turkish Latin epigrams addressed to European rulers, Ferdinand I, Charles V and Francis I.⁴⁰ The reason why Angelo Poliziano is put alongside the other three Latin poets as Benessa's influence is not because of his Latin poems, which is what one would expect. In fact, the explanation lies in the Greek segment of both Poliziano's and Benessa's poetry. Both of them wrote Greek poems in addition to Latin ones. The connection between the two poets becomes even more obvious when we consider the fact that in their Greek poems both of them used once the same classical model, the aforementioned Spartan mother killing her own son. Finally, to an even greater surprise, that particular epigram in both Benessa's and Poliziano's version begins with the words Ἐκπροφυγόντα μάχης, the only difference being that Poliziano used the Doric form: Ἐκπροφυγόντα μάχας.⁴¹ All of these analogies are more than a mere coincidence. It is safe to assume that it was Poliziano and his collection of humanist Greek verses in particular which gave the impetus for the poetic endeavours in the Greek language in Ragusa, not long after Greek poetry reached its zenith in Florence. As for Benessa, his philological achievement, unique for Croatian Humanism, has once again proved him to be the most observant and versatile follower of the prevailing humanist literary trends on the eastern coast of the Adriatic.⁴²

⁴⁰ See *Ioannis Ioviani Pontani Amorum [...] Eiusdem Iambici*. Strassbourg: Knoblauch 1515; *Insunt In Hoc Libello [...] Rerum Bucolicarum P. Virgilij Maronis [...] Sannazarij Eclogæ* V. Venezia, 1528; *Michaelis Tarchaniotae Marvlli Constantinopolitani epigrammata et hymni*. Strassbourg: Schürer, 1509.

⁴¹ See Pontani 2002: 170.

⁴² Yet, Benessa and Ioannes Gotius were not the only scholars of some excellence in Greek letters in early 16th century Ragusa. Only recently one of Benessa's dedicatees, certain Coelius, to whom he wrote six Latin laudatory epigrams and odes, but who has been so far completely unknown to Croatian literary history, was identified as the author of the oldest preserved Latin translation of Xenophon's *Anabasis*. He turned out to be Michael Coelius Gradus (Miho Celije Gradić, before 1472–1527), a Ragusan nobleman, who obtained an outstanding education in Florence as a pupil of Demetrius Chalcondyles. Italian humanist Giovanni Bembo additionally mentioned Gradus' Latin translations of several orations of Demosthenes, but today there is no trace of them: his *Anabasis* manuscript is being kept in Berlin (Ms Phill 1900). See Rezar 2016b.

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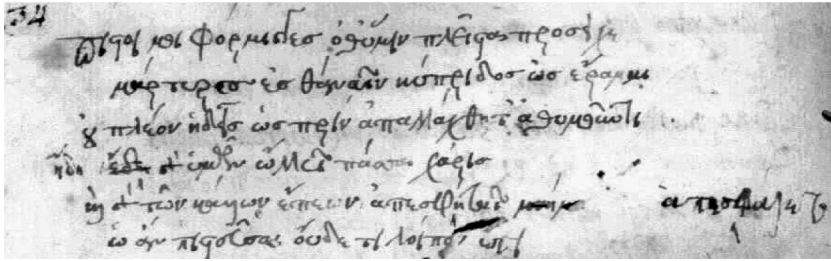
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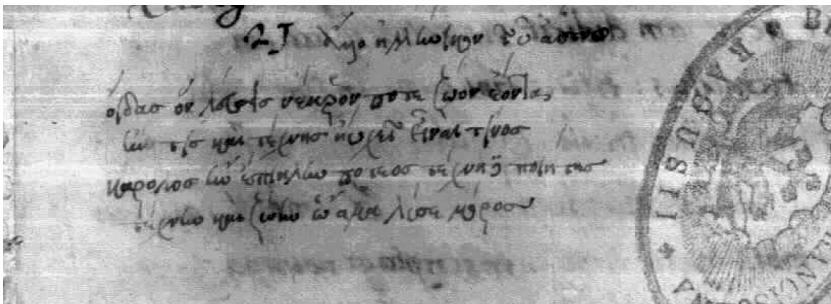
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Appendix. Epigrammata Graeca Damiani Benessae⁴³

ILL. 3. Damiani Benessae Paschalis filii patritii Ragusini Poemata autographa. Dubrovnik, Franciscan Archive Ms 78, p. 34.

I, 30

Πιστοί μοι φόρμιγγες, ὄθ' ὑμῖν πλείστα προσείχε,
 Μάρτυρες ἐς θάνατον Κύπριδος ὡς ἔραμαι,
 Οὐ πλέον ἤδεῖς ὡς πρὶν ἀπαλλάχθητ' ἀθυμοῦντι.
 Ἦδη γὰρ ὑμῶν ἄλλυτο πᾶσσα [!] χάρις,
 Καὶ γὰρ τῶν καλλῶν [!] ἐπέων ἀπεσφάλατο⁴⁴ μνήμη,
 Ὡς ἂν πιστεῦσαι οὐδέ τι λοιπὸν ἔτι.

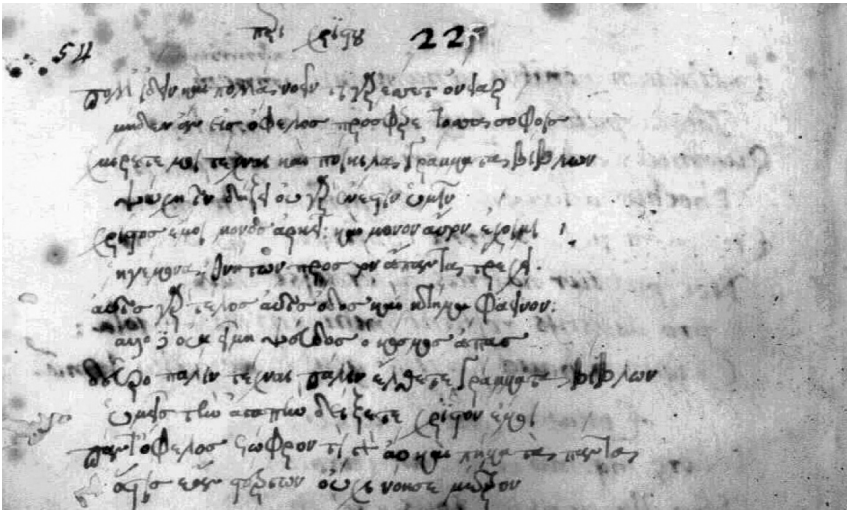


ILL. 4. Damiani Benessae Paschalis filii patritii Ragusini Poemata autographa. Dubrovnik, Franciscan Archive Ms 78, p. 53.

II, 21 Ἄλλο ἠλληνικὸν [!] τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 Οἶδας ὃν λεύσεις νεκρὸν ποτε ζῶν ἔοντα,
 Ἦν τις καὶ τέχνης ἠῦχετο εἶναι τίνος;
 Κάρολος ἦν ἐπίκλην Πότεος, τέχνη δὲ ποιητής,
 Τέχνην καὶ ζῶην ᾧ ἅμα λῦσε μόρος.

⁴³ The text of the Greek verses as presented in the following Appendix is a literal transcript of the manuscript, with modernized punctuation and accentuation.

⁴⁴ *in margine* ἀπεσφάλετο.



ILL. 5. Damiani Benessae Paschalis filii patritii Ragusini Poemata autographa.
Dubrovnik, Franciscan Archive Ms 78, p. 54.

II, 22 Περὶ Χριστοῦ

Πόλλ' ἰδεῖν καὶ πολλὰ νοεῖν τί γὰρ ἔσσετ' ὄνειρα

Μηδὲν ἂν εἰς ὄφελος πρόσφερε τόσσα σοφοῖς·

Χαιρέτε μοι, τέχνη καὶ ποικίλα γράμματα βιβλῶν,

Ψυχὴ τὸν δὴ ζεῖ, οὐ γὰρ ἔνεστιν ὑμῖν.

Χριστὸς ἐμοὶ μόνος ἀρκεῖ, καὶ μόνον αὐτὸν ἔχοιμι

Ἠγεμόνα θνητῶν, πρὸς τὸν ἅπαντα τρέχει·

Αὐτὸς γὰρ τέλος, αὐτὸς ὁδὸς καὶ κτῆμα φαεινόν,

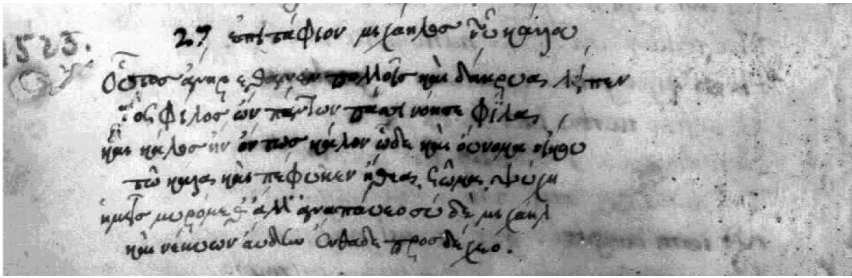
Ἄλλο δὲ οὐκ εἰ μὴ ψεῦδος ὁ κόσμος ἅπας.

Δεῦρο πάλιν, τέχνη, πάλιν ἔλθετε, γράμματα βιβλῶν,

Ὑμεῖς τὴν Ἀγάπην δεῖξετε, Χριστὸν ἐμοί.

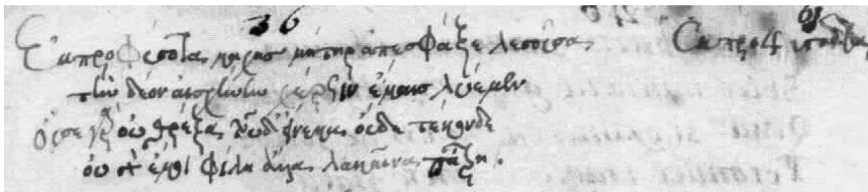
Πάντ' ὄφελος σῶφρόν τι γάρ, αὐτὸ καὶ πῆμα τὰ πάντα,

Ὅστις ἐὰν στέργων οὐχὶ νόησε μέτρον.



ILL. 6. Damiani Benessae Paschalis filii patritii Ragusini Poemata autographa.
Dubrovnik, Franciscan Archive Ms 78, p. 56.

II, 27 Ἐπιτάφιον Μιχαήλος τοῦ Καλλοῦ [!]
 Οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἔθανεν πολλοῖς καὶ δάκρυα λείπεν,
 Ὅς φίλος ὦν πάντων πᾶσιν [!] νόησε φίλα.
 Καὶ καλὸς ἦν ὄντως, καλὸν ᾤδε καὶ οὖνομα οἴκου,
 Τῷ καλὰ καὶ πέφυκεν ἦθεα, σῶμα, ψυχὴ·
 Ἥμεῖς μυρόμεθ', ἀλλ' ἀναπαύεο σὺ δὲ Μιχαήλ,
 Καὶ νεκῶν αὐδὴν ἐνθάδε προσδέχεο.

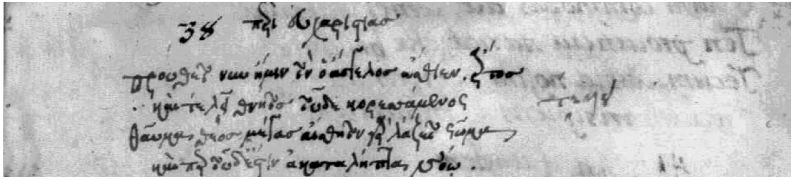


ILL. 7. Damiani Benessae Paschalis filii patritii Ragusini Poemata autographa.
Dubrovnik, Franciscan Archive Ms 78, p. 61.

