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Reading, Writing, Translating

Greek in Early Modern Schools, Universities, and beyond

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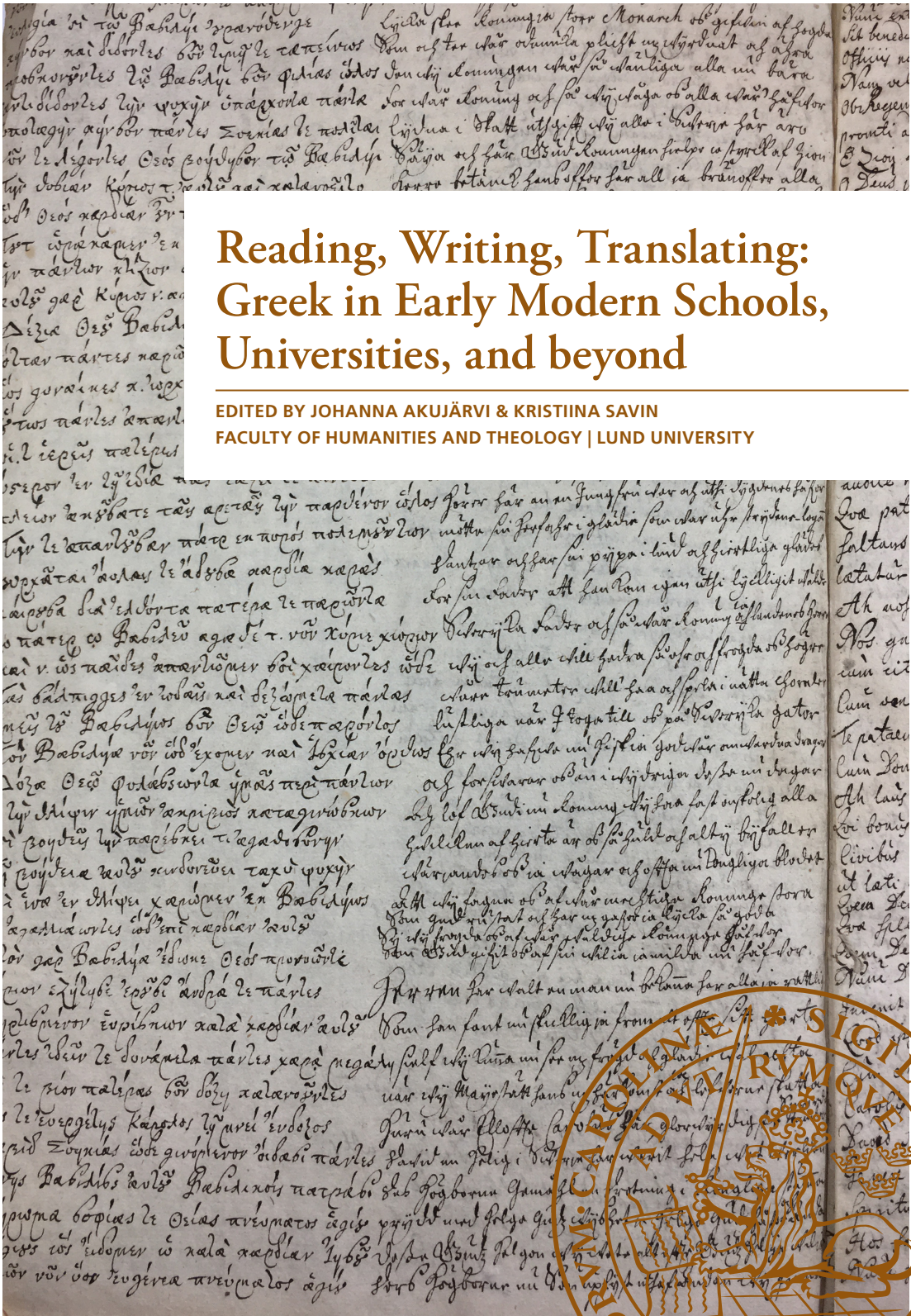
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Reading, Writing, Translating: Greek in Early Modern Schools, Universities, and beyond

EDITED BY JOHANNA AKUJÄRVI & KRISTIINA SAVIN

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND THEOLOGY | LUND UNIVERSITY



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STUDIA GRAECA ET LATINA LUNDENSIA 29

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Preface

In November 1702, Laurentius Brunnelius from Kalmar, student of Theology at Lund University, submitted a eulogy of King Karl XII of Sweden “into the hands” of the vice-chancellor of the university and bishop of Lund—the two offices were at the time always combined—as the author states on the first page of the manuscript preserved to this day in the holdings of Lund University Library (shelf mark Hist.Sv.Karl XII).¹ The nineteen-page long eulogy was offered in three languages: next to Greek hexameters are Swedish and Latin versions. On the cover of the present volume is a fragment of a spread showing all three languages.

Of course, our knowledge of the ambition of Brunnelius remains conjectural, but it can plausibly be assumed that the reason he submitted the eulogy—or, more precisely *Oratio panegyrica, De Maxima & incomparabili, nec non Optime digna Laude Serenissimi & Potentissimi Regis, Regis Caroli Duodecimi Dei gratia Svecorum Gothorum Vandalorum[que] Regis* etc. etc., as the piece is titled on the first page—to the vice-chancellor/the university Senate, was that he hoped to recite it at one of the academic festivities that were regularly enlivened with prose or metric orations by either academic staff or the student population. Recurring occasions for festivities at the academy were celebrations of the reigning king or queen, military victories—in the early years of the eighteenth century Karl XII gave rise to numerous such celebrations—or other grand occasions such as the foundation of cities. Latin was the regular language of these orations, but several pieces in Greek have also been preserved both in print and manuscript. From the invitations issued to summon staff and students to the events we know of several more Greek orations that were announced and presumably delivered, but that are now lost.²

¹ Very little is known about the author besides his being a student of Theology, as he describes himself in the manuscript; he appears to have enrolled at the university in 1692 (Wilner - Edlund, 1984, 51), and in 1700 he defended a dissertation *excercitii gratia*, that is, not for the grade of *magister* (Riddermarck - Brunnelius, 1692). What is known of his career after the academy is a record of rejections from positions he applied for (Olsson, 1951, 452).

² For instance, the *programmata* collected in Meyer, 1905; Sjöbeck, 1912–1915.

At Lund university, situated in Scania, a territory that then was still newly conquered from Denmark, Swedish was also an option for orations, at least in the oratory exercises held in student nations, to demonstrate a command of the vernacular of the new authority.³

The last folio of the manuscript also preserves a record of the academic scrutiny to which Brunnelius' submission was subjected, in the form of the *censura* performed by Andreas Stobaeus in his official capacity of professor *historiarum et poeseos*. Stobaeus begins by stating his regret that Brunnelius took on more than he could manage and wasted his energy on a matter for which he lacked the talent. He goes on to explain that he has already tried to dissuade Brunnelius from such an enterprise since it is to no avail to himself or others and states unequivocally that the present text certainly cannot be used in a public celebration of the king, since it fails to comply to the rules of metre and poetics. Thus Brunnelius appears to have persevered in his polyglot poetic aspirations despite the express discouragement of the professor of poetry—perhaps to the detriment of his study of theology. It also seems that Stobaeus expected Brunnelius to disagree with the verdict, for he invites him to seek the opinion of others, who, he assures, will not give their stamp of approval to Brunnelius' verse oration(s). It is unknown in what form Brunnelius received the rejection. Since the manuscript is still in the Lund University Library collections, he perhaps did not read the harsh verdict of professor Stobaeus at the end of the manuscript, dated December 1702. Brunnelius' oration is thus a rare example of an oration that can be presumed to not have been delivered at the university, though it has come down to us.

An accidental archival find like this one, though a puzzle when examined in isolation, constitutes a valuable building block for unravelling the multiple uses of Greek in early modern Sweden. Interest in learning—often manifested in the activities of reading, writing, and translating—ancient Greek texts in addition to the Greek New Testament was revived in Florence and other Italian cities during the Renaissance and spread across Europe aided by the new technology of printing. Upon its “arrival” to Northern Europe in the sixteenth century it assumed specific roles in the cultural and educational systems of the region. Here, the rise of interest in ancient Greek culture and language was closely linked to the humanist movement and the Lutheran Reformation.

Northern humanism, that is humanism north of the Alps, has sometimes been described as lacking in Italian flair, as being bookish and pedantic, and, most importantly, predominantly pedagogical. The articles in this volume confirm, question, and add nuance to the common perception. Several

³ Rosén, 1968, 257–8.

contributions show that Greek was studied mainly to attain fluency of expression. Grammar, vocabulary, reading, parsing and excerpting texts, and translating were methods of instruction whose aim was to turn students into competent language users, both for reading and interpreting textual messages and for eloquent self-expression according to the rules of the art. The social, educational, literary, and ideological contexts of the uses of Greek suggest intricate latent meanings: cultural self-fashioning, legitimising national claims, negotiating religious interpretation—whether pagan, Catholic, or Lutheran—humour, entertainment, in addition to moral, ethical, and political instruction. In an age in which the authority of antiquity and the power of historical precedent was superseded only by the authority of the Holy Scriptures, ancient Greek texts were potentially unrivalled instructors of the youth.

The articles collected in this volume were submitted in response to a call for contributions to an edited volume on the theme *Reading, Writing, Translating: Greek in Early Modern Schools, Universities and beyond* with the intention to collect studies that investigate the practicalities of teaching and learning Greek in early modern northern Europe (c. 1500–1750). The call was made under the auspices of the projects “Helleno-Nordica: the Humanist Greek Heritage of the Swedish Empire” and “Classics Refashioned: Swedish Translations of Ancient Literature”, which were both concerned with aspects of classical reception/receptions of Hellenism, with a strong focus on its educational contexts in early modern and modern Sweden, including its former territories in modern Finland, Estonia, and Latvia. This decided the themes of the call—reading, writing, and translating (from/into) Greek in an early modern teaching and learning setting north of the Alps—as well as its geographical and temporal limits. Our aim was to further the understanding both of the contexts and impact of Greek studies and of the reasons for and uses of engaging with the many varieties of Greek in a local and broader milieu.

Since the call was first circulated in 2021, there has been a significant increase in the already then considerable amount of scholarly energy devoted to investigating the early modern dissemination of the study of Greek and examining its establishment, teachers and students, schools and universities, institutions and patrons, as well as the teaching tools, methods, outputs, and various uses of Greek in new contexts, as the teaching and learning of the subject gradually spread throughout Europe from east to west and from the Mediterranean across the Alps towards the north(-east). Because of the continually growing scholarly engagement with questions like the ones

specifically singled out in our initial call—how were Greek texts used and adapted for educational purposes? how was the Greek language used by students and teachers in various educational stages and for various purposes related to education? what was translated (to and from Greek), how was it translated and for what educational use, if any?—it is our belief that the contributions collected in this volume will not only give new insights but also suggest possible new directions of study.

The chapters are organised into three thematic sections according to unifying common themes.

The two articles of the first part, **Learned Debates**, centre on Greek in the public domain—“beyond” the educational institutions—in debates concerning the legitimacy and justification of its study and the relation of Greek to vernaculars. Moreover, the two contributions amply demonstrate the prestige of Greek both for individuals and nations. Being a central part of humanist education, Greek became associated with certain cultural and social accomplishments and values. Thus, it could be used as a means of self-fashioning by those aspiring to belong to the educated elites and as an argument to legitimise the cultural ambitions of the newly formed nation-states.

The social and religious meanings of Greek learning in Renaissance France at a crucial moment in the history of Greek studies in France are explored by **Gianmario Cattaneo** in his chapter “Theseus and the Wise Ox: The Greco-Latin Correspondence of François Rabelais and Guillaume Budé”. After having been the concern of a few scholars in fifteenth-century France, Greek gained in status to the point that a young aspiring student like Rabelais chose to use it in letters—the earliest known writings by his hand—written to the foremost Hellenist of his times, Guillaume Budé, demonstrating his accomplishment. The correspondence between the two takes place against the background of “the battle for Greek” of the 1520s, in a climate where the study of Greek was banned and the Paris theologians opposed lecturing on the Scriptures without the permission of the Faculty of Theology or by way of comparing the Vulgate to the Hebrew and Greek Bible, because an interest in the Greek language was falsely equated with an acceptance of τὰ τῶν λουθηριστῶν δόγματα, as Budé says in one of the letters studied. In his close analysis of language, style, and models Cattaneo demonstrates the differences in competence and degrees of *imitatio* versus *aemulatio* in the two authors.

Even a nation’s cultural status could be boosted by demonstrating ties between the vernacular and Greek, either observing structural similarities

between the languages or arguing its being descendant from Greek or, more rarely, Greek being descendant from the vernacular. The latter is (possibly) the argument of the Danish poet Aquilonius in his treatise *De Danicae linguae cum graeca mistione* (printed in 1640), in which he demonstrates similarities between the languages of the *Danai* (Greek) and the Danes on the level of vocabulary, relying on early modern etymological practice and claiming that the linguistic mixture is due to prolonged cohabitation of the two nations. It is difficult to understand whether Aquilonius' treatise is a serious effort to praise his nation and its language, or whether it is a parody of the attempts so common in sixteenth-century Europe to raise the status of the vernaculars and nation-states. In their discussion of Aquilonius' curious treatise in its wider context, in the chapter "Aquilonius on the 'Danishness' of Ancient Greek: Serious Argument or Parody?", **Han Lamers & Toon Van Hal**, supporting the latter hypothesis, highlight the nuances that may have been perceived as humorous by contemporaries.

An abundant and multifaceted source for the study of Greek in the early modern period is the documentation related to educational institutions: school regulations, lecture notes, orations, textbooks, and other written remains of the educational practices of early modern schools and universities. These show repeatedly that the study of Greek was modelled on the much better established methods of Latin instruction and included the practice of the active use of the language both orally and in writing, though our understanding of the aural and oral aspects of instruction remains limited. The five chapters collected in part two, **Greek in Schools and Academies**, offer detailed insights into the practical working methods of early modern schools and academies: not only the procedures of lecturing, taking notes, interpreting, and explaining, but also—both explicitly and implicitly—a larger, more comprehensive pedagogical and ideological framework, within which the studies were motivated.

The first chapter of this part, **Federica Ciccolella's** "The Divine Language: Greek in a Sixteenth-Century German School", explores documents related to the short-lived *Paedagogium illustre Gandershemium* (in modern day Bad Gandersheim), a school founded in 1571 by Duke Julius of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Wolfenbüttel in order to promote Protestant culture in Saxony. Ciccolella reconstructs the role of the study of Greek at the *Paedagogium* in an analysis focused on the school statutes and an oration on the use of Greek delivered by Esaias Preiser, teacher of Greek at the *Paedagogium*. Through the oration, the place of Greek within Christian (Protestant) humanist pedagogy's view of knowledge and education is defined and the main goal of the study of

Greek is determined to restore and interpret the authentic divine word. Preiser's oration belongs to a long tradition of orations on the study of Greek, but Ciccolella identifies Philipp Melanchthon's *De studiis linguae Graecae* as its closest model.

The Aesopic fables in Latin had been a set text in elementary education in medieval schools and it continued to belong to the first classical texts read by early modern schoolboys, but now collections of Aesopic fables were used also for Greek instruction. In the chapter "The Aesopic Fable and the Study of Greek in Early Modern Swedish Schools", **Erik Zillén** draws on school regulations and the editions of fable books for school use to examine the adoption of the Aesopic fables for Greek studies, as the new subject was introduced in elementary education in sixteenth-century Sweden. It is shown that in time, the Greek fables did gain a fairly firm position, but remained dependent on the better established use of the fables for Latin instruction.

One of the characteristic traits of early modern pedagogy—the parallel study of Latin and Greek in bilingual environments—is highlighted by **Stefan Weise** in the chapter "Talking Attic in the Classroom: Notes to Johannes Posselius' *Οικείων διαλόγων βιβλίον* and Ancient Greek 'Orality' in the Early Modern Period", which explores the methods used by the German humanist Johannes Posselius, professor of Greek at the Lutheran university of Rostock, in his bilingual, Greek and Latin, abbreviated adaptation of Erasmus of Rotterdam's *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*—"probably one of the most successful writings in Humanist Greek". Weise's analysis demonstrates a tendency towards moral, Christian, and specifically Lutheran purification in Posselius' version in contrast to Erasmus', for instance by replacing ancient pagan names with biblical Christian ones. According to Weise, this allows Posselius to gain intellectual primacy over his catholic predecessor by "overwriting" Erasmus and creating an *Erasmus purgatus*.

The relationship between the active and passive uses of Greek is the subject of the chapter "Activating Greek at the Leuven Trilingue? Rescius' Use of Greek in His Odyssey Course" by **Raf van Rooy & Xander Feys**. In previous research, it has been assumed that teaching at the Leuven Collegium Trilingue was aimed at passive skills, but the authors argue that Rutger Rescius, the first professor of Greek at the Collegium, in addition to Latin, used Greek as a secondary metalanguage of instruction in his lectures and thus exposed his students to Greek also aurally, and perhaps encouraged them to Greek composition. The argument is based primarily on three parallel sets of lecture notes from Rescius' lectures on the Homeric *Odyssey*, in which unusual poetic and/or Homeric words and phrases are glossed with common Greek equivalents, which helped students consolidate their lexicon and build up a

“mental thesaurus”, according to the Erasmian ideal of *copia*. The imperfect state of the student notes, showing numerous errors of spelling, for instance, indicates that the input was aural and student comprehension at times imperfect. And it is supported by the yet underexplored corpus of Greek compositions authored by persons known to have studied or been at Leuven at that time.

The vitalising impact of Greek studies on the humanist culture of the eastern parts of Europe is illustrated by **Tomas Veteikis** in the chapter “Teaching Greek in 16th-Century Lithuania and its Neighbourhood: Evidence from the Three Major Academies”. His survey of orations, statutes, curricula, visitor’s accounts, and textbooks gives a rich and broad overview of the historical development of Greek as an academic subject in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: in the Jagellonian Academy at Kraków, the *Academia Regiomontana* at Königsberg, and the Jesuit Academy at Vilnius. Introduced as an academic subject in Krakow in 1528, Greek gained a prominent place here and at other academies, both Catholic and Lutheran, accessible to the Polish-Lithuanian elite.

The chapters collected in part three, **Translations, Editions, Collections**, highlight the practical and institutional conditions for the circulation of Greek texts, and raises the question of the accessibility of a text presented only in Greek. The extensive task of translating, editing, commenting, and collecting was a necessary prerequisite for teaching in schools and universities, as well as for the dissemination of Greek texts and humanist ideas beyond the educational institutions.

The centrality of moral and religious motivation and the Christianisation of ancient Greek texts is demonstrated by **Petra Matović** and **Ana Mihaljević** in their chapter “The Translations of Aeschylus and Hesiod by Matthias Garbitius Illyricus”. The Croatian-born Protestant humanist Matthias Garbitius Illyricus, professor of Greek in Tübingen, was a pupil of Philipp Melancthon, and followed him in his translations and comments providing morally instructive Christianising interpretations of two ancient texts: Aeschylus’ *Prometheus Bound* and Hesiod’s *Works and Days* (both published in 1559). Paratexts and comments in these bilingual editions featuring Greek text and Latin translation, demonstrate how the ancient myths and tragic examples could serve as a source of moral guidance for the sixteenth-century reader.

In her chapter “Self-Translation in Greek-Latin Occasional Poems from Early Modern Estonia and Livonia” **Janika Päll** addresses one particular type of early modern bi- and multilingual composition, viz. the phenomenon of self-translation in which one author produced parallel versions of the same poem

in different languages. Using the practice of this type of text production in early modern Estonian and Livonian occasional poetry as a test case and focusing on Greek-Latin poem pairs, Päll examines the source-target relation between the Greek and Latin versions in three cases of self-translated poems, analyzing both external and internal criteria, e.g. information in headings and matters of metre, style, and allusions, to determine the nature of their relationship.

The challenges of editing and publishing Greek texts in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Sweden are addressed by **Per Rålamb** in the chapter “The Case for Crediting Benzelius the Younger as the Source for Two Undated Linköping Editions of Basil of Caesarea in Greek”, which sheds new light on an enigmatic archival find—two volumes printed in Greek without a title page and lacking information on the editor and publisher, found in Carolina Rediviva Library at Uppsala University, and containing two sermons by Basil of Caesarea: *Homilia XI (On envy)* and *Homilia XIV (Against drunks)*. The subject matter of the homilies indicates that the volumes could have been designated and used as school textbooks, but it is more likely that the publication project remained unfinished—the surviving copies were probably only printed as galley proofs. Rålamb argues that the prints are the result of a printing project begun but not finished by Erik Benzelius the Younger (1675–1743), a learned bibliophile and head librarian at Uppsala University.

Peter Sjökvist presents an overview of the holdings of Greek books at Uppsala University in the last chapter of this volume, “Greek at Uppsala University in the Early Seventeenth Century: Library Holdings and Arrangements in the Light of the University Statutes”. Starting from the first University Library catalogues, compiled between 1638 and 1641, Sjökvist scrutinises the relation between the stipulations regarding Greek in the University statutes and the library holdings of literature in Greek, charting the physical arrangement of the books on the upper floor of the library and tracing their origin: a substantial number of Greek titles were donated to the university library in the 1620s as spoils of war. The numerous Greek works on different shelves of the library reflect the strong position of Greek in the university curriculum. Greek literature was available in almost all academic sections including grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, theology, philosophy, mathematics, and medicine.

The spread of the study of Greek coincided with the renaissance humanist expansion and revitalisation of traditional instruction and schooling. Greek was established as a second learned language in a learning environment dominated by Latin, the *lingua franca* of schooling and intellectual exchange;

it never became its equal, but its instruction was modelled on teaching and learning methods used for Latin. The establishment of the new subject did not signify the spread of a dispassionate study of antiquity, but an active adaptation of the language and its literature for contemporary educational needs. There was both continuity with and disruption against the authority of tradition; the relation to the texts was dialectic and strained as they needed to fulfil multiple functions and serve the needs of language acquisition as well as moral and religious instruction. Not only Aeschylus and Hesiod were subject to a Christianised interpretation, but also Erasmus' *Colloquia* appears to have needed purgation when adapted for use in Lutheran educational institutions. Knowledge of Greek implied the possession of tools with the potential to question the fidelity of the Vulgate to the Greek New Testament (as Hebrew, the third cornerstone of *studium trilingue*, gave direct access to the Old Testament), and as such it was a contested subject in the very epicentre of the intellectual and religious turmoil of the sixteenth century—the century of the Reformation. In early sixteenth-century France the study of Greek was associated with the Lutheran heresy, in German territories its early institutionalisation was tied to the Protestant Reformation movement, and in the Nordic countries it was firmly established in school and university curricula after the Lutheran Reformation. But Greek was equally studied in Catholic Belgium, Poland, and Lithuania. An understanding of the homogeneity despite diversity in the complex developments of classical reception, the study of Greek, its significance, and the practice of Greek in the various religious, cultural, and socio-political environments of the complicated spatio-temporal and geopolitical realities of Europe is slowly being built from case studies like the ones collected in this volume.

We wish to thank all our authors for their patience and understanding during the long process of bringing this volume to completion, and for the speed with which they responded when the project finally was approaching the finishing line. We are most grateful to all the anonymous peer-reviewers who were willing to lend us their expertise and found time in their busy schedules to assess the submissions we received. We also extend our gratitude to all who responded to our call for contributions but whose interesting proposals for various reasons are not included in this volume. Finally, we are thankful for the financial backing of the Swedish Research Council (grant no. 2016-01881 and 2016-01884), which made possible two research ventures into different aspects of classical reception in Sweden—both modern and early modern, and

including the territories of modern day Finland, Estonia, and Latvia—supported our work with this volume, and paid for its production. Thank you!

Malmö and Lund, June 2024

Johanna Akujärvi
Kristiina Savin

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Part I

Learned Debates

Theseus and the Wise Ox:

The Greco-Latin Correspondence of François Rabelais and Guillaume Budé

GIANMARIO CATTANEO

Abstract The surviving Greco-Latin correspondence between François Rabelais and Guillaume Budé provides us with information about the situation of Greek studies in Renaissance France, and can be analyzed also with regard to Rabelais' and Budé's use of Greek. In this contribution, the author presents a short overview on Greek studies in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century France. After that, a deep study of the content and the Greek sections of these letters is provided: in particular, the author focuses on the grammatical aspects, the style, and the models of these Greek parts. A comparison between Rabelais' and Budé's letters shows their different approaches to the so-called New Ancient Greek.

Keywords François Rabelais; Guillaume Budé; Greek Letters; Renaissance France

Introduction*

Guillaume Budé (1468–1540) is rightly considered the pioneer of Greek studies in France,⁴ and some episodes of his career as a Hellenist are linked with one of the most prominent figures of Early-Modern French literature, François Rabelais (1483/1494–1553).⁵ Their relationship can be studied especially through their epistolary correspondence, which consists of three surviving Greco-Latin letters, one from Rabelais to Budé and two from Budé to Rabelais (the second one written almost totally in Greek). In my paper I will focus on these three texts, describing the information they provide on Greek studies in Renaissance France, and analyzing the most important features of their Greek parts. Indeed, these sections represent a good example of the so-called New Ancient (or Renaissance, or Humanist) Greek texts,⁶ that is the texts written in Ancient Greek by Renaissance and Modern scholars.

The relationship between the two scholars has been studied in particular in two essays by Louis Delaruelle and Marie-Madeleine de La Garanderie, the titles of which are “Ce que Rabelais doit à Érasme et Budé” and “Ce que François Rabelais doit à Guillaume Budé”,⁷ but, apart from these contributions, a study focused on their Greco-Latin correspondence had never been published

* The quotations from Rabelais’ works come from Rabelais, 1994; the quotations from Budé’s Latin letters come from Budé, 1557, the Greek letters from Budé, 1540, which represents the last redactional stage of Budé’s collection of Greek letters, as shown in Cattaneo, 2021, 30–31. I will quote Budé’s letters according to the serial number Louis Delaruelle (even though his research on Budé’s correspondence has been largely surpassed by the most recent scholarship), Guy Lavoie and Guy Gueudet attributed them in Delaruelle, 1907a (= D.); Budé, 1977 (= L.) and Gueudet 2004 (= G.). The accents, the breathings and the punctuation of the Greek quotations are normalized according to modern conventions. All the translations from Latin and Greek are mine, unless otherwise stated. I will use the English translation of Rabelais’ *opera omnia* (Rabelais, 1991) only for the Latin text, because it contains numerous omissions in the translations of the Greek parts. I wish to thank the editors of this volume and the anonymous reviewer for their careful reading of this paper and their insightful corrections, comments and suggestions.

⁴ On Budé’s life and works, after the seminal study by Delaruelle, 1907b, see in particular McNeil, 1975; de La Garanderie, 1995; Maillard, Keckskeméti, Magnien & Portalier, 1999, 41–96; Sandy, 2002; de La Garanderie, 2010; Bénévent, Menini & Sanchi 2021.

⁵ For an introduction to Rabelais’ life and works, see Demerson, 1991; Heath, 1996; Huchon, 2011, and the collections of essays O’Brien, 2011 and Renner, 2021.

⁶ On New Ancient Greek, see the overview provided by Van Rooy 2023, with further bibliography.

⁷ Delaruelle, 1904; de La Garanderie, 2010, 519–539.

before last year, and this is rather surprising because Rabelais' very first literary effort is actually a Greco-Latin letter to Guillaume Budé. Fortunately, Romain Menini has recently published a rich and thought-provoking article on "Rabelais à la lumière de la correspondance de Guillaume Budé",⁸ in which he discusses many aspects of the influence Budé (and Erasmus) had on Rabelais, as emerges from their epistolary exchange.

In this essay, I am not going to repeat what Menini has brilliantly shown in his article about "the scholarly complicity that characterizes the writing of the rabelaisian letter",⁹ but I will focus on the information about Greek studies in France that we get from these letters, and on Rabelais' and Budé's use of Greek. Thus, hopefully our essays will complement each other and offer a complete picture of the contacts and interactions between "Theseus", as Budé calls Rabelais affectionately,¹⁰ and the "Wise Ox", as Budé jokes about his own surname in a letter to Erasmus.¹¹

As regards the structure of this contribution, I will first dedicate a brief outline of the situation of Greek studies in France during the fifteenth and early sixteenth century up to and including the time of Budé and Rabelais.¹² After that, I will provide an overview of their correspondence¹³ as a source of the situation of Greek studies in early sixteenth-century France. Finally, in accordance with the main topic of this volume, I will analyze the grammar, the style and the models of the Greek sections of these letters, and discuss the approach of these two authors to New Ancient Greek.

⁸ Menini, 2022a.

⁹ Menini, 2022a.

¹⁰ See below footnote n. 77.

¹¹ This letter (4 D.; 4 G.) is published in Erasmus, 1910, 272–276; see also de La Garanderie in Erasmus, 1967, 68.

¹² On Greek studies in Renaissance France, see especially the recent contributions by Maillard, Kecskeméti, Magnien & Portalier, 1999, vii–xlx; Sanchi, 2002, 7–20; Saladin, 2004; Pédeflous, 2009; Maillard & Flamand, 2010, xi–xxi; Boulhol, 2014, 149–236; Flamand, 2016; Sanchi, 2020; Flamand, Menini & Sanchi, 2021; Menini 2022b.

¹³ On Rabelais' letters, see in particular the overview offered by Smith, 2011. On Budé's collection of Greek and Latin letters, see especially Delaruelle, 1907a, xi–xx; Lavoie in Budé, 1977, 9–30; Cattaneo, 2021, 28–32.

The Study of Greek in Renaissance France up to Rabelais and Budé: A Short Overview

During the Middle Ages, the progress of Greek studies in France was rather slow,¹⁴ and the teaching of Greek during the fifteenth century was still very irregular.¹⁵ From 1476 to the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Greek scholar George Hermonymus lectured in Greek in Paris and, even though we do not know if he was ever appointed professor in a university context, among his pupils there was Guillaume Budé, in addition to Erasmus, Johannes Reuchlin and Beatus Rhenanus.¹⁶ Apart from Hermonymus' teaching, which was later criticized by several of his former students, a turning point in the history of Greek studies is represented by the arrival in Paris of Janus Lascaris. He arrived in France in 1494–1495 in the retinue of Charles VIII,¹⁷ and gave private lectures to Budé¹⁸ and other important scholars of that time, such as Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples.

From the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards, Greek studies in France developed significantly. For instance, on 12 August 1507, Gilles de Gourmont was responsible for the first Greek book ever printed in France, the *Liber gnomagryricus* edited by François Tissard (1460–ca.1509).¹⁹ In 1506–1507, Denys Lefèvre lectured on Theodore Gaza's Greek grammar at the Collège de Coqueret.²⁰ Additionally, in 1508 the Italian humanist Girolamo Aleandro (1480–1548)²¹ arrived in Paris; he first worked as a private teacher and was later appointed as professor of Greek literature at the Sorbonne.

¹⁴ See especially Boulhol, 2014, 30–148.

¹⁵ On Greek studies in fifteenth-century France, see especially Boulhol, 2014, 149–179; Flamand, 2016.

¹⁶ On Hermonymus, see especially Kalatzi, 2009; Maillard & Flamand, 2010, 1–214; Martinelli Tempesta, 2020. On his lectureship in Paris, see Kalatzi, 2006; Boulhol, 2014, 157–163; Flamand, 2016, 124–132; Sanchi, 2020, 58–59.

¹⁷ On Lascaris's life, see especially Pontani, 1992; Ceresa, 2004. On his lectureship in Paris, see in particular Flamand, 2016, 137–140; Boulhol, 2014, 187–188; Sanchi, 2020, 59.

¹⁸ On Budé's relationship with Lascaris, see Sanchi, 2008a.

¹⁹ On Tissard's pioneering role in the history of the printing press in France, see Maillard & Flamand, 2010, 215–274. See also Sanchi, 2020, 59.

²⁰ See Bouhol, 2014, 190–191.

²¹ On Aleandro and his activity as professor at the Sorbonne, see especially Vecce, 1998; Maillard & Flamand, 2010, 275–367; Sanchi, 2020, 60.

Aleandro's role in the promotion of Greek studies was extremely important: not only did he start to give public lectures on Greek literature at the University of Paris, but he also promoted the selling and circulation of Greek books in France, asking Aldus Manutius to provide his students with copies of the most relevant Greek grammars and vocabularies, and encouraged the publication of Greek books by the local printers.²² His course began in October 1509 and was devoted to Plutarch's *Moralia*;²³ Aleandro quit teaching in 1513 and returned to Italy in 1516.

In this context, Budé took every opportunity to improve his knowledge of Greek (even though he often proclaims himself to be self-taught), and gradually became the main promotor of Greek studies in Early Modern France.²⁴ As Pascal Boulhol (2014, 195) has rightly pointed out, in the years 1515–1530, Greek studies were still episodic in France, but they soon regained the social dimension they had lost for a long time: through his correspondence, Budé tried to create a network of French Hellenists and, thanks to his contacts with King Francis I (1494–1547), he wanted to ensure continuity in the study of Greek, which France lacked during the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century. This explains the effort Budé put into the promotion of the first nucleus of the institute now called *Collège de France*.²⁵ It was founded in 1530, but the project to establish a royal college modeled on the Leuven *Collegium Trilingue* started at least ten years before. It was meant as an alternative institution to the Sorbonne, and its main purpose was the promotion of the study of Greek, Hebrew, and Mathematics.²⁶

Apart from the promotion of this *Collège*, Budé's activity as a philologist and Hellenist includes the publication of three masterpieces of the French Renaissance: the treatise *De asse*, a monograph which carries out a vast investigation into ancient coins and measures, and represents a detailed *summa* of Greek and Roman culture;²⁷ the *Annotationes in Pandectas*, a commentary

²² See Vecce, 1998, 328–330.

²³ See Vecce, 1998, 335–336; Boulhol, 2014, 191–192.

²⁴ On Budé's activity as Greek scholar, see in particular Sanchi, 2001; Sanchi, 2006; Sandy, 2018; Sanchi, 2021a.

²⁵ On the history of the Collège, apart from the seminal monograph Lefranc 1893, see Fumaroli, 1998; Tuilier, 2006; Compagnon, Corvol & Scheid, 2015. On Budé's contribution in its foundation, see Sanchi, 2010.

²⁶ See Compagnon, Corvol & Scheid, 2015, 18–20; Sanchi, 2020, 63–65.

²⁷ *De asse* was published for the first time in 1515, and was then revised several times until the definitive 1541 posthumous edition. For a detailed description of the work, see Sanchi in

on the *Digest* which became a founding text for the rebirth of legal studies in sixteenth-century France;²⁸ the *Commentarii linguae graecae*, a lexicographic treatise in which nine thousand Greek words are analysed, according to about eighteen thousand quotations from Greek prose writers.²⁹ Furthermore, Guillaume was the first French humanist to publish a Latin translation of a Greek author: in 1505 he published the translations of Plutarch's *De fortuna Romanorum*, *De Alexandri fortuna aut virtute*, *De tranquillitate animi* and *De placitis philosophorum*.³⁰

Despite Budé's efforts, in the 1520s and 1530s the diffusion of Greek studies in France was impeded by the most important cultural institution of that time, the Faculty of Theology in Paris. Indeed, in 1523 the Sorbonne banned the study of the Greek language, since in the eyes of the Parisian theologians it was connected with the spread of the Reformation,³¹ and in 1523, the Franciscan order also prohibited the study of Greek as a consequence of the Sorbonne ban.³²

Moreover, four years after the foundation of the Collège de France, Noël Bédà (ca. 1470–ca. 1537),³³ syndic of the Sorbonne, denounced Pierre Danès, François Vatable, Agazio Guidacerio and Paolo Canossa, who were lecturers of Greek and Hebrew at the Collège, because they commented on the Holy Scripture without the permission of the Faculty of Theology: indeed, a Doctoral degree in Theology was required in order to have the right to lecture on the Scriptures. In particular, they were accused of comparing the Vulgate with the Greek and Hebrew versions of the Bible and stressing the differences between them, and Bédà wanted to stop this practice. The Parisian Parliament

Budé 2018, VIII–CXLVIII, and Bénévent, Menini & Sanchi, 2021, 309–433.

²⁸ The first part of Budé's *Annotationes in Pandectas* was published in 1508 (*Annotationes in viginti et quattuor Pandectarum libros*), and the commentary was enriched in 1526 (*Altero editio annotationum in Pandectas*); the definitive edition of both parts dates 1535. On this work, see Delaruelle, 1907b, 93–129; Céard, 2021; Sanchi, 2022. On Budé's juridical studies, see especially Piano Mortari, 1967; Osler, 1985; Sanchi, 2015; Sanchi, 2019.

²⁹ The *Commentarii* were published by Budé in 1529, and then received a posthumous edition in 1548. On this work, see above all the monograph Sanchi, 2006, as well as the more recent Sanchi, 2021a.

³⁰ On these translations, see Sanchi, 2008b and Martinelli Tempesta in Budé, 2019, 3–21.

³¹ See Boulhol, 2014, 205–208.

³² See Saladin, 2004, 382–386; Huchon, 2011, 77–83; Boulhol, 2014, 206–207.

³³ On Bédà see especially Farge, 2008. On his polemics with Erasmus' (and Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples') works on the New Testament, see Crane, 2010.

agreed with Bédà's claim and prohibited the royal lecturers to comment on the Vulgate and compare it with the Greek and Hebrew text, but King Francis I and the bishop of Paris Jean du Bellay (1492–1560) were able to stop Bédà's plans: in March 1534 Bédà and his closest supporters were imprisoned, and later exiled.³⁴ From this point onwards, the importance of Greek studies in France constantly increased, thanks especially to the contribution of many renowned scholars such as the aforementioned *lecteurs royaux*, plus Jean Dorat (1508–1588), Adrien Turnèbe (1512–1565), Jacques de Billy de Prunay (1536–1581) and many others.

As regards Rabelais' Greek studies,³⁵ unfortunately we do not possess any information about his curriculum:³⁶ perhaps he learned the first rudiments of Greek in the Franciscan monastery of Fontenay-le-Comte, where he took the monastic vows,³⁷ possibly with the help of his friend Pierre Lamy (†1525 ca.).³⁸ In spite of this lack of information, we find that, in his 1521 letter to Guillaume Budé, Rabelais already shows a good knowledge of Greek literature and a decent ability to write in Greek.³⁹

³⁴ See Saladin, 2004, 392–395.

³⁵ On Rabelais' Greek studies, see in particular Menini, 2009; Menini, 2013; Menini, 2014; Gorris Camos & Vanautgaerden, 2015, 45–74, 89–104, 105–127 (essays by Claude La Charité, Romain Menini, and Raphaël Cappellen); Menini, 2021.

³⁶ See Huchon, 2011, 78; Menini, 2013, 215–216; Flamand, Menini & Sanchi, 2021, 361.

³⁷ On Rabelais' staying at the Franciscan monastery of Fontenay-le-Comte, see Plattard, 1924; Busson, 1965; Huchon, 2011, 78–89.

³⁸ On Lamy and his relationship with Rabelais and Budé, see Busson, 1965; Lavoie in Budé, 1977, 216–217; Huchon, 2011, 78–89; Menini & Pédeflous, 2012.

³⁹ It should be added that, in the 1524 edition of *De legibus connubialibus*, the jurist André Tiraqueau (1488–1558) says that Rabelais translated the first book of Herodotus in Latin (Tiraqueau, 1524, LXXIIIIV): unfortunately, we do not know when Rabelais translated it, and there is no surviving copy of it. André was a close friend of Rabelais, and indeed Rabelais composed a Greek introductory epigram for *De legibus connubialibus* (Tiraqueau, 1524, a1v); the epigram is published in Rabelais, 1948, 187; Rabelais, 1967, 476; Rabelais, 1973, 939–941; Rabelais, 1994, 1021; Flamand, Menini & Sanchi, 2021, 360; Rabelais, 2022, 1539. On Tiraqueau's life and works, see especially Veillon, 2006; Céard, 2006; on the relationship between Rabelais and Tiraqueau, see in particular Huchon, 2011, 84–85.

The First Phase of the Correspondence (1521): Quarreling in Greek about Ancient Roman Law

The first letter Rabelais wrote to Budé is dated 4th March 1521, and (as I said before) is the first known text by Rabelais.⁴⁰ Pierre Lamy encouraged Rabelais to write to Budé:⁴¹ in fact, at that time, Lamy was already in touch with Budé. In 1520 Budé wrote at least two letters to Lamy (53 D., 21 L., 53 G.; 68 D., 22 L., 68 G.), and in the first one it says: “After I had arrived in Paris from my estate in Marly on business, François Deloynes⁴² showed me the letter you sent him. [...] As soon as I read a passage in which you mentioned Budé, I suddenly remembered the letter you wrote to me a long time ago. [...] So, in order to cleanse my delay and omission of writing, with a nice (though unpunctual) return-gift I decided I had to excite the writing forces which were ceased between us and revive the memory of our friendship which was nearly dead”.⁴³ This means that their first contacts surely date back to previous years.

Thus, Lamy persuaded Rabelais to write to Budé, but his first attempt to get in touch with Guillaume was unsuccessful: the surviving autograph letter from Rabelais to Budé is indeed the second letter he sent to Budé. Rabelais’ first letter to Budé no longer exists, and, according to what Rabelais says, Budé did not reply to it:⁴⁴ for this reason, Rabelais decided to send a second letter, i.e.

⁴⁰ The original copy of this letter is currently preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, with the shelfmark NAF 27237(1); a digital reproduction of the letter is available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10538045m/>. It was first published by Scheler (1860, 171–176), and its authenticity was definitely proved by Lefranc (1905, 341–343). It was later re-published in the various editions of Rabelais’ *opera omnia*, such as Rabelais, 1948, 183–186; Rabelais, 1967, 467–470; Rabelais, 1973, 936–938; Rabelais, 1994, 993–997; Rabelais, 2022, 1500–1505. On this letter, see especially Rabelais, 1994, 1744–1746; Huchon, 2011, 32, 78–79; Menini, 2013, 216–217, 221–223; Menini, 2022a; Pédeflous, 2022.

⁴¹ See Rabelais, 1994, 993.

⁴² François Deloynes (ca. 1468–1524) was an official of the *Parlement de Paris* and a close friend of Budé. The last part of *De asse* contains indeed two fictitious dialogues between Budé and Deloynes, who tries to dissuade Budé from renouncing the *vita activa*. See McNeil, 1975, 34–36; de La Garanderie, 2010, 106–109.

⁴³ Budé, 1557, 267: *Cum in urbem negotii causa venissem ex Marliano meo, literas mihi tuas ad se ostendit Franciscus Deloinus [...]. In his cum locum unum legissem quo in loco Budaei meministi, in memoriam statim redii earum literarum quas tu ad me pridem scripsisti. [...] Itaque ut illam scribendi moram cessationemque purgarem, ἀμοιβῆν τινὴ προσφιλεῖ καίτερ ὑπερημέρω mihi faciendum esse duxi, ut desitas scribendi vires inter nos lacesserem, quasique intermortuam amicitiae memoriam exuscitarem.*

⁴⁴ Rabelais, 1994, 994: *Sed cum vehementius urgeret Amicus, libuit tandem, vel cum*

the one which is still extant. According to what Rabelais says in the first part of the preserved letter, at the beginning he was afraid Budé might have been offended by his first letter, but his friends and especially Lamy tried to reassure him about Budé's good disposition towards his correspondents and the lovers of culture.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, for a moment Rabelais considered suing Lamy, who had prompted him to write to Budé. This paragraph is completely written in Greek, and, as Geneviève Demerson has pointed out, from this section on Rabelais tries to impress his correspondent (who published the first part of *Annotationes in Pandectas* in 1508)⁴⁶ with his acquaintance with Greek juridical lexicon:⁴⁷

Indidem γραφή τις νῆ τὸν Δία δεινή, ἦν ἔγωγε τὸν ἄνδρα γράψασθαι ἐν νῶ εἶχον, ἧς δὴ οὐκ ἂν ῥαδίως φθάνοι ἀπαλλάξαι, μὴ οὐχὶ δίκην, ἦν τιν' ἂν τάττω, ἐκτετικῶς· ἴσως μὲν οὖν πάντων τῶν αὐτοῦ κτημάτων τὸ ὀλίγιστον ἀποστερηθεῖς. Οὐδὲ γὰρ πολλοστημόριον τοῦτο, ὃν χρῆναι αὐτὸν παθεῖν ἡγούμενός τις ἐν μέλει κρίνει ἂν. Καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔγωγε ἂν ποτε ἐνθυμησαίμην ἂν ἔρχεσθαι εἰς τὸ τῶν ὑμῶν τῶν σεμνῶν δικαιοδότην δικαστήριον, τήνδε δίκην διωξῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἐξάρνως ἔξετε (ὡς ἐγῶμαι) ἄνδρα ὀρθῶς ἔχειν παντέλως ἔμμενεῖν ταῖς δίκαις ἅς γε δεδωκότες κατὰδηλοι γίνονται οἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων

existimationis periculo, eorum inire numerum, qui plus aliis de se quam sibi credere malunt. Scripsi itaque, idque menses abhinc plus minus quinque, at sic ἀπειροκάλως, ut parum absit quin scripsisse tum pudeat, tum poeniteat, cum certior fieri non potuerim, quorsum res abierit: quam ominari contigerat non valde feliciter casuram. “But since Lamy kept urging me even more strongly, at the risk of losing my reputation, to be one of those who, to judge themselves, would rather trust to others than to themselves. So I did write to you about five months ago, but so clumsily that my having sent it very nearly overwhelms me with simultaneous shame and regrets, since I have not been able to learn the result of that first step; I had not exactly expected a happy outcome from it” (transl. Frame in Rabelais, 1991).

⁴⁵ Rabelais, 1994, 994: *Budaeum e diverso hominis unius ex multis humilitatem atque animum fastidisse [...], id vero ne crederem faciebat constans quaedam semel omnium fama, quibus ipsis datum est aliquando Budaei consuetudine uti [...]. Faciebat item et Amici praedicatio, apud quem identidem queritabar, tanquam qui nescirem utram in partem haec alea cecidisset, cum ipse mihi ad animos ad eam rem fecisset tam alacres, porro etiam feroces.* “But to think that Budé had taken no account of the feelings shown by a nobody lost in the mass [...], that idea, lame as it was, was ruled out for me by the unanimous testimony of all those who even one day had the good fortune to be in communication with Budé [...]. Lamy's assertions urged me in the same direction, whenever he heard me incessantly lamenting my not knowing the result of my overture and reproaching him for inciting me to this boldness, or rather this overweening presumption” (transl. Frame in Rabelais, 1991).

⁴⁶ See above footnote n. 25.

⁴⁷ See Rabelais, 1973, 937. On Rabelais' juridical studies, see in particular Nardi, 1962; Derrett, 1963; Bowen, 1997.

ἄπλους ἐξαπατοῦντες καὶ μηδὲν διημαρτηκότας, παραδειγματιζόμενοι καθ' ὅσον μὲν δὴ ἦν δυνάμεως παρ' αὐτοῖς.⁴⁸

A terrible action comes from here, by Zeus, which I thought about bringing against this man [Pierre Lamy]; he would not manage to escape it easily, unless he had served the sentence that I impose, perhaps by deprivation of all his goods at least. And this is not even the smallest punishment he should suffer according to someone who judges correctly. And naturally if I thought about filing this complaint with the court of your respectable judges, you would not deny, I think, that it is fair that this man should totally accept the penalties, which those who deceive simple men who have done nothing wrong, should clearly suffer, serving as examples as much as possible.

Rabelais wanted to bring an *actio de dolo malo* against Lamy, that is an action for fraud.⁴⁹ When Lamy promised Rabelais that Budé would have answered him, a sort of verbal agreement between Lamy and Rabelais was stipulated. Therefore, according to Rabelais, since Budé did not reply to Rabelais, Lamy should be prosecuted for false promises and fraud.⁵⁰ This is important to underline, because this topic and Rabelais' argumentation will be largely discussed (and refuted) in Budé's letter. In this regard, it is worth adding that the 1508 edition of *Annotationes in Pandectas* does not contain any section specifically devoted to the *actio de dolo*, but Budé talks about it in the 1526 *Altera editio annotationum in Pandectas*.⁵¹

In the last part of this letter, Rabelais begs pardon for his insistence, because he knows Budé was occupied by the many incumbencies of the court. In this regard, Rabelais criticizes the Greek god Plutus, the main character of Aristophane's comedy of the same name, who here represents those people (especially the courtesans) who only care about money and not about culture.

⁴⁸ Rabelais, 1994, 995.

⁴⁹ On this *actio* in the ancient judicial procedures, see Berger, 1953, 343, 716, and below footnotes n. 60–61.

⁵⁰ Rabelais, 1994, 995: *Quid si dixero atque probavero id inter nos convenisse? [...] Hic non dicam quam multos testes laudare possem, eosque ἀξιόπιστους, omnique exceptione maiores, qui profitebuntur id mihi ab illo cautum, ut si res praepostere evaderet, possem de dolo malo actionem dare.* “And what if I declare and prove that it was arranged between us [Rabelais and Lamy]? [...] And I shall not say how many witnesses I can cite, and those trustworthy of course, and impregnate: they will all attest to hearing me stipulate that in case the affair turned out badly, I might prosecute him for fraud” (transl. Frame in Rabelais, 1991).

⁵¹ See Budé, 1526, IIIr.

As de La Garanderie (2010, 526) has said about Rabelais' letter, the allusion to Plutus, god of wealth, means that Rabelais knew the works of Aristophanes, but above all he knew the works of Budé, the author of *De asse*.⁵² Indeed, in the final section of *De asse*, Budé condemns the *simulatio aulica* ("the hypocrisy of the court"), the *Chameleontes aulici* ("the chameleons of the court"), the *axiomata aulicacademiae* ("the axioms of the court-academy"), and most of all *illa Plutacademica in aede Plutonis consecrata* ("that Plutacademy consecrated in the temple of Pluto").⁵³ The first edition of *De asse* was published in 1515, and this work was surely read by Rabelais, since it is explicitly cited in previous paragraphs of the letter.⁵⁴

Rabelais blames those who are blinded by desire for wealth and is glad that Budé is a member of King Francis' court, because through his culture Budé will be able to "civilize Plutus".⁵⁵ Rabelais' criticism is not generally directed towards wealth, but towards a kind of rough and uncultivated way of acquiring goods and money. His ideas are condensed in the Greek epigram, which serves as the conclusion of the letter:

Καὶ σὺ, τί φῆς, ὦ Πλοῦτε, θεῶν μαρώτατε πάντων;
Σοὶ μῶν νῦν φροντίς κάλλεός ἐστι πέρι;

⁵² de La Garanderie, 2010, 526; see also Menini, 2022a.

⁵³ See Budé, 1515, CLXIII–CLXIIIr. On Budé's (necessarily ambiguous) attitude towards the court affairs, see the recent contribution by Cooper, 2021.

⁵⁴ See Rabelais, 1994, 994.

⁵⁵ Rabelais, 1994, 996: *Habe tu igitur nunc alteras a me litteras, quibus ueniam precari volo, quod tam nulla religione fores tuas pulsem, atque naeniis te meis exercere non verear, quem scio aulicis tumultibus circum undique obrutum esse, Plutoque illi expoliendo operam navare. [...] Nosti quae in calce litterarum mearum versibus aliquot graecis precabar. Neque nunc quoque ego non precor, Plutum etiam illum frequens compello, siquidem incidere contingit (contingit autem aliquando) in eos, quos ille more suo adeo nobis politos sesquianno reddit, ignavos quidem illos, rerum imperitos, socordes, indoctos, flagitiosos, τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης.* "So here now accept this second letter from me, by which I want to beg your indulgence for coming to knock unscrupulously on your door, for shamelessly pestering you with my silly problems at a time when you are swamped on all sides, I know, with the ruckus of the court, where you work so hard to civilize old Plutus. [...] You remember, at the end of my last letter, the prayer I expressed in Greek verse. That prayer I repeat today; often I even apostrophize Plutus, as if (as sometimes happens) I chance to come upon those whom he ordinarily returns to us after a year and a half and has shaped so well in his own fashion: ignorant wimps, uncouth, a mass of vices; as Homer puts it, useless burden upon hearth" (transl. Frame in Rabelais, 1991).

Τὸν βουδαῖον ἴοις ἐπ’ ἐκείνονγ’ ὧκα γὰρ ἤξειεις
ἄμμι φάους κεν ἔχων εὖχος ἀπειρεσίου.⁵⁶

And what do you say, Plutus, the vilest god of all?
Don’t you have any concern for beauty now?
Go to the famous Budé: indeed you will quickly come back
to us with the glory of a light that never ends.

While Rabelais’ letter to Budé has been largely cited by the experts of Rabelais’ works, Budé’s response (89 D., 67 L., 89 G.) has not received much attention so far. This letter was sent on 12th April 1521 from Villeneuve-sur-Vengeanne, in Burgundy, where Budé was staying at the time in the retinue of King Francis I and his court.⁵⁷ As regards the history of the text, the epistle was first published in Budé’s collection of *Epistolae posteriores*,⁵⁸ and was later included in the *Epistolarum latinarum libri V*.⁵⁹ The *Epistolarum latinarum libri* were reprinted in the first volume of Budé’s *Opera omnia*, edited by Celio Secondo Curione and published in 1557 by Nicolaus Episcopus.⁶⁰

In the introduction, Budé praises the liberal studies and the *contubernium Philologiae*, and complains that his current affairs do not allow him to study peacefully anymore.⁶¹ After that, Budé discusses what Rabelais said in his

⁵⁶ Rabelais, 1994, 997. In v. 3, Menini, 2022a and Rabelais, 2022 correctly read γὰρ instead of θ’ printed in Rabelais, 1994 and the previous editions.

⁵⁷ See Delaruelle, 1907a, 141.

⁵⁸ Budé, 1522, 28v–31v.

⁵⁹ Budé, 1531, LXXXI^r–LXXXIII^r.

⁶⁰ Budé, 1557, 325–327.

⁶¹ Budé, 1557, 325: [...] in qua non iam Musarum auspiciis, ut pridem assueveram, contubernio Philologiae uti ac frui mihi licet, eiusque militiae commodis aspirare quae sine mortalium agrorumque clade ad gloriam quaerendam instituta est, domitandamque imperitiam improbam et contumacem adversus edicta sapientiae imperiaque rationis. In qua quum ipsa nuper ordines iam ductitare quoquomodo existimarer inter primosque censi, non tam ob res egregie et praeclare gestas, quam ob eximiam et alacrem promptitudinem, ecce tibi inopinatum fatum [...] transversum me rapuit in rationem agendaе vitae exercendaеque mentis diversissimam, quippe qui pro securitate angores, pro tranquillitate trepidationem, pro ocio negocia, pro libero arbitrio obsequendi necessitatem apparituramque in aula factitandi, denique pro philosophis auscultationibus aulica acroamata sortitus. “[...] in this mission it is not allowed for me to use and enjoy the companionship of Philology under the guide of the Muses, as I did before, nor to aspire to the advantages of that militia, which was created in order to achieve glory without the loss of men and the destruction of lands, and to domesticate the vile ignorance which is unyielding to the edicts of the wisdom and the orders

letter: Budé really appreciates the efforts of Rabelais in writing in Greek, but first he wants to prevent any charge towards Pierre Lamy. In doing so, Budé displays his deep knowledge of Ancient Roman law and Latin juridical lexicon, in parallel with what Rabelais tried to do in his epistle:

Haec ut dixi et alia huiuscemodi silentio transmittam, quando non te nunc accusandum, sed Amicum tuendum habeo et defendendum, qui ob meam culpam criminose accessitur et atrociter. Hoc dicam tantum, ut intentioni tuae praescribam [...], praepropere te et perperam famosam actionem in Amicum intendisse, cum posses alia actione civilius experiri, id est ex stipulatu. Illam enim de dolo (ut nosti, qui iuris studiosus fuisti) Praetoris edictum non nisi subsidiariam promittit.⁶²

These things stand as I said, and I will omit other stuff of this kind, because now I do not have to accuse you, but protect and defend Lamy, who was accused calumniously and harshly because of me. I will just say this, in order to make an objection to your accusation [...]: you brought that infamous action against Lamy hastily and incorrectly when you could have prosecuted him in a more civil way with another action, that is *ex stipulatu*.⁶³ In fact (as you know, since you have been a legal scholar) the Praetor's Edict does not permit an action *de dolo* to be brought, unless it is *subsidiaria*.⁶⁴

Budé continues to explain, both in Latin and in Greek, the cases of this imaginary trial involving Rabelais, Pierre Lamy and himself, and in the final section—totally written in Greek—Budé says again that the incumbent affairs

of the intellect. While I was serving in this militia and I was supposed recently to already guide the troops in whatever way and to be considered among the frontline leaders (not thanks to the achievement of excellent and noble feats, but because of an extraordinary and quick promptitude), suddenly an unexpected crosswise destiny [...] drags me away and leads me to a completely different way of living my life and exercising my mind: indeed I obtained torments instead of security, agitation instead of tranquility, business instead of spare time, the necessity of obeying and serving the court instead of free will, and finally the discourses of the court instead of listening to the philosophers”.

⁶² Budé, 1557, 326.

⁶³ The *stipulatio* was a basic form of contract in Roman law, which originally was just oral. In this case, since Lamy made a sort of *stipulatio* by promising Rabelais that Budé would have replied to him, Rabelais could have brought an *actio ex stipulatu* against Lamy. See Berger, 1953, 343.

⁶⁴ The *actio de dolo* carried a more serious accusation than the *actio ex stipulatu*, and the eventual condemnation brought infamy (*infamia*) to the convict. This *actio* is called *subsidiaria* because the praetor granted it only when there was no other action available. The *actio de dolo malo* is the main theme of *Dig.* 4.3. See Berger, 1953, 716.

of the court do not allow him to reply promptly to his correspondents, and his age too causes some delay in his answers. In short, Rabelais should wait patiently if he desires an appropriate reply to his letters:

Σπουδαιολογῶν μέντοι εἵπομι' ἂν ὡς οὐ δίκαιός εἰμι κακῶς ἀκούειν, «οὐθ' ὑπὸ σοῦ,» οὐθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου του [...], κὰν μὴ τοῖς ἴσοις ἀμείψωμαι τοὺς ἐμοὶ ἐπιστέλλοντας, ἢ γοῦν οἱ τὰ ἴσα με εἰσπραττόμενοι δίκαιοί εἰσιν αὐτοὶ πάντα μοι παρασχεῖν τὰ αὐτὰ ἢ παρόμοια τὰ τῆς σχολῆς καὶ εὐκαιρίας. Ἐὼ δὲ λέγειν τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας τε καὶ ῥαστώνης ἄπερ ὑμῖν περίεστι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τοὺς λόγους οὖσι, καὶ χρωμένοις φιλοσοφία συσκῆνω τε καὶ ὁμορόφω· καίτοι σχολῆ ἂν ἐξισοῦσθαι δύναιτο τὸ τῆς νεότητος θερμὸν καὶ φιλόπονον, ἥδε ἤδη ῥέπουσα εἰς παρακμὴν τῆς προτοῦδε δεινότητος ἡλικία, καὶ ταῦτα φροντίσι συχναῖς ἐνοχλουμένη. Ἄ δὴ αὐτὸς ἦκιστα ὑπολογίζεσθαι μοι δοκεῖς. Ἴσθι οὖν οὐ τουντεῦθεν (ἴστωσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ κατὰ τοὺς λόγους ἐπικεκυφότες καὶ ἀναποσπάστως διακέιμενοι), οἴκοι τε καὶ ἔξω τὸν Βουδαῖον κὰν σχολῆ κὰν ἀσχολία ἀεὶ μὲν τὸν αὐτὸν οἶόν τ' εἶναι τῇ προαιρέσει, οὐκ ἔτι δὲ εὐχερεία τε καὶ προθυμία.⁶⁵

Now, speaking seriously, I would like to say that [...] it is not fair to be ill-spoken of, either by you or by someone else, even though I cannot repay those who write to me with the same coin. Indeed, the people who expect an equal treatment from me should rightly offer me the same or similar conditions in terms of leisure and appropriate time for replying. Moreover, I omit to mention your age and the leisure which you enjoy, you who devote yourselves to literary studies and are in the company of philosophy as a messmate under the same roof; and yet my age could hardly match the heat and the industry of youth, for it is already sliding towards the decline of its former forcefulness, furthermore oppressed by frequent worries. It seems that you did not consider all these factors at all. So, from now on, you must know—and so must the others who hunch over books and are disposed to reclusion—that, both at home and outside, when he is both free and occupied, Budé always remains the same person as regards his will, but no longer as regards his ease and promptness.

To sum up, this epistolary exchange bears witness to the first contact between Budé and Rabelais, and it gives us some glimpses into the diffusion of Greek studies (and the revival of juridical studies)⁶⁶ in sixteenth-century France.

On one hand, Rabelais wanted to show his correspondent his knowledge of Greek, by inserting in his letter a good number of quotations from Greek

⁶⁵ Budé, 1557, 327. The words οὐθ' ὑπὸ σοῦ are absent in Budé, 1557, and have to be supplied from Budé, 1531, because they are necessary for the construction and the sense of the period.

⁶⁶ On this topic, see Prévost & Sanchi, 2022, 181–340.

authors and a Greek epigram too; on the other hand, Budé decided to write half of his letter in Greek. Rabelais tried to present his preparation in the field of juridical studies to the great commentator of the *Digest*, so Budé displayed his profound knowledge of Roman and Byzantine law and demonstrated the defectiveness of Rabelais' arguments about the *actio de dolo*. In general, it seems that Rabelais tried to enter the same fields in which Budé had become famous, but Budé wanted to stress his superiority in these areas.

Perhaps Rabelais was embarrassed by the harsh tone of the last paragraph of Budé's letter, but actually, as shown before, their contacts did not stop. In particular, as we will see in the next section, Budé tried to defend Rabelais and Lamy from the attacks of the Parisian theologians, who banned the study of Greek in France in the mid-1520s.⁶⁷

The Second Phase of the Correspondence (1524): Battling for Greek Studies in Renaissance France

The contacts between Rabelais and Budé are attested by the other remaining letter from Budé to Rabelais, sent on 27th January 1524 (141 D., 68 L., 146-1 G.). This letter, together with another one addressed to Lamy (142 D., 24 L., 146-2 G.), is very important because it testifies to the way such a prominent French scholar as Budé tried to face the ban on Greek studies pronounced by the Sorbonne.

As Budé says in his letters, the prohibition was connected with both the rise of the Reformation and the publication of Erasmus' *Paraphrases of the New Testament*, which were published between 1517 and 1524.⁶⁸ The main goal of Erasmus' *Paraphrases* was to explain the genuine meaning of the biblical text; then, the Sorbonne decided to prevent any heterodox interpretation of the Bible and any source of heresy, banning all the editions of the Scriptures in Greek, French and Hebrew, and forbidding the study of Ancient Greek and Hebrew.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ It must be also added that, at the end of a Greek letter to Lamy dated 14 August 1521 (111 D., 23 L., 111 G.), Budé cordially gives his regards to Rabelais (Budé, 1540, 37): Προσειρήσθω σοι πρὸς ἐμοῦ Ῥαβέλαισος ὁ συνεταιρούμενός σοι, καὶ τῶν λόγων κοινῶνός. "Give my regards to Rabelais, your fellow brother and partner in studies".

⁶⁸ On Erasmus' *Paraphrases* see Rabil, 1978; Pabel & Vessey, 2002; Cottier, 2005; Cottier, 2012.

⁶⁹ On the censorship promoted by the Sorbonne during the sixteenth century see in particular Higman, 1979.

Whilst Budé's previous letter is mostly in Latin, this one is almost entirely in Greek, except for the first paragraph, the only one written in Latin.⁷⁰ In the first lines, Budé tells his correspondent that he received his last letter through the brother of the jurist André Tiraqueau.⁷¹ After that, Budé says: "In reply to what you wrote in Greek, please receive what I had time to write".⁷² From this sentence we understand that Budé's letter is in reply to a now lost letter by Rabelais and that Rabelais' letter was composed totally in Greek. It is possible that Rabelais wanted to continue their correspondence in Greek, but it cannot be excluded that Rabelais wrote the letter in Greek in order not to be understood by anyone other than Budé. In fact, Rabelais' letter was probably motivated by the treatment he received from his superiors. Thus, perhaps Rabelais chose the Greek language because he wanted to avoid being caught.

The content of the first lines in Greek is similar to the first part of Budé's 1521 letter. It is said that Rabelais sent many letters to Budé, but Budé did not answer any of them. So, Budé tries to block any possible accusation of ingratitude or indifference. After that, Budé moves to the main reason that impelled him to reply to Rabelais: the confiscation of Lamy and Rabelais' Greek books by the superiors of Fontenay-le-Comte:⁷³

[...] ὅτι τινι τῶν φίλων ζεύγει αὐτὸς συμπεπονηθῶς ἔχων διετέλεσα, ἐφ' οἷς ἠνωχλῆσθαι ἔφθητον ὑπὸ τῶν κορυφαίων τῆς ἐταιρείας, καὶ εἰρχθῆναι τῆς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν συνταγμάτων ἀναγνώσεως· ἄχρις οὗ ἤκουσά τινος τῶν χαριστέρων τῆς αὐτῆς ἐταιρείας καὶ τῶν φιλοκαλούντων, σφῶν τ' ἀποδεδόσθαι τὰ παιδικὰ τὰ ἡμέτερα, τὰ βιβλία λέγω, ἅπερ οὔτοι αὐτεξουσίως σφῶ ἀφῆρηντο.⁷⁴

[...] for this pair of friends, I continued to feel sympathy, because you were troubled by the superiors of the convent and deprived of reading the Greek books, until I learned from one of the most distinguished members of the same convent, a lover of elegance, that the object of our delights, I mean the books that these people arbitrarily took away from you two, have been returned to you.

⁷⁰ The letter is published in Budé, 1540, 107–111; Budé, 1557, 434–436.

⁷¹ Budé, 1540, 107–108. On Tiraqueau, see above n. 36.

⁷² Budé, 1540, 108: *Verum ut ea quae Graece tu scripsisti respondeam, accipe quae scribere nunc vacavit.*

⁷³ See Budé, 1540, 109–110.

⁷⁴ Budé, 1540, 109.

Even though his friends got their books back, this episode made Budé think and complain about the precarious situation of Greek studies in France. He says that the theologians of the Sorbonne tried to suppress the study of Greek and to persuade the public that Greek studies were disciplines which offended against the principles of true theology.⁷⁵ On the other hand, Budé asserts that this attitude towards Greek studies represents a direct attack against the concept of encyclopedic learning (ἡ ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία) that Budé tried to promote in all his works.⁷⁶ The causes of the criticism of the Parisian theologians are summarized by Budé in this way:

Ἐξ ὅτου γε τῶν λουτηρίζειν νῦν λεγόμενων διατεθρύληται μὲν πολλάκις ποικίλα δόγματα [...], ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ ἄσασθαι τι νεωτερισμοῦ τούτου αἰτίαν ἔσχον· τότε δὴ οἱ τῷ Ἑλληνισμῷ ἀπεχθόμενοι, ἀντιλαβόμενοι πράγματος ἐπιφθόνου καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνιζόντων καταβοῶντες ὡς νεωτεριζόντων περὶ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀνατροπῆς, παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθον τοὺς περὶ τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ σπουδάζοντας ὡς αἰρετικῶς ἔχοντας φυγαδεύειν· δεινὸν δ' ἐποιούντο συκοφαντοῦντες ἅμα μὲν τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων διδασκαλίαν ἐπιχωρίζειν ἡμῖν ἄρξασθαι καὶ τὰ τῶν λουτηριστῶν δόγματα παρεισφραῆναι.⁷⁷

From the moment the numerous and varied theories of the so-called Lutherans started to circulate, [...] some of us have been accused of adhering to this revolution; hence, those who abhor Hellenism, by taking part in a blamable

⁷⁵ Budé, 1540, 109: Ἴσμεν δὲ τοῦτο διὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἐσχηκέναι τουτουσί τοὺς μισέλληνας θεολόγους, ὅπως τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν ἀφανιοῦσιν, ὡς τῆς ἀνεπιστημοσύνης δῆθεν τῆς αὐτῶν βάσανόν τε καὶ ἔλεγχον. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ματαιοτάτους ἐκείνων ὀρθῶμεν παρὰ τὰς ἐν ἱεροῖς δημηγορίας, οἰοῦναι ἀπὸ συνθήματος, ταύτην τε λοιδορουμένους, καὶ ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπον εἰς ὑποψίαν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς καταστήσαντας, ὡς ἐξάγιστον μάθημα, καὶ τῆς ἀληθινῆς θεολογίας ἀλιτήριον. “We know that these theologians, haters of Greek, pursued this goal with great zeal, to make the Greek language disappear, as if it was a proof and demonstration of their ignorance. And we see that for this reason, during the sermons in the churches, the vainest of them insult it as if by a preconcerted signal and try in any manner to make it suspect in the eyes of the masses, as if it were an evil teaching which offends against true theology”.