II, 36
 Ἐκπροφυγόντα⁴⁵ μάχης μήτηρ ἀπέσφαξε λέγουσα·
 Τὴν δέον αἰσχύνην χερσὶν ἑμαῖς λύμεν,
 Οὐ σὲ γὰρ οὐ θρέξα [!] τοῦδ' εἵνεκα οὐδὲ τέκον δέ,
 Οὐ γὰρ ἐμοί, φίλη, ἄλλα, Λάκαινα πάτρη.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ *e margine pro* ἐκπροφυγόντα

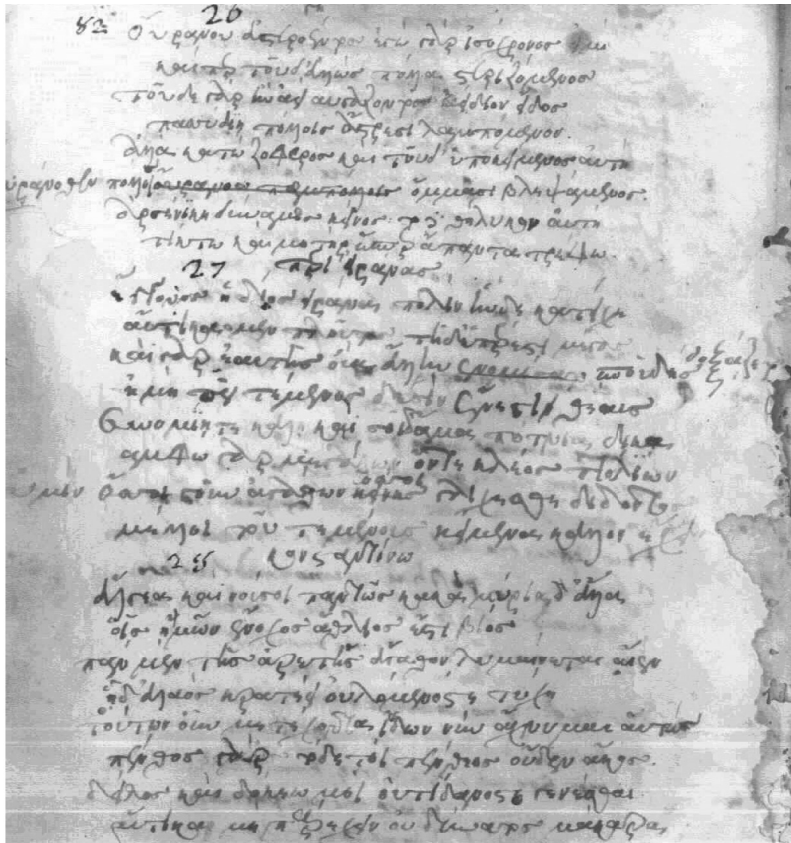
⁴⁶ *ita in textu, sed forsitan melius* Οὐ γὰρ ἐμοί, φίλη ἄλλά, Λάκαινα, πάτρη



ILL. 8. Damiani Benessae Paschalis filii patritii Ragusini Poemata autographa. Dubrovnik, Franciscan Archive Ms 78, p. 61.

II, 38 Περὶ εὐχαριστίας

Προϋθετο νῦν ἡμῖν τὸν ὁ ἄγγελος ἔσθιεν [!] ἄρτος,
 Καὶ τέλλει⁴⁷ θνητὸς τοῦδε κορεσσάμενος·
 Θαῦμα θεὸς μέγας, αἰσθητὸν γὰρ λάζετο σῶμα,
 Καίπερ τοῦδ' ἔστιν ἀκατάληπτα νοῶ.



ILL. 9. Damiani Benessae Paschalis filii patritii Ragusini Poemata autographa. Dubrovnik, Franciscan Archive Ms 78, p. 83.

⁴⁷ e margine pro τελεί

III, 26

Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος ἐγὼ γὰρ ἰσόχρονος εἰμί,
 Καίπερ τοῦδ' ἄλλως πολλὰ στεριζόμενος [!].
 Τοῦδε γὰρ ἦν αἰεὶ ἀυγάζοντος αἰείδιον εἶδος,
 Πασσυδίη πολλοῖς ἄστρεσι [!] λαμπόμενον,
 Ἀλλὰ κάτω ζοφερός καὶ τοῦδ' ὑποκείμενος αὐτῇ
 Οὐρανόθεν πολλοῖς ὄμμασι βλεψάμενος.
 Ἀρσενικὴ δύναμις κείνος, τὸ δὲ θηλικὸν αὐτῇ,
 Τίκτω καὶ μήτηρ ὥσπερ ἅπαντα τρέφω.

III, 27 Περὶ Εἰράνας

Ἐγγονος ἡ Διὸς Εἰράνα πόλιν ἦν δὲ κατεῖχε,
 Αὐτίκα μὲν πλοῦτος τῆδε πάρεστι μέγας.
 Καὶ γὰρ ἑαυτῆς οὐκ ἄλλην δοξάζετο σπουδῆς
 Ἥμῃ [!], ποῦ τέμενος δυσὶν ἔνεστι θεαῖς,
 Εὐνομίη τε καλῇ καὶ σοὶ δ' ἀμᾶ, πότνια Δίκα·
 Ἄμφω γὰρ μεγάλων ὄντε κλέος πολίων.
 Ὑμῖν γοῦν, ἀγαθῶν ὅσσοι γλίχεσθε διδόντος,
 Μέλλοι τοῦ τεμένους κείμενα καλλὸν [!] ἔχειν.

III, 28 Κονσταντίνῳ [!]

Ἄλγεα καὶ νοῦσοι, παντῶς κακὰ μύρια δ' ἄλλα,
 Οἷς ἡμῶν ἔνοχος ἄθλιός ἐστι βίος·
 Πᾶν μὲν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγαθὸν λυμαίνεται αἰέν,
 Ἦδ' ἀλαδὸς κρατέει οὐλόμενός τε τύχη.
 Τούτων οὖν μετέχοντα ἰδὼν νῦν ἄχνυμαι αὐτῶς,
 Πένθος γὰρ τόδε, τοὶ πένθεος οὐδὲν ἄκος.
 Δειλὸς καὶ δοκέω μοι οὐτιδανός τε γενέσθαι,
 Αὐτίκα με παρέχειν οὐ δυνατὸς μάκαρα.

Abstract

Damianus Benessa (1476–1539), a Latin poet from Dubrovnik, is generally considered to be one of the most versatile representatives of humanism on the east coast of the Adriatic in the early 16th century. Remembered mostly by his voluminous Christian epic *De morte Christi*, composed in some 8500 Latin hexameters and published from the autograph only in 2006, Benessa is the author of another surviving manuscript which contains his smaller scale poetry and includes more than 8000 Latin verses, distributed in three books of epigrams, a book of eclogues, two books of lyric poetry and a book of satires. The apparent humanistic concept of this poetic venture, based on the genre models of classical antiquity, has been even more emphasised by Benessa's seven Latin renditions of Greek epigrams belonging to the *Anthologia Planudea*, and especially by Benessa's nine original epigrams composed in ancient Greek. This particular segment of Benessa's *oeuvre*, a total of 30 elegiac couplets, written in the second language medium of Humanism, is an *unicum* among the surviving works of Croatian humanist poets and because of that of undisputed importance for Croatian literary and cultural history. However, his Greek poems, along with most of the aforementioned Latin poems from the same manuscript, were left almost completely unexplored up to our age, due to poor readability as well as to questionable comprehensibility and literary value. Together with the edition of Benessa's Greek poems, the paper presents the results of the core philological analysis of his Greek poetry and tries to explain its origin in the context of contemporary Greek poetry in Italy.

“ΩΣ ‘ΡΟΔΟΝ ‘ΕΝ ΑΚΑΝΘΑΙΣ –
‘AS A ROSE AMONG THE THORNS’:
ANNA MARIA VAN SCHURMAN
AND HER CORRESPONDENCES IN GREEK¹

Pieta van Beek

In 1625 a young woman took up her pencil and started a small florilegium as a present. First she drew her name: Anna Maria van Schurman in huge letters, with loops and flourishes, together with her *symbolon* in Greek next to it: Ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρωσ ἐσταύρωται ‘my love is crucified’, an adage she adopted from the martyr Ignatius of Antioch (Van Beek 2014, 2010: 24–26). It referred to her celibate status as well as to the crucified Lord. Then following Lucretius’ advice ‘just like bees taste everything in flowery meadows, so we pick every golden statement’, she picked several authors on the theme *De Deo*, on God. Thirteen statements on God by Basil, Epictetus, Tacitus, Pythagoras, Hilarius, Anaxagoras, Cicero, an inscription from an Egyptian temple, two writers of the New Testament books, Seneca and Hermes Trismegistus, followed. Thus the small album was filled with a varied group of Greek and Roman philosophers, Bible writers, church fathers and historians, written in her lovely calligraphic handwriting. Later she adorned the cover of the album with a beautiful stamping in gold, of a flower vase with carnations (Van Beek 2014).

Writing in Greek (and Latin) was quite extraordinary for a young lady in the past. Who was Anna Maria van Schurman? And why and what did she write in Greek (except for the florilegium above), and who were her correspondents? And were there other women fluent in Greek?

¹ Dedicated to my lecturer in Greek François Pauw († August 2014). This article is based on my paper given at the conference *Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe. Learned Communities between Antiquity and Contemporary Culture*, May 8–9, 2014 at Tartu University Library, Estonia. See for earlier publications on specific correspondences of Van Schurman in Greek: Van Beek 1995, Van Beek 1998; the quote is from the letter of Meletios Pantogalos in Van Schurman 1652: 157; for a recent overview on Van Schurman and her academic learning and contacts, Van Beek 2010 and 2007; for more recent publications on Van Schurman, see Van Beek 2014a, b, Van Beek 2015a, b, Van Beek 2016, www.annamariavanschurman.org.

Anna Maria van Schurman’s Life and Works (1607–1678)

Anna Maria van Schurman, born in 1607 in Cologne, Germany, lived the longest part of her life on or in the direct vicinity of the Dom Square in Utrecht. When she was eleven years old, she succeeded in convincing her father that she, as a girl, was also able to learn Latin. In the following years she learned Latin (and Greek) so well that already in 1620 a famous writer, Anna Roemers Visscher, praised not only her beauty, but also her knowledge of Latin and Greek, her artistic hand and her musical talent. We do not know what the occupation of her father, Frederik van Schurman, was, but Visscher praises him: ‘Your father deserves to be saluted, For having educated you so well.’²

In 1636, when Utrecht University was founded, she was asked to write an occasional poem in Latin praising the establishment of the new university. In this poem she complains about the exclusion of women and pleads for their admission to universities. Van Schurman herself obtained the permission to enrol for university studies and thus became the first female student at a university. Through her studies in the arts, theology and medicine she became the most educated woman of her time. She was fluent in at least fourteen languages (German, Dutch, French, English, Italian, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Syrian, Samaritan, Persian and Ethiopian), wrote poetry in various languages and by corresponding with many scholars in Europe and through her publications, especially those in Latin, her fame and reputation spread widely. The many visitors to her house Achter de Dom (Behind the Dom) in Utrecht – not only students, scholars, poets and politicians, but also royalty such as Queen Christina of Sweden, Queen Henrietta Maria of England, Queen Maria de Medici of France and Queen Maria Louisa Gonzaga of Poland – took news about her name and fame to their home countries.

In 1648 she published her major work *Opuscula Hebraea Graeca Latina et Gallica, prosaica et metrica* at Elzeviers in Leiden, a book of which three editions have survived till today, namely those of 1650 (Leiden), 1652 (Van Waesberghe, Utrecht) and 1749 (Leipzig). However, the biographer Johannes Mollerus mentions editions from 1672, 1700 and 1723 as well (Mollerus 1744). In addition to new work such as scholarly letters in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and French, some Latin poems and *Elogia*, the *Opuscula* also contains her previously published work *De Vitae Termino* from 1639, and the *Dissertatio de ingenii muliebris ad doctrinam et meliores Litteras aptitudine* (1641), a study on the capability of women to study.

² Van Beek 2010, passim; the whole poem by Anna Roemers Visscher (in Dutch and English) in Van Beek 2010: 21, see Kossmann 1925: 28–29.

In spite of her learned and pious environment, especially the support of her former professor, minister and neighbour Gisbertus Voetius, she finally left the city, church and university in Utrecht in 1669 to join a group of radical Protestants headed by Jean de Labadie. She defended her choice in her autobiography *EYKAHPIA seu melioris partis electio* (1673) and characterised much of her previous work as having been vain. She burned a lot of work written by her or dedicated to her. After wandering through Germany and Denmark she passed away in May 1678 in the Frisian town of Wieuwerd. (Van Beek 2010: passim)

Her Knowledge of Greek

It was often said that of the three languages a learned man had to know in the early modern period – Latin, Greek and Hebrew – Latin was most widely used as a *lingua franca* in the *Respublica Litterarium*, the Republic of Letters. But we should not underestimate the knowledge of Greek. In that language the classical and early Christian and Byzantine heritage was studied, letters were written, and orations, disputations and scientific conversations held. We see that as well in the case of Anna Maria van Schurman.