⁷⁶ Budé, 1540, 109–110: Τοῦτο τοίνυν τὸ τούτων συγκρότημα οὕτω κακοήθες, καὶ τῆδε τῆ πόλει συκοφάντημα ἐπιπολάσαν, παρ' οὐδὲν ἦλθε τὰ τῆς δοκίμου καὶ καλῆς παιδείας λυμαινέσθαι, καὶ παντελῶς δὴ καὶ ἐξαλείψαι τὸ τῶν Μουσῶν καλλώπισμα, ὅτινι τε ἡ ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία ἀγάλλεται [...]. “So, their design that was so malicious and the calumny, that became fashionable in this city [Paris] nearly ruined the excellent and beautiful learning and even completely annihilated the ornament of the Muses, in which the encyclopedic learning glories [...]”. On Budé and the encyclopedic knowledge, see in particular Sanchi, 2018b.

⁷⁷ Budé, 1540, 110.

affair and spreading invectives against the lovers of Greek, as if they were involved in a revolution regarding the overthrow of orthodoxy, were almost able to ban those who were earnestly engaged in Greek studies as if they were heretics. They behaved terribly, when they falsely claimed that the study of Greek letters began to be customary among us at the same time as the Lutheran dogmas were introduced to our detriment.

Then, Budé points out that their repugnance towards Greek letters actually originated with Erasmus' *Paraphrases* (“ἐκ τῶν παραπεφρασμένων ὑπὸ Ἐράσμου Ῥοτερωδάμου”), which were very successful at that time.⁷⁸ Budé also complains about the persecution inflicted on Lamy and Rabelais in the aforementioned letter to Pierre Lamy,⁷⁹ sent on 25th February 1524,⁸⁰ and explicitly accuses the theologians of the Franciscan order of despising the books of Erasmus and “those who Hellenize”.⁸¹ At the end of the document, Budé begs God and the saints to foil their attempt to ban the study of Greek in France.⁸²

As a result of the fierce conflict between Rabelais and the Franciscans, in March 1524 Rabelais asked to join the Benedictine order and was later

⁷⁸ Budé, 1540, 111: Ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς ἄγαν ἀγανακτήσεως αὐτῶν ἔφην ἐκ τῶν παραπεφρασμένων ὑπὸ Ἐράσμου Ῥοτερωδάμου, ἐπειδὴ ἅπαντας σχεδὸν ἐώρων τούτοις ἀρεσκομένους. Αμαυρῶσαι γὰρ τὴν τούτων εὐδοκίμησιν ἐπιθυμοῦντες, ὑπερορίσαι τὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος γλώττης ὄνομα, ὡς Ἰλιάδα τινὰ ἀσεβημάτων, εἰς νοῦν ἐνεβάλοντο. “The beginning of their excessive irritation arose from the *Paraphrases* by Erasmus of Rotterdam, because they saw that almost everyone were enjoying them. In fact, since they desired to blacken their good reputation, they got into their minds to expel the good name of the Greek language, as if it were an *Iliad* of heresies”.

⁷⁹ Published in Budé, 1540, 102–107.

⁸⁰ Budé, 1540, 102: Ὡς πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τε τοῦ ἐταιρείου καὶ τοῦ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐταιρείας ἀρχηγῶ, τι τοῦτο τυγχάνομεν ἀκηκοότες· σὲ μὲν γὰρ, ὃ ἀσπασία μοι κεφαλὴ, καὶ Ραβάλαισον τὸν Θησέον τὸν σὸν πυνθάνομαι, ὑπὸ τῶν μισοκάλων τουτωνῶν τῶν ἐταίρων ὑμῶν παρενοχληθέντας διὰ τὴν ἄγαν περὶ τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ σπουδῆν, πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ κακοπαθεῖν. “For God, who protects the religious orders, and for the founder of your order, what I have just listened to! I heard that you, my dear, and Rabelais, your Theseus, were vexed by your fellows, enemies of beauty, because of your zeal towards Greek studies, and suffered many damages”.

⁸¹ Budé, 1540, 105: Ἦς δὴ προπετείας αἰτίαν ἔχουσι μάλιστα μὲν οἱ τῶν ἐταιρειῶν τῶν μεταίτουσῶν θεολόγοι, οἱ δὲ τῆς ὑμετέρας πολλῶ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς φιλαπεχθημονεστερέως δῆθεν τοῖς αὐτοῦ [sc. Ἐράσμου] βιβλίοις ἐπηρέαζοντες καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἑλληνιζόντων. “The reason for this hastiness must be attributed to the theologians of the mendicant orders, and especially those of your order, since they act more spitefully towards the books of Erasmus, and of those who Hellenize”.

⁸² Budé, 1540, 105–106.

authorized to leave the abbey of Fontenay-le-Comte and join the abbey of Saint-Pierre de Maillezais.⁸³ Nevertheless, the so-called “fight for Greek”⁸⁴ did not stop and continued in the following years, in particular during the 1530s (cf. above).

As regards the conflict between Rabelais and the Parisian theologians, I will just add that Rabelais satirized the aforementioned syndic of the Sorbonne Noël Béda in chapter seven of *Pantagruel*, where he inserted the famous catalogue of the imaginary library of the Abbey of Saint-Victor.⁸⁵ This catalogue of books represents “the old and in the eyes of the humanists, old-fashioned, scholasticism of the Sorbonne, of which Rabelais presented this library as a stronghold”,⁸⁶ and the author inserted in this list a fictitious book by Béda, whose mock title is *De optimitate triparum*⁸⁷ (“The excellence of tripes”). Other Sorbonne theologians are included in Rabelais’ catalogue: Pierre Tartaret (ca. 1460–1522), Thomas Bricot (†1516), and John Mair (1467–1550). The fake titles Rabelais gives to their books are *De modo cacandi* (“How to defecate”), *De differentiis soupparum* (“The differences in soups”) and *De modo faciendi boudinos* (“How to make sausages”), and it is worth noting that these book titles are already present in the 1532 edition of *Pantagruel*, and are not a later addition.⁸⁸

The Use of Greek Language in the Correspondence: Grammar, Style, Models

As I said before, one of the main goals of Rabelais’ first letter to Budé is to show his culture to his correspondent and to gain his favor. This letter is indeed enriched by sentences entirely composed in Greek and quotations from the most famous Greek authors, from Aristophanes to Lucian: actually, this is a general habit of many Latin humanists, who used to write Greek or Greco-

⁸³ See Huchon, 2011, 83–90.

⁸⁴ Saladin, 2004.

⁸⁵ On this famous “repertoyre”, see the recent essays by Cappellen, 2013; Pouey-Monou, 2019; Le Cadet, 2020.

⁸⁶ Pouey-Monou & Smith, 2019, 1.

⁸⁷ Rabelais, 1994, 237.

⁸⁸ See Pouey-Monou, 2019, 49–50.

Latin letters in order to show their friends their proficiency in Greek, and create a literary pastiche of Greek and Latin sentences.

Romain Menini (2013, 221–222) has already identified a series of allusions to Greek Classical text in Rabelais’ letter to Budé, but we can take a step further distinguishing them according to their typology. First, Rabelais uses a series of rare Greek words in order to make his prose more elegant.⁸⁹ For example, he uses the adverb ἀπειροκάλως “clumsily”,⁹⁰ which is attested once in Plato (*Phaedr.* 244c)⁹¹ and three times in Lucian (*Hist. conscr.* 49, 57; *DMeretr.* 6.3),⁹² or the expression ἐν μέλει “correctly”,⁹³ which is used once by Plato (*Soph.* 227d).⁹⁴ Moreover, as regards the Lucianic influences, as Menini (2013, 222) has pointed out, the expression Οὐδὲ γὰρ πολλοστημόριον τοῦτο is modelled on Lucian (*DDeor.* 1).⁹⁵ As regards rare words and expressions, it is more complicated to identify the meaning and the actual source of the Greek word σπάνη, used by Rabelais in the sentence: *tametsi nonnihl insit autoritatis καὶ τῆς σπάνης*.⁹⁶ Rabelais uses it to refer to Budé’s behavior towards King Francis’ courtesans in *De asse*, but σπάνη actually means “rarity, scarcity”, which makes little sense in this context.⁹⁷

⁸⁹ See Menini, 2013, 223.

⁹⁰ Rabelais, 1994, 995: *Scripti itaque, idque menses abhinc plus minus quinque, at sic ἀπειροκάλως, ut parum absit quin scripsisse tum pudeat, tum poeniteat.* “So I wrote to you about five months ago, but so clumsily that I almost felt ashamed and regretful for having written to you”.

⁹¹ Two printed editions of Plato’s *opera* owned by Rabelais are currently preserved in Montpellier (Bibliothèque municipale, C 040; Bibliothèque universitaire Historique de Médecine, J 127; see Pédeflous, 2018) On Rabelais’ Platonic studies, see especially Menini, 2009.

⁹² On the influence of Lucian’s opuscles on Rabelais, see in particular Menini, 2014, 141–556.

⁹³ Rabelais, 1994, 995: Οὐδὲ γὰρ πολλοστημόριον τοῦτο, ὃν χρῆναι αὐτὸν παθεῖν ἡγουμένους τις ἐν μέλει κρίνοι ἄν. “And this is not even the smallest punishment that he should suffer according to someone who judges correctly”.

⁹⁴ The expression ἐν μέλει actually means “in lyric strain”, but in Plato’s (and Rabelais’) text it acquires the metaphorical meaning of “soundly”, “correctly”.

⁹⁵ See above footnote n. 91.

⁹⁶ Rabelais, 1994, 994; “and this despite a certain severity and rigor” (transl. Farge in Rabelais, 1991)

⁹⁷ Menini (2022b) suggests: “La clef serait-elle un jeu de paronomase indirecte (σπάνη = raritas) avec *authoritas* dans le segment « tametsi nonnhili insit autoritatis καὶ τῆς σπάνης in eos [...] » ?”.

Apart from single words, Rabelais reproduces almost *ad verbum* peculiar locutions and syntactical constructs attested in his Greek models: for instance, the very beginning of the letter contains the periphrasis εἴπερ τις πόποτε καὶ ἄλλος, “if ever there was one”,⁹⁸ which was taken from Plato’s *Phaedo*.⁹⁹ As another example, the construct ἐμμένειν ταῖς δίκαις, “abide by the verdicts, accept the penalties”,¹⁰⁰ comes from Plato’s *Crito*.¹⁰¹

In addition to these stylistic features, the letter is full of explicit references to Greek Classics, both in prose and in verse. A particularly striking example is τὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης “Homer’s useless burden upon the earth”,¹⁰² an allusion to Homer (*Il.* 18.104), which was surely mediated via Lucian (*Icarom.* 29).¹⁰³ As another example, the sentence καὶ τόδε περὶ πλείονος ἂν ἐποιούμην πρὸ τοῦ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύειν, “And I would value this more than ruling over the whole Asia”,¹⁰⁴ is inspired by Isocrates (*Ad Nic.* 5).¹⁰⁵ Finally, for the first verse of the closing epigram Καὶ σὺ, τί φῆς, ὦ Πλοῦτε, θεῶν μαρῶτατε πάντων; “And what do you say, Plutus, the vilest

⁹⁸ Rabelais, 1994, 993: *P. Amicus noster* ἀνὴρ νῆ τὰς χάριτας ἀξιέραστος, εἴπερ τις πόποτε καὶ ἄλλος. “Our Pierre Lamy, a man, by the Graces, a lovable man if ever there was one”.

⁹⁹ Plat. *Phaed.* 58e–59a: μοι ἐκείνον παρίστασθαι μῆδ’ εἰς Αἴδου ἰόντα ἄνευ θείας μοίρας ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείσε ἀφικόμενον εὖ πράξειν εἴπερ τις πόποτε καὶ ἄλλος. “I received the firm impression that even on his way to Hades he was not with some divine destiny, and also, if anyone was ever to fare well when he arrived there, Socrates would” (transl. Emlyn-Jones & Preddy in Plato, 2017).

¹⁰⁰ Rabelais, 1994, 995: οὐκ ἂν ἐξάρνωσ ἐξετε (ὡς ἐγῶμαι) ἄνδρα ὀρθῶς ἔχειν παντέλωσ ἐμμενεῖν ταῖς δίκαις. “You would not deny, I think, that it is fair that this man [Pierre Lamy] should totally accept the penalties”.

¹⁰¹ Plat. *Crit.* 50c: Ὡ Σώκράτες, ἦ καὶ ταῦτα ὁμολόγητο ἡμῖν τε καὶ σοί, ἢ ἐμμενεῖν ταῖς δίκαισ αἷσ ἂν ἢ πόλις δικάζῃ; “Socrates, was that too in the agreement between us and you, or was it to keep to whatever judgement the state has pronounced?” (transl. Emlyn-Jones & Preddy in Plato, 2017).

¹⁰² Rabelais, 1994, 996.

¹⁰³ As suggested by Menini, 2013, 222.

¹⁰⁴ Rabelais, 1994, 993.

¹⁰⁵ Isocr. *Ad Nic.* 5: πάλιν ὁπωσοῦν ζῆν ἡγοῦνται λυσιτελεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ τοιούτων συμφορῶν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύειν. “Then they reverse their judgement and conclude that it is better to live in any fashion whatsoever than, at the price of such misfortunes, to rule over all Asia” (transl. Norlin in Isocrates, 1928). See Menini, 2013, 221.

god of all?”,¹⁰⁶ Rabelais re-elaborates two verses of Aristophanes’ *Plutus* (78–79).¹⁰⁷

Moving to the peculiar syntactical features of Rabelais’ Greek—which has still been little studied—we must notice the usage of the construct ἔχω + adverb (ἀτέχνως μάλα δὴ ξένως ἔχων, ἐξάρνως ἔξετε, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν), which is systematically used in the sense of εἰμί + adjective. This leads Rabelais to create the neologism ἐξάρνως (ἔξετε, “you will deny”), whereas the Greek authors prefer to use the periphrasis ἐξαρνος εἰμί or γίγνομαι, “to deny”.¹⁰⁸ Another feature is the frequent insertion of the modal particle ἄν, which makes him use it not only with the optative and the historical tenses of the indicative, but also with the future indicative (οὐκ ἄν ἐξάρνως ἔξετε): in this case, I am not sure if the rare construction of ἄν with the future indicative was consciously used by Rabelais, or if it represents an accidental syntactic oddity.¹⁰⁹

In his preserved letter to Budé, Rabelais writes a quite fluent Greek despite some eccentricities (the meaning of σπάνη; the use of ἄν). However, his prose seems more artificial than Budé’s, because it is largely based on clear allusions to ancient sources, and whole phrases are copied or paraphrased from the Greek Classics. Rabelais’ trend can be noticed in the sentence Budé reports from Rabelais’ lost Greek letter (Σὺ μὲν, ἔφησ, οὐπῶ τοῖς γράμμασι τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀποκριθεῖς, ἀποκρινῆ, ὡς οἶμαι, ὅταν σοὶ βουλομένῳ ἦ¹¹⁰, “Since you have not replied to my letters yet, you will answer, I suppose, when it will seem appropriate for you”): indeed, the periphrasis εἰ σοὶ βουλομένῳ, “if you please”, is attested many times in Plato (see for instance *Phaedr.* 234c; *Resp.* 358d; *Crat.* 384a; *Gorg.* 448d).

Moving on to Budé’s preserved letters to Rabelais, in the 1521 one, we can find some stylistic preciosities too, two of which are actual neologisms created ad hoc by Budé. They are the adjectives φιλάπλους, “fond of simplicity”, and φιλαλάζων, “fond of arrogance”.¹¹¹ Another rarity is, for instance, the technical

¹⁰⁶ Rabelais, 1994, 997.

¹⁰⁷ Arist. *Plut.* 78–79: ὃ μαρῶτατε / ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων, εἶτ’ ἐσίγας Πλοῦτος ὦν; “You scum of the earth, you weren’t going to tell us that you’re Wealth?” (transl. Henderson in Aristophanes, 2002). Moreover, Rabelais’ epigram contains several samples of poetic (especially epic) Greek language: the ionic-epic genitive κάλλεος (v. 2) instead of κάλλους, the personal pronoun ἄμμι (v. 4) instead of ἡμῖν, the particle κέν (v. 4).

¹⁰⁸ LSJ, s.v. ἐξαρνος; see also Menini, 2013, 222.

¹⁰⁹ On this rare construct, see LSJ, s.v. ἄν, A.I.2; see also Kühner & Gerth, 1898, 209; MacLeod, 1956.

¹¹⁰ Budé, 1540, 108.

¹¹¹ Budé, 1557, 326: [...] *nimirum dolosum Amicum esse censens, qui hominem te φιλάπλου*

term εὐθουδικία, “direct trial on the merits of the case”,¹¹² which is used by the rhetors Isaeus (*or.* 6.3, 43, 52, 59; *or.* 7.3), Demosthenes (*or.* 34.4, *or.* 45.6), and Libanius (*Arg.D.* 43.7).¹¹³ This word is also explained in *Commentarii linguae graecae* according to Libanius’ passage,¹¹⁴ and *Commentarii* might be helpful to trace Budé’s Greek models, even though they were composed after his letters to Rabelais. Nevertheless, in comparison to Rabelais’ attitude, it does not seem that Budé searched continuously for *morceaux choisis* to insert in his letter. Indeed, we are not able to find any direct quotation from the ancient sources. All in all, Budé does not need a large mass of direct citations in order to write in Greek.

Budé follows the same pattern in his 1524 letter. First, we must recall his passion for neologisms. Indeed, he forged the noun λουτηρισται/-οί,¹¹⁵ “Lutherans”, and the verb λουτηρίζειν,¹¹⁶ “to be Lutheran”, and also the adjective Ποτερωδάμος, “(Erasmus) of Rotterdam”,¹¹⁷ a calque of the Latin *Roterodamus*. Again, in this letter, we can find here and there echoes of ancient sources, but no explicit quotations. For instance, Budé calls the Parisian theologians μισέλληνες,¹¹⁸ “haters of Greek”, a very rare word in classical

καὶ εὐήθη *sciens prudensque quo tibi incommodaret in hominem me φιλάλαζονα obtruserit*. “[...] you certainly consider Lamy a treacherous person, who, since he knew that you are a simple and silly man, and foresaw the way he could annoy you, thrust you into me, an arrogant man”. In Lucian’s *Piscator* (20) we find the word φιλαπλοϊκός, with the same meaning of φιλάπλους; this work was included in Lucian’s *editio princeps*, published in Florence in 1496, and in the subsequent editions, but no variant reading is attested for this word (see also Lucian, 1992, 43)

¹¹² Budé, 1557, 326: [...] *quando nunc controversiam rectam in iudicium deducere non necesse est et ut Graeci loquuntur, κατ’ εὐθουδικίαν ἀμφισβητεῖν* [...]. “[...] since now it is not necessary to bring to trial a direct action, and, as Greeks say, to dispute in a direct trial [...]”. On Budé’s studies on the Greek and Byzantine law, see Sanchi, 2014.

¹¹³ The ancient authors I cite here were surely read by Budé, as we can see from Sanchi, 2018a, who reports the list of the Greek and Latin authors Budé read during his life, according to the quotations found in his works and the books he owned.

¹¹⁴ Budé, 1548, 41; see Sanchi, 2014, 84. On Budé’s *Commentarii* and his tradition, see Sanchi, 2006.

¹¹⁵ See above footnote n. 74.

¹¹⁶ See above footnote n. 74. Budé seems to be the *primus inventor* of this Greek verb, which is also present in a letter by Martin Bucer to Ulrich Zwingli, dated 19th July 1528 (see Bucer, 1979, 183).

¹¹⁷ See above footnote n. 75.

¹¹⁸ See above footnote n. 72.

Greek: Xenophon (*Ages*. 2.31), Diodorus of Sicily (13.43) and Plutarch (*Alc.* 24.6) use it in reference to strangers and barbarians who hated the Greeks and fought against them. These parallels emphasize Budé’s criticism towards the theologians, possibly intended to establish a link between οἱ μισέλληνες θεόλογοι and the ancient barbarians.

As another example, in the paragraph which concerns the encyclopedic learning,¹¹⁹ Budé calls Hermes ὁ λόγιος, “the eloquent”, and ὁ ψυχαγωγός, “the one who leads the souls to Hades”.¹²⁰ These epithets—in particular ψυχαγωγός—are not so frequent, but they are also mentioned in *Commentarii linguae graecae*: as regards λόγιος, he cites a letter of Synesius of Cyrene (*Ep.* 101), where a passage from Aelius Aristides’ *In defense of the four against Plato* (*Or.* 3.677) is quoted.¹²¹ As regards ψυχαγωγός, in *Commentarii* Budé reports a passage from Lucian’s *Dialogues of the gods* (11.4),¹²² where it is said that Hermes ψυχαγωγεῖ καὶ κατὰγει τοὺς νεκροὺς, “guides the dead and leads their souls”. It is worth adding that no Greek author combines the two epithets when speaking about Hermes. Similarly, the epic-sounding periphrasis τὸ τῶν Μουσῶν καλλώπισμα,¹²³ “the ornament of the Muses”, with which Budé refers to ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, is not attested in any ancient Greek source.

Finally, as regards the morphology and the syntax of Budé compared to Rabelais, we can see a more balanced and informed use of the different grammatical solutions the Greek language could offer him (for instance, the personal construction of δίκαιός εἰμι¹²⁴ or the dual¹²⁵).

Conclusion

To sum up, the surviving Greco-Latin correspondence between Rabelais and Budé can be studied from different points of view. First, these letters offer significant insights into Greek studies in early sixteenth-century France.

¹¹⁹ See above footnote n. 73.

¹²⁰ Budé, 1540, 110.

¹²¹ Budé, 1548, 182–183.

¹²² Budé, 1548, 809.

¹²³ Budé, 1540, 110.

¹²⁴ See above the Greek passage at footnote n. 62: οὐ δίκαιός εἰμι κακῶς ἀκούειν.

¹²⁵ See above at footnote n. 71: σφῶν τ’ ἀποδεδόσθαι τὰ παιδικὰ τὰ ἡμέτερα, τὰ βιβλία λέγω, ἅπερ οὗτοι αὐτεξουσίως σφῶ ἀφήρηγτο.

Budé's 1524 letter to Rabelais is one of the most relevant sources regarding the Sorbonne ban on Greek studies, the causes that provoked the anti-Hellenizing reaction of the Parisian theologians, the confiscation of the Greek books by the Franciscan order, and the counterreaction by Budé.

These three letters are also important because they bear witness to two different approaches to New Ancient Greek, which surely depend on Rabelais' and Budé's different levels of knowledge of Greek. On one hand, the prose of Rabelais' letter mostly relies on the ancient authors he often refers to, and Rabelais uses this language mostly for showing off his culture to Budé. On the other, Budé has reached such a level of confidence with the Greek language, that he is able to exploit all its potential. In particular, his ability to create neologisms proves that for Budé Ancient Greek was not an extinct language, an unalterable entity, but a language in constant development, which can be revitalized and used not only as an embellishment, but also as a learned means of communication.¹²⁶

In this sense, knowledge of the Classical authors represents just the starting point for writing in Greek, and Budé aspires not only to imitate, but also to emulate these authors. Subsequently, perhaps it is not by chance that Budé produced an entire collection of Greek letters,¹²⁷ and this collection of Greek letters was conceived by his contemporaries (Jacques Toussain) and other sixteenth-century French scholars (Guillaume Plançon, Antoine Pichon) as a sort of handbook for students of Greek.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ This idea is perhaps connected with his linguistic enquiries on the Greek roots of the French language: see Sanchi, 2021b.

¹²⁷ First Budé collected and published his Greek letters in a sort of an appendix to the edition of his correspondence (Budé, 1531). Then he continued to revise them and gave his corrected copy to Guillaume Plançon in order to publish them (Budé, 1540).

¹²⁸ See Cattaneo, 2021, 28–31.

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Aquilonius on the “Danishness” of Ancient Greek:

Serious Argument or Parody?

HAN LAMERS & TOON VAN HAL

Abstract This contribution revisits the 1640 treatise by Bertel Canutius Aquilonius (1588–1650), in which he compares ancient Greek and Danish, presenting the argument that the former derived from the latter. Traditionally recognized as an early example of comparative language study in Scandinavia, we contextualize this work within the broader context of early modern European scholars’ endeavours to establish connections between vernacular languages and Greek, with the aim of enhancing the cultural significance of the former. Upon careful examination of Aquilonius’ argument in its wider European context, we suggest that his work can be construed as a subtly humorous critique, satirizing the prevailing trend it seemingly conforms to, rather than positioning itself as a serious endeavour in language comparison.

Keywords: Greek; Danish; language kinship; parody; Bertel Canutius Aquilonius

Introduction¹

This contribution explores a long-forgotten treatise on the similarities between ancient Greek and Danish that was published in Copenhagen in 1640.² The treatise, written by the Danish poet Bertel Canutius (Knudsen) Aquilonius, holds a singular position in the European context, not only because it is a late example of trying to make a vernacular language “classical”, but also because of the way it approaches its subject. While the curious work has been recorded in bibliographies, it has almost no substantial reception history. In modern scholarship, Aquilonius’ treatise has occasionally been mentioned as an example of early comparative language study in Scandinavia.³ Very recently, Minna Skafté Jensen published a more profound analysis of the text, the only one existing so far.⁴

The limited reception history of Aquilonius’ treatise might be due to the fact that it makes, according to modern standards, a ridiculous argument (and its difficult Latin probably has not helped either). From a fresh reading of the treatise in its European context, we would like to suggest the possibility that Aquilonius humorously parodies, rather than seriously partakes in, the early modern trend of linking European vernaculars with the Ancient Greek language to establish their special cultural status.

There was a widespread tendency among early modern scholars and writers to attempt to establish meaningful connections (for them at least) between their vernacular cultures and the culture of ancient Greece. Perceived similarities between their native languages and ancient Greek played an important role in this phenomenon. Perhaps the most famous example of such “vernacular

¹ We extend our gratitude to the reviewers and editors, whose insights and corrections were invaluable in steering us away from potential pitfalls. Research for this article was made possible by the University of Oslo and the University of Leuven. Its subject aligns with the scope of the Twinning Project “Greek Heritage in European Culture and Identity”, a collaboration between the University of Oslo, the University of Cyprus, and the University of Franche-Comté (Horizon WIDERA-2021 ACCESS call, grant no. 101079379) and of the FWO Research Project “Languages Writing History” (Research Foundation Flanders, grant no. G083120N).

² On the title page appears *Portuae* as a less frequent alternative for *Hafniae*. See Anon., 1751, 159.

³ See, e.g., Droixhe, 1978, 119 and Hovdhaugen et al. 2000, 109–110.

⁴ Skafté Jensen, 2021. We discovered this contribution only after a first draft of our paper had already been completed. We have tried to make our paper as complementary as possible, in order to avoid excessive overlap. The argument of our contribution is, in our view, sufficiently different to justify publication.

Greekness” is Henri Estienne’s (1531–1598) treatise on the “conformity” (*conformité*) of French and Greek (1569), which responded to the claims of Dutch and German scholars of the superior Greekness of their languages. In French humanism the phenomenon was so widespread in the sixteenth century that it has sometimes been called by the French term *celt-hellénisme*. This term derives from the title of the dictionary Léon Trippault published in 1580, and in which he derived French words from their alleged Greek roots. He claimed that the language of the French is so beautiful “that other nations seem to be barbarians when compared to our nation, which after all descended from the Greeks”.⁵ This “French Greekness” elicited responses from others. The Italian Ascanio Persio (1554–1610), for instance, in 1592 published a treatise on the “conformity” (*conformità*) of Italian with Greek, which explicitly responded to French claims.⁶ It is important to note that arguments for vernacular Greekness could take different forms as they were formulated for different purposes and in specific cultural milieus. Some writers observed mainly structural similarities between their own language and Greek; others argued that their native language had originated in Greek and therefore naturally resembled it; a few claimed it was the other way round, and that Greek had descended from *their* language.⁷

As we shall see, Aquilonius’ treatise on Danish and Greek responds to this tradition of European Greekness, but it is not instantly clear *how* it does. Is this work an attempt to claim a position for Danish in the European debate over Greekness? Or is there something else going on in the text?

Before we explain why we might want to take Aquilonius’ treatise with a grain of salt, we will first briefly explain its argument and place it in its wider European context.

Aquilonius’ Argument

Aquilonius, born in 1588, was a poet writing in Danish, Latin, and his own humanist version of ancient Greek, and who was crowned imperial poet

⁵ Trippault, 1580: iijr. Originally printed in 1580, the dictionary was reprinted several times in 1581, 1583, and 1586. The translation is ours.

⁶ Persio, 1592. For a full discussion of Ascanio’s argument, see Lamers, 2023, with the bibliography there.

⁷ For a discussion of the positions, see Lamers, 2017 & 2023, with the references there.

laureate.⁸ While he travelled extensively, his native Denmark – its people and customs, its landscapes, and its language – was his preferred subject in his literary work. In addition to writing poetry himself, Aquilonius also wrote *about* poetry. Most notably, he authored a treatise on Danish verse composition, which according to him should follow the rules of classical prosody.⁹ In 1610, he was back in Denmark and became rector in Malmø in 1612. He also served as a parish priest in Løderup and Hørup (1619) in south-eastern Scania and was at the same time provost in Ingelstad county.¹⁰ The first reports of health problems appear around 1639, and illness seems to have prevented him from continuing his work as a pastor.¹¹ Aquilonius passed away in 1650.

The full title of the text under discussion here is *De Danicae linguae cum graeca mistione diatribae ob novum scribendi genus authore spernente aut negligente producta per C(ornelium) Aq(uilonium)* (we will briefly come back to this “novel way of writing” later).¹² The piece is part of a collection of five texts loosely connected by the subject of the excellence of Denmark. While the first two texts are eulogies of the country, the third and fourth deal with the Danish language in connection with Ancient Greek and Latin, respectively (the former is under study here). The fifth argued that Danish poetry should be regarded as equal if not superior to Greek and Roman literature. The volume is rounded off by a collection of epigrams written by Aquilonius – some in Latin, but most in Greek.¹³ Each text has its own title page with impressum, and each text follows its own page numbering. This shows that the texts had been printed separately before they were joined together into one book under the title *Interludia et diatribae*, dated to 1641 (Portuae, Literis Martzanianis)

⁸ Flood, 2011, xcxcvii; Kølln, 1995, 70–75.

⁹ Mainly because of this contribution, Aquilonius’ name still crops up in recent Danish literary histories. See e.g. Pedersen et al., 2007, 322–323; 417–418.

¹⁰ These areas were part of Denmark-Norway until 1658, when they, along with other regions like Bohuslän and Bornholm, were ceded to Sweden through the Treaty of Roskilde.

¹¹ Rørdam, 1881, 253.

¹² Since the Latin text lacks punctuation, *ob novum scribendi genus* could be interpreted both as a reason for the author’s neglect and as motivation for Cornelius to publish the book: “Treatise about the Mixture of the Danish Language with Greek, published by C. Aq. because of its novel way of writing while it was rejected and neglected by the author”, or “Treatise about the Mixture of the Danish Language with Greek, published by C. Aq. while it was rejected and neglected by the author because of its novel way of writing”.

¹³ See Akujärvi et al., 2022, 796–798.

and dedicated to a certain Christianus Thomæus, probably the Danish chancellor Christen Thomesen (1590–1657).

While we do not know when the text was composed, it must have been after 1610, since Aquilonius seems to quote from a treatise on the European languages that Justus Josephus Scaliger (1540–1609) published in that year.¹⁴ Importantly, Aquilonius' works published in the final decade of his life were edited by his son Cornelius. While Cornelius has sometimes been regarded as the author,¹⁵ he himself explains in his preface that he found the text among a collection of similar texts written by his father. Minna Skafte Jensen assumes that Aquilonius' son was sniffing through his father's manuscripts while his father was absent travelling.¹⁶ Alternatively, it is very well possible that Aquilonius, in the last decade of his life, was so afflicted with illness that his son decided to pay homage to his father by publishing some older *opera minora*. In any case, the relationship between author and editor is highly uncertain,¹⁷ and more book historical research is needed for a full understanding of the publication history of the five treatises.¹⁸

In his treatise on Danish and Greek, Aquilonius advanced the argument that the Danes had in ancient times dwelled in Greece, and that the Greeks had adopted many Danish words and expressions as a consequence. “Believe me,” Aquilonius wrote, “there are many words in Greek books which must have their origin with the Danes, which we however know nothing about since we have departed too much from our ancient origin”.¹⁹ The adoption of Danish words by the Greeks results in what he calls the *mixtio* (“mixture” or “blending”) of Danish and Greek. In the remainder of his treatise, Aquilonius worked hard to demonstrate this *mixtio* by discussing, in alphabetical order, about 200 Greek words that he traced to “ancient Danish” or *Gothica*, as he and his contemporaries called the language, without having a clear idea of what exactly this language was. Aquilonius seems to have been familiar with Old Norse: in 1621, Ole Worm (1588–1654) encouraged him to collect and copy runic inscriptions.²⁰ Although some historians argue that he initially sparked

¹⁴ See Van Hal, 2010. An earlier version of Scaliger's contribution appeared in Merula, 1605.

¹⁵ Droixhe, 1978, 119.

¹⁶ See Skafte Jensen, 2021, 68.

¹⁷ As highlighted by Skafte Jensen, 2021.

¹⁸ See also Skafte Jensen, 2021, 66.

¹⁹ Aquilonius, 1640, 85.

²⁰ See the letter exchange between Worm and Aquilonius (Worm and Bartholin, 1751:41–51).

In 1622, Ole Worm succeeded in initiating an investigation authorized by King Christian IV

Worm's interest in runic studies,²¹ Aquilonius' own fascination with the subject turned out to be more limited than Worm's.²² However, Aquilonius did not cite any Old Norse in his treatise, exclusively using modern Danish as comparative material. For Aquilonius, it seems, the difference between ancient and modern Danish was slight, slight enough to enable him to recognize ancient Danish in ancient Greek words based on their similarity with Danish words of his own time. Skaftø Jensen rightly observes that Aquilonius is somewhat inconclusive about the direction of the borrowing.²³ At the outset of the treatise, it appears that the Greeks rely on the Danes. However, some of the lemmas in Aquilonius' wordlist hint at the possibility of the reverse scenario. So, the question arises: who truly depends on whom, the Greeks on the Danes, or vice versa? The reader is left somewhat in suspense.

The largest part of Aquilonius' treatise takes the form of an annotated word list or small dictionary, explaining the similarities between Danish and Greek words. This comparative approach is also reflected in the alternative short title of the treatise, visible at the top of its printed pages: *Danao-Danicum Dictionarium*. In the early modern period, a common method to "reveal" the identity of two peoples was by pointing to similar ethnonyms—in this way, for instance, the Goths and the *Getae* were often equated. The short title of Aquilonius' treatise suggests a similar comparison, equating the *Danai* (Greeks) with the Danes.²⁴ In Aquilonius' treatment, similarities between Danish and Greek are almost entirely confined to the word level. Generally, the author relied on the common strategies of etymology that we also find in other humanist writers of, mainly, the sixteenth century. His etymologies of course do not follow the rules of modern etymological scholarship but comply with humanist practice. Like classical etymology, it relied on the permutation, transposition, and removal of *litterae*. Aquilonius did not describe any recurring patterns in these changes, as some of his predecessors had done.²⁵ Instead, he observed rather superficial similarities between a selection of Greek and Danish words that had matching (though not always identical) meanings.

to record all runic inscriptions. In this project, the bishops had a coordinating role. The answers of the local pastors—Canutus was one of them—varied greatly in quality. Cf. Jørgensen, 1970; Magnússon, 1841, 449.

²¹ See the references in Svestad, 1995, 85 and Grell, 2022, 139.

²² See the detailed reconstruction given by Grell, 2022, 139–144.

²³ See Skaftø Jensen, 2021, 71.

²⁴ See Skaftø Jensen, 2021, 70.

²⁵ For more information on the *permutatio litterarum*, see, e.g., Agrell, 1955 and Cram, 1999.

For example, he claimed that the Danish word for bread (*brot*) was the origin of Greek βρωτόν,²⁶ the Danish word for castle (*borrig* = *borg*) had resulted in Greek βῆρις (“large house”, “tower”), and the Danish word for sea or ocean (*haf*) had resulted from ἄλς (“salt”) since “the Greeks did not write down the [ancient Danish] sounds correctly, or because it changed this way over time”.²⁷ Among the Greek words he believed were adopted from Danish without a change, including their meanings, he referenced, e.g., Gr. ἄα / Dan. *aa* “river/creek”²⁸ and Gr. τᾰύλη / Dan. *tavle* “table”. In addition, numerous Greek words only changed the endings of the original Danish – e.g., Gr. ἄγκυρα / Dan. *ankere* (“anchor”); Gr. ἀγρός / Dan. *ager* (“field”); Gr. γράστις / Dan. *gras* (“grass”). These examples show that the words Aquilonius considered in his *dictionary* were not confined to a specific period, author, or stylistic register. Some of them are extremely rare. As Aquilonius did not cite sources for most of his claims and observations, it is hard to tell where he took his etymologies from.²⁹ Some of them were specifically Danish, and the author seems to have invented them himself. An example of what seems to be a specific Danish etymology is the Greek verb φοιτῶ, meaning “to go to and fro, to roam wildly”; Aquilonius traced φοιτῶ to the Danish verb *föite*, which has the similar meaning of “to ramble about, to run up and down”.³⁰ Another rather far-fetched example is the Greek noun (τό) θρέττε (“boldness”), used once by Aristophanes and, ironically, regarded as a barbarism by scholiasts; Aquilonius connected θρέττε with the Danish *trette*, which he renders with the Latin *jurgium* (“quarrel”, “dispute”).³¹ He also claimed that a Greek verb for “to take” (τάω) derived from the Danish verb *tåe*.³² In a marginal note, he

²⁶ Aquilonius, 1640, 21.

²⁷ Aquilonius, 1640, 11.

²⁸ Aquilonius, 1640, 5–6.

²⁹ Aquilonius more generally hardly ever refers to any specific sources. He mentions Scaliger by name and refers to one “Lexicographus”, who must be Johannes Scapula. Aquilonius (1640, 68): *Τίτις Lexicographus* de quadam avicula dictum *putabat, me avem ei decet nominare; anserem fuisse eum docere: nam hos Titte imprimis cum volumus adductos, vocamus*. Compare Scapula’s entry on τίτις in his *Lexicon-Graeco-Latinum*, where he writes: *Existimatur autem ab hoc verbo derivatum esse vocabulum τίτις, quod de quadam avicula dicitur, aut generaliter quamvis aviculam significat*.

³⁰ Aquilonius, 1640, 82.

³¹ Aquilonius, 1640, 5–6, 91.

³² The Greek verb in this form is exceedingly rare, found only in lexica and scholarly works as the alleged starting point for the Homeric particle τῆ (“here you are”), which ancient scholars wrongly considered to be a fossilized imperative “τά-ε” (cf. s.v. τῆ in the Liddell-Scott-Jones

explained that while the Danish write *tage* (compare English “take”), they say *tâe*, omitting the consonant when they pronounce the word aloud.³³ This example also illustrates well the importance of sound similarities in Aquilonius’ comparison of Greek and Danish.

Many other etymologies were more commonplace and could also be used to make similar claims about other Germanic languages. Some of them had actually been used by others, including the Dutch scholar Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575), who had argued for the Greekness of Dutch.³⁴ Aquilonius sidestepped this problem by claiming, invoking Scaliger’s authority, that all the other Germanic languages derived from Danish.³⁵ Any similarities between these languages and Greek were, therefore, derivative, and Aquilonius neglected them in his discussion. In view of the many arcane Greek words he included in his discussion, the topical way in which the author concludes his comparative glossary reads somewhat ironically: Aquilonius tells his readers he does not want to offer an exhaustive list and just wants to give them a taste of the Greek-Danish parallels he discerned.³⁶

In addition to word etymologies, which dominate his discussion of similarities between Danish and Greek, Aquilonius also mentioned a few more structural similarities between the two languages. He observed that Greek, just like Danish, could add a vowel to the beginning of words, without apparent reason or substantial change of meaning: just as the Greeks had *ἀπάν* and *πᾶν* and *ἄσταχυς* and *στάχυς*, so the Danes had *alarm* and *larm* (“noise”) and *imod* and *mod* (“against”).³⁷ He additionally observed that Greek, like Danish, distinguished between *omikron* (ø/o) and *omega* (o/ω).³⁸

It seems that Aquilonius was aware of the liberties he permitted himself in establishing similarities between his native language and Greek. He found something of an excuse for this in the dialectical variety of Danish. If one single language has such variety even in its native region, the reasoning goes, it is not surprising to find even wilder forms of variation when languages travel

Greek-English Lexicon).

³³ Aquilonius, 1640, 76.

³⁴ On Junius, see Van Hal, 2011, 198–205.

³⁵ Aquilonius, 1640, 53. To the best of our knowledge, Scaliger does not make such claims.

³⁶ See Skafte Jensen, 2021, 73.

³⁷ Aquilonius, 1640, 87–88.

³⁸ Aquilonius, 1640, 72.

abroad and “mingle” (*miscere*) with other languages.³⁹ In other words, almost anything goes. Aquilonius did not follow clear principles or criteria for interpreting the similarities between Danish and Greek that he discerned. His main criterion seems to have been the existence of the likeness of a Greek to a Danish word in either sound or writing. He points out that when both the meaning (*significatio*) and the spelling (*scriptio*) of a Danish and Greek word pair are identical, the two words must be considered identical and are one and the same word.⁴⁰ In other instances (as in the case of *tage*, discussed above), pronunciation took precedence over the written form of the words Aquilonius discussed.

The Peculiarities of Aquilonius’ Treatment

As we have mentioned, the kind of argument Aquilonius proposed was by no means unheard of in seventeenth-century Europe. The sixteenth century had witnessed a strong interest in establishing connections between ancient Greek and the vernaculars, and the rediscovery of Greek language and literature played an important part in the emancipation of the vernaculars from Latin as well as their upscaling to become languages of humanist culture.

What makes Aquilonius’ text notable is, first, that it comes late in the tradition of attempts to establish vernacular Greekness and, second, that it is an isolated, if not unique, example from Scandinavia that dates to the first half of the seventeenth century. Additionally, and most importantly, Aquilonius’ treatment of the subject stands out against the backdrop of the tradition it (largely implicitly) engages with. While we cannot dwell on all the particularities of his argument in great detail here, three elements that are fairly standard in the tradition are absent or, at the very least, underdeveloped in Aquilonius’ discussion: (1) a historical background story for his claims about the likeness of Danish and Greek (apart from the general notion that the Danes migrated south), (2) a theorized or at least reasoned analytical framework for his claims about these similarities, and (3) the usual competition with predecessors arguing for the conformity of their own languages with Greek (with the work displaying an almost complete lack of engagement with predecessors generally).⁴¹

³⁹ Aquilonius, 1640, 77.

⁴⁰ Aquilonius, 1640, 77.

⁴¹ Skaftø Jensen (2021), in turn, emphasizes the absence of the then-current context of the

First of all, the general framework for Aquilonius' entire discussion relies on historical assumptions about the identity of the Goths and their early presence in Greece, as well as how language contact works (which, in this case, is imagined as a strictly unidirectional influence from Danish on Greek). However, Aquilonius neither argues for these assumptions nor extensively elaborates on them: he briefly states them at the beginning of his discussion or silently takes them for granted in his ensuing argument. This is in stark contrast to the previous European tradition of such works. In France, for example, scholars such as Joachim Périon (1499–1559) and Jean Picard (1620–1682) argued at length for the Greek presence in France or, vice versa, the French presence in Greece and scrutinized historical, literary, and even material evidence for their claims. Nothing of the sort is found in Aquilonius.⁴² This absence is all the more striking since there was no prefabricated discursive framework of Nordic-Greek affinity that his readers would know or assume. As we already mentioned, Aquilonius' treatise seems to stand somewhat alone in the Danish and Scandinavian context.

Secondly, Aquilonius confined his discussion to word etymologies. This is also unlike some of his more illustrious predecessors in the genre, such as Henri Estienne in France and Ascanio Persio in Italy. Estienne and Persio wrote extensive treatises on the similarities between Greek and, respectively, French and Italian. Their discussions, however, were by no means restricted to single words and covered multiple linguistic levels, from words to idiom and proverbs and syntax and even specific grammatical features such as correspondences in the use of clitics and tenses or aspects. They also base their discussion on philosophical considerations on the nature of human language. In comparison with their extensive and reasoned discussions, Aquilonius' discussion, by contrast, is less structured and elaborate and mainly highlights superficial correspondences on the level of word image or sound, generally lacking any systematic treatment comparable to the organization of Estienne's or Persio's work.

This brings us to the third feature of Aquilonius' treatise that makes it stand out in the European context. In his opening lines, Aquilonius briefly recognized that there had been a long-standing *certamen* ("rivalry" or "contest") among scholars on the issue, but he does not actively engage with the arguments of his real or imagined competitors. He does not even mention them. This is unlike almost all other participants in the debate, who often

biblical worldview. In her earlier biographical review, Skafte Jensen (2017) framed Aquilonius' comparative work against that background.

⁴² On Périon, see Périon, 2003. For Picard, see Droixhe, 2002, 16–17 and Dubois, 1972, 47–54.

explicitly rivalled their competitors and rather aggressively refuted their claims in favour of their own languages' Greekness.⁴³ In addition, Aquilonius' dissertation was preceded by the work of scholars who had defended an exclusive Dutch or German connection with Greek. Since Early Modern scholars were aware of the kinship that existed between these Germanic languages, a reader would expect Aquilonius to be challenged to prove the priority of Danish over Dutch and German much more explicitly.

The easy answer to this issue might be that, in the first half of the seventeenth century, this dispute was largely over. This is not to say that comparative linguistic work came to a halt, but we see that most attempts of scholars to link their vernacular languages to Greek to the exclusion of others come from the sixteenth century. Moreover, the kind of etymologies as we find them in Aquilonius' treatise had been criticized and challenged by stellar humanists such as Scaliger and Justus Lipsius, whose works Aquilonius knew and admired. This, however, still leaves the question of *why* Aquilonius would compose a treatise on a somewhat obsolete argument, using outdated methods.

Serious, or not?

The lateness of Aquilonius' argument, its exceptionality in Danish intellectual culture, and the peculiar lacks it exhibits when compared to other works of the kind suggest the possibility that Aquilonius did not intend his treatise as a serious contribution to a debate, but rather as a parody of (mainly) sixteenth-century European discourses on the subject. There are some factors in Aquilonius' own intellectual profile, as well as in the text itself, that make it, in our view, less likely that he wanted his treatise to be taken seriously. Minna Skafte Jensen also noticed the playful character of the treatise yet did not read the text as a parody. Instead, she supposes that Aquilonius' son, who edited the text, was responsible for making his father's "views more radical than they were" (there seems to be no conclusive reason for assuming that Cornelius significantly adapted his father's texts before he published them).⁴⁴ Even if a "smoking gun" has not been found, and all the evidence presented here is circumstantial, we think there are enough indications to justify a parodistic reading of the text.

⁴³ For more background information and a brief overview of the participants in the debate, see Lamers, 2023, 365–369.

⁴⁴ Skafte Jensen, 2021, 65; cf. also 75.

We have mentioned several indicators of a potentially non-serious intent in the previous section, including the author's preoccupation with rare or uncommon Greek words and the absence of cogent argumentation. Additionally, the precise rationale behind Aquilonius' distinct treatment of Greek-Danish and Latin-Danish linguistic affinities remains somewhat elusive. In the subsequent analysis, our attention will pivot to additional contextual factors.

One important reason for our suspicion is Aquilonius' boundless admiration for the Brabantian humanist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606). References to Lipsius are omnipresent in Aquilonius' work, and (sadly for modern readers, given its opacity) he also fashioned his Latin style after Lipsius' example—Frederik Julius Billeskov Jansen styled him a “Silver Age virtuoso”.⁴⁵ Lipsius was, among many other things, well known at the time for his views on the relevance of language to historical enquiry and, more specifically, the use of etymology in it. He explained his views in a famous letter to Hendrik Schotti, published in 1602. This letter circulated widely at the time and was well-known among later generations of scholars, both first-hand and indirectly.⁴⁶ It seems extremely unlikely that Aquilonius was not familiar with Lipsius' influential letter. (Just like Lipsius, he published his own correspondence under the title *centuriae*.)

In his famous letter, Lipsius criticized exactly the kind of etymology that Aquilonius deployed to demonstrate the Danishness of Greek. Lipsius specifically attacked the approach of another Brabantian scholar, Johannes Goropius Becanus (1519–1573). Becanus is still known today for his peculiar ideas about the Dutch language, which he regarded as the language Adam and Eve had spoken in Eden. Becanus used word-based etymologies to demonstrate that Brabantian Dutch was older, and hence more dignified, than the classical languages.⁴⁷ This was, of course, a radical argument that elicited critical responses (and laughter) from his contemporaries. However, the point Aquilonius makes is very similar to what we find in Becanus' work, criticized by Lipsius. He seems to be posing as a *Becanus Borealis*, a Nordic Becanus.

⁴⁵ Billeskov Jansen, 1992, 87–88. On the difficulty of his Latin, which was allegedly his “written native language”, see Rørdam, 1881, 245. Aquilonius corresponded with Lipsius' successor Puteanus (Rørdam, 1881, 245–246).

⁴⁶ Translation and discussion of the letter in Deneire & Van Hal, 2006. We find discussions of Lipsius' ideas in sources as late as, e.g., Grübélius, 1690, 23 and Odhelius & Celsius, 1723, §2.

⁴⁷ Lipsius had criticized Becanus' etymologies before, for example in his *Poliorcetica* (1596) and *Lovanium* (1605). See Frederickx & Van Hal, 2015, 197n22.

Against the background of Aquilonius' all-encompassing admiration for Lipsius, his Greek-Danish etymologies seem odd, to say the least. Read against the backdrop of Lipsius' criticisms, they almost instantly sound humorous.

It is not impossible (though unlikely) that Aquilonius was unaware of Lipsius' letter. And it is possible (and not in itself unlikely) that he found out about Lipsius' letter only after he had already written the treatise. But even if we suppose Aquilonius originally meant what he wrote, reading Lipsius' smashing critique of etymological solutions for historical problems would give him good reason to present the work subsequently as unserious, if just to avoid the embarrassment of having to admit that he was serious about his naïve application of etymology and the "Danao-Danean" mixed language he created on its basis.

To read his *diatriba* as a witty work of literary prose rather than a serious piece of scholarship would also be consistent with Aquilonius' almost exclusively literary interests and humanist profile.⁴⁸ Unlike Estienne and Persio (to name two of his "predecessors" writing on the Greekness of their mother languages), Aquilonius was not mainly a scholar, if he can qualify as a scholar at all. He did, for example, not publish editions of classical authors nor dictionaries or commentaries and mainly wrote and published literary works. He composed poems in various languages and genres, wrote letters and declamations, and collected maxims and reflections. The titles of these works characterize them as *lusus iuveniles*, *interludia*, *anagrammata*, and *poematia*, indicating their literary intent and character. His never-printed *Pro Danica nobilitate ostendenda prodromus*, manuscript versions of which are preserved in both the Royal Danish Library and the library of Lund University, contains primarily historical and genealogical information and is probably his most "scholarly" work.⁴⁹

There are some additional clues in the text itself that may suggest that it was intended as an unserious work. At some point the author observes that he "jokes with the reader" (*lectorem in ludum mitto*) and that, in writing the treatise, he passed his time with a *verisimilis iocus*, literally a "truth-like joke".⁵⁰ While this might be a standard flourish of self-deprecating rhetoric to suggest intellectual modesty, Aquilonius seems to invite the reader not to take his text too seriously and to read it more like a parody, which is indeed a kind of "truth-like jest". In his preface to his edition of the fifth *diatriba* of the

⁴⁸ See Rørdam, 1881, 250; Paludan, 1887, 381.

⁴⁹ Anon. 1872, XXIV; Hens, 2011.

⁵⁰ Aquilonius, 1640, 6.

collection, Aquilonius' son Cornelius qualifies the five treatises together as *jocoseriae*. The expression is rather uncommon and therefore difficult to interpret with precision. It may mean “playful and serious” or “jocular and serious”, blending humour with serious matters, especially with moral edification.⁵¹ Some features of Aquilonius' *Danao-Danicum Dictionarium* itself, including funny neologisms (such as the alliterating *δανικιστί doctus*)⁵², gross exaggerations⁵³, rhetorical questions, and some obscene etymologies⁵⁴ also make readers wonder how seriously the author wanted them to take his argument. All these elements are of course part of the humanist literary repertory, but one easily gets the impression that Aquilonius purposefully exaggerated them to satirize the type of learned discourse they characterize. In conjunction with this, we should also mention that the argument of this treatise does not recur in his other published work, nor in Aquilonius' published letters. The fact that he did not return to the subject, even where it would have served to bolster Denmark's reputation, is an additional indication that the author did not attach too great importance to his argument. While the subject matter of the treatise (Denmark's excellence) was a serious matter for Aquilonius, his

⁵¹ Aquilonius, 1641, Ar. See especially Bègue, 2016. The adjective *jocoserius* is not attested in ancient literature. In his dictionary of philosophical terms, Johannes Micraelius (1653, cols. 564–565) defined *jocoseria* in the following terms: *Jocoseria sunt nihil aliud, quam sermones χαριεντολογικοί, qui tractant sales et jocoseria, et sunt magna pars philosophiae Socraticae. Talia joca qui spargunt, solent σκληρα μαλακῶς, id est, dura molliter efferre*. To our best knowledge, in modern lexicography, the word is only recorded (with the meaning “playful and serious”) in the *Instrumentum Lexicographicum in Humanistica Loveniensia* 35 (1986, 318–319, s.v.). Otto Melander published a collection of Latin jokes and witticisms under the title *Jocorum atque seniorum libri* (1600–1626), which was published in German in 1605 and 1617 under the title *Joco-Seria, das ist Schimpff und Ernst*. While more examples of its usage in Neo-Latin sources can be cited, a preliminary survey indicates that the word did not achieve somewhat broader usage until the latter half of the seventeenth century.

⁵² Aquilonius, 1640, 11: *Ab Has ὄλς factum profectumque esse nemo δανικιστί doctus non putabit, quicquid Graeci non potuerunt auditum recte scribere, aut id postea finem cum tempore hic mutasse*.

⁵³ E.g., Aquilonius, 1640, 91: *De lingua sat vidisti, ad morum communitatem, quae inter nos Graecosque fuit te vocarem sed eam nullus stylus describat, nulla penna exponat, adeo in quamcunque partem me flecto, vestigia pro ea invenio*.

⁵⁴ E.g., Aquilonius, 1640, 83: *In φουσῶ mihi risus erumpit...*, explaining the etymology of the Greek φουσῶ (“to puff, blow”) from the Danish verb *å fise* (“to fart”). See in this regard also van Romburgh, 2018, who stresses the significance of playfulness in early modern etymology.

treatment of it seems to have been playful and jocular, and perhaps not devoid of self-irony.

So, does the difficult-to-explain “novel style of writing” in the title refer to the parodistic nature of the text? Is its “novelty” perhaps to be sought in the genre of unserious scholarship, witty etymologies, and *jocoseria*?⁵⁵

The Reception of Aquilonius’ Work

To assess the level of seriousness attributed to the work, an examination of its reception among contemporaneous readership is warranted. How did close contemporaries feel about Aquilonius’ argument? We have already seen that his son qualified the treatises as “jocoserious”. Unfortunately, the number of early modern sources mentioning his work are few and far between and do not give a clear picture. Daniel Georg Morhof (1639–1691), an influential compiler of comparative language work,⁵⁶ might have saved Aquilonius from total oblivion by referencing him in his *Unterricht von der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie*.⁵⁷ His brief discussion of Aquilonius’ work is critical and lacks any hint that he might have seen it as a parody. Slightly later, Johann Georg von Eckhart (Eccardus, 1664/1674–1730) unequivocally presented Aquilonius’ thesis as a serious contribution to learning.⁵⁸ The same attitude applies to a handful of other authors who, sometimes following in the footsteps of Morhof or von Eckhart, refer to Aquilonius’ comparative Danish-Greek project either with indifference or with mild praise.⁵⁹ Ludvig Heiberg (1770–1818), in his revised edition of Benjamin Georg Sporon’s (1741–1796) collection of Danish synonyms, also took Aquilonius’ treatise at face value when he challenged its comparative method and use of etymology:

⁵⁵ The Latin phrase *novum scribendi genus* can be traced back to Jerome, who used it for applying *commata* and *cola* when translating the Bible into Latin (Lüderitz, 1984, 168). Later authors, including Lipsius in his preface to *De constantia*, seem to have made use of the phrase for different purposes, including as a reference to the invention of the printing press (Lipsius, 1586, ad lectorem [unpaginated]; Westreenen van Tiellandt, 1809, 171).

⁵⁶ See Droixhe, 2010.

⁵⁷ Morhof, 1682, 47.

⁵⁸ Eccardus, 1711, 174; on whom see Dutz, 1990.

⁵⁹ See e.g. Muhlius, 1692, 138–139; Muhlius, 1719, 17; Sibbern, 1716, 340; Thura, 1723, 21; Spegel, 1712 [unpaginated preface]; Moller, 1722, 8–9; Arpe, 1737, 77.

Jeg begriber let at der iblandt saadan en Mængde Ord som ethvert Sprog maa indeholde kan findes nogle der ligne Ord i et andet, men jeg seer intet Beviis i dette for sig selv betragtet for fælles Oprindelse og endnu mindre troer jeg at saadan en Jagen efter ligheder er Etymologiens Studium værdig [...]⁶⁰

I easily understand that among such a multitude of words as any language must contain there may be some resembling words in another, but as such I see no evidence in and for itself for a common origin, and still less do I believe that such a hunt for similarities is worthy of the study of etymology [...]

At least one eighteenth-century source expressed doubt about Aquilonius' seriousness, though. The Roman Catholic priest and encyclopedist Jean-Raymond de Petity (1724–1780) wrote the following about the *diatriba*:

Un Anonyme, Auteur d'un petit vocabulaire intitulé, *Dictionarium Danao-Danicum*, paroît n'avoir entrepris cette Brochure, que pour jeter un vernis de ridicule sur les Antiquités Danoises. Il propose une certaine quantité de mots Grècs, dont il semble vouloir rechercher la source dans la Langue Danoise, sous prétexte, comme il l'annonce, qu'une Colonie de Grècs aura pénétré dans le Dannemarck ; ou plutôt qu'un essain de Danois aura été s'établir dans la Grèce. Il plaisante sur le nom de Danois, qu'il dérive du nom que les Grècs avoient emprunté de Danaus, Fondateur du Royaume d'Argos ; ce qui ne paroît pas moins ridicule que d'en vouloir rapporter l'origine à Dan, fils de Jacob, comme plusieurs Sçavans ont fait.⁶¹

An anonymous author of a small vocabulary, entitled *Dictionarium Danao-Danicum*, seems to have undertaken this booklet only to throw a varnish of ridicule onto Danish antiquities. He proposes a certain number of Greek words whose source he seems to want to seek in the Danish language, under the pretext, as he announces it, that a colony of Greeks had penetrated Denmark, or rather that a swarm of Danes had been established in Greece. He makes fun of the name of the Danes, which he derives from the name that the Greeks had borrowed from Danaus, founder of the Kingdom of Argos, which seems no less ridiculous than wanting to relate its origin to Dan, son of Jacob, as several scholars have done.

Unaware of the author's true identity, de Petity considered the argument of "Danish Greek" to be so absurd that, according to him, it could only be meant to mock rather than to enhance the excellence of Denmark. In view of

⁶⁰ Ludvig Heiberg in Sporon, 1807, XLIV–XLV.

⁶¹ de Petity, 1767, 500.

Aquilonius' Danish patriotism, it seems unlikely that the author actually intended to ridicule his country. However, de Petity's skepticism concerning the seriousness of this work points to the fact that it was possible for early modern readers, too, to read this work as unserious.

Aquilonius would not have been the only Scandinavian scholar to lavish subtle ridicule on comparative endeavors of the kind he may have wanted to parody in his *diatriba*. In his *Die Sprachen des Paradieses*, for instance, the Sweden-born scholar Andreas Kempe (1622–1689), portrayed God as speaking Swedish, Adam Danish, and Eden's pernicious snake French. "Parody got close to reality", James Turner comments, and several early modern scholars subsequently assumed that Kempe was not being ironic.⁶² This is not to say, however, that Scandinavian scholars have always resolutely opposed patriotic interpretations of language-related questions. From the second half of the seventeenth century, when Sweden and Denmark became more self-confident powers, a number of Swedish scholars, notably Georg Stiernhielm (1598–1672) and Olaus Rudbeck (1630–1702), drew attention to the significance of the origins of the Scandinavian languages—recently, Bernd Røling published a compelling book about Rudbeck's impact on Scandinavian thought.⁶³ A notable theme running through Røling's book is the stark contrast between Swedish authors on the one hand, many of whom are distinguished by their nationalist-like eccentricity, and their Danish peers on the other, who in general exhibit a marked soberness.

Conclusion and Outlook

In the aforementioned pages, we have re-examined the possibility that Aquilonius' treatise on the resemblances between ancient Greek and Danish served as a parody of discussions regarding the relationship between Greek and the vernacular languages that had persisted in Europe for over a century. While hard and conclusive evidence is lacking, the presence of significant circumstantial and textual clues suggests to us that such an interpretation is plausible and might help explain some of the peculiarities of Aquilonius' argument.

"Parody only functions successfully if the parodic text's audience is aware of what is being parodied", Sarah Carter observed in a recent book on early

⁶² Turner, 2014, 56. See Elert, 1978.

⁶³ See Røling, 2020. For Stiernhielm, see now Eskhult, 2023.

modern intertextuality.⁶⁴ Given that most (near-)contemporary authors, with the exception of his own son and a Catholic priest from France, took Aquilonius' text at face value, one could argue that his parody was unsuccessful or view it as confirmation that his work was, in fact, intended to be taken seriously.⁶⁵ But does successful parody always necessarily require readers to instantly recognize it as such? If Aquilonius wanted to make fun of the European fashion of associating vernacular languages with ancient Greek, he probably did so to criticize the widespread and "wild" use of etymology to make farfetched historical claims about national origins. The fact that so few of Aquilonius' near contemporaries recognized his treatise as a form of ironic imitation of this type of learned discourse would prove and underscore his point. Was the learned community so accustomed to this kind of scholarly extravaganza that it did not even recognize its excesses?

In this respect, Aquilonius' treatise may show some resemblance to modern examples of misunderstood criticism of academic practice in the form of parody.⁶⁶ The "classic" example is the so-called "Sokal hoax" of 1996, when the mathematician Alan Sokal (°1955) managed to get a bogus paper published in *Social Text*, a North American journal in postmodern cultural studies (even though the article was, in Sokal's own view, "screamingly funny"⁶⁷). More recently, in 2017–2018, three scholars saw seven nonsense articles accepted or published (one with special recognition) in internationally acknowledged journals in fields such as queer, gender, and fat studies. The articles of these scholars parodied and satirized tendencies in postmodernist philosophy, deconstructivism, critical theory, and identity politics by making ridiculous claims and parading overdone, obscure jargon.⁶⁸ The fact that experts in these

⁶⁴ Carter, 2021, 65.

⁶⁵ In any case, Aquilonius' treatise is by no means the only early modern text whose alleged parodic character is debated. To give just a few examples, see Cramer, 2017, 265; de Smet, 1996, 106.

⁶⁶ We leave aside the definitional question of whether the following examples of "academic hoaxes" are "true" parodies or rather pastiches or even forgeries (as briefly discussed in Watson, 2015, 120).

⁶⁷ Sokal, 2010, 152.

⁶⁸ The three authors behind the so-called "grievance studies affair" were Peter Boghossian, James A. Lindsay, and Helen Pluckrose, who saw their articles as part of a larger project to demonstrate the lack of methodological rigor in certain areas of cultural studies. For their reflections on their project, see Lindsay, Boghossian & Pluckrose 2018; Pluckrose, Lindsay & Boghossian 2021. For Sokal's recent reflections on his hoax article of 1996, see Sokal, 2010. For a critical discussion on the "Sokal hoax" and the "grievance studies affair", see

research areas did not realize the papers were written as a joke, and instead published them as serious treatises in their journals, illustrates the concerns the scholars had with academia. Perhaps, then, Aquilonius' *diatriba* can be read as an early example of an ill-understood scholarly "hoax". Whether it is as "screamingly funny" as Sokal believed his eponymous hoax to be is a matter for readers to decide.

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Part II

Greek in Schools and Academies

The Divine Language:

Greek in a Sixteenth-Century German School

FEDERICA CICCOLELLA

Abstract A group of texts related to the founding of a secondary school, the *Paedagogium illustre*, at Gandersheim (Lower Saxony) in 1571, published in Wolfenbüttel in the same year, include an oration entitled *De studio Graecae linguae*, written by an otherwise unknown humanist and teacher, Esaias Preiser. This oration conforms to a group of texts promoting the study of Greek composed between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. At the same time, it provides important information about the study of Greek in the *Paedagogium*. This paper examines the teaching of Greek in that environment, considering both Preiser's oration and other texts contained in the 1571 volume, in order to detect the contents of Greek instruction, the approaches to texts practiced and the methods followed in the classroom, and, most of all, the goals and expectations of teachers and students in the study of Greek.

Keywords *Paedagogium illustre* of Gandersheim, Esaias Preiser, orations on Greek studies, Reformation, Christian humanism.

A New School*

In 1568, immediately after ascending the throne as ruler of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Wolfenbüttel (present-day Lower Saxony), Duke Julius undertook to promote the Protestant Reformation in his domains with the help of the theologians Martin Chemnitz and Jakob Andreae.¹ One of the results of Duke Julius's efforts was the institution of a secondary school, the *Paedagogium illustre*, at Gandersheim (today Bad Gandersheim). The school, located in the monastery of St. Mary (Marienkloster), was inaugurated on 19 March 1571.² The *Paedagogium's* faculty initially consisted of four teachers—the rector, an inspector, a teacher of Greek, and a cantor—who taught about fifty pupils, but over the course of time, as the school thrived, the numbers of teachers and pupils increased.³ In addition to training the pastors and teachers who were necessary to spread Protestantism, the *Paedagogium* was intended to revive

* The writing and punctuation of the Latin passages taken from sixteenth-century printed editions have been conformed to modern usages. All translations from Latin and Greek are my own.

¹ Duke Henry II (b. 1489, r. 1514–1568), Julius's father, had been a staunch supporter of Catholicism. On the difficult establishment of Protestantism in Brunswick, see Jungkuntz, 1977, 58–59. On Duke Julius (b. 1528, r. 1568–1589), see Kraschewski, 1974. Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586: see Jungkuntz, 1977, 46–68), a pupil of Martin Luther and Philipp Melancthon, at that time was ecclesiastical superintendent for the Duchy of Brunswick, while Jakob Andreae (1528–1590: Jungkuntz, 1977, 19–45) was chancellor of the University of Tübingen. On Chemnitz's and Andreae's joint work in Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, see Jungkuntz, 1977, 59–60.