After she had learnt sufficient Latin, she started learning Greek, initially with the help of her father and an unknown tutor. It is not clear yet which manuals she used, although we may have an indication from the books mentioned in several auction catalogues, for example of Voetius who had in his library the *Rudimenta Linguae Graecae* (Leiden, 1617) and a *Grammatica Graeca* by Ramus (Hanau, 1605). Another possibility are the books for the study of Greek mentioned in the auction catalogue by theology student Aemilius Cuylenburg who probably sold a part of her books at the end of October 1669: a *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* (Pasorus) and a *Grammatica Graeca* (Golius). In the auction catalogue of the Labadist library (1675) several study books for Greek were sold, a *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, an *Universa Grammatica Graeca* (Alexander Scot) and a *Grammatica Graeca* (Wellerus), a *Syntaxis linguae Graecae* (Vannorius, Posselius), a *Tyrocinium linguae Graecae*, a *Clavis Graecae Linguae* (J.A.) and a *Syllabus Graecos Latinus* (Pasor).³

Voetius became her teacher in *Greek*, especially in the Greek of the New Testament (Koine Greek) and of the Greek Church fathers. But as can be seen from her florilegium *De Deo* (ca. 1625) she read and mastered those authors long before she came to know Voetius in 1634 (Van Beek 2014). Homer became her favourite poet. She valued the work of Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato,

³ Van Beek 2016; Voetius 1677: 23, 25.

Aristotle (especially his *Ethica* and *Metaphysica*), Demosthenes, Aeschines and Isocrates, mentioned Xenophon and Plutarch (*Parallel Lives*), but also read Herodotus, Hesiod, Thucydides and Polybius. She knew Pindar, Simonides and Euripides, often quoted from Epictetus and referred to Herodian and Nicephorus. Together with the New Testament, Anna Maria van Schurman read the Greek Church fathers: Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil, Chrysostom, Origen, Theodoret, Hilarius, Cyril, Irenaeus and Clemens of Alexandria, but also Hermes Trismegistus. According to Schotel (1853), she knew their works by heart, and often recited long passages from them.⁴

She did not only absorb this knowledge, but processed it in her academic and artistic work. She constructed an album of sayings, titled *De Deo*, wrote poems and hymns in Greek (now lost), designed the Lord’s prayer as a work of calligraphic art⁵, compiled a dictionary like Matthias Martini’s (lost), annotated many classical texts and wrote commentaries on the New Testament, e.g. on Apostle Paul’s Letter to the Romans (lost), and translated Homer, Simonides and Pindar as well as tragedies from Greek into Dutch (lost).⁶

Like many contemporaries who were fluent in Greek, she enriched her Latin texts with quotations and expressions in Greek. Greek also occurs in her inscriptions in *alba amicorum* and in her polyglot works of art.⁷ Van Schurman must have had an excellent command of Greek.⁸

Her *symbolon* and her Celibacy

Next to her signature Van Schurman nearly always wrote her Greek *symbolon*, her motto Ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρωσ ἐσταύρωται ‘my love has been crucified’ to recall the promise not to marry, made to her father on his deathbed.⁹ The motto had a double meaning: her physical love had been crucified, but also that her love was the crucified Jesus. She follows in this respect the interpretation started by Origen.¹⁰ She came upon the motto in recent editions of Ignatius’ letters in

⁴ Schotel 1853: 30–31; Van Beek 2010: 37–38; Van Beek 2014: 16–20.

⁵ Museum Martena, Franeker, the Netherlands, Catalogue no. S0006.

⁶ The poet Simonides in Van Schurman 1652: 10–11. It is not clear if the translation is by Van Schurman herself. See also Van Schurman 1639, *De Navorscher* I, 1851: 12, 31.

⁷ See for examples Van der Stighelen 1987: 223, 229; Van Beek 2010: 36, 75, 128, 140, 145, 155, 167, 172, 219.

⁸ See more in: Van Beek 2010: 39 and n. 61; cf. Mollerus 1744: 814, 817.

⁹ Van Beek 2010: 24–25, 127; Van Schurman 1652: 303 (her Latin poem in *Symbolum suum*).

¹⁰ Van Beek 1997: 310–316.

Greek. The notion of martyrdom also played a role, because Ignatius had been thrown to the wild animals as a martyr in Rome in 120 AD.¹¹

Greek Letters by Anna Maria van Schurman

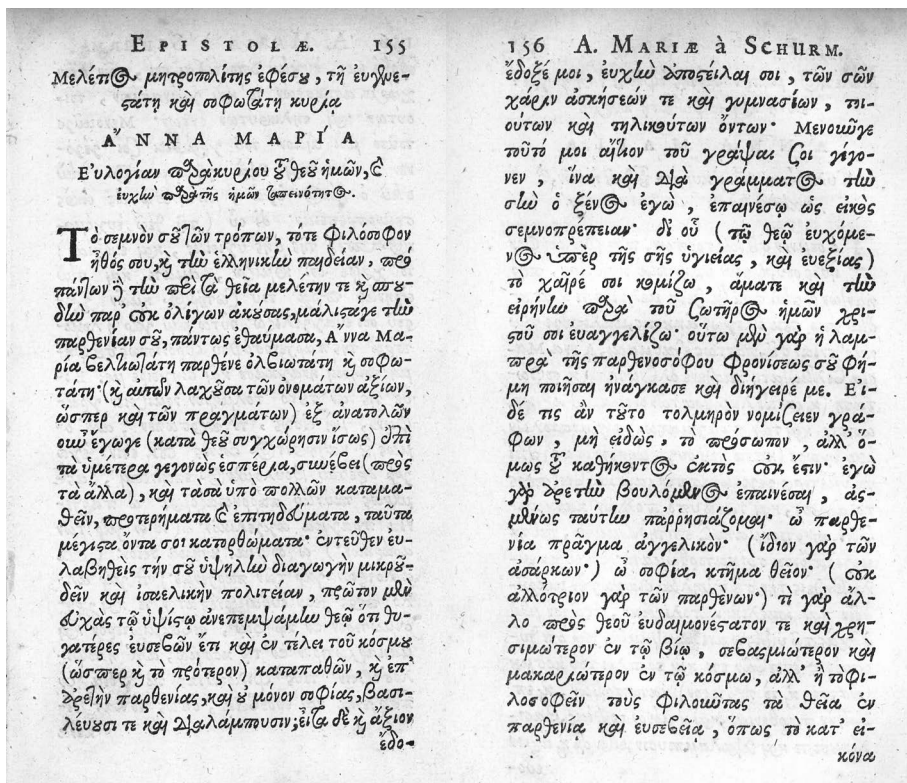
In 1648 Anna Maria van Schurman published several letters in Greek, to (and from) Meletios Pantogalos, Bathsua Makin, Claudius Salmasius, Johan van Beverwijck. The letters were reprinted in every following edition (1650, 1652, 1749) of *Opuscula*. Letters were the building blocks in the *Republic of Letters*. In the following I will present the facsimiles along with the full translation (in the order they appear in the version of *Opuscula* from 1652) and contextualise them briefly (for longer discussions of some letters, see Van Beek 2007, 2010).

Correspondence with Meletios Pantogalos (1595–1645)¹²

In 1645 Van Schurman received a letter in Greek from the patriarch Meletios Pantogalos of the Greek Orthodox Church in Ephesus, filled with what we might call innuendos about her virginity. He was born in 1595 in Crete, just like his great and much more widely-known master Cyril Lukaris (Kyrillos Lukaris) 25 years before him, who had been murdered in 1638 because of his pursuit of ecumenicalism with the Western churches (Lutherans, Catholics, but especially Calvinists). Meletios Pantogalos was one of the few supporters of Cyril Lukaris in his pursuit of ecumenicalism and later Calvinism. For this reason he was relieved of his position as bishop and had to flee his country. Together with another follower of Lukaris, Hierotheos Abbathios, he finally arrived in the Netherlands to ask for help. The national parliament (States-General) allowed them to live and study in Leiden during the winter of 1644–45 at the expense of the state. On December 23, 1644, Meletios, fifty years old, was festively enrolled in the *Album Studiosorum* of Leiden University. There Meletios learned about Van Schurman from Professor Adolf Vorstius and became so excited that he wrote her a long letter in Greek, in which he praised her learnedness, piousness, knowledge of Greek, and especially her virginity ('wise virgin [...], like a rose among thorns'). In 1645 Meletios returned to Ephesus, carrying letters of recommendation from the church synod as well as parliament. Unfortunately he died before seeing his fatherland again.

¹¹ The catalogue of Voetius 1677: Libri in quarto, nr. 259 Ignatii Epistolae Gr. Et Lat. Cum comment. Vederli advers. Baronium et Bellarminum. Geneva, 1623; nr. 260 Ignatii et Polycarpi Epistolae ex. Edit. Nitidiss. Usserii. Oxonia, 1644; Van Beek 2004: 247–265.

¹² Van Beek 1998: 180–198; Van Beek 2010: 123–124.



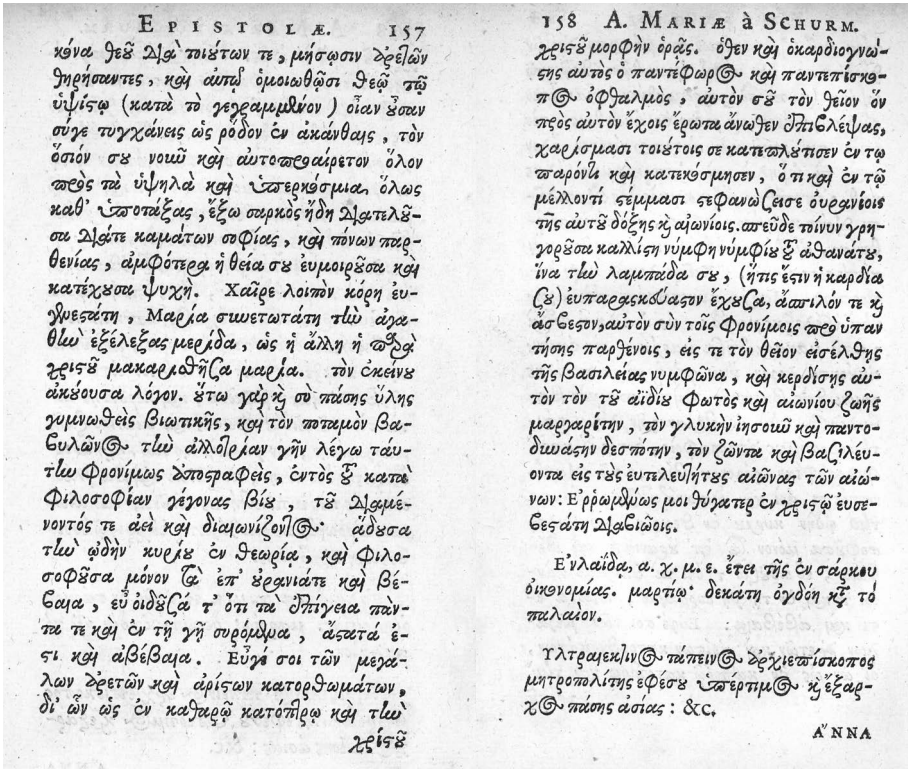
ILL. 1. A letter by Meletios to Van Schurman. Van Schurman 1652: 155–156 (Private collection).

Meletios, Bishop of Ephesus, is sending the noble and highly intelligent lady Anna Maria a blessing from the Lord our God and a prayer in humility.

From all sides I hear about your high-principled moral life and also about your philosophical stance and your learning in the Greek language. I was pleased to hear about your religious studies, but the fullest admiration was directed at your virginal state, Anna Maria, utterly beautiful, blessed and extremely wise virgin. Honourable words accompany your deeds.

When I travelled from the East to the West – surely by Divine inspiration – it happened, among other things, that I was informed by many people of your talents and studies. Your achievements in these were reported to be outstanding.

After becoming an admirer, in a way that keeps spiralling upwards, of your eminent conduct and way of life, I immediately thanked God Most High because even now, at the end of times, just like in earlier times, there are still daughters who, true to hardship, shine and excel not only in the virtue of wisdom, but also in that of virginity. It thus seemed appropriate to me to send you a blessing because you have to endure such hardships and deprivation, and must abstain from so many [things].



ILL. 2. A letter by Meletius to Van Schurman (continued from ILL. 1). Van Schurman 1652: 157–158 (Private collection).

Indeed, this was the main reason for writing to you, so that I, a foreigner, can praise your integrity properly by means of a letter. I am praying to God for your wellbeing and health and convey to you greetings and proclaim to you the peace of our Saviour Christ. The excellent reputation of your life and of your virginally wise intelligence urged me to do so.