² See Schäfer, 1966, 97 and 103–104: “Fast jeder bedeutende protestantische Fürst bemühte sich [...] eine eigene Hochschule, ‘einen Leuchtturm christlicher Erkenntniss, eine Burg der reinen Lehre’ in seinem Lande zu besitzen.” On the structure, organization, and location of the *Paedagogium*, in addition to Koldewey, 1869, see Schäfer, 1966, 98–99 and 108–111; and Maaser, 2010, 32–35. On the similarities between the Gandersheim *Paedagogium* and other secondary schools in Marburg, Göttingen, and Brunswick, see Schorn-Schütte, 1996, 180. A first inauguration took place on 8 September 1570, in the presence of Duke Julius, his wife Hedwig of Brandenburg (1540–1602), and the heir to the throne Henry Julius (1564–1613), who, at that time, although being only six years old, was administrator of the Prince-Bishopric of Halberstadt; on Henry Julius, see the essays collected in von Werner et al., 2016. Other local religious and civic authorities also participated in the event; Chemnitz delivered an oration in German and Andreae one in Latin, while Nikolaus Selnecker (see below, n. 7) recited a Latin poem. However, economic issues delayed the beginning of the school's activity. The 1571 inauguration was attended by the duke and his two sons Henry Julius and Philipp Sigmund (1566–1623), as well as other authorities and members of the court; most of the texts pertaining to the second inauguration were included in *Paed. ill.*, 1571. For a detailed description of both inaugurations, see Schäfer, 1966, 118–127.

³ See Schäfer, 1968, 113, 130, and 132; and Maaser, 2010, 34–36.

the local tradition of classical studies represented by the nun Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim, who in the tenth century wrote Latin poems and plays inspired by Terence.⁴

The Gandersheim *Paedagogium* was short-lived: in July 1574 it was closed and its students were transferred to the newly-founded University of Helmstedt (*Academia Julia*), 25 miles east of Brunswick.⁵ We are able to reconstruct the school's activity thanks to a volume entitled *Paedagogii illustris Gandershemii inauguratio, constitutio, classes, leges*, published in Wolfenbüttel in 1571.⁶ Along with other texts, the volume contains the statutes of the new school, as well as three orations: the *Oratio de praecipuis Ecclesiae doctoribus* by Nikolaus Selnecker, teacher of theology;⁷ the *Oratio de*

⁴ Selnecker in *Paed. ill.*, 1571, fols. D2^r–2^v: *Hoc certe coenobium Gandersheimense, liberalitate Caesarum, in primis Ottonis primi, propter Rosswidae sacromonialis nobilis foeminae, quae Saxonum Phoenix et Sappho Musarum undecima nominata fuit, eruditionem et in Graeca et Latina lingua excellentiam ac nomina non spernendae memoriae ab ea scripta et poemata edita, crevit initio nominis celebritate, divitiis, praeditis, redivitibus et aliis ornamentis nobilitatum.* “Certainly this monastery at Gandersheim initially grew in fame, wealth, endowments, revenues, and other ornaments of nobility by means of the generosity of the emperors, especially Otto I, thanks to the erudition and excellence in Greek and Latin of Hrotsvitha, nun and noble woman, who was called ‘the Phoenix and Sappho of the Saxons’ and ‘the eleventh Muse,’ as well as the memorable literary works she wrote and the poems she produced.” Selnecker urges Duke Julius to see to it that this tradition “may grow and be preserved, established, embellished, and increased” (*ut ... crescat, servetur, fundetur, ornetur, amplificetur*).

⁵ On the University of Helmstedt in the sixteenth century, see particularly Baumgart, 2006, 103–295; Maaser, 2010; and Le Cam, 2013. Financial difficulties and the uncomfortable location of the school may have determined the closure of the *Paedagogium* (see Baumgart, 2006, 125–126; and Maaser, 2010, 36). Moreover, with the founding of a university at Helmstedt, Duke Julius wished to increase the reputation and visibility of his territory, as well as the level of preparation of the ministers and officials operating in that area; at the same time, he wanted to establish a center for doctrinal orthodoxy that might stop the spread of (crypto)Calvinism in his duchy (see below, section 4). See Baumgart, 2006, 124; Maaser, 2010, 22–23 and 28; and Halvorson, 2010, 43.

⁶ *Paed. ill.*, 1571. The entire volume was reprinted in *Institutio*, 1588, 603–755, a collection assembled on the initiative of the jurist Heinrich Stroband (1548–1609); it contains, in the first volume (1586), some works by the theologian and educator Johannes Sturm (1507–1589), and in the second and third (1587 and 1588) programs, textbooks, and documents pertaining to Protestant *gymnasia* in the Prussian area.

⁷ *Paed. ill.*, 1571, fols. A1^r–D4^v. Selnecker also authored other texts included in the volume: a short speech to Duke Julius's son, Henry Julius, about the duties of a prince (fols. *2^v–5^v); an address to two abbots and members of the Duke's council (*conciliarii*), dated 1 September 1571 and followed by a Latin translation of Psalm 30 in dactylic hexameters (fol. *[6^r]–[8^v]); the *Brevis commonefactio de classium ordine* and the *Leges scholasticae* (see below); the school's foundation act in German, which Selnecker read in front of Duke Julius and his

scholarum dignitate by Adam Bissander, rector and teacher;⁸ and the *Oratio de studio Graecae linguae* by Esaias Preiser, teacher of Greek (*professor linguae Graecae*).⁹

This paper offers a reconstruction of the role that the study of Greek played in the *Paedagogium illustre*, considering the evidence offered by the school's statutes and Preiser's oration, and paying particular attention to the methods and contents of the teaching of Greek and, most of all, its goals and the expectations placed on it in that particular environment.

The Teaching of Greek at the *Paedagogium illustre*

Nikolaus Selnecker is most probably the author of a chapter of the volume entitled *Brevis commonefactio de classium ordine* ("Short reminder about the course of study"), which outlines the general educational project that may have inspired the foundation of the *Paedagogium*, offering many details about the texts to be used and the competences to be acquired in the various disciplines and at the different levels of instruction.¹⁰ Pupils would enter the school

court on the day of the inauguration (fols. E[7^v]-F1^v); and a description of the seven liberal arts, dated Wittenberg 1554 (fols. M[7^r]-N[8^r]). Nikolaus Selnecker or Selneccer (1530–1592) was a pupil of Melanchthon at Wittenberg. After teaching at Wittenberg for some years as *Privatdozent*, Selnecker served as educator and preacher at the court of Elector August of Saxony. In 1563, he became professor of theology at the University of Jena, but in 1568 he was deposed by the prevailing Flacian party because of his association with the Philippists. In 1570, Duke Julius of Brunswick appointed him court preacher and general superintendent at Wolfenbüttel and then teacher of theology at the Gandersheim *Paedagogium*. In 1573, Selnecker became professor at the University of Leipzig, a position he held until his death. Selnecker wrote about 175 works in Latin and German and composed numerous religious hymns. See Jungkuntz, 1977, 89–109.

⁸ *Paed. ill.*, 1571, fols. H8^r-K[7^v]. Adam Bissander or Byssander (Thalmann, 1541–*post* 1583) studied in Jena and was appointed professor at that university in 1563. After losing his position because of his Philippism, he accepted Duke Julius's invitation to serve as rector and teacher of the Gandersheim *Paedagogium*. In 1575, he became rector in Saalfeld, then he moved to Eisenach and finally to Mülverstadt. See Zimmermann, 1926, 367; and Schäfer, 1968, 114.

⁹ *Paed. ill.*, 1571, fols. K[8^r]-M[6^v]. On the last page, Preiser's oration bears the date of 12 April 1571, Joachim Camerarius's birthday (*qui est natalis Ioachimi Camerarii Pabep<ergensis>*). On Preiser and his oration, see below, section 3.

¹⁰ Fols. D5^r-E1^v (here and below, unless otherwise specified, all quotations are from *Paed. ill.*, 1571). The author concludes his exposition (E1^v) announcing the next chapter: *His igitur, inquam, ita praemissis, nunc porro leges nonnullas scholasticas, olim ad usum adolescentum*

knowing at least the basics of reading and writing. Education would begin in Latin and German and combine the study of Latin with moral edification: for the first level, Selnecker recommends a manual of elementary Latin, Luther's catechism in Latin and German, vocabulary lists, and 'Donatus,' i.e., probably, the combination of Pseudo-Donatus's Latin grammar (*Ianua*) and the distichs attributed to Cato the Elder.¹¹ At the next level (*secundo, scil. ordine*), pupils would expand their knowledge of Latin grammar and read Cicero's *Epistulae ad familiares*, as well as the New Testament in Latin; also, they would improve their orthography and use Latin as a spoken language.¹² In Selnecker's project, the study of Greek begins at the third level, after pupils have consolidated their knowledge of Latin. In addition to continuing their Latin education,¹³ pupils

(sic) et iuvenum ingenuorum, quos VVitebergae ante annos sedecim curae et disciplinae nostrae commissos erudiebamus, a nobis κωμικῶς festinanterque scriptas, huc quoque apponere libet, ut de ordine docendi adolescentes moneamus. "Therefore, as I say, after this introduction, it is now appropriate to add here some school rules that I previously wrote playfully and quickly for the noble boys and young men entrusted to my care and instruction, when I was teaching in Wittenberg sixteen years ago." The title of the next chapter indeed specifies that the *leges scholasticae* (fols. E2^r–[7^r]) were written *a N. Selneccero, anno 1555*.

¹¹ Fol. D5^v: *Sit autem puero, vel potius Paedagogo puerum, qui vix literas novit, instituenti, in manibus 1. Elementale, ut vocatur, Latinum. 2. Catechismus D.D. Lutheri Latinogermanicus. 3. Nomenclatura rerum. 4. Quotidie ipsi sententia aliqua, sive Gnome, vel Latine vel Germanice proponatur [...]. Donati quoque lectio pro aetatis et captus ratione non negligatur.* It is difficult to identify the texts mentioned in this passage. An *Elementale Latinae linguae cum brevi nomenclatura latinogermanica* was published, for example, in Zurich in 1563 by Christoph Froschauer (VD16 E 982). Luther's catechism in Latin and German was normally used in schools: for example, the title of the edition published in Marburg in 1554 (VD 16 L 5195) specifies that the book was *in usum et gratiam Germanicae pubis, ut a teneris annis veram pietatem utraque lingua simul perdiscat*. The *Nomenclatura rerum* may correspond to the *Nomenclatura rerum domesticarum*, containing vocabulary lists, Sebald Heyden's *Formulae colloquium puerilium*, and Melanchthon's *Vocabula mensurarum*, published in Frankfurt am Main by Christian Egenolff the Elder in 1532 (VD16 ZV 25447). On *Ianua* and Pseudo-Cato's Distichs, see Ciccolella, 2008, 52–54.

¹² Fol. D5^v: *Habeant pueri paulo grandiores in manibus Grammaticam Latinam D. Philippi, etymologica et syntactica continentem: Epistolas Ciceronis familiares: Observationes Latini sermonis: Catechismum Lutheri: Novum Testamentum Latinum: Dasipodium. Sedulo scribant: Latine colloquantur;* etc. Melanchthon's Latin grammar was published in 1525 and had many editions. The *Observationes Latini sermonis* correspond to the *Latini sermonis observationes per ordinem Alphabeticum digestae* by Ioannes God(e)scalcus (Johannes Godschalck, 1507–1571), published for the first time in Cologne in 1540 (VD16 G 2430). "Dasipodium" was the *Dictionarium Latinogermanicum* (Strasbourg, 1536), later also *Germanicolatinum* (1537), by Petrus Dasypodius (Peter Hasenfratz, ca. 1495–1559).

¹³ Fol. D[7^r]. The Latin readings at this level include: the Latin translation of Aesop's fables by Joachim Camerarius the Elder (Kammermeister, 1500–1574); the Latin version of the Psalms by George Buchanan (1506–1582) or Horace's odes (*Psalmos Buchanani interdum*

would learn the Greek language on Melanchthon's or Clenardus's grammars and Georg Fabricius's work on syntax, then read the poems by Theognis, Phocylides, and Hesiod, as well as Camerarius's Greek catechism.¹⁴ For the fourth level, Selnecker recommends the reading of Homer, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Stobaeus, and a collection of Greek epigrams, with the help of a (Greek-Latin) dictionary.¹⁵ The fifth and last level, in addition to Latin rhetoric (Cicero and Quintilian) and other disciplines (music, theology, sciences, etc.), requires the study of the orations by Demosthenes and Cicero.¹⁶ Selnecker, however, remarks that instructors should feel free to add or delete

substitui posse Odis Horatianis iudico); Camerarius's Latin translation of the Book of Sirach; poetic and prose versions of passages from the Scriptures by Martin Crusius (Kraus, 1526–1607); works by Thomas Linacre (ca. 1460–1524); and the poems of Marcus Hieronymus Vida (1585–1566), Jacopo Sannazaro (1458–1530), Helius Eobanus Hessus (1488–1540), Johannes Stigel, Georg Fabricius (Goldschmidt, 1516–1571), Adam Siber or Cyber (1516–1584), and other *poetae elegantes et casti*.

¹⁴ Fols. D[7^v]-[8^r]: *Grammaticam Graecam a D. Philippo scriptam vel a Clenardo compositam et aureum D. Georgii Fabricii libellum de syntaxi Graeca praeceptores proponunt, cui, loco exempli, Theognidis, vel Phocylidae, vel Hesiodi poema subiungi poterit [...]. Graecum autem D. Camerarii Catechismum ... explicabimus*. On Melanchthon's grammar (first published in 1518) and its editions, see Ciccolella, 2022, 188–199 and the bibliography quoted therein; on the very successful *Institutiones Graecae* by Nicolaus Clenardus (Nicolas Cleynaerts, ca. 1495–1542), see in particular Nuti, 2014, 276–278. Fabricius's *De syntaxi partium orationis apud Graecos liber* was first published in Strasbourg in 1546 (VD16 ZV 5712). Theognis's and Pseudo-Phocylides' elegies, as well as Hesiod's poems, were in use as student texts since the fifteenth century: see Botley, 2010, 77–79 and 100–102. Camerarius's Greek catechism, entitled *Capita pietatis et religionis Christianae versibus Graecis comprehensa*, etc. (Leipzig: Valentin Pabst, 1546; VD16 C 536), consists of a collection of maxims in Greek dactylic hexameters with a Latin translation printed on the front page.

¹⁵ Fol. D[8^r]: *Graeci autores, Homerus, Pindarus, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides non sint ignoti. Ad manus adolescentium sit Stobaeus et epigrammatum Graecorum libellus. Nizolius etiam* (i.e., the *Thesaurus Ciceronianus* by Marius Nizolius, 1498–1576) *et promptuarium sive dictionarium Graecae et Latinae linguae*. Additionally, pupils would read Melanchthon's *De dialectica* and *De rhetorica*, Camerarius's *Progymnasmata*, the *Adagiorum chiliades* by Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), and works by Guillaume Budé (1467–1540), Melanchthon, Camerarius, Fabricius, Hieronymus Wolf (1516–1580), and Johannes Sturm.

¹⁶ Fol. D[8^v]: *Habeantur, legantur et repetantur saepe libri Ciceronis de Oratore, Partitiones, Quintilianus, orationes Demosthenis et Ciceronis*. Comparing Cicero and Demosthenes was common practice in early modern schools and universities: see Ciccolella, 2021, 239. The chapter continues (fols. D[8^v]-E1^r) mentioning other works on various disciplines that teachers can use for their classes.

from this list anything they deem appropriate to the level of preparation and abilities of their pupils.¹⁷

Selnecker's oration adds some elements to this picture.¹⁸ The focus of this long speech is on the usefulness of reading Greek and Latin Christian authors. In order to demonstrate that "schools have always been the nurseries of the Church" (*ut ... ostenderemus scholas semper fuisse seminaria Ecclesiae*),¹⁹ Selnecker offers a catalogue of Greek and Latin Christian writers from Papias (70–163) to Martin Luther (1483–1546). Authors are listed in an approximate chronological order, with comments on their deeds and writings and quotations of anecdotes on their lives and opinions of other scholars (e.g., Theodore Gaza, Nicholas of Cusa, and Erasmus). Selnecker particularly recommends the reading of the poets to the pupils of the *Paedagogium*: in addition to reading Georg Fabricius's collection of Latin early Christian poems and hymns,²⁰ they should translate Gregory of Nazianzus's poems into Latin verse, an exercise that would reinforce both their knowledge of theology and their character and intelligence.²¹

The curriculum outlined in Selnecker's *Brevis commonefactio* and implemented in his oration corresponds only partially to the actual teaching as described in the statutes of the *Paedagogium (Forma et constitutio reipublicae literariae in illustri Paedagogio Gandersheimensi)*.²² We learn from this text that the course of study consisted of three levels. Pupils, who were admitted to

¹⁷ Fol. D[8^v]: [...] *praeceptor pius et eruditus pro captu et conditione discentium vel decurtare vel addere poterit aliquid [...]*.

¹⁸ Fols. A1^r–D4^v.

¹⁹ Fol. D2^r.

²⁰ Fols. C1^r–1^v: *Velim autem ego in omnium studiosorum manibus extare poetarum veterum ecclesiasticorum opera Christiana, operumque reliquias et fragmenta, thesaurum videlicet catholicae et orthodoxae Ecclesiae, et antiquitatis religiosae, collectum, emendatum, digestum, et commentario quoque expositum, diligentia et studio viri clarissimi et eruditissimi Georgii Fabricii poetae et viri optimi: quod hoc iam loco semel monitos volo etiam Gandersheimensium classium adolescentes nostros*. The anthology, whose title Selnecker quotes almost faithfully (*Poetarum ... studio*), was published in Basle by Johann Oporinus in 1564 (VD16 F 343).

²¹ Fol. C3^v: *Ego carmina eius (scil. of Gregory of Nazianzus) et epigrammata, iambos tetrastichos et distichos ac disticha elegiaca proponi et praelegi adolescentiae in omnibus Christianis scholis maxime optarim, ut dum illa Latinis numeris redderent, simul pietatem discerent et iudicium de rebus arduis confirmarent, id quod in Gandersheimensibus classibus pro captu et profectu adolescentium omnino observandum erit*. On the reception of Greek Patristics in Melancthon's circle, see Hall, 2014.

²² Fols. F1^v–H[7^v].

the school only if they had a background in Latin grammar, began to take classes in Greek (*lectiones in Graeciis*) at the initial level (*tertia ac infima classis*) using an abridged grammar (*Compendium Graecae linguae*), then practiced the language reading short fables (*Fabellae Graecae*) and passages from the Gospels (*Evangelia Dominicalia*) and doing writing exercises (*styli exercitium*).²³ Luther's small catechism in Greek and Latin, listed for their theology classes (*lectiones in pietatis doctrina*), also increased their exposure to Greek.²⁴ For the second level (*secunda seu media classis*), Clenardus's grammar is recommended, along with the reading of Isocrates and the Gospels (*Evangeliium Dominicale*) and writing exercises in prose and poetry (*tam in ligata quam prosa oratione*).²⁵ Clenardus, Isocrates, and the New Testament appear again in the program for the last level (*prima ac suprema classis*), with the addition of Camerarius's catechism. Then pupils learned Greek syntax and read some Greek authors: Theognis, Phocylides, Hesiod, Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, and other similar texts (*et similes*).²⁶

While the *Paedagogium* apparently provided solid instruction in Latin literature, the Greek curriculum covered only what we may call elementary and

²³ Fol. F2^v. The abridged grammar was probably the *Ἐπιτομή τῶν ὀκτῶ τοῦ λόγου μερῶν* by Constantine Lascaris (1434–1501), reprinted, for example, as *Grammaticae compendium Graecae linguae studiosis aptissimus* in Basle in 1547, together with other texts for the teaching of Greek (VD16 L 545); on Lascaris's grammar, see Botley, 2010, 26–31; and Nuti, 2014, 100–129. The 'Greek fables' may refer to the collection of Aesopic fables edited by Theophilus Golius (1528–1600) *ad puerilem educationem*, published many times since 1541. As for the *Evangelia Dominicalia*, the Latin passages could be compared either with the original Greek texts in prose or with the Greek version by Paulus Dolscius (Paul Dolz, 1526–1589) in elegiac distichs (in *Graeca catechesis Christianae pietatis praecipua capita continens* etc., Leipzig: Hans Rambau the Elder, 1560; VD16 T 1227). On writing exercises in the learning of Greek, see Korhonen, 2022, 238–243 and the bibliography quoted there.

²⁴ Ibid.: *In pietatis doctrina, parvus Lutheri Catechismus Graece et Latine*. The catechism (*Κατήχησις Μαρτείνου Λουθέρου ἢ καλουμένη μικρὰ ἑλληνικολατίνη. Catechesis Martini Lutheri parva Graecolatina*, etc.), edited by Michael Neander (1529–1588), was published in Basle in 1556 (VD16 ZV 10074). The Greek and Latin versions of the catechism are printed on facing pages and are followed by other Greek-Latin texts *argumenti pii, utilis et iucundi, unde et pietatem et linguam Graecam adolescentes discere possunt*.

²⁵ Fol. F3^r. 'Isocrates' most probably refers to *Ad Nicoclem*, *Nicocles* and *Ad Demonicum*, which became canonical student texts in fifteenth-century schools; see Botley, 2010, 96–97.

²⁶ Fol. F4^r. With the inclusion of both poets and prose writers, the Greek syllabus corresponds to the Latin one (*postea subiciantur [...] non tam oratores quam poëtae praestantissimi quique, cum Graeci, tum Latini [...]*), which lists some of Cicero's orations, Caesar's *De bello Gallico*, Ovid, and Horace, as well as Terence and Virgil. On Theognis, Phocylides, Hesiod, and Camerarius's Greek catechism, see above, n. 14. On Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* in Renaissance schools, see Botley, 2010, 92.

intermediate levels; in the statutes there is no mention of the reading of the Greek classical and Christian authors recommended by Selnecker. Both economic issues and the *Paedagogium*'s specific destination as upper secondary school may have imposed a curriculum in three levels instead of five.²⁷ More probably, however, the reason lies in the nature of the *Paedagogium*, where the study of the humanities was not pursued *per se* but served the practical purposes of forming churchmen—which seemed to be Duke Julius's first concern—and teachers, and possibly preparing pupils for university studies. The third of the orations included in the 1571 volume, Esaias Preiser's *De studio Graecae linguae*, provides further information about the approach to Greek practiced in the Gandersheim *Paedagogium*.

Esaias Preiser and His Oration

Nothing is known of Esaias Preiser's life. The two biographies that, to my knowledge, have been published so far mention only his activity as a teacher of Greek in the Gandersheim *Paedagogium* between 9 November 1570 and the end of September 1572.²⁸ Some more information comes from Preiser's poems included in volumes published between 1571 and 1574. Two of these poems attest to Preiser's relationship with Nikolaus Selnecker. Selnecker's *Catalogus brevis praecipuorum Conciliorum* (Frankfurt, 1571) contains, among other dedicatory texts, a poem in Greek elegiac distichs in which Preiser expresses his wishes for Selnecker's quick recovery from one of his frequent illnesses;²⁹ Preiser dedicates the poem "to the most pious and wise man Nikolaus Selnecker, general superintendent, his teacher" (τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ τε καὶ σοφωτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ Νικόλεω τῷ Σελνεκκέρῳ τῷ Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ, τῷ διδασκάλῳ αὐτοῦ). Preiser may have been Selnecker's pupil either in Wittenberg between 1550 and 1558, or in Jena between 1563 and 1568, or at both universities.³⁰

²⁷ See Schorn-Schütte, 1996, 163, who points out that the *Paedagogium* "existierte [...] als Obergymnasium für die Latein- und Klosterschulen."

²⁸ Zimmermann, 1926, 367; and Schäfer, 1968, 114. Preiser's name appears in the *Registrum eorum, qui in Paedagogio Illustri Gandersheimensi et in Academia Julia Helmstadiensis ante promulgationem privilegiorum (15. Oct. 1556) docuerunt*, published in Zimmermann, 1926, 341. Like other teachers of the *Paedagogium*, Preiser did not move to the University of Helmstedt, where Johannes Debelius (Debel, 1540–1610) was appointed professor of Greek on 27 July 1573; see Schäfer, 1968, 116; and Maaser, 2010, 39 and 135–136.

²⁹ See Jungkuntz, 1977, 90.

³⁰ Selnecker, 1571a, fols. B2^v–3^r (signed A3); see above, n. 7. The volume contains the revised

Preiser also contributed a poem in German to Selnecker's 1571 edition of the Psalter for children: he invites children to read the book ("das Pselterlein"), which shows the way to a pious life and offers comfort in difficulties.³¹

In 1574, Preiser edited and published a volume entitled *Cyghnaea cantio* (*The Swan Song*), which contains a sermon in German composed by the pastor and reformed theologian Erhard Schnepff shortly before his death.³² Preiser authored the preface³³ and a poetic epitaph of Schnepff in Greek:³⁴ in the title, Preiser indicates his place of origin as Saalfeld (*Esaias Preiserus Salveldensis*). The poem, which consists of 23 elegiac distichs, is shaped as a dialogue between a passer-by (ὁδοιπóρος) and Truth (Ἀλήθεια) near Schnepff's grave: to the passer-by, who wonders whose grave it is, Truth replies praising Schnepff for his adherence to Luther's and Melancthon's doctrines and his commitment to defend the true faith, as well as his eloquence and teaching ability. The epitaph is followed by a poem in 28 Latin elegiac distichs entitled *Πρόγραμμα ad reverendum virum M. Esaiam Preiserum* and composed by Georgius Monethius, *Pastor Ecclesiae Mellingsis* (Mellingen);³⁵ Monethius applauds to Preiser's publication of the work of the master, who in this way will obtain eternal glory. Schnepff died in Jena in 1558; the fact that Preiser, who qualifies himself as "servant of the Word of God" ("Diener Göttliches Worts": fol. A iii^v), says that he found the sermon among Schnepff's papers suggests that Preiser may have moved to Jena sometime after 1472 to become a preacher, but lack of evidence prevents us from drawing any conclusion.

edition of an oration Selnecker delivered at the university of Leipzig (*publice in Academia Lipsensi studiosae iuventuti et S. Theologiae candidatis dictatus et nunc ab autore recognitus*) and four short theological treatises.

³¹ Selnecker, 1571b; the poem, on fols. v^r–[vii^v], is in quatrains of rhymed octosyllables. On Selnecker's interest in the Psalter as a theologian and musician, see Fuchs, 1993.

³² Schnepff, 1574. Erhard Schnepff (1495–1558) studied in Erfurt and Heidelberg and carried out an intense pastoral and pedagogical activity; from 1549 to his death, he taught at Jena's high school, becoming its principal in 1557. On Schnepff's life and works, see Ehmer, 2007 and the bibliography quoted there.

³³ The small volume (tot. 24 pages) is dedicated to Johann Erhard Schnepff, Erhard's son and Chamber Secretary of the Duchy of Saxony in Coburg.

³⁴ Fols. C2^v–3^r.

³⁵ Fols. C 3^v–[4^r]. Georgius Monethius or Monetius (Georg Monhaupt), born in Weimar and active between 1554 and 1600, was a pupil of Schnepff and Stigel in Jena, as he declares in the preface to the edition of the poems of Johannes Stigel (1515–1562; Stigel 1600, fol.):(5^v).

Preiser's oration on the study of Greek belongs to a long tradition whose earliest extant example is probably the oration *De litteris Graecis* by Theodore Gaza (ca. 1410–1475). Gaza delivered it presumably in 1446, upon taking the chair of Greek literature and rhetoric at the *Studium* of Ferrara. Other Greek emigres who taught in Italy in the fifteenth century composed similar orations as prologues to their academic courses: Demetrius Chalcondyles (1423–1511) in 1463 and 1464, Janus Lascaris (1445–1535) in 1493, and Andronicus Contoblacas (active 1472–1488) in an unknown year. Despite their differences, all these orations contain the same motives: praises to the authorities who attended the delivery; the speaker's profession of humility; the celebration of the study of Greek, supported with references to history, anecdotes, and quotations from classical sources; and the exhortation to young men to devote their energies to Greek, concentrating on the moral advantages of such a commitment instead of being discouraged by the difficulty of the language.³⁶ Italian humanists also wrote orations in praise of Greek studies: for example, Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) in 1494, Scipio Carteromachus (Forteguerra, 1466–1515) in 1504, and Marco Antonio Antimaco (1473–1552) between 1517 and 1545.³⁷ By placing emphasis on the importance of Greek in the study of other disciplines and, especially, theology, Carteromachus's *Oratio de laudibus litterarum Graecarum* anticipated the contents of similar orations produced in Germany during the sixteenth century.³⁸ Preiser's closest model, however, seems to be Melanchthon's *De studiis linguae Graecae*.³⁹

Preiser's oration presents a long and articulated introduction. The author begins with a prayer: he thanks God, the Son, and the Holy Spirit for granting the purification of the Church and the preservation of the authentic Christian doctrine “in this northern corner of Germany” (*in hoc Septentrionali Germaniae angulo*) through the work of “a devout and kind Duke” (*pium and*

³⁶ On the orations *de litteris Graecis* and their contents, see Silvano, 2020, 254–264. On Gaza's oration, see Ciccolella, 2020 and the bibliography quoted therein.

³⁷ See Gastgeber, 2014, 71–72.

³⁸ Carteromachus, 1504, fols. b iii^r–iii^v; see Gastgeber, 2014, 71–72 n. 15 and 83–85. The oration is probably related to Carteromachus's reading of Demosthenes' orations as part of the cultural program of Aldus Manutius's *Neakademia*: see Piovan, 1997. The edition of Carteromachus's oration printed by Johann Froben in Basle in 1517 (VD16 F 1921) may have favored the spread of this text beyond the Alps. On the orations *de litteris Graecis* written in Germany during the sixteenth century, see Rhein, 2020.

³⁹ Melanchthon, 1843b. On this oration, which was delivered by Melanchthon's pupil Vitus Winshemius (Veit Winshem or Veit Örtel, 1501–1570), see in particular Ben-Tov, 2009, 140–143.

clementem Ducem). Preiser invokes God’s protection for the rulers and the authorities of the duchy, as well as the teachers and students of the new school.⁴⁰ Then, after stating the importance of gatherings for education, he compares the current difficult times to a storm in a poem of 12 elegiac distichs, where passages from Ovid’s *Tristia* alternate with lines and expressions taken from poems by Martin Crusius and other Renaissance poets.⁴¹ After the speaker’s profession of humility (*agnosco ... ingenii mei imbecillitatem*, etc.),⁴² the real oration begins.

Preiser’s first argument in favor of the study of Greek is that God himself recommends that his Word, which brings salvation to humankind, be read, learned, and transmitted to posterity; those who disobey God’s order or misunderstand the Word receive evil and ruin, as was the case with the Jews, “all of Greece” (*totius Graeciae*), the Papacy (*Papatus*), the Anabaptists, and the Sacramentarians.⁴³ The languages of the Scriptures are Greek and Hebrew; since the New Testament was written in Greek, a knowledge of that language is necessary to uncover its meaning and interpret the Word of God correctly. Consequently:

Quemadmodum igitur mandatum universale est, quo omnes iubemur, ut verbum Dei sedulo scrutemur, custodiamus, et ad posteros propagemus: ita enim praeceptum esse a Deo vobis singulis persuadeatis firmiter, ut linguam Graecam, cuius monumentis totam Novi Testamenti historiam Deus consecravit, diligenter et probe cognoscatis. (Fol. L5^v)

As, by reason of a universal mandate, we are ordered to investigate assiduously, protect, and transmit the Word of God to our posterity, so each of you (young men) should be strongly convinced that God has commanded that you know

⁴⁰ Fols. K[8^r]-L1^r.

⁴¹ Fols. L1^v-2^r. The image of the storm referred to contemporary reality also occurs in Melancthon’s oration (1843, 856): *in his temporum procellis auxilium et liberationem ab aeterno et clementissimo Deo [...] et petamus et expectemus*.

⁴² Fols. L2^v-3^r.

⁴³ Fols. L3^r-3^v. Cf. Melancthon, 1843b, 856: [...] *tradidit nobis clementissimus et optimus Deus [...] immensum thesaurum doctrinae sacrae*. In addition to the obvious targets of Protestant polemics—pagans, non-Christians, and Catholics—Preiser takes stand against two of the groups that disagreed with Luther on theological issues (baptism, transubstantiation in the Eucharist, the role of the Holy Spirit, etc.). On the Anabaptists and the Sacramentarians, see Dingel, 2014; Burnett, 2014; and Burnett, 2019, 269–271.

diligently and properly the Greek language, since God made the entire history of the New Testament immortal through writings in that language.

The second argument focuses on the prestige (*decus*) and usefulness (*utilitas*) of the Greek language. The greatest Christian theologians, the “chief lights of the Church” (*praecipua Ecclesiae lumina*), such as “Basil, Gregory, Chrysostom, Theophylact, and countless others” (*Basilius, Gregorius, Chrysostomus, Theophylactus, et alii infiniti*), wrote in Greek and young men should be eager to read their works in the original language rather than in translation (*absque interprete*).⁴⁴ Moreover, Greek is “the source and spring of all the liberal arts” (*fons et scaturigo omnium artium liberalium*) and, in general, all disciplines. Preiser lists the Greek authors who contributed to the development of each discipline,⁴⁵ observing that a knowledge of Greek is helpful to master the specific language of each of them. Also, Greek is necessary to write in a good literary style:

Hac qui destituuntur, destituuntur praecipuo ornamento et praesidio styli, et, ut semel dicam, toti Graecorum generi merito et quidem optimo iure tribuimus litteras, multarum artium disciplinas, sermonis leporem, ingeniorum acumen, dicendi copiam, et si qua sunt alia, quae sibi sumunt, de quibus et Horatius ait: Graijs ingenium, Graijs dedit ore rotundo / Musa loqui. (Fol. L[8v])

Those who are deprived of it (*scil.* the Greek language) are deprived of an ornate and strong style and, to say it once and for all, we deservedly and, indeed, most justly attribute to the entire Greek race the letters, the teaching of all arts, charm of language, mental acuteness, oratory ability, and any other quality they take upon themselves, about which Horace says: ‘To the Greeks the Muse gave genius, to the Greeks the power of speaking in a perfect style.’⁴⁶

Preiser concludes this argument quoting a poem by Alexander Hegius on the usefulness of learning Greek.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Fols. L[7^r]-[7^v]. Preiser refers to Selnecker’s oration (*quorum catalogus pridie a Reverendo viro D.D. Selneccero, Domino ac praeceptore nostro, recitari audivistis*). Cf. Melanchthon, 1843b, 859: *Huc accedit quod haec natio postea quoque primae Ecclesiae ac purioris doctrinae doctores atque interpretes complures habuit pios ac sanctos [...]; Nam quod ad versiones attinet, vidimus quanta miseria sit si quis illis solis niti cogatur*; etc.

⁴⁵ Fols. L[7^v]-[8^v]. Cf. Melanchthon, 1843b, 861–863.

⁴⁶ The same quotation from Horace (*Ars poetica* 323–324) occurs in almost all orations on Greek studies (cf., e.g., Melanchthon, 1843b, 864), as well as in other Renaissance texts: see Bolonyai, 2014.

⁴⁷ Fol. M1^r. In Hegius, 1503, fol. Diii^v, the poem (*inc.: Quisquis grammaticam vis discere*,

The description of the tight relationship of Greek with all disciplines leads Preiser to a new argument that, in view of the goals of the *Paedagogium*, constitutes the core of his speech: the importance of Greek for theologians and, specifically, for both interpreters (*interpretes*) and preachers (*concionatores*) of the Scriptures. While interpreters are required to know the value of every single word in order to explain texts, produce translations, and reject the incorrect interpretations of others, preachers need to be able to evaluate the translations they use in their office, if they wish to avoid spreading false doctrines.⁴⁸ Preiser presents a significative example:

Quantum errorem, quam horrendam blasphemiam peperit ignoratio vocabuli κεχαριτωμένη, quo Angelus utitur apud Lucam cap. 1, annuncians Mariae quod ipsa sit futura mater Dei altissimi, dicens: χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη. Quod interpres de industria, procul dubio, in gratiam Pontificiorum, ambigue reddidit: Ave gratiosa vel gratia plena. Hic Pontificios fefellit vis et proprietates vocabuli Gratiae. Quod ipsi, utpote in Graeca lingua parum exercitati, active interpretati sunt, cum tamen pueri elementarii norint passive intelligendum esse. [...] Certe ipsa non potest largiri eam gratiam invocantibus se, quam ipsi tribuerunt Monachi [...]. Unde factum est ut in blasphemum istum errorem quem μαριολατρίαν nonnulli vocant delapsi sint, sacrilege tribuentes Mariae honorem soli Deo debitum. (Fols. M1^v-2^r)

What great error, what horrible blasphemy has been generated by the ignorance of the (meaning of the) word κεχαριτωμένη, which the Angel uses in Luke, chapter 1 [= 1:28], announcing to Mary that she will be the mother of God most high, saying: ‘χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη.’ The translator, undoubtedly on purpose to please the Papists, rendered it ambiguously: ‘Ave, gratiosa or gratia plena’ (Hail, you ‘showing grace’ or ‘full of grace’). Here, the Papists have missed the proper meaning of the word ‘grace’ because they, being little trained in the Greek language, have interpreted it as active, while even children learning the rudiments know that it must be understood as passive. [...] Certainly, she cannot bestow upon those who invoke her the grace that the monks have

discito Graece) is entitled *De utilitate Graecae linguae hemoteleuta (sic)*. Preiser’s text reproduces it with slight modifications. The poem contains a list of exhortations to learn Greek, in dactylic hexameters, often with the same clausula (for example, *discito Graece* occurs 10 times); on this poem, see Päll, 2020, 421 and n. 50. After studying Greek with Rodolphus Agricola (ca. 1443–1485), Alexander Hegius (*post* 1433–1498) became headmaster of St. Lebuin’s school at Deventer. His pupils included Erasmus and other prominent humanists; see van Leijenhorst, 1986.

⁴⁸ Fols. M1^r-1^v. Cf. Melanchthon, 1843b, 866–867: *Debent vero nos etiam corruptelae doctrinae sacrae, errores et blasphemiae horum temporum invitare ad serio discendum, ut et nos et alios contra illos laqueos satanae communire ac praeparare possimus.*

attributed to her. [...] Consequently, they have fallen into that error that some call ‘mariolatry’ by impiously attributing to Mary the honor that is due only to God.⁴⁹

In any case, no translation, however accurate, can substitute for the reading of the original text.⁵⁰

The rest of the oration contains motives that appear in most orations promoting the study of Greek. After declaring his commitment to his mission,⁵¹ Preiser states that Greek is not difficult if its study is tackled with enthusiasm; indeed, Latin is much more complex.⁵² He hopes that his words have stimulated pupils to devote themselves to the study of Greek night and day (*ut noctes atque dies huic studio incumbatis*).⁵³ Such effort is necessary because, as Hesiod said, the path to virtue is steep and covered with thorns.⁵⁴

Two poetic passages conclude the oration. The first, which focuses on the decay of Greek studies, is taken from Helius Eobanus Hessus’s translation of Theocritus’s *Idylls*.⁵⁵ The second is a prayer, which mirrors the beginning of the oration, and corresponds to part of Georg Fabricius’s *Chorus puerilis scholasticus*.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ On the contrasting interpretations of *κεχαριτωμένη* by the Catholics (Mary “full of grace”) and the Protestants (Mary “highly favored”) from the Reformation onwards, see Waller, 2015, 39 and 133–144.

⁵⁰ Fols. M2^r–2^v. Cf. Melanchthon, 1843b, 859: *Nam quod ad versiones attinet, vidimus quanta miseria sit si quis illis solis niti cogatur* [...].

⁵¹ Fol. M3^v.

⁵² *Ibid.*: *Adde quod haec lingua, quantumvis ampla videatur, nihil habet difficultatis, modo quis afferat animum φιλομαθῆ, id est, discendi cupidum. Cum Latina lingua multo sit difficilior, quod Martialis ipse fatetur, cum inquit [= 9. 11. 13–17]: Dicunt Earinon (sic) tamen poetae, / sed Graeci, quibus est nihil negatum / et quos Ἄρες Ἄρες decet sonare. / Nobis non licet esse tam disertis, / qui Musas colimus severiores.* Later (fol. M4^v), Preiser adds that, although being not difficult, Greek is rarely studied and even despised.

⁵³ Fol. M4^r.

⁵⁴ Fol. M4^v; however, the quotation from Hesiod (*Op.* 289–290) does not entirely correspond to the original.

⁵⁵ Fols. M5^r–5^v: *Id.* 16. 9–11 and 20–32. Hessus’s translation of Theocritus’s *Idylls* was published in Hagenau by Johann Setzer in 1530/31 (VD16 T 721).

⁵⁶ Fol. M[6^r]–[6^v]. The poem is included in the *Enchiridion pietatis puerilis [...] libri IIII*, edited by Adam Siber and printed in Basle by Johann Oporinus in 1564 (VD16 ZV 14398).

Conclusions

The previous summary offers only a partial account of the complex structure and rich contents of Preiser's oration *De studio Graecae linguae*. In this rhetorical tour de force, Preiser expands and elaborates on the motives that appear in his chief model, Melanchthon's declamation *De studiis linguae Graecae*, as well as in other similar prolusions; at the same time, he often touches upon contemporary reality referring to the circumstance, the people attending his lecture, and especially the theological issues being debated in that environment. Preiser supports his arguments with quotations from the Scriptures and a wide range of Greek and Latin texts by classical, Christian, and contemporary authors. Greek quotations are usually translated into Latin both because they may have been difficult to understand for his audience and, probably, in order to provide an example of the method followed in the classroom.⁵⁷ Indeed, Preiser acts both as a scholar displaying his talent and impressive knowledge to a highly educated audience, and as a teacher addressing the concerns of young men who are about to tackle the study of Greek. Preiser tries to stimulate their interest in the new language by highlighting its usefulness to the correct interpretation of the Scriptures and offering examples that most probably reflect the method he plans to follow in his classes.⁵⁸ Also, Preiser's frequent use of poetic references and quotations mirrors the importance assigned to poetry in the *Paedagogium's* curriculum.⁵⁹

Preiser's focus on the use of Greek as a tool to restore the authentic Word of God complies with Duke Julius's attempt to make his land a center of

⁵⁷ It is interesting to notice that translations continued to be common practice in Protestant schools, despite the Reformers' skepticism about their value (see above, section 3) and appeals to a direct approach to texts in their original languages (*ad fontes*).

⁵⁸ For example, on fols. L4^r–4^v, Preiser presents the case of the beginning of John's Gospel (1:1), in which the Greek text (Θεός ἦν ὁ λόγος) helps to reach a correct interpretation of the (Vulgate's) Latin text (*Deus erat verbum*): *Quam sudaverunt Patres in inquirenda vera sententia verborum Iohannis: 'Deus erat Verbum,' ignorantes utrum sit subiectum, utrum praedicatum. Sed ex articuli, qui semper subiecto apponitur, natura facile diiudicari possunt, quod videlicet subiectum sit λόγος. Huic enim additur articulus ὁ. Praedicatum vero Θεός, ita ut haec sit sententia Iohannis: Et verbum, id est Christus, erat Deus.* "How much did the Fathers sweat inquiring about the true meaning of John's words '*Deus erat Verbum,*' not knowing which was the subject and which the predicate! But from the nature of the article, which is always put before the subject, it is possible to decide easily that the subject is λόγος. For the article ὁ is added to it, whereas Θεός is predicate, so that this is the meaning of John's sentence: 'And the Word, that is, Christ, was God.'"

⁵⁹ On the use of poetry in Protestant schools, see Weise, 2020, 396–397.

Protestantism according to the principles established by Luther and Melanchthon. The *Paedagogium*'s curriculum, in fact, conforms to the presuppositions of Melanchthon's Christian humanism. Firstly, the study of Greek and Latin grammar and the reading of the works of classical authors teach the ways in which languages function and words are used. Secondly, the same methods used for the classics—correct interpretation and effective delivery—are applied to theological texts.⁶⁰ The reading and translation of classical and Christian texts, the written exercises, and the Latin conversation recommended by Selnecker and in the school's statutes contributed to reaching these goals.

Several aspects of the organization of the *Paedagogium illustre* occur in other school ordinances of sixteenth-century Germany, which are inspired by Melanchthon's project for elementary education: for example, the importance given to Latin, the emphasis on the study of grammar and, especially, the focus on religious education.⁶¹ In 1528, Johannes Bugenhagen followed Melanchthon's model in the statutes of a "Latin elementary school" (Latinische jungen schole) in Brunswick, where Greek and Hebrew also could be taught.⁶² However, the study of Greek acquired much more relevance in the curriculum of a secondary school whose goal was to prepare clerics, students in Protestant universities and, most of all, good citizens. According to Melanchthon, the works of Greek classical and Christian authors offer examples of civic and moral virtues and provide education in rhetoric, which is indispensable for both politics and theology.⁶³ More importantly—as outlined particularly in the orations *De studio linguarum* (1533) and *De studiis linguae Graecae* (1549)—a knowledge of Greek (along with Latin and Hebrew) allows a direct approach to the sources of theology, whose correct interpretation can prevent the rise of strife and heresies among Christians. Thus, Greek becomes a tool to uncover the truth hidden in the Scriptures and,

⁶⁰ See in particular Effe, 1998, 48–52; and Kolb, 2012.

⁶¹ See, e.g., the 1528 version of Melanchthon's *Libri visitorii* (Melanchthon, 1858, 90–96). See Meyer, 1972, 318–322; and Scheible, 2016, 52–54.

⁶² The text of Bugenhagen's school ordinance has been published by Koldewey, 1886, 27–38 (English translation in Eby, 1931, 193–206); see also Le Cam, 1989, 94. Bugenhagen suggested to introduce Greek "at the proper time" (to rechter tid)—i.e., only when pupils have reached a fair mastery of Latin—using prayers, passages from the New Testament or any short text (Koldewey, 1886, 34 = Eby, 1931, 200–201). On Johannes Bugenhagen (1485–1558), a theologian and promoter of the Reformation in north Germany, see Garbe, 2017, and the bibliography quoted therein.

⁶³ On Melanchthon's attitude toward the classical authors, see Rhein, 1997 and Fuchs, 2017.

at the same time, a powerful means to guarantee peace and stability.⁶⁴ In his oration, Preiser adopted Melanchthon's view underlining its strong religious and political significance and, in this way, justifying Duke Julius's cultural program.

A close link with Melanchthon also appears from the background of most of the participants in the *Paedagogium's* project: Chemnitz and Selnecker were Melanchthon's pupils at Wittenberg, Preiser was Selnecker's pupil, and Bissander was on the same positions. By appointing them, the duke most probably wished to establish in his territory a form of Protestantism in accordance with the roots of Lutheranism, keeping away the religious conflicts that troubled many parts of Germany: Preiser's reference to the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians witnesses to the difficult religious climate of that time. Indeed, a few years after the founding of the *Paedagogium*, in 1577, Selnecker, Chemnitz, and Andreae played a significant role in the composition of the Formula of Concord and the Book of Concord, which attempted to restore peace and unity among all the contending parties that Lutheranism had originated.⁶⁵

The texts related to the *Paedagogium illustre* of Gandersheim show that, during the second half of the sixteenth century, classical studies in Germany had reached a high level even in secondary schools and outside of the great universities like Wittenberg, Jena, Leipzig, etc. While the ideology of the Reformation and the initiative of individuals certainly played an important role, this flourishing of classical culture was due especially to the availability of appropriate teaching tools and the presence of well-prepared and strongly motivated teachers in the territory.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ See especially Melanchthon, 1843a, 232–233. On the relationship between culture, religion, and politics in Melanchthon's thought, see, e.g., Wiater, 1996.

⁶⁵ See Jungkuntz, 1977 and Dingel, 2014, 532–535.

⁶⁶ Duke Julius's effort to promote Protestant culture in his territory was successful: in addition to the *Paedagogium illustre* and the University of Helmstedt, several schools were founded in the 1570s (see Le Cam, 1989; and Maaser, 2010, 29–31). By the 1580s, about 80 percent of the ministers who entered the church's service in Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel had studied at the local university: see Schorn-Schütte, 1996, 176–177 and 512 (table 9a); and Schorn-Schütte, 1998, 722–723.

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The Aesopic Fable and the Study of Greek in Early Modern Swedish Schools

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Abstract Focussing on the public school in early modern Sweden, this article investigates the role of the Aesopic fable in elementary education in Greek. As a background, the solid position of fable as genre in the teaching of Latin in medieval Europe is sketched. When humanism launched Greek as school subject, fable was adopted as reading material in the teaching of the new language, partly for the same reasons it was used in the study of Latin—where it continued to be central—and partly because of stronger aspirations for classicality. With a certain delay, this general pattern also characterizes the ways in which the Aesopic genre was made use of in Swedish schools during the early modern epoch. By analysing the prescriptions for classical languages in the period's school regulations, as well as the Greek fable books for school use produced in early modern Sweden, the article shows that fable managed to win a fairly firm position within the Greek curriculum during the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, as is also demonstrated, the implementation of reading fables in Greek was relatively slow and not without backlash. The use of fable in Greek education was, moreover, pedagogically dependent on the more well-established use of the genre in the teaching of Latin.

Keywords Aesopic fable; Greek education; early modern Sweden; school regulations; fable books

Introduction

As Greek was introduced as subject in European schools in the Renaissance, Aesop's fables quickly became a permanent part of the syllabus. In a chapter entitled "The New Subject: Developing Greek Studies" in their volume *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (1986), Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine state:

The range of Greek texts fit for teaching was not large. Most of them had been favourites in the Byzantine schools, which relied on anthologies of short "teachable" works—a book of Homer, one play each of Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes, some Pindar and Theocritus. Especially in the sixteenth century, the student often began with the Greek New Testament. Then he might read Aesop [...].¹

Exemplifying this, one of the very first books printed by the important fifteenth-century Milan humanist and publisher Bonus Accursius, whose output was almost solely devoted to material for the teaching of classical languages, was a bilingual edition of Aesop's fables: *MYΘΟΙ ΑΙΣΩΠΙΟΥ / Fabulae Aesopi* (c. 1478).²

During the sixteenth century, Aesop was accorded an unquestioned position as a Greek school author. Several German school regulations from the Reformation era prescribe Aesopic fables within the study of Greek. The influential regulations set up by the Protestant reformer Johannes Sturm in 1538 for the *Gymnasium* in Strasbourg establish for the fifth form: *fabellae Aesopi Graecae, paucae et faciles, conuenienter explicabuntur* (a few easy fables by Aesop in Greek should be suitably explained).³ In the educational programme for a boy of the nobility sketched in *The booke named the Governour* (1531), the English humanist Thomas Elyot argues more fully—with Quintilian as his pedagogical authority—in favour of using Aesop's fables as text material in the elementary teaching of Greek:

NOwe lette vs retourne to the ordre of lernyng apt for a gentyll man. wherin J am of the opinion of Quintilian/ that J wolde haue hym lerne greke & latine

¹ Grafton & Jardine, 1986, 110.

² Amelung, 1987, 15; Ballistreri, 1969, 464–465. Title according to the digitized copy in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (NUMM-70387).

³ Sturm, 1539, 24v (if not otherwise indicated, all translations from Latin in this article are mine). Cf. also Paulsen, 1919, 290–297.

autors both at one time: orels to begyn with greke/ for as moche as that it is hardest to come by [...]. [...] Nowe to folowe my purpose: after a fewe and quicke rules of grammer/ immediatly or interlasynge hit therwith/ wolde be redde to the childe/ Esopes fables in greke: in whiche argumennt children moche do delite. And surely it is a moche pleasant lesson/ & also profitable/ as well for that it is elegant & brefe (& nat withstanding it hath moche varietie in wordes/ and therwith moche helpeth to the vnderstandinge of greke) as also in those fables is included moche morall and politike wisedome.⁴

In these passages, Elyot brings forward some of the most frequently given arguments for the Aesopic fable as a genre for use in schools: fables contain a substantial vocabulary while still being short (an advantage not unimportant to young pupils); they provide useful moral lessons; they give children pleasure.⁵ Elyot's educational programme is typically humanistic, not only in its recommendation that Greek should be learned in the early years, but also in its conviction that the study of languages goes hand in hand with the further acquisition of knowledge.⁶ In Renaissance schools, the language-pedagogical function assigned to Aesop's fables was, in the ideal state of things at least, combined with a moral instructive function, as well as—despite their fictional nature—a function of offering orientation in certain factual matters; these functions were bonus effects of the dominant and methodologically more developed language teaching. Preserved testimonies from classroom practice indicate, though, that the attention paid to the texts in Greek often remained “almost exclusively linguistic”.⁷

In medieval schools, by contrast, the Aesopic fable had been an entirely Latin concern, used more or less mandatorily in elementary education in the Roman tongue. Within the school system of the Christian world, organized mainly as convent schools all over Europe, Latin was the one and only *lingua docta*, which every pupil—regardless of what vernacular he had been raised in—had to learn as a foreign language. The basic schoolbooks of the time included the Latin grammar by Donatus, the collection of proverbial wisdom known as *Disticha Catonis*, and Aesop's fables.⁸ In the Early Middle Ages, the fables were read, foremost, in the Latin distich variants by the Late Antiquity

⁴ Elyot, 1531, 30r–31r.

⁵ Cf. Woodward, 1924, 281.

⁶ Cf. Paulsen, 1919, 345.

⁷ Grafton & Jardine, 1986, 114–117 (quotation 115).

⁸ See e.g., Curtius, 1965, 58–64; Grendler, 1989, 111–114.

poet Avianus, who based his 42 Aesopic renderings on the versified Greek variants by Babrius.⁹ However, with regard to the central objectives at the lower levels of the medieval school—conveying Christian morality and teaching Latin—Avianus, gradually, appeared more and more problematic. Firstly, his fables are devoid of Christian elements; throughout the whole medieval period, this fact generated a stream of elucidating comments, constituting a subgenre of their own in the Avianus manuscripts.¹⁰ Secondly, his verse fables are linguistically complicated. “Avianus expands his Babrian material”, a modern edition points out, “often to elaborate the descriptive element with poetical diction which contains frequent echoes of Virgil or Ovid. Thus a strained, even grotesque, artificiality displaces the simple directness of Babrius”. And the editors add: “Mingled with this poetical language of a pre-Avianian age we have frequent instances of a degenerate Latin”.¹¹ For these reasons, from the tenth century onwards, Avianus was supplemented with Aesopic fables in prose, perceived as easier for beginners.¹² The prose fables being employed, usually entitled simply *Esopus*, were known as the Romulus variants, composed in the fourth or fifth century and based on the Latin verse fables by Phaedrus. In the schools of the High Middle Ages, both Aesop and Avianus were, normally, included among the *auctores minores* in the educational programme.¹³ During the thirteenth century, yet another reform took place within the school’s fable canon. To an ever greater degree, Avianus was substituted by the linguistically better adapted distich reworkings of the

⁹ “The popularity of Avianus in the schools of the Middle Ages is attested by accretions, paraphrases, scholia and quotations” (Duff & Duff, 1982, 675). According to preserved library catalogues, “liber fabularum Aviani poetae” was part of beginners’ literature in the convent schools of the mid ninth century (Glauche, 1970, 25–26). The reading of Avianus in medieval English schools is recorded by Irvine (1994, 356–357). See also Duff & Duff, 1982, 670–673.

¹⁰ Duff & Duff, 1982, 675. For fuller accounts see Wright, 2001, 8–73; Suerbaum, 2000, 393–429.

¹¹ Duff & Duff, 1982, 673–674. Weische (1977, 1103) points out that “diese Spannung von Inhalt und Gestaltung” in the fables of Avianus was not considered problematic in their reception in Late Antiquity.

¹² Glauche, 1970, 91, 93, 95.

¹³ Glauche, 1970, 124. In the canon list of 21 authors that Conrad of Hirsau, a twelfth-century teacher at a Benedictine convent school, compiles in *Dialogus super auctores*—according to Curtius (1965, 59) the list represents an established school tradition—the first two names, Donatus and Cato (*Disticha Catonis*), are followed by Aesop (“Super Hesopum”) as number three and by Avianus (“Super Avianum”) as number four (Conrad of Hirsau, 1955, 20–28 (l. 238–513)).

Romulus variants, nowadays known as *Anonymus Neveleti*, a label coined after their sixteenth-century editor Isaac Nevelet.¹⁴ This collection of 60 verse fables, probably written in the twelfth century, became a standard work in the elementary teaching of Latin and has been characterized as the “erfolgreichste Fabelsammlung” of the Middle Ages.¹⁵

As this overview suggests, medieval school lists of recommended *auctores*—this fact is more exhaustively documented by, for instance, Ernst Robert Curtius¹⁶—underwent constant revision and extension. Since the study of Latin constituted the core of education at this time, it is of no surprise that considerations of language pedagogy, more than anything else, influenced the choice of Aesopic variants for the school canon, and, hence, governed the canon’s alterations of prescribed texts. Understanding the history of Aesop’s fables in medieval schools is important if we are to arrive at a full comprehension of the genre’s role in the teaching of Greek in the Renaissance and early modern eras. Besides the fact, as pointed out by Grafton and Jardine, that there were few other Greek texts apt for teaching, the strong tradition of using fables to teach Latin in European schools, including in medieval Sweden,¹⁷ provided a pedagogical model for the new subject of Greek.

During the macro-historical epoch of early modernity—spanning, in the Swedish case, which will be my focus in this article, the period from c. 1520 to c. 1800—certain aspects of Aesopic usage in schools drastically changed, whereas others remained astonishingly stable.¹⁸ The following inquiry into the position of fable within the study of Greek in early modern Swedish schools is founded on two main groups of sources: official school regulations and the Greek fable collections for school use published in Sweden. These historical sources in some respects give concordant insights into the role of fable in early modern Greek education: to a certain degree, for instance, the domestic

¹⁴ See e.g., Wright, 1997, 16–17. Wheatley (2000, 54–55) writes: “the displacement from the grammar-school curriculum of the fables of Avianus in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the elegiac Romulus in the thirteenth century may have been a function of the fact that the author of the elegiac Romulus, educated in the grammatical precepts popular in the twelfth century, expressly incorporated many of these precepts into his work”.

¹⁵ Dicke, 1999, 1432, 1430 (quotation).

¹⁶ See e.g., Curtius, 1965, 58–64.

¹⁷ The historical source material regarding schools from the Swedish Middle Ages is scarce, but an almost complete copy of *Anonymus Neveleti* has been preserved, in a Linköping manuscript dated 1464 (Andersson-Schmitt et al., 1993, 362–364 (UUB ms C923, 48v–70v)).

¹⁸ For a detailed survey see Zillén, 2020, 50–134.

production of fable books for school use complied with the school regulations in force. In other respects, however, the two sources diverge, indicating a general lack of uniformity in the early modern school system and educational practice. Since the main sources of my investigation, inevitably, also have limitations in their reflection of the realities of historical schooling, they will, here and there, be supplemented by other relevant sources, such as local school statutes and fable collections produced abroad.

The Fable and School Regulations in Early Modern Sweden

The decisive factor governing which aspects of the Aesopic tradition in schools were altered and which retained in early modern Sweden was, to a great extent, the overall view of the importance of language study and the assessment of fable's potential as a pedagogical tool in this area. Five official school regulations adopted during the epoch—in 1571, 1611, 1649, 1693, and 1724—played a key role in this process.

Contributing to continuity was the fact that the fable maintained a strong position as a school genre. Klaus Grubmüller's general claim—"Die Verwendung der Fabel im Unterricht hat sich über mehr als zwei Jahrtausende als eine der konstantesten funktionalen Traditionen in der europäischen Literatur erwiesen"¹⁹—certainly applies to Swedish early modernity. Each one of the five school regulations states that Aesop's fables should be read at an early stage in the study of language.²⁰ Actually, in comparison to the medieval school system, the position of fable was somewhat strengthened: firstly, the early modern school regulations had legal status and were in force for all schools in the entire kingdom, and, secondly, the regulations were inspired by the educational system of German Lutheranism and its school legislation, which included a high estimation of fables as teaching aids, articulated by the confessional authorities Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon. Consequently, the Aesopic fable remained a basic element in language teaching throughout the early modern epoch, and, thus, a medieval school tradition was passed on.

¹⁹ Grubmüller, 1977, 87.

²⁰ *Then Swenska Kyrkeordningen*, 1571, 88v; Hall, 1921, 29, 50; *Kongl. May:tz Nådige Förordning*, 1693, B1v, B2r; Hall, 1922, 40, 41.

But because of the pronounced humanistic ideals that prevailed in education during this time, there were, as well, several significant changes from the earlier customs. In the teaching of Latin in general, medieval Latin had to give way to classical Latin. While texts by Roman authors were introduced onto reading lists in Swedish schools, the medieval collections of Aesop's fables were replaced by new Neo-Latin translations, normally based directly on Greek manuscripts. In the Protestant parts of Europe, two Neo-Latin fable editions attained dominance: one by the Dutch humanist and theologian Martin Dorpius, the other by the German humanist and educationalist Joachim Camerarius. Dorpius's collection was first published in 1513 and reached its final form in a 1523 edition that comprised almost 400 prose fables, whereas the collection by Camerarius first appeared in 1538 and in its enlarged 1544 edition contains more than 500 prose fables.²¹ Besides being rendered in a classicizing Latin, the fable texts in these collections have been augmented, especially in their epimyth, with references to classical authors and, particularly in the case of Camerarius, quotations in Greek. Moreover, and in contrast to medieval fable manuscripts, the collections by both Dorpius and Camerarius open with a detailed Latin *Vita Aesopi*, a biography of the Phrygian slave Aesop, who has been singled out as the inventor and founding father of the genre ever since the days of antiquity. The effects of this editorial arrangement were palpable: the fable genre came to be overtly tied to an individual author with a dramatic life story; the genre was explicitly given an origin in ancient Greece; the reader was initially offered a model of how to apply fables in specific situations.

The fable editions of Dorpius and Camerarius were comprehensive humanistic undertakings, in the latter case including some 50 pages of philological comments, and, hence, less suited for elementary language instruction. In order to better address the wishes and needs of Latin teachers, Camerarius produced a smaller fable book, especially designed for school use: *Fabellae Aesopicae Quaedam Notiores, Et In Scholis Visitatae, Partim Excerptae De Priori Editione, Partim Nunc Primum Compositae, Ad usum studiorum puerilium. A Ioachimo Camer. Pab. Cum epistola Philippi Melanchthonis de utilitate huiusmodi scriptorum* (1545). This publication at once became an early modern standard work, used in schools all over Northern Europe, and frequently reprinted and re-edited right up to the late eighteenth century.²² Thanks to its foreword by Melanchthon, which warmly praises both

²¹ Dorpius, 1523; Camerarius, 1544.

²² Rehermann, 1979, 1157.

the usefulness of fables and the purity of Camerarius's Latin,²³ the edition was granted confessional assent; it is expressly prescribed as a textbook in the first and the fifth of the early modern Swedish school regulations.²⁴ In its expanded version of 1560, the school edition contains 289 fables, all of them copied unaltered from Camerarius's larger collection. Thus, quite a few of the fable texts presented to beginners in Latin make references in their epimythos to classical literature, including Greek authors such as Aeschylus, Apollonius of Rhodes, Aristotle, Diodorus Siculus, Euripides, Herodotus, Hesiod, Homer, Menander, Plato, Sophocles, Theocritus, Theognis of Megara, and Xenophon.²⁵ In that way, the fables served the purpose of imparting factual knowledge of Greek culture to pupils. Several of the epimythos in the school edition also adduce quotations in Greek, sometimes with Latin translations, sometimes without.

A couple of text examples from Camerarius's school collection might be instructive, here quoted from Christian Daum's commented Leipzig edition of 1679. The fable about the woman and the nut-tree, *Mulier et nux*, for instance, has the following epimythos:

Fabula docet, quod in alium dicatur, audiendum etiam esse, juxta versum Homericum: Ὅπποῖον κ' εἴπησθα ἔπος, τοῖον κ' ἐπακούσῃς.²⁶

The fable teaches that what one says about another, one also has to hear oneself, which corresponds to the Homeric verse: 'Whatever word you speak, such could you hear'.

The epimythos in *Divinator*, the fable about the diviner, states:

Notantur hac fabula, qui cum ipsi perperam vivant, aliena omnia curare et corrigere oratione sua non dubitant. Simul et hoc Xenophonteum innuitur: τοὺς μάντις ἄλλοις μὲν προαγορεύειν τὸ μέλλον, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ μὴ προορᾶν ἐπιόν.²⁷

²³ Camerarius, 1545, A2r–A6v.

²⁴ *Then Swenska Kyrkeordningen*, 1571, 88v; Hall, 1922, 40.

²⁵ The authors referred to in Camerarius, 1679, e.g., nos. 42, 111, 182, 209, 208, 98, 158, 206, 286, 33, 213, 170, 239, 186.

²⁶ Camerarius, 1679, 70 (no. 152). Translation of the Greek quotation in this and the following two examples by Johanna Akujärvi.

²⁷ Camerarius, 1679, 86 (no. 186).

With this fable those are marked who, themselves living wrongly, do not hesitate to govern and correct all others with their speech. The same is also intimated by Xenophon: ‘[It is said that] prophets divine the future for others, but they do not foresee what is coming for themselves’.

The fable about the woodcutter and Mercury, *Lignator et Mercurius*, finally, in its epimyth likewise quotes a Greek author:

Fabula docet, non minus malis deos adversari, quam prodesse bonis solere, secundum hoc Sophocleum: τοὺς δὲ σώφρονας / θεοὶ φιλοῦσι καὶ στυγοῦσι τοὺς κακοῦς. Etenim probos / Amare dii solent, et odisse improbos.²⁸

The fable teaches that the gods are no less in the habit of opposing bad people than of benefitting good people, this in accordance with Sophocles: ‘The gods love the moderate ones and hate the bad ones.’ As a matter of fact, the gods usually love the decent people and hate the indecent.

Significantly, the biography of Aesop is not reproduced in Camerarius’s edition for school use; it was probably regarded as too fanciful for young boys and as, due to its length and its, partly at least, intricate plot, less practicable for language teaching. Camerarius did, however, include another text that served a similar function: the Aesop chapter in Philostratus’s *Images*, first given in a Latin translation, then in the Greek original.²⁹ Just like the biography, this short description of an artwork, which Camerarius entitled “Aesopi Pictura Exposita A Philostrato”, designates Aesop as the originator of fables and places him in ancient Greek surroundings, accompanied by Homer, Hesiod, and Archilochus. In addition, the Philostratus paratext sketches a pedagogical situation—an adult explaining the meaning of the Aesopic universe and what a child might learn from it—which schoolboys of far later generations could relate to and be motivated by in their own fable study.

All in all, Camerarius’s Neo-Latin fable book for school use, which served as teaching material in the Swedish educational system during all of the early modern epoch, firstly, stresses the Greek origin of the fable genre; secondly, by means of literary references, introduces a number of Greek authors, many of whom the pupils would become acquainted with at a later stage in their study of Greek; and, thirdly, by means of quotations, offers samples of Greek thought and wisdom in their original language. In other words, the reading of Aesopic

²⁸ Camerarius, 1679, 100 (no. 213).

²⁹ Camerarius, 1545, A6v–A8r.

fables within the early modern elementary study of Latin was—by apparent contrast with the situation in medieval schools—markedly Graecized.

A second important innovation in early modern Swedish schooling was, as I have already touched upon in the broader European context, the introduction of Greek as a regular subject, and the putting to use of Aesop’s fables in the elementary teaching of Greek. In a scholarly work on the history of the teaching of classical languages in Finland and Sweden, Ernst Lagus declares that the cathedral school in Turku, then belonging to the Kingdom of Sweden, started to teach Greek in the 1560s; in the 1580s Greek was studied at John III’s *Gymnasium regium* in the Swedish capital, as well as in elementary schools in the towns of Gävle, Kalmar, Linköping, Nyköping, and, likewise, in Stockholm. These facts imply, according to Lagus, that “grekiska språkstudier mot slutet af 1500 talet begynte erhålla fast fot uti Sverge” (the study of Greek began to gain a firm footing in Sweden towards the end of the sixteenth century).³⁰

As reflected in the school regulations, though, the incorporation of the new subject into the educational programme was a rather slow process. The regulations of 1571 include no other language than Latin in the timetable and state that anyone who wants to learn “annor tungomål Grekesko eller Hebraisko” (another language, Greek or Hebrew) has to “sielff ther til besöria sigh *Praeceptores*” (find teachers himself for this purpose).³¹ Only with the school regulations of 1611 was Greek introduced as mandatory subject: the study of Greek was to begin in the third form—as before, Latin was taught from the second form. As pointed out by school historians, the study of the new subject was conditioned by the school system’s orientation towards the education of priests.³² Lagus comments on the school law of 1611: “I själfva värdet hade denna skolordning upptagit mycket af det bästa af samtidens idéer på pedagogikens område, icke blott hvad beträffar anordningen af kurserna i de klassiska språken” (In actual fact, these school regulations had included many of the best contemporary ideas in the field of pedagogy, not only the ones concerning the arrangement of courses in classical languages), even though, he adds, “humanismen i densamma ännu till stor del gick kyrkans—om man så vill reformationens—ären” (the humanism in the regulations

³⁰ Lagus, 1890, 9, 14 (all translations from Swedish in this article are mine). See also Brandell, 1931, 330–331, and, for a more recent historical overview of the study of Greek in Swedish schools and universities, Akujärvi, 2022, 254–259.

³¹ *Then Swenska Kyrkeordningen*, 1571, 84v.

³² See e.g., Richardson, 2010, 27.

was still largely the tool of the church—or, if you like, of the Reformation).³³ In the 1611 regulations, Aesop's fables are kept as teaching material for second-form beginners in Latin and not mentioned as part of the syllabus for third-form beginners in Greek.

The detailed school regulations of 1649, often referred to as Queen Christina's school regulations, also prescribe the study of Greek from the third form. And here, for the first time in a Swedish document of this official kind, Aesop's fables are introduced as school texts within the study of Greek, though not for the third-form beginners but for the pupils in the fourth form. Interestingly enough, the school law of 1649 does not stipulate the reading of fables within the study of Latin. This could be interpreted as a manifestation of an even stronger demand for classicality: Aesop's fables should not be studied in Neo-Latin translations but directly in Greek. The transfer of the fable material from Latin lessons to Greek lessons implied, firstly, a return of the genre to its linguistic and literary provenance. The fables were now, in Sweden as well, taught in their original language, even if the school editions, unsurprisingly, had revised and adapted the renderings according to didactic goals and the target age group. And the fables were—if not explicitly in lectures on literary history, at least by virtue of their linguistic form—situated in the historical and cultural context of ancient Greece. Secondly, the switching of languages had the result that the fable genre was surrounded by different syllabus texts. Whereas the fables in the teaching of Latin had been read along with, according to the regulations of 1571, Neo-Latin dialogues by humanists such as Erasmus, or, according to the regulations of 1611, letters by Roman authors such as Cicero, the Aesopic stories now appeared in a new textual environment, dominated by passages from the New Testament: the Epistles of Paul to Titus and to the Ephesians, as well as the Gospel texts of Sunday services.³⁴ In compliance with the regulations of 1649, the study of Greek was strongly tied to theology: secular Greek was pushed into the background by biblical Greek.³⁵ For the Aesopic genre, the consequence was twofold. On the one hand, the fables, due especially to their many anthropomorphized animal characters who appear in peculiar and concrete situations, created an apparent contrast to the message of the New Testament. On the other hand, the intentional incorporation of fables into the biblical-Christian context underscored the affinity between Aesopic narrations and gospel parables, and

³³ Lagus, 1890, 23–24.

³⁴ Hall, 1921, 68.

³⁵ See e.g., Lagus, 1890, 43; Brandell, 1931a, 306.

the fables to an even greater degree stood out as possible subjects of exegesis. Thirdly, the transfer from Latin to Greek led to a moving up of the fables to an older age group: from schoolboys in the second form to those in the fourth form. The Aesopic genre no longer had as its primary task the elementary training of reading ability and grammar acquisition but played in a higher division and made heavier philological demands on the pupils. As for the understanding of the moral problems posed in the fables, the older boys, it can be assumed, were more receptive thanks to their larger reflective capacity and greater maturity.

In the Swedish school regulations of 1693 and of 1724, Greek, continuously, is stipulated as a mandatory subject, taught from the third form onwards.³⁶ However, Aesop's fables are no longer included in the Greek syllabus but exclusively prescribed, just as in the regulations of 1571 and of 1611, for Latin education. In this crucial aspect, the conditions for the fable as a school genre, thus, returned to the situation before 1649. One distinct change, though, in the regulations both of 1693 and of 1724 is that whereas Latin prose renderings are recommended for beginners in the second form, Phaedrus's Latin verse fables—after their rediscovery and with the 1596 *editio princeps* successively gaining large popularity as a school text—are to be used at the more advanced level of the fourth form.³⁷

Judging from the five school regulations, one might get the impression that Aesop's fables were read solely within the study of Latin until 1649, then solely within the study of Greek during the period 1649–93, and after 1693 once more solely within the study of Latin. These somewhat schematic conclusions raise an essential question: To what degree were the officially adopted school regulations implemented in pedagogical practice? It is improbable that the decree in the regulations of 1649, prescribing fables exclusively for the study of Greek, should have completely cancelled the role of fables in the study of Latin. Supplementary seventeenth-century sources might stand us in good stead here. Several local school statutes written after 1649 but before 1693, for example in the parishes of Stora Tuna and of Frösö, provide for the use of Aesop's fables as text material in the teaching of Latin.³⁸ In smaller elementary schools that could not afford a teacher in Greek, fables, most likely, were used in the teaching of Latin during the second part of the century as well. It also seems quite possible that schools that did offer Greek

³⁶ *Kongl. May:tz Nådige Förordning*, 1693, B2r; Hall, 1922, 41, 42–43.

³⁷ *Kongl. May:tz Nådige Förordning*, 1693, B2r; Hall, 1922, 42.

³⁸ Hall, 1912, 157, 158; Hasselberg, 1935, 289–290.

education made use of fables partly in the Latin lessons for the lower forms and partly in the Greek lessons for the slightly higher forms, even though this failed to correspond with the official regulations in force. School historian Georg Brandell emphasizes that there was a large degree of inertia in the early modern educational system and that new pedagogical ideas had difficulties in becoming accepted: “Vid undervisningsarbetet hade ända från medeltiden en bestämd praxis utbildat sig, och dessa metoder övertogos av varje ny lärargeneration” (In the classroom teaching a settled practice had developed right from the Middle Ages, and these methods were taken over by every new generation of teachers).³⁹

By analogy, it can be assumed that fables were used in the teaching of Greek before 1649 as well as after 1693. Greek was recommended as school subject at the Uppsala Synod in 1595 and became mandatory with the school regulations of 1611. Other school documents from the first half of the seventeenth century testify that Aesop’s fables were regarded as appropriate text material within the study of Greek. For instance, the curricula in place between 1626 and 1629 at the *Collegium illustre*, a school for boys of the nobility in Stockholm, state as one entry in the syllabus for the fifth form: “Fabellae Aesopicae Graecè”.⁴⁰ In the two drafts of new school regulations drawn up in 1637, one by Uppsala University Senate, the other by the clergy, Aesop’s fables are proposed as reading material in the study of Latin as well as of Greek.⁴¹ The model of using fable to teach languages was explicitly expressed in the two 1637 documents—fables should be read in Latin in the lower forms and in Greek in the slightly higher forms—and probably characterized pedagogical practice in many schools even after 1649 and, maybe, also the decades before 1649. Furthermore, it seems very likely, although neither the regulations of 1693 nor those of 1724 require this to be done, that Aesopic fables were used in the study of Greek well after 1693, an assumption confirmed by the fact that Greek fable editions for school use were published in Sweden in the eighteenth century.

As already indicated, from the humanist point of view, a reason given for studying Aesop’s fables in Greek rather than in Latin was that Greek was the original language of the classical fables and the Latin fable variants used in early modern schools—with Phaedrus’s as the splendid exception—were later, Neo-Latin translations from Greek. In pedagogical practice, though, the two

³⁹ Brandell, 1931a, 405–406.

⁴⁰ Johannes Matthiae, 1636, C4r.

⁴¹ Thyselius, 1848, 46, 49, 56, 59.

languages were in several respects placed in an inverted relationship to one another. The German school historian Friedrich Paulsen has given an apt characterization of the Greek education in early modern school:

Von hier aus ist nun der griechische Schulbetrieb zu verstehen. Er gleicht, wie gesagt, dem lateinischen. [...] Nach dem etwa in einem halben Jahr das Lesen und die ersten Elemente der Formenlehre gelernt sind, gibt man den Knaben Texte in die Hand, im ersten Vierteljahr die Fabeln Aesops, im zweiten Demosthenes' olympische Reden.⁴²

As a school subject, Latin functioned as the norm; to a great extent, the reading of fables in Greek was a consequence of the fact that methods and aims from Latin teaching were transferred to Greek teaching. Just as the study of Latin was governed by the ambition to impart to the pupils an ability to actively master Latin eloquence, the study of Greek was designed as if the goal were the capability of using the language verbally and in writing. Like the fable editions in Latin, the editions in Greek fulfilled the function of a chrestomathy: a collection of texts intended for language-teaching purposes. And by analogy with the Latin fable texts, the Greek ones were used for drills in vocabulary, for training in declensions, moods, and aspects, for exercises in constructions and idiomatic expressions, for dictation, translation, and paraphrasing.

The Swedish school regulations of 1649 elaborate a detailed, five-step model for language exercises.⁴³ In the first step, the teacher presents, linguistically accounts for, and translates a selected text passage. In the second step, the procedure is repeated—as a rule, early modern pedagogy was based on repetition and learning by heart. The third step requests the schoolboys to be active by having them, in a loud voice, explain the entire text passage to their fellow pupils. The fourth step makes greater demands on the pupils' comprehension, involving questioning them on the most difficult linguistic elements in the passage. In the fifth and final step of the model, the boys, by means of cross-examination, are called to display all their acquired knowledge of the text passage. This model, founded on the conviction that everyone should learn everything, was designed primarily for the lower forms of the elementary school but applies—it is declared—also to those higher forms where pupils read “*Fabulas Aesopi*” in Greek.

As a whole, the use of Aesopic texts within the teaching of Greek in Swedish schools was based on the premises and conditions of Latin education and its

⁴² Paulsen, 1919, 377.

⁴³ Hall, 1921, 100, 102.

time-honoured didactic usage of fables. This pattern connects to a more general imbalance within the early modern educational system between the two classical languages, leading Grafton and Jardine to conclude their chapter on the new school subject with the assertion that “Greek learning was [...] adapted to fill the needs of a predominantly Latin culture”.⁴⁴

It should be added that the fable held special position within the teaching of rhetoric in early modern schools, since fable was one of the initial exercise genres in the ancient Greek progymnasmata programme. Of the different progymnasmata handbooks, the one by Aphthonius had, from the fifteenth century onwards, the greatest influence in European schools.⁴⁵ Treating the fable as the very first exercise genre, Aphthonius presents a definition of fable, which is rather a genre description, followed by an “Exemplum Fabulae”: the fable about the cicadas and the ants.⁴⁶

Of decided importance for the early modern Swedish reception of the progymnasmata in their original language was the Greek-Latin collection edited by Johannes Schefferus and published in Uppsala in 1670: *Aphthonii Sophistae Progymnasmata. Item Theonis Sophistae Progymnasmata. Accedunt Prisciani Praeexercitamenta Rhetorica*.⁴⁷ In the Swedish school regulations, the term *progymnasmata* occurs only a few times: in the regulations of 1649 and of 1724.⁴⁸ However, as Stina Hansson has made clear, the *exercitia stili* frequently mentioned in the early modern school laws to a great extent corresponded to the classical progymnasmata exercises.⁴⁹ But as Hansson also emphasizes, these style exercises seem to have been performed mainly—or solely—in Latin.⁵⁰ In the school regulations of 1724, it is distinctly stated that “Lector Eloquentiae”—that is, the Latin teacher in the *gymnasium*—“begynner af the lättare och går sedan til de swårare Progymnasmata, til hwilkas utarbetande gifwes Disciplarne små Dispositioner” (begins with the easier and then continues with the more difficult progymnasmata, to the elaboration of which the pupils are given small outlines).⁵¹ With the exception of short

⁴⁴ Grafton & Jardine, 1986, 121.

⁴⁵ See Kraus, 2003, 80–111.

⁴⁶ Schefferus, 1670, 1–2.

⁴⁷ Cf. Ekedahl, 2003, 138–172.

⁴⁸ Hall, 1921, 103; Hall, 1922, 47.

⁴⁹ Hansson, 2003, 175–177, 184–190.

⁵⁰ Hansson, 2003, e.g., 177, 184.

⁵¹ Hall, 1922, 47.

quotations in Greek, the two schoolbooks produced by Schefferus prior to his bilingual edition of Aphonius in 1670, both of which include writing exercises based on the progymnasmata programme, are monolingually Latin: *De stylo exercitiisqve ejus, ad consevitudinem veterum liber singlaris* (1652–53) and *Gymnasium styli, sev de vario scribendi exercitio liber singlaris* (1657).⁵² By all appearances—even though the empirical material does not allow any conclusive inferences to be made—the fable as a pronounced progymnasmatic exercise genre at a rather modest scale, if at all, became a part of Greek education in early modern Swedish schools.

Fable Books in Greek for School Use in Early Modern Sweden

With the school regulations of 1611, Greek was introduced as mandatory subject in Swedish elementary schools. However, a problem complicating Greek education, not only in Scandinavia, was the scarcity of printed textbooks.⁵³ To a large extent, this was shaped by the fact that the production of print sets with the Greek alphabet was both difficult and expensive. When the school regulations of 1649 prescribed that Aesop’s fables should be read within the study of Greek in the fourth form, no fable collection in Greek had yet been printed in Sweden. For the time being, the school system had to rely on imported fable editions in the Greek language. Queen Christina’s regulations conclude with a list of sanctioned schoolbooks to be used and produced within the country, including information on the towns in which the books were to be printed and sold; in the case of books intended for the teaching of Greek, one of them being “*Fabulae Aesopi*”, the towns specified were Uppsala and Stockholm.⁵⁴ Whether due to the technical challenges involved in printing or on financial grounds, no fable collection in Greek was published in either Uppsala or Stockholm before 1800.

In 1669, however, an Aesopic collection in Greek saw the light of day within the kingdom, although it was printed in Turku: *ΜΥΘΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΣΩΠΙΟΥ ΕΚΑΕΚΤΟΙ, Ἑλληνηστί καὶ Ῥωμαιστί. Fabulae Aesopi Selectae Graecè et*

⁵² Ekedahl, 2003, 139. The *Gymnasium styli* is prescribed in the school regulations of 1693 (*Kongl. May:tz Nådige Förordning*, 1693, B3v).

⁵³ Cf. e.g., Paulsen, 1919, 372–382 (“Vor allem fehlte es an Editionen”, p. 372).

⁵⁴ Hall, 1921, 186–189.

Latinè. In usum Scholarum Trivialium, Magni Ducatus Finlandiae Editae. This edition came into existence because of the new fable prescriptions in the 1649 school law; the delay of 20 years illustrates the difficult conditions governing the production of schoolbooks in seventeenth-century Sweden. The Turku fable collection holds a pioneering position also by virtue of being the first work in secular Greek printed in Finland.⁵⁵ Like so many products from the printing house of bishop Johannes Gezelius the elder, a former professor in Greek at the university of Tartu, the fable volume was prepared by the bishop himself.⁵⁶ During his time in office from 1664 onwards, Gezelius made important contributions not only to the study of classical languages but to the educational system at large. An explicit object of his printing house was to provide schools in both the diocese and the country with less expensive, domestically made textbooks.⁵⁷ The bilingual fable collection *ΜΥΘΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΣΩΠΟΥ ΕΚΛΕΚΤΟΙ, Ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ Ῥωμαιστὶ* was one of the first books produced by Gezelius's printing house, established in 1668—undeniably a striking parallel to the priorities of the Milan publisher Bonus Accursius some two centuries earlier.

The bilingual concept implies that the Turku edition's 39 fable texts in Greek have all been supplemented with Latin translations; the Greek prose text is placed in the left-hand column of the page, the prose translation in the right-hand column. As a matter of fact, the bilingualism of the collection was an infringement of the pedagogical directive in force, unambiguously formulated in the school regulations of 1649: textbooks in the classical languages should be monolingual.⁵⁸ This significant deviation from prevailing school law could, reasonably, be explained by the circumstance that the 1669 fable edition was not an original product from Turku but—as so often in early modern Sweden—a reproduction of a schoolbook from abroad. As was also usually the case, the fable collection contains no references to sources.⁵⁹ Most probably, though, Gezelius used a Dutch school edition as a model, *Fabulae Aesopi Graecè et Latinè, Nunc Denuo Selectae*, in either its Leiden printing of 1632 or its Amsterdam printing of 1653. In its first part, this omnibus book volume,

⁵⁵ Lagus, 1890, 38.

⁵⁶ Mustelin, 1967–69, 101.

⁵⁷ See e.g., Gardberg, 1948, esp. 184–187; Nohrström, 1933, 43–66.

⁵⁸ Hall, 1921, 94.

⁵⁹ There is, likewise, no information about sources in either Gezelius's own *Index librorum et tractatum* (1689) or Jacob Tengström's catalogue of publications in *Biskopen i Åbo stift Johan Gezelii den äldres Minne* (1825), 246–317.

explicitly intended for “usum Scholarum”, contains 40 Aesopic fables in Greek with Latin translations.⁶⁰ In comparison with the nearly 300 fables in Camerarius’s Latin school edition, this amount might appear meagre. But presumably, it was estimated to be sufficient for one school year of language exercises in Greek. In the trilingual school edition *Aesopi Fabulae Gallicae, Graecae, Latinae* (1641) by Jean Meslier, which announces itself as offering a new method for the study of Greek (*Vna Cvm Scholiis in contextum Graecum noua methodo et faciliori quàm antea conscriptis*), the selection of exactly 40 fables, all of them drawn from Meslier’s larger Paris edition of 1629, is justified by the argument that these fables “sont celles-là mesmes qui se lisent ordinairement dans les classes”.⁶¹

Of the 40 fables in the Dutch school edition, Gezelius reproduced numbers 1–39 in exactly the same order and with exactly the same wording. On the other hand, he excluded the last fable about the woodcutter and Hermes, ΕΥΛΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ καὶ ΕΡΜΗΣ.⁶² This was hardly the result of censorship on the part of the Swedish bishop. The fable about the honest woodcutter is, in all respects, morally edifying: after having lost his axe in the river, the woodcutter humbly declines first the golden axe, then the silver axe offered to him by Hermes, and, finally, gets his own iron axe back, and, in addition, receives the other two axes as a gift. This fable type was actually very popular and, as already mentioned, was included in Camerarius’s Latin edition for school use; moreover, it existed in a vernacular variant in the first Aesopic collection in Swedish, *Hundrade Esopi Fabler* (1603).⁶³ Gezelius’s decision to exclude the model’s last fable must have been made on other grounds, probably to save space or for economic reasons. His edition was printed in octavo format and comprises 40 pages: that is, 2 ½ sheets of paper at 16 pages. Due to the short supply of paper, printing houses often saved empty half-sheets for use on later occasions; by omitting ΕΥΛΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ καὶ ΕΡΜΗΣ, Gezelius gained one half-sheet on every copy of the fable book.⁶⁴ Probably, it was for similar reasons—the need to economize or the limitations of printing technology—that he refrained from reproducing the woodcuts in the Dutch edition. As a matter of fact, this stands out as a pattern in early modern Swedish fable

⁶⁰ *Fabulae Aesopi Graecè et Latinè, Nunc Denuo Selectae*, 1632.

⁶¹ Meslier, 1641, title page, 4.

⁶² *Fabulae Aesopi Graecè et Latinè, Nunc Denuo Selectae*, 1632, 78–80.

⁶³ Camerarius, 1545, 128–130 (“Lignator et Mercvrius”); *Hundrade Esopi Fabler*, 1603, 191–194 (“Om Bonden och Mercurio”).

⁶⁴ Cf. e.g., Jacobsson, 2003, 56.

reception. With two exceptions, both from the eighteenth century, all Aesopic collections printed in Sweden before 1800 are devoid of illustrations.⁶⁵

As a text example from Gezelius's 1669 school edition I have chosen the fourth fable about the old man and death:

ΓΕΡΩΝ καὶ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ.

Γέρων ποτὲ ξύλα κόψας, καὶ ταῦτα φέρων, πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἐβάδιζε, καὶ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν κόπον ἀποθέμενος ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ τὸν φόρτον, τὸν θάνατον ἐπεκαλεῖτο. τοῦ δὲ θανάτου παριόντος, καὶ πυνθανομένου τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν αὐτὸν ἐκάλει, δειλιάσας ὁ γέρων, ἔφη· ἵνα μου τὸν φόρτον ἄρῃς.

ΕΠΙΜΥΘΙΟΝ.

Ὁ μῦθος δηλοῖ, ὅτι πᾶς ἄνθρωπος φιλόζωος, εἰ καὶ δυστυχεῖ καὶ πτωχός ἐστι.⁶⁶

An old man and death.

An old man, who once had chopped wood and was carrying it, walked a long distance. Due to the hard effort he put down the burden on a place and summoned death. When death came forth and asked why he had been called, the old man became afraid and said: 'In order for you to lift up my burden.'

Epimyth.

The fable shows that every human being loves life, even if he is unfortunate and poor.

As far as content goes, the Latin translation in the right-hand column aligns itself very closely with the Greek text:

SENEX et MORS.

Senex olim incisa à se ligna ferens, multam ibat viam, nimioque prae labore, deposito in loco quodam onere, Mortem invocabat. Verum Mors cum accederet causamque, ob quam vocaret se, exquireret, timore subito correptus senex, Ut meum onus, inquit, tollas.

AFFABULATIO.

Fabula significat, omnem hominem amare vitam, infelix licet et mendicus fit.

The old man and death.

An old man who once carried the wood he had chopped walked a long way,

⁶⁵ The exceptions are: Eklund, 1744, and Kiellberg, 1773–74.

⁶⁶ Gezelius, 1669, 7. The translations of this and the two following fable variants in Greek have been produced in co-operation with Johanna Akujärvi.

and, due to the huge effort, put down the load on a certain place and called death. But when death came near and asked why he had called him, the old man suddenly was caught by fear and said: ‘So that you can lift up my load.’

Epimyth.

The fable means that every human being loves life, even if he gets unhappy and poor.

For the pupils in elementary school, the Latin text functioned as a linguistic key to the Greek fable: it facilitated a faster overall understanding of the narration and epimyth, as well as a faster deciphering of individual words and constructions. Even if the syntactic structure, as in this case, might differ in several respects between the two texts, Latin constituted the well-known code, with the help of which the less familiar Greek was approached. The Turku fable collection was published in a second, unaltered edition in 1688. This fact indicates that the bilingual method was considered appropriate and affirms that Aesop’s fables managed to establish themselves as a permanent part of the syllabus in the elementary teaching of Greek in Sweden during the second half of the seventeenth century.

Gezelius’s fable edition continued to play a role in schoolbook production in eighteenth-century Sweden, though not in its original Greek-Latin format but in a simplified monolingual version. In 1707, the Stockholm printer Olaus Enaeus published the volume *Fabulae Aesopi Selectae purè Latinè. In usum Scholarum Trivialium Sueciae Editae*. As usual, the edition lacks information about its text sources. However, no profound investigation is needed to certify that the collection reproduces the 39 Latin fable variants from the Turku edition and presents them in exactly the same order. Hence, in 1707, the Greek-Latin schoolbook of 1669/1688—possibly because the school regulations of 1693 do not prescribe Aesop’s fables as part of the syllabus in Greek—was reduced to a collection wholly in Latin. In the eighteenth century, this monolingual schoolbook was issued in four additional editions by three different printers.⁶⁷ All of these four editions were published after the ratification of the 1724 school regulations, which also lack directions for the study of fables in Greek. The one-language set-up gave the 39 fable texts in Latin a distinctly different function; in the bilingual edition, they played the part of supporting texts in the teaching of Greek, whereas now they became base texts in the teaching of Latin. To serve this new purpose, the fables

⁶⁷ In 1727, an edition was published by Johan Henrik Werner in Stockholm, in 1756 and 1767 new editions were issued by Johan Laurentius Horn in Västerås, and in 1764 an edition was published by Johan Christopher Frenckell in Turku.

underwent no textual changes at all, apart from marginal typographic retouches. The refunctioning implied that the 39 Latin prose fables were liberated from their tasks within the study of Greek; the succession of five unilingual editions in total—published in 1707, 1727, 1756, 1764, and 1767—mirrors the much stronger position of the Latin language as a school subject.

During the eighteenth century, the role of fables in Greek in the history of Swedish schoolbooks had times of recession as well as of prosperity. As already commented on, the two school regulations in force in this century—the first for the period 1693–1724, the second for the period 1724–1807—do not prescribe the reading of Aesop’s fables within the study of Greek. The transformation of Gezelius’s Greek-Latin fable collection into a monolingual Latin edition reflects a decline of the genre’s position in the teaching of Greek, and maybe a decline of Greek education more broadly. However, towards the middle of the century, an ambitious unilingual Greek fable edition for school use was published in Linköping: *Fabulae Aesopicae In usum praelectionum publicarum In Gymnasio Lincopiensi, editae Anno 1742*. The volume contains 158 prose fables. The eighth fable goes:

Γέρων καὶ Θάνατος.

Γέρων ποτὲ ξύλα τεμὼν ἐξ ὄρους κἀπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἀράμενος, ἐπειδὴ πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἐπηχθισμένος ἐβάδισεν, ἀπειρηκῶς ἀπέθετό τε τὰ ξύλα, καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἐλθεῖν ἐπεκαλεῖτο. τοῦ δὲ θανάτου εὐθύς ἐπιστάντος, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν πυνθανομένου, δι’ ἣν αὐτὸν καλοῖη, ὁ γέρων ἔφη, ἵνα τὸν φόρτον τοῦτον ἄρας ἐπιθῆς μοι.⁶⁸

An old man and death.

Once when an old man, who had chopped wood on the mountain and lifted it up on his shoulders, had walked a long way with the burden, he wearily put down the wood and summoned death to come. As death immediately stood at his side and asked for the reason why he had summoned him, the old man said: “In order for you to lift this burden and put it on me.”

In comparison with the Turku variant of this fable type, a few differences in content can be observed. There is no information about where the old man puts down his load or about him getting scared when death appears, whereas other facts have been added: the wood chopping has taken place on the mountain (ἐξ ὄρους) and death shows up immediately (εὐθύς). The most substantial addition is found in the direct speech. Since death is asked not only to lift the load of wood but also to put it on the old man (ἐπιθῆς μοι), the overriding message of

⁶⁸ *Fabulae Aesopicae*, 1742, A2v.

the fable—that human beings have an inextinguishable desire to go on living—is intensified.

The Linköping edition lacks paratextual specifications of sources and language-pedagogical intentions. However, more distinctly than in the earlier collection by Gezelius, its fable material displays a stylistic ambition to follow Attic patterns. Most likely, the source text used was Johann Gottfried Hauptmann's *ΜΥΘΩΝ ΑΙΣΩΠΕΙΩΝ ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ. Fabularum Aesopiarum Collectio, Quotquot Graece Reperiuntur. Accedit Interpretatio Latina*, containing 361 prose fables in Greek along with Latin renderings. This influential bilingual edition, published in Leipzig in 1741, inspired the production of the somewhat smaller, unilingual schoolbook in the Swedish diocesan capital within just a year. The 158 fable narrations of the 1742 edition very closely follow Hauptmann's variants, sometimes, though, in slightly abbreviated shape; in the case of Γέρων καὶ Θάνατος no discrepancies can be noted.⁶⁹ A somewhat surprising divergence, however, is that the epimythos of the Leipzig edition have been omitted not solely in the fable about the old man and death but throughout. The issue of a second, unaltered edition in 1764—*Fabulae Aesopicae In usum praelectionum publicarum In Gymnasio Lincopiensi, primum An. 1742, iterum 1764 editae*—suggests that the demand for fables in Greek did not weaken after the middle of the century. Neither did the lack of epimythos, by all appearances, call into question the usefulness of the Linköping edition as a schoolbook. It is even possible that the pupils were given the exercise of completing the fables by adding suitable morals.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a second fable collection in Greek for school use was produced in Sweden: *Fabulae Aesopicae Graece*, printed in the university town of Lund in 1787. Responsible for the voluminous text edition was Jöns Olsson, whereas his colleague Peter Julius Appelberg—both teachers, *docentes*, at Lund University at the time⁷⁰—had put together some 90 pages of a Greek-Latin glossary. As a motto, the editors had chosen a tribute to the genius of Aesop from the epilogue in Phaedrus's second book:

Aesopo ingentem statuam posuere Attici,
Servumque collocarunt aeterna in basi;
Patere honoris scirent ut cuncti viam,
Nec generi tribui sed virtuti gloriam.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Hauptmann, 1741, 17 (no. 20).

⁷⁰ Weibull & Tegnér, 1868, 376, 96.

⁷¹ Olsson, 1787, title page.

The Athenians set up a statue in honour of the gifted Aesop, and by so doing placed a slave on a pedestal of everlasting fame, that all men might know that the path of honour lies open and that glory is awarded not according to birth, but according to merit.⁷²

The edition has also a short and informative preface in Latin:

In usum Lectissimae Juventutis Scanensis, textum hunc Graecum, cujus ope pulcerrimae linguae sibi adquirant cognitionem, ex Aesopicis Fabulis decerptum, propriis typis impensisque Typographus Carolinae nostrae rogatus excussit; Cui vocum clavem Praecl. ad hanc Academiam Docens D. PETRUS JUL. APPELBERG in gratiam Tironum subjunxit. Ne vero mendae, quemadmodum haud raro sit, deformarent libellum, quantum per severiora negotia licuit, Vir Praecl. D. Magister Docens JÖNS OLSSON fida manu curavit. Vale!⁷³

For the use of the most excellent Scanian youth, the printer of our Caroline university—on request, with special types and at his own expense—has produced this Greek text, taken from the Aesopic fables. With the aid of the Greek text, to which the esteemed teacher at the academy here Peter Julius Appelberg has appended a word list for the sake of beginners, the youth may acquire knowledge about this most glorious language. To the extent it has been possible because of more serious tasks, the esteemed teacher Jöns Olsson has reliably taken care that inaccuracies, as is often the case, certainly do not distort the book. Farewell!

After some time—the university printer Christian Fredrik Berling admitted in a newspaper announcement—“öfwer 400:de Defecter” (more than 400 errors) were, somewhat ironically, discovered in Appelberg’s glossary.⁷⁴ As this incident discloses, an unsatisfactory command of Greek even at the university level might not have been that rare.⁷⁵ In this case, it gave a local headmaster occasion to separately publish a supplementary 16-page vocabulary in 1791.⁷⁶

⁷² Perry, 1965, 247, 249.

⁷³ Olsson, 1787, “Lect. Ben. Sal.” (unnumbered preface).

⁷⁴ Berling, 1791, 88 (no. 11).

⁷⁵ Cf. Akujärvi, 2022, 278.

⁷⁶ The supplement (Lundborg, 1791) is entitled: *Vocabula, quae in priori Analysis deficiunt, inter docendum sequentia observavit, collegit et in usum Scholarum imprimenda curavit apud Lundenses Rector Scholae Paul Lundborg.*

The Lund volume contains 257 prose fables in Greek. The larger collection they have been taken from, the “ex Aesopicis Fabulis” of the preface, is Hauptmann’s edition. In contrast to his anonymous colleague in Linköping, Olsson has reproduced the Hauptmann variants in their entirety. The fable about the old man and death has been placed as number 15 and reads:

Γέρων καὶ Θάνατος.

Γέρων ποτὲ ξύλα τεμῶν ἐξ ὄρους κἀπὶ τῶν ὄμων ἀράμενος, ἐπειδὴ πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἐπηθισμένος ἐβάδισεν, ἀπειρηκῶς ἀπέθετό τε τὰ ξύλα, καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἐλθεῖν ἐπεκαλεῖτο. τοῦ δὲ θανάτου εὐθὺς ἐπιστάντος, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν πυνθανομένου δι’ ἣν αὐτὸν καλοίη· ὁ γέρων ἔφη, ἵνα τὸν φόρτον τοῦτον ἄρας ἐπιθῆς μοι.

Ὁ μῦθος δηλοῖ ὅτι πᾶς ἄνθρωπος φιλόζωος ὢν, κἄν μυρίοις κινδύνοις περιπεσὼν δοκῆ θανάτου ἐπιθυμεῖν, ὅμως τὸ ζῆν πολὺ πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου αἰρεῖται.⁷⁷

An old man and death.

Once when an old man, who had chopped wood on the mountain and lifted it up on his shoulders, had walked a long way with the burden, he wearily put down the wood and summoned death to come. As death immediately stood at his side and asked for the reason why he had summoned him, the old man said: “In order for you to lift this burden and put it on me.”

The fable shows that since every human being loves life, she chooses much rather to live than to die, even if she thinks that she longs for death when caught in countless dangers.

In its wording, the fable narration is identical to the printing in the Linköping edition. In the edition from Lund, however, the narration is followed by an epimyth, exactly the same as in Hauptmann’s variant.⁷⁸ Syntactically complicated, the epimyth—with a certain circumstantiality but also with greater psychological refinement—expresses the same basic idea as the moral in the 1669 Turku variant: Ὁ μῦθος δηλοῖ, ὅτι πᾶς ἄνθρωπος φιλόζωος, εἰ καὶ δυστυχεῖ καὶ πτωχός ἐστι (The fable shows that every human being loves life, even if she is unfortunate and poor).

Judging from the “Avertissement” of the university printer, *Fabulae Aesopicae Graece* as a book project was considered in line with the school

⁷⁷ Olsson, 1787, 8.

⁷⁸ Hauptmann, 1741, 17 (no. 20).

policy advocated by the highest authorities in late eighteenth-century Sweden. Berling writes:

Wid slutet af år 1787 utkom här från Trycket Fabulä Äsopicä. Denna bok skal i kraft af Högwördigste Herr Biskopens, Pro-Cancellerens, uti Swenska Academien en af de Aderton, samt Commendeurens af Konglige Nordstjerne Orden, Herr Doctor Olavi Celsii Nit om det Publika Jnformations-werket i Skåne och Blekinge, såsom den första, sättas Schol-Ungdomen i händerna til lärande af Grekiska Språket, och deß tydning både på de Lärdas och eget Moders mål.⁷⁹

At the end of the year 1787, *Aesopic fables* was issued by the press here. By force of the zeal for public education in Scania and Blekinge shown by Lord Bishop Doctor Olof Celsius, Vice-chancellor of the university, one of the eighteen in the Swedish Academy and Commander of the Royal Order of the Polar Star, this book shall as the first be put in the hands of schoolchildren for the sake of learning the Greek language and its interpretation in the tongue of scholars as well as in their own mother tongue.

Two pieces of information in this “Avertiðement” might be regarded as equally essential. Firstly, the fact that the fable volume, apparently, was intended for use by beginners in Greek. Secondly, the idea that pupils ought to learn Greek not only by means of Latin, “de Lärdas [...] mål” (the tongue of scholars), a matter of course when Gezelius in 1669 published his Greek-Latin fable edition, but also by means of Swedish, their native language, a standpoint indicating a changed way of thinking on language didactics during the eighteenth century.

Summary

This examination of the interconnections between the Aesopic fable and the study of Greek in early modern Swedish schools has—to sum up—been based on two main groups of sources: the period’s official school regulations and the Greek fable collections for school use produced in early modern Sweden. Additional historical sources of relevance have been considered as well, especially the most important Aesopic school edition in Latin. As a conclusion, it would be possible to argue that the reading of fables in early modern Swedish schools underwent a Graecization in two steps. Firstly, Camerarius’s fable

⁷⁹ Berling, 1791, 88.

collection, imposed by school regulations and used in the teaching of Latin during the entire early modern epoch, explicitly, and in contrast to medieval school practice, places the Aesopic genre within a Greek context by stressing its Greek origin, referring to Greek authors, and quoting Greek words of wisdom in the original language. Secondly, in accordance with the school regulations of 1649 and their increased demand for classicality, the fable as a school genre was transferred from the teaching of Latin to the teaching of Greek. Editions and reprints of fable collections in Greek published within the country from 1669 to the late eighteenth century confirm the continued importance of the Aesopic genre to elementary Greek education. However, as my investigation has also evidenced, the Graecization of fable as a school genre was neither consistent nor complete and experienced retrogressions. For instance, in the teaching of Latin, other fable collections than the one by Camerarius were read, most of them devoid of Greek elements.⁸⁰ And the school regulations of 1693 and of 1724 did not comply with the innovative prescription in Queen Christina's school law; instead, they returned to the former custom of directing fable reading exclusively within the study of Latin. Of the classical languages, Latin, during the entire early modern epoch, was the strongest school subject and functioned as a pedagogical norm. In contrast to the use made of the Aesopic genre within the teaching of Latin, the reading of fables in Greek in early modern Swedish schools stands out as secondary and imitative.

As an epilogue it might be added that the school regulations of 1807, *Kongl. Maj:ts Förnyade Nådiga Scholae-Ordning*, is the very first Swedish school law that does not explicitly prescribe the use of Aesopic texts.⁸¹ The fable has, de facto, continued to play a role within the teaching of classical languages in Swedish schools until today.⁸² However, judging from its position in

⁸⁰ Besides the eighteenth-century monolingual Latin editions of Gezelius's fable collection noted above, one could mention both the bilingual Latin-Swedish fable book for school use *Nonnullae Fabulae Ex Latino In Svecum Sermonem Translatae, Ferme verbum de verbo, ut Latina lingua inde facilius discatur / Någre Fabuler Aff Latin på thet Swenske Tungomålet förwende/ nästan Ord ifrån Ord/ at thet Latinske Språket ther aff lätteligare kan läras. Til Stockholms Scholes nytto* (1631), reprinted in 1648 and in 1662, and Abraham Sahlstedt's monolingual Latin collection *Samtal och fabler, till undervisning i latinska språket för barn* (1765), reprinted in 1776.

⁸¹ *Kongl. Maj:ts Förnyade Nådiga Scholae-Ordning*, 1808.

⁸² See Zillén, 2020, 576–579.

chrestomathies and readers published in Sweden after 1800, fable's significance as a genre used in language teaching has considerably diminished. Readers in Greek and Latin from the first half of the nineteenth century often include a separate fable section with 25–30 Aesopic texts.⁸³ In the Greek and Latin readers produced during a 50-year-period around the turn of the twentieth century, the amount of fables is decidedly reduced: in some slightly more than ten fables, in some less than five fables, in some no fables at all.⁸⁴ Before the end of the nineteenth century, the Aesopic fable, hence, lost its status as a mandatory part of the syllabus in the elementary study of classical languages that it had so self-evidently enjoyed in Swedish schools during the early modern epoch.

⁸³ See e.g., Sondén, 1819, 15–23 (sect. “II. Fabulae Aesopicae”); Årre, 1830, 8–20 (sect. “Esopiska Fabler”); Rodhe, 1834, 30–42 (sect. “Fabler af Aesopus”); Rabe, 1853, 7–12.

⁸⁴ See e.g., Schwartz & Wagler, 1867, 70–77; Petersson, 1878, 77–79; Rönström & Börning, 1905, 19–20; Liljeblad, 1906, 7–8; Pontén, 1920, 22–23; Boëthius, 1876; Mellén and Lundqvist, 1909; Pontén, 1915.

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Talking Attic in the Classroom:

Notes to Johannes Posselius' *Οἰκείων διαλόγων βιβλίον* and Ancient Greek “Orality” in the Early Modern Period*

STEFAN WEISE

Abstract In the Early Modern period, Ancient Greek was not only a written literary language but also a spoken language, at least in poetic recitations, speeches, and academic *disputationes*. In the first part of this paper, the functions and contexts of Ancient Greek “orality” in Early Modern times are very briefly discussed by focusing on the situation in Germany. The second, more substantial part of the paper, will be devoted to Johannes Posselius’ conversational guide *Οἰκείων διαλόγων βιβλίον Ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ Ῥωμαϊστὶ* (1587), large parts of which are actually a Greek translation of Erasmus’ *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*. On the one hand, the paper will analyze the quality and linguistic sources of Posselius’ “translation”. On the other hand, it will try to define both the intended function of Posselius’ work by analyzing the dialogues he chose for his guide and its actual function by considering its frequent reprints in Germany and elsewhere. In the case of Posselius’ volume, the reprints show an actual demand for and interest in the work of this author, who, like Michael Neander at Ilfeld, also published many other valuable materials for writing Greek (*Syntaxis Graeca* and *Calligraphia oratoria linguae Graecae*).

Keywords Humanist Greek, Johannes Posselius, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Protestant philhellenism, *Gesprächsbüchlein*

Introduction

In his *praelectio* on the interpretation of Homer, the Italian philologist Angelo Poliziano describes late 15th-century Florence as a city where Greek education is flourishing and the sons of the nobility easily and fluently speak Attic Greek.¹ This is surely an exaggeration. Today, Ancient Greek is primarily a written language that we are used to learning passively. No one expects us to write in Ancient Greek (with the exception of a few composition courses) nor to speak the language. In Renaissance times, however, reading, writing, and speaking Ancient Greek were closely intertwined. Pupils were trained not only to understand the language but also to actively use it.² In his declamation *De studio linguae Ebraeae*, the German reformer Philip Melanchthon justifies this way of learning as follows:

Ad phrasin intelligendam non solum huius linguae cognitione opus est, sed literas Latinas et Graecas, et mediocrem dicendi et scribendi usum accedere oportet. Sine hac cultura nemo de ullo sermone iudicare potest (Melanchthon, 1843, 873–874)

In order to understand the diction, it is necessary to know not only this language [i.e., Hebrew] but also Latin and Greek literature, and some training in speaking and writing must also take place. Without this practice, no one can evaluate anything about a language.³

* The term “Attic” in the title is used with regard to Posselius’ Ancient Greek prose style in the *Oikeíōn διαλόγων βιβλίον*. Posselius apparently aimed at imitating Classical Attic writers (see below, II.3). The concept of “orality” is used in a very simplistic way to indicate language that is in some way publicly spoken aloud, regardless whether it is a conversation, a performance, or a speech and regardless whether it is improvised, learned by heart from another author, or recited from a prepared manuscript.

¹ [...] *primae nobilitatis pueri, id quod mille retro annis in Italia contigit nunquam, ita sincere Attico sermone, ita facile expediteque loquantur, ut non deletae iam Athenae atque a barbaris occupatae, sed ipsae sua sponte cum proprio avulsae solo cumque omni (ut sic dixerim) sua supellectile in Florentiam urbem immigrasse eique se totas penitusque infudisse videantur* (Politianus, 1553, 477; orthography adapted). Cf. Poliziano, 2011, 73; Wilson, 2017, 116.

² Cf. Paulsen, 1919, 374–5.

³ All translations are mine.

Although conversational Greek was by no means as widespread as Latin, we have some documents that prove its relevance in academic and scholastic circles.

This paper, therefore, explores one significant source of training in Greek conversation: Johannes Posselius' *Οικείων διαλόγων βιβλίον Ἑλληνιστί και Ρωμαϊστί/Familiarium colloquiorum libellus Graece et Latine* ("Small Book of Private Dialogues in Greek and Latin"). This exploration is divided into four parts. The first one provides a very brief survey of some important contexts where Ancient Greek was spoken in the Early Modern period. The second part discusses the design and language of Posselius' book. The third one analyzes its aim and position within Posselius' curriculum, while the fourth one appraises its actual use through a survey of its reprints. Finally, a short appendix examines other conversational guides.

Where was Ancient Greek Spoken in the Early Modern period?⁴

In addition to Poliziano's somewhat fabricated account of Florence, mentioned above, there is another important document for spoken Greek: the famous *Νεακαδημίας Νόμος* ("Law of the New Academy") by Scipio Forteguerra. This source states that the members of this institution were only allowed to talk in Greek (νόμον θέσθαι, μη ἄλλως ἐξεῖναι ἀλλήλοις ὀμιλεῖν, εἰ μή τῆ Ἑλλάδι φωνῆ).⁵ Although we cannot be certain of how seriously this claim should be taken (the text shows some signs of humor),⁶ it is apparent that fluency in Greek was regarded as an ideal for the learned men of the time.⁷

While the sources above appeal to ideal situations, there are several other documents that testify to the active use of Ancient Greek texts in performances

⁴ In this very superficial overview, I do not differentiate between real Greek conversation, the performance of Ancient Greek texts, and the recitation of prepared speeches and poems in Greek. The focus here is on occasions where Ancient Greek was publicly pronounced and used to a significant extent (that is, beyond scattered words, phrases, or quotations). I am aware that correct pronunciation was a point of debate in the Early Modern period ("Reuchlinian" vs. "Erasmian" pronunciation). Cf., e.g., Tilley, 1938, 440–1.

⁵ Manutius, 2016, 288.

⁶ Cf. Wilson, 2017, 146–9.

⁷ The ideal of Greek conversation seems to be also evoked by Musurus in his Greek preface to Aldus' 1498 edition of Aristophanes (Manutius, 2016, 276 and 365 note 13).

and public readings.⁸ An important example is printed Greek orations. For instance, in 1567, Martin Crusius edited an *Orationum liber unus* together with his *Poematum Graecorum libri duo*.⁹ The first speech in this work is in Greek and was actually performed, as Crusius proudly declares in an appended note:

Εἶρηκα ἐν Ἀργεντίνῃ παρόντων ἐν τῷ ἀκροατηρίῳ Μαρτίνου Βουζήρου, Ἰωάννου Μαρβακχίου, Παύλου Φαγίου, Ἰούστου Φελσίου καὶ σὺν ἄλλοις διδασκάλοις πολλῶν πεπαιδευμένων ἀνδρῶν καὶ νέων τῇ 15 μηνὸς Ἀπριλίου ἔτει α φ μ ζ ἐνάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸ τοῦ τὸν εὐσεβῆ καὶ ἀείμνηστον ἥρωα Ἰωάννην Φρεδερίχον ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν καίσαρα ζωγρηθῆναι. [...]¹⁰

I spoke in Strasbourg while Martin Bucer, Johannes Marbach, Paul Fagius, Justus Velsius, and many other learned men and youngsters, together with other teachers, were present in the auditory on April 16, 1547, the ninth day before the pious hero of everlasting memory, John Frederik, was taken prisoner by the followers of the emperor. [...]

Other recited speeches in Greek include a Greek oration by David Hoeschel, *recitata sub initium anni 1577 publice in celeberrima schola Laugingana*.¹¹

Next to these and other orations, Ancient Greek was also used for academic disputations. This practice is attested, for instance, in Germany and the Kingdom of Sweden.¹²

We also have knowledge of dramatic performances in Greek. The most notable case is John Christopherson's Greek drama *Jephthah*, although there is no certain evidence that it was performed.¹³ There is, however, evidence of reenactments of ancient plays in Greek.¹⁴ Johann Gottfried Herrichen, a 17th-

⁸ Cf. Pontani/Weise, 2022, 11.

⁹ For Crusius' engagement with and advocacy of Ancient Greek, see now especially Neuendorf, 2022.

¹⁰ See Crusius, 1567, 11 (*Orationum liber*).

¹¹ See Hoeschel, 1577. For a list of Greek speeches in 17th-century Sweden, see Korhonen, 2004, 460–2.

¹² See Weise, 2016, 127; Päll, 2020, 422 and 2021.

¹³ See Christopherson, 1928, 9.

¹⁴ Cf. Harlfinger et al., 1989, 161, 164, 167; Politianus, 2002, 111, 129–31; Streufert, 2008, 45–7; Pontani in Pontani/Weise, 2022, 98–9.

century school teacher at the Nicolai School in Leipzig, wrote three Greek idylls that were publicly performed by his pupils.¹⁵

Finally, Greek poems were written and recited at academic or private events.¹⁶ This tradition continued until the 19th century when pupils recited Greek compositions at the end of the school year. A prominent example includes an epic description of the duel between Eteocles and Polynices by the famous communist leader Friedrich Engels at Elberfeld Gymnasium in 1837.¹⁷

We can therefore conclude that spoken or recited Greek had a firm place in academic and scholastic events in the Early Modern period. On the one hand, speaking Greek testified to one's progress or excellence in the mastery of the language; on the other, it was also regarded as a distinguishing sign of the erudite classes.¹⁸ A somewhat theoretical but idealistically important aspect that one should also note was the possibility of conversing with contemporary learned Greeks.¹⁹ The Protestant philologist and poet Laurentius Rhodoman (1545–1606) considers this possibility in the preface to his Greek-Latin epic *Palaestina*, where he mentions possible debates with contemporary Greeks and asks: *Quae vero cum illis actio commode et feliciter procedet, si loquelam ipsorum non in ore et calamo geramus?* (“But which negotiation with them will pleasantly and successfully proceed if we cannot speak and write their language?”)²⁰

Posselius' *Οικείων διαλόγων βιβλίον*

Johannes Posselius (1528–91) was an important Protestant teacher at Rostock University, where he was *Professor linguae Graecae* since at least October 1564.²¹ Although he did not study at Wittenberg, Stefan Rhein calls him an “Enkelschüler” of Melanchthon since his teacher Arnold Burenus was a

¹⁵ For an analysis, see Weise, 2020a.

¹⁶ See e.g. Ludwig, 2017, 125–6 and 138–9; Akujärvi/Korhonen/Päll/Sironen, 2022, 726.

¹⁷ Cf. Weise, 2022, 207–9.

¹⁸ Cf. also Päll, 2021, 737–44.

¹⁹ For the Greek/Orthodox visitors of Melanchthon, see Benz, 1971, 34–93; for the Greek visitors of Crusius, see Neuendorf, 2022, 298–322.

²⁰ See Rhodoman, 1589, 20.

²¹ For Posselius' life and work, see Johnson, 2006 and Elsmann, 2016.

student of the Wittenberg reformator.²² Posselius published both poetic and didactic works in Humanist Greek²³ according to the Melanchthonian ideal of *docta pietas* (“learned piety”).²⁴ Diane L. Johnson distinguishes three types of Greek writings in Posselius’ oeuvre: 1) “school texts,” including *Syntaxis linguae Graecae* (1565 et saepius), *Calligraphia oratoria linguae Graecae* (1585 et saepius), and *Oikeίων διαλόγων βιβλίον* (1587 et saepius); 2) “public Greek documents,” including *Epitaphia clarorum et piorum aliquot hominum* [...] (1565), *Εὐαγγέλια καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ τῶν κυριακῶν καὶ ἑορταστικῶν ἡμερῶν* (1563 et saepius), and *Κατήχησις Μαρτείνου τοῦ Λουθήρου* (1589); and 3) the commonplace book *Apophthegmata Graeco-latina* (1586 et saepius).²⁵

General design of the book

The first available edition of *Oikeίων διαλόγων βιβλίον* was printed in 1587,²⁶ which means that it belongs to Posselius’ late publications (he died in 1591). A second edition (with some alterations) was printed in 1590. The general outline of the two editions looks as follows:

1587 edition	1590 edition
A 2r–[A 4r]: Latin dedicatory letter to Johannes Stanhufius, son of Michael Stanhufius (dating from 1586)	A 2rv: Greek prefatory letter to teachers of Latin and Greek (dating from 1588)
[A 4v]–[F 8r]: Shorter Greek-Latin dialogues with facing pages	[A 3v]–[F 7r]: Shorter Greek-Latin dialogues with facing pages
[F 8v]–H 1r: Longer Greek-Latin dialogues printed in continuous lines	[F 7v]–H 1r: Longer Greek-Latin dialogues printed in continuous lines
H 1v–I 5r: Greek-Latin dialogue <i>De ratione recte studendi</i> (with facing pages and Greek-Latin marginal notes)	H 1v–[I 6r]: Greek-Latin dialogue <i>De ratione recte studendi</i> (with facing pages and Greek-Latin marginal notes)

²² See Rhein 2017, 25. To be corrected in Weise, 2022a, 149.

²³ For the various denominations of Ancient Greek that was used from the Early Modern period onward, see Korhonen, 2022, 18–20 and Van Rooy, 2023, 17–22, among others.

²⁴ Cf. Elsmann, 2016, 132–3.

²⁵ Years according to Elsmann, 2016, 135.

²⁶ The title page indicates that this edition is already *auctus et recognitus*; therefore, there must have been a previous version.

I 5v: Epigram by Johannes Frederus on the following speech by Posselius

[I 6 r]–L 3v: Latin speech *De ratione discendae et docendae linguae Latinae et Graecae* by Posselius (with Latin marginal notes)

[I 6v]: Epigram by Johannes Frederus on the following speech by Posselius

[I 7r]–[L 4v]: Latin speech *De ratione discendae et docendae linguae Latinae et Graecae* by Posselius (with Latin marginal notes)

The main difference between the two editions is in the introductory part. Whereas the first edition is preceded by a Latin letter to Johannes Stanhufius, whose father (†1608) was headmaster at Schleswig, the second is preceded by a Greek prefatory letter τοῖς ἀνδράσι φιλομούσοις καὶ σπουδαίοις, τοῖς μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς παιδείας τοὺς νεανίσκους τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ καὶ Ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα διδάσκουσιν (“to the lovers of the Muses and eager men teaching Latin and Greek to the youngsters through pious education”). In both editions, after the last dialogue, there is a Latin oration titled *De ratione discendae ac docendae linguae Latinae et Graecae* (“On the Method of Learning and Teaching Latin and Greek”) with a commendatory epigram by Johannes Frederus. In the following, I use the 1590 edition of Posselius’ *Dialogues*.²⁷

If we follow the headlines of the central dialogue section, we can distinguish at least 13 chapters (the distinction between chapters and subchapters is not always clear).

No	Greek caption	Latin caption	Eng. translation	1587 ed.	1590 ed.
1	Παραδείγματα ὡς χρὴ ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ εὖ ἐπεύχεσθαι	<i>Salutandi et bene precandi formulae</i>	Ways of greeting and saying farewell	[A 4v]– A 5v	A 3v– A 4v
2	Παραδείγματα ὡς χρὴ ἐπὶ δαῖτα καλεῖν	<i>Invitandi ad convivium formulae</i>	Ways of inviting (someone) to dinner	A 5v– B 5r	A 4v– B 4r
3	Παραδείγματα ὡς χρὴ αἰτῆσαι τι παρὰ διδασκάλου	<i>Petendi quippiam a praeceptore formulae</i>	Ways of asking the teacher for something	B 5v– [B 8v]	B 4v– [B 7v]
4	Παραδείγματα ὡς χρὴ παρὰ διδασκάλῳ περὶ τοῦ ἀπεῖναι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπολογίας	<i>Formulae excusandi se apud praeceptorem absentiae</i>	Ways of apologizing to the teacher for one’s absence	[B 8v]– C 3v	[B 7v]– C 2v

²⁷ The Greek and Latin quotations are tacitly adapted to modern orthography and punctuation.

5	Παραδείγματα ὡς χρή κατηγορῆσαι μαθητοῦ παρὰ διδασκάλῳ	<i>Formulae deferendi discipulum apud praeceptorem</i>	Ways of reporting a pupil to the teacher	C 3v– [C 7v]	C 2v– [C 6v]
6	Παραδείγματα ὡς χρή τοῖς συμμαθηταῖς προσομιλεῖν	<i>Agendi cum condiscipulis formulae</i>	Ways of interacting with one’s schoolmates	[C 7v]– D 5v	[C 6v]– D 4v
7	Τοῦ χρήσαι παραδείγματα	<i>Commodandi formulae</i>	Ways of borrowing	D 5v– [D 7v]	D 4v– [D 6v]
8	Παραδείγματα τοῦ αἰτῆσαι τὸν διδάσκαλον	<i>Rogandi praeceptorem formulae</i>	Ways of asking the teacher (for something)	[D 7v]– E 1r	[D 6 v]– [D 8r]
9	Παραδείγματα τοῦ τοῖς συμμαθηταῖς συλλαλεῖν	<i>Colloquendi cum condiscipulis formulae</i>	Ways of speaking with one’s schoolmates	E 1v– F 1v	[D 8v]– [E 8v]
10	Παραδείγματα τοῦ προσάττειν καὶ ὑπισχεῖσθαι	<i>Mandandi ac pollicendi formulae</i>	Ways of commanding and promising	F 1v– F 5v	[E 8v]– F 4v
11	Παραδείγματα τοῦ συγχαίρειν τῆς ἐπανόδου ἔνεκα	<i>Formulae gratulandi de reditu</i>	Ways of rejoicing because of someone’s return	F 5v– [F 8r]	F 4v– [F 7r]
12	Παραδείγματα τοῦ ἔρωτησαι περὶ τῆς ὑγείας	<i>Formulae interrogandi de valetudine</i>	Ways of asking about health	[F 8v]– H 1r	[F 7v]– H 1r
13	Περὶ τοῦ τὴν ἐν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ σπουδῆν ὀρθῶς διατάττειν	<i>De ratione studiorum recte instituenda</i>	How to correctly organize one’s studies of philosophy	H 1v– I 5v	H 1v– [I 6r]

The dialogues themselves are printed with facing pages—on the left side in Greek and on the right side in Latin. They are organized based on increasing difficulty and complexity. In the first “chapters”, Posselius only uses general types of persons, such as child (παιδάριον), teacher (διδάσκαλος), father (πατήρ), and son (υἱός). In the later, more advanced dialogues, he adds specific names. The later chapters have not only *formulae* (i.e., “ways of”) but also small scenes of dialogue, which are indicated by subtitles such as διάλογος or ἄλλος διάλογος. To provide synonyms, variants, and different forms of expression, Posselius cleverly makes use of brackets. The following is an example (Posselius 1590, [A 7v]):

τὸ	{	ἄριστον δείπνον συμπόσιον	}	διαφθείρεται διὰ τὴν σὴν	{	ἀπουσίαν. ἀναβολήν. βραδύτητα.
You are ruining our	{	breakfast dinner drinking party	}	with your	{	absence. delay. tardiness.

Dependency on and handling of Erasmus

Most of the dialogues, especially the longer ones (nr. 9–12), are inspired by Erasmus’ *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*²⁸—for example, the *οἰκιακὸς διαλογισμὸς*, which imitates Erasmus’ *domestica confabulatio*.²⁹ The dependency on Erasmus is certainly due to the enormous popularity of his work in the 16th century and later on.³⁰ With his bilingual edition, Posselius presents a selective version of Erasmus for both Latin and Greek learners. Thus, the usefulness of his work is double. As will be demonstrated later, Posselius apparently removed critical passages and adapted Erasmus for his Protestant audience.

Juxtaposing the beginnings of some dialogues by Posselius and Erasmus is sufficient to show the former’s direct dependency on the Dutch humanist.

Posselius 1590	Erasmus 1522 ³¹
E 5v–[E 6v] ὃ παιδάριον, οὐδεὶς ἐκπορεύεται; οὗτος οἶμαι διαρρήξαι τὴν θύραν. εἰκὸς οἰκεῖόν τινα εἶναι. My little boy, does nobody come out? I think that this one will break the door. It must be a friend.	438–9 <i>Petrus. Heus, heus, puer, nemon’ hinc prodit?</i> <i>Mida. Hic, opinor, effringet fores. Familiarem oportet esse.</i>

²⁸ For a short summary of Erasmus’ work, see Bömer, 1897, 77–88.

²⁹ Cf. already Weise, 2016, 129–30.

³⁰ For their popularity, cf. Bömer, 1897, 92–4; Augustijn, 1986, 145–6; Bierlaire, 1978, 127–30.

³¹ Cited according to line numbers of the edition by Halkin/Bierlaire/Hoven 1972, 125–215.

<p>[E 7v] Εὐχομαί σοι πολλήν εὐτυχίαν. Καὶ ἐγὼ σοι διπλοῦν εὐχομαι πᾶν ὅ,τι εὐχῆ ἐμοί.</p> <p>I wish you much luck. And I wish you double as much as you wish me.</p>	<p>586–7 <i>Syrus. Opto tibi multam felicitatem. Geta. Et ego tibi conduplicatum opto, quicquid optas mihi.</i></p>
<p>F 4v Ματθαῖος. Συγχαίρω σοι εἰς πατρίδα ἀναστρέψαντι/τῆς ἐπανάδου εἰς πατρίδα. Λουκᾶς, καὶ ἐγὼ σοι ζῶντι, ὦ Ματθαῖε.</p> <p>Matthew: I am happy that you have returned home/about your return home. Luke: And I am happy that you are alive, Matthew.</p>	<p>393–4 <i>Claudius. Gratulor tibi reduci, Balbe. Balbus. Et ego tibi superstiti, Claudi.</i></p>
<p>[F 7v] Γεώργιος. Οὐχὶ ὑγιαίνεις; Λουκᾶς, εἰσόρα τὸ πρόσωπον.</p> <p>George: Are you well? Luke: Look at my face.</p>	<p>184–5 <i>Georgius. Valesne? Livinus. Contemplare vultum.</i></p>
<p>[F 8v] Γεώργιος. Μῶν ἐρρωμένος εἶ; Λουκᾶς, βουλοίμην ἄν.</p> <p>George: Are you in good health? Luke: I wish I was.</p>	<p>218–9 <i>Georgius. Rectene vales? Livinus. Vellem quidem.</i></p>
<p>G 3v Γεώργιος. Οὐχὶ ἐγένετό σοι αὐτὴ ἡ ὁδοιπορία εὐτυχῆς καὶ χρήσιμος; Λουκᾶς, ἐγένετο μετρίως, πλὴν ὅτι οὐδεὶς τόπος ἀκινδύνως ἔχει διὰ τοὺς ληστές.</p> <p>George: Was this journey successful and useful for you? Luke: Tolerably, except that no place was safe because of the robbers.</p>	<p>295–6 <i>Georgius. Fuitne tibi hoc iter faustum et commodum? Livinus. Sic satis, nisi quod nihil usquam tutum est a latronibus.</i></p>
<p>G 4v Ματθαῖος. Συναλγέω σοι. Λυποῦμαι διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν σου. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο τὸ κακὸν ἐστὶ; Λουκᾶς, πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἐναυάγησα.</p> <p>Matthew: I pity you. I feel sorry because of your misfortune. But what kind of evil is it? Luke: All my riches were lost in a shipwreck.</p>	<p>373–5 <i>Mauricius. Doleo vicem tuam. Dolet mihi tua calamitas. Sed quid istuc mali est? Cyprianus. Universae pecuniae naufragium feci.</i></p>

This selective juxtaposition demonstrates that Posselius not only translates Erasmus' dialogues into Greek but also slightly adapts them (including, of course, the Latin version). At first, we notice that he either omits the names Erasmus has given to the speakers, as in the *οἰκιακὸς διαλογισμὸς* (the first example), or he deliberately alters them. It seems that Posselius avoids pagan names, such as Syrus, Geta, Livinus, Claudius, and Balbus. Instead, he uses names mostly taken from the *New Testament*: Πέτρος, Ἰωάννης (instead of Erasmus' Iodocus), Ματθαῖος (instead of Erasmus' Claudius), Λουκᾶς (instead of Erasmus' Livinus and Balbus).

In some specific passages, Posselius also offers hints about his homeland and hometown. For instance, in the subchapter about "Greeting Through Another Person" (Ἀσπάζεσθαι δι' ἑτέρου/*Salutare per alium*) the dialogue partner is asked to greet all the teachers and friends at Rostock University (Posselius 1590, [F 6v]–[F 7r]).

Greek version

Ποῖ βαδίσεις Νικόλεως;
 ἰθὺς τῆς πατρίδος.
 στήθι πρὸς ὀλίγον, ἔστιν, ὃ σοι ἐπιτάττω.
 ἀλλὰ πεζῶ οὐχ ἀρμόττει φορτίον.
 οὐκ ἐπιθήσω σοι μέγα βᾶρος.
 Τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι;
 ἵνα πάντας τοὺς διδασκάλους καὶ τοὺς
 οἰκείους μου τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημία
 Ῥοστοχικῇ παρ' ἐμοῦ φιλικῶς ἀσπάσῃ.
 εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο φορτίον ἐπιτίθῃς πλὴν
 ἀσπασμούς, ῥαδίως διακομίσω.
 ἐγὼ δέ, ἵνα μὴ ἀμισθὶ τοῦτο ποιῆς, εὐχομαί
 σοι Χριστὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ σου συνακόλουθον
 εἶναι.
 ὃ, τι σὺ εὐχῇ, γένοιτο.
 Χριστὸν γὰρ ἔχων συνοδίτην, κατὰ πάντων
 κινδύνων ἐξαρκούντως τετειχισμένος ὢν
 οἶδα.

Translation of the Greek

- Where are you going, Nikolaos?
- Straight back home.
- Wait for a brief moment; there is something I want to impose on you.
- But burden does not suit a pedestrian.
- I will not impose on you a great burden.
- What is it then?

Latin version

Quo vadis, Nicolae?
Recta in patriam.
Resiste paulisper, est quod tibi mandem.
Sed pediti non convenit sarcina.
Non imponam tibi magnum onus.
Quid autem rei est?
Ut omnes praeceptores et familiares meos
in Academia Rostochiensi meis verbis
amanter salutes.
Si nihil aliud sarcinae imponis praeter
salutationes, facile perferam.
Ego autem, ne gratis istud facias, precor, ut
Christus tibi comes itineris sit.
Quod precaris, faxit Deus.
Si enim Christum itineris comitem habuero,
contra omnia pericula me satis munitum
esse scio.

- Pass on my hearty greetings to all my teachers and friends at Rostock University.
- If you do not impose another burden next to the greetings, I will easily pass them on.
- And so that you do not do this without reward, I wish Christ to be your companion on the way.
- May this happen as you wish. For I know that I am sufficiently safe from all dangers when Christ is my companion.

This nice dialogue follows closely in Erasmus' footsteps as one can see by reading the correspondent Erasmian passage (ll. 140–147):

Heus heus, quo properas?

Resp. Recta Louanium. Resiste paulisper, est quod tibi mandem.

Resp. Atqui pediti non conuenit sarcina. Quid rei est?

Resp. Vt Goclenium, Rutgerum, Ioannem Campensem totumque chorum trilinguem mihi salutes.

Resp. Si nihil aliud imponis sarcinae praeter salutes, facile perferam.

Resp. Atqui ne gratis isthuc facias, precor vt tibi quoque eunti ac redeunti salus sit comes.

Hey, hey, where are you going so fast?

Answer: Directly to Louvain. | Wait a moment. There is something I want to assign to you.

Answer: But a burden does not suit a pedestrian. What is it then?

Answer: Pass on my greetings to (Conrad) Goclenius, Rutger (Rescius), Jean Campensis and all members of the *Collegium trilingue*.

Answer: If you do not impose any other burden next to the greetings, I will easily pass them on.

Answer: To prevent, however, that you do this without reward, I wish fortune to be your companion on your return trip.

It is interesting to note that Posselius not only replaces Erasmus' allusion to the *Collegium Trilingue* in Louvain with a reference to his own university in Rostock but also adds a reference to Christ at the end, which is missing in Erasmus.