Should anyone be of the opinion that it would be impertinent of him to write to an unknown person, be it known that he is not exceeding the limits of decency or propriety. For I want to praise virtue and address her gladly and openly: O Virginity, characteristic of angels (since virginity is the natural state of such incorporeal beings); O Wisdom, characteristic of God (which is not unknown to virgins). For what else is more blessed and beneficial in the eyes of God, what is more honourable and glorious in this world but for lovers of the Divine to devote themselves to the study of virginity and devoutness, so that according to the image of God, by observing such virtues they become equal to God Most High (as has been written).

You are like a rose among thorns, because you have submitted all of your most holy and independent spirit to the supreme and the heavenly, and are

already residing outside the physical realm by way of your exertions in wisdom and encumbrance of virginity.

Thus be greeted, highborn noble lady, very wise Mary, you who chose the good part, just like the other Mary, who was called blessed by Christ because she listened to his words. In the same way you have disposed of all earthly matter and sensibly diverted yourself from the rivers of Babylon, I am referring to that foreign land, and have chosen to live life according to philosophy; [that life] which is everlasting and will remain forever, and in your contemplations you sing the hymn of our Lord and you only meditate on heavenly and certain things, for you know very well that all earthly endeavour is unstable and uncertain.

Thus I congratulate you on your high virtues and outstanding achievements, through which you also see, like in a clear mirror, the figure of Christ. And for this reason He who knows people's hearts, the All-seeing Eye himself, has noticed the love you have for Him. He has granted you many talents in order to crown you one day with heavenly and eternal wreaths of glory.

Thus make haste and keep vigil, beautiful bride of the immortal Bridegroom, so that you keep your lamp (that is, your heart) well-prepared, untainted and inextinguishable, and you are on your way to meet Him together with the wise virgins and you enter the divine bridal room and attain the pearl of eternal lustre and everlasting life, the sweet Jesus and almighty Lord, who lives and reigns in all eternity.

I wish you a life in good health, devout daughter in Christ!

Leiden, 18 March 1645 A.D. From Utrecht, the humble archbishop, the Honourable Patriarch of Ephesus and exarch of all of Asia, etc.

Anna Maria van Schurman waited for several months before answering his letter.

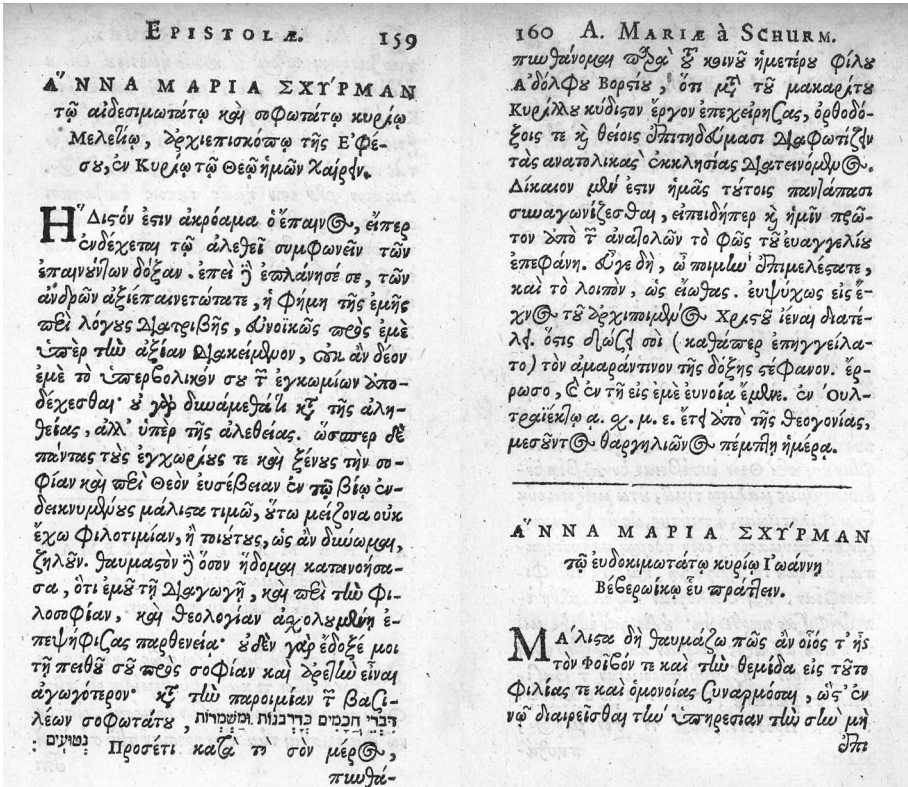
Anna Maria van Schurman sends greeting to the highly honourable and very wise gentleman Meletios, archbishop of Ephesus, in the Lord our God. Praise is welcome when it coincides with the truth. But since the reputation of my studies and publications has misled you, excellent man, and you are according me more praise than what I deserve, it would be unacceptable for me to accept your exaggerated praise. Nothing can be said against the truth, but only when it is indeed the truth.

In the same way that I esteem all Dutchmen and foreigners who uphold wisdom and devoutness, I have no higher ambition than to measure myself against them. I am, however, very pleased to hear that you agree with my virginal way of life while occupying myself with philosophy and theology. Nothing seems to me to have more value for wisdom and virtue than your opinion based on the statement by the wisest king: The words of the wise are as goads, and as nails [Eccl. 12:11].

Furthermore I understand from our mutual friend Adolf Vorstius that with the late Cyrillos you have initiated a splendid project and that you are attempting through orthodox and divine studies to enlighten the Eastern churches. It goes

without saying that we support them in full in this work, especially since the Light of the Gospel has also risen for us in the East in the beginning.

Thus, very attentive shepherd, etc. Persevere, just like you have done before, to follow with joy in the footsteps of the chief Shepherd Christ, who will keep for you the crown of glory that shall not fade away (as He has promised). Farewell, and maintain your good opinion of me. Utrecht, ca. 30 May 1645 A.D.



ILL. 3. An answer to Meletios by Van Schurman. Van Schurman 1652: 159–160. (Private collection).

The letters that Meletios and Van Schurman wrote to each other have unfortunately not been preserved in the original handwritten form. The letter of Meletios was only published in the third edition of the *Opuscula*; her letter to him had already appeared in the first edition. They used Greek as the medium of correspondence, which was to be expected from a bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church, but not from a woman in the seventeenth century. The letters differ in many respects; the bishop's letter is tedious, repetitive and contains itacisms, Van Schurman's letter is concise and inclines towards Attic Greek usage. She also uses an Attic month reference (μεσοῦντος Θαργηλιῶνος

πέμπτη ἡμέρα (ca 30 May 1645), while the bishop uses the customary Western European reference.

The similarity between Meletios Pantogalos and Anna Maria van Schurman, in addition to their knowledge of Greek and their religious interests, was their preference for παρθενία, virginity. The praise of Van Schurman’s virginity was not customary in seventeenth-century Dutch society: when Constantijn Huygens or Caspar Barlaeus praised Anna Maria van Schurman, they referred to her female learnedness or artistic talents. On the topic of her virginity jokes were made, but not by foreign writers.¹³

Correspondence with Bathsua Makin (1600 – ca. 1675)¹⁴

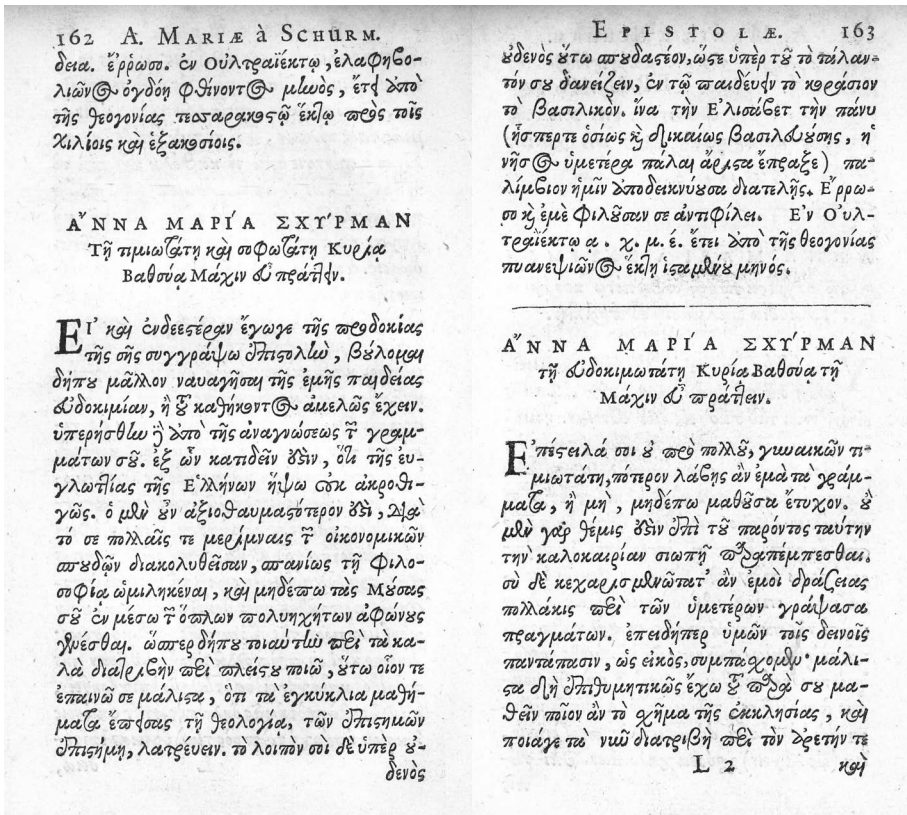
On 13 May 1640 Van Schurman wrote the third letter (the previous two had remained unanswered) to Bathsua Makin. Makin was born in 1600 in London as the daughter of Henry Reginald, a famous schoolmaster. When she was 16 years of age, her father published a thin volume of poetry that she had written, *Musa Virginea*, a tiny collection of poems which demonstrated her knowledge of Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Spanish, German and Hebrew. The booklet was meant to honour the royal family of James I, but also to promote Reginald’s school. Bathsua married Richard Makin and they had three children. From 1640 she was the governess of Princess Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of King Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria, who at nine years old could write, read and in some measure understand Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French and Italian. After the Restoration, Makin became the private tutor of Duchess Lucy Huntington and her daughter; she founded a special girls’ school just outside London, with emphasis on classical education (Latin, French, Greek, Hebrew, Italian and Spanish) and music, dancing, singing, embroidery and bookkeeping. In 1664 she described herself as a widow who had to provide for herself as an educator. At the age of 73 she published her *Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen* (Teague 1998).

The reason why Makin did not respond in the first instance probably had to do with the political turmoil during the reign of Charles I. It is typical of Van Schurman’s interest in religion that she enquired after the situation of the church in England. But she was also curious about Makin’s philosophical writings and wished to know what Makin’s discussions with the little Princess entailed.¹⁵ Unfortunately we do not have any response letters from Makin.

¹³ Van Beek 2010: 171.

¹⁴ Van Beek 1995; Van Beek 2010: 178–181.

¹⁵ For Van Schurman’s use of Queen Elizabeth, see Gim 2007: 168–184.



ILL. 4. Van Schurman's first letter to Makin. Van Schurman 1652: 162–163.

(Private collection).

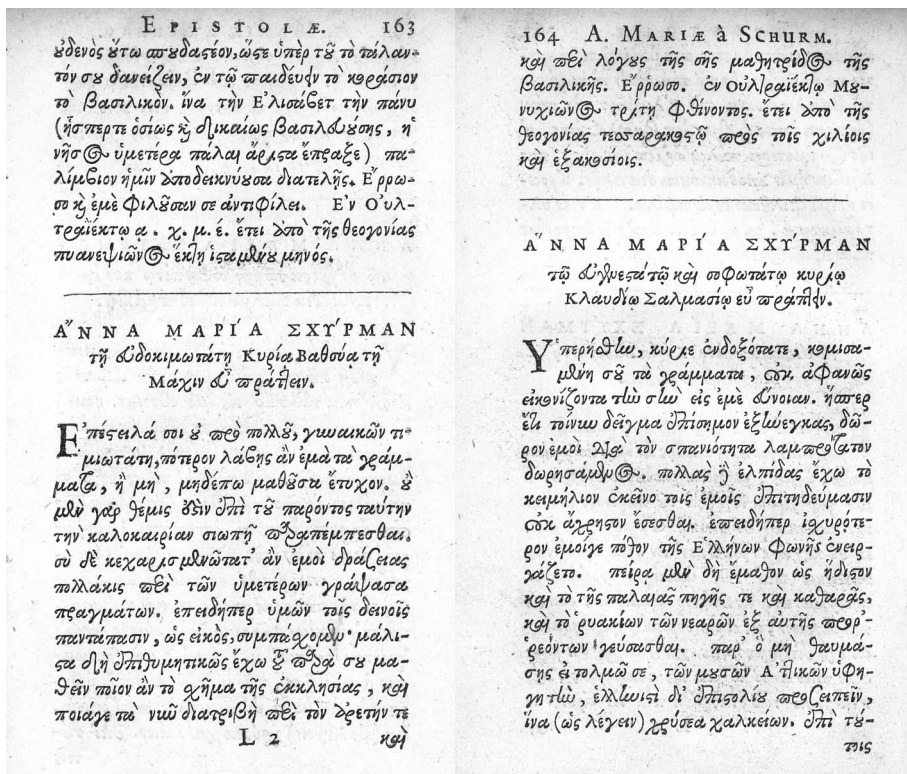
Anna Maria van Schurman sends greetings to the excellent Mistress Bathsua Makin. Not so long ago, most esteemed lady, I sent you a letter asking you whether you had received my previous letter or not. I still do not know. But it would not be proper in our time to just let this favourable opportunity pass in silence. You would do me a huge favour if you could write to me often about your activities, for as a matter of course we have profound sympathy with your terrible circumstances. In particular I would like to know from you what the situation is in the church, also what your present dissertation on virtue entails and what discussions you have with your royal pupil. Farewell.