Another example of this kind of adaptation can be found in the chapter on traveling (*Παραδείγματα τοῦ συγγαίρειν τῆς ἐπανόδου ἔνεκα*):

Posselius 1590, F 4v–F 5r

(the direct quotations from Erasmus are in italics, the differences in bold)
Matthaeus & Lucas

Latin version

M. *Doleo vicem tuam. Dolet mihi calamitas tua. Sed quid istud mali est?*

L. *Universae pecuniae naufragium feci.*

M. *Ubinam, charissime?*

L. **In mari Baltico ex Dania in Germaniam navigaturus.**

M. **Non dubium igitur est, quin diligenter oraveris.**

L. **Nunquam diligentius.**

M. **Fateris igitur verum esse quod dicitur: Qui nescit orare, discat navigare?**

L. **Fateor, nam re ipsa expertus sum.**

M. *Bene habet quod ipse nobis vivus enatasti. Melius est pecuniae quam vitae iacturam facere. Vides igitur doctrinam et virtutem tutissimas divitias esse, quae nec eripi possunt nec gravant circumferentem.*

L. *Pulchre tu quidem philosopharis, sed interim ego dolore angor.*

Greek version

(differences from Erasmus are in bold)

M. Συναλγέω σοι. Λυποῦμαι διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν σου. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο τὸ κακὸν ἐστι;

L. πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἐνανάγησα.

M. ποῦ, ὅ φίλτατε;

L. ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ βαλτικῇ, ἐκ Κιμβερίας εἰς Γερμανίαν πλεύσων.

M. οὐκ ἄδηλον οὖν, ὅτι ἀδιαλείπτως προσήχου;

L. οὐδέποτε σπουδαιότερον.

M. ὁμολογεῖς τοιγαροῦν ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ λεγόμενον· ὁ μὴ εἰδὼς προσεύχεσθαι, μαθέτω πλεῖν;

L. ὁμολογῶ, καὶ γὰρ τῷ ἔργῳ πεῖραν ἔλαβον.

M. καλῶς ἔχει, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ζωὸς

Erasmus 1522, ll. 373–390

(the sentences taken over by Posselius are underlined)

Mauricius & Cyprianus

M. Doleo vicem tuam. Dolet mihi tua calamitas. Sed quid istuc mali est?

C. Universae pecuniae naufragium feci.

M. In mari?

C. Non, sed in litore; nondum navem ingressus.

M. Ubinam?

C. In litore Britannico.

M. Bene habet quod ipse nobis vivus enatasti. Praestat pecuniae iacturam facere quam vitae. Levius est pecuniae dispendium quam famae.

C. Vita famaue incolumi, perit pecunia.

M. Vita sarciri nullo pacto potest, fama aegre potest, pecunia facile alicunde sarcietur. Qui malum hoc accidit?

C. Nescio, nisi quod sic erat in fatis meis. Sic visum est superis. Sic libuit genio meo malo.

M. Vides igitur doctrinam ac virtutem tutissimas esse divitias, quae nec eripi possunt nec gravant circumferentem.

C. Pulchre tu quidem philosopharis. Sed interim ego ringor.

English translation of Posselius' Greek version

Matthew: I pity you. I feel sorry because of your misfortune. But what kind of evil was it?

Luke: All my riches were lost in a shipwreck.

M.: Where, my friend?

L.: In the Baltic Sea, when I wanted to sail from Denmark to Germany.

M.: Thus, it is clear that you prayed continuously.

L.: Never with more zeal.

M.: So, you agree that the saying is true, "Whoever does not know how to pray, shall become a seaman."

L.: I agree, and I have experienced it myself.

ἐξεκολύμβησας. βέλτιόν ἐστι τὰ χρήματα ἢ τὴν ζωὴν ναυαγήσαι. ὁρᾷς οὖν τὴν παιδείαν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀσφαλέστατον πλοῦτον οὖσαν, τὸν μηδὲ ἀφαιρηθῆναι δυνάμενον μηδὲ βαρύνοντα τὸν βαστάζοντα.

Λ. [M. ed.] καλῶς σὺ μὲν φιλοσοφεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ ἐγὼ λυποῦμαι.

M.: It's good that you have swum ashore alive. It's better for one's money to be shipwrecked than for one's life. Thus, you see that education and virtue are the safest wealth, which cannot be taken away and does not oppress the one bearing it.

L.: You give nice philosophical lessons, but I am grieving in the meantime.

Posselius adapts Erasmus' dialogue by transferring the shipwreck from the British coast to the Baltic Sea (Rostock is located on the Baltic). He also significantly inserts a passage on praying while omitting a passage by Erasmus where Cyprianus blames fate and the gods (*superi*) for his loss.³² Posselius apparently had in mind to give the dialogue a more Christian flair. We may further note the insertion of the Latin proverb *qui nescit orare, discat navigare* as well as some simplifications in the Latin text (*melius est* instead of *praestat*, *dolore angor* instead of *ringor*).

Aside from the Greek prefatory letter (see below), these are the only places where Posselius inserts hints about Rostock. In other dialogues, he keeps the localities Erasmus uses (especially in the last section, see Posselius, 1590, G 3v–[G 6r]: [...] ἐν Γαλλίᾳ Βελγικᾷ [...] ἐν Λουκοτεκίᾳ [...]).

We can add two other illustrative examples of conscious adaptation. The first one concerns a theme that is better suited to a student than a pupil, as it deals with a young man who is going to get married.

Posselius 1590, E 5v–E 6r

(the direct quotations from Erasmus are in italics, the differences in bold)

Latin version

*Aiunt te venatorem **factum esse**.*

Imo iam intra casses meos est praeda, quam venabar.

Quaenam?

Lepida puella, quam perendie ducturus sum.

Ideo oro vos, ut tunc vestra praesentia nuptias cohonestetis.

Erasmus 1522, ll. 572–583

(the sentences taken over by Posselius are underlined)

Dromo & Mopsus

D.: Aiunt te venatorem esse factum.

M.: Imo iam intra casses meos est praeda quam venabar.

D.: Quaenam?

M.: Lepida puella, quam perendie ducturus sum, vosque oro, vt meas nuptias vestra praesentia dignemini honestare.

³² Posselius avoids Erasmus' phrases concerning *superi* also in other passages. He only once translates Erasmus' references to pagan gods (G 3v: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ τῷ Ἄρει, G 4v: Ἀρτέμιδος ὀργιζομένης ~ Erasmus l. 326 *irata Delia*).

Quaenam est sponsa?

Dorothea, concionatoris nostri filia.

De hac merito tibi gratulamur: nam non solum pulchra est, sed etiam bene educata et ad domi manendum ac curanda negotia domestica optime instituta.

Greek version

(the differences from Erasmus are in bold)

φασί σε κυνηγετὴν γεγενημένον.
καὶ ἤδη ἐντὸς δικτύων μου ἔστιν ἡ λεία, ἣν
ἐθήρευον.

Τίς ἄρα;

Χαρίεσσα κόρη, ἣν μεταύριον γαμήσω. διὸ
δέομαι ὑμῶν τότε τῆ ὑμετέρα παρουσία
τὸν γάμον μου κοσμησαί.

Τίς δὴ ἔστι νύμφη;

Δωροθέα, ἡ τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἐκκλησιαστοῦ
θυγάτηρ [θυγατήρ ed.].

Ταύτης σοι εἰκότως συγχαίρομεν· οὐ
μόνον γὰρ καλὴ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὖ
τεθραμμένη καὶ πρὸς τὸ οἰκουρῆσαι
ἄριστα πεπαιδευμένη.

D.: Quaenam est sponsa?

M.: Aloisia, Chremetis filia.

D.: Egregium spectatorem formarum. Tuis oculis adlubuit illa, nigro capillitio, simis naribus, ore praelargo, ventre prominulo?

M.: Desinite. Mihi eam duxi, non vobis.

Non sat est, quod suo regi pulchra est regina? Ita demum illa mihi placebit, si vobis non admodum placeat.

English translation of Posselius' Greek version

- They say you have become a huntsman.
- Yes, the prey I was chasing is already in my hunting net.

- Who is it then?

- A graceful girl I will marry the day after tomorrow. I therefore beg that you will honor my wedding with your presence.

- Who is the bride?

- It's Dorothy, the daughter of our preacher.

- I fairly congratulate you on her. She is not only beautiful but also well brought up and has the best education for keeping the house.

The differences are obvious. As in other dialogues, Posselius avoids the names that are reminiscent of Roman comedy: Dromo and Chremes. The girl, Aloisia, becomes Dorothy ("God's gift"), and she no longer is the daughter of the notoriously 'greedy' Chremes but of a preacher (ἐκκλησιαστής/*concionator*). In Erasmus, Dromo makes fun of Mopsus' taste by pointing at Aloisia's ugliness (black hair, flat nose, large mouth, and paunch). However, in Posselius, the second speaker honestly congratulates and praises the bride's advantages, thereby erasing the humorous literary allusions to Terence and Plautus that are present in Erasmus.

The following, final example concerns private reading:

<p>Posselius 1590, [E 7v]–[F 1r] (the direct quotations from Erasmus are in italics, the differences in bold)</p>	<p>Erasmus 1522 (ll. 588–600) (the sentences taken over by Posselius are underlined)</p>
<p>Latin version <i>Quid agis? Confabulor. <u>Quid?</u> Confabulare solus?</i></p> <p><i>Certe cum lepidissimo congerrone confabulor. Quo? Cum Divo Paulo/Cicerone. <i>Istud quidem saepe facis.</i> Sed varietas grata est. [...] <i>Non est ulla studiorum satietas.</i> <i>Verum, sed modus in omnibus rebus optimus est.</i></i></p>	<p>Syrus. <u>Quid agis rei?</u> Geta. <u>Confabulor.</u> Syrus. <u>Quid? Confabulare solus?</u> Geta. Ut vides. Syrus. Fortasse tecum? Proinde tibi videndum, ut cum homine probo fabuleris. Geta. <u>Imo cum lepidissimo congerrone confabulor.</u> Syrus. <u>Quo?</u> Geta. Apuleio. Syrus. <u>Istud quidem nunquam non facis.</u> <u>Amant alterna Camoenae.</u> Tu perpetuo studes. Geta. <u>Non est ulla studiorum satietas.</u> Syrus. <u>Verum, sed est tamen modus quidam.</u> [...]</p>
<p>Greek version (differences from Erasmus bold)</p> <p>Τί πράττεις; συνομιλέω. Τί; συνομιλεῖς μόνος; Ναί, ἡδίστῳ συνομιλῶ συνομιλῶν τυγχάνω. Τίτι; τῷ { ἀγίῳ Παύλῳ. Κικέρωνι.</p> <p>τοῦτο μὲν πολλάκις πράττεις, ἀλλὰ τὸ ποικίλον ἡδύ. [...] οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς τῶν γραμμάτων κόρος. ἀληθὲς μὲν, ἀλλὰ μέτρον ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστον.</p>	<p>English translation of Posselius' Greek version</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What are you doing? - I am conversing. - What? Are you conversing alone? - Yes, I am conversing with the nicest companion. - With whom? - With Saint Paul/Cicero. - You do this often, but there's nothing like change. [...] - One can never be satiated by studies. - That's true, but nothing in excess.

Like in the other examples cited above, Posselius removes the speakers' names. The most remarkable change, however, concerns the author who is being read. Whereas Erasmus uses Apuleius, the famous author of the novel *Metamorphoses*, Posselius replaces him with more authoritative authors, Saint Paul and Cicero, both of whom were read in Lutheran schools as being useful for the study of theology and Latin rhetoric. We can also note that Posselius leaves out the Virgilian quotation *Amant alterna Camoenae* (Verg. *Ecl.* 3.59) and integrates instead the Greek saying μέτρον ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστον.³³ Some

³³ Cf. also Weise, 2016, 130 fn.108. The typical form of the proverb reads μέτρον ἄριστον (D.L. 1.93); for the extended version μέτρον ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστον, cf. *Carm.Aur.* 38 (~ Hes. *Op.* 694

simplifications in the Latin text also stand out: *Quid agis?* instead of *Quid rei agis?*, *saepe* instead of *nunquam non*.

What is also surely relevant in Posselius' adaptation of Erasmus is that the former omitted all of the latter's dialogues about games and playing: *De lusu* (ll. 1220–1268), *Pila* (ll. 1270–1343), *Ludus globorum missilium* (ll. 1344–1403), *Ludus sphaerae per anulum ferreum* (ll. 1404–1451), and *Saltus* (ll. 1452–1500).³⁴ The only dialogue about playing is a conversation with a teacher about whether he will allow the pupils to play ([D 6 v]–[D 8r]). Thus, much of the humorous and empathic character of Erasmus' dialogues is missing.

However, Posselius gives more space to dining (A 4v–B 4r)³⁵ and ordinary classroom conversation. Perhaps as a typical German element, Posselius often refers to ζύθος³⁶ (“beer”) in his dialogues about dining (e.g., [A 8v]: ἔστω ὑμῖν σωτήριος οὖτος ὁ ζύθος, “Let this beer be to your well-being”; B 1v: ἔγχεε ζύθον, ἵνα πίνωμεν, “Pour the beer so that we can drink”; ζύθον οὐκ ἔτι ἔχομεν “We no longer have beer”; [B 8v] ἤνεγκα ζύθον τῷ πατρί “I brought beer to my father”). We cannot say with certainty that Posselius was really thinking of Greek dining parties. However, we know that Melanchthon regularly dined with his friends and pupils and combined this with literary entertainment.³⁷ Some fun becomes apparent in this context with the phrase πίνε, οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς τὸ τῶν παλαιῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἢ πίθι ἢ ἄπιθι, “Drink: Don’t you know the saying of the ancient Greeks ‘Either drink or go’?” (B 2), although the frivolity is immediately tempered by a quotation from the Bible. Further notable themes include time and clocks (D 5v–6v), prayer (almost *passim*), relieving oneself (!), traveling, and the plague. Anticlerical criticism, which is present in Erasmus, is limited to only one instance (G 2v; inspired by Erasmus).

All in all, Posselius not only renders Erasmus but also abbreviates³⁸ and adapts him for Lutheran pupils, thus creating his own *Erasmus purgatus* in Greek and Latin.

καιρὸς δ’ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστον).

³⁴ Cf. also Bömer, 1897, 86–7.

³⁵ Cf. also Erasmus' *convivium profanum* at the end of the *Colloquia*. See Erasmus, 1972, 196–215. One may note that Erasmus there also quotes a Greek prayer (ll. 2920–6) which may have inspired Posselius to render the *colloquia* into Greek.

³⁶ For the accent, cf. LSJ s.v. ζύθος 2.

³⁷ Cf. Camerarius, 2018, 61 (§ 12).

³⁸ For other 16th-century selective editions of Erasmus, cf. also Bierlaire, 1978, 137–9.

Posselius' Greek

After this short survey of the content and character of the book, let us now briefly consider its linguistic side. Although most parts and dialogues neatly follow Erasmus, we cannot but admire Posselius' handling of Greek. The language is easily understandable and shows an elegant Attic flavor (we often note typical Greek constructions, such as τυγχάνω³⁹ or διατελέω⁴⁰ with a participle, *figura etymologica*,⁴¹ ἔχω/διάκειμαι with an adverb,⁴² participles in answers that continue preceding sentences, and τά with genitive case⁴³). The Attic character becomes eminent by the constant use of ττ instead of koine σσ. Still, we can note some peculiarities.

- In some places, Posselius uses uncontracted forms (B 5v: ἀλγέω, C 5v: ἀγνοέω, F 3v: καλέω, συνομιλέω, F 5v: συναλγέω). As these forms are restricted to the first person, present, active voice of contracted verbs in -έω, this might only be an auxiliary device for the pupils to correctly recognize the conjugation (and the form in which they will find the verbs in the dictionary).
- Posselius uses the future ending -ίσω with verbs in -ίζω instead of the Attic contracted form -ιῶ (D 2v: κομίσω, E 1v: φροντίσω, [F 6v]: διακομίσω).
- Posselius includes some rare or unattested words such as ἀλόδοχος ([A 7v]; *salinum*), μελανδοχεῖον ([B 7v]; *atramentarium*), and κλέψαμμον (D 6v; *clepsammon*). This special vocabulary also includes θέρμαστρα (D 1v; *fornax*), βαῦνος (D 1v; *fornax*), σχίδαξ (D 1v; *assula*), and σάρωθρον (D 3v; *scopae*), and *New Testament* Greek words, such as ἀφεδρών (C 5v; *latrina*) and σαροῦν (D 2v; *verrere*).
- Unlike what happens in modern editorial practice, Posselius combines prepositions with enclitic personal pronouns.

³⁹ Cf. e.g. [F 7v]: ἐγὼ Θεοῦ διδόντος διὰ παντὸς αἰεὶ τοῦ χρόνου ἐρρωμένος ἔτυχον ὦν.

⁴⁰ Cf. e.g. E 3v: ἵνα [...] ποιῶν διατελέσης.

⁴¹ Cf. e.g. F 2v: πασῶν τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, αἷς μὲν πολλὰς σὺ εὐεργέτησάς με, αὕτη ἡδίστη τυγχάνει οὔσα.

⁴² Cf. e.g. B 4v: ἀναγκαίως ἔχω, [F 7v]: τὸ σῶμα μὲν εὖ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἡ ψυχὴ κακῶς διάκειται.

⁴³ Cf. e.g. [F 7v]: ὡς τὰ τῶν θνητῶν ἐστι.

Direct quotations from ancient writers are rare in the dialogues. Most of them occur in the final dialogue on the right way of studying. The authors cited by name in this dialogue are Thucydides,⁴⁴ Lucian,⁴⁵ Plato,⁴⁶ Plutarch,⁴⁷ and Xenophon.⁴⁸ He also mentions Isocrates (E 1v). Next to classical authors, Posselius often also quotes from the *New Testament*.⁴⁹

The quoted authors indicate that Posselius primarily used Atticizing authors from the Classical and Imperial periods. However, he did not exclude Christian writers and the *New Testament*. We catch a glimpse of the model authors if we compare the relevant phrases with Posselius' other linguistic works—that is, the *Syntaxis* and the *Calligraphia*.

For example, on f. D 2v, we read the following phrases: σπουδῆ τοῦτο λέγεις ἢ παίζεις; Χωρίς παιδιᾶς φημί. Οὐ παίζω, ἀλλὰ σπουδάζω (“Are you serious about this or are you kidding? No kidding! I am not kidding; I am serious”). In

⁴⁴ **H 2v–H 3v**: Περικλῆς μὲν γὰρ παρὰ Θουκυδίδη συντόμως καὶ ἀκριβῶς προσαγορεύει γνῶναι τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι ταῦτα ~ Thuc. 2.60.5: γνῶναί τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι ταῦτα).

⁴⁵ **H 3v**: Λουκιανὸς δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ δύναμιν ἐρμηνευτικὴν ἀποκαλεῖ, τούτεστι σοφίαν καὶ λογιότητα ~ Luc. *Hist. Conscr.* 34: φημί τοίνυν τὸν ἄριστα ἱστορίαν συγγράφοντα δύο μὲν ταῦτα κορυφαίωτατα οἴκοθεν ἔχοντα ἤκειν, σύνεσιν τε πολιτικὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐρμηνευτικὴν.

⁴⁶ **H 3v**: Τὴν λογιότητα Πλάτων πάνυ εὐσημῶνός ὀρίζει τὸ τῷ Θεῷ κεχαρισμένα λέγειν δύνασθαι ~ Pl. *Phdr.* 273e: θεοῖς κεχαρισμένα μὲν λέγειν δύνασθαι (Posselius adapts the quotation for Christian readers by altering the plural θεοῖς to the singular τῷ θεῷ), [**H 7v**]: καὶ σοφὸς πάνυ ὁ τοῦ Πλάτωνος νόμος, ὃς ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν μίαν τέχνην μόνον μαθεῖν καὶ ἄλλους διδάσκειν κελεύει ~ Pl. *Leg.* 847a εἰς μίαν ἕκαστος τέχνην ἐν πόλει κεκτημένους ἀπὸ ταύτης ἅμα καὶ τὸ ζῆν κτάσθω, [**H 8v**]: ἀλλὰ ταύτη παραινεῖσει σου περὶ τοῦ ἀθροῖσαι κοινὸς τόπους ἐν βιβλίῳ τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐν Φαίδρῳ ἐναντιοῦσθαι δοκεῖ δηλοῦν, ὅτι τὰ γράμματα λήθην καὶ ραθυμίαν μᾶλλον ἢ μνήμην καὶ διδασχὴν ἐν τῶν μαθόντων ψυχαῖς παρέχει ~ Pl. *Phdr.* 275a (τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν μαθόντων λήθην μὲν ἐν ψυχαῖς παρέξει μνήμης ἀμελετησίαι);

⁴⁷ **I 1v**: Περί τῆς μνήμης οὖν, ἣν Πλούταρχος τῆς παιδείας ταμειῶν ὀνομάζει, τί εἶδέναι προσήκει; ~ Plu. *Mor. (de lib. ed.)* 9e: πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τὴν μνήμην τῶν παιδῶν ἀσκεῖν καὶ συνθερίζειν· αὕτη γὰρ ὡσπερ τῆς παιδείας ἐστὶ ταμειῶν.

⁴⁸ [**G 6v**]: ὀρθῶς οὖν καὶ σοφῶς ὁ λέγων Ξενοφῶν φησί· εἰρήνην δοκεῖ μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, πόλεμος μέγα κακόν ~ X. *Hier.* 2.7–8, [**H 7v**]: ἀδύνατον γὰρ κατὰ Ξενοφῶντα πολλὰ τεχνώμενον ἄνθρωπον ταῦτα καλῶς ποιεῖν ~ X. *Cyr.* 8,2,5: ἀδύνατον οὖν πολλὰ τεχνώμενον ἄνθρωπον πάντα καλῶς ποιεῖν.

⁴⁹ [**A 8v**]: πᾶν κτῆμα καλὸν καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπόβλητον, εἰ μετ' εὐχαριστίας λαμβανόμενον, ἀγιάζεται γὰρ διὰ λόγου θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως (~ NT 1 *Ep. Ti.* 4.4–5), **B 2v**: προσχέτε ἑαυτοῖς, μήποτε βαρυνθῶσιν ὑμῶν αἱ καρδίαι ἐν κραπαλῷ [κρε- ed.] καὶ μέθῃ (~ NT *Ev. Lu.* 21.34), **E 1v**: χωρὶς ἐμοῦ οὐ δύνασθε ποιεῖν οὐδέν (NT *Ev. Jo.* 15.5), δεῖ πάντοτε προσεύχεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐγκακεῖν (~ NT *Ev. Lu.* 18.1), **H 3v**: Πάντα εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ ποιεῖτε (NT 1 *Ep. Cor.* 10.31).

the *Calligraphia*, παίζειν and σπουδάζειν are also treated together under the headline *Iocari, Ludere: Plato, σπουδάζει ταῦτα Σωκράτης ἢ παίζει* [= Pl. *Grg.* 481b]; *Serione an ioco haec dicit Socrates, vel Serione dicit an iocatur?* [...] *Vides igitur σπουδάζειν & παίζειν inter se opponi* [...] (Posselius 1585, 406; “Plato: σπουδάζει ταῦτα Σωκράτης ἢ παίζει; Is Socrates serious about this or is he kidding? Or: Does he say this seriously or is it a joke? [...] Thus, you see that σπουδάζειν and παίζειν are opposites”).

On f. F 2v, Posselius writes, *Τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀπέβη βέλτιον τῆς δόξης* (“The event came about better than expected”). This particular use of ἀποβαίνω is also explained in the *Calligraphia* under the headline *Accidere, Usuvenire, Contingere: Loco τοῦ συμβαίνει etiam ἀποβαίνει usurpatur: ut, Isocr. ὧν μὲν ἠλπίζομεν, οὐδὲν ἀποβέβηκεν* [= Isoc. *or.* 8.29]. *Nihil horum, quae sperabamus, contigit.* (Posselius 1585, 31; “Instead of συμβαίνει, ἀποβαίνει is also used like in Isocrates ὧν μὲν ἠλπίζομεν, οὐδὲν ἀποβέβηκεν. Nothing of what we were hoping has happened”).

On f. G 8v, Posselius uses the phrase ὡς δὲ συντόμως εἰπεῖν (“to say it briefly”), which, as a quotation from Xenophon (*X Oec.* 12.19; cf. also Isoc. *or.* 7.26; Pl. *Ti.* 25e), also occurs in the *Calligraphia* under the headline *Breviter perstringere, attingere, Paucis explicare, &c.* together with similar phrases (cf. Posselius 1585, 169).

Thus, we see that Posselius really tries to use Classical phrases and wording he had already collected before. However, the inclusion of some *New Testament* phrases and the list of authors at the end of the *Calligraphia* (Posselius 1585, [651–2]) show that he is not puristic and that he—like others of his contemporaries—also includes later (even Humanist) writers. As a final example, we can point to the phrase ἀσπάζου τὸν ὑπάτον/ποιμένα/πενθερὸν/κηδεστήν παρ’ ἐμοῦ ([F 6v]: “Pass on my greetings to the mayor/pastor/father-in-law/relative”). The same phrase can be read in the *Calligraphia* under the heading *Colloqui, Alloqui: Salutare aliquem. ἀσπάζεσθαί τινα. Isocr. Meo nomine, Meis verbis. παρ’ ἐμοῦ: ut, Synes. ἄσπασαι κἀκεῖνον παρ’ ἐμοῦ* [~ Synes. *Ep.* 16]. *Saluta et illum meis verbis* (Posselius 1585, 218). In this case, the model is the late-antique writer Synesius.

Posselius' Aim and the Book's Position within his Curriculum

As already mentioned above, the 1587 edition was dedicated to Johannes Stanhufius, son of Michael Stanhufius, a headmaster at Schleswig and a friend of Posselius. In his dedicational letter, Posselius says that the book will serve as a *μνημόσυνον* (“memorial”) of his affection for Stanhufius senior and of Stanhufius' hospitality toward Posselius' own son (Posselius 1587, A 3rv).

Cuius ut *μνημόσυνον* aliquod et publicum testimonium haberes, hunc libellum tuo nomini inscribere volui, continentem non solum formulas Latine et Graece loquendi accommodatas pueris et adolescentibus disciplinis artibusque deditis, qui se utraque lingua exercere volent (omnes autem velle debent), sed etiam alia *παραγγέλματα*, quae existimo studiosis adolescentibus ad gubernationem morum et rationem studiorum recte et utiliter instituendam, item ad discendam docendamque linguam Latinam et Graecam non inutilia fore.

In order to give you a memorial and a public testimony of it [that is, the friendship between Stanhufius' father and Posselius], I wanted to dedicate to you this little book, which contains not only Latin and Greek conversational phrases suitable for boys and youngsters dedicated to the sciences and the arts who want to learn both languages (all, however, should want that) but also other instructions, which, I suppose, will not be useless for showing young students the right and useful way to command their manners and direct their studies as well as to learn and teach Latin and Greek.

Posselius expresses a double intention: linguistic training in *both* languages (the dialogues were bilingual from the first edition) and moral instruction. This intention and the dedication clearly follow in Erasmus' footsteps as he too dedicated his *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae* of 1522 to the six-year-old Johannes Erasmus Frobenius, the son of his printer and friend Johannes Froben(ius). For Erasmus explains (ll. 11–14):

Libellus hic nonnihil conducet et ad pietatis elementa percipienda. Quo nomine debet tibi chorus innumerabilis aequalium, quod haec utilitas per te ad ipsos pervenerit. Visum est enim nobis tua causa dies aliquot reperuascere, dum stilum ac sententias ad tuam aetatum attemperamus.

This little book will also be very useful to learn the foundations of piety. Therefore, countless peers will be in your debt as this advantage came to them because of you. For it was because of you that I decided to become a child again for some days while I fitted my style and ideas to your young age.

In the second edition of Posselius' work, the original dedication to Johannes Stanhufius was replaced by a more general preface in Greek, which I quote in full below (Posselius 1590, A 2rv).

Ὅρθως καὶ νουνεχόντως ὑπὸ τινος τῶν σοφῶν εἶρηται· ὃς μὴ Ῥωμαϊκοῖς Ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα μίξεν, οὐ δύναται λογικοῦ τούνομα ἀνδρὸς ἔχειν. Ὅμολογεῖται μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ πάντων πεπαιδευμένων καὶ εὐφρονούντων ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς Ῥωμαϊκοὺς λογογράφους καὶ ποιητὰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν παιδείαν καὶ σοφίαν καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δεινότατα παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰληφέναι, καὶ πλεῖστα οὐκ ἄλλαις πλὴν Ἑλληνικαῖς λέξεσιν ἐκφωνεῖσθαι δύνασθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν λόγον Ῥωμαϊκὸν οὐκ ὀρθῶς γνωσθῆναι οὐδὲ γραφῆναι οὐδ' ἐρμηνευθῆναι ἄνευ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώττης οἷόν τ' εἶναι. πλεῖστα τοιγαροῦν ὠφελοῦνται πάντες, ὅσοι ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν περὶ τὰ γράμματα σπουδαῖς τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς συνάπτουσιν, ὅπως ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως ἰσχύοντες τυγχάνωσιν. ἐγὼ δὴ ἵνα κατ' ἑμαυτοῦ μέρος ἐν τῷ τὰς ἀμφοτέρας γλώττας ὀρθῶς καὶ ῥαδίως μαθεῖν τοῖς φιλομαθέσι τῶν νεανίσκων βοηθήσω, τούτους τοὺς διαλόγους ἐξέδωκα, αὐτοὺς τῇ ἐκείνων ψυχῇ καὶ χρήσει συναρμόσας [-αρμόσας ed.] τούτους εἰ σπουδαίως ἀναγνώσονται καὶ ἅμα χρήσονται πρὸς τὸν βίον, αἰσθήσονται τούτου τοῦ πόνου πλεῖστον ὄνησόμενοι. ἔρρωσθε, καὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ τὴν περὶ τὰς τέχνας καὶ γλώττας σπουδὴν εἰς τὸ τὸν θεόν, τὸν πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ αἴτιον, δοξάζειν καὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, διδασκῆναι μηκύνειν κατατίθεσθε, μεμνημένοι τὸ τοῦ Δανιῆλος· “οἱ συνιέντες ἐκλάμπουσιν ὡς ἡ λαμπρότης τοῦ στερεώματος καὶ οἱ ἐπιστρέψαντες πολλοὺς εἰς δικαιοσύνην ὡς οἱ ἀστέρες εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι”. ἐκ τῆς Ῥοδοπόλεως, ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς θεογονίας α φ η.

Some wise person once rightly and prudently said, “Whoever does not combine Greek and Latin, cannot have the name of a prudent man.”⁵⁰ For all learned and prudent men agree that the Roman prose writers and poets took all their learning, wisdom, and all that is marvelous in their speeches from the Greeks and that most things can only be expressed by Greek words and, moreover, that Latin expressions cannot be rightly understood or written or interpreted without Greek. Therefore, all people who combine Latin with Greek in their literary studies so that they are actually equally strong in both languages will benefit very much from this. To help those youngsters who are eager for learning to learn both languages correctly and easily, I for my part published these dialogues adapting them to their soul and use: if they will eagerly read these [dialogues] and use them for life, they will recognize that they will greatly

⁵⁰ The unknown quotation is an elegiac couplet. It looks similar to a saying by Alexander Hegius: *Qui Graece nescit, nescit quoque doctus haberi*. See, e.g., Paulsen, 1919, 71 fn.1. For the argument, cf. also Hillgruber, 2017a and 2017b.

benefit from this work. Goodbye and direct together with me your studies of the arts and languages toward praising God, who is responsible for all the good in our lives, and spreading the true doctrine about him and his beloved son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, as you remember the saying of Daniel: “They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever” (Dan. 12:3; tr. King James Bible). From Rostock in the year 1588 since God’s birth.

First, Posselius makes an argument in favor of the study of Ancient Greek: it is useful to correctly understand Latin. No one is able to understand Latin properly without knowledge of Greek. Then, he addresses the book’s intended users: φιλομαθεῖς νεανίσκοι (“youngsters eager for learning”). They should learn both languages rightly and easily (ὀρθῶς καὶ ῥαδίως). For this reason, Posselius adapted the dialogues “to their soul and use.” Posselius further highlights the educational value of the texts and, finally, reminds his audience to use its linguistic skills to praise God and to propagate the right faith (i.e., Protestantism). It is clear that Posselius contextualizes his book both in the debate on the usefulness of Greek, stressing its value for Latin,⁵¹ and in the typical educational concept of *docta pietas* (“learned piety”), which entails possessing a profound humanistic learning and using it for the defense and propagation of the Protestant/Christian faith.⁵² This concept is later explained at length in the last dialogue, which is apparently unrelated to Erasmus’ *Formulae*. Here, Posselius summarizes his intention as follows (H 3v/H 4r): ἔστω τοιγαροῦν τέλος τῶν πόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων ἢ σοφὴ καὶ λόγιος εὐσέβεια/*Sit igitur finis studiorum nostrorum SAPIENS ET ELOQUENS PIETAS* (“Thus, prudent and learned piety is to be the goal of all our labors”).

It is noteworthy that Posselius does not mention Erasmus either in the dedicational letter of the 1587 edition or in the Greek preface of the 1590 edition, perhaps due to Protestant criticism of the *Colloquies*.⁵³ That the dialogues are intended for schoolboys and youngsters at the beginning of their university studies is evident from their contents, which are focused on the relationship between teacher and pupils in the classroom. Therefore, the ability to read, write, and speak is highlighted in various places in the dialogues. More than once, Posselius mentions writing tools, such as μελανδοχεῖον,

⁵¹ Cf. also Rhein, 2020.

⁵² Cf. Huber-Rebenich, 2001; Fuchs, 2017, 273.

⁵³ For contemporary criticism of Erasmus’ *Colloquia*, see e.g. Augustijn, 1986, 143 (namely Luther among the Protestants) and Bierlaire, 1978, 131–2. For criticism and interdiction by the Catholic Church, see Laes & Maraite & Paternotte, 2019, 41–2.

μαχαίριδιον, and πτερὸν γραφικόν (B 7v). The teacher is asked to give a Greek alphabet to his pupil (B 6v). Pupils ask for the Greek version of a Latin phrase (B 5v: Ἐνδοξότατε καθηγητά, διδάζόν με, ὅν τρόπον λέξω ἑλληνιστί *Johannes me verberavit* – “Most honored teacher, teach me how to say *Johannes me verberavit* [‘John has struck me’] in Greek”).⁵⁴ Another important theme is learning by heart. In the final methodological dialogue, Posselius emphasizes the importance of memorizing and even refers to Plato’s criticism of writing in *Phaedrus* (H 8v). In this context, Posselius suggests collecting phrases according to common places and writing them down in a phrasebook, a typical feature of Humanist learning (H 8v).⁵⁵

In the appended oration *De ratione discendae ac docendae linguae Latinae et Graecae* (“On the Method of Learning and Teaching Latin and Greek”), Posselius describes the ideal way of learning Greek. The boys will start at the age of 11. The first step is to learn Greek vocabulary from the weekly gospel readings (*evangelia dominicalia*) and offer them the *paradigmata* of Greek nouns and verbs ([K 7r]). One year later, the pupils will train by reading the Greek gospels without the Latin translations and deepening their grammatical knowledge of morphology and syntax ([K 7v]). When the pupils are between 14 and 16, they will start reading Greek prose and poetry. Posselius names Isocrates, Plutarch, Lucian, and Aesop as relevant prose authors and *Carmina aurea Pythagorae*, Phocylides, Hesiod, and Homer among the poets ([K 7v–K 8r]).

In addition to reading, the pupils will translate short Latin texts into Greek by using phrases taken from Isocrates and Demosthenes ([K 8r]). Posselius proposes simple letters by Cicero as a model. Finally, Posselius also recommends talking in Greek at certain hours ([K 8v]).

Ad hoc utile exercitium et illud accedere debet, ut certis quibusdam horis nihil aliud ipsis loqui liceat, nisi Graece. Ut enim in lingua Latina, sic et in Graeca illa, quae puer audivit, non solum scribendo, sed etiam loquendo ad usum transferre debet.

This useful exercise [i.e., translating from Latin into Greek] must be accompanied by another one; during certain hours, they [i.e., the pupils] are not allowed to speak anything else but Greek. For as in Latin likewise in Greek, a

⁵⁴ For bilingual instruction, cf. also Posselius, 1590, C 8v.

⁵⁵ Cf. also Johnson, 2006, 195 and 206.

boy must put into practice the things he heard not only by writing [them] but also by speaking [them].

To fill this curriculum, Posselius successively wrote various didactical volumes: *Syntaxis Graeca*, *Calligraphia oratoria*, and the *Dialogues*. The *Dialogues* are apparently intended to serve as a manual for “those hours” when the pupils will speak only in Greek, whereas the *Syntaxis* and the *Calligraphia* are intended as tools for writing exercises. The link between writing and speaking recurs in the *Dialogues* where Posselius says (D 1v), μάτην μανθάνομεν πολλά, ἐὰν μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ γράφειν καὶ τῷ λαλεῖν χρῶμεθα πρὸς τὸν βίον (“We learn many things in vain if we do not use them for life through writing and talking”).

During the second half of the 16th century, this program is part of a larger philhellenic movement among Protestant scholars. It is certainly to be connected with the firm establishment of Greek studies in Protestant universities and schools as well as the period of peace before the Thirty Years’ War, which was favorable to the prospering of these institutions. Prominent figures of this philhellenic movement include Michael Neander at Ilfeld, Laurentius Rhodoman, and Martin Crusius. All of them strongly advocated the active use of Greek. Like Posselius, Neander and his pupils also composed training books for writing Greek based on phrases collected from ancient authors.⁵⁶

Reprints of Posselius’ *Dialogues* and their Success

After presenting Posselius’ handling of the material and his intentions, we may finally ask the following question: Were these Greek dialogues really in use and did pupils speak Greek in the classroom? A first indication of Posselius’ success or failure could be the number of print editions of his book. Based on this measure, the *Dialogues* were apparently in demand and much appreciated. The VD16 catalogs four editions in the 16th century: 1587, 1588, 1590, and 1594 (all printed by Zacharias Lehmann in Wittenberg). The success continued in the 17th century with eight editions (there is only a conspicuous gap between 1623 and 1648, probably caused by the troubles of the Thirty Years’ War): 1601, 1606, 1611, 1614, 1618, 1623 (all printed by Zacharias Schürer in Wittenberg), 1648 (printed by Mevius in Wittenberg), and 1654 (printed by

⁵⁶ Cf. Weise, 2016, 132–3; Weise, 2020b, 200–1.

Wittigau in Leipzig). We even find a German edition from 1755 (printed by Kornius and Breitkopf in Wroclaw and Leipzig). Thirteen registered editions in three centuries are quite a success for a work written in Humanist Greek! But Posselius' *Dialogues* were not limited to Germany. The USTC (Universal Short Title Catalogue) also registers several English editions from the first half of the 17th century: 1630, 1635, and 1642 (all printed by the *Officina Societatis Bibliopolarum* in London). The British Library lists further editions from 1656 to 1733 (most of them printed by John Macock for the *Societas Stationariorum*): 1656, 1667, 1671, 1681, 1696, 1710, and 1733. These amount to 23 registered editions up to 1755!⁵⁷ If we consult the KVK, we can add at least the following editions: 1676 (Frankfurt am Main: Balthasar Christoph Wust), 1690 (edited by Gezelius in Turku), and 1785 (Leipzig: Breitkopf). Thus, there can be no doubt about the great success of Posselius' work, which can be found in libraries all over Europe.

The great success in England during the 17th and 18th centuries may have been influenced by English Classicism and the blossoming of Greek composition at that time.⁵⁸

The 1690 edition by Gezelius can certainly be linked to his other didactic works, especially his Greek translation of Comenius' *Ianua linguarum*, which once again shows Gezelius' engagement with active Greek.⁵⁹

The *Dialogues*' Latin part (i.e., the *Erasmus purgatus*) was also successful and developed an independent tradition that has lasted to the present. Andreas Fritsch republished the Latin dialogues in the Latin periodical *Vox Latina* in 1977 and the oration *De ratione discendae ac docendae linguae Latinae et Graecae* in 1985. There are even videos on Youtube of people reciting a 17th-century Latin-English version of the *Dialogues*.⁶⁰

Therefore, we may conclude that Posselius' method of active language acquisition was widely in demand and had different peaks. In Germany, most of the editions date from the end of the 16th to the first half of the 17th century, whereas in England the peak took place between the second half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century. In both countries, these peaks coincided with phases when Greek composition and recitation were especially cultivated. A short revival happened in the 20th century.

⁵⁷ Cf. Elsmann, 2016, 136.

⁵⁸ Cf. Weise, 2022b, 484–8.

⁵⁹ For Gezelius, see Päll, 2020, 421–3; Akujärvi/Korhonen/Päll/Sironen, 2022, 782–3.

⁶⁰ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IrYuTwGanQY> [accessed on 19 January 2022]. The Latin-English edition was published in London in 1623 (USTC No. 3011235).

Conclusion

As we have seen, the *Οικείων διαλόγων βιβλίον*, probably one of the most successful writings in Humanist Greek, is firmly connected to Posselius' ideas about language acquisition. Therefore, it is important to note that the book is designed to learn both conversational Latin and Ancient Greek in the classroom, which reveals the bilingual culture of the time.⁶¹ The inclusion of Greek in this program, with this language appearing to some extent even more important than Latin (if one considers the prefatory letter of the 1590 edition, which was written only in Greek), is remarkable. However, it is clear that Latin instruction remains the main goal from the beginning, as Posselius advertises Greek as a means to correctly understand Latin.

The analysis presented here proves that Posselius extensively used Erasmus' *Colloquiorum familiarium formulae* as a model. Posselius must have first created a revised Latin version by adapting his model—for instance, by omitting the dialogues on games, replacing pagan expressions and names, tempering humor, and simplifying some of the Latin expressions. The result was a sort of *Erasmus purgatus*, especially since the name of Erasmus is absent. The final step was apparently the translation into idiomatic Greek. Posselius fulfilled this task with such mastery that his work acquired a long afterlife. In this regard, his work can also be seen as a means to overwrite Erasmus and gain intellectual primacy.

The content of the *Dialogues* evokes situations in and outside the classroom for the benefit of pupils and university students. These two groups were Posselius' intended audience. The number of reprints proves a wide circulation and acknowledgment. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that some teachers also tried to use Posselius' method. Recitations of Greek speeches, poems, and plays as well as Greek disputations demanded a certain degree of fluency in understanding spoken Greek and assigned to spoken Greek a small but relatively firm place in scholastic and academic contexts of the Early Modern period.

⁶¹ Cf. especially Van Rooy, 2023.

Appendix: A Short Survey of Greek Colloquial Guides before and after Posselius⁶²

Although Posselius' book was the most widely used colloquial guide in Greek, it was not the only one. The dialogues of the *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana* are a model from antiquity.⁶³ Different versions appeared in print long before Posselius' *Dialogues*. For example, Beatus Rhenanus first published the *Hermeneumata Monacensia* as an appendix to Theodorus Gaza's Greek Grammar in 1516.⁶⁴ Many editions of this *Καθημερινῆς ὁμιλίας βιβλίον* or *Cottidiani colloquii libellus* followed (for Protestant schools, one may note the edition in Adam Siber's 1572 *Libellus scholasticus*).⁶⁵ Rhenanus noted that he published the text for beginners as he was asked to publish it. The *Hermeneumata* were also circulating as manuscripts among humanists. Reuchlin sent a version he had received from his teacher Hermonymus to Johann von Dalberg in 1489.⁶⁶ Later, the Jesuit Jacob Gretser (1562–1625) translated some of the dialogues by Jacob Spanmüller (Pontanus; 1542–1626) into Greek.⁶⁷ Spanmüller's Latin dialogues from his *Progymnasmata Latinitatis* (1588–94) were written to replace Erasmus' *Colloquia* at Jesuit schools.⁶⁸ In this regard, they are comparable to the work of Posselius. The same applies to Antoine Van Torre's *Dialogi familiares*, which include a short dialogue in Greek (*Formulae disputantium Graece*) about a contest between two pupils.⁶⁹

The most famous conversational guide after that of Posselius, however, is penned by E. Joannides, the pseudonym of Eduard Johnson (1840–1903).⁷⁰ This work is entitled *Sprechen Sie Attisch? Moderne Konversation in altgriechischer Umgangssprache nach den besten attischen Autoren* and it was

⁶² Cf. also the list on <https://subsidia.vivariumnovum.it/risorse-didattiche/per-la-pratica-didattica/colloquia-scholastica> [accessed on 13 April 2024].

⁶³ See Dickey, 2012.

⁶⁴ Cf. Goetz, 1892, XXI. See also Bömer, 1897, 6.

⁶⁵ See Siber, 1572, N 3r–[N 7r].

⁶⁶ See Dörner, 2013, 598.

⁶⁷ See e.g. Gretser, 1593, 112–8.

⁶⁸ See Bauer, 2001.

⁶⁹ See Laes & Maraite & Paternotte, 2019, 41–4.

⁷⁰ See https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eduard_Johnson [accessed on 19 January 2022].

first printed in 1889 (other editions came out in 1902, 1912, 1922, 1997, and 2012).⁷¹ The same writer also authored an even more successful conversational guide in Latin titled *Sprechen Sie Lateinisch? Moderne Konversation in lateinischer Sprache*, which first appeared only one year after the abovementioned one, in 1890.

Unlike Posselius' dialogues, Johnson's guides were written for the entertainment of those who had already learned Greek and Latin in school and later enjoyed it but did not know how to use it actively. Therefore, these guides integrate phrases from school life (see Johannides 1889, 26–35) as well as other areas, such as commerce, social life (e.g., dancing), love, politics, and playing skat.

The entertaining character of Johnson's Greek guide becomes apparent as he mentions Aristophanes as his main linguistic model.⁷² Although Posselius also uses some humoristic features, his principal purpose is pedagogical, whereas Johnson's aim is fun. Nevertheless, 19th-century linguistic research left a clear mark on the way Johnson advertises his use of ancient models.

A forerunner of Johnson was the Scottish Classicist John Stuart Blackie (1809–1895), who published *Greek and English Dialogues for Use in Schools and Colleges* in 1871. The book contains 25 dialogues on the following subjects: the heavens–the weather–the seasons (no. 1); the house and its furniture (no. 2); the country (no. 3); the town (no. 4); the school and the university (no. 5); grammar (no. 6); on Greek literature (no. 7); on animals (no. 8); the parts of the body (no. 9); on plants, trees, and flowers (no. 10); on rocks, stones, and the structure of the earth (no. 11); on chemistry (no. 12); rhetoric and *belles lettres* (no. 13); on arithmetic and mathematics (no. 14); logic and metaphysics (no. 15); moral philosophy (no. 16); on law and lawyers (no. 17); politics and forms of government (no. 18); on Latin literature (no. 19); on mechanical science (no. 20); on music (no. 21); the exhibition of paintings (no. 22); on health, strength, and disease (no. 23); on dress (no. 24); a dinner party (no. 25).

Like Johnson, Blackie demonstrates some humor in his dialogues. He also often alludes to Edinburgh (especially in the dialogue on “the town”) and integrates several quotations not only from Greek but also from English and Latin literature. After each dialogue, he gives a list of additional words and phrases.

⁷¹ For a review of the 2012 edition, see Fritsch, 2012. There is also an Italian version by Enrico Renna and Claudio Ferone which has its own scientific value as it references all ancient source material. See Johannides 1998.

⁷² For the sources, see esp. Johannides, 1998, 5–6.

Both Johnson and Blackie can be regarded as the Greek part of a broader movement whose representatives tried to revive the ancient languages by actively writing and speaking them. It seems that this was a reaction to schools' fixation on grammar, but it also coincided with the continuing reduction in the importance of the classical languages during the 19th and especially the 20th century. The Latin part of this movement, the *Latinitas viva*, is much better known than its Greek equivalent.⁷³

Even though there are clear differences with Posselius, all these works have in common a desire to make access to Ancient Greek more vivid than just through a grammar book.⁷⁴ For a relatively long period, from the end of the 16th to the 18th century, Posselius' attempt was quite successful and seems to have been situated in a context where spoken Greek had a small but firm place within the *res publica litterarum*.

⁷³ Cf. e.g. Fritsch, 2020.

⁷⁴ Cf. also Johannides, 1998, 7.

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Activating Greek at the Leuven Trilingue?

Rescius' Use of Greek in His 1543 *Odyssey* Course

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Abstract Traditionally, the spoken and written use of Ancient Greek at the Leuven Collegium Trilingue is assumed to have been minimal or even non-existent. This assumption is based on two inadequate pieces of evidence. On the one hand, the founder Jerome of Busleyden's will (1517) makes no mention of teaching an active command of Greek, focusing instead on the reading of texts. On the other hand, relatively few Greek compositions stemming from the Trilingue have surfaced thus far. Yet, we argue that Greek was in active spoken and written use in and around the Trilingue during its acme (ca. 1517–1578). To make our point, we consider in the first place student notes. This source type shows that the teaching occurred partly in Greek, in the sense that the texts read in class were paraphrased in Greek. This emerges from a course on Homer's *Odyssey* taught by Rutger Rescius in the fall of 1543, where the so-called Didymus scholia served as an important source for Greek paraphrases. The substantial amount of Greek in the student notes (more than 10%) leaves open the option that Trilingue students drew inspiration from this teaching to produce Greek poetry and prose in their later life.

Keywords Leuven Collegium Trilingue; Student notes; Greek language teaching; Rutgerus Rescius; Homer

Introduction*

When Jerome of Busleyden was drawing up his testament to found the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense, or the Three-Language College in Leuven (1517–1797), he touched only very briefly and generically on the didactic method to be adopted by the chairholders of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew:

Tres autem aliæ Bursæ pro tribus Præceptoribus, viris vñdecumque eruditis, probatis moribus et vitæ jnculpatæ statuuntur; qui jndies legant et profiteantur publice jn eodem Collegio tam Christianos quam morales ac alios probatos auctores omnibus eo aduentantibus, jn tribus linguis, Latina scilicet, Græca et Hebraica, diuersis horis pro sua et auditorij commoditate distribuendis, sine aliquo stipendio ab aduentantibus exigendo, et non exacto acceptando. (de Vocht, 1951–1955, I, 27)

And three other scholarships will be established for three teachers, erudite men from wherever, with approved morals and a blameless life, who are on a daily basis to read and publicly lecture, in the same College, on Christian as well as moral and other approved authors to all its visitors, in the three languages, namely Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, at different hours, to be divided as it suits themselves and their audience, without demanding any contribution from the visitors, and without accepting anything unasked for.

The professors should focus on two activities. The first is quite straightforward: reading the authors (*legant* [...] *auctores*), and it goes without saying that Busleyden meant reading the authors in the original languages—at the instigation of Erasmus of Rotterdam, his friend and source of inspiration who popularized the well-known humanist saying *ad fontes*, “to the sources.” However, the second activity is *profiteri*, a verb meaning “to declare publicly” and hence “to work as a professor.” This verb is less specific than “reading” but from student notes and other documents stemming from the Trilingue milieu it is clear that sixteenth-century Trilingue professors understood this *profiteri* as *praelegere* and *interpretari*. The first professor of Greek Rutgerus Rescius (ca. 1495–1545) from Maaseik, for instance, defended his choice to start a publishing house in 1529 by stating that he wanted to print Greek authors to lecture on (*praelegere*) and explain (*enarrare*; Rescius 1529, A ii^R). Rescius’ colleague and successor Adrien Amerot (Hadrianus Amerotius, ca. 1495–

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1560) put an even greater emphasis on the one-way direction of the knowledge transfer. In a French letter to his patrons Nicolas and Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle of 21 January 1548, he described the activity of his students of Greek as an act of passive “listening,” *ouïr* in French (edited in Van Rooy, 2020, 108). About two years earlier, in late 1545, Amerot had set out “to interpret” (*interpretari*) a declamation by Libanius, as he put it in an oration inaugurating his lectures (edited in Van Rooy, 2017, 336).

We could multiply these examples but it should be clear that not only the material founder Busleyden but also the first professors of Greek Rescius and Amerot considered their primary activity to consist in giving their students an advanced passive knowledge of the Greek language. This passivity bias is to some extent surprising, since both Rescius and Amerot were former students of Girolamo Aleandro (1480–1542) in Paris, a trilingual humanist who actively composed in Greek, both in private documents such as his journal and also in printed works (e.g. Aleandro, 1895; Pontani, 2002; Maillard & Flamand, 2010, 275–367). The choice of words reflecting a one-way transfer of knowledge from professor to student is also apparent from the Latin and Hebrew courses.¹ While these passive learning goals might seem obvious for Greek and especially Hebrew, which were basically new subjects in the Low Countries in 1517, the same does not hold true for Latin. The language of ancient Rome had become the lingua franca of learning and literature, of church and administration, of diplomacy and transnational debate. Evidently, an active mastery was required at the Trilingue, and students could only attend the Trilingue courses if they were very advanced in Latin, the main didactic metalanguage. For Greek, only a basic mastery of grammar seems to have been required, since this subject was apparently not touched at Busleyden’s college as far as we know. For modern scholars of the Trilingue, it seems to have followed quite naturally from this that a passive knowledge of Greek was the professors’ only concern. In fact, commentators such as Félix Nève (1856) and Henry de Vocht (1951–1955) have largely neglected the possibility of an active cultivation of Greek, even though de Vocht was very much aware of Greek compositions by such important Trilingue figures as Erasmus and Frans van Cranevelt (see e.g. de Vocht, 1928; 1950).

¹ For Latin, see e.g. the opening line to Petrus Nannius’ prefatory oration on *Aeneid* 4: *Interpretaturus quartum librum Aeneidos [...]* (Polet, 1936, 197). For Hebrew, see e.g. Brussels, KBR, Ms 8471-75, fol. 25^r: “Annotationes quæda[m] ad hebreæ linguæ noticiam plane neceßariæ prælectæ a M. ANDrea Baleno profeßore hæbraicarum literarum [...].” This manuscript has recently been edited semi-diplomatically in Maleux, 2023, 313–330.

By active cultivation we mean here that Greek came to be used in speaking and writing at the Trilingue in two ways similar to Latin in sixteenth-century intellectual culture: as a metalanguage in explaining Greek source texts in the classroom and also as a language of literary expression used by students and scholars working in the college's milieu.² We do not claim that the professor's use of Greek as a metalanguage in the classroom directly led to humanist compositions in Greek, but we do dare hypothesize that what happened in the classroom constituted a steppingstone toward what Hellenists did on their own time: writing poetry and prose in forms of Ancient Greek.³ After all, as Federico Aurora (2022, 527) points out: "[t]he most effective way to learn a second language appears to be to receive a sufficiently large amount of *comprehensible input* in the target language, and to receive it as *communicatively embedded input* [...] through both aural (spoken input) and visive (written input) channels" (emphasis original). There is compelling evidence for large amounts of written Greek input at the Trilingue through textbooks and reading classes, whereas several smoking guns indicate a substantial aural input communicatively embedded in Latin, the much better-known language of instruction.

In other words, notwithstanding the impression conveyed by the founder's testament, the terminology used by the institute's professors, and modern scholarship, Greek was activated in and around the Collegium Trilingue under its first three chairholders Rutger Rescius, Adrien Amerot, and Theodoricus Langius (died 1578). That is at least what we argue in this contribution by relying on two types of evidence that until very recently have been largely overlooked but are of crucial importance as they have been produced by Greek students of the Trilingue or scholars affiliated with this institute. The first type, on which we focus throughout the contribution, stems from within the classroom: notes taken during Greek literature classes revealing a fragmented oral usage of Greek by the professor. The second type concerns the Greek writings of students and affiliated scholars, briefly addressed in the final section. Especially those New Ancient Greek texts that were composed during these Hellenists' time at the institute are of great value for our argument. Taken together, these source types provide compelling evidence for the hypothesis that active Greek was cultivated at the Trilingue at least to some extent, in part

² We use active Greek therefore in the meaning of Aurora (2022) and the literature cited there. We thank the anonymous reviewers for their critical comments, which encouraged us to reflect on our argument and relate it to modern literature on second language acquisition.

³ On this "New Ancient Greek" writing, see most recently Van Rooy (2023a) and the references there (with a definition of the term at pp. 17–22).

as a side effect of the teaching method adopted, with substantial written and aural input. We start by discussing active Greek as it is reflected in three bodies of student notes, with a focus on the aural input as reflected in the corpus of Johannes Aegidius, the first source we found and have in the meantime entirely edited in DaLeT, the Database of the Leuven Trilingue. The concluding section to this contribution provides an outlook on the New Ancient Greek written output of Trilingue actors who can be related to Rescius' professorship (ca. 1518–1545).

Aural Input in a 1543 *Odyssey* Course: Greek in the Notes of Johannes Aegidius

Among Rescius' favorite texts to lecture on were Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.⁴ He read both epics on at least three separate occasions, a first time from July 1533 until around July 1534, allegedly explaining the entire *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, in that order, and again the *Iliad* in 1535 (Van Rooy, 2022, 186–187). Rescius presumably taught the *Odyssey* one last time in the year 1543, with the actual course starting on 23 October, as a provenance note by a certain Johannes Aegidius shows. This Aegidius wrote down this note on the title page of his copy of the *Odyssey* edition which Rescius had published himself in 1535, together with Bartholomaeus Gravius.⁵ Aegidius' student notes taken during Rescius' courses cover the first two and a half books or about 1000 verses of the *Odyssey*, which tell the story of Telemachus' wanderings in search of his missing father Odysseus.

Not much is known about Johannes Aegidius, which has to be a Latinization of the common Flemish name Jan Gillis or Gilles. Perhaps he can be identified with the Jan Gillis (ca. 1519–1581) who was active as the town clerk of Antwerp from 1556 until his death. This Jan Gillis, unrelated to Erasmus' close friend Pieter Gillis (1486–1533), enrolled at the Arts Faculty in Leuven on 14 May 1532 (Schillings, 1961, 72, no. 40; Van Vlierberge, 1989, 13–14). Assuming that he matriculated at the average age of 13 or 14 years, Gillis was most likely born around 1519. As students generally completed their training

⁴ The first two paragraphs of this section are largely based on Feys (in press). On the importance of Homer in the early modern period, see, among others, Ford, 2007; Morantin, 2017; Prospero & Ciccolella, 2020.

⁵ Held at Ghent, University Library, shelfmark BIB.CL.00451; see Van Rooy (2022) for a first global assessment of the notes (= DaLeT Copy ID 1).

in the liberal arts within two years, Gillis most likely graduated from the Arts Faculty in 1534. It is unknown whether he then pursued his studies at one of the four higher faculties: Medicine, Theology, Civil Law, and Canon Law. In any case, leaving Leuven behind, he registered at the University of Orléans, where, by 1541, he qualified as a *licentiatus* (“licentiate”) in both civil and canon law at the age of 22 (Van Vlierberge, 1989, 1–8). It is possible that by October 1543 Gillis returned to Leuven to attend the Greek lectures at the Trilingue. If indeed this Jan Gillis can be identified as the Trilingue student Johannes Aegidius, he must have been about 24 years old. This is perhaps quite an advanced age, especially in contrast to the students at the Arts Faculty, yet it seems not to have been exceptional at the Collegium Trilingue. Nicolaus Episcopius the Younger (c.1531–1565), for example, must have been around 18 years old, when he attended Petrus Nannius’ courses on Vergil’s *Aeneid* 12 in the fall of 1549 (Feys, 2022).

How did Aegidius annotate the *Odyssey*? And to what extent do his notes reflect an oral use of Greek by Rescius? A first striking feature of Aegidius’ notes, 1583 in total, is that they are for a considerable part in Greek.⁶ In addition to many Latin translations, paraphrases, and philological remarks, the annotations offer synonyms (149 cases = 9,4%) and paraphrases (36 cases = 2,3%) in Greek. These figures suggest that more than one in ten of his explanations, Rescius used the original language of the author read, albeit typically in the “common Greek” form as it was conceived in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. With Ciccolella (2008, 123), we consider this “common Greek” to be a language based primarily on the Attic dialect and the Koine, with some Ionic elements. In the Neo-Latin discourse of the time, this variety is typically called *lingua communis* (“the common language”), or simply *lingua Graeca* (“Greek”), and takes center stage in grammars of the language. In other words, Rescius must have explained Homer’s odd-looking Greek by means of this more familiar form of the language. Since it is impossible to discuss all examples of Greek synonyms and paraphrases (185 in total), we offer a representative selection below, analyzing how and to what extent these notes reflect an aural input for the Greek language learner.

For instance, when reading the *Odyssey*’s opening lines, Rescius seems to have glossed the key word ἄλγεα, “woes,” on line 1.4 in Greek, since Aegidius wrote above the word:

⁶ Figures from DaLeT are as of 7 November 2023.

- (1) Κακα (DaLeT ID 33)⁷
“evils”
AL: 1.4 Πολλά δ’ ὄγ’ ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν **ἄλγεα**, ὄν κατὰ θυμόν,
IF: κακά

As such, Rescius explained the more difficult word ἄλγος, “woe,” by an easier equivalent: the substantivized adjective κακόν, “evil,” probably ultimately drawn from Hesychius.⁸ By proceeding thus, the professor helped the student build a mental thesaurus, consolidating basic vocabulary items such as κακός and extending it with new lexical entries such as ἄλγος as part of an intensive reading process. At the same time, Rescius primed the syntactic frame of the sentence by putting the gloss in the same case, gender, and number as the annotated word, so that it would fit into the sentence syntactically, although not metrically. In example (2), Rescius offered a synonym for ἐπιεικῆς in much the same way as in (1).⁹

- (2) πρεπον (DaLeT ID 990)
“fitting”
AL: 2.207 ἐρχόμεθ’ ὡς **ἐπιεικῆς** ὀπυέμεν ἐστὶν ἐκάστῳ.
IF: πρέπον

In (3) he added a Latin rendering, probably taken from Andreas Divus’ translation, to the common Greek synonym for Homeric ἐχθαίρουσ’ (ἐχθαίρουσι).¹⁰

⁷ We refer to the annotations by using the DaLeT Annotation IDs, which can be searched for on the DaLeT website using the Quickfind function. We offer here the semi-diplomatic rendering of the notes as they also appear in DaLeT (edited in Feys & Van Rooy, 2022), meaning that we do not correct Aegidius’ notes, not only because this would result in a tremendous loss of information but also because in some cases it is simply impossible to know for sure which Greek word Aegidius intended. For each annotation, we also supply the annotated line or lines (abbreviated as AL), with the word or words annotated in bold, and the intended form (IF in short) in modern orthography for Ancient Greek, if applicable.

⁸ Cf. Hesychius, 1514, b.iiiiv–b.vv: Ἄλγεα, ἀλγεινὰ κακά. ὀδύνας. πῆματα. See Section 4 on Rescius’ indirect access to Hesychius. We quote Hesychius as it was printed in 1514.

⁹ Cf. Hesychius, 1514, i.viiiiv: Ἐπιεικῆς, καθῆκον. πρέπον. προσῆκον. ἰκανόν.

¹⁰ See Homer, 1537, 21v: *Oderunt uulgo sequentes Dei uaticinium?*

- (3) μισοῦσι oderu[n]t (DaLeT ID 1539)
 “they hate” (2x)
 AL: 3.215 ἐχθαίρουσ’ ἀνὰ δῆμον ἐπισπόμενοι θεοῦ ὁμοφῆ.
 IF: μισοῦσι (without the Latin <i> for the second Greek iota <i>
 here)

Examples (2)–(3) can be analyzed in much the same way as (1), in the sense that the Greek glosses enriched the student’s mental lexicon and deepened his syntactic knowledge, thus realizing the Erasmusian ideal of linguistic *copia*, “abundance,” also for Greek. As such, our analysis of Aegidius’ notes suggests that the Greek glosses served as a two-way street. By offering more common Greek forms, Rescius encouraged the student to internalize both the unusual Homeric Greek and the common Greek variants, thus putting him in a good position to acquire the language in its intricacies, by teaching him two different literary registers at the same time: poetry such as Homer’s, where a mixed language was acceptable, and the “common language” of his exegesis.

This bidirectional language acquisition process was, however, complicated by one of the greatest obstacles to Greek language learning throughout the early modern period, but especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: its pronunciation.¹¹ In the 1400s and 1500s, professors practiced by default the vernacular pronunciation, which entailed a major divergence between orthography and pronunciation. At the Trilingue, too, even though Adrien Amerot had offered a reconstructed Erasmusian pronunciation *avant la lettre* in 1520, no doubt inspired by his teacher Aleandro’s ideas (Bywater, 1908), the vernacular variant held sway in the classroom. This fact is not only confirmed by the Trilingue student Nicolaus Clenardus’ (1495–1542) grammar but also, and more compellingly, by student notes like Aegidius’.¹² The vernacular pronunciation, in combination with a classroom context where there was no flexible visual support through a blackboard, could greatly confuse students and hamper the bidirectional learning process, as in (4):

- (4) δυνῆν (DaLeT ID 54)
 “terrible”

¹¹ For a somewhat outdated but still invaluable historical overview, with extensive attention to the early modern period, see the monumental work by Drerup, 1930–1932.

¹² For Clenardus as Trilingue student see e.g. de Vocht (1951–1955, II, 223), who points out – not without some exaggeration – that Clenardus never forgot “that he owed to him [sc. Rescius] all his knowledge of Greek.”

AL: 1.11 ἔνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ὅσοι φύγον **αἰπὺν** ὄλεθρον
IF: δεινὸν¹³

It seems doubtful that Aegidius understood the word Rescius had said, even if the adjective δεινός was a much more common lexical item than the αἰπύς in Homer's text. As a result, the student failed to increase his active Greek competence on two levels. Not only was the word in the gloss apparently lacking from his mental lexicon, this gap also implies that he was unable to catch the meaning of the poetic adjective αἰπύς, thus missing out on a double opportunity to consolidate his Greek knowledge. Cases such as (4) suggest that Aegidius' notes were taken during Rescius' actual classes and not corrected afterward. The notes can therefore be considered first-order, which is quite exceptional if judged by the corpus of extant student notes from the early modern period which has thus far been in focus (Blair, 2008, 40) but perhaps not if one only looks at ad-hoc notes from sixteenth-century Greek classes (cf. Ellis, 2020; Feys & Van Rooy, 2021 for comparable mistakes deriving from pronunciation).

The student's faulty processing of the professor's utterings could be even worse. In (5) Aegidius is likely to have parsed Rescius' oral explanations wrongly:

(5) τετημασουσι (DaLeT ID 972)
“they will prepare”

AL: 2.196 οἱ δὲ γάμον τεύξουσι καὶ **ἀρτυνέουσιν** ἔεδνα
IF: ἐτοιμάσουσι¹⁴

This mistake not only shows the iotacistic pronunciation of Rescius, but perhaps also that the professor mixed Latin and Greek while explaining this passage. It is not inconceivable that he commented on the line as follows, if we also take into account other annotations on the same line: *parabunt et ἐτοιμάσουσι munera*.¹⁵ In this hypothetical scenario, then, Aegidius would have

¹³ Cf. Pseudo-Didymus, 1539, 9, s.v. ΑΙΠΥΝ: δεινὸν χαλεπὸν. See also Section 4 and Hesychius, 1514, b.ii^r: Αἰπύς, μέγας δεινὸς ὑψηλὸς μετέωρος. It is unclear to us why the second vowel was changed to <η> from expected δεινὸν to δυνῆν. Perhaps the student was misled by the [i] sound of the final vowel in αἰπὺν? Or did the student misunderstand the professor?

¹⁴ Cf. *Scholia Graeca in Odyseam* (ed. Pontani, 2007b, 303 [β.196^e]): ἀρτυνέουσιν: ἐτοιμάσουσιν.

¹⁵ The reconstruction is based on DaLeT IDs 971–973, which contain the notes “parabunt” (971),

reinterpreted the final [t] of [et] as the initial stop of [etimasusi], resulting in the sound [tetimasusi], which he wrote as τετημασουσι.

Next to code-switching, alphabet-switching also caused problems to Aegidius, who tended to mix Latin letters in Greek words. In particular, he often confused Greek <ι> with Latin <i> as in example (3). Such orthographic and parsing mistakes could be dismissingly attributed to the student's defective knowledge of Greek, which is the intuitive attitude for present-day Hellenists to adopt toward such sources, and which is perhaps why student notes have thus far not yet attracted much attention. We argue to go beyond such a dismissive attitude, maintaining that student notes reflect a learning strategy adopted by Rescius, and partly aimed at activating the students' knowledge of Greek in a dynamic way. More specifically, Rescius did so by making his audience listen attentively to his bilingual Latin-Greek explanations, where it was up to the student to determine which word was Latin and which Greek. This decision process could go wrong, as Aegidius' notes show, for instance, in (6):

- (6) βοητους αυξιλιatores (DaLeT ID 1136)
“helpers” (2x)
AL: 2.326 ἢ τινας ἐκ πύλου ἄξει **ἀμύντορας** ἡμαθόεντος.
IF: βοηθούς auxiliatores

As in (3), Rescius must have first offered a Greek synonym for ἀμύντορας, again in the same case, number, and gender, before translating the word into Latin. Aegidius, however, did at first not realize that Rescius was code-switching from one language to the other, thus writing the first five letters still in the Greek alphabet but then changing to the Latin. The fact that the professor several times first offered a Greek explanation and only then a Latin rendering seems to suggest that he envisaged to train a Greek mindset by explaining the meaning of the text as much as possible in Greek. As such, Rescius' method effectively mirrored a common practice in western Latin classes but also in Byzantium: commenting upon a text in its original language. However, Rescius did not explain everything in Greek, since he could not expect from his students to show a mastery of this language on a level similar to Latin, and no doubt also because he spoke better Latin than Greek himself. Additionally,

“τετημασουσι” (972), and “munera” (973). Alternatively, as one reviewer remarks, Rescius may have simply stated, following the Greek scholia, that “ἀρτυνέουσιν est ἐτοιμάσουσιν,” providing a simpler explanation for the initial τ in τετημασουσι.

the use of the wrong alphabet occurs more often in the opposite direction, with Aegidius writing Latin letters where we would expect Greek ones.¹⁶ Anyhow, common Greek served as a kind of additional metalanguage next to Latin that Rescius used in his teaching to comment upon the unfamiliar Greek of Homer’s *Odyssey*, creating a triangular linguistic relationship visualized by Figure 1.