The second letter of Van Schurman is dated five years later (1645). The correspondence between these two dates is unknown to us, but it is clear that Makin did write back, also in Greek, for Van Schurman praised her beautiful Greek:

Greatly honoured Mistress Bathsua Makin

Even if I would write you a letter that by its awkwardness would disappoint you when compared to your expectations, I would rather have your positive opinion about my learning come to grief than neglect my duty. I was overjoyed on reading your letter. It is clear from your letter that I could not even come close to match your eloquence in Greek. It is most admirable that you, despite being kept busy by many domestic obligations, are not seldom found in the company of philosophy and that your Muses have not been silenced in the midst of the tumultuous battle. I think that is why I value your dissertation on Beauty so much and I can only praise you for your encyclopaedic knowledge that forced you to serve theology, the Discipline above all disciplines. For the rest you should not be troubled about anything but the dedication of your talent to the education of the little royal girl, so that you may resurrect the famous Elizabeth for us (under whose holy and just government your island has indeed flourished). Farewell and please love me, in return for my love for you.

Utrecht, ca. 20 October 1645 A.D.



ΑΝΝΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΣΧΥΡΜΑΝ
τῇ Ὀδοκιμοπέτῃ Κυρίᾳ Βαθσούτῃ
Μάχιν δι' ἀγάπην.

Ἐπίσειλά σοι εἰ πῶς πολλῆς, γυναικῶν πι-
μιατάτη, πρότερον λάβῃς ἀν' ἐμά τὰ χεῖμα-
τα, ἢ μὴ, μὴδέπω μαθῶσα ἔτυχον. εἰ
μὲν γὰρ θέμις εἶναι ὅτι τὰ παρόντος ταύτην
την καλοκαιρίαν σιωπῇ ᾤδραπέμπεσθαι,
σὺ δὲ κεχαρισμένωται' ἀν' ἐμοὶ δράσεις
πλάκας πρὸς τῶν ὑμετέρων γραφίσασα
περαγμάτων, ἐπειδήπερ ὑμῶν τοῖς δεινοῖς
πανταπεισιν, ὡς εἰκός, συμπαροῦν'· μάλι-
στα δὴ ἄπληρη μὲν ἔχω εἰς ἑσὶν σα μα-
θεῖν ποιοῦν ἀνὰ ῥῆμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ
ποιᾶσα τὰ νυκτὸς διατριβὴ πρὸς τὸν ῥεπτήν τε
καὶ
L 2

164 A. MARIE à SCHURM.
καὶ πρὸς λόγους τῆς σῆς μαθητείας τῆς
βασιλικῆς. Ἐρρωσο. ἐν Οὐλλεργιέκκῳ Με-
νυχίων τριτῇ Φθινοπότης. ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
θεογονίας ποσαρρησῆς πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις
καὶ ἑξακκοσίοις.

ΑΝΝΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΣΧΥΡΜΑΝ
τῷ ἀγαπῶμένῳ καὶ σφωπάτῳ κυρίῳ
Κλαυδίῳ Σαλμασίῳ εὐ' ἀγάπην.

Υπερήδην, κύριε ἐνδοξότατε, κομισα-
μένη σὲ τὰ χεῖματα, σὺν ἀφαιρῶς
ἐκθρόνισται τὴν σὴν εἰς ἐμὲ ἄνοιαν. ἡσπερ
ἐν τῷ τῷ δαίγμα ἄπληροισιν ἐξέλεγκας δώ-
ρον ἐμοὶ διὰ τὸν σπανιότητα λαμπεροῦτον
δαρησαμένῳ. πολλὰς ἢ ἐλπίδας ἔχω τὸ
καμήλιον ἑάνο τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἄπληρῶμασιν
σοὶ ἀχρηστοῦ εἶσεσθαι. ἐπειδὴπερ ἰσχυρότε-
ρον ἐμοῖσι πᾶν τῆς Ἑλλήνων Φωνῆς ἐνεργ-
γάζετο. πείρα μὲν δὲ ἐμαζον ὡς ἦδισον
καὶ τὸ τῆς παλαμῆς πηγῆς τε καὶ κατὰρῆς,
καὶ τὸ ῥουαῖον τῶν νεαρῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς περ-
ρεόντων ἰσχυροῦσθαι. πᾶρ' ὁ μὴ θουμά-
σις εἰς τὸ λμῶσε, τῶν μεσῶν Ἀ' ἡλικῶν ὀφθ-
ρητῶν, ἐλλειψί δι' ἄπληροισιν περὶ πᾶν,
ἵνα (ὡς λέγουσιν) χεῖρῶν χαλκείων. ἄπ' τῆ-
τις

ILL. 5. Van Schurman's second letter to Makin. Van Schurman 1652: 163–164. (Private collection).

The first translation of Schurman's *Dissertatio* appeared in 1645 under the auspices of Bathsua Makin and was included in the work *The Woman's Glorie*, a manifesto written by Samuel Torshell, a devout chaplain at the royal court. From Makin's *Essay* it becomes clear that Van Schurman's *Dissertatio* inspired and influenced Makin, in the section 'Women have been good linguists' she wrote the following: 'Anna Maria of Utrecht (called by Spanhemius 'ultimum Naturae in hoc sexum conatum et decimam musam', Natures master-piece amongst Women, excelling the very Muses) hath printed divers Works in Latin, Greek, French and the Persian Tongue; she understood the Arabick also. Besides she was an excellent Poet.' From Greek letters it also becomes clear that Van Schurman had the highest respect for Makin (Makin 1673: 16).

Correspondence with Johan van Beverwijck (1594–1647)

Scholarly physician Johan van Beverwijck from Dordrecht and senator in Parliament in the Hague was her good friend (with his family) and they corresponded in Arabic, Dutch, Latin and Greek. He responded to Van Schurman's Latin poem for the opening of Utrecht University by including her Latin and French poem in his book *From the Excellence of the Female Sex*. He asked her to participate in the scholarly discussion on *De Vitae Termino*, on life's end. She received the honour to conclude the international discussion (from 1632 onwards) with her contribution in Latin.¹⁶ Van Beverwijck wrote the introduction of Van Schurman's *Dissertatio* on women's right to study (Leiden: Elzeviers, 1641). On Van Beverwijck's death in 1647 Van Schurman wrote a fitting memorial poem in Latin.¹⁷

From their correspondence in Greek, only one letter by Van Schurman has survived. She wrote to Van Beverwijck to thank him for the present he had given her, the book *Ἀντάρκεια Bataviae, sive introductio ad medicinam indigenam* (Leiden: Johan le Maire, 1644).¹⁸ In a Latin letter Van Schurman thanked

¹⁶ *De Vitae Termino* was first published in Latin, then in Dutch (*Paelsteen van den tijd onses levens*), Van Schurman 1639, Van Schurman 1647. In total Van Schurman's contribution has appeared at least fifteen times, separately or as part of another work, in Latin, Dutch, German and French.

¹⁷ Van Beek 2010: 118–119.

¹⁸ Some years before he published the original book in Dutch, Van Beverwijck 1642. Van Schurman, May 11th, 1642: "Ik hebbe sonderlingh verlangen na het boek van de Inleydinge tot de Hollantsche Genees-middelen dat U.E. onlanghs geschreven heeft ende ick en ben niet verwondert, dat UE het maken van 't selve seer vermaecklick is gevallen dewijl de Goddelicke Voorzienigheydt hierin niet op eene wijze en blinckt ende in elcks gemoedt een wonder openbaart" in: 'Vraagh brief over de Genezing van de Blindgeborene' in Van Beverwijck 1644: 121–124; 1664:

him exuberantly for this excellent work (‘eximium hoc opusculum’).¹⁹ Ten years after Van Beverwijck, a London apothecary Nicholas Culpeper published a herbal titled *The English Physitian, or An Astrologo-Physical Discourse of the Vulgar Herbs of this Nation* (1652). It had the simple goal to discuss how anyone could cure himself while being sick with such things that only grow in England, like Van Beverwijck had argued (Cooper 2007: 21, 41–45).

The title of the book, *Ἀυτάρκεια Bataviae*, she received requires an explanation. Van Beverwijck was fascinated by tales of the ancient Batavi, the Germanic tribe said to have originally inhabited the region of the Low Countries before the arrival of the Romans. Earlier Humanist writers, in the throes of the Dutch Revolt against the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs, had seized on the Batavi, who were reported to have fiercely resisted the Romans, as symbols of Dutch national pride and hope for independence. By the mid-seventeenth century it became standard scholarly practice to use the term Batavian as synonymous with Dutch, and Batavia for the Dutch Republic. Van Schurman uses the term Batavi quite often, for example in the Latin poem she wrote on Claudius Salmasius’ return to Holland in 1644 (‘Hospes ave Batavis jam tandem reddite terries / Quin orbis resonet Battavus Hospes ave,’ “Greetings to you, foreigner, now finally restored to the Batavian land, or rather let the world resound with: Batavian foreigner, greetings to you!”).²⁰

Secondly, Van Beverwijck uses the term *autarkeia*, which was also loaded with meaning. It referred to a situation of economic self-sufficiency and of the *autochthonous* nature of the region’s inhabitants. In his book Van Beverwijck explains why every country possesses the appropriate medicinal plants and herbs for curing health problems and why one doesn’t need foreign products. The book fits into the early modern debate over indigenous and foreign nature. People explored the world and travelled long distances and authors started to contrast indigenous European natural objects with exotic imports from abroad, often warning for moral, medical and economic danger. We see that in Van Beverwijck as well: he tries to prove that it is unnecessary to look for medicines abroad, with high costs and great danger, as there are better ones at home, not

198–200 (“I long so much for your book the *Introduction to the Dutch Medicine* which you wrote recently. I am not amazed that you did love to produce it, because the godly Providence shines in a multiple way and reveals a wonder in every heart” in: Van Beverwijck 1642 (12^o). Also included in all editions of his standard work *Schat der gesontheit en ongesontheit (Compendium of health and illness)*, e.g. in the 1660 Amsterdam edition, p. 156–176.

¹⁹ ‘Valde in caeteris probavi eas rationes, quibus herbarum indigenarum usum imprimis vestri ordinis hominibus probare contendis,’ Van Schurman 1652: 202–206; Van Beverwijck 1642: 72.

²⁰ Van Schurman 1652: 308.

only the herbs, but also milk, butter, cheese, honey and lard. It was as if Van Beverwijck had a religious sense of trust in his own country.²¹

Van Schurman's letter in Greek is not a learned reply as she usually wrote in Latin (e.g. *De Vitae Termino* and with the letter on John 9 on the question why Christ the Lord spread saliva and mud onto the eyes of the blind man). It is just an eloquent 'thank you' for the book. Why did she write in Greek in the first place? She knew that he was fluent in Greek, not only from the letters in Latin he wrote to her, which often included Greek, but also from his letters in Greek to other members of the *Republic of Letters* (for more, see Van Beek 2010).

The content of the letter is as follows. Van Schurman compliments Van Beverwijck on his work in medical science (symbolised by Phoibos, the attribute of the god Apollo) as well in politics (symbolised by the goddess Themis). He is able to balance both, although his medical work absorbs him the most. In every way he shows that he is a real cosmopolitan and not only a citizen of a city, and that he is more concerned about public welfare than about his own profit. That is why Van Beverwijck is generous with gifts. She eloquently refers to an (unknown) saying that generosity causes more eagerness in receivers (Machiavelli?). But not in her case: although he promises her more and more presents, she will be content with this gift. She longs for more works by his hand in the future. She writes that she takes extraordinary pleasure in horticulture and finds nothing more pleasant, nothing more useful than instruction in botany. She praises him because he has been able to make clear that every country possesses the things necessary for everyone's health.

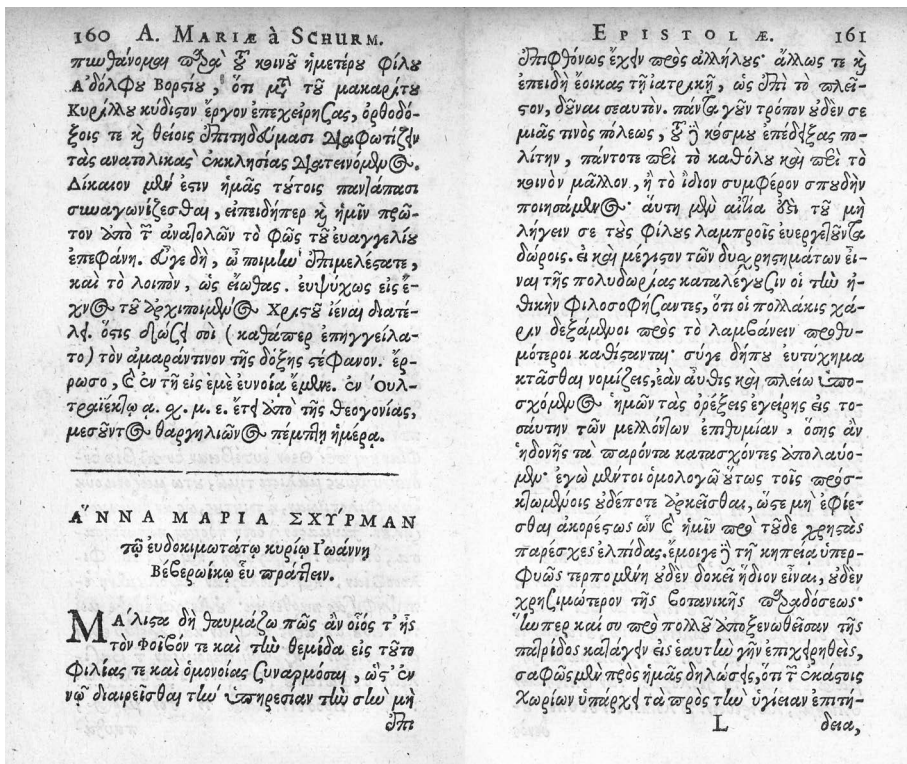
Anna Maria van Schurman wishes the greatly esteemed Sir Johannes van Beverwijck well!

Indeed, I am surprised at how capable you are in joining Phoibos²² and Themis²³ in such friendship and harmony that they are not envious of sharing your service, especially because you seem to dedicate most of your time to the medical sciences. In every way you showed therefore that you are by no means a citizen of a city but also a citizen of the world, a cosmopolitan in that you do your utmost for the public welfare more than for your own profit. That is for sure the reason that you don't stop presenting your friends with gifts.

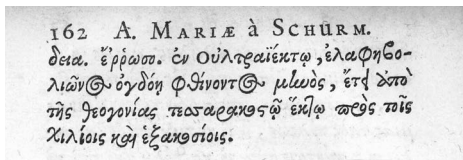
²¹ Cooper 2007: 41–46; Van Beverwijck 1660: 124.

²² Apollo in his quality of Greek god of light; god of prophecy and poetry and music and healing.

²³ Themis, goddess of divine law, personification of justice.



ILL. 6. Van Schurman's letter to Van Beverwijck. Van Schurman 1652: 160–162. (Private collection).



However, those who study ethics accuse generosity for being the greatest of inconveniences,²⁴ because those who often receive favours become more eager in receiving. You think without doubt to be lucky when you are promising again and more, which would stir up my longing for the joy of things that bring pleasure.

Nevertheless I acknowledge that I do not content myself so much with the acquired goods that I would not insatiably long for those things on which you gave us also good hope in the past. I, however, who take an extraordinary delight in horticulture, find nothing more agreeable than the study of botany. And after you also did take upon yourself this study so long banned from your

²⁴ Source not found.

country to return to your own country, you will for certain make crystal clear for us that every country possesses the appropriate things for health. Fare well.

Utrecht on the 8th day of the descending month Elaphebolion, in the year 46 added to 1600. (= March/ April 1646)

Van Schurman was able to praise Van Beverwijck because of her studies in horticulture (see her letter from 4 October 1644 to Van Beverwijck).²⁵ In a scholarly letter to Claudius Salmasius on a medical-botanical-theological topic *De Cruce et hyssopo* (*On the cross and the hyssop*) she gives Van Beverwijck all the credit and mentions him as the top authority.²⁶ Earlier, in 1639, she had written a scholarly letter on life's end which was regarded by contemporaries sometimes as theology and sometimes as medicine, like her essay about the question implicit in John 9. Van Beverwijck included both of her essays in his collected works.²⁷ Later in life she corresponded in Latin with her own physician Bernardus Swalve from Harlingen informing him of her uses of medicines.²⁸ By studying the book *Ἀντάρκεια Bataviae* Van Beverwijck sent her (and the Dutch edition from 1642 and her response in Latin and Dutch) and her letter in Greek, we get another hint about the content of her training in medicine.

Correspondence with Claudius Salmasius (1588–1653)²⁹

Claudius Salmasius was born in Semur-en-Auxois, France, studied in Paris and Heidelberg. He was one of the most famous Leiden scholars, who had been named successor to Scaliger in 1632. Anna Maria van Schurman was introduced to Claudius Salmasius by Andreas Rivet, who also was a Huguenot.

Salmasius corresponded with Van Schurman in Latin on theological-philological topics and he sent her many of his books as *antidoron*, gifts.³⁰ Salmasius praised her versatile artistic talents, her learning, her knowledge of European and Oriental languages. She shared Queen Christina of Sweden's friendship with him as a real member of the Republic of Letters.³¹

²⁵ Quoted in Schotel 1853: 74–75.

²⁶ Van Schurman 1652: 141: summi Medici, nostrique dum viveret studiosissimi Jo. Beverovicii rationes et auctoritas.

²⁷ Van Beek 2010: 91–92.

²⁸ Schotel 1853 (Notes): 141–147; 145–146.

²⁹ Van Beek 2010: 122–123.

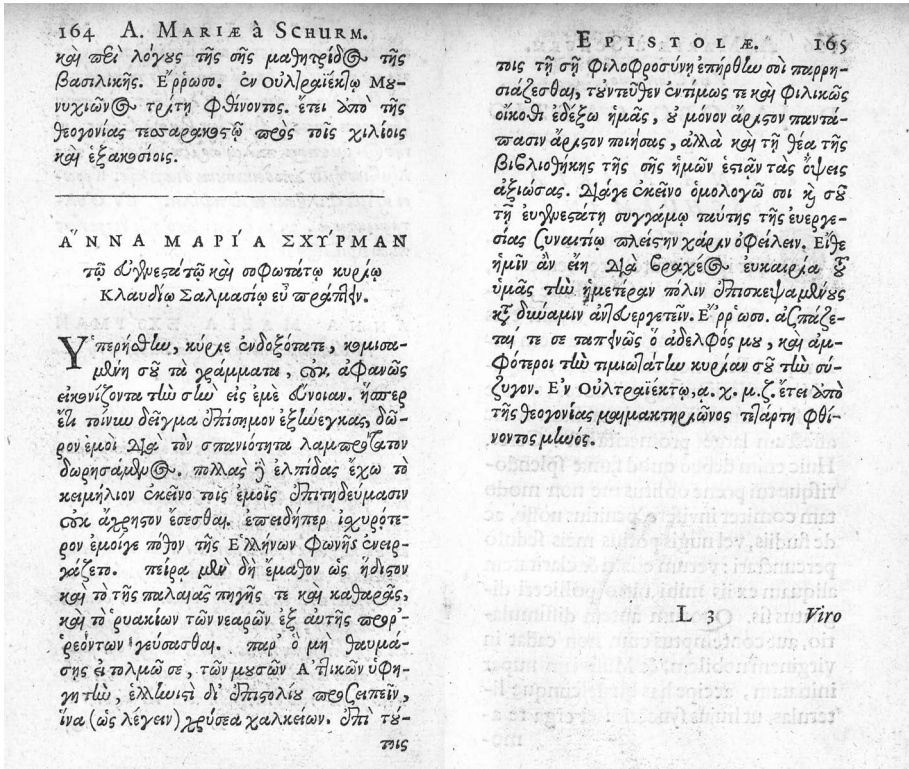
³⁰ For Van Schurman's letters to Salmasius, see Van Schurman 1652: 121–152, 164–165.

³¹ Buckley 2011: 98–99 and the picture between 176–177; Considine 2012: 295–305.

Van Schurman wrote a fine letter in Greek to Salmasius to thank him. He had presented her with a book when she and her brother visited him. The precious book – on the origin of the Greek language – inspired her to write back to him in Greek. She invited him and his wife to visit her and her brother in return in Utrecht. The book she received was one of the two Salmasius published in 1643; the topic of both had to do with the dispute between Salmasius and Daniel Heinsius on whether the Septuagint and the New Testament were written in a distinctive *lingua Hellenistica* or not. In 1627 Heinsius had published his *Aristarchus sacer*, where he argued that the Greek of the New Testament was the language of the Greek-speaking Jews who read the Septuagint rather than the Hebrew scriptures and who were strongly influenced by the Aramaic language. That’s why the meaning of some Greek words had changed. Heinsius developed his theory further in his *Sacrarum exercitationum ad Novum Testamentum libri XX* (1639). But Salmasius responded fiercely. In 1643 he published two books on the topic, *De Hellenistica commentarius* and *Funus Linguae Hellenisticae Sive Confutatio Exercitationis De Hellenistis et lingua Hellenistica* with even an addendum called *Ossilegium Hellenisticae Sive Appendix ad Confutationem Excercitationis De Hellenistica*. He refuted the argument about the language of the Septuagint (Heinsius called it ‘Hellenistica’) being a dialect, because there is no such nation as the Hellenistics. Salmasius agreed that languages can change. But using borrowings, contact phenomena and usage as the basis for identifying a new language variety, like Heinsius did, is not enough. Considine sees in Salmasius’ criticism of Heinsius’ taxonomy and his nomenclature a rigid sense of descent and precedent. In any case both Heinsius’ and Salmasius’ books are milestones in the historiography of Greek and important sources for the best ideas of the period on the relationship of languages.³²

It is not clear which book Van Schurman received from Salmasius, because she does not mention the title. She was also friends with Daniel Heinsius, the bitter enemy of Salmasius. She suggests in her Greek letter that she appreciates all books old and new on the topic of the Greek language. That might imply that she had read Heinsius’ books as well. Now that she had a new book on the Greek language, she felt that she was more obliged to write him, teacher of the Attic Muses, a letter in Greek.

³² Considine 2012: 296–298.



ILL. 7. Van Schurman's letter to Salmasius. Van Schurman 1652: 164–165.
(Private collection).

Anna Maria van Schurman wishes the well-born and clever Lord Claudius Salmasius well.

I have been so extremely glad and honoured in receiving your letters which show your goodwill in an unmistakable manner towards me.

Of this goodwill you gave me now another clear example by presenting me with a most beautiful gift. I have great expectations that this *keimelion* will be extremely useful for my studies. It caused, as you know, a stronger longing for the Greek language.

I have for certain learned by experience that the tasting of the old and clear pure stream as well as the new little streams that spring from them is very agreeable.

And that's why you should not be amazed that I dare in a small attempt for you, Teacher of the Attic muses, to speak to you in Greek as if exchanging gold for bronze³³. Even more so because I am so encouraged by your goodwill to feel free to address a letter to you.

³³ χρύσεια χαλκείων, Homer, *Iliad* VI, 236.

Furthermore because you did receive us at your home in a friendly and distinguished manner, not only treating us to an in every way exquisite lunch but also feeding our eyes by seeing the goddess of your library. I therefore acknowledge that I am very grateful to you and your wife.

If there is any chance in the near future to repay your goodness to the best of our ability when you will visit our city. Fare well! Humbly my brother greets you and we both greet the very honoured Lady your spouse. Utrecht, in the year 1646 since the divine birth on the fourth day of the descending month Maimakterion. (November/December 1646.)