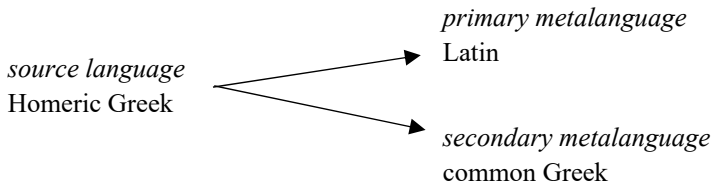


Figure 1: Source and metalanguages in Aegidius’ notes

In addition to glossing, another kind of annotations reinforces the hypothesis that Rescius created Greek aural input when lecturing on Homer’s *Odyssey*. There is a broad category of annotations we have labelled in DaLeT as “normalization of Greek,” because these notes, consisting largely in individual Greek letters and non-alphabetic marks rather than full-blown words, indicate that a Homeric form is uncommon Greek, and in many cases also suggest what the common Greek form would be. These normalizing notes constitute 23% of the entire corpus and stimulate a similar dynamic as the Greek glosses we discussed earlier. Rescius offered orally the common Greek form which the student was invited to commit to memory by marking the uncommon Homeric forms. In these cases, Aegidius typically used strikes to delete one or more letters that would be different in common Greek, or wrote one or a few extra Greek letters needed to arrive at the common Greek form, or a combination of these two note-taking strategies. The simplest strategy is to strike one or more letters that are superfluous to common Greek norms, as in (7).

- (7) **ξόντας** (DaLeT ID 91)¹⁷
 “[for ὄντας, “being”]”
 AL: 1.22 ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν αἰθίοπας μετεκίαθε τηλόθ’ **ξόντας**.

¹⁶ See e.g. DaLeT ID 1414: “odyβ[ea] τ. q[ua]re Odyβευς voce[tur] Vlyβes ipse dicit.” Here, we would expect “Οδυσσεὺς” rather than “Οδυβευς.”

¹⁷ The bold indicates that the word was not written by Aegidius but is part of the printed text of Rescius’ edition. Cf. also DaLeT ID 618 for an identical annotation.

The strike marks that the common Greek variant for Homeric (Ionic) ἔοντα^ς is ὄντα^ς, the masculine accusative plural present participle of εἶμι, “to be.” In general, these normalizations pertain to variation in Greek morphology. In (8), the strike is accompanied by the ending considered typical of common Greek.

- ωσαν
- (8) ~~παυέσθων~~ (DaLeT ID 938)
 “[for παυέσθ]ωσαν”
 AL: 2.169 **παυέσθων**. καὶ γάρ σφιν ἄφαρ τόδε λωῖόν ἐστιν.

The middle present imperative third person plural παυέσθων “let them stop,” Rescius must have said, would be παυέσθωσαν in common Greek.¹⁸ So-called normalization of Greek could also occur without striking letters but only adding some, as in (9).

- (9) **επλάζετ’** (DaLeT ID 1597)
 “[for] ἐ[πλάζετ’]”
 AL: 3.252 **πλάζετ’** ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπους. ὁ δὲ θαρσήσας κατέπεφνε.
 IF: ἐπλάζετο

Here, Aegidius added an epsilon <ε> to indicate that in common Greek this verb would have a syllabic augment.

Overall, the strategy of striking and adding letters typically occurs with forms of the Greek verb, one of the main hurdles for the student of the language. Especially deviations in terms of augment and contraction, often in the endings, are marked, as are unusual infinitive endings, such as in (10).

- (10) ~~ἀκουέμεν~~ (DaLeT ID 605)
 “[for ἀκούειν]”
 AL: 1.370 ἔστω. ἐπεὶ τόδε καλὸν **ἀκουέμεν** ἐστὶν αἰοιδῶ

¹⁸ Cf. the grammar of Amerot (1520, K.ii^f), where this form is exemplified in the paradigm of τύπτω as τυπέσθωσαν.

However, also parts of speech other than the verb are regularized, including especially nouns (11), adjectives (12), pronouns (13), adverbs (14–15), conjunctions (16), and particles (17).

- (11) ^η**βίηφι** (DaLeT ID 650)
 “[for βί]η”
 AL: 1.403 μὴ γὰρ ὁ γ’ ἔλθοι ἀνὴρ ὅς τις ἀέκοντα **βίηφι**
- (12) ^ε**ἱρὸν** (DaLeT ID 1640)
 “[for ἱ]ε[ρὸν]”
 AL: 3.278 ἀλλ’ ὅτε σούνιον **ἱρὸν** ἀφικόμεθ’ ἄκρον ἀθηνῶν,
- (13) ^σ**τοῖ** (DaLeT ID 394)
 “[for] σ[οῖ]”
 AL: 1.179 **τοῖ** γὰρ ἐγώτοι ταῦτα μάλ’ ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω.
- (14) ^η**πολλὸν** (DaLeT ID 1585)¹⁹
 “[read πολλ]η”
 AL: 3.250 αἴγισθος δολόμητις, ἐπεὶ κτάνε **πολλὸν** ἀρείω.
 IF: πολὺ (‘much; a lot’)
- (15) ^α**τροίηθεν** (DaLeT ID 1603)
 “[for τροί]α[θεν]”
 AL: 3.257 ἀτρείδης **τροίηθεν** ἰὼν ξανθὸς μενέλαος:
 IF: Τροίαθεν (‘from Troy’)

¹⁹ This annotation reveals again the iotacistic pronunciation of Rescius.

- (16) ~~ἤτοι~~ (DaLeT ID 657)
“[for ἤτοι]”
AL: 1.408 **ἤετοι** ἀγγελίην πατρὸς φέρει ἐρχομένοιο.

- (17) ^ε**ποθι** (DaLeT ID 619)
“[for ποθ]ε”
AL: 1.379 αἶ κέ **ποθι** ζεὺς δῶσι παλίντιτα ἔργα γενέσθαι,
IF: ποτε

Sometimes, Aegidius refrained from using his letter-striking and adding approach, offering instead the common Greek forms in full, as in (18).

- (18) κατέλιπεν (DaLeT ID 1631)²⁰
“he left behind”
AL: 3.271 **κάλλιπεν** οἰωνοῖσιν ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γενέσθαι.

We have included among the normalizing notes also a number of Greek synonyms (glosses) that can be understood as common Greek alternatives for rare or unusual words in the Homeric text. In (19), for instance, Aegidius added between the lines the aorist participle form of the common Greek verb *πάσχω* as an alternative for the verb *μογέω*.

- (19) παθῶν (DaLeT ID 1558)
“having endured”
AL: 3.232 βουλοίμην δ’ ἔγωγε καὶ ἄλγεα πολλὰ **μογήσας**,
IF: παθῶν

The figure of 23% for the normalizing notes can even be pushed up to 30,7% if we add to it the strikes marking tmeses (20–21) (7,3% / 115 cases) and toward the end of the corpus sometimes also hyperbata (22) (0,4% / 6 cases). These marks also imply an idea of what common Greek would look like, that is: without tmeses and hyperbata. A typical example is (20), where two strikes serve to indicate that *ἀπὸ* and *δοθείη* are to be read together:

²⁰ Cf. also DaLeT IDs 28 and 1376.

- (20) ~~ἀπό πάντα δοθείη~~ (DaLeT ID 815–816)
 “[read ἀποδοθείη]”
 AL: 2.78 χρήματ’ ἀπαιτίζοντες ἕως κ’ ἀπό πάντα δοθείη.

A peculiar case is (21), where we not only find two strikes marking a tmesis but also a deletion of a letter according to common Greek norms:

- (21) ~~παρα/λεχέεσσι κλιθῆναι~~ (DaLeT ID 599–600, 602)
 “[read παρακλιθῆναι]”
 AL: 1.366 πάντες δ’ ἠρήσαντο, **παραί** λεχέεσσι **κλιθῆναι**.

Toward the end of Aegidius’ annotations, there are two cases where the paired strikes do not mark a tmesis but rather a hyperbaton, as in (22), where Aegidius struck two words in the same case that belong together:

- (22) ~~τίνα δ’ αὐτῷ μήσατ’ ὄλεθρον~~ (DaLeT ID 1584, 1590)
 “[read τίνα with ὄλεθρον]”
 AL: 3.249 ποῦ μενέλαος ἔην. **τίνα** δ’ αὐτῷ μήσατ’ **ὄλεθρον**

In sum, this wide array of normalizing notes seems to indicate that Rescius aimed to sharpen the students’ Greek linguistic instinct by systematically offering common Greek variants for the unfamiliar Homeric forms and syntax that usually did not have a prominent place in the Greek grammars of the day. As such the professor offered a broad array of aural input for language learners to take advantage of.

Finally, certain other types of notes might also reflect a concern over helping the students acquire the Greek language more effectively. For instance, many of the 43 etymological annotations (2,7%) can help the students commit a word and its meaning to their memory. In (23), the meaning of μῆλον “sheep” is said to transpire from the onomatopoeic origin of the word.

- (23) A voce qua[m] emittu[n]t oues & caprae vocantur μῆλα:
 Generaliter aliqu[ando] pro o[mn]ibus a[n]i[m]alibus accipitur.
 (DaLeT ID 291)²¹

²¹ Cf. Varro, *De re rustica* 2.1.6–7.

“Because of the sound which sheep and goats produce they are called μῆλα. Sometimes it is used in a general sense for all animals.”

AL: 1.92 μῆλ’ ἀδινὰ σφάζουσι, καὶ εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς.

Several annotations with grammatical (3,2%) and lexical (2,3%) explanations probably also reflect the professor’s attempts at fortifying the student’s knowledge of active Greek. An example of a note combining both a grammatical and a lexical dimension is (24).

- (24) Ab ἀκάζομαι, ἦκασμαι partic[ipio] ἦκασμενος, mutatur aut[em] σ in χ abiecto augmento. (DaLeT ID 316)

“From ἀκάζομαι, ἦκασμαι, participle ἦκασμενος, but the sigma <σ> is changed into chi <χ>, with the augment cast off.”

AL: 1.99 εἴλετο δ’ ἄλκιμον ἔγχος ἀκαχμένον ὄξεϊ χαλκῷ,

IF: presumably ἦκασμένος

Rescius must have explained in class that the word ἀκαχμένον is a participle form of the unattested middle-passive verb ἀκάζομαι meaning something like “to be sharp.” In sixteenth-century Greek teaching at Leuven, such a verb is typically called a *thema inusitatum*, “a root verb not found in usage” (cf. DaLeT ID 385: “ab i[n]usit[at]o εἶδημι”; 786: “Ab inusit[at]o verbo δαέω”; Peetermans & Maleux, 2021). The perfect indicative would then be ἦκασμαι. Hence, the regular perfect participle would be ἦκασμένος, a form that underwent a number of letter mutations to become Homeric ἀκαχμένος. Not only did the regular participle lose its temporal augment, with <η> turned into <α>, but its <σ> was also changed into <χ>. Whereas the lexical derivation in this note might not have been very helpful for the student in view of acquiring active Greek skills, since the verb ἀκάζομαι did not actually exist, the underlying grammatical principles Rescius hinted at were. He showed his student how certain ground forms of a verb with a root ending in -ζ- were formed, and how letter changes created deviant forms. Such notes tracing back Homeric verbs to *themata*, “ground forms,” occur several times in Aegidius’ corpus, sometimes even using Greek as metalanguage, as in (25):

- (25) ἀπὸ τοῦ στέλλω (DaLeT ID 1074)

“derived from στέλλω [“to prepare”]”

AL: 2.287 ὅς τοι νῆα θοὴν στελέω καὶ ἄμ’ ἔσομαι αὐτός.

Here, the ground form *στέλλω* of the future verb *στελέω* is offered in perfectly accented Greek and is preceded by a Greek preposition and article, marking a typical Greek phrase for reducing a verb to its ground form.

In conclusion, the types of annotations we have been highlighting here seem to reflect a substantial aural input by Rescius for his students, fostering their active language competences. Yet, Aegidius' Greek contains many mistakes, due to the oral character of Rescius' classes as well as to the student's imperfect knowledge of the Greek language, despite his relatively advanced age. Aegidius used different annotation strategies to reach his language learning goals, going beyond simple full-text annotations. Most notably, his corpus displays an elaborate system of strikes revealing a strict contrast between common and Homeric Greek that fostered active language acquisition and, what is more, the internalization of two distinct varieties of the Greek language. This salient feature of Aegidius' corpus of notes brings up two new sets of questions. Firstly, how substantial was aural input in Rescius' classroom? Is Aegidius a representative case? Or is his fixation on common Greek exceptional? Did other students mainly envisage a passive reading competence? In order to answer this first group of questions, we first take a look at several sets of notes from the same class we have found. Next, we assess the agency of Rutger Rescius in his oral Greek output. Did he produce the Greek glosses and explanations himself? Or did he rely on Greek sources for this dimension of his teaching? Or perhaps he did both?

Beyond Aegidius: Greek Aural Input in two Parallel Sets of Student Notes

For Rescius' 1543 course on the *Odyssey* we are fortunate enough to have found at least two parallel sets of student notes, one kept at Eton College Library (shelfmark Fa.4.13), the other at the Royal Library of Windsor Castle (shelfmark RCIN 1058109).²² These parallel notes put us in a unique position, as they enable us to compare in great detail the classroom practice of several individuals who most probably attended the same series of lectures. In what follows, we first offer a brief description of these additional two sources,

²² Possibly, there are even more parallel sets in extant copies of Rescius and Gravius' 1535 Homer edition (e.g. Leiden University Library, 756 C 5), several of which we have thus far been unable to consult. See for more details Feys (in preparation, Section 2.4.6).

before focusing on some specific annotations and what we can infer from them concerning the aural input of Greek.

The densely annotated copy of Eton College Library was held by at least two sixteenth-century individuals, judging by their respective provenance notes on the title page. Added in between the Greek title and its Latin translation, the first of these simply reads “Gerardus Aemilius Roterodamus.” Under the Latin title, the same hand also added the Greek words Ἀστροβῆς [sic] κίων ἢ φιλία (“Friendship is a steadfast pillar”), perhaps an allusion to Pindar (*Ol.* 2.82). This Gerardus Aemilius of Rotterdam is most likely the very same person we find in the matriculation lists of the Old University of Leuven. For it seems that on 28 August 1543 – a mere two months before Rescius started lecturing on the text – one ‘Gerardus Emilius, Rotrodamus’ enrolled (Schillings, 1961, 264, no. 118). A second provenance note at the bottom of the title page reads “Sum Jacobi à Duenuoirde & À Woude. .1560.”, who is perhaps to be identified with Jacob van Duvenvoorde, lord of Warmond, Woude, and Alkemade (1509–1577).

The Eton copy exhibits numerous notes covering the entire *Odyssey*, nearly all written in the handwriting of Aemilius, the last annotation being added to 24.538 (fol. ee.iii^r).²³ Aside from the date of Aemilius’ enrolment and the apparent likeness of his notes with those of Aegidius, to which we will come in a moment, the most telling argument that Aemilius’ annotations stem from within the Collegium Trilingue is the fact that Rescius is mentioned several times by name, for instance in a grammatical note on fol. A.iii^r (26), not present in Aegidius’ annotations.²⁴

- (26) σε pro σον putat Resci[us]. primitiu[m] pro possessiu[m]
“σε instead of σον, Rescius believes. The primitive [i.e. the basic form of the personal pronoun] instead of the possessive [pronoun].”

²³ Presumably a second hand added brief summaries of the story in the margins throughout. These are of little importance for the present contribution and are consequently left out of consideration here.

²⁴ Rescius is again mentioned at 4.248 (fol. H.i^r: “δέκτη) q[ui]da[m] putat e[ss]e propriu[m] nome[n] sed no[n] e[st], teste Rescio, q[ui]a venit a δεχομαι, q[ui]a libenter paup[er]es aliq[ui]d suscipiu[n]t”); at 4.294 (fol. H.ii^r: “+ ὥρα ·/· cura vt antiquu[m] Aldinu[m] exe[m]plar h[abet] Rescius putat legendu[m] ὥρα ·/· t[em]p[us] ut sit t[em]p[us] sc[ilicet] i[n] eundo ad lectu[m].”); and at 10.304 (fol. X.iii^v: “Rescio ρίζη datiuo lege[n]dum videtur”).

AL: 1.64 τέκνον ἐμόν, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων
IF: σὸν

The Royal Library copy, on the other hand, is annotated by only one, anonymous hand—which we henceforth refer to as “Anonymus.” The notes in this copy cover books 1 through 4, the last annotated line being 4.132 on fol. G.iii^r. Unfortunately, the two lines on the title page most likely indicating the provenance seem to have been erased. Occasionally, as with Aegidius, some passages are not annotated, most likely pointing to a lecture the student skipped. On folia A.iii^{r-v} (*Od.* 1.80–95) and A.iv^r (*Od.* 1.131–142), the blind spots in Anonymus’ notes amount to 16 and 12 verses respectively, perhaps reflecting the amount of verses missed by skipping one class.²⁵ This amount seems to correspond roughly to the pace with which one of Rescius’ successors, Theodoricus Langius, is said to have read Sophocles’ *Oedipus Rex*: about 20 lines per class (Van Rooy & Van Hal, 2018, 138).

The handwriting of Anonymus closely resembles that of several other primary sources unquestionably linked to the Collegium Trilingue, and especially to Petrus Nannius, the third professor of Latin, and Rescius’ close colleague. Most notably, the same handwriting occurs in a collection of six manuscript letters which Nannius sent to his friend Andreas Masius (1514–1573), former Trilingue student and a noted scholar of Hebrew and Syriac. Two of these, both dated 25 March 1544, are drawn up in the same anonymous hand, and were revised and signed by Nannius himself, who at the end added: “aliena manu ob i[m]me[n]sa[m] dolore[m] capitis” (“[written] by another hand due to an immense headache”). From this evidence we can gather that Rescius’ student, who apparently also served as Nannius’ assistant, resided in Leuven from 23 October 1543 (the start of the *Odyssey* lectures) until 25 March of the next year at the very least, and most likely much longer.²⁶

²⁵ In the former passage, Anonymus did add two interlinear Latin translations (“mercuriu[m]” as a gloss for ἐρμείαν, and “uadam” for ἐσελεύσομαι), suggesting that he might have followed only part of the course giving the translation or that he perhaps tried to translate himself.

²⁶ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm 23736 (items 99–104, with items 99–100 written by the anonymous student). Also, an incomplete and undated manuscript Latin translation of the sixth book of Polybius’ Ἱστορίαι accredited to Nannius is written in the same handwriting (Leiden, University Library, ms. VUL 45 B). Annotations, furthermore, seemingly in the same handwriting once more, are found in a copy of Cicero’s *Pro Caelio* (Leuven: Servatius Sassenus, 1549), now held at the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg (shelfmark 7.5.2.111).

To prove that the Eton College Library and Royal Library copies contain notes parallel to those of Aegidius, let us compare an instance of marginal annotations shared by the three sets. The first instance in (27) pertains to lines 1.7–9 (fol. A.ii^r) and recalls the folly of Odysseus’ crew in devouring Helios Hyperion’s cattle.

- (27) AL: 1.7–9 αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρησιν ἀτασθαλίησιν ὄλοντο / νήπιοι,
οἱ κατὰ βοῦς ὑπερίονος ἠελίοιο / ἥσθιον.

Aegidius:

Vide Ch[iliadis] 2. c[enturia] 10. A[dagium] 62 (DaLeT ID 44)
“See the second chiliad [of Erasmus’ *Adagia*], the tenth series, proverb 62.”

Aemilius:

Vide p[ro]u[er]biu[m] Vlyβis remigiu[m]
“See the proverb *Ulysses’ oarsmen*.”

Anonymus:

Vide adagiu[m] Vlissis remigium q[uod] d[icitu]r de illis qui sua stultitia perieru[n]t ut remiges Vlissis
“See the proverb *Ulysses’ oarsmen*, which is said of those who have perished due to their own folly, just as the oarsmen of Ulysses.”

When Rescius expounded on this specific line of the prologue, he clearly discussed the proverb *Ulyssis remigium*, found in Erasmus’ collection of proverbs or *Adagia*, the final and largest collection of which appeared in Basel with Froben and Episcopius in 1536.²⁷ Whereas the content of each student’s annotation is the same, the way in which they recorded the information greatly differs. While Aegidius only noted the numeric reference to the proverb, which in fact coincides with the one found in the 1536 edition (Erasmus, 1536, 627–

²⁷ Erasmus’ *Adagia* were read in the Trilingue milieu, as evidenced by John Helyar’s notebook with daily curriculum from 1536/1537 (de Vocht, 1934, 579).

628), Aemilius and Anonymus opted to write down the lemma. The latter even added an explanation of the proverb.

It is from examples like (27) that we can infer that the primary note-taking practice in Rescius' classes did not originate from dictation, as the students wrote down the information in diverging ways.²⁸ In the case of dictation, differences would be minimal. In all likelihood, the professor employed a looser strategy than dictation, as he constantly paraphrased, whether he was translating the Greek into Latin verbatim or digressing on broader topics, as is the case in (27). In all probability, Rescius' teaching method consisted of several stages, reading and explaining the epic in at least two turns. First, he read and translated a portion of the text, which chiefly resulted in the interlinear notes. Afterwards, Rescius revisited the passage and added new layers of interpretation, reflected in the marginal notes (Van Rooy, 2022, 191–200; Feys in press). By bringing each instance of note-taking together, we can even attempt to approximate what Rescius must have uttered during the actual course. For example, when referring to Erasmus' *Adagia* at *Od.* 1.7–8, it does not seem inconceivable that Rescius said something along the lines of: *Vide Chiliadis secundae centuriae decimae adagium sexagesimum secundum, id est, proverbium 'Vlyssis remigium' quod dicitur de illis qui sua stultitia perierunt, ut remiges Vlyssis.*

How does an aural input in Greek transpire from the Eton College Library and Royal Library sets? A first glance suggests that Aemilius differs from Aegidius and Anonymus in the amount of Greek annotations added in between the lines of the printed text. A few exceptions aside, Aemilius seems to have preserved the limited interlinear space almost exclusively for Latin translations and paraphrases. Annotations containing Greek words he moved to the margins. For example, concerning the word ἀρνύμενος (“trying to win”) at *Od.* 1.5, we find no Greek synonym in Aemilius' notes, even though Rescius must have offered one, judging by Aegidius' and Anonymus' notes (28).

(28) AL: 1.5 ἀρνύμενος ἦν τε ψυχὴν καὶ νόστον ἐταίρων.

Aegidius:

σώζων

(DaLeT ID 35)

“saving”

IF: σώζων / σώζων

²⁸ Cf. e.g. also DaLeT ID 489 and the comment there.

Aemilius:

seruans

“saving”

Anonymus:

σώζων

“saving”

IF: σώζων / σώζων²⁹

Apparently, Aemilius deemed it unnecessary to add the Greek gloss σώζων (or σώζων), opting only to add the Latin word “seruans,” which seems to be a translation of the Greek gloss.³⁰ This evidence might suggest that Rescius first offered the Greek gloss, and then translated it, a practice also transpiring from Aegidius’ notes discussed above—see examples (3) and (6). Furthermore, both Aegidius and Anonymus made the same orthographical error, which can have different explanations. It might simply be a coincidence, although it is not inconceivable that these students were sitting near each other in the classroom and copied from each other’s notes. Alternatively, it might reflect Rescius’ personal pronunciation of Greek, perhaps emphasizing the second syllable and consequently pronouncing the first omega shortly. He definitely did not pronounce the subscript jota, but this might be due to the fact that his probable source also had σώζων rather than σώζων (see note 29).

The fact that interlinear Greek synonyms feature less in Aemilius’ annotations does not necessarily imply that he was less interested in the Greek aural input provided by Rescius. What is more, the interlinear synonyms in Aegidius’ notes sometimes seem to be relics of longer explanations by Rescius, traces of which are often found in Aemilius’ margins, and sometimes also in Anonymus’, as in (29).

²⁹ Rescius’ probable source was Pseudo-Didymus, 1539, 8, s.v. ΠΑΘΕΝ ΑΛΓΕΑ: ἐνταῦθα στικτέον. εἶτα ὄν κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρνύμενος. τὸ ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ περιποιῶν καὶ σώζων ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους. ἢ ἀντὶ τοῦ καταλασσομένου τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τιμωρίαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐταίρων. οἷον αὐτὸς ἀπολέσθαι θέλων ἵνα σώσῃ τοὺς ἐταίρους, διαληπτέον ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ νόστον. See Section 4.

³⁰ Divus’ translation offers “liberans” instead (Homer 1537, 3’).

(29) AL: 1.6 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὧς ἐτάρους ἐρρύσατο, ἰέμενός περ.

Aegidius (interlinear):

οὐτω (DaLeT ID 38)

“[Yet] even so [he did not save his comrades]”

IF: οὔτω / οὔτως

Aemilius (marginal):

ὧς pro οὔτως fre<q>uens apud Homeru[m]

“ὧς instead of οὔτως [as is] frequent in Homer”

IF: οὔτως

Anonymus (marginal):

ὧς p[ro] ουτος sepe apud Homeru[m]

“ὧς instead of οὔτως [as is] often the case in Homer”

IF: οὔτως

Rescius' tendency to point out uncommon Greek in Homer is also well reflected in the notes by Aemilius and Anonymus. The first tmesis in the *Odyssey*, for example, is recorded in the following ways by the students (30):

(30) AL: 1.8–9 νήπιοι, οἱ **κατὰ** βοῦς ὑπερίονος ἡελίοιο / **ἦσθιον**.

Aegidius:

κατὰ [...] **ἦσθιον** (DaLeT IDs 45 & 1648)

["read κατὰ with ἦσθιον"]

Aemilius:

κατὰ [...] **ἦσθιον**

Tmesis

“A tmesis.”

IF: τμησις

Anonymus:

κατὰ [...] ἤσθιον

Tmesis p[ro] καθησθιον

“A tmesis, in lieu of καθησθιον.”

IFs: τμησις & κατήσθιον

This example is interesting for several reasons. To start with, it again shows how each student adopted different note-taking strategies to codify the same information. Aegidius indicated the tmesis by crossing out the relevant words, omitting any further mention of this linguistic phenomenon, perhaps because he was already familiar with it. Both Aemilius and Anonymus opted, at least for indicating tmeses, for a less intrusive visualization by underlining the Greek words rather than partly striking them. The overall technique is, however, very similar, with all three students marking the parts separated by means of tmesis. This similarity might suggest that the students were either following Rescius’ lead, or influenced each other. There are, however, also marked differences between Aegidius and the two others. For Aemilius and Anonymus also clarified what was happening by adding a comment in the margin, in the process again making orthographic errors resulting from Rescius’ aural input (“Tmesis” & “Tmesis”). It is worth pointing out that Anonymus is the only student who also tried to add the common Greek form καθησθιον (for κατήσθιον), suggesting that Rescius not only indicated each instance of a tmesis, but might also have explicitly stated the expected form—compare also example (18) above, where the expected form is also given in full, although not in the context of a tmesis. Just like Aegidius, both Aemilius and Anonymus often added a dot to their iota’s, after the fashion of its Latin counterpart (see above). Anonymus, moreover, often wrote a Latin <s> instead of Greek <σ> or <ς>, regardless of the position of the sigma in the original Greek word. In the case of Anonymus, we even discern word-internal alphabet-mixing: the student started the word “tmesis” in Greek script, but ended it in Latin.³¹

Many mistakes in orthography seem to be a direct consequence of Rescius’ Greek aural input, revealing problems caused by the pronunciation of Greek. Bearing this in mind, it comes as a surprise that sometimes we encounter

³¹ The place of these students’ practices in broader Greek writing culture of scholars and humanists requires further study, especially since at least some particularities are also present in the handwriting of experienced Hellenists.

impeccable annotations. Concerning the word πόσις at *Od.* 1.15, translated interlinearly as “maritu[m],” we read the following in Aegidius’ notes (31).

- (31) Πόσις potus dicitur πόσιος μὲν ἢ ὕδατος μιγνυμένου τῆ γῆ, γεννητικὸν γίνεται τῶν φυτῶν καὶ σπερμάτων, οὕτω καὶ ἀνὴρ μιγνύμενος τῆ γυναικὶ αἴτιος γίνεται τῆς τῶν παίδων γενέσεως (DaLeT ID 81)

“Πόσις is called *potus* [“drink”]. When drink or water is mixed with earth, it produces plants and seeds; likewise a man, too, when he has intercourse with a woman, is responsible for the birth of their children.”

AL: 1.15 ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι λιλαιομένη πόσις εἶναι.

Seeing that the blackboard had not yet been invented, these notes must have been copied from a written source, in this case the *Etymologicum Magnum*, a lexical encyclopaedia anonymously compiled during the twelfth century, and first published in 1499 in Venice by Zacharias Kallierges, under the editorship of Marcus Musurus.³² Seeing that the *Etymologicum Magnum* was seemingly not reissued again until 1549 (Venice, Federicus Turrisanus), four years after Rescius’ death, we can infer that he owned a copy of the *editio princeps*. Now, as to how the professor employed this book during class we can put forward several hypotheses. Did Rescius bring a copy of the book to class and circulate it there? Or did he share his preparatory notes with his students? Or did Rescius procure larger broadsheets with relevant citations and fixed them to the classroom walls (cf. Feys in press)? Another possibility is that Aegidius himself copied the note from the book or (now lost) preparatory notes after class. This last option is perhaps less likely seeing that the note was added in the same cursive handwriting as the rest of the annotations. Interestingly, both Aemilius and Anonymus decided not to write down the Greek text. Just like Aegidius, they also added “maritu[m]” as interlinear translation, but they opted for a Latin paraphrase of the entry in the *Etymologicum*, which they wrote down in the margin (32). In Anonymus’ case, this explanation is extremely succinct, implying perhaps that he did not fully understand Rescius’ digression, the result being a rather vague indication of what we read in the original of the *Etymologicum*.

³² Cf. *Etymologicum Magnum*, 1499, fol. Ψη^r, s.v. Πόσις: δύο σημαίνει· τό, τε πόμα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα. λέγεται ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ ἀνὴρ, πόσις, παρὰ τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος φύσιν. ἐπειδὴ μιγνυμένου τῆ γῆ, γεννητικὸν γίνεται τῶν φυτῶν καὶ σπερμάτων. οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ μιγνύμενος τῆ γυναικὶ, αἴτιος γίνεται τῆς τῶν παίδων γενέσεως.

(32) Aemilius:

p[ro]prie s[ignifica]t potu[m] sed hic capit[ur] metaphoricōs
p[ro] marito q[ui] vt aq[ua] et vinu[m] cu[m] uxore coheret.

“strictly speaking [πόσις] signifies *potus* [“drink”], but here it is understood metaphorically for *maritus* [“husband”], who, just as water and wine, belongs together with his wife.”

Anonymus:

a similitudine

“by comparison”

Annotations in correctly spelled and accentuated Greek seldom occur in Aegidius’ notes, and are seemingly absent from Anonymus’, yet they appear on a regular basis in the margins of Aemilius’ copy. It can be hypothesized that some of Aemilius’ longer annotations, especially those containing Greek, are the result of a later revision after class. It seems plausible that during the lectures he had access to extra loose sheets of paper, now lost, on which he took some quick notes. Only after revision would he then transfer them to the margins of his copy of Rescius’ Homer edition. This twofold note-taking method would also account for the fact that several of Aemilius’ marginal notes are written in brown ink that is noticeably darker than the other marginal glosses. In other words, whereas Aegidius’ and Anonymus’ notes are first-order, since they were taken during the actual courses and never revised afterward, the Aemilius set contains, at least to some degree, second-order notes (see above for the concepts of first and second-order notes).

Even though Aegidius, Aemilius, and Anonymus attended the same lectures, their notes differ significantly from one another, not least concerning their dealings with the Greek aural input of the professor. During Rescius’ courses, it seems that note-taking by means of dictation was out of the ordinary. The way in which Homer was taught asked for a different approach characterized by a certain amount of agency on the student’s part in codifying the aural input. Based on our short comparison of the parallel sets of notes, we can conclude that each student developed his own note-taking practices, and decided for himself what he wanted to write down and how. They could choose from the professor’s bilingual utterings the language that suited them best in specific passages: Latin, Greek, or even both.

Judging by the persistent errors of his pupils, it seems that Rescius hardly tried to improve the individual Greek writing skills of the students. At any rate, basic knowledge of Greek seems to have been a prerequisite, seeing that as yet no evidence has surfaced of elementary grammar teaching at the Trilingue. The lectures, moreover, were free to all to attend at their own leisure, and there were no exams. Therefore, we can conjecture that often there must have been a change of scenery for each class as far as the audience is concerned. There was, in other words, no incentive for Rescius to personally monitor the proficiency of each student individually, something which seems only to have been manageable in a private teaching context. Be that as it may, one student, Aemilius, seems to have partly revised his notes, most notably those containing longer quotations from a Greek source text. Whether Aemilius was merely more diligent than Aegidius and Anonymus remains difficult to determine, but in any case it seems that he had access to some of the professor's interpretive tools, be it through the Collegium Trilingue's library or through his personal book collection. Whatever the case, in the following section we attempt to uncover the most important tools Rescius used when reading and interpreting Homer's *Odyssey*, especially those tools which enabled him to provide aural Greek input to his students.

Tracking down Rescius' Tools for Exegesis in Greek

What tools did Rescius use in his Homeric exegesis, and which ones helped the professor activate Greek in front of his students? It lies outside the scope of our contribution to give a full overview here.³³ Instead, we will offer two case studies involving major tools which Rescius eagerly used in paraphrasing Homer in Greek: a collection of glosses on Homer and a Greek-Latin lexicon.

The history of Homeric exegesis in the early modern period remains somewhat of a blind spot in secondary literature, especially for practices beyond the great names.³⁴ While we still wait for a Homer entry in the *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, Homeric exegesis remains a difficult puzzle to solve, especially for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Overall, it seems that tools for a better understanding of the Homeric text, particularly of the *Odyssey*, were rare and not widely available. As far as we

³³ For more information, see Feys (in preparation).

³⁴ But see, however, Pontani (2005, esp. 341–518; 2007a; 2017) and Morantin (2017). These two paragraphs are largely based on Feys (in press).

can tell now, the exegetical market was dominated in the first half of the sixteenth century by the disparate collection of glosses, paraphrases, and longer commentaries then erroneously attributed to the ancient philologist Didymus Chalcenterus (ca. 63 BCE–ca. 10 CE), and currently known as the “D scholia,” “scholia minora,” or “scholia vulgata,” and hence “V scholia”; the latter shorthand is often used in the context of the *Odyssey* (Pontani, 2005, 520–523; Dickey, 2015, 499–503). The *editio princeps* of the commentaries on the *Iliad* was issued in 1517 in Rome in an edition procured by Janus Lascaris who did not explicitly assign the *scholia* to an author. The Aldine office issued a new edition in 1521 in Venice, which already promised the publication of the *Odyssey* commentaries on its title page, but they appeared only in 1528, with the same publishing house. The edition itself was prepared by Gian Francesco d’Asola. The attribution of the scholia to Didymus seems to originate from the 1528 publication (Dindorf, 1855, xv). Two years later, in Paris, the poorly known printer Gérard Morrhy reissued the *Odyssey* glosses, continuing the misattribution.

Much after the fashion of humanist commentaries on Latin authors, the Basel printer Johann Herwagen was seemingly the first to have Pseudo-Didymus’ commentaries published alongside the Homeric reference text in 1535 (with a reprint in 1541). The last edition of Pseudo-Didymus we should mention here is the Strasbourg one by Windelin Rihel I. In September 1539, Rihel issued the scholia under the title Ὁμήρου ἐξηγητής. *Homeri Interpres* (“Interpreter of Homer”), deliberately omitting Didymus’ name from the title page. One of the editors of this edition, the Austrian humanist Jacobus Bedrotus (Bedrott; ca. 1493/1497–1541), informed the reader in his accompanying letter that he believed the author of the glosses to be uncertain, and therefore dubbed him ἀνώνυμος, “anonymous” (Pseudo-Didymus, 1539, fol. α.3^r). Clearly, the authorship of the D scholia was already a point of discussion during the first half of the sixteenth century. It seems that the 1539 edition, which also included, in a third part, Porphyry’s *Homeric Questions* and *The Cave of the Nymphs*, is of particular importance for our reconstruction of Rescius’ classes on the *Odyssey* (Feys & Van Rooy, 2022). We use this edition, when citing from the Didymus glosses, for consistency’s sake, and because Rescius is likely to have used a copy of it.

Didymus is explicitly mentioned on several occasions by all three students (33–35).

(33) Aegidius:

Didimus legit χείρας (DaLeT ID 1122)

“Didymus reads χείρας [instead of κήρας].”

AL: 2.316 πειρήσω ὥς κ’ ὕμμι κακὰς ἐπὶ κήρας ἰήλω.

Pseudo-Didymus (1539, 39), s.v. ΚΑΚΑΣ ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΑΣ ΙΗΛΩ: θυμοῦ προβολή ὁ λόγος οὗτος τῷ τηλεμάχῳ. πλευσεῖται μὲν γὰρ εἰς πύλον. οὐ πειράσεται δέ τι τοιοῦτον.

(34) Aemilius:

Didim[us] videt[ur] legibe εις ab ειμι vt sit 2a p[er]sona ab υπαρχεις ·/· es. Ceteri εις ·/· venis exponu[n]t.

“Didymus seems to have read εις from ειμι so that it is the second person from [ὑπάρχω], υπαρχεις, this is ‘you are.’ Others explain it as follows: εις, this is ‘you come.’”

AL: 1.170 τίς, πόθεν εις ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις, ἠδὲ τοκῆς;

Pseudo-Didymus (1539, 16), s.v. ΕΙΣ: ὑπάρχεις.

IFs: εἶς / εἰμί / ὑπάρχεις

(35) Anonymus:

Interpres didimus co[n]iungit ρει cum seque[n]ti clausula ut sit ρειεπει

“The interpreter Didymus connects ρει with the following clause so that it reads ρειεπει.”

AL: 1.160 **ῥεῖ**. **ἐπει** ἀλλότριον βίον νήποιον ἔδουσιν

Pseudo-Didymus (1539, 16), s.v. ΡΕΙ ΕΠΕΙ ΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΟΝ: τὸ ἐξῆς ἐπει ῥεῖ ἀλλότριον.

IFs: ῥεῖ / ῥεῖ ἐπει

Judging by the amount of mentions throughout all the bodies of annotations, it stands to reason that Didymus’ scholia were indeed the most important exegetical source available at the time, especially for the *Odyssey*. The fact that these glosses were entirely written in Greek seems to have stimulated Rescius to paraphrase Homer partly in Greek during his classes, too. In fact, many of the examples we have given, including (4) and (28), reflect Rescius’ use of Pseudo-Didymus’ glosses (see above).

The second major source for Rescius' Greek explanation of Homer we would like to briefly highlight here is Rescius' personal copy of the *Lexicon Graecolatinum*, published by Johann Walder (Walderus) in Basel in September 1537. An important contributor to that edition was the Swiss humanist Conrad Gessner (1516–1565), yet his name is not present on the title page or in any paratext. Gessner's contribution would only be recognized in the fourth edition of 1545.³⁵ Rescius' copy is kept at the KBR in Brussels (shelfmark II 10.812 C (LP)) and has thus far been neglected completely. On the title page we clearly read the professor's ex libris: "Rutgeri Rescii, et amicoru[m]" ("[I am] of Rutger Rescius, and his friends"). It is unclear as to what happened to the book after Rescius' death, but it is not inconceivable that it remained at the Trilingue for a while, seeing that no new provenance notes were added. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Rescius' copy was eventually acquired by the Belgian bibliophile Jean-Baptiste-Theodore de Jonghe (1801–1860) whose ex libris sticker was added to the inside of the front panel. After de Jonghe's death, his collection was inventoried and put up for sale; the *Lexicon* was sold in November 1860 (Ruelens, 1860, 261, no. 2346). In any case, at the beginning of the 1540s, multiple copies of Greek-Latin lexica were readily available in Leuven at the bookshop of Hieronymus Cloet close to the Trilingue (Delsaerdt, 2001, 438, no. 54; 440, no. 74). It is highly plausible that Rescius bought his copy of the 1537 Basel edition at that shop.

Rescius' copy of the *Lexicon* contains many autograph annotations, both in Latin and Greek script. It is one of the very few documents known to date that gives us an insight into his handwriting, knowledge of which before was mainly limited to equally rare provenance and dedication notes.³⁶ Clearly, the *Lexicon* was one of Rescius' working tools. Most annotations start with an abbreviation that looks like $\sigma\chi$ (for $\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$, "form"?) followed by a reference to a specific locus in Greek works, most notably by Homer, Plato, and Xenophon, three popular Greek writers whose works Rescius had published on multiple occasions. For now let us focus on a reference to Homer. The *Lexicon* ([Gessner] 1537, 21) defines the word $\alpha\gamma\eta$ ("wonder, awe"), for example, as follows:

³⁵ Blair, 2017, 186. The 1537 *Lexicon Graecolatinum* was not a standalone publication; it is part of a long and convoluted history of printed Greek-Latin dictionaries which is understudied to this day. The 1537 edition, for example, seems to be greatly inspired by the 1532 *Lexicon Graecolatinum*, also published in Basel in three separate editions by as many different printers, who, however, often joined forces: Johann Bebel, Andreas Cratander, and Valentin Curio.

³⁶ More on the reconstruction of Rescius' personal library and books gifted by him to his friends in Xander Feys' forthcoming PhD dissertation.

ἄγη. ης. ἦ. tono acuto in prima, terror.θάμβος, ἔκπληξις, πληγή. eo sic utitur aliquando Homerus, quemadmodum & pro ἔάγη Ionico more apud eundem. ab ἄγω. [...]

In addition to offering only one Latin translation, *terror* (“dread, awe”), the entry on ἄγη records several Greek synonyms, mentions that in Homer one can also encounter the Ionic form ἔάγη, and provides an etymological explanation. Starting from the lemma of the entry Rescius drew a line toward the upper margin, adding the following:

οδ γ· Λίην γὰρ εἶπες, ἄγη μ' ἔχει σχ οδ γ. 22.

“*Odyssey* 3: Λίην γὰρ εἶπες, ἄγη μ' ἔχει. The form [appears] in *Odyssey* 3, [page] 22.”³⁷

This addition is of interest to us for several reasons. As an editor of the Homeric corpus and avid teacher of the texts, it is safe to say that Rescius had a firm knowledge of the epics. Here, we get the impression that he added the citation from the *Odyssey* by heart, seeing that the passage is incomplete. Verse 3.227 actually reads: λίην γὰρ μέγα εἶπες· ἄγη μ' ἔχει. οὐκ ἂν ἐμοί γε / [...]. The second half of the line is irrelevant for Rescius' purpose, but the omission of μέγα is telling.

In any case, when we compare the entry for ἄγη in the *Lexicon*, and Rescius' addition, to his commentary on line 3.227 in his 1543 classes, we find that only Aegidius and Aemilius annotated this passage. It is moreover clear that, in the end, Rescius chose not to use the provided translation, *terror*, in class, but opted to give another rendering, likely based on some of the Greek synonyms in the *Lexicon*, most notably θάμβος, “amazement” (36).³⁸

(36) AL: 3.227 λίην γὰρ μέγα εἶπες, ἄγη μ' ἔχει. οὐδ' ἂν ἐμοίγε

Aegidius:

stupor

(DaLeT ID 1553)

“astonishment”

³⁷ See Feys (in preparation, Section 4.4) for more details on Rescius' notes in the *Lexicon*.

³⁸ Rescius' translation is not based on that of Divus either, which reads “*piaculum*” (1537, 22^a). In all likelihood it was inspired by the entry on θάμβος in the *Lexicon Graecolatinum* ([Gessner] 1537, 873): “θάμβος. pauor, stupor, admiratio.”

Aemilius:

admiratio p[ro] stupore

“admiration, in the meaning of astonishment”

Further research is needed to delineate the exact relation between the *Lexicon* and Rescius’ activities as a professor, as well as a publisher of Greek text editions. For now, it suffices to conclude that the *Lexicon* was one of several tools which Rescius could use to offer a Latin translation of a word, on the one hand, and Greek synonyms, on the other. This dual method might have been inspired by the approach in the *Lexicon*, seeing that Divus solely offered a Latin translation, and Didymus only glosses in Greek.

In some cases, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact source Rescius used. For instance, returning to example (4), the explanation of the adjective αἰπὺν as δυνήν, probably for δεινὸν, can either have been taken from Pseudo-Didymus (1539, 9, s.v. ΑΙΠΥΝ), where we read δεινὸν χαλεπὸν, or from the *Lexicon* (1537, 68), which defines αἰπύς as follows:

Αἰπύς. εος. ὁ. altus, magnus, durus, perniciosus. δεινός, μέγας, ὑψηλός, χαλεπός, μετέωρος, σκληρός.

Given the accusative form we can reconstruct in Aegidius’ notes, Pseudo-Didymus seems the most likely source, as the accusative is offered there, too. At least equally probable is that Rescius consulted both sources, which corroborated each other, and hence further stimulated him to offer δεινὸν as a more common synonym for αἰπὺν. However, the picture is even more complex, since Rescius could have drawn δεινός as synonym for αἰπύς also from another source: Hesychius’ lexicon printed in 1514 in Venice at the Aldine office. In this edition, Hesychius offered the following entry for αἰπύς:

Αἰπύς, μέγας δεινός ὑψηλός μετέωρος. (Hesychius, 1514, s.v. αἰπύς)

In this case, however, Ockham’s razor dictates that Rescius need not have consulted directly a copy of the Aldine Hesychius, especially since these Greek synonyms had found their way in Greek-Latin lexica such as Walder’s. In other words, tracing the sources of a professor like Rescius can be difficult, especially since materials are constantly being used and reused by Hellenists looking to develop ever better tools for the teaching of Greek. The fact that

scholarship on the early modern history of Greek lexica is still in its infancy further complicates the picture.

Before moving to our conclusion, we should point out that the sources available to Rescius, and his uses of them, seem to have inspired him to offer Greek synonyms himself. Or at least, there appear to be cases where we cannot pinpoint at this stage any certain sources for a Greek synonym. For instance, in (37), Rescius offered a morphologically much more straightforward alternative for a Homeric participle form on line 3.160:

- (37) σπευδοντες (DaLeT ID 1461)
“hurrying”
AL: οἴκαδε **ἰέμενοι**. ζεὺς δ’ οὐπὼ μῆδετο νόστον,
IF: σπεύδοντες

His Greek gloss might have been inspired by the entry for ἴεμαι in the Lexicon (1537, 905–906), where we find *festino*, ‘to hurry,’ as one of the Latin translations, but σπεύδω is not among the Greek synonyms. Whatever the case, the tools and sources Rescius used to provide an oral explanation in both Latin and Greek seemingly inspired him to adopt bilingual commentary as a broader principle. He actively looked to offer Greek synonyms and paraphrases to his students, often – but not always – drawn from the tools available.

Conclusions and Outlook: Written Greek beyond the Trilingue Classroom

In conclusion, Rutgers Rescius’ main aim was to offer a detailed commentary on Greek literary texts in view of corroborating the students’ Greek competence. Rescius did so mostly in order to deepen their passive knowledge, which has been the focus of scholarship until now. However, by offering substantial aural input in Greek, he stimulated the acquisition of Greek through a set of dynamic teaching strategies which led to a thoroughly bilingual cognitive experience for the students taking notes.³⁹ This way, Rescius showcased how Greek was a language that students could use themselves.

³⁹ On the importance of cognitive experiences for students taking notes, see the recent work by Ray Schrire (2020), which can be hoped to trigger a cognitive turn in student notes research.

These didactic strategies included most notably Greek glossing and the normalization of uncommon Greek forms, which allowed for bidirectional learning: it served to familiarize the student with both Homeric and common Greek. As such, Rescius led the students beyond the confines of the typical Greek language manual (e.g. Amerot, 1520), where common Greek took center stage, by zooming in on new forms of the language. However, in order not to scare his audience, he systematically approached Homeric Greek through the lens of the language described in these grammar manuals. His teaching method with substantial aural input in Greek went hand in hand with translations, paraphrases, and explanations of other types in Latin, thus forcing them to practice their hearing competence and orthography in the two classical languages. However, learned Latin-Greek bilingualism was typically imbalanced in favor of Latin, the scholarly and pedagogical language that remained the number one gateway to knowledge. What is more, Rescius does not seem to have controlled in any way the Greek language competencies of his students, which must have considerably varied, as the many mistakes in the student notes reveal. It was up to the students to decide how far they wanted to take their active Greek competences in speaking and writing, and Rescius' courses could only reveal that Greek was a language that, like Latin, could be used in speaking and writing.

Just how far some of Rescius' students took their active engagement with Greek becomes clear when we turn to the number of Greek compositions they produced. Though usually rather short, specimens of New Ancient Greek texts are numerous enough to hypothesize that students owed an active Greek mindset at least partly to the Trilingue professor. By way of concluding our contribution, we want to briefly survey the New Ancient Greek authors represented in Rescius' student body. Who among Rescius' students composed in Greek, and what did they write? As it is at this stage sheer impossible to quantify the New Ancient Greek output and give a detailed historical survey, we will have to limit ourselves to a number of first impressions. A further complicating factor is the lack of enrollment lists for the Trilingual College, which could be attended freely. Disasters such as the Napoleonic plundering and world war destructions have moreover reduced our source basis for the student experience at the Trilingue. What has remained is mostly in print, but some occasional manuscript specimens have survived. Systematic exploration of the corpus remains a task for the future, but let us focus on what we can state at the moment.

The great majority of texts seem to be occasional celebrations or commemorations of a fellow Hellenist. The output boomed especially in the 1530s and 1540s, so during the later years of Rescius' professorship, when

tools for teaching and learning Greek had multiplied and improved, as witnessed also by Rescius' preference to rely on the latest reference works. The jurist Frans van Cranevelt (1485–1564) studied at Lily College, where he picked up his first Greek with Adrien Amerot, and moved in Trilingue circles, where he might have occasionally attended Rescius' Greek courses in the 1520s and 1530s.⁴⁰ Cranevelt went on to produce some modest Greek verses, including a 14-line Homeric cento, which he provided with a Latin translation of his own. This composition served as an epitaph for theologian and Trilingue student Maarten van Dorp, who died in 1525 (van Cranevelt, 1928, lxxiv). A manuscript Greek poem in his hand seems moreover to be preserved in his copy of a Basel Greek miscellany edition, now preserved at KU Leuven Libraries and also bearing his Latin verse translation of Theognis' poetry.⁴¹ Cranevelt moreover translated into Latin several Greek epitaphs composed by the Hungarian diplomat Nicolaus Olahus and the Dane Jacobus Jaspardus in honor of Erasmus, in the collection of which Rescius (and Nannius) had been involved. Jaspardus had studied under Rescius and tutored Olahus, partly with the help of Adrien Amerot, the later Trilingue chairholder of Greek, and went on to produce further Greek poetry, including verses praising English royalty (Jaspardus, 1546).

The death of Erasmus, in particular, seems to have given a boost to Greek production at the Trilingue, and we find in Leuven a broad band of mourners, local and foreign, displaying their skills in both Latin and Greek, including the Portuguese scholar of Jewish descent Diogo Pires and the Englishman John Helyar, both of whom attended the Trilingue in the 1530s. Pires even wrote a bilingual poem stitching Greek pentameters to Latin hexameters. Another student of Rescius, Andreas Masius, who would pioneer the study of Syriac, contributed to the epitaph collection with a Latin poem. Later in his life, he tried his hand at Greek verses, too (see Masius in Salviani, 1554, +.iii^r). When Rescius himself died in October 1545, he was honored with a bilingual epitaph collection himself, at least partly authored by the Spanish Trilingue visitor Juan de Verzosa, who in 1544 had published a manual on Greek prosody with Rescius. This document, today preserved at Leiden University Library and recently edited (Feys & Van Rooy, 2020), might reveal the missing link alluded to earlier. Having remained in manuscript for most of its history, the collection might not merely have been a way to honor the late Rescius but also reveal linguistic and literary practice, especially since the lengthy first poem

⁴⁰ Cf. van Cranevelt, 1928. Further research into Cranevelt's link with the Trilingue and its courses would be welcome.

⁴¹ KU Leuven Libraries, Special Collections, BRES 7A329. See Dalemans, 1984.

in the collection, abounding in Greek intertexts, shows great flaws and has the overall air of an unfinished product of an advanced student. Almost two decades earlier, students of Rescius, including Arnoldus Oridryus, also the author of a short Greek grammar manual (Paris 1531), had honored Nicolaus Utenhovius (d. 1527) with epitaphs in Greek. Oridryus in fact responded to a Greek epitaph by Erasmus. Another contributor was Levinus Ammonius, who in the 1520s and early 1530s corresponded in Greek with Jacobus Ceratinus, a young Johannes Sturmius, and Arnoldus Oridryus (Van Rooy, 2023a, 81–82).

This cursory survey is anything but complete, and will have to be complemented by follow-up research, but the great number of New Ancient Greek compositions stemming from the Trilingue milieu in the 1520s–1540s provide further indirect evidence that the Trilingue milieu around Rescius fostered active uses of Greek, especially in writing. Additionally, Rescius' engagement with Greek provided a shining example for several students of his who turned out to become influential pedagogues such as Nicolaus Clenardus and Johannes Sturmius, advocating an active use especially of Latin but perhaps also of Greek. Sturmius, for instance, went on to teach Martin Crusius, one of the most productive New Ancient Greek authors of his age (Weise, 2022, 150). Less spectacularly, Johann Winter von Andernach, who completed his Greek studies with Rescius in the mid-1520s, published a Greek syntax manual in Paris in 1527. In this manual, Winter came up with his own Greek example sentences, featuring people like Erasmus and Rescius' friend Paschasius Berselius, in order to accommodate the manual to the living environment of his pupils in Leuven and Liège, but perhaps also to show that scholars could use Greek in speaking and writing.⁴²

Evidently, Rescius cannot be considered the sole motivator for Hellenists to write (and perhaps speak) in Greek. Despite the substantial presence of Greek in his courses, it is very conceivable that illustrious examples such as Girolamo Aleandro and Erasmus stimulated Greek composition as well, and perhaps even more than the prosaic Rescius, who hardly harbored any literary aspirations, and instead focused on his teaching and printing business.⁴³ Aleandro and Erasmus were in any case well-placed to do so, since they were closely involved with the Trilingue. Aleandro taught Rescius and Amerot, and even visited the Collegium Trilingue in 1532 (de Vocht, 1951–1955, III, 28–38), although at that time he had already fallen out with Erasmus, who as the

⁴² On Winther, see von Greyerz & Bietenholz, 1986. On the Greek examples, see Van Rooy, 2023a, 125–127.

⁴³ For Aleandro, see e.g. Maillard & Flamand, 2010, 275–367. For Erasmus, see the discussion and references in Van Rooy, 2023b.

intellectual founder of the college was greatly invested in its success and regularly visited it. With their occasional Greek writings, mainly poetry but with Aleandro also prose, they showed the way for the next generation of humanists, for whom writing in both Latin and Greek increasingly became an ideal to live up to.

Before definitively concluding this contribution, we should also be frank about the New Ancient Greek output we can tie to Rescius and the Trilingue in this early period up to 1545. We do not witness at this institute the great productivity we find in other parts of contemporary Europe, especially Italy, France, and the Holy Roman Empire, or—at a later stage—in the northern Low Countries, with thriving centers such as Leiden and Amsterdam. Rather, with Rescius' professorship at the Trilingue, we are at a pivoting point in the history of New Ancient Greek composition. The main goal of Trilingue Greek classes remained loyal to Erasmus' *ad fontes* principle, and Rescius hence focused in the first place on a critical-historical approach toward the ancient sources in their original language. And yet, his active use of Greek in the classroom may have been among various stimuli for his students to regard the language as a living one, and for the brightest among them to use it as such. Fact of the matter is that academic culture in sixteenth-century western Europe persevered in its Latin-centeredness, allowing some space for Greek only occasionally, for various socio-intellectual reasons, which await further exploration.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ See Lamers & Van Rooy (2022) for a first survey of the motivations for Greek writing in the early modern Low Countries.

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Teaching Greek in 16th-Century Lithuania and its Neighbourhood:

Evidence from the Three Major Academies

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Abstract This paper aims to characterise the first stages of the “hellenomathy” or “hellenopedia” in the area of Early Modern Lithuania, survey most prominent seedbeds of Greek learning, esp. schools of higher education, and present the most characteristic evidence of their Hellenism. The focus is on the 16th-century history and activity of the academies that served the needs of the Polish-Lithuanian elite and attracted international *homines trilingues*: the Jagiellonian Academy at Kraków, the *Academia Regiomontana* at Königsberg, and the Jesuit Academy at Vilnius. This is the first, though sketchy, attempt to gather the evidence about all three academies in order to contribute to an updated picture of the evolution of Greek studies in Polish-Lithuanian area, and observe the strengths and weaknesses in the process of organisation of transmission of the language and ideas of Classical and Post-Classical Greeks in local academical societies. The paper builds on known arguments and documents as well as new insights concerning methods and means of instruction (grammars, dictionaries, textbooks, existing course outlines), canonical authors and a piece of motivation for learning Greek as produced by representatives of these schools (S. Maricius, G. Crogerus, K. Pełkowski).

Keywords: Greek curricula and teaching aids; Grand Duchy of Lithuania (16th century); Kraków Academy; Academia Regiomontana; Vilnius Jesuit Academy

Introduction

The study of Greek language and literature as an essential component of a humanist education led to significant changes in the main centres of Renaissance humanism in Europe and in particular, Western Europe. This article considers this multifaceted phenomenon and highlights the most important aspects that shed light on the study of the Greek language and its literature in the territory of Early Modern Lithuania¹ and its surroundings. The main focus is the study of Greek during the 16th century in the most important centres of higher education in the region, which were geared to the needs of the Polish and Lithuanian elites and also attracted international *homines trilingues*: the Kraków Academy (originally *Studium Generale Cracoviense*, but from the 16th century onwards *Academia Cracoviensis*, and forerunner of today's Jagiellonian University), the *Academia Regiomontana* or *Albertina* in Königsberg (also known as *Pregelana*, and more commonly now, the old University of Königsberg, 1544–1946), and the Vilnius Jesuit University and Academy (forerunner of today's Vilnius University). Each of these schools² was characterised by specific circumstances favourable to the growth and/or decline of Greek studies, and deserve to be better explained than they have been to date. In this article, we will rely on the data more familiar to us from the material collected and available in Lithuania today, which, of course, primarily concerns the affairs of Vilnius University, but we will also consider the published documents and secondary literature concerning the other two schools. The variable state of document preservation and research does not allow us to make a proportionally detailed comparison of the Greek curricula across all three institutions, but the available material does provide a broad picture of the reception and development of this humanistic discipline across a large area of Central and Eastern Europe.

¹ In this article we use this definition not only in the narrow sense of the present-day Lithuania, but also as a synonym for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (later GDL), a relatively young European country that emerged during the so-called Northern Crusades in the 13th century and has undergone numerous political, demographic and territorial changes in the course of its long historical development up until today. However, the essential ethnolinguistic and territorial core of this state has remained more or less the same as today's Lithuania, with its capital Vilnius, and is why we also use the name Lithuania as a metonym for GDL, despite the many changes and influences of different ethnic groups (Balts, Slavs, Germanic peoples, and so on.).

² Of course, in the region of interest, there were other schools with university aspirations and with a reputation for teaching Greek, such as the *Collegium Lubranscianum* (1518–1780) or the *Academia Ostrogiensis* (1576–1636), but these are beyond the scope of this article.

Greek Education in Lithuania before the Middle of the 16th Century: the Influences of East and West

Greek came to Lithuania from two directions: from the East, through the East Slavic cultural milieu, and from the West, through the humanist education of the Renaissance. In both cases it came from the same source—Byzantium (the Byzantine Empire)—but through different channels and with varying intensity. While Greek played a relatively important cultural role in the East Slavic countries from the beginning of the formation of the first states (the Kievan Rus' and Rus' principalities), and the emergence of the new Orthodox church centres, which received Greek clergy, merchants, architects and noble brides from the Greek-speaking areas of the Byzantine Empire, the initiatives for teaching Greek and the development of the study of Greek literature came from another part of Europe.³

Western European humanism owes a great deal to Byzantium, that had inherited and preserved many monuments from the Greco-Roman past, but also to the Greek-speaking immigrants, as well as Italian scholars, who carried these treasures along with them. This is evident in the numerous studies of this phenomenon.⁴ Additionally, more and more western medieval rulers, popes, and monks are now revealed as having contributed to the preservation of the Hellenic heritage of the Roman Empire.⁵ However, no Latin transcription of Greek liturgical texts, nor individual pieces made by monastic transcribers or translators, can compare with the upheaval in the study of the Greek language that took place at the end of Italy's *Quattrocento*. The Byzantine diplomat, Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350–1415), who visited Florence in 1397, at the invitation of the Chancellor, Lino Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406), provided the impetus for the ongoing study of Greek in Western Europe and wrote a model textbook on Greek: *Ἐρωτήματα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, which was soon followed by an abridged Latin version by Guarino of Verona (1374–1460). The first printed edition of this grammar, which appeared, abridged in Greek, in Venice in 1471, was quite popular and much more convenient for foreign

³ For a problematic and controversial assessment of the reception and influence of Greek on the culture of Kievan Rus' and the lack of research in this area, see the article by Simon Franklin (1992).

⁴ Some examples since the middle of 20th century: Knös, 1945; Thomson, 1966; Geanakoplos, 1966; 1976; 1989; 1994; Vacalopoulos, 1976; Monfasani, 1976; idem (ed.), 1994; Wilson, 1983; (1st ed.) and 2017 (2nd ed.); Harris, 1995; Ciccolella, 2019.

⁵ See Weiss, 1977; Berschin, 1980.

audiences, and simpler than the *Ἐρωτήματα γραμματικά* by Manuel Moschopoulos (ca. 1265–ca. 1316), used in the Greek-speaking areas.⁶ Chrysoloras' pupils and their fellow humanists (Guarino, Filelfo) continued their Greek studies in Constantinople, and after their return to Italy, set up new schools in their homeland, creating teaching tools, writing grammars and publishing Greek books. The Greek immigrants, who increased in number after the fall of Constantinople (1453), were indispensable in this endeavour. Greek quickly became part of the curriculum of the liberal arts in Italian schools and spread beyond the Alps. In the second half of the 15th century, several introductory bilingual manuals for Latin-speaking audiences were published successively: the aforementioned *Questions on Greek Grammar* from Chrysoloras (1471), Constantine Laskaris' *Ἐπιτομή τῶν ὀκτῶ τοῦ λόγου μερῶν* (*Compendium Octo Orationis Partium*, ca. 1475), and Theodore Gaza's *Γραμματικῆς εἰσαγωγή* (*Introductio grammaticae*, 1495). These grammars, which differed little from each other, formed the basis for new western grammars (authored by Clenardus,⁷ Metzler,⁸ Melanchthon,⁹ Golius,¹⁰ etc.), and competed with each other regarding the amount of theoretical material, the precision of definitions, the abundance of examples and the graphic arrangement of the paradigms (in rows or columns), but less so, regarding rules and terminology.

⁶ Wilson, 1992, 9.

⁷ Nicolaus Clenardus (Nicolaus Clénard, Nicolaes Cleynaerts, Beka, ca.1494–ca.1542), a Flemish humanist, was the author of the very popular Greek grammars, *Institutiones in linguam Graecam* (1530), *Meditationes Graecanicae* (1531) and *Tabulae in grammaticen Hebraeam* (1529).

⁸ Johann Metzler (also Ioannes Mecelerus, 1494–1538) was a German philologist of Hungarian or Silesian origin and author of *Primae grammatices Graecae partis rudimenta*, a popular Greek textbook for beginners, which was published in 14 editions for the German-speaking world.

⁹ Philipp Melanchthon (Philipp Schwartzerdt, 1497–1560), one of the leading figures of the Lutheran Reformation, designer of the German educational system and author of a number of influential textbooks, was also the author of a quite popular Greek grammar, that achieved at least 15 editions for the German-speaking world during the 16th century. These were entitled *Institutiones Graecae linguae* (Hagenau 1518), *Integrae Graecae Grammatices institutiones* (Hagenau 1520), *Libellus Graecae grammaticae* (Leipzig 1548), and simply, *Grammatica Graeca* (Leipzig 1571).

¹⁰ Theophilus (Gottlieb) Golius (1528–1600), philologist and pedagogue at the University of Strasbourg, wrote a manual of Greek grammar, *Educatio puerilis linguae Graecae*, which was praised by Johann Sturm for its clarity. His grammar text (counting separate editions of part one, part two, and both) was reprinted 35 times before 1600.

The development of teaching tools was accompanied by active pedagogical work, the interpretation of grammar rules, including examples given in textbooks, and the search for new teaching methods. The rules themselves were simplified by allegorical comparisons.¹¹ In competition with each other and with the cooperation of printers, Greek teachers produced Greek texts, anthologies (following the Byzantine practice), and books of readings. Despite the desire of some educators to introduce as many Christian authors as possible, various other authors predominated in the schools. One reason for this, was the need for variety, for a break from sermons.¹² The authors' choices were driven by pragmatic objectives, the interests of teachers and students. How the text was interpreted, translated, and analysed, depended on individual teachers. Some were content with a literal translation and an explanation of the forms, while others provided a moral or historical context, with allegorical interpretation. Students wrote everything down, and later, in the 16th century, with the proliferation of editions by ancient authors, they marked translations and notes in books, between the lines of text and in the margins.¹³ Teachers of Greek competed with each other and with their mother-tongue, Greek, predecessors. For instance, Guillaume Budé (1467–1540), after reviewing late lexicons, wrote a new treatise on adjectival and non-adjectival words and phrases in the prose language, *Commentationes linguae Graecae* (Paris 1529), while the Germans, Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522), and Johann Posselius (1528–1591), even tried to teach a conversational form of Ancient Greek.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the Greek language did not reach the level expected by Coluccio Salutati and Chrysoloras. Only a few enthusiasts were able to write letters in Greek (like Budé), praise their city (as in Leonardo Bruni's *Florence*), or compose elegant epigrams (for example, Poliziano). As researchers on humanist education have recently argued, Greek remained an add-on ('extra subject') in Europe.¹⁵ In fact, it experienced a certain secondary status, a

¹¹ For example, the teacher of Ferrara, Ludovico da Ponte (Ludovicus Ponticus Virunius, ca. 1460–1520) explained grammar by referring to real-life situations. He is said to have compared the different forms of the nominal declensions with the different monasteries of men and women, whose members follow the rules of their own order, see Grafton & Jardine, 1986, 107–108.

¹² *Ibid.*, 112.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 116.

¹⁴ On Reuchlin see e. g. Price, 2011, 30, 52, and 244, n. 72. For Posselius, see his *Familiarium Colloquiorum libellus Graecè et Latinè* (ed. princeps: Wittenberg 1587); see also Weise's contribution in the present volume.