The polite letter is eloquently written, in beautiful classical Greek with references to the Muses and to Homer. Salmasius exchanges his gold (his letter and book on the Greek language) for her bronze (her letter). But it is not a scholarly letter like the one she wrote in Latin on Salmasius’ books *De Transsubstantione* (*On transubstantiation*) and *De cruce et hysoppo* (*On the cross and the hyssop*).³⁴ It is again a letter showing her capacity in Greek and eloquence.

Women Writing Greek

It was said of learned women of the past that ‘it was so very fashionable that the fair sex seemed to believe that Greek and Latin added to their charm and that Plato and Aristotle untranslated were frequent ornaments of their closets.’³⁵ But although we know that quite a few women were able to write in Latin, as the books *Women Writing Latin* (3 volumes, 2001) and *Women Latin Poets* (2005) reveal, research on women writing in Greek in the Renaissance is still going on.³⁶

Van Schurman corresponded with some of the learned ladies in Europe (her so called *Women’s Republic of Letters*): Queen Christina of Sweden, Marie Jars du Gournay, Bathsua Makin, Dorothea Moore, Elisabeth van der Palts, Marie du Moulin and Birgitte Thott. We know that most of them were educated in Latin as well as in Greek, but only some texts by Anna Maria van Schurman and Bathsua Makin survive. In her work Van Schurman refers to other learned women from the past as well as from her own lifetime: (her favorite) Lady Jane Gray (1537–1554), queen of England for 10 days and martyr, Queen Elizabeth I, and Lucrezia Marinelli (1571–1653), writer of inter alia *La nobiltà et l’eccellenza delle donne co’ diffetti et mancamenti de gli uomini* (*The Nobility*

³⁴ See Van Schurman 1652: 139–152.

³⁵ ‘Mr. Wotton’ in: *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* (93) London, 1793: 288.

³⁶ Churchill, Brown, Jeffrey 2002; Stevenson 2005; Van Beek 1995; Parker 1997, 2002, 2003.

and *Excellence of Women and the Defects and Vices of Men*, Venice, 1601), a book she had read.³⁷

Another example Van Schurman gives is Olympia Morata (1526–1555), an Italian Protestant learned lady who had to flee religious persecution in Ferrara, to endure bombardments in Schweinfurt and who died tragically in Heidelberg in Germany. She was attacked by some as a “Calvinist Amazon” but praised by others as an inspiration for all learned women for her orations, dialogues, letters, and poems in Latin (and some in Greek as well). It is known that even Goethe was inspired by her letters. She is mentioned in the correspondence between Van Schurman and Andreas Rivet on the topic of learned women as one of the *prima donna* examples. Her work was in the library of Voetius, Van Schurman’s neighbour and professor, and in the Labadist library.³⁸

Although only a small amount of Van Schurman’s work in Greek survives, we can see in her letters her involvement in the relevant topics of her time. Her letters in Latin were imitated by (*inter alia*) the Swedish poet Elisabeth Brenner.³⁹ Were also her Greek letters? Only after excavating the whole field of early modern women writers in Greek we will know, ‘Ansikte mot ansikte’, face to face and πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον (1 Cor. 13:12).

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³⁷ Van Schurman 1652: 63, 72–73, 80–81, 85, 154, 253.

³⁸ Voetius 1677: Libri Miscellanei in Octavo, nr. 42 Olympiae Fulviae Opera; Van Schurman mentions her in Van Schurman 1652: 165; see also Parker 2003, Van Beek 2016.

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Abstract

In this article you will find an overview, analysis and translation of Greek correspondence by the learned Anna Maria van Schurman: her letters to the Leiden Professor Claudius Salmasius, the scholarly physician Johan van Beverwijck from Dordrecht, the British governess Bathsua Makin and to Meletios Pantogalos, bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in Ephesus (Turkey), as well as Meletios’ letter to Van Schurman.

AN UNPUBLISHED GREEK LETTER OF ISMAËL BULLIALDUS TO ANNA MARIA VAN SCHURMAN

Antoine Haaker

Pieta van Beek's¹ discussion of the Greek letters of Anna Maria van Schurman during the conference is the inspiration of the present paper. The publication of the proceedings provides, it seems, an excellent occasion to enlarge the corpus of Van Schurman's Greek correspondence known since the publishing of her *Opuscula* in the seventeenth century by adding to it a letter written by Ismaël Bullialdus that we read a couple of years ago in the National Library of Vienna. This brief article containing the first edition of this letter is therefore intended as a sort of appendix to Pieta van Beek's more general contribution (Van Beek 2018), in which the readers unfamiliar with Van Schurman and her Greek writings will find all the information needed to satisfy their curiosity. We will say here a few words about Bullialdus and the circumstances in which he composed the letter. Then we will provide a transcription of the Greek text before concluding with some brief considerations on the content of the letter.

Born at Loudun in 1605 in a Calvinist family, Ismaël Bullialdus (in French *Ismaël Boulliau*, often written *Boulliaud*) studied law and theology in Paris and Poitiers. After converting to Catholicism and being ordained a priest, he travelled to Italy and the Levant. Later he visited Holland, Germany and Poland, but spent most of his life in Paris, where he died in 1694, aged 89. Through his travels, his correspondence and the academy gathered around the Dupuy brothers in Paris (the celebrated *Cabinet Dupuy*), Bullialdus established contacts with a large number of prominent scholars from all over Europe. He was interested in a variety of subjects, such as sacred and secular history, theology or mathematics, but his main field of study was astronomy. His writ-

¹ The research connected with this article would not have been possible without a generous grant of the Polish National Centre of Science (2011/N/HS2/02108). I would like to thank Pieta van Beek for providing me with a publication that I needed and Janika Päll for organising a splendid conference and providing us with a rare opportunity to meet and discuss humanist Greek.

ings on this discipline earned him a high reputation in the world of scholarship. His most important work, the *Astronomia philolaica* (1645), has been considered by historians of science to be one of the most significant contributions to astronomy between Kepler and Newton, to whom it suggested the law of gravitation.²

The text of the letter under discussion here is preserved in the Austrian National Library (Vindobonensis Palatinus 7049, f. 78, see ILL.). It is not the letter actually sent to Van Schurman, but an autograph minute of it.³ It seems to have remained unknown, as Pieta van Beek, a specialist of Van Schurman, kindly confirmed to me. It is dated τῆ τετάρτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ βοηδρομιῶνος (i.e. September) 1651. At that time, Bullialdus had just arrived in Holland, where he accompanied the young Antoine d'Aubray.⁴ Before going back to France in December Bullialdus had the opportunity to see various parts of the country and to meet persons, such as Maria van Reigersbergh, Grotius' widow, in the Hague, David Blondel and John Frederick Gronovius in Amsterdam, Jacob Golius and Daniel Heinsius in Leiden, and many others. Staying in Utrecht he directed the following letter to the most famous learned woman of his time (we transcribe the text with only slight changes in punctuation, accentuation and diacritics, but without modifying its spelling):

Εὐγενεστάτῃ καὶ σοφοτάτῃ παρθένῳ Μαρίας Σχυρμανῆ
Ἰσμαῆλ Βουλιαλδὸς εὖ πράττειν

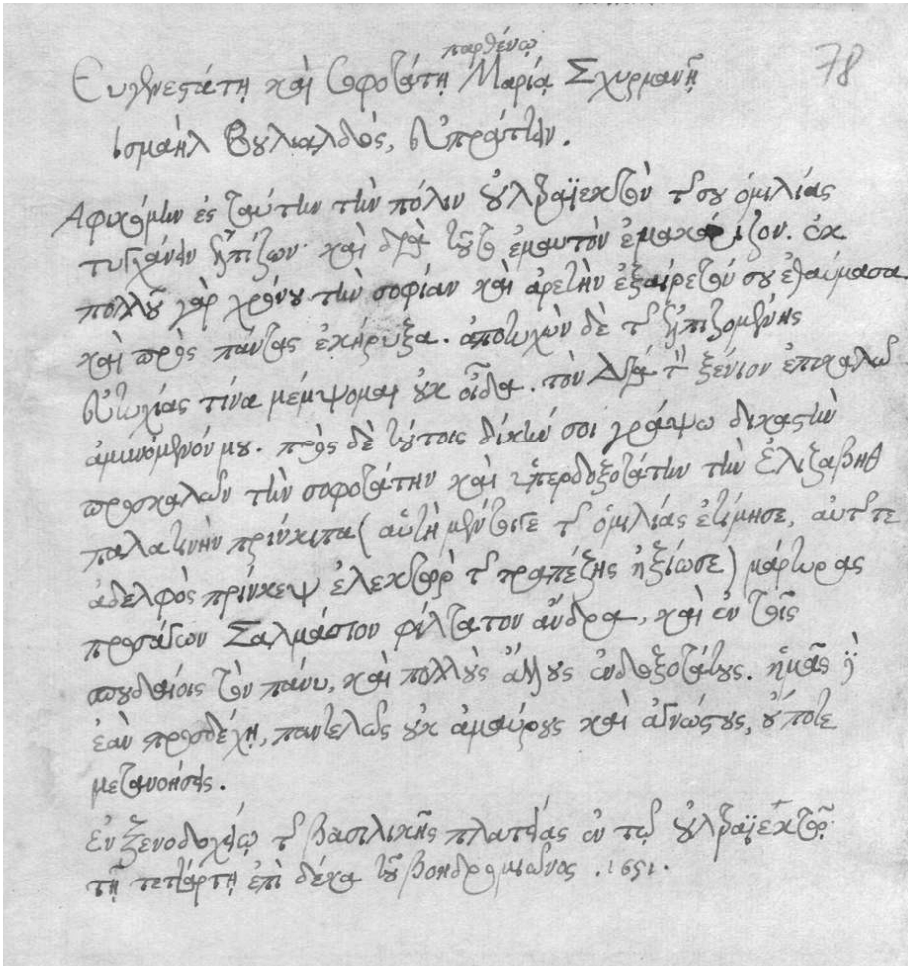
Ἀφικόμην ἐς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν Οὐλτραϊεκτὸν τῆς σου ὁμιλίας τυγχάνειν ἐλπίζων· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἑμαυτὸν ἐμακάριζον. ἐκ πολλοῦ γὰρ χρόνου τὴν σοφίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐξαίρετόν σου ἐθαύμασα καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἐκήρυξα. ἀποτυχῶν δὲ τῆς ἐλπίζομένης εὐτυχίας τίνα μέμψομαι οὐκ οἶδα. τὸν Δία τὸν ξένιον ἐπικαλῶ ἀμυνόμενόν μου. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις δίκην σοι γράψω δικαστὴν προσκαλῶν τὴν σοφοτάτην καὶ ὑπερδοξοτάτην τὴν Ἐλιζαβηθ παλατινὴν πρίνκιπα (αὐτὴ μέντοιγε τῆς ὁμιλίας ἐτίμησε, αὐτὸς τε ἀδελφὸς πρίνκεψ ἐλεκτῶρ τῆς τραπέζης ἠξίωσε) μάρτυρας προσάγων Σαλαμάσιον, φίλτατον ἄνδρα, καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπουδαίοις τὸν πάνυ, καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἐνδοξοτάτους. ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐὰν προσδέξηι παντελῶς οὐκ ἀμαύρους καὶ ἀγνώστους, οὐποτε μετανοήσεις.

ἐν ξενοδοχείῳ τῆς βασιλικῆς πλατείας ἐν τῷ Οὐλτραϊεκτῷ τῆ τετάρτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ βοηδρομιῶνος 1651.

² On Bullialdus in general see Nellen 1994.

³ A detailed description of the content of this manuscript can be found in Tannery 1901.

⁴ On this travel see Nellen 1994 and Bots 1974, who provides twelve letters written by Bullialdus to Jacques Dupuy during his trip to Holland, supplemented by a thorough commentary.



ILL. The autograph of the letter by Ismaël Buillaldus. Vindobonensis Palatinus 7049, f. 78. Courtesy of the Austrian National Library.

But *Graecum est, non legitur*. Granting the request of the editor of these proceedings, I provide a translation here:

To the most noble and most learned maiden Maria van Schurman Ismaël Bullialdus, best wishes.

I arrived in this town of Utrecht hoping that I would be able to converse with you, and for this reason I was congratulating myself. Indeed since long ago I was an admirer of your learning and of your extraordinary virtue, which I proclaimed to everybody. I do not know whom I shall blame for not having the luck that I was expecting. I invoke Jove, patron of hospitality so that he defend me. Besides I

bring an action against you summoning as judge the very learned and very illustrious Elisabeth, princess of the Palatinate (for she at least did honour me with her company, just as her own brother, the prince-elect, thought me worthy of his table) and citing as witnesses our dearest Salmasius, famous amongst scholars, and many other most illustrious men. But if you receive us, who are neither completely obscure nor unknown, you will never regret it.