¹⁵ Grafton & Jardine, 1986, 119.

subordination to Latin¹⁶ and the vernacular,¹⁷ and with it, periods of total neglect, a phenomenon vehemently opposed by the Dutch philologist, Suffridus Petrus (Petri, Sjoerd Pieters, 1527–1597), when he delivered five public speeches at the University of Leuven on the merits of Greek.¹⁸ One of the crucial reasons for the survival of Greek in the western humanist curriculum was its compatibility with Latin. Translating from Greek into Latin and reworking the resulting text into a new artistic whole was one of the most versatile exercises in learning style, as suggested by Erasmus of Rotterdam, and Stephanus provided an influential example in his 1570 edition of the *Epigrammata Graeca selecta ex Anthologia*. It offered students the opportunity to acquire a “socially and politically useful talent”, to collaborate with their teachers in the creation of occasional texts, and to “catch the eye of rulers and their classically-educated ministers”.¹⁹

From the perspective of this upsurge in Greek studies in Western Europe (also evidenced by the activities of Hermonymus of Sparta in Paris between 1476 and 1510 or by the activities of Marcus Musurus in Padua, Venice, and Rome, as well as by the professional publication of Greek books by Aldus Manutius and the Philhellenic *Neacademia* under his direction), the educational landscape of Lithuania (GDL), was quite different. Until the beginning of the 16th century, there is no evidence of public, let alone, systematic learning of Greek in GDL. Although there are isolated examples of Greek language use during the period of state formation and state religion (13th–14th centuries), these are not associated with institutional teaching. Elements of Greek Byzantine culture were present in the Eastern Slavic peoples who made up a significant part of the growing Lithuanian state. The ethnic Baltic tribes, and the dukes descended from them, were far enough removed from Greek Christianity in their worship and customs, but they could not completely escape its cultural influence. On the contrary, circumstances forced them to adopt from the Slavs their script and language and to make both

¹⁶ Here is how Stefano Evangelista (2009, 6) describes it: “Even the classical revival of the Renaissance was almost entirely mediated through Latin culture: Greek books were mostly read in Latin, and classical imitation was based on Roman artworks, many of them copies of Hellenistic originals.”

¹⁷ Alongside Latin humanism, we should not overlook the related phenomenon known as ‘vernacular humanism’ or ‘civic humanism’, whose target audience was the non-Latinate public. Naturally, such an audience could not have been admirers of the less widespread Hellenic humanism.

¹⁸ Petri 1566.

¹⁹ Grafton & Jardine, 1986, 120–121.

cultural and religious compromises for their political goals. This even led to the establishment of a temporary, but not universal, precedent for communication in Greek in the 14th century, most clearly manifested in the diplomatic dialogue and correspondence of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Gediminas and his son Algirdas with the Patriarchate of Constantinople, mediated by Greek-speaking monks,²⁰ as they sought control of the Kiev Metropolis.²¹ On the other hand, the constant contact with Latin culture and religion from the West offered the rulers of the GDL the possibility to use Latin and German. Consequently, relations with the East and the West led to polyglottism in the emerging Grand Duke's office. Letters to the West were written mainly in Latin and German, while letters to the East were written in Greek and Ruthenian (Chancery Slavonic).²² It was this office that became the first cradle of written culture in the GDL, and the East Slavic and Greek monks are considered to be some of the first transmitters of Greek culture in Lithuania. They wrote chronicles, their representatives worked in the dukes' offices, wrote letters and contracts in Greek and Slavonic, translated and transcribed Byzantine books, and maintained contacts with the hierarchs of the Greek Church and monks from distant lands. However, there is no hint of early 'hellenopedia' (Hellenistic studies) in medieval Lithuania (13–15th centuries), since the society at that time (including Greek- and Slavic-speaking factions) did not have an institutional education. Lithuania's wider educational concerns only began to emerge after the union with Catholic Poland (the Union of Krevo in 1385), and the introduction of Latin Christianity (1387). This also meant that it was the Catholic dioceses in particular, that wielded the most powerful political levers in the organisation of education in the GDL, while conversely, the influence of Greek Christianity on Lithuanian education diminished significantly.

²⁰ The only known Greek letter from the chancery of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania is a letter of 1371 from Grand Duke Algirdas to Patriarch Philotheus I of Constantinople (Φιλόθεος Κόκκινος, ca. 1300–1379) with a cold and haughty greeting, “Ἀπὸ τὸν βασιλέα Λιθβῶν τὸν Ἄλγερδον εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην προσκύνημα” (“The Respectful Bow of the Lithuanian Emperor Algirdas”). The few studies on the text divide its authorship between Algirdas (who dictated the text in Ruthenian) and an unknown monk who knew Greek and composed it (cf. Svarevičiūtė, 2011, 97).

²¹ On the complex development of the Lithuanian metropolis under Gediminas and Algirdas, see Baronas, 2015, 163–174.

²² Not to be confused with Old Slavonic (or Old Church Slavonic), whose field of use was exclusively religious and liturgical. For the difference between Old Slavonic and Ruthenian or Chancery Slavonic (a derivative of Old East Slavonic), see Temčinas 2008, 130–131.

Four types of schools—parochial, cathedral, monastic and urban—together with private schools founded by the nobility and the masters of craft workshops, formed the core of primary and secondary education in the GDL up until the mid-16th century.²³ There is very little evidence of Greek studies in these schools. Ingė Lukšaitė, who has researched the formation of the parish school network, states that some parish schools “taught Latin, Greek and other trivial subjects (grammar, rhetoric, dialectics),”²⁴ but provides no specific example. It is clear from the rest of her paper that such a volume of teaching could only have emerged in the second half of the 16th century, under the influence of the reform of the Protestant and Catholic Churches.²⁵ In general, data on language teaching in Lithuanian parish schools are very scarce and mostly from later on. One of the indirect testimonies comes from a visit to the Samogitian diocese in 1579, made by Tarquinius Peculus (Tarquinio Peccolo), auditor and chancellor to the papal nuncio in Poland, Giovanni Andrea Caligari (1527–1613). Peccolo’s report mentions the fact that in the house of the Krakės parish priest, Mikolajus Daukša (Nicolaus Dauksza, ca. 1527–1613), he found “various scholarly books, good enough and Catholic, except for a Greek grammar with an introduction by Philip Melanchthon,²⁶ a Greek grammar by Metzler, and the *Adagia* by Erasmus of Rotterdam.”²⁷ However, nothing is known about the use of these books for the purpose of teaching, either at that time or before, and this only affirms the general assumption that the teaching of Greek in the parochial schools of Lithuania was a very rare thing indeed.²⁸ In contrast, it seems probable that in the eastern lands of the GDL, as early as the 14th century, there were favourable conditions for schools near Orthodox churches and monasteries, where some elements of Greek, as the important language of Orthodox church liturgy, might have been taught more frequently.²⁹ By the beginning of the 16th century a higher level of education

²³ Cf. Ročka, 1983, 17–18.

²⁴ Lukšaitė, 1983, 26.

²⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 26–27.

²⁶ Philip Melanchthon’s manuals of Greek “received 21 editions in German-speaking lands between 1518 and 1575” (cf. Tumelis & Jovaiša, 325). However, Melanchthon’s preface could have been added to a grammar by another author.

²⁷ Jovaiša (ed.), Pekulas, 1998, 103.

²⁸ Although it is known that Vilnius Cathedral and city schools in the 1530s expanded their curriculum with some trivium and quadrivium subjects, there is no mention of the teaching of Greek in them (Ročka, 1983, 17–18; *idem*, 1965, 151).

²⁹ On Orthodox education *inter alios* see Mironowicz, 1994, 20–34, esp. 21–22 and Pelczar,

had also been achieved by some Catholic monasteries, for example, the Vilnius Dominicans. Unfortunately, we have no knowledge of Greek studies occurring there.³⁰

In the 1540s and 50s there was an ambition in Lithuania to teach Greek in secondary schools, but until the Union of Lublin (1569) and the establishment of the Jesuits in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, there were very few of these schools in the GDL. The most important were located in Vilnius. These included the Cathedral School, first mentioned in 1397 (but to be immediately discarded because of its clear orientation towards Latinity and the singing of psalms in Latin), and the City School, founded in 1513 at St. John's Church (often considered to be just an elementary parish school). Two other schools were founded by individual nobles, with or without partial support from the state authorities and the Catholic Church. The most promising but short-lived was the humanist school of Abraomas Kulvietis Ginvilonis (Abraham Culvensis Gynvilonis, ca. 1509–1545) which only operated for one year, 1541–42, and the next in importance was the first Protestant school in Vilnius, founded in 1558 in the palace of Nicolaus Radvila the Black (1515–1565), but only to achieve a higher level during the last 50 years of its existence following its relocation around 1590.³¹ The needs of all the Lithuanian nobles could not be met, so it was customary to employ private itinerant teachers at their estates to provide preparatory education for study abroad and to accompany the children of the nobility to the universities of Western Europe.

By the middle of the 16th century, the state of higher education in Lithuania had by no means improved: the complete lack of local university or academy education forced local nobility to pursue their options in other countries.

2003, esp. 66. These scholars do not specify when and in which Orthodox monastic schools (“w szkołach przyklasztornych”) various languages, including Greek, were taught. Until Orthodox brotherhoods flourished at the end of the 16th century, and when the opportunity arose for Orthodox higher education institutions in the territory of the GDL, little data on Orthodox schools is available, and there are no direct indications of a special focus on Greek studies in them. See esp. Chomik, 2013, 119–120.

³⁰ Veteikis, 2004, 23.

³¹ Cf. Lukšaitė, 1999, 304–305 and 468–472; Veteikis, 2004, 33–34.

Studies in the Neighbourhood of the GDL: *studia hellenica* at the Academy in Kraków

Until the mid-16th century, in order to receive a proper education, Lithuanians travelled to the nearest or more distant educational institutions, often to cities in Central and Western Europe where political and economic conditions and cultural connections were favourable. These cities included Prague, Kraków, Bologna, Siena and Padua, with Kraków being the nearest and for a time the most important. Its university, or academy as it was usually called in the early modern period, was founded in 1364 by the Polish king, Casimir the Great (Kazimierz III Wielki, 1310–1370), based on the *Studium generale* model of Bologna. Although it was closed after the death of its first founder and did not function for almost three decades, the university (*Collegium Alme Universitatis Studii Cracoviensis*) was reopened in July 1400 under the care of the new Polish king and Grand Duke of Lithuania, Jogaila (Władysław II Jagiełło, c. 1351–1434). With this reopening, marked by the establishment of a fourth faculty, Theology (in addition to the three previous faculties of Law, Medicine and Liberal Arts), and the strengthening of the school's material basis, the academy's sphere of activity expanded. It was now open to students from the GDL (as evidenced, among other things, by the appointment of the Lithuanian Jonas Vaidutis Butautaitis (1365–1402)³² as rector in 1401–1402 and the establishment of a Lithuanian *bursa* in 1409). It attracted most of the Lithuanian intellectuals of that time, up until the beginning of the 16th century.³³ However, as Ročka also points out, the content of the disciplines taught at the University of Kraków remained medieval until the last three decades of the 15th century. Greek was not part of the study programmes,³⁴ Latin grammar was based on the older textbooks (Donatus and Alexander de Villa Dei), medieval authors dominated the humanist classes, and scholastic commentaries were used in the higher faculties. Greek authors were most widely read in the Medical Faculty, but even here, as Ročka describes it, “life was dominated by ‘empiricists’—medical practitioners—and medical science

³² On the difficulties of identifying this person, see Pechta 2003.

³³ By 1492 there were about 300–400 Lithuanian students in the Kraków Academy (Ročka, 1966, 64).

³⁴ However, it is worth mentioning the still unexplored allusions of Polish scholars to the reform of the Faculty of Arts in the middle of the 15th century, when Greek may have been episodically introduced after the visit of Demetrius of Constantinople (*Δημήτριος Παλαιολόγος Μετοχίτης*, ?–1453), to Kraków in 1438. Cf. Frankowicz, 2016, 208.

was limited, in common with the Faculty of Liberal Arts, primarily to the reading of the ancient medics and their commentary, and usually through the interpretation of Arabic medical writers”.³⁵ This typically involved the study of Latin translations of the Arabic commentaries on Hippocrates and Galen, and just as in the Faculty of Liberal Arts, the Latin commentaries on Aristotle’s treatises dominated. However, it is sporadically noted that already at the time of the first Greek studies in Italy and Western Europe (1350–1450), Polish libraries had *haud exigua scriptorum Graecorum exemplaria* (“not scarce copies of Greek writers”),³⁶ and before the establishment of the first public lectures in Greek at the Kraków Academy, one or two professors (such as Michael de Wieluń, Theophilus Baliński, or Joannes Aventinus), might well have taught Greek privately.³⁷

In the last decades of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, the Academy of Kraków saw an influx of innovations from Italian and German humanists, such as Filippo Buonaccorsi de Tebaldis, called Callimachus (1437–1496, lectured in Kraków in 1472)³⁸ and Conrad Protucius Celtis/Celtes (Konrad Pickel, 1459–1508, who studied and taught there on an informal basis from 1489/90), as well as Giovanni Silvio de Mathio, called Amatus Siculus (?–1537; registered at the Cracovian alma mater in 1503), and Costanzo Claretti (Chiaretto) de’ Cancellieri (Constancius Clariti de Cancellaris, ca. 1455–post 1512?; teaching there ca. 1506–1510), regarded as one of the pioneers of Polish Graecistics. On the initiative of Conrad Celtis and Callimachus, an informal group of intellectuals, called *Sodalitas Litteraria Vistulana* (The Vistula Literary Society), was formed in Kraków. They promoted humanist ideas, studied classical languages, and imitated ancient literature. Their activities roughly coincided with the new reforms introduced at the university when more up-to-date courses in mathematics and astronomy were introduced by Albertus de Brudzewo (ca. 1445–ca. 1497), and Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543). Celtis, the founder of the literary society, may well have contributed significantly to the overall academic enthusiasm for Greek studies. He wrote a Greek grammar,³⁹ he praised the teaching of Greek in his

³⁵ Ročka, 1966, 65–66.

³⁶ Mułkowski, 1836, 3.

³⁷ Cf. Mułkowski, 8.

³⁸ Philippus Callimachus was a teacher of Casimir Jogailaitis’ sons Casimir and John Albrecht, he visited Lithuania several times, and was famous as a poet, biographer and author of a textbook on rhetoric. For some hints on his philhellenism see, for example, Segel, 1989, 37.

³⁹ For copies of his grammar and attempts to publish it, see Ruef & Zell (eds.), Klüpfel, 1827,

speech at the opening of the Gymnasium of Ingolstadt,⁴⁰ and he felt it important to proclaim that in his time in Germany (e. g., in Würzburg), the Catholic liturgy of the Holy Mass was still celebrated in Greek (presumably referring to the so-called chants of *Missa Graeca*).⁴¹

After Celtis' departure, the fate of the Vistula Literary Society is unclear, but it is generally believed that the society, or a new offshoot of it, continued to operate and to have new members. These included Paulus Crosnensis (Paul of Krosno, ca. 1474–1517), Laurentius Corvinus (Lorenz Raabe, Wawrzyniec Korwin, ca. 1465–1527), Christophorus Suchtenius (ca. 1476–1519), Ioannes Vislicensis (ca. 1485–ca. 1520), Ioannes Dantiscus (1485–1548), and Rodolphus Agricola Junior (Wasserburgensis, Rudolf Baumann, ca. 1490–1521).⁴² The members of the society might have contributed to other humanist initiatives and stimulated the formation of new intellectual circles, such as the Cracovian Erasminians (supporters of Erasmus of Rotterdam's humanist, ethical and religious ideas), who centred around Johannes à Lasco (Jan Łaski, 1499–1560), and Iodocus Ludovicus Decius (Jost Ludwig Dietz, 1485–1545), as well as wandering Welsh scholar, Leonard Cox (Coxus, Coxe, ca. 1495–ca. 1549), the 'catalyst' of their movement (1518–1528).⁴³ The Kraków humanist circles strengthened the international links among the members of the European *respublica litterarum* and promoted literary patronage in Poland and Lithuania. Such patronage is seen in the activity of Erazm Ciołek (Erasmus Vitellius, ca. 1474–1522), a graduate (BA in 1487, and MA in 1491) and teacher (1491–1493) at the Kraków Academy, a prominent diplomat, the Canon of Vilnius and Bishop of Płock. He not only supported compatriot talents such as Nicolaus Hussovianus (ca. 1480–ca. 1533) and Ioannes Dantiscus, but also those of the Italian humanists (the above-mentioned Silvio de Mathio and Claretti, as well as their friends, like Angelo Cospì), in their endeavour to promote Greek studies in Poland and Central Europe.⁴⁴ Although many of the poets mentioned above were primarily Latin poets, imitators of the Vergilian, Ovidian, and Horatian models, their erudition was strongly

143–144.

⁴⁰ Rupprich, ed. Celtis, 1932, 3 and passim.

⁴¹ See Walter Berschin's comment (Berschin, 1980, 36) on his *Amores* I 12, 42–44.

⁴² Cf. Odyniec 2017, 52–53; cf. Glomski, 2007, 27–29; Segel 1989, 91–92, 107–110; Veteikis 2004, 24. For a more sceptical view see Kruczkiewicz, 1887, XX–XXI.

⁴³ Zins, 1973, 175–176.

⁴⁴ Cf. Morawski, 1900, 249–251; Frankowicz, 2016, 209 and n. 30 (for more references on the same topic).

influenced by Ancient Greek literature and mythology too.⁴⁵ All this evidences that during the first wave of the influx of humanist ideas into the Kraków Academy (1490–1520),⁴⁶ there was an upsurge of interest in Ancient Greek language, literature, and history, and a receptiveness to the Helleno-Christian culture.

However, Greek was still not an established academic subject at that time. The first official professor of the language, Georgius Libanus Legnicensis (Georg Weihrauch, ca. 1464–1546), only introduced it in 1528, thanks to the Bishop of Kraków and Chancellor of the Academy, Piotr Tomicki (1464–1535). Perhaps he had already taught Greek privately for some years before that.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, the second wave of humanism (1540–1550) had already established Erasmus of Rotterdam’s motto, *ad fontes*—a return to the sources. The Kraków Academy now offered a more coherent study of the *tres linguae sacrae* (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew), in combination with Christian piety and recognised human intellectual capacities and dignity as an important dimension of human worth.⁴⁸ The most famous Hellenists of the Kraków Academy at the time were Albertus Novicampianus (Wojciech Nowopolczyk, 1508–1558), Simon Maricius Pilznensis (1516–1574), and their students, including Stanislaus Grzepski (ca. 1524–1570), Jacobus Gorscius (Jakub Górski Szttemberg, ca. 1525–1585), Benedictus Herbestus (ca. 1531–1598), and Jan Kochanowski (ca. 1530–1584), whose Philhellenic literary works greatly influenced the entire contemporary literature of the GDL and Poland. Many Lithuanians, particularly those from Vilnius, Kaunas, and the surrounding areas, studied in Kraków during these two periods of humanist expansion. Among those who later became famous for their polyglot erudition and writings, were the humanists Abraomas Kulvietis (mentioned earlier), Stanislovas Rapolionis (Rapailionis, Rapagelanus, ca. 1485–1545), Jurgis Zablockis (Georgius Zablocius, Sablocius, ca. 1510–1563), Martynas Mažvydas Vaitkūnas (Martinus Mossvidius, ca. 1520–1563), and Venclovas Agripa (Venceslaus Agrippa Lituanus, ca. 1525–1597). They occupy a prominent place, despite the fact that their studies do not fall within the periods

⁴⁵ For the Greek examples of Hussovianus’ Latin imitation see Veteikis 2004, 24, n. 28.

⁴⁶ Cf. Barycz, 1981, 61–62.

⁴⁷ Mułkowski, 1836, 14–15; K. Frankowicz, 2016, 211 state that Libanus began teaching Greek in 1520. However, Malinowski (2019, 234–235) suggests that teaching Greek at the Kraków Academy actually began with the lectures of Costanzo Claretti de Cancellieri in 1506.

⁴⁸ Barycz, 1981, 61–62; Gruchała, 1989, 52. On the influence of Erasmian spirituality on Polish intellectual, political and religious elites see esp. Louthan, 2014.

identified: the first three (Kulvietis, Rapolionis, Zablockis) are known to have matriculated in 1528 and continued their studies for a couple of years,⁴⁹ while Agrippa matriculated in 1551. Kulvietis and Rapolionis, the future short-term teachers at *Albertina* in Königsberg, may have been influenced in their Greek studies by the aforementioned Erasmian, Georgius Libanus, while David Leonard may have encouraged their interest in Hebrew. Agrippa's Greek studies and knowledge have not been studied to date. In general, during the 16th century, Lithuanians studied more often in other European universities famous for their Greek studies, for example, Leipzig, Frankfurt, Wittenberg, Padua, Bologna, or Siena.

Due to the lack of more detailed documentation and limited previous research, it is difficult to determine the scope and ambition of Greek language studies at the Kraków Academy. Some of it can be traced in the manuscripts that survived the fires and wars, and also the published works (from the 19th century onwards). They include the records of the academy's enrolment lists (*album studiosorum, matricula*), fragments of statutes (*statuta*), the books containing the lists of those promoted to academic degrees (*libri promotionum*), reports of deans on the disciplines and teachers (*diligentes* or *negligentes*) under their authority (*libri diligentiarum*), the records of the resolutions of the University's General Assembly, faculty meetings and meetings of the Master's Colleges (*libri conclusionum*), and so on.⁵⁰ This material shows that the academic offerings of the academy in the 16th century gradually, but variably, covered Greek subjects. For example, the reports provide information on which professors taught which Greek authors in which years,⁵¹ while the only surviving comprehensive list of the school's humanities subjects in this century was contained in the *conclusiones* of 1579 by the academy's Vice-Chancellor, Jakub Górski (ca. 1525–1585). It included the recommended textbooks (*Grammatica Graeca Clenardi vel Meceleri*) and also recommended a solid number of authors in three different genres: for orators,

⁴⁹ Kulvietis received his bachelor's degree the following year in Kraków, on 14 September 1529 (Pociūtė, 2007, 101).

⁵⁰ To save space, we won't mention all the different editions of these documents, but instead, we direct readers to Wiktor Szymborski's article (2011), that covers the majority of them and includes a sizable bibliography. Please note, the word "diligentiarum", which appears several times in the article, should be read as "diligentiarum".

⁵¹ To date, the data on Greek subjects contained in the *libri diligentiarum* have not yet been analysed in detail, but our look at the material in this document published by Wisłocki (1886) shows that a permanent inclusion of Greek subjects in the curricula of the Faculty of Liberal Arts at this academy did not take place until around the middle of the 16th century.

Demosthenes, Isocrates and certain *XIII Oratores Graec[i]*;⁵² for poets, Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Euripides, and Aristophanes and for historians, Xenophon, Thucydides and Herodotus.⁵³ But the professors and students themselves left far more vivid evidence of the ambition for Greek studies amidst the Latin orations and pedagogical treatises (e. g. Leonard Cox and Simon Maricius). This is also reflected in the occasional Greek lines that were written in appreciation of the liberal arts, and addressed to their sponsors, well-known instructors, professors, and former students of the academy.⁵⁴

Here is how Leonard Cox, in his 1518 oration praising the teaching of grammar at the academy in Kraków, points out that Greek grammar is no less important than Latin grammar as a key to the other sciences, that many of the pupils of this school were proficient in the former (Greek grammar), and that the school itself was on a par with other renowned, academically demanding schools, across Italy, France, Germany and Britain:

Quoniam⁵⁵ liquido patent, tum etiam aliarum artium cultores recensendo, eos nullo pacto praeterire possum. Nam quis inquam satis aliquando cum laude ulla inscientia versatus est, quam prius hanc omnium aliarum artium clavem neglexit. Sunt praeterea tot tantique non Latinis solum, verumetiam Graecis litteris peregre imbuti, quod si singulorum percurrere nomina velim, dies hic mihi prius ut deficiet vereor, quam ad optatam pervenire metam continget. Magna quidem haec nostrae matris [sc. Academiae Cracoviensis – T.V.] laus est. Sed multis Italiae, Galliae, Germaniae, Britanniae, aliarum quoque gentium, urbibus cum ea communis.⁵⁶

Since they [Latin grammarians – t/n] are clearly visible, also when reflecting on the cultivators of the other arts, I can by no means omit them. For he who, as I say, has ever lived in ignorance with any glory, he has immediately neglected this key of all other sciences. Moreover, there are so many great men

⁵² Cf. Muczkowski (ed.), 1849, LXXII. Who were those 13 Greek orators? Perhaps it's a reference to a book with the texts by 13 orators, most probably the Aldine *editio princeps* of various Greek (mostly Attic) orators and rhetoricians published in 1513 (see Manutius 1513), whose bilingual (Greco-Latin) title page lists the following thirteen orators: Aeschines, Lysias, Alcidas, Antisthenes, Demades, Andocides, Isaeus, Dinarchus, Antiphon, Lycurgus, Gorgias, Lesbonax, and Herodes.

⁵³ *ibid.*, LXXII-LXXIII.

⁵⁴ See Czerniatowicz, 1991, 22 and *passim*.

⁵⁵ Starting from here, all Latin and Greek quotations in this paper follow the rules of simplified orthography (no special abbreviatory marks, ligatures etc.).

⁵⁶ Cox, 1518, fol. [a3] verso.

of such extraordinary proficiency not only in Latin but also in Greek, that if I were to enumerate the names of each, I fear I should sooner run out of this day than succeed in attaining the desired goal. Of course, great is this glory of our mother [i.e. the Academy of Kraków – T.V.]. But it is a glory shared by many cities in Italy, France, Germany, Britain and other nations.⁵⁷

Simon Maricius, in his *De scholis seu Academiis libri II*, remarks on the importance of Greek culture, proclaiming the popular humanist postulate of the eminence of Greek in various spheres of science:

Et quidem eo modo Graecia, cui et humanitatem et disciplinam debemus, et ingeniorum, et humanitatis ferax, in tantum perfectionis apicem fastigiumque omne fere disciplinarum et artium genus extulit, ut reliquas propemodum nationes omnes sapientiae atque eruditionis ramis adumbraret.⁵⁸

And, of course, in this way, Greece, to which we owe both our humanity and our science, being prolific in talents and humanity, elevated almost every kind of discipline and art to such a peak and pinnacle of excellence that it eclipsed almost all other peoples in wisdom and erudition.

Maricius also describes the methods of the humanist academies leading to the successful acquisition of knowledge, stressing the link between literature and ethics, and the reading of preparatory texts, not only in Latin but also in Greek:

Moris fuit hactenus in scholis disticha Catonis moralia pueris ediscenda proponere, quod ne ego quidem improbo. Nam ad honeste vivendum ac mores addiscendos et brevitate et venustate sua animos pueriles pellicunt. Ac nescio an non praeceptores id quoque consulte facere videantur, si Catoni Latino aut carmina Pythagorae aurea, aut Phocylidis versus, idque Graecae, adiungant: tum propter similitudinem argumenti morumque compendium, tum, ut, sicut Catonis versibus Latinis ad Vergilium Latinum poetam, sic etiam ad Graecum Homerum, Graecis Pythagora aut Phocylide pueri praeparentur. Ne ad Maronem atque Homerum illotis pedibus, quod aiunt, accedentes, protinus desperationem praesumant, et Latino sermone, et Graeco penitus destituti.⁵⁹

Until now, it has been the custom in schools to give boys the moral Distichs of Cato to learn by heart, which not even I censure. For they lure the souls of children, by their brevity and charm, to honourable living and the study of good

⁵⁷ All translations are by the author of this article.

⁵⁸ Maricius, 1551, fol. [P]3 verso.

⁵⁹ Maricius, 1551, fol. M5 recto.

habits. And I do not know if it is not the same foresight that makes teachers do the same when they add to the Latin Cato either the golden songs of Pythagoras or the poems of Phocylides, also in Greek: partly because of the similarity of the contents and for the sake of a summary of morals, in part, that the children may be prepared for the Greek Homer by the Greek Pythagoras and Phocylides, just as they are prepared for Virgil, the Latin poet, by the Latin verses of Cato. This ensures that they should not approach Maro and Homer with unwashed feet, as they say, and nor suffer immediately premature disappointment of being completely robbed of both Latin and Greek.

And here, too, on the subject of the cultivation of the written style, Maricius notes the importance of working with Greek translations:

Nulla vero res (auctore Cicerone) tantum proficit ad discendum, quantum scriptio atque stylus quem merito idem ipse optimum ac praestantissimum dicendi effectorem appellat et magistrum. Omnia enim quae vel disputando vel commentando facimus diligenter, certe longe maiore diligentia et studio sub acumen styli subeant et succedant necesse est⁶⁰. Itaque (ut ea de re, de qua multa Cicero, plurima Fabius tradiderunt, pauca dicamus, ne actum agere videamur) exercendus est stylus, partim orationibus scribendis, partim componendis versibus, et solvendis effusius aut strictius. Vertenda etiam Graeca in Latinum, et vicissim Latina Graeco sermone transformanda. Hoc enim et L. Crassus orator, et Cicero leguntur facitasse.⁶¹

And no subject (on Cicero's authority), gives so much advantage in learning as writing and *stylus* [providing us with both the instrument of writing and the effects of its use – t/n], which he himself rightly calls the best and greatest producer and teacher of speech. For all that we do diligently, either in discussion or in commentary, these things certainly inevitably go under and follow from the pointed end of the *stylus* with much greater diligence and study. Thus (to say little about the subject of which Cicero has imparted much, and Fabius most, lest we should seem to be doing what has been done), the *stylus* must be cultivated, partly by writing speeches, partly by composing verses, and by treating them either with more profusion/laxity (solvendis effusius) or with more rigour. Also, the Greek writings must be translated into Latin and in turn the Latin ones must be transposed into Greek. Indeed, the orator Crassus and Cicero are said to have frequently done so.

The professoriate of the Academy of Kraków made a significant contribution to the provision of Greek teaching materials and language learning tools, and

⁶⁰ Cf. Cic. *De or.* 1.34.151.

⁶¹ Maricius 1551, fol. [V6] verso – [V7] recto

the best printers of the day were closely partnered with them. Some Graecists ordered Greek editions from Aldo Manuzio's printing business in Venice, as Silvio de Mathio's example shows,⁶² while others thought of having local Kraków printers produce books in Greek script. At the start of the 16th century, Johann Haller (1463–1525), was granted the privilege of printing the academy's books and textbooks, and he made some publications containing Greek quotations reproduced from woodcuts. However the few rival printers who used metal plates for Greek letters, eventually surpassed him.⁶³ It was Hieronymus Vietor (ca.1480–ca.1547) who was the first to use them in Kraków,⁶⁴ and it was in his printing house in around 1524, that one of the first Greek books was printed in Poland.⁶⁵ The book contained a few untypical texts: the *Ἔρωσ δραπετήης* by Moschus (in Doric hexameters), a curious alphabetic hymn to Apollo by an unknown author (*Anth. Graec.* 9.525), and some epigrams with a moral content.⁶⁶ The book, dedicated to the rector of the academy, is thought to have been compiled by Matthias Pyrserius (ca. 1500–1560) or possibly by Georgius Libanus and might even have been a collaboration between the two. Libanus certainly did compile the second Greek textbook to be published in Kraków, containing grammatical commentaries, a literal translation into Latin, and even scriptural parallels illustrating the texts of Sibyl's prophecies: *Carmina Sibyllae Erythraeae in quibus resurrectio corporum, mutatio saeculorum, Dei adventus ad iudicium, praemia ac supplicia hominum describuntur* was printed in 1528 by Florian Ungler. It also contains, inter alia, a speech (*Paraclesis ad Graecarum litterarum studios*), advocating the importance of Greek studies, a reverberation of Erasmus of Rotterdam's introductory essay for the *Novum instrumentum* of 1516 (*Erasmii Roterodami paraclesis ad lectorem pium*). Thanks to Georgius Libanus, Latin translations of Greek authors were also published in Kraków.⁶⁷

Of the Greek grammars circulating in the Kraków Academy during the 16th century, the first to be used was Constantine Laskaris' *Ἐπιτομή τῶν ὀκτώ τοῦ λόγου μερῶν* (probably the 1495 edition). Silvio de Mathio had ordered at least

⁶² Frankowicz 2016, 209–210.

⁶³ By the mid-16th century, three Kraków printers had published books with graphically neat Greek typefaces: Hieronim Vietor, Maciej Szarffenberg and Florian Ungler. See Czerniatowicz, 1976, 171; Kawecka-Gryczowa, 1983, 243; Frankowicz, 2016, 213.

⁶⁴ Czerniatowicz, 1976, 277–278.

⁶⁵ Frankowicz, 2016, 212.

⁶⁶ See Pyrserius (and Libanus?) 1524.

⁶⁷ Cf. Mułkowski, 1836, 15–16.

100 copies at the beginning of the century from the printing house of Aldus Manutius.⁶⁸ By the middle of the century, the most in-demand grammars were those of Oecolampadius, Clenardus and Metzler.⁶⁹ The first Greek grammar to be published in this century in Kraków and, indeed, throughout Poland and Lithuania, was the anonymous *Elementale introductorium in nominum et verborum declinationes Graecas*, published in 1535 by Marek Szarffenberg (Marcus Bibliopola, ?–1545).⁷⁰

Despite the challenges faced by the first teachers of Greek, the Kraków Academy gradually educated a large number of Philhellenic students throughout the 16th and 17th centuries. It also hosted a number of interesting Greek professors, who left their own texts, produced translations of Greek authors, or inspired greetings addressed to them. Among the professors of the 16th century, special mention might be made of Stanisław Mareniusz Twardy (Stanislaus Marennius, ca. 1532–1580), who wrote a poem of 2500 hexametric lines entitled, *Evangelium Nicodemi*. To date, it is the longest unpublished Greek text recognised in the Polish-Lithuanian context.⁷¹ Among the students, active *extra muros*, Stanisław Niegoszewski (Stanislaus Niegossevius, 1565–post 1600) was probably the most productive author of Greek texts.⁷² But it was perhaps not earlier than the first half of 17th century that the Academy of Kraków itself received the most beautiful tributes in Greek from its professors.⁷³ All this only serves to show, how rich and undisclosed the Greek studies of this academy are still.

Greek Studies at the Königsberg Academy

The University of Königsberg, often called *Academia Albertina* or *Academia Regiomontana* in Latin after its founder Albert of Prussia (Albrecht von Preussen, Albrecht Hohenzollern, Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach, 1490–1568), was the world's second Protestant university (after the University of

⁶⁸ Cf. Frankowicz, 2016, 209–210.

⁶⁹ Barycz, 1938, 82.

⁷⁰ Frankowicz, 213.

⁷¹ Cf. Czerniatowicz, 1991, 7 and 140.

⁷² For the most recent discussion on Niegoszewski, see Malinowski, 2021, 47–68.

⁷³ This has not yet been specifically explored, but a general impression can be gained from the poetic material collected in Czerniatowicz, 1991.

Marburg established in 1527),⁷⁴ and the first to be established geographically closer to the GDL than the Academy of Kraków. It was situated in the historic lands of the Prussian, Sambian tribe, a people close to the Lithuanians in origin, who were conquered by the Teutonic Order during the great campaign of 1254–1255, as part of the Prussian Crusades (1217–1260). The academy was physically located in the Island district of Königsberg (now Kaliningrad), called Kneiphof (also Germ. Knipab, Knypabe, Lat. Cnipavia, Lith. Knypava, Kneīpuva; Pol. Knipawa), and part of which had been purchased by Duke Albert. However, it was not the name of the island, but of the Duke himself, of his residence (in Königsberg Castle) and of the river on which the island was located (Pregel, Lith. Prieglius, Rus. Преголя (Pregolya)), that gave the name to the Academy: *Albertina*, *Regiomontana*, or *Pregelana*. This university did not appear suddenly. In the State of the Teutonic Order, which existed from 1224 to 1525 until its reorganisation into the Duchy of Prussia under the influence of Sigismund I the Old (1467–1548) and the conversion to Lutheranism of the last Grand Master Albert, there were attempts in the 14th and 15th century to establish an institution of higher education that would compete with the University of Kraków. The Order asked Pope Urban VI for permission to establish a university at Kulm (Pol. Chełmno), and the Pope, in a bull of 1386, granted one. The school was planned to follow the model of Bologna, with first class faculties for theology and law. However, these plans were not realised.⁷⁵ Albert, Duke of Prussia, was more fortunate in his educational plans: in 1541, with the advice of a group of eminent humanists, he founded a gymnasium, called *Paedagogium* or *Schola particularis* to educate future pastors and teachers, and soon afterwards, in 1544, by his deed, he elevated it to the status of a university, although for a while it was still called a college (*Collegium Albertinum*). On 28 March 1560, a letter signed by Sigismund II Augustus granted this school the same rights and freedoms as the Kraków Academy.⁷⁶ Interestingly, the university undertook the mission of training Protestant priests and teachers to educate Protestant communities not only in Prussia, but also in Lithuania and Poland. Various townspeople and noblemen from the GDL and Samogitia travelled here to study, and in Königsberg they found favourable conditions for developing a greater

⁷⁴ In the 16th century, Germany had many Protestant-friendly universities, but the universities of Marburg and Königsberg were the first to serve the Protestant denomination from their outset.

⁷⁵ Cf. Lavrinovich, 1995, 35.

⁷⁶ Bogdan, 2019, 37.

knowledge of their native languages.⁷⁷ It was here, in Königsberg, and not in the GDL, that the first Lithuanian book, *Catechism*, by Martynas Mažvydas, was prepared and published in 1547, stimulating demand for other Lithuanian books.

Ancient Greek was given a prominent place in the gymnasium (*Paedagogium*) of Königsberg from the start, and remained a carefully preserved subject in the academy. The importance of Greek in this school is described by the Rector of the Königsberg Cathedral School (*Lyceum*), Georg Christoph Pisanski (1725–1790), in his thesis on the history of Greek in Prussia:

Firmissimam Graecae linguae inter Prussos sedem Paedagogium a. 1541 Regiomonti fundatum, et, quae triennio post efflorescebat, Academia, stabiliverunt. In illo enim praeter Archipaedagogum, cui Graeca docere incumbere, peculiaris etiam, qui ea profiteretur, Hypodidasculus erat; in Academia vero idem munus Professori Graecae linguae demandabatur. Hunc Statuta Ordinis Philosophici non praecepta tantum grammatica enucleare, sed Auctores quoque probatissimos, Homerum, Hesiodem, Euripidem, Sophoclem, Isocratem, Demosthenem, auditoribus illustrare iubent.⁷⁸

The strongest foundation for Greek among the Prussians was strengthened by the *Paedagogium*, which was founded in Königsberg in 1541, and the Academy, which sprung up three years later. For in this school, in addition to the *Archipaedagogus*, who was responsible for teaching Greek subjects, there was also the *Hypodidasculus*, who taught them as well. And in the Academy this duty was entrusted to the Professor of Greek. The statutes of the Philosophical Department direct the professor to not only teach the rules of grammar, but to also enlighten the audience with the most approved authors: Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, Sophocles, Isocrates, and Demosthenes.

More details about Greek studies are provided by the surviving 17th century codex⁷⁹ and printed *Albertina* documents or their later editions (prepared in the 18th and 19th centuries). The Lithuanian Abraomas Kulvietis was the first

⁷⁷ Regarding Duke Albert of Prussia's concern for the Lithuanian-speaking community of his dukedom and the patronage of students from the GDL, see for example, Citavičiūtė, 2015, esp. 76–79.

⁷⁸ Pisanski, 1766, 11.

⁷⁹ Cf. digital copy of the codex manuscript with the shelf mark F3–74, from the disposition of the Manuscript Unit of the Library at Vilnius University (code. VUB RS F3–74); the codex contains various documents concerning the statutes and school regulations of Königsberg University.

professor of Greek at the gymnasium and then the first Professor of Greek and Hebrew at the academy. The number of professors changed slightly over time: in 1544–1545, the university had more than 200 students and 11 professors from four faculties (*professiones*): 3 professors in the higher faculties (theology, law, medicine), and 8 professors in the lower faculty (philosophy and liberal arts—often called Philosophy collectively). According to the 16th-century statutes between 1546 and 1554, the number of professors in the higher faculties was increased to 2, while the number of professors in the Faculty of Philosophy remained the same as in the first school year.⁸⁰ Greek studies were integrated into the Faculty of Philosophy, with one ordinary professor for each discipline. The Statute of 1554 provided for the professor to practise Greek grammar and to add to it the *probatos auctores* (approved authors):

Lector Graecae linguae, qui subinde repetat Grammaticam Graecam, et adjungat probatos autores, Homerum et Hesiodum, Euripidem, Sophoclem, aliquas Isocratis et Demosthenis orationes.⁸¹

A Lecturer of Greek who would repeat Greek grammar many times over and include the tested authors, Homer and Hesiod, Euripides, Sophocles, some of the orations of Isocrates and Demosthenes.

But the instructions on the timetable for lectures defined by the Constitutions of 1546 identify a broader canon of the Greek authors (note, Theocritus, “someone of the Greek historians”, with the ethics of Aristotle):

Deinde Graecus Lector, qui subinde repetat Grammaticam Graecam et hos scriptores enarret: Homerum, Hesiodum, Euripidem, Sophoclem, Theocritum, aliquas orationes Demosthenis, aliquem ex Graecis Historicis. Idem leget quoque Ethica Aristotelis.⁸²

Next [comes] a Lecturer of Greek who would repeat Greek grammar many times over and explain the following writers: Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, Sophocles, Theocritus, some orations of Demosthenes, and someone of the Greek historians. The same teacher will also read Aristotle’s *Ethics*.

In the description of the time and order of the lectures (*De doctrinae temporibus et ordine*) as presented in the Statute of 1554, in addition to the

⁸⁰ Bogdan, 2019, 38; cf. Koch, 1839, 584.

⁸¹ Koch, 1839, 604; cf. cod. VUB RS F3–74, fol. 145 verso.

⁸² Koch, 1839, 580.

above-mentioned authors (except Theocritus, Aristotle and the historians), we find Aristophanes⁸³. There is also a marginal mention of the *Archipaedagogus*, leader of the *paedagogium* (or *schola particularis*), who handles introductory-level courses to foster Latin proficiency but also to instil the basics of Greek (*rudimenta*).⁸⁴

It is interesting to see only ancient writers and no emphasis on Christian Greek texts. However, it was the polemical atmosphere in academic, religious and political circles over the interpretation of religious doctrines and philosophical texts that greatly encouraged the study of the source languages of the founding dogmas, and was the subject of all kinds of controversy. So, although the general regulations for the organisation of studies neither mention the methods of teaching Greek, nor specify the use and preparation of auxiliary aids such as grammar and lexicons, or even emphasise the use of Greek exercises and approaches to learning, all of it was a very important, integral part of Hellenic studies.

Our detailed knowledge of the specifics of the 16th-century Greek at the Königsberg Academy is still very limited, some of it comes from the above-mentioned dissertation by Pisanski, and some of it is only predictable through possible parallels with other Protestant schools, the survival of the professors' statements or thanks to the data on the books they possessed, as well as their own writings and printed matter. Many of the early professors of the Königsberg Academy came from, or had studied at, the University of Wittenberg,⁸⁵ so the influence of Philip Melanchthon, a professor at that university, is easily discernible.⁸⁶ Melanchthon's Latin grammars are mentioned in the Statutes of the *Albertina*, so it is likely that Melanchthon's Greek grammar was also important. Moreover, the Greek studies of the Königsberg Academy, at least in its early years, can be assessed from the surviving list of a private book collection. It describes the first personal scholarly library of a Lithuanian nobleman, owned by Abraomas Kulvietis,⁸⁷

⁸³ Koch, 1839, 585.

⁸⁴ Koch, 1839, 605; cf. code. VUB RS F3-74, fol. 146 recto.

⁸⁵ Such as the first rector, Georg Sabinus (1508–1560), and the first Lithuanian professors, Abraomas Kulvietis and Stanislovas Rapolionis (already mentioned above).

⁸⁶ On the influence of Melanchthon on the foundation of the University of Königsberg and the function of the *Albertina* as a "satellite of Wittenberg", see in particular, Hartfelder, 1889, 531–537 and Denys, 1973, 347–348.

⁸⁷ This list was first published in Wotschke, 1905, 189–190, and then reprinted in Lanckorońska & Olech (eds.), 1985, 36–38.

and was created even before book publishing in Lithuania had begun.⁸⁸ Kulvietis was a disciple of Melanchthon and the *archipaedagogue* of the *Albertine's studium particulare*. Of the 88 books in the Kulvietis collection, some 30 books were related to the Greek language: 25 books by Greek authors, five or four Greek textbooks (*Urbani Grammatica Graeca*; two copies of the *Grammatica Graeca Philippi Melanchthonis*; *Grammatica Graeca Munsterii*, the language or author of which is likely wrong, as Sebastian Münster (1488–1552) was a prominent Hebraist, not a Graecist;⁸⁹ and *Grammaticorum Graecorum liber*), and finally, a bilingual Psalter (in Greek-Hebrew).⁹⁰ Some confirmation of these speculations, especially concerning the use of Melanchthon's grammar, is also provided by Pisanski:

Itaque his de causis Graeca lingua tum in Academia, tum in Scholis eminentioribus, non vulgari tractabatur diligentia. Et in his quidem primo Grammatica Melanchthonis, deinde Io. Metzleri, potissimum ex quo Anton. Nigrinus illam additionibus suis locupletasset, discentium terebantur manibus, adiunctis Homeri poematibus. [...] Locum postea obtinuit Ottonis Gualperii Grammatica, eamque secuta est a Io. Rhenio adornata; cui tamen mox se adiunxit Welleriana: donec tandem recentiori aetate Halensis usu invaluit.⁹¹

And so, for these reasons, Greek was treated with an uncommon diligence, both in the Academy and in the more prominent schools. And among these, of course, first, the Grammar of Melanchthon, next, one of Johannes Metzler's were being grasped by the hands of the learners, and especially after Antonius

⁸⁸ Cf. Pociūtė, 2011, 54.

⁸⁹ On the other hand, it is possible that the name of the author of the grammar is misspelled: it might actually refer to Johann Metzler, whose grammar was popular in the Polish and Lithuanian regions.

⁹⁰ Veteikis, 2004, 31, esp. ft. n. 42 and 44. This list is not very easy to comment on, as not all the entries are clear. It is difficult to count the actual number of Greek editions, and one of the grammars, that of Sebastian Münster, seems to have been incorrectly entered in place of the Hebrew grammar (see previous footnote). It is not clear what is meant by the title *Graecorum grammaticorum liber*. Dainora Pociūtė has suggested that it may have been a grammar by Clénard, and posits that Kulvietis may have become personally acquainted with the erudite grammarian during his studies in Leuven (Pociūtė, 2007, 108–109). For us, the more convincing argument here is that it may have been some edition of Aldo Manuzio's grammar, since the *Urbani grammatica Graeca* can be identified as the *Institutiones graecae grammaticae* by Urbano Valeriani (Urbanus Bellunensis, ca. 1442–1524), which was published by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1497/1498, and a copy of which was autographed by Melanchthon himself (Kulvietis' teacher and promotor to the teaching staff of Königsberg). For the autograph see Kloss, 1835, 332.

⁹¹ Pisanski, 1766, 12.

Nigrinus had enriched the latter with his own additions and Homeric poems. [...] Later, the Grammar of Otto Gualperius took a prominent place, and was followed by the one embellished by Johannes Rhenius. However, it was soon joined by the *Welleriana*. Finally, in the present century, *Halensis* Grammar took hold.

As we can see, the 16th century is represented by the grammars of three prominent humanist Graecists: the aforementioned Melanchthon and Metzler (*Mecelerus*), and also Antonius Nigrinus (or Niger, Melas, ca. 1500–1555).⁹² The latter was also the author of a very important book, *Exhortatio ad Liberalium artium studia* (1550), in which he summarised and extensively justified the idea of trilingual gymnasia and the curricula of the German gymnasia with arguments often taken from Latin authors (especially Cicero and Quintilian), as well as from his contemporaries (Erasmus of Rotterdam, Melanchthon, and Joachim Camerarius). Nigrinus remarks on the successive teaching of Greek after Latin in the schools of his day, but proclaims its undoubted superiority over Latin in providing a better understanding of the basic tenets of the other great disciplines (*artes magnae*), and in particular, philosophy. Referring to Quintilian, he refers to the Greek language as the teacher of Latin:

Iam si quis ex artium magnarum ac philosophiae desiderio non laborans, linguae tantum Latinae ad amussim cognoscendae amore tenebitur, cogetur nimirum is nihilominus Graecam quasi sociam adsciscere. Discipula siquidem Graecae linguae, auctore Quintiliano, et alumna est Latina, ut quae ex illa, si non nata, certe alta sit et amplificata.⁹³

Even if someone, without suffering the desire of the great arts and philosophy, is only possessed by the love of the exact knowledge of the Latin language, he will undoubtedly still be compelled to accept the Greek language as an ally of the former. For Latin, according to Quintilian's authority, is the disciple and nursling of Greek: as the one which, if not born from it, then certainly is nourished and enlarged by it.

Not far from Nigrinus' arguments, the ambitions in Hellenic studies of the *Academia Regiomontana* are summarised in Gregorius Crogerus' speech

⁹² Nigrinus (or Niger) did not write his original grammar, but transformed and supplemented Metzler's textbook around 1551, and published it in Leipzig in 1554. After Nigrinus's death, the textbook benefitted from a significant number of editions in the Protestant printing houses of Germany.

⁹³ Niger, 1550, fol. [D₆] recto.

Oratio in Laudem Graecae linguae, publicly addressed to its community on 9 September 1568. Crogerus elevates the Greek language above Hebrew and Latin, and calls it both threshold and key to the study of philosophy—starting with God, His gifts to humanity, the tongue (*lingua*) and the speech (*sermo*). Crogerus goes on to highlight the importance of language as a cognitive instrument for scientific progress, identifies Hebrew, Greek and Latin as the languages that are most useful to all sorts of science, points out the mission of the academies to preserve and promote these languages, and taking the scholastic tradition as an example, comments on the dangers of neglecting them:

[...] Deus hominibus inclusit in ore linguam et attribuit eis sermonem, ut is esset commune quasi instrumentum tradendi et accipiendi doctrinas utiles et necessarias toti generi humano de Deo, de natura rerum, de vita et moribus. Unde apud Platonem, Isocratem et alios sermoni tribuuntur honorificae appellationes. Sermo autem est multiplex, distributus in varias linguas, inter quas tres tantum serviunt doctrinarum officinae, Ebraea, Graeca atque Latina. Sed Ebraea parum aut nihil habet commercii cum Disciplinis Philosophicis, sed tantum nata est ad explicandas doctrinas, quae in sacris Bibliis continentur, reliquae duae sunt communiores et φιλοσοφότεραι, totum omnium artium systema comprehendentes. Harum trium linguarum conservatio et propagatio proprie pertinet ad Academias, quae sunt quasi officinae aut potius nutrices omnium doctrinarum, quae in ipsis docentur atque discuntur. Quamobrem qui praesunt scholis debent omnes industriae et diligentiae suae artus intendere atque excudere [sic= excutere], ut has linguas puras et incorruptas conservent. Nam harum luce et puritate amissa, necesse est simul etiam amitti et extinguere lucem et intellectum omnium artium atque doctrinarum, quod olim factum est in Tomistarum et Scotistarum scholis, qui extincto linguarum lumine excogitarunt novum dicendi genus, cudentes horribilia [...] Etsi vero non ignoro Ludovicum Vivem [...] dixisse de iis qui neglectis rebus in procudenda linua [sic = lingua] omnem operam consumerent, eos tantum⁹⁴ pulsare fores Philosophiae, sed in domum Philosophiae non intrare, quod quidem sapienter et vere dictum esse accipio de iis, qui vix primis labris gustato Graeco sermone non longius ad rerum doctrinam progrediuntur, sed falsam magnae eruditionis persuasionem induunt.⁹⁵

[...] God has put a tongue in the mouths of men and ordained speech to be a common instrument for the transmission and reception of useful and necessary

⁹⁴ We accept a correction made in ink by an unknown's hand in the copy of the book possessed by Wrocław University Library (L.i.: 400955), available online.

⁹⁵ Crogerus, 1568, fol. E recto – E₂ recto

doctrines about God, the nature of things, life and customs for the whole human family. For this reason, in Plato, Isocrates and others, speech is given honourable appellations. Speech is, however, multifaceted, divided into various tongues, of which only three serve the workshop of the doctrines: the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin one. But Hebrew has little or nothing to do with the philosophical disciplines, and by nature is only suitable for the interpretation of doctrines contained in the sacred writings. The other two languages are more universal and philosophical (*φιλοσοφώτεραι*), encompassing the whole system of all the arts. The preservation and propagation of these three tongues belongs directly to the academies, which are like workshops or rather nurseries of all the doctrines that are interpreted, and studied in them. Those who run the schools must therefore strain and stretch all their joints (*artus*) in laboriousness and diligence to preserve these tongues pure and uncorrupted. For when they lose their light and purity, the light and understanding (meaning) of all the arts and doctrines inevitably begin to disappear and simultaneously fade away. This once happened in the Thomist and Scotist schools: when the light of languages had fizzled out, they invented a new kind of tongue and coined horrors [...]. But even if I know that Louis Vives [...] said of those who, to the detriment of the substance of things, consume all their efforts to taper their tongues, and that they only knock at the door of Philosophy, but do not enter into the house of Philosophy, then I, for my part, accept this as a wise and just saying about those who, having tasted Greek with the edge of their lips, do not go further into the doctrine of the substance of things, but provide a false assurance of their great erudition.

It goes without saying that the university, which was located in Lithuania's neighbourhood and attracted a large number of Lithuanians,⁹⁶ further strengthened the ambitious plans of the local nobility to establish their own trilingual schools. First hopes were boldly expressed by the Protestant nobility in Vilnius, but they had no approval from the leading officials of the Catholic Church who had a monopoly on the dissemination of education in the country, nor of the ruler of Poland and Lithuania himself. Kulvietis' short-lived gymnasium in Vilnius, founded on the model of *Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense* in 1541, was closed the next year and its head, prosecuted by the Bishop of Vilnius, fled to Prussia. Later, in 1558, on the initiative of Nicolaus Radvila the Black, a new evangelical school was founded in Vilnius. It had ambitions to reach the level of an academy, not just a gymnasium, even though,

⁹⁶ According to Algirdas Matulevičius (2004, 36–37), who wrote about the number of Lithuanian students at the Königsberg Academy, in the 16th century (1544–1600) there were 202 students from Lithuania studying in Albertina, but there could have been Lithuanians from Königsberg as well, as in the 16th century, Lithuanian-speaking inhabitants of the city constituted around 20% of the total population (see *ibid.*, 34).

even this, was realistically difficult to achieve. However, a trilingual Jesuit college, the predecessor of the University of Vilnius, emerged and eclipsed it in an arguably unequal competition.

Greek Studies at the Vilnius Jesuit Academy

The Vilnius Jesuit College, was founded in response to the educational efforts of the Vilnius Evangelicals, and within a decade, had developed into a university-level school. It represented the realisation of the ideas of the Polish-Lithuanian Catholic clergy and nobility. The idea of the Vilnius College was stimulated by the founding in 1564 of the first Jesuit college in Braunsberg, the German- and Polish-dominated town of Warmia, and implemented under the care of the Cardinal and Bishop of Warmia Stanislaus Hosius (Stanisław Hozjusz, 1504–1579). At that time, the Bishop of Vilnius, Valerian Protasevich (Walerian Protasiewicz, Valerijonas Protasevičius, 1505–1579) discussed the matter with the Jesuit, Balthasar Hostovinus (Hostounský, 1535–1600), the first vice-provincial of the Polish Jesuits.⁹⁷ However, the establishment of the college in Vilnius lacked funds, the King's support, representatives from the Jesuit Order, and the determination of the order's leadership, that in effect, delayed the arrival of the Jesuits in Vilnius for several years. It was only after Bishop Protasevich bought a house for the college in 1568 and obtained the King's approval on 5 July 1569, to maintain the college on diocesan lands, that the college was finally established. It welcomed the first six Jesuits on 28 September. They were the new vice-provincial, Francisc Sunyer (Franciscus Sunierus, ca. 1532–1580), in the company of Brother Guillelmus Lambertus Anglus (ca. 1532–1600), and the four Jesuits who were to stay in Vilnius, Balthasar Hostovinus, Andreas Boccatius (Anschke Bockes, 1530–1579), Joachim Petronellus (ca. 1547–post 1574), and Andreas Zaleski (d. 1570). In the autumn of that same year, the latter four began to give private lessons in Latin grammar and the Catechism, while Boccatius also focused on Greek.⁹⁸ In the spring of 1570, the Order's generalship recognised Vilnius College and soon sent a new, larger group of 14 Jesuits, led by the provincial, Lorenzo Maggio (1531–1605). On 17 July 1570, Vilnius College officially began its work, with the first rector, Stanislaus Warszewicki (ca. 1530–1591), taking office on 15 August.

⁹⁷ Rabikauskas, 2002, 317–318.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 98–101.

According to the opening proclamation of the college, an address to the inhabitants of Vilnius and its surroundings, the school originally had five classes: three levels of grammar, one for literature or poetry (*classis humaniorum litterarum*) and one for rhetoric.⁹⁹ The college was soon expanded into a higher school with the addition of Philosophy (1572)¹⁰⁰ and Theology (1578)¹⁰¹ faculties, and on 1 April 1579, it was officially reorganised as a university on the basis of a privilege granted by King Stephen Báthory. Like other Jesuit universities, this one had a clear religious-theological orientation, as stipulated in the Constitutions of the Order. It was a kind of collegiate university, a combination of a “secondary school and undergraduate university topped off by theology”.¹⁰² Such a university, with a single specialist faculty, initially differed from the academies in Kraków and Königsberg, that offered a wider range of study opportunities for laymen. The main religious-pastoral goal of the Order determined the nature of the activities of the lower classes: catechesis and the moral education of Christian values were the core of Jesuit education, leading to the ultimate goal, the development of the knowledge of God and the love of God, with the system of humanistic education subordinated to it.¹⁰³ The structure and methodology model of Vilnius Academy was basically in line with that of other Jesuit colleges and universities (of which there were still very few in Europe before the founding of Vilnius University). It followed the model of the Sorbonne in Paris, but with a stricter centralisation of power: the rector was not elected but appointed by the General of the Order. The heads of faculties (deans) were appointed by the provincials, and the rector was in charge of the entire infrastructure of the university. Within this structure, Greek studies were given a place in the teaching programmes of the professors in the Faculty of Humanities/Liberal Arts. It is worth noting that Vilnius University’s humanities curriculum was

⁹⁹ Piechnik, 1984, 206–207.

¹⁰⁰ Philosophical studies at Vilnius College were established in 1571 and resumed on 25 February 1572, after temporary interruption due to the plague. The Department of Mathematics was established in 1574 (Plečkaitis, 1975, 22–23).

¹⁰¹ Until 1578, a shortened theology course was taught (Plečkaitis, 1975, 23). The first lecturers of the full theology course were the Spaniards, Garcias Alabianus and Antonius Arias (who taught scholastic theology), and the Poles, Justus Rabb (exegesis) and Jakub Wujek (Hebrew) (Rabikauskas, 2002, 318).

¹⁰² Grendler, 2018, 74.

¹⁰³ Bednarski, 1994, 21–22.

very similar to that of the five-year long Jesuit college, but was nevertheless expanded from 5 years to 6/7 years.¹⁰⁴

According to Sigita Narbutas, “[...] the Jesuit model of teaching only differs from the Protestant model in its details, however important they may have seemed at the time. In the 16th century, the Jesuits opposed the teaching of history in colleges, they preferred to only include some Roman and Greek authors in their curricula, and recommended that philosophy be based on Aristotle, and theology on the theological writings of Saint Thomas of Aquinas. Of course, the textbooks recommended for study were strictly required to be written by Catholics, and preferably members of the Society of Jesus. However, the very essence of secondary education, its basic components, remained the same”.¹⁰⁵ This similarity during the first half of the 16th century, is thought to be due to the shared source of both Protestant and Catholic (Jesuit) conceptions of pedagogy—the knowledge provided by the Sorbonne, that at the time, was the most modern university. It was virtually, simultaneously, the alma mater of two famous educational reformers from different denominations, Johann Sturm (1529–1537) and Saint Ignatius Loyola (1528–1534).¹⁰⁶ These two personalities shaped the long-lasting model of Protestant and Catholic humanist education, which is also reflected in the academic schools of the 16th century in the GDL and its neighbourhood, at least in Königsberg (which employed the professors selected by Sturm’s teacher, Melancthon) and indeed, Vilnius.

We can learn much about the teaching of Greek at the Vilnius Academy in the 16th century from the curricula of the three academic years, 1569/1570, 1570/71 and 1583/84.¹⁰⁷

From the very beginning, Vilnius College was organised on the model of Western European trilingual humanities gymnasia (colleges) and in harmony with the various provisions adopted by the leaders of the Society of Jesus,¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Piechnik, 1984, 65 & 84.

¹⁰⁵ Narbutas, 2010, 47.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ All these documents, kept in the archives of Rome and the Vatican, are not yet in the public domain, but are known to us through various publications. The programme of the Jesuit lectures in Lithuanian was discussed and published by Eugenija Ulčinė (2007) using the personal archive of the Jesuit, Paulus Rabikauskas. The tables of the lectures of 1570/1571 and 1583/1584, preserved in the Roman Jesuit Archives (*Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*), have been published by Antanas Rukša (1967, 96–98 and 98–100) and Ludwik Piechnik (1984, 206–208 and 212–215).

¹⁰⁸ On the 16th century documents regulating Jesuit education before the *Ratio studiorum* of

so that, in addition to the Latin language, which was afforded the largest space on the curriculum, the plan was to teach Greek and Hebrew too. The curriculum, as set out in the college's opening announcement (1570), provided for the teaching of Greek subjects in the highest grammar (or syntax) class (third year of Latin studies). It would be based on the textbook of Nicolaus Clenardus, during the second hour of the afternoon, though not at the beginning of the term, but only after the completion of an introduction to the tables of Johannes Murmellius¹⁰⁹ on prosody (in Latin).¹¹⁰ A little more Greek was to be taught in the classes of Poetry and Rhetoric. In the former, familiarisation with Clenardus' grammar was continued, and after a moderate knowledge of its rules, Aesop's fables were read; in the Rhetoric class, Isocrates' speech *To Demonicus* was read daily at 9 a.m.¹¹¹

The previously mentioned study programme of Vilnius College (for the year 1570/71) provides for the teaching of classical languages (especially Latin¹¹²), in several ways: the repetition of readings heard in lectures, discourse, the revision of letters and poems,¹¹³ recitation of prose and poetic speeches, and competitive inter-class debate. Although the 1570 syllabus of Vilnius College does not explicitly identify student creativity as one of the effective ways of learning (it is not specified whether they can recite a given text or a text of their own creation), the inclusion of three original handwritten poems in Hebrew,

1599, see *inter alia* the comprehensive survey by Sigitas Narbutas (2011, esp. 61–62).

¹⁰⁹ Ioannes Murmellius (Murmel, Ruremundus, 1480–1517) was a Dutch philologist, lexicographer, rector of the Cathedral school in Münster, rector of the gymnasium in Alkmaar from 1513 to 1517, and the author of textbooks on Latin grammar, syntax, morphology, and the rudiments of spelling. His tables of pronunciation and declension were popular in German-speaking countries in the 16th century, and his tables of versification (*De ratione faciendorum versuum [...] tabulae*), were even more popular. Cf. Veteikis, 2004, 46 n. 83.

¹¹⁰ *Tabulis [sc. Muremelii De quantitate syllabarum] vero absolutis succedent eadem hora [sc. hora II pomeridiana] rudimenta Graecae linguae ex institutionibus Clenardi* (Piechnik, 1984, 207).

¹¹¹ Cf. Piechnik, 1984, 206.

¹¹² Hebrew lessons were not scheduled for individual classes, but kept as an optional subject on Wednesdays and Saturdays, “in case genuine listeners arrive”: *Diebus vero Mercurii et sabbati hora IX matutina principia hebraicae linguae tradentur, si idonei auditores accesserint* (Piechnik, 1984, 208).

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 206 *epistolis carminibusque castigandis*. This probably refers to that part of the methodology of study which was later called by the Jesuits *scriptionis corrigendae ratio* and was recommended to the teachers of all five standard classes of humanities (cf. *Ratio studiorum* 1606, 114, 125, 131, 136, and 141).

Greek, and Latin under the text of the announcement is a sign of the positive attitude of the organisers towards the creation of new texts in these languages.

The lesser-known programme of 1569, from archival material in the Vatican Library,¹¹⁴ shows that the above-mentioned programme of 1570 was a more realistic simplification of its more optimistic predecessor. Although it (that of 1569) also subordinated the study of Greek to the study of Latin, the introduction to Greek grammar starting in the third year of studies, provided more concrete means of language training for students. They could write in Greek, read one of their own essays in a competition, answer questions posed by the teacher while both were speaking Greek, and translate Greek poems into Latin.

Another surviving curriculum of the Vilnius College (and academy) for the academic year 1583/84,¹¹⁵ shows that the teaching of Greek had expanded somewhat: it was now taught at all levels of liberal arts studies. The lowest (fourth) grammar class already taught the basics of the Greek alphabet and grammar, the higher (third) class taught the correct spelling and memorisation of word meanings (*varias vocabulorum significationes memoriter reddere*), and the second class taught comprehension of the Greek Catechism, and developed better skills in the inflection of simple and contracted words. In the last and highest grammar class (*prima classis*), the Greek Gospel, with grammatical explanation, was recommended reading. This probably refers to Clenardus' Grammar, mentioned in the syllabus of 1570, and is confirmed by the requirements in the Poetics' class: "In the class of fine literature, Clenardus' grammar will be carefully repeated" (*In classe politioris litteraturae repetetur exacte Clenardi grammatica*). In this class, the syntax of Johann Varennius (not mentioned in the syllabus of 1570) and the speech of Isocrates to Demonicus (mentioned in 1570, but assigned to the class on Rhetoric), were also to be included. The Rhetoric class planned to repeat the syntax of Varennius and then move on to the prosody of Francis Vergara and the texts of Pythagoras (probably the so-called *Aurea Pythagorea carmina*).¹¹⁶

By 1583/84, the Greek studies had been divided into five classes as compared with the programme of 1570, but the content of the teaching did not change much. There was a greater emphasis on syntax and prosody (requiring new textbooks), and the reading of Greek religious literature (the Catechism

¹¹⁴ Published only in translated Lithuanian without the Latin original, see Ulčainaitė, 2007, 99–107.

¹¹⁵ Piechnik, 1984, 82–85 (referring to ARSI Germ. 161 fol. 313v–313r (!)).

¹¹⁶ Piechnik, 1984, 213.

and Gospels), but the number of ancient authors read remained the same as it was in the earlier syllabus—Aesop and Isocrates, in 1570/71, Isocrates and (pseudo) Pythagoras in 1583/84.

Although the volume of the required reading of Greek authors is thought to have increased, even if, only after the drafting of the *Ratio atque institutio studiorum*, the common regulations governing the education of the Jesuit Order for all the Jesuit colleges (the first draft was prepared and published in 1586, the second in 1591, and the final in 1599),¹¹⁷ it should be noted, that the content of the earlier Greek courses taught at Vilnius College from the very beginning may have exceeded the number of authors to be read as indicated in the plan. This was simply because more of them were provided by the Clenardus textbook, studied in the last class of Grammar in the practical section (*Meditationes Graecanicae in artem grammaticam*, first published in a separate edition in 1531 in Leuven, for independent study, and in Peter Antesignanus' supplement *Praxis seu usus praeceptorum grammatices*, from 1554 (the Lyon edition), and often published together with Clenardus' *Institutiones*¹¹⁸), where at least seven authors are cited—only one, St Basil, in the *Meditationes*, but six in the *Praxis*, namely Euripides, Aristophanes, Hesiod, Homer, Theocritus, and Pindar. The latter work by Antesignanus only quotes short passages with an interlinear translation into Latin, so that the reader has to shift their gaze to every other line while reading. However, perhaps a more convenient approach, at least for advanced students, was Jacob Gretser's grammar, in which the Latin and the Greek are arranged in parallel on different sides of each page.