At the inn of Royal street in Utrecht, the fourteenth of September 1651.

For whatever reasons, it seems that Van Schurman had first refused to receive Bullialdus. The Frenchman had a keen interest in learned women. At a time when the world of knowledge was essentially male, he was fascinated by these rare and exceptional women, who cultivated scholarship: Elisabeth of the Palatinate (Princess Elisabeth of Bohemia), Christina of Sweden, Maria Cunitia, and of course Anna Maria van Schurman.⁵ As Nellen remarked, women occupy hardly any place in Bullialdus' correspondence. If he ever mentions them in his letters, it is always conventional greetings or congratulations on births. But when it comes to one of these *feminae eruditae*, then he shows a great deal of enthusiasm. Here is an interesting passage, in which Bullialdus places Maria Cunitia together with Queen Christina, Princess Elisabeth and Van Schurman amongst the most erudite women of their time; it is found at the beginning of a letter addressed *Praeclarissimae ac sapientissimae foeminae Mariae Cunitiae*.⁶ Before expounding his criticism of Cunitia's *Urania propitia*, Bullialdus writes the following:

Opus immensum tuum ac aeternitate dignum, clarissima foemina, in manus meas amici nostri Iohannis Hevelii, viri incomparabilis καὶ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἀστρονόμοις πάνυ, liberalitate tandem pervenit. quanta aviditate illud primo devoraverim,

⁵ On Bullialdus and learned women in general see Nellen 1994: 199; on his relation with Christina of Sweden in particular, see *ibid.*: 207–215. The French astronomer, who wanted to dedicate one of his works to Christina, met her in person in Paris in 1654. He had also personally met Princess Elisabeth, as our Greek letter shows. As far as the Silesian astronomer Maria Cunitia (*Cunitz*) is concerned, he was in contact with her through their common friend Hevelius and received a copy of her book entitled *Urania propitia* from her.

It might be interesting to note that Bullialdus also exchanged letters with the woman writer Arcangela Tabarotti, whom he helped in the publication of her book. Their correspondence has been recently published by Westwater 2012. In the lengthy introduction (97 ff.) Westwater discusses the relation of Bullialdus to women of learning.

⁶ Bullialdus' autograph copy of his letter to Maria Cunitia of the 25th of April 1652. BnF, ms. fr. 13043, f. 29r. In the Latin quotations I have inserted Bullialdus' own corrections, changed "&" into "et" and written ii instead of ij. Otherwise, the original spelling and punctuation have been conserved throughout.

quam deinde lenta ac gravi ruminacione remanderim tibi referre haud queo. Placuit ac perplacuit tua in rebus coelestibus perspicacia. ingenii nitidi et acuti nitor et vigor non minus mihi grati fuerunt, quam hacce verna, eaque suavi aura expansi flores, qui odores gratos spirant, et terram variis nativisque coloribus pingunt. constantiam praeterea tuam in tanta calculi mole eruenda attonitus suspexi. Ad nominis tui famam extollendam, si ab aliis sexcenties recantatos locos communes huc congererem, infra dignitatem ipsius semper subsideret oratio, quae verticem olympi, cui iam nomen tuum inscriptum est, adsequi frustra conaretur. Miracula quidem praeterita saecula protulerunt; par Aegyptiarum foeminarum hic nominabo, quod Mathematicis disciplinis animum adiecerint, Hypatiam Theonis Alexandrini filiam, Astronomiae peritissimam, et Cyrenaicam Ptolemaidem, quae musices libros composuit. Verum hocce saeculo sexus vester longius supra vires proprias se se effert; unde naturam ludos nobis facere iure suspicor, animisque masculis muliebria corpora circumdare. Quidni credam ipsam commixtis aliquando per ludum aut errorem ordinum diversorum animis et corporibus aequae hermaphroditos, ac duplicatis partibus, quas sinus abscondit, edere? Vos artes ac scientias tam accurate discitis, ut viris ipsis praecepta et locos dictare paratae sitis. ad mysteriorum ἐπόπτειαν vos hierophantae καὶ δαδοῦχοι factae nos perducitis. Sed calamum compesco; ad virilia enim tractanda (disciplinas dico liberales) vos natas esse scripto luculento [dissertatione ... de capacitate ingenii muliebris ad scientias (1638)] convicit percelebris illa Anna Maria a Schurman, quod copioso ac elegantissimo ingenii eximii foetu iam satis universo orbi probaverat [De vitae humanae termino epistola ad Ioannem Beverovicium (1639)]. Nobile apud posteros hoc saeculum erit, quod Serenissima Sueciae Regina Christina, Illustrissima Princeps Elizabetha Palatina, Anna Maria a Schurman, et Maria Cunitia doctrinis variis illustrant ac decorant, virisque etiam summis splendorem abstrahunt.

He was also gathering material about learned women and helping his friend Louis-Jacob de Saint-Charles in the composition of lives of women famous for their erudition.⁷ Considering this interest in learned women, one understands why he did not want to lose a unique opportunity to meet Anna Maria

⁷ Cf. the letter to Dupuy edited by Bots 1974: 52–53 and another letter of Bullialdus to Hevelius in which he asks for material about Cunitia cited by Bots 1974: 56. Some of the material gathered by Bullialdus can still be found in his papers. For instance in BnF, ms. fr. 13040, which contains letters sent to Bullialdus or copied by him, one finds in f. 6r: excerpts from an Italian letter of Antonio Magliabechi to Gilles Ménage dealing with the Spaniard Juliana Morella, the first woman to earn a university degree; f. 154: a copy in Bullialdus' hand of a letter of Anna Maria van Schurman to Claudius Salmasius (it has been made before the letter appeared in print, as can be understood from some variant readings found both in Bullialdus' apograph and in the original letter preserved in BnF, ms. lat. 8594, ff. 118–119); and in f. 256r an excerpt from a letter of Johann Georg Graevius concerning Gabrielle-Charlotte Patin, the learned daughter of Charles Patin.

van Schurman. He composed his letter in order to convince her to change her mind. It does so in two ways: first by demonstrating the connection of its author with two important personalities close to her, Elisabeth of the Palatinate and Claudius Salmasius;⁸ then by displaying his erudition through the use of the Greek tongue.

Both Elisabeth of the Palatinate and Claudius Salmasius had an important status, the former as an intelligent princess, the latter as a leading figure of the Republic of Letters. They both knew Van Schurman, whom they met in person and with whom they exchanged letters.⁹ Salmasius and Van Schurman appreciated each other, as can be seen from Van Schurman's extant letters and verses to him and by the lavish praise bestowed by Salmasius on the Dutchwoman in the preface to his *Miscellae defensiones*.¹⁰ It was therefore a smart strategy from Bullialdus.

The use of Greek in the letter was a powerful argument as well and Van Schurman was certainly receptive to it. It was the best token of erudition,

The work of Louis-Jacob de Saint-Charles is lost except for the *Elogium Annae Mariae a Schurman* which was published during the author's lifetime. It can be found in Van Schurman 1652: 346–364.

⁸ Bullialdus was a close friend of Salmasius, whom he frequently met at the *Cabinet Dupuy*, in Paris, and with whom he exchanged letters (the Vindobonensis Palatinus 7050 contains numerous original letters of Salmasius to Bullialdus on ff. 143–264; letters of Bullialdus to Salmasius are preserved in the University Library of Leiden, Pap. 7, and in the National Library of France, ms. fr. 3930, ff. 409–416.)

Here is an intelligent and clear-minded judgement of Bullialdus on the great French scholar, and particularly on his defective knowledge in science: [*Salmasius*] *in amplissimo illo tractatu de Annis Climactericis ... nullam de artis praeceptis scientiam sibi paravisse prodit, solam Graecarum vocum notionem, At vero quid mirum? voluit Salmazius omnia perlustrare: Diophanti arithmeti- cam olim cum MSS. codicibus Heidelbergae contulit, qui Mathesim ne quidem a limine salutaverat. de Astrologicis scribere, qui prima artis elementa nesciebat, aggressus est quod Mss. Codices publici iuris haud factos legisset. Noli tamen ea sic accipere, ac si famae tanti viri detrahere molirer; absit a me tantum scelus; nefas sane foret mortui famam lacerare, cuius amicitiam, dum vixit, colui; erat procul dubio vir ille omnium Europaeorum doctissimus; libros pene infinitos evolverat et attente legerat; iudicio erat acri praeditus, memoria etiam pene divina; maximi vero facienda est illius indoles et morum facilitas; et in colloquiis familiaribus leporem, venustatem et urbanitatem ipsius admirari convenit. Sibi ac nominis splendori ipse defuit, cum scripta nunquam relegeret, quae ex abundantissimo ingenii et memoriae penu promebat.* After noting Scaliger's errors in astronomy and geometry Bullialdus adds: *Illi tamen naevi virorum illustrium splendori ac claritudini non officiant; uterque enim, quando de rebus sibi tantum per nebulam notis disserunt, quando a scopo aberrant, multa caeteros docent, quae ab aliis frustra quis quaereret.* (BnF, ms. fr. 13026, f. 21)

⁹ See two letters of Van Schurman to Princess Elisabeth in Van Schurman 1652: 249–255 and 266–269. The same volume contains various letters of Van Schurman to Salmasius in Latin, French and Greek, on pages 121–139; 139–152; 164–165; 177–179; 186–188; 285–286; 286–289. Another letter was edited by L. Paris (1859: 62).

¹⁰ See Salmasius 1645, in the prefatory letter to Dupuy (not paginated). Van Schurman's verses in praise of Salmasius can be read in Van Schurman 1652: 308.

the shortest way for Bullialdus to demonstrate that he too belonged to the Republic of Letters. It is true that Bullialdus sometimes betrays an imperfect command of the language. The epistle, albeit brief, is not without a few gross grammatical errors such as the wrongly formed superlative σοφώτατος instead of σοφώτατος or the incorrect use of οὐκ instead of μή after ἐάν. His spellings are sometimes approximate (cf. Ἐλιζαβηθ), and there are a few poetical expressions. Finally, in dealing with titles of nobility unknown to the ancients, Bullialdus did not prove very elegant. He simply Grecised the Latin terms, as a Byzantine author would have done. Thus he does not hesitate to write παλατίνη πρίνκεψ (i.e. πρίγκεψ) instead of using ἡ βασιλις ἢ Παλατίνη or the like, and πρίνκεψ ἐλεκτώρ, whereas even in Latin the term *Elector* is sometimes shunned by purists, who prefer *septemvir imperatori Romanorum eligendo* or simply *septemvir* to it. By comparison an experienced writer of ancient Greek like Simon Stenius in his *Life of Maurice, Duke of Saxony* (1592)¹¹ employed ἄρχων τῶν ἑπτὰ and εἷς τῶν ἑπτὰ to render the same idea, which are much more felicitous expressions and remind the educated readers of οἱ τριάκοντα, famous in the history of Athens. Still, despite a few flaws, Bullialdus' style proves to be agreeable, and Van Schurman, who loved Greek, must have been sensitive to it, especially since it is not without some humour.

As a matter of fact, she responded positively to Bullialdus' request, who described her a few days later to Jacques Dupuy as, "a maiden as wise and modest as she is erudite" (*une Damoizelle aussi sage et modeste qu'elle est scavante*).¹² The letter had fulfilled its function.

¹¹ See Stenius 1611. The expressions cited can be read on pages 449 and 451.

¹² See his letter sent from Amsterdam on 19 September 1651, in Bots 1974: 40. We learn from the same passage that Bullialdus wrote in detail all he had done to obtain the meeting in a letter to Jacques-Auguste de Thou, the son of the celebrated historian, but I have unfortunately not been able to find it. It might have informed us about the encounter as well. We also know from the same source that, during his stay in Utrecht, Bullialdus visited Gisbert Voetius, Van Schurman's mentor. He may have facilitated the meeting with Van Schurman or have been present to it, but these are mere conjectures.

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Ms. fr. 13043 Correspondence and papers of Ismaël Bullialdus.

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Abstract

This article contains a Greek letter written by the scholar Ismaël Bullialdus to Anna Maria van Schurman during a travel to Holland in 1651. The Greek text of the letter is published here after an autograph minute preserved at the Austrian National Library in Vienna (Vindobonensis Palatinus 7049, f. 78). It is accompanied by an introduction about the circumstances in which it was written, an English translation, as well as a detailed discussion of its content.

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