Another important collection of Greek texts was Antonio Possevino's fundamental work *Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum* (Rome, 1593), and in particular, the section on poetry (Chapter XVII, which was published in 1594 as a separate edition, *Tractatio de poesi et pictura ethnica, humana, et fabulosa collata cum vera, honesta et sacra*). It was like a comprehensive handbook of books, with examples of literature to be read that were worth quoting or imitating by Jesuit clergy and educators. Possevino, being critical of many pagan authors, puts Christian works first, suggesting that pagan texts should be purified, and read piecemeal, while impure texts should be discarded altogether and replaced with Christian substitutes. He welcomes imitations and allegorical interpretations of ancient works, and makes many references to

¹¹⁷ According to L. Piechnik (1984, 86), it was in the project of the *Ratio studiorum* of 1591 that some new Greek authors (in addition to Isocrates, Demosthenes, Xenophon, Homer, Pindar, Euripides, Sophocles) were introduced into the curriculum of the Jesuit colleges.

¹¹⁸ Bakelants & Hoven, 1981, T. I, 18–19.

Christian authors, even contemporary ones (like Tito Prospero Martinengo, ?–1594), citing examples of their works. This work essentially reflects the decisions of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and refines the idea of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (*Index of Prohibited Books*), compiled afterwards in 1564, of a critical approach to the heritage of antiquity - a careful correction of inaccuracies, the removal of censored books from libraries and schools, and allegorical interpretations of pagan literature and philosophy. These principles were the basis for the rules and the canon of texts for schools. After much debate, the *Ratio studiorum*, affirmed in Rome in 1599 and published in Naples (with a date of 1598), became the official, definitive legal document, and Possevino's texts were used as reference books for Jesuit educators and organisers of studies.

The *Ratio studiorum*, a set of general regulations for studies at Jesuit colleges and academies, devotes much space not only to the teaching of Latin and eloquence, but also to the study programme of Greek.¹¹⁹ For the first time in the long history of Jesuit education, the first draft of the *Ratio studiorum* (1586) already established Greek as a fully-fledged part of the humanities curriculum,¹²⁰ to be taught in all the grades. Although it is not known whether the Jesuits were the true pioneers of the idea to define the scope of teaching Greek and Latin, they were certainly the first to implement the idea on a large scale, and they persisted with it for a long time.¹²¹ This was confirmed in the later versions of the *Ratio studiorum* (1591, 1598/99).

In the final 1599 version, the material for teaching Greek was subdivided into the various steps of humanist education: lower, middle and upper classes of Grammar, Poetry and Rhetoric. For each of these grades, a certain amount of theory, based on the canonical textbook by Gretser, and a certain amount of practice, in the form of reading texts, were prescribed. The Greek authors were chosen not only according to the level of linguistic theory (grammar, syntax, poetry, rhetoric), but also according to the moral content of the texts. An effort

¹¹⁹ There is no doubt that Latin was more important (by virtue of being the language of instruction), and was given greater importance. "However, there is no intention of affirming that Greek held an equal place of honor with Latin. It is evident from the *Ratio* that it was meant to be subordinate to Latin" (Farrell, 1938, 350). However, Farrell goes on to give a synopsis of the rules of the *Ratio studiorum* regarding the teaching of Greek, with the intention of proving that it is incautious to claim (as some scholars of the history of education have done) that Jesuit education concentrated on Cicero to the maximum, and on the study of Greek to the minimum (ibid., 349–351).

¹²⁰ Until then, this discipline was only to be taught in the poetry and rhetoric classes (Farrell, 1938, 51–52).

¹²¹ Farrell, 1938, 230.

was made to promote texts by Christian authors, while ancient texts were treated with more caution, and the selection was made mainly for prose and verse texts with a moral content, while some were to be “purified”¹²² so as not to stir up earthly passions and doubts concerning the truths of Christian faith.

So, according to the *Ratio studiorum*, the study of Greek began in the lowest Grammar class. Here the basics of reading, writing, and the first elements of grammar were taught (nouns, the verb *to be*, and simple verbs). In contrast, the Latin course at this level consisted of a perfect mastery of the rudiments of Latin (phonetics, orthography, morphology) and the rudiments of syntax, as well as the reading of fragments of Cicero’s letters. The next level Grammar class introduced contracted nouns and verbs, as well as the -μι conjugation verbs and low-complexity verb forms with stem changes due to assimilation. In the highest Grammar class, the rest of morphology (apart from the basics of verb and noun forms) was taught, with some exceptions, but it excluded the more difficult questions and the dialects. However, the full range of the principles of syntax were covered separately in the Poetry class. By contrast, the whole syntax of Latin was mastered in the middle and upper grammar classes, which meant that the level of learning Greek was about two years behind that of Latin. Finally, the Rhetoric class taught all dialects and prosody (i.e., correct pronunciation and emphasis), as well as intonation and poem composition. The volume and quantity of texts read, increased gradually. In the secondary Grammar class, there was the possibility to start reading and annotating Greek texts. The most appropriate texts to start with were the Greek-Latin Catechism and the *Tabula Ceбетis* (*Κέβητος πίναξ*), a moral-educational narrative on human life and morals. For the last Grammar class, more authors were already expected, but their number and scope were not strictly defined. The recommendation was to read the works of St. John Chrysostom, Aesopus, Agapetus (probably the Greek composition by the sixth-century Byzantine priest Agapetus the Deacon, on the royal duties to the Emperor Justinian, written by combining motifs from Plato’s *State*, Isocrates’s speeches to Nicocles and Demonicus, and Basil the Great’s *Canons* and

¹²² Cf. Rule 13 for the Professor of Rhetoric (*13 regula Professoris Rhetoricae*) from the *Ratio studiorum* states the following (note the final brackets): *Graeca praelectio sive oratorum, sive historicorum, sive poetarum non nisi antiquorum sit, et classicorum, Demosthenis, Platonis, Thucydidis, Homeri, Hesiodi, Pindari, et aliorum huiusmodi (modo sint expurgati)*. Our quotation, although taken from the 1606 edition (*Ratio studiorum*, 1606, 118–119), corresponds verbatim with the 1599 edition (which is rare and difficult to find), because the texts of the general rules of studies remained standard from 1599 onwards, and were required to be repeated in the subsequent reprints.

Homilies),¹²³ and other similar authors, hence the focus continued to be on texts with an instructive, moral and religious content.

For the Poetry class, a great selection of both prose and poetical works by a number of Christian and so-called “pagan” authors was offered: John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Synesius, Isocrates, Plato, and Plutarch standing for prose, and Homer, Phocylides, Theognis, St Gregory of Nazianzus, Synesius, for poetry. In the Rhetoric class, the most important authors were Demosthenes, Plato, Thucydides, Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St Basil and St John Chrysostom. Of course, these recommendations concerning the Greek lectionary were implemented differently in each college.

To make Greek studies successful, good textbooks, dictionaries and editions of authors were needed. Until the end of the 16th century, Vilnius College and Academy used books that were published in Europe, popular in Catholic schools and in line with the Jesuit curricula—for example, textbooks by Clenardus, Varennius, Vergara, and Gretser as mentioned earlier. The most popular grammar was the *Institutiones in linguam Graecam* by Clenardus, which in Europe, was reprinted 240 times between 1530 and 1600, and its supplement *Meditationes Graecanicae in artem grammaticam* (first two editions in 1531 in Leuven and Paris), which was reprinted a further 138 times (including 83 times with *Institutiones*). In 1600, a new edition of this textbook and its supplement was provided for the needs of the Vilnius College by the printing house of Jan Karcan (ca. 1560–1611). Like the other *Clenardi* of the second half of the 16th century, this one differed considerably from the first one (1530) in its range of theoretical and practical material. It should be noted that the grammar published in Vilnius contained a number of supplementary explanations of morphology, a summary of syntax, and its practical part consisted of the *Meditationes Graecanicae in artem grammaticam*, which contains Basil the Great’s letter to Gregory of Nazianzus on monastic life, with a literal (*Verbum verbo redditum*) and literary Guillaume Budé’s (*Interpretatio Budaei*) translation into Latin.¹²⁴ The other grammars (by Varennius, Vergara, and Gretser) were not published by the printers serving Vilnius College at this time. It is worth mentioning, however, that during the centuries of its existence that followed, the Vilnius Jesuit Academy took care of the publication of new

¹²³ Harlfinger & Barm, 1989, 83–84.

¹²⁴ The data are taken only from the bibliographical descriptions (e. g. Bakelants & Hoven, 1981, I, 118, n. 328; II, 241; Narbutienė & Narbutas, 2002, 75, n. 48) and compared with some other editions of the same grammar available online. For the remark of the disappearance of this copy from the Vilnius University Library library, see Veteikis 2004, 56, n. 99.

Greek grammars. In 1604, the Karcan printing house published *Institutionum linguae graecae libri III*, by the German Jesuit Jacob Gretser (1562–1625; ed. princeps: Ingolstadt 1593), together with a shorter version *Rudimenta linguae Graecae*, intended for pupils in the primary grades. This teaching tool was more convenient than the one by Clenardus, because it was structurally clearer and adapted to the division of grammar teaching by grades in Jesuit schools. But neither the *Clenards* nor the *Gretzers* met the needs of the Lithuanian Jesuit colleges,¹²⁵ and the textbooks of Francis Vergara and Johann Varennius—even Protestant authors—were used in addition,¹²⁶ and new ones written. The first such novelty was a summary of Greek grammar, *Epitome Institutionum linguae Graecae*, written by the Jesuit of Samogitian origin, Žygimantas Liauksminas (Sigismundus Lauxmin, ca. 1596–1670), published in Vilnius in 1655 (no copy found to date), the second, in the first half of the 18th century, was by the academy’s professor, Maciej Karwacki, in his *Grammatyka grecka*, published in 1725.¹²⁷

The case with dictionaries was slightly different. The Vilnius Academy’s printing house did not print Greek dictionaries, while the academy itself was satisfied with the lexicons published abroad that were present in its library. In the 16th and 17th centuries, European colleges and universities used a wide range of bilingual Greek-Latin and multilingual dictionaries. Among the multilingual dictionaries, Calepinus’ were particularly popular, and among the Greek-Latin lexicons, the works of three famous French humanists are worthy of mention: Guillaume Budé’s (Guilielmus Budaeus, 1468–1540) *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum, seu Thesaurus Linguae Graecae [...] ex ipsius demum G. Budaei manu scripto Lexico* (1554), Henri Estienne’s (Henricus Stephanus, ca. 1528–1598), *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* (Geneva 1572), Jean Espaulaz’s (Joannes Scapula, 1540–1600), *Lexicon Graecolatinum Novum in quo ex Primitivorum et Simplicium fontibus Derivata atque Composita Ordine minus Naturali quam alphabetico [...] deducuntur* (1580). They were the basis for new lexicons, not only with Latin equivalents, but also translations into national languages. In Lithuania and Poland, the tradition of Greek lexicography did not yet exist in the 16th century, but it began as early as the beginning of the 17th century. It was started by the follower of the professor of Polish and Latin at the Gdańsk Gymnasium, Nicolaus Volckmar, (?–1601), the philologist, bookbinder, and book merchant Balthasar Andreas (Bornensis

¹²⁵ There are claims that Gretser’s textbook was inconvenient, too large (Tijūnėlytė, 1962, 93).

¹²⁶ Cf. Veteikis, 2004, 57.

¹²⁷ Petrauskienė, 1976, 66–67; Čepienė & Petrauskienė (eds.), 1979, 293.

Fontanus, ?–1626), who also had the privilege of publishing and selling Volckmar’s dictionary under the auspices of Sigismund III.¹²⁸ He expanded the trilingual (Latin-German-Polish) dictionary of Volkmar adding Greek to the list of languages, which led to a slight change in the title.¹²⁹ *Dictionarium Trium Linguarum, Latine, Germanice et Polonice Per Dominum Nicolaum Volckmarum in Dantiscano Gymnasio, Polonicae linguae quondam Professorem conscriptum etc. Nunc denuò recusum, lingua Graeca auctum, et Quadrilingue factum cura studioque Balthasaris Andreae Bornensis. Cum Gratia et Priuilegio S. R. M. Dantisci Impressum Typis Martini Rhodi. Anno MDCV [1605].* On the basis of this lexicon (presumably the 1613 edition),¹³⁰ the Lithuanian Jesuit, Konstantinas Sirvydas (Constantinus Szyrwid, 1579–1631), compiled the first dictionary of the Lithuanian language—the first version of a trilingual Polish-Latin-Lithuanian dictionary was published before 1620, surviving in only one defective copy.¹³¹ Another famous lexicographer of the first half of the 17th century, the Jesuit, Gregorius Cnapius (Grzegorz Knapski, ca. 1564–1639), prepared a trilingual dictionary intended for a Polish audience to learn Latin and Greek (*Thesaurus Polonolatinograecus, seu Promptuarium Linguae Latinae et Graecae, Polonorum usui accommodatum* [...] Cracoviae, 1621). Later on, the author modified this dictionary, separately compiling its Polish-Latin and Latin-Latin parts, and created a completely new part, the third volume of the *Polish-Latin-Greek Treasury*, devoted to Polish, Latin and Greek phraseology.¹³²

Greek studies also needed texts. As research into the output of printers in the GDL shows, the Jesuits of Vilnius Academy paid little attention to publishing Greek authors. In the 16th and 17th centuries, not a single edition in Greek was produced by Lithuanian printers (Jan Karcan and Daniel Łęczycki),¹³³ and only four translations of Greek authors into Latin and Polish were published by them: *Ethiopic Stories* by Heliodorus,¹³⁴ a collection of

¹²⁸ Pakalka, 1979, 18, n. 15.

¹²⁹ The title here is based on a copy held by the Library at the Vilnius Academy of Sciences (MAB XVII/210).

¹³⁰ Pakalka, 1979, 19–21.

¹³¹ Pakalka, 1979, 22–25; idem, 1997, 12.

¹³² See Cnapius 1632.

¹³³ The Academy Press in Kraków far surpassed the Vilnius one in this respect.

¹³⁴ Heliodorus. *Historia Aethiopica*. Vilnae 1588; 1606, as referred to in Ulčínaitė, 1993, 86, n. 5. These are reprints of the translation by the first rector of the Vilnius Jesuit College, Stanislaus Warszewicki (first edition in Basel in 1551). It is presumed that this was not

elegies by Theognis,¹³⁵ *Apothegmata*, a collection of short stories about famous people and their sayings, gathered from various authors, but mainly from Plutarch,¹³⁶ and Josephus Flavius' *History of Josephus, Son of Gorion* (a fragment of *The History of the Judean War*),¹³⁷ which were intended for leisure reading and were unsuitable for the study of Greek.

The grammars used in schools provided few Greek texts to read. Considering the Jesuit teaching regulations and the specificity of the studies (the grammar classes were a lengthy study of every rule and the basics of the Greek language), it can be assumed that prior to the Poetry class, there were not many readings planned for students.¹³⁸ However, in the higher classes (Poetry and Rhetoric), where the texts of Ps.-Pythagoras, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Homer, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, etc., were read (according to the *Ratio studiorum*), there was a natural need to have at least one edition of each of these authors. If they were not in print, it is reasonable to assume that there were enough of them in the library. Research into the history of the library at the Vilnius Jesuit College reveals that there were in fact many more texts by Greek authors (ancient and Christian), published by the most famous publishing houses in Europe, than just those listed in the curriculum.¹³⁹

Although the Vilnius Jesuit College and the university status that emerged placed great emphasis on Greek studies from the outset, the actual level of teaching in this discipline changed over time, and in the 17th century, in the school's visitors' accounts (*memorialia visitorum*), there are even striking

produced for educational purposes, but for leisure reading.

¹³⁵ *Wybranych zdań Teognidesa Megareńczyka Księga*. Wilno, 1592. It is not known whether any copy of this edition survives (Anushkin, 1970, 115).

¹³⁶ *Krótkich a węzłowatych powieści, które po grecku zową APOPTHHEGMATA księgi 4*. Wilno, 1599. These stories were translated from Greek into Polish by Benjamin (Bieniasz) Budny, a Calvinist, apparently the son of Arian Szymon Budny (1530–1593).

¹³⁷ Flavius Josephus. *Historia Josefa syna Gorionowego*. Wilno, 1595. The translator of this work is considered to be Jonas Kazokas (Jan Kozakowicz, Cosak, Cosacus, 1550–1603), a Calvinist, poet and translator (cf. Ulčinitė, 1993, 77 and 86).

¹³⁸ For example, the syllabus of the Vilnius Jesuit College of 1570–1571 does not mention what Greek texts are to be read in the highest grammar class (the last before the Poetry class), while the syllabus of 1583–1584 provides for the reading of the Catechism and a text from the Gospel and grammatical interpretation confined to the last two grammar classes (Veteikis, 2004, 47).

¹³⁹ See e. g. Vladimirovas, 1970, 12–13 and Kawecka-Gryczowa, 1988, 124–308.

cases where the lectures on Greek were abandoned.¹⁴⁰ Perhaps the most significant increase in the teaching of Greek at the academy took place in the first three or four decades after the university was founded, and the document that best records this enthusiasm is Peřkowski's codex, which contains, inter alia, a speech written in Greek, *Ὅτι τὴν φιλοσοφίαν τῇ θεολογίᾳ τε λογιότητι καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν συζεύγνυσθαι χρὴ εἰς τὴν τῶν σπουδῶν ἀνακαίνωσιν λόγος*, delivered at the beginning of a school year between 1581 and 1584.¹⁴¹ The author of the speech (perhaps Kasper Peřkowski himself), discusses the interrelation between the three academic disciplines of theology, philosophy and rhetoric, and the ideal of academic education that they create—perfect eloquence in the disposition of a happy owner of this outstanding skill. The mastery of Greek language, literature and culture is a crucial ingredient of such an ideal:

Τὴν δὲ λογιότητα ἐμοῦ λέγοντος τὴν τελείαν νοήσατε πρὸς ἣν μὲν μηδὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ὀλιγορητέον. Καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ὀλιγορητέον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς οἷόν τε περὶ ταῦτα διαπονητέον. Πάντως γὰρ ἀδύνατον εἶναι οἱ τῶν φρονιμοτάτων δεικνύουσι ἄνευ ταύτης σπουδῆς τέλειόν τινα ἐν τοῖς λόγοις γενέσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ πάντες ἐξηριθμημένοι οὐκ ἄπειροι Ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων ἐγένοντο καὶ τῶνδε πάλαι Ῥωμαίων ὅσοι πώποτε ἐνδοξοὶ ὑπῆρχον.¹⁴²

And when I speak of eloquence, think of the perfect kind of it, for which even Greek erudition must not be neglected. And not only must it not be neglected, but it should be practised as diligently as possible. For the most intelligent men argue that it is entirely impossible for anyone to become a perfect orator without this discipline. For neither were all the above-mentioned¹⁴³ ignorant of the Greek writings, and all those of the ancient Romans who were ever eminent.

¹⁴⁰ Veteikis 2004, 49.

¹⁴¹ For details about this speech, its dating, etc., see Veteikis 2022.

¹⁴² Cod. Oss. 1137, fol. 169 recto-verso.

¹⁴³ Here the author of the speech is probably referring to the Christian philosophers and theologians mentioned in the speech just before this passage, namely, the ancient bishops who were noted for their eloquence—St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Cyprian, St. Ambrose and others.

Conclusions

The discussion of the teaching of Greek as an important part of humanistic education in the 16th century at three universities with close territorial ties to the GDL does not yet include the full extent of Hellenistic studies across the entire region of the GDL and Poland. Individual non-university schools, both public and private, continued to play an important role in the dissemination of the language, especially the gymnasia known as academies, such as the *Academia Lubransiana* in Poznań and the Protestant grammar schools in Toruń, Gdańsk and Elbląg, as well as the Orthodox Brotherhood schools in Vilnius, Kyiv, Lviv and elsewhere, the Ostrog Academy and the *Academia Zamosciana*, which came into being shortly after the establishment of the Jesuit Academy in Vilnius and boasted ambitious educational projects. The development of these trilingual schools was also strongly encouraged by the establishment of the five-level Jesuit colleges and specialised seminaries in Lithuania and Poland. However, despite all the signs of educational progress mentioned and not mentioned above, all three Lithuanian and Polish higher education institutions discussed in this article (*Academia Cracoviensis*, *Albertina*, and *Academia et Universitas Vilnensis*), remain (from a historical point of view), very important centres of Greek studies that served the needs of the GDL population in the 16th century and that, in some way, inspired the development of educational programmes or even the scholarly initiatives of individual professors and students. At the Kraków Academy, Greek studies survived a period of competition with scholastic tradition and had to wait patiently for recognition in the hierarchy of academic disciplines. At the Königsberg Academy, they emerged as a natural part of the study of religious and philosophical sources, and at the Vilnius Jesuit Academy, from the very beginning, the focus was on the development of rhetoric, stylistics, persuasion, and imitation skills. Each of these universities had a distinctive experience in offering Greek courses, and it would probably be unfair to characterise one university as more *Philhellenic* over the other two. Rather, each institution under consideration had its benefits and drawbacks, some common ground, and certain specific differences. The Kraków Academy had the advantage of an early start in Greek studies, while maintaining links with the early Italian, German and other migrant Hellenists and their circles. The *Albertina* benefitted from making Greek studies a permanent part of the curriculum at an early stage, and the Jesuit Academy of Vilnius was able to have Greek studies explicitly included in the five-year liberal arts study programmes. The teaching materials and study texts also varied from one school to another, and indeed, from one period to another. Still, it is clear that by the second half of the 16th

century (from 1579), when all these schools functioned simultaneously, the study of the Greek language in Lithuania and its neighbourhood was already well established and influenced by a tendency towards a common methodology. In each of these academies, it was common to use standard 16th-century editions of Greek texts and grammars, as valued by Western European educators, tailored to a Latin-speaking audience, but with certain regional or confessional preferences (e.g. the textbooks by Gretser, Clenardus, Varennius and Vergara in the Jesuit schools, and the ones by Melanchthon and Metzler-Nigrinus in the Protestant milieu). Similarly, as various methodological and administrative materials (syllabi, the personal libraries of some professors, editions of texts they had prepared, reading material published in grammars, public comments by professors on the importance of the Greek language, and so on), show, the textual language teaching resources (esp. the canon of Ancient Greek authors and Greek Christian texts, used for study), across the three schools had both common features (e.g. Homer, Hesiod, Isocrates, and Thucydides as model authors), and particularities, which have been mentioned throughout our article, but which will have to await a more detailed analysis, comparison and determination in a separate study.

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Part III

Translations, Editions, Collections

The Translations of Aeschylus and Hesiod by Matthias Garbitius Illyricus

PETRA MATOVIĆ & ANA MIHALJEVIĆ

Abstract The Croatian-born humanist Matthias Garbitius Illyricus (Istria, c. 1508 – Tübingen, 1559), a student and protégé of Camerarius and Melanchthon, spent a significant part of his life teaching Greek and moral philosophy in Tübingen. He was a prolific author of orations and occasional poetry and translated from Greek to Latin. Johannes Oporinus published his translations in Basel: Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* and Hesiod's *Works and Days* both in 1559 and *The Letter of Aristeas* posthumously in 1561. This article focuses on the first two. Together with various paratexts, the editions in question comprise the Greek text and the Latin translation accompanied by a lengthy commentary abundant in moral advice. We aim to consider Garbitius in the context of the reception of Aeschylus and Hesiod and his approach to translating the two, focusing on his Christianising interpretation of the Greek authors.

Keywords Aeschylus, Hesiod, Matthias Garbitius Illyricus, Greek-to-Latin translations

Introduction¹

Matthias Garbitius Illyricus was a 16th-century educator, writer, and translator. He was born between 1503 and 1508, most probably in the Croatian province of Istria.² He studied in Nuremberg under Joachim Camerarius. After leaving Camerarius' school, Garbitius enrolled at the University of Heidelberg in 1533; the following year, he became a student of Philip Melanchthon in Wittenberg where he went on to teach Greek literature. In 1537, a recommendation by Melanchthon helped him secure a position at the University of Tübingen, where he would succeed Camerarius as the head of the Greek chair in 1541, become professor of moral philosophy in 1544, and serve as dean three times between 1545 and 1557 (Ilić, 2011, 68). He died in 1559.

Garbitius' opus comprises original work in Greek and Latin and Greek-to-Latin translations. He wrote prose and poetical compositions for occasions like school festivities, graduation ceremonies, and weddings: he commemorated the promotion of his friend doctor Georg Foster in the *Oratio de vita, moribus, doctrina et professione Hippocratis* (in Latin), he celebrated the nuptials of Melanchthon's daughter Anna with an epithalamium in eighty-two elegiac couplets, *De nuptiis Georgii Sabini et Annae, filiae Philippi Melanchthonis*, and lamented the death of Martin Luther, in an epitaph, *M. Garbitius Illyricus in obitum D. Martini Lutheri*, also in elegiac couplets; both compositions were written in Greek. These and other shorter texts were published in various collections.³ His Greek-to-Latin translations are fewer in number but together with their paratexts, comprise over 900 pages. Garbitius translated Hesiod's *Works and Days*, Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, and the *Letter of Aristeas*. The translations of Hesiod and Aeschylus were both published in February 1559 and accompanied by a lengthy commentary and other paratexts by Garbitius himself, while the posthumously published *Letter of Aristeas* (1561) comprised the translation by Garbitius and paratexts by Simon Schardius, who

¹ The authors would like to thank Irena Bratičević and Jesús López Zamora for their help and comments.

² Biographical and bibliographical information from Körbler (1901), Križman (2002), Ilić (2011) and Rezar (2021). The primary source of information on Garbitius is a funeral oration held by his friend and colleague, physics professor Georg Liebler (Liebler & Wieland, 1614; summarised in Körbler, 1901). Körbler (1901, 31–39) gathered other information from the correspondence of Garbitius' contemporaries and several archives. Rezar (2021, 414–419) published a selection from Garbitius' poetry in Greek.

³ The *M. Garbitius Illyricus in obitum D. Martini Lutheri* can be found in Rezar (2021, 417).

edited the volume, and Iacobus Hertelius.⁴ Garbitius' own remark in the dedicatory letter in *Prometheus Bound* makes it clear that the translation and publication of Hesiod preceded that of Aeschylus.⁵ The three translations were first published by Johannes Oporinus in Basel. *Prometheus Bound* was later published again in 1567 by Stephanus and in 1614 by de la Rovière, but the most popular of the three translations was *The Letter of Aristeas*, which saw five editions.

The most significant contribution to the study of Garbitius was made by Duro Körbler (1901), who gathered valuable information on Garbitius' life, analysed the main features of his translations of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, Hesiod's *Works and Days*, and the *Letter of Aristeas*, and briefly discussed their paratexts. There have also been two recent publications, Ilić (2011), discussing Garbitius' relationship with Melanchthon, and Rezar (2021), studying Garbitius in the context of the revival of Ancient Greek. An unpublished MA thesis focuses on the dedicatory letter in *Prometheus Bound*, retelling it in Croatian with numerous Latin quotes and including brief remarks on language and style (Karabaić, 1996). Another unpublished MA thesis discusses the translation of the *Letter of Aristeas* (Moštak, 2019). This paper aims at building primarily on Körbler's work on the translations of Aeschylus and Hesiod by studying their historical context in more detail and expounding on the idea that Garbitius was influenced by earlier translators. The *Letter of Aristeas* will be mentioned only in passing: it is not discussed in much detail here since it was not published in Garbitius' lifetime, does not include any paratexts by Garbitius, and was edited by another scholar.

⁴ In the preface to the edition, Schardius tells of his own attempt to translate the *Letter of Aristeas* (Garbitius, 1561, 14).

⁵ *Hanc Aeschyli, poetae sapientissimi, Tragoediam longe grauissimam, sicut post Hesiodi explicationem certo consilio suscepti interpretandam: ita post illius euulgationem elicitam, hanc quoque fabulae huius interpretationem, tandem passus sum mihi elici, efflagitationibus praecipue D. Michaelis Toxitae, collegae mei ornatissimi...* “Just as after expounding on Hesiod, I purposefully undertook the task of translating this very serious tragedy by Aeschylus, the wisest poet; likewise, after that translation was published, I finally allowed this translation of the play to be lured forth too, chiefly by the demands of Michael Toxites, my most honoured colleague...” Noted also by Körbler (1901: 76–77).

Garbitius' Translation of Hesiod's *Works and Days*

Early Modern Reception of Hesiod's *Works and Days*

In the Latin West, Hesiod's didactic poem *Works and Days* garnered more attention than his *Theogony*: the former was abundant in moral advice and useful material for educators, while the latter was theologically challenging (Scully, 2015, 160–169). Furthermore, the *Works and Days* were known to have influenced Vergil's *Georgics* (López Zamora, 2016, 95–96). The Italian humanist Nicolaus de Valle (Vallensis, della Valle, Valla; 1451–1473) translated the *Works and Days* in Latin hexameters. His translation was published in 1471 in Rome, in 1483 in Milan, between 1495–1500 in Venice, in 1492 and 1497 by Breda in Deventer, and in 1499 by Thanner in Leipzig.⁶ A prose translation by Antonius Urceus (15th century) remained in manuscript until published by López Zamora (2016). Ottomarus Luscinus Argentinus authored a translation published by Knobloch in 1515 in Straßburg.⁷ The German humanist Johannes Ulpius (d. 1540) also translated the *Works and Days* in Latin hexameters. His translation was published together with de Valle's by Isingrin in Basel in 1539 (Ulpius & de Valle, 1539). This edition also included Angelus Politianus' didactic poem *Rusticus*, inspired by Hesiod, and a dedicatory epistle by Ulpius, addressed to his friend Sixtus Grumbach. In the epistle, Ulpius mentions his other collaborations with Isingrin and states that he would not have translated Hesiod had he been aware of Valla's translation. Nevertheless, he believes there is no harm in translating the same text more than once. He considers his own translation more accessible than Valla's because it is linear and represents the original more faithfully (Ulpius & de Valle, 1539: 4). A year later, in 1540, the translation by Carolus Figulus Coloniensis appeared in Köln. In 1544, Johannes Oporinus published a composite edition of Hesiod, which included the Greek text of the *Works and Days*, the *Shield of Heracles*, and the *Theogony*, together with several Latin translations (Oporinus, 1544). There are four verse translations in the edition: the hexameter versions of the *Works and Days* by Ulpius and Valla mentioned above, the *Theogony* by Boninus Mombritius (in hexameters), and by Burcardus Pylades Brixianus (in elegiac couplets). There is also a linear prose

⁶ These are the incunables of the translation (López Zamora in de Valle, 2020, 60–62; for later editions, see López Zamora in de Valle, 2020, 62–63).

⁷ Unless otherwise noted, the information on the translations is from López Zamora (in de Valle, 2020, 18–19).

translation of each text: the *Works and Days* are a collaboration between Oporinus and his students; Oporinus edited the notes taken by the students attending his lectures on this poem, and the prose translations of the *Shield of Heracles* and the *Theogony* are the work of Oporinus' educated friends who are not named.⁸ In 1556, Oporinus published an anthology of ancient poetry, translated by Michael Neander, which included selected passages from Hesiod and other Greek poets. Another translation by an anonymous author remained in manuscript until published by López Zamora (2017).

Another relevant publication was Melanchthon's edition of the *Works and Days*, with a preface and a commentary (Melanchthon, 1532; an edition with two prefaces followed two years later, Melanchthon, 1534), regarded as one of the "two most important Renaissance editions of Hesiod".⁹ Reformation scholars like Melanchthon held the *Works and Days* in high esteem. They saw Hesiod as an invaluable source of moral advice,¹⁰ while his proximity to the *Old Testament* ideas was noted by Church fathers and early modern scholars alike.¹¹

Soon after Garbitius' death, a translation by Johannes Frisius Trigurinus was published in Zürich in 1562. The interest in Hesiod did not disappear with time: in the eighteenth century, Bernardus Zamagna published his poetic rendering of the *Works and Days*, the *Theogony*, and the *Shield of Heracles*.¹²

⁸ *Eo igitur animo quum ante paucos aliquot annos ipse quoque inter alia, priuatim quidem, Hesiodi Opera, quae uocant, ac dies, praelegissem studiosis iuuenibus, quos tum forte conuictores habebam, illique, ut solet fieri, calamis excepissent quaedam, quae postea pluribus etiam aliis certatim flagitantibus... in multorum usum euulganda uiderentur, minime quidem obstiti, quo minus a diuersis illa qualiacumque ueluti rudimenta colligerentur, quae inde ad me rursus delata, sub incudem ac limam reuocari denuo possent.* "It was in this spirit when a few years ago, among other things, I myself lectured educated young men, who happened to be my table companions at the time, on Hesiod's work titled *Works and Days*, and they, as it usually happens, wrote down some of it; even more people asked for it afterwards... it seemed to be worthy of being used by others; indeed, I did not prevent the trial version from being collected by various individuals, and then brought back to me and polished and revised." Oporinus, 1544, 2–3. This translation saw many later editions.

⁹ Wolfe, 2018, 431.

¹⁰ Wolfe, 2018, 433.

¹¹ Wolfe, 2018, 432.

¹² More on Zamagna's work on Hesiod in Matović & Mihaljević, 2019. Körbler compares Garbitius' translation of Hesiod to Zamagna's (1901, 83–84).

Garbitius' *Hesiodi opera et dies*

The 1559 edition *Hesiodi opera et dies* consists of a dedicatory letter (*epistola dedicatoria*),¹³ the Greek text divided into sections and followed by a Latin translation and a lengthy commentary (*Mathiae Garbitii in Hesiodi Opera et dies Scholia*) that begins with a concise introduction to the poet and the poem;¹⁴ an epigram by Georgius Mederus Francus (*Georgii Mederi Franci Epigramma, in Annotationes M. Mathiae Garbitii Illyrici in Hesiodum*)¹⁵ an index of important concepts and words (*Rerum et uerborum in M. Garbitii ad Hesiodum Annotationibus*),¹⁶ another epigram (*Ad lectorem*),¹⁷ and a list of errata (*Errata*).¹⁸

In the dedicatory letter to his former student Christophorus Iulius Noricus, Garbitius states that he always found Hesiod's work highly useful. In his opinion, it is an example of ancient wisdom that is not opposed to the teachings of the Church fathers and God's message; indeed, Hesiod's advice is entirely in line with Christian thought. Garbitius describes Hesiod's work as an essential philosophical source of moral guidance and instructions on achieving a happy life.¹⁹ He believes poetry and drama can be morally instructive²⁰ and that Noricus will find it helpful, especially the story of Pandora and Prometheus. The dedicatory letter ends with the date of its composition: *Calendis Januariis* (1 January) 1559. The letter discusses some themes and ideas that will be fully developed in the dedicatory letter in the translation of *Prometheus Bound*: the edifying nature of ancient literature, praise of Homer, and the role of tragedy and comedy. As for style and vocabulary, Garbitius is fond of abstract nouns (*cognitio, ratio, explicatio, editio, cogitatio, euulgatio, efflagitatio, praelectio*; these are examples from the first page of the letter only)²¹ and of using rare Greek words and inserting them into Latin sentence structures: *per suas ἐπιδόσεις* "through their free gifts", *hoc νουθητικὸν*

¹³ Garbitius, 1559a, 3–14.

¹⁴ Garbitius, 1559a, 20–335. Garbitius, 1559a, 15–19. The Greek text begins on page 20.

¹⁵ Garbitius, 1559a, [336].

¹⁶ Garbitius, 1559a, [337–345].

¹⁷ Garbitius, 1559a, [346].

¹⁸ Garbitius, 1559a, [346].

¹⁹ Garbitius, 1559a, 3–6.

²⁰ Garbitius, 1559a, 9–12.

²¹ Garbitius, 1559a, 3.

opusculum “this didactic little work”, even equating, somewhat incongruously, the Greek dative with the Latin ablative: *simplici constare γνωμολογία* “to be composed in simple style”.²²

In the introductory part of the commentary preceding the Greek text, Garbitius describes Hesiod as *vir admodum religiosus et sapiens* “a very devout and wise man”,²³ who wrote about the proper and acceptable way of life. Garbitius states that one of the most crucial points in human history was finding how to lead people away from the corrupted life. The poets were the first to discuss this issue, and later, the philosophers continued the discussion. At this point in the preface, Garbitius presents the reader with basic information on Hesiod’s life (birthplace, parents, the beginning of his career as a poet)²⁴ and a short description of the poet’s personality: *et sane apparet, ipsum non solum ingenio et doctrina excelluisse: sed et pium, sapientem, grauem et industrium fuisse* “it is clear that he was not only exceptionally gifted and learned, but also pious, wise, serious and diligent”.²⁵ Garbitius then moves on to the subject of the *Works and Days*: the various tasks put before humankind and the appropriate time to perform them. Hesiod is trying to describe the totality of human life and work depicting the lives of both the good and the bad. Garbitius stresses that the purpose of the work is to teach what is right and what is wrong, and at what time should the good actions be performed to be fruitful and cause people to live a happy and honourable life.²⁶ Garbitius thinks these actions are twofold: on the one hand, internal, related to the mind, soul, heart, and spirit, and on the other hand, external, related to the body, household management, and acquisition of income. Hesiod approaches them philosophically and within the concepts of *iustitia* “justice”, *labor* “hard work”, and *iusta industria* “righteous diligence”.²⁷ Garbitius stresses that the important concepts for Hesiod are *recte agere* “to do the right thing” or *agere secundum rationem rectam* “to behave in a righteous way”.²⁸ According to

²² Garbitius, 1559a, 5, 12, 4.

²³ Garbitius, 1559a, 15.

²⁴ Garbitius, 1559a, 16–17. Garbitius quotes Hesiod’s famous line on Ascrea (*Op.* 640) and Ovid’s couplet celebrating him (*Amores* 1.15.11–2) but is otherwise reticent about his sources on Hesiod’s life.

²⁵ Garbitius, 1559a, 17.

²⁶ Garbitius, 1559a, 17.

²⁷ Garbitius, 1559a, 18.

²⁸ Garbitius, 1559a, 18.

Garbitius, Hesiod never strays from these rules and repeats that the main idea of Hesiod's work is the teaching of human duties, which are the only source of a good, happy, and fulfilled life. Injustice and laziness are sins against God and fellow man alike.²⁹ The preface ends with a brief overview of the poem's contents: book one discusses the soul and good character, book two housework, marriage, and domestic matters.³⁰ This division into two books does not appear in modern editions of the *Works and Days* but was common in Garbitius' time, for example, in the edition by Melanchthon.³¹

The Commentary

In his *scholia* to the *Works and Days*, Garbitius comments on various aspects of Hesiod's work: style, content, philosophical problems, and moral instructions; he discusses the ideas of divine providence, rewards for morally acceptable behavior, and punishment for immorality, especially well illustrated by the famous story of Pandora. Körbler (1901, 65) noted that Garbitius' commentary runs longer when providing a moral and philosophical interpretation, while in commenting on the realia, his work is derivative and inferior to that of earlier scholars like Moschopoulos. His comments follow the relevant passages of the translation. He first comments on the meaning of the passage he discusses and then on specific words and phrases, for example, explaining that the text begins with an invocation, as is the custom in epic poetry.³² He considers the invocation of the Muses a sign that the poet received divine inspiration.³³ Garbitius often explains the meaning of a specific word, sometimes giving Latin synonyms, such as *dicite* "tell", *canite* "sing", *celebrate* "praise" for ἐννέπετε "tell" (*celebrate* is used in the translation).³⁴ He often tries to explain Hesiod's word choice, for example using the phrases such as *hoc dicit fortasse ideo, quia* "maybe he says this because" or more often simply *quia* "because". When analysing the lines describing the creation

²⁹ Garbitius, 1559a, 19.

³⁰ Garbitius, 1559a, 18–19.

³¹ Melanchthon, 1532 and 1534, cf. the modern edition by Martin West (Hesiod, 1978).

³² *Orditur admodum apte, et diserte proponit more Poetarum, per inuocationem [...]* "He begins in a very suitable way, and lays out eloquently in the manner of Poets, using the invocation [...]" Garbitius, 1559a, 21.

³³ Garbitius, 1559a, 21.

³⁴ Garbitius, 1559a, 22.

of Pandora (Hes. *Op.* 47–106), he comments, among other things, on the qualities the gods bestow on her. He explains σθένος “strength” (Hes. *Op.* 62) in the lines on Pandora saying: *Hoc dicit fortasse ideo, quia uis ingenii et mentis praecipue in ualidis et iunioribus uiget, et est inquieta et πολυπράγμων, qui etiam fere soli sunt multi atque grati sermonis* “He says this, perhaps, because the strength of the mind and the intellect, being restless and curious, especially flourishes in those who are strong and young, and who are almost the only ones who talk much and lovely”³⁵; and defining χάρις “beauty” (Hes. *Op.* 65) as *gratiam et uenustatem sexus muliebris: in quo et ipso nunquam quiescit ingenium humanum, pro fuco, luxu et lasciuia muliebri* “the charm and the loveliness of the female sex, in which the human nature never rests, by virtue of female deceit, extravagance, and wantonness”.³⁶ The epithet νεφεληγερέτα “cloud-gatherer” in the line τὸν δὲ χολωσάμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς “and cloud-gatherer Zeus, enraged, said to him”, (Hes. *Op.* 53), opening the supreme god’s angry speech to Prometheus, is analysed as follows:

μυθολογικῶς: quia Poetae ei, ut supremo gubernatori, attribuant, ut aliorum omnium, ita aeris, et eius affectionum gubernationem. Sed hic fortasse ἠθικῶς uocatur ita, quia est congregator et moderator omnium affectionum et cogitationum humanarum, tanquam nebularum, aut quia tum ex obscuro, quasi ex nebulis et nubibus, est allocutus Prometheum, transgressorem suae ordinationis

mythological explanation: because the poets ascribe to him, as the supreme ruler, the power over air and its fluctuations, just as over all other things. But perhaps, from the perspective of moral philosophy, he is called that because he is the assembler and ruler of all human feelings and thoughts, just like clouds, or because, on that occasion, he addressed Prometheus, who disobeyed his orders, from the dark, as if from mists and clouds.³⁷

In Garbitius’ interpretation, Zeus is thus νεφεληγερέτα “cloud-gatherer”, either because he controls not only the weather but also human emotions (the weather is merely a metaphor for emotions) or because he addressed Prometheus from the clouds.

³⁵ Garbitius, 1559a, 54.

³⁶ Garbitius, 1559a, 55.

³⁷ Garbitius, 1559a, 48.

Garbitius often cites relevant phrases or ideas from Greek and Roman authors such as Homer, Sophocles, Aeschylus, Plato, Demosthenes, Plutarch, Aristotle, Euripides, Xenophon, Horace, Cicero, Ovid, Vergil, Juvenal, Tibullus, Lactantius, Livy, etc. For example, when discussing the ἐννέπετε “tell” mentioned above, he adds *Ut Homerus suam Odysseam orditur* ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, μοῦσα, πολύτροπον “Just like Homer begins his *Odyssey* with ‘ο Muse, tell me of the man of many turns’”.³⁸ When passing his judgment on the *error ignorantiae et ἀβελτηρίας* “the fault of ignorance and fatuity”, he points out that this fault is especially prominent in those who excel intellectually, corroborating this claim by Cicero’s authority: *ut rectissime Cicero ita scripserit lib. 1. Officiorum* “as Cicero rightly said in Book 1 of *On duties*”.³⁹

Occasionally, his comments are purely grammatical, for example, *Adiectiuum pro aduerbio* “adjective instead of adverb”.⁴⁰

Garbitius sometimes compares the ideas to similar concepts found in Hesiod’s other work, the *Theogony*, for example, *De qua etiam Poeta noster quaedam in Theogonia sua* “our poet also comments on this in his *Theogony*”.⁴¹ Garbitius tends to compare Hesiod’s thoughts to passages from the Bible, for example when discussing the two types of Eris, he points out that humans that follow the evil Eris have to suffer the consequences and concludes: *Haec dicuntur non discrepanter a sacra scriptura de lapsu et uitio hominis* “These words are similar to those in the Sacred Scripture on the fall and the sin of man”.⁴² He compares the story of Pandora (Hes. *Op.* 47–106) to that of Adam and Eve (Genesis 3): *Mulier, ut Eua, sicut sacra scriptura tradit* “the woman, just like Eve, in the words of the Sacred Scripture”.⁴³ He is especially fond of Solomon’s words in *Ecclesiastes* and *Proverbs*, for example, *hoc etiam Solomonis in Ecclesiastae cap. 7 est*, “this is also by Solomon in book 7 of *Ecclesiastes*”⁴⁴ *Item hoc Salomonis* “this too by Solomon”,⁴⁵ *De qua sapientia est fere totus Ecclesiastes Salomonis* “almost entire *Ecclesiastes* by

³⁸ Garbitius, 1559a, 22.

³⁹ Garbitius, 1559a, 49.

⁴⁰ Garbitius, 1559a, 80.

⁴¹ Garbitius, 1559a, 31.

⁴² Garbitius, 1559a, 32.

⁴³ Garbitius, 1559a, 72.

⁴⁴ Garbitius, 1559a, 43.

⁴⁵ Garbitius, 1559a, 50.

Solomon discusses this wisdom”,⁴⁶ *de qua Salomon Prouerbiorum cap. 16.* “on this Solomon in chapter 16 of the Proverbs”.⁴⁷

In his comments, Garbitius offers general information about Greek history and mythology, such as the story of the Trojan War and tales about gods and heroes like Cadmus, Oedipus, and Antigone. Occasionally, he supplies the reader with the etymology of a word to facilitate understanding. In general, Garbitius comments on specific ideas found in Hesiod and offers examples from Christian and classical literature to support them or make them more understandable, trying to educate the reader and emphasise Hesiod’s proximity to Christian concepts. His moral slant is evident in many instances in the commentary, from his judgement on pernicious female beauty to his interpretation of epic epithets.

Garbitius and Previous Translations of the *Works and Days*

Körbler (1901, 79) assessed this translation as somewhat pedestrian but easy to understand, which he assumed to have been Garbitius’ intention. He also mentioned that there are some similarities between Garbitius and earlier translators. Still, he stated that Garbitius was “quite independent” in his work and that “there are no shared lines between him and Oporinus” (Körbler (1901, 80, n. 6). This claim has to be tested by comparing passages from the two translations. Two earlier prose translations of the *Works and Days* are also considered because they belonged to the same cultural *milieu* as Garbitius: one by Carolus Figulus, also a student of Melanchthon, and fragments by Michael Neander, published by Oporinus. The relevant wording (correspondencies between Garbitius and another translator, even if only partial) is underlined. Corresponding lines by other translators (Urceus, Ulpius, de Valle, the 16th century anonymous) are mentioned in the footnotes when considered necessary or illustrative. The Greek text is the one printed by Garbitius and Oporinus in the 1559 edition. The first passage under examination is the opening of the poem:

ΜΟΥΣΑΙ περιήθεν ἀοιδῆς κλείουσαι
δεῦτε δὶ ἐννέπετε σφέτερον πατέρ’ ὕμνείουσαι,
ὄντε διὰ βροτοὶ ἄνδρες ὁμῶς ἄφατοὶ τε φατοὶ τε,
ῥητοὶ τ’ ἄρρητοὶ τε. διὸς μέγαλοιο ἔκητι.

⁴⁶ Garbitius, 1559a, 68.

⁴⁷ Garbitius, 1559a, 113.

ῥεῖος μὲν γὰρ βριάει, ῥέα δὲ βριάοντα χαλέπτει,
ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει, καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει,
ῥεῖα δέ τ' ἰθύνει σκολίον, καὶ ἀγήνορα κάρφει,
ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, ὃς ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίει.
κλῶθι ἰδὼν, αἶων τε, δίκη δ' ἴθυνε θέμιστας
τύνη. ἐγὼ δέ κε πέρση ἐτήτυμα μυθησαίμην. (Hes. *Op.* 1–10 in Garbitius, 1559a, 20)

Musae Pierides carminibus celebrantes,
Atque hymnis laudantes uestrum patrem, dicite amabo,
Cur mortales uiri pariter sint nobiles et ignobiles
Clari et obscuri? Voluntate magni Iouis.
Facile enim extollit uirum, et sublimem deprimit.
Facile insignem minuit, et obscurum auget
Facile erigit humilem, et superbum attenuat.
[...]
Iupiter altitonans qui summas aedes incolis,
Audi uidens audiensque, recte gubernato haec mea praecepta
Tu. Ego autem Persae optima consulam. (Figulus, 1540, [VII])

Musae Pierides carminibus celebres,
Adeste, narrate per uestrum patrem cantantes,
Quare mortales uiri celebres sint pariter atque obscuri,
Gloriosique et inglorii. Iouis magni consilio.
Facile enim extollit, facile uero elatum deprimit:
Facile insignem minuit et obscurum auget:
Facile quoque corrigit prauum, et superbum attenuat,
Iupiter altitonans, qui supremas aedes incolit.⁴⁸
Adsis uidens audiensque, recte uero moderare leges,
Tu: ego autem Persae uera loquar. (Oporinus, 1544, 2)

Facile enim extollit, facile etiam elatum deprimit,
Facile insignem minuit, et obscurum auget.
Facile quoque corrigit prauum, et superbum exiccat,
Iupiter altitonans, qui supremas aedes incolit. (Neander, 1556, 83)

Musae ex Pieria, quae soletis carminibus celebrare,
Agite celebrate Iouem, uestrum patrem colendo,

⁴⁸ There is some resemblance in word choice and word order to Urceus: *Iupiter altitonans, qui suprema tecta habitat* (López Zamora, 2016, 105) and the 16th century anonymous: *Iuppiter altitonans, qui supremas domos inhabitat* (López Zamora, 2017, 451). Cf. Ulpius: *Iuppiter altifremus, cui celsum regia coelum* (Ulpius & della Valle, 1539, 7); della Valle: *Ille etenim altitonans summi regnator Olympi* (Ulpius & della Valle, 1539, 89).

Et per quem mortales homines sunt gloriosi et inglorii,
 Laudabiles et illaudabiles. nam fit hoc consilio Iouis.
 Facile enim extollit, et facile elatum deprimit:
 Facile etiam ualde clarum imminuit, et obscurum auget,
 Facile praeterea corrigit distortum, et animosum siccatur,
 Iupiter altitonans, qui suprema domicilia incolit.
 Attende intuendo et auscultando, atque pro iusticia tua dirige iura
 Tu: ego autem fratri Persae uera dixerim.⁴⁹ (Garbitius, 1559a, 20–21)

Figulus, Oporinus, and Garbitius all closely follow the Greek text: one line of their translation represents one line of the original. They aim to retain the word order of the original, occasionally with minor changes, as in the first line (μοῦσαι Περιηθεν ἀοιδῆσιν κλείουσαι) where the first three words are translated with words or phrases of the same meaning (*Musae; Pierides/Pierides/ex Pieria; carminibus*), but the final participle is resolved differently in each translation: participle *celebrantes* by Figulus, adjective *celebres* by Oporinus, and a relative clause *quae soletis celebrare* by Garbitius. Oporinus and Garbitius strive to translate even the particles that are not as necessary in Latin as in Greek. One instance of μὲν “indeed, on the one hand” and five of δέ “on the other hand” are rendered as *enim, uero, -, quoque, uero, autem* by Oporinus, and *enim, etiam, et, praeteream, atque* and *autem* by Garbitius (*enim, et, -, -, -, autem* by Figulus). The lack of equivalent for ἰδὼν (active aorist participle of the verb ὁράω “to see”) is resolved by using the gerund *intuendo* by Garbitius and the present participle *uidens* by Figulus and Oporinus.

As shown above, in these opening lines of the *Works and Days*, nine out of ten lines in Garbitius’ and Oporinus’ translations bear at least some resemblance. Some of these similarities can be explained by the lack of synonyms in Latin—it would be impossible or difficult to find equivalents of pronouns like *ego*, names like *Iuppiter* and *Musae*, or the adjective *mortalis*.⁵⁰ Still, the number of repeated words (especially rare words like *inglorius* and *altitonans*) and similar or identical word order can hardly be a coincidence, but

⁴⁹ Once again, Urceus’ version is not very different: *Vero ego utique, o Persa, vera dicerem.* (López Zamora, 2016, 105); neither is the one by the 16th century anonymous: *ego fratri meo Persae uera dicam* (López Zamora, 2017, 451). Cf. Ulpian: *ego sic Persen uera docebo* (Ulpian & della Valle, 1539, 7); della Valle: *liceatque mihi fraterna monere / Pectora...* (Ulpian & della Valle, 1539, 89).

⁵⁰ *Camena*e are not an acceptable equivalent in this context because they are Italic goddesses not connected to Pieria.

suggest that Oporinus' influence on Garbitius might be considerable.⁵¹ Correspondences between Garbitius and Figulus also call for comment. It is worth noting that all of them also appear in the translation by Oporinus (*Facile enim extollit; minuit, et obscurum auget; Iupiter altitonans; Tu. Ego autem Persae*), but there are words and word sequences shared by Figulus and Oporinus that do not appear in Garbitius (*Pierides; obscuri; magni; et superbum attenuat; aedes; uidens audiensque, recte*). It seems that Oporinus borrowed freely from or reworked Figulus' translation, while Garbitius' is a reworking of Oporinus' version. The fragment by Neander also served as Garbitius' model and was modeled on Oporinus in turn.

Another passage (the poet's address to his brother Perses) is also illustrative:

ὦ πέρση, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα τεῶ ἐνικάτθεο θυμῷ·
 μὴ δέ σ' ἔρις κακόχαρτος ἀπ' ἔργου θυμὸν ἐρύκοι
 νεῖκε' ὀπιπτεύοντ' ἀγορῆς ἐπακουδὸν ἔδοντα.
 ὄρη γάρ τ' ὀλίγη πέλεται νεϊκέων τ' ἀγορέων τε,
 ᾧτινι μὴ βίος ἔνδον ἐπιητανὸς κατάκειται
 ὠραῖος, τὸν γαῖα φέρει δημήτερος ἀκτὴν.
 τοῦ κεκορεσσάμενος, νεῖκα καὶ δῆριν ὀφέλλοις
 κτήμασ' ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις· σοὶ δ' οὐκέτι δεύτερον ἔσται
 ᾧδ' ἔρδειν. ἀλλ' αὖθι διακρινώμεθα νεῖκος
 ἰθειήσι δίκαις, αἵτ' ἐκ διός εἰσιν ἄρισταί.
 ἦδη μὲν γὰρ κληρὸν ἐδασσάμεθ', ἄλλα τε πολλὰ
 ἀρπάζων ἐφόρεις, μέγα κυδαίνων βασιλῆας
 δωροφάγους, οἱ τήνδε δίκην ἐθέλουσι δικᾶσαι. (Hes. *Op.* 27–39 in Garbitius, 1559a, 36)

O Perse haec insere animo tuo.
 Ne autem indigna contentio animum tuum a labore abducat,
 Neque sis litium spectator, neque fori auscultator.
 Ille non potest diu in foro litigare,
 Cui non fuerit annuus uictus domi repositus
 Omni tempore, illa autem Cereris esca, quam terra fert,
 Saturatus, iurgia et lites mouere poteris.
 Propter possessiones alienas, tibi autem secundo non licebit
 Ita facere, uerum denuo dirimamus litem
 Rectis iudiciis, quae sunt ex Ioue optima.
 Iam enim haereditatem diuisimus, sed multa

⁵¹ For this paper, a rare word is defined as attested fewer than 50 times or not being among the 1500 most frequent words, according to the Logeion database.

Rapiens auferebas, ualde demulcens reges
Doniuoros, qui uolunt hunc⁵² causam iudicare.⁵³ (Figulus, 1540, [VIII–IX])

O Persa. Tu uero haec tuo repone in animo,
Neque malis gaudens contentio animum tuum ab opere, abducat
Lites spectantem, forique auscultatorem existentem.
Tempus namque paruū est litiumque, forique,
Cui non sit uictus domi annuus repositus,
Tempestius, quem Terra fert, Cereris munus.
Quo satiatus, lites ac rixam moueas
De facultatibus alienis. tibi uero non amplius erit iterum
Sic faciendum. Sed rursus discernamus litem
Rectis iudiciis, quae ex Ioue sunt optima.⁵⁴
Nam nuper quidem patrimonium diuisimus, sed sane multa
Rapiens ferebas, ualde demulcens reges
Doniuoros, qui hanc litem uolunt iudicasse. (Oporinus, 1544, 2)

Non (frater charissime Persa) malis gaudens contentio animum tuum a labore
abducat,
Litem spectantem, forique auscultatorem existentem.
Tempus namque breue est litium forique,
Cui non uictus domi annuus repositus,
Tempestius, quem terra fert, Cereris munus.
Quo satiatus, lites et rixam moueas
De facultatibus alienis. (Neander, 1556, 119, 121)

O Persa, tu haec sepone in animum tuum,
Nec te contentio maligna abducat a labore,
Vt fias obseruator litium, et fori auscultator.
Nam tempus exiguum litium et fori datur illi,
Cui non est intus sepositus uictus annuus
Et maturus, quem Cereris fructum terra proferat.

⁵² Sic.

⁵³ Urceus: *comedentes dona, qui hanc causam uolunt iudicare* (López Zamora, 2016, 106); 16th century anonymous: *doniuoros, qui hanc causam uolunt iudicare* ((López Zamora, 2017, 452). Cf. Ulpius: *Doniuoris: hanc qui cupiunt discernere litem* (Ulpius & della Valle, 1539, 8), della Valle: *corruptus munere iudex / Ille tuo est, sub quo tota haec sententia pendet...* (Ulpius & della Valle, 1539, 91).

⁵⁴ Urceus: *rectis iusticiis, quae utique ex Ioue sunt optimae* (López Zamora, 2016, 106). 16th century anonymous: *rectis legibus, quae ex Ioue optimae sunt* (López Zamora, 2017, 451). Cf. Ulpius: *Iudiciis rectis, quae uel deus optima dicat* (Ulpius & della Valle, 1539, 8); della Valle: *litem hanc data iura resouent* (Ulpius & della Valle, 1539, 91).

Eo satur, licebit contentiones et lites foueas
 De bonis alienis. sed tibi non amplius licebit
 Ita agere mecum: sed deinceps dijudicabimus litem
 Rectis iudiciis, quae ex Ioue sunt optima.
 Ante quidem sortem diuisimus: tu autem etiam alia plura
 Abrepta auferebas ad demerendos iudices
 Doniuoros, qui hanc litem uoluerunt dijudicare. (Garbitius, 1559a, 36–37)

Again, some words like pronouns *tu* “you” or *haec* “this” do not have equivalents Garbitius could have used. However, the usage of rare words like *contentio* “exertion”, *auscultator* “listener”, and *doniuoros* “gift-eater”, the number of repeated words and syntagms (*uictus annuus*), two almost entire lines, and similarities in word order confirm that Garbitius reused earlier material. Translating ἐνικάτθεο as *sepone* seems to be influenced by Oporinus’ *repono* (Figulus has *insere*), and ὥρη γάρ τ’ ὀλίγη πέλεται νεικέων τ’ ἀγορέων τε, is construed in the same way: the subject is retained (*tempus* for ὥρη, with attributes *litium* and *fori*), while Figulus rephrases the sentence and introduces a new subject, *ille*. As for Garbitius’ debt to Figulus, we note that the final clause μὴ δέ σ’ Ἔρις κακόχαρτος ἀπ’ ἔργου θυμὸν ἐρύκοι / νείκε’ ὀπιπτεύοντ’ ἀγορῆς ἐπακουὸν ἔόντα, which has a predicate ἐρύκοι with the subject Ἔρις and the direct object σ’ with attributes ὀπιπτεύοντ’ and ἐπακουὸν ἔόντα, has the same structure in Oporinus: predicate *abducat*, subject *contentio*, object *animum tuum*, its attributes *spectantem* and *auscultatorem existentem*.⁵⁵ Garbitius rephrases the attributes into another final clause, *Vt fias obseruator litium, et fori auscultator*, just like Figulus: *Neque sis litium spectator, neque fori auscultator*. σοὶ δ’ οὐκέτι [...] ἔσται becomes *sed tibi non licebit / Ita agere [...]* in Garbitius, echoing Figulus’ *tibi autem non licebit / Ita facere*, and not Oporinus’ *tibi uero non erit sic faciendum*. Finally, Oporinus has some similar word choices and phrasings to Figulus’ not found in Garbitius: *animum tuum, spectantem* to *spectator, domi, moueas* to *mouere poteris, nam, sed, multa, rapiens, ualde demulcens reges*. The fragment by Neander is once again somewhere in between: *de facultatibus alienis* and *forique auscultatorem existentem* corresponds only with Oporinus, *contentio [...]* a labore *abducat* with Figulus and Garbitius.

⁵⁵ Also in Urceus: *neque te Lis malis gaudens ab opera animum detineat / contentionem inspicientem fori audientem existentem* (López Zamora, 2016, 106). 16th century anonymous: *neque tibi Lis malis gaudens ab opere animum detineat, / litem circumspectantem fori auscultantem existentem*. (López Zamora, 2017, 451).

The following passage, describing the generation of heroes, can shed more light on the relationship between these three texts:

αὗτις ἔτ' ἄλλο τέταρτον ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
ζεὺς κρονίδης ποίησε δικαιοτέρον καὶ ἄρειον,
ἀνδρῶν ἠρώων θεῖον γένος· οἱ καλέονται
ἡμίθεοι, προτέρη γενεῇ κατ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.
καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόλεμός τε κακὸς καὶ φύλοπις αἰνῆ,
τοὺς μὲν ἐφ' ἑπταπύλῳ θήβῃ καδμηΐδι γαίῃ
ᾧλεσε μαρναμένους μῆλων ἕνεκ' οἰδιπόδαο·
τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν νήεσσιν ὑπὲρ μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης
ἐς τροίην ἀγαγῶν, ἑλένης ἕνεκ' ἠῦκόμοιο·
ἐνθ' ἦτοι τοὺς μὲν θανάτου τέλος ἀμφεκάλυψε,
τοῖς δὲ δίχ' ἀνθρώπων βίον καὶ ἦθε' ὀπάσας
ζεὺς κρονίδης κατένασσε πατὴρ ἐς πείρατα γαίης.
καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναίουσιν ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ' ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίνην,
ὄλβιοι ἠρώες· τοῖσιν μεληδέα καρπὸν
τρὶς τοῦ ἔτους θάλλοντα φέρει ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα. (Hes. *Op.* 156–171 in Garbitius, 1559a, 92)

Rursus adhuc aliam quartam in terra alumna
Iupiter Saturnius fecit, multo iustiore et meliorem,
Diuinum genus uirorum heroicorum, qui uocantur
Semidei, superiori aetate in terra immensa.
Hos etiam malum bellum, et saeua pugna
Alios quidem ad Thebas septiportes a Cadmo conditas,
Perdidit pugnantes propter opes Oedipi,
Alios autem in nauibus super magnam undam maris
Ad Troiam ductos, propter pulchricomam Helenam.
Ibi mortis finis eos texit.
Eis autem separatim ab hominibus uictum et sedes tribuens
Iupiter dedit locum habitandi in finibus terrae.
Et quidem habitant, absque ulla animi sollicitudine.
In fortunatis insulis apud profundum Oceanum
Beati Heroes, his dulcem fructum
Ter quotannis florentem terra Zeae datrix profert. (Figulus, 1540, [XIII]–[XIV])

Rursum etiam aliud quartum super terrā multorum alumna
Iupiter Saturnius fecit, iustius et melius
Virorum heroum diuinum genus, qui uocantur
Semidei, priori generationi per immensam terram.
Hos quoque bellumque malum et pugna grauis,

Alios quidem ad septiportes Thebas, Cadmeam terram,
Perdidit pugnantes, propter oues Oedipi:
 Alias⁵⁶ uero et in nauibus super magnum fluctum maris⁵⁷
Ad Troiam ducens, Helenae gratia pulchricomae,
 Vbi quidem ipsos mortis quoque finis adobruit.
 Iis autem seorsum ab hominibus uictum et sedem tribuens,
Iupiter Saturnius pater constituit ad terrae fines.
 Et hi quidem habitant securum animum habentes
In beatorum insulis, iuxta oceanum profundum,
 Felices heroes, his dulcem fructum
Ter quotannis florentem profert foecunda tellus.⁵⁸ (Oporinus, 1544, 13–14)

Deinde rursum aliud quartum genus super terram multorum altricem
Iupiter produxit, iustus et praestantius,
Heroum genus diuinum, qui uocantur
Semidei, ortu praestantiore, super immensam terram.
 Quos quidem bellum noxium, et pugna grauis,
 Alios ad Thebas septem portarum in terra Cadmi
Perdidit, pugnantes propter oues Oedipi:
 Alios etiam nauibus super magnum fluctum maris
Ad Troiam adductos, propter Helenam speciosam:
 Ibi quidem finis mortis circumdedit.
 Caeterum istis seorsum ab hominibus uictum et locum tribuens
Iupiter, collocauit in finibus terrae:
 Qui quidem habitant securo animo
In beatorum insulis, iuxta Oceanum profundum,
Heroes beati, quibus suauem fructum
Ter in anno germinantem profert terra ferax. (Garbitius, 1559a, 92–93)

As above, all three translations follow the syntax and the word order of the original as closely as possible: for example, Hesiod's οἱ καλέονται ἡμίθεοι becomes *qui uocantur semidei* in all three cases, although there are other possibilities (*qui nominantur semidei, qui nomen semideorum habent, qui semidei dicti sunt, qui semidei appellantur*, etc.). Lines 155, 162, and 169 are identical or nearly identical in Oporinus and Garbitius. The notion that the Theban War was fought over the sheep of Oedipus (*propter oues Oedipi*) especially calls for attention. Figulus translates this as *propter opes Oedipi*,

⁵⁶ Sic.

⁵⁷ Urceus: *aliquos autem et in nauibus super super magnos fluctus maris* (López Zamora, 2016, 110).

⁵⁸ Also printed in Neander (1556, 131, 133).

Urceus as *pecudum causa Oedipodae* (López Zamora, 2016, 110), Valla as *Oedipodae imperii causa* (p. 199), Ulpian as *Ob tua pugnantes pecora, atque ipsam Oedipe regnum* (p. 231). West (in Hesiod, 1978, 192, n. 163) remarks “that it seems best to take Oedipus’ flocks as standing for his whole estate, including the Theban throne, rather than as alluding to a wholly different, older, and simpler version.” It is striking that Garbitius offers the exact same reading of this verse as Oporinus since other interpretations are possible. As for the relationship between Figulus and Oporinus, they share the rare epithets *septiportes* with *Thebas*, and *pulchricomam Helenam* and *Helenae gratia pulchricomae*, and the beginning of the last line in this passage, *Ter quotannis florentem*. The verse ἐνθ’ ἦτοι τοὺς μὲν θανάτου τέλος ἀμφεκάλυψε, is shorter in Figulus (*Ibi mortis finis eos texit*) than Garbitius. Still, the overall structure is similar (*Ibi quidem finis mortis circumdedit*), while Oporinus’ is slightly longer (*Vbi quidem ipsos mortis quoque finis adobruit*) and begins with a relative adverb.

It is worth considering the quotations from Hesiod in Garbitius’ dedicatory letter in the *Prometheus Bound*. He rephrases them in Latin as follows. The first verse τέρπονται κατὰ θυμὸν ἐὼν κακὸν ἀμφογαπῶντες (Hes. Op. 58) is rendered *oblectentur, et sibi in animo suo abblandiantur*. In his translation of Hesiod, the verse is translated differently: *omnes oblectabuntur apud suum animum, malum suum studiose amplectentes*, but reminiscent of the same line in Oporinus: *omnes se oblectent animo, suum malum amplectentes* (1544, 5). The word choice in the translation of *Works and Days* is almost the same as in Oporinus: both use *omnis, oblecto, animus, malum, suus, amplector*. The translation in the dedicatory letter in *Prometheus Bound* has the rare *abblandio* instead of *amplecto*, and the syntax is different: instead of the participle *amplectentes*, Garbitius uses the finite form *abbladiantur* and the direct object κακὸν is left out, probably because it is already mentioned earlier in the text.⁵⁹

A second quotation from Hesiod in the dedicatory letter to *Prometheus Bound* is δεξάμενος ὅτε δὴ κακὸν εἶχ’ ἐνόησε (Hes. Op. 89) which is rendered *post malum acceptum agnoscit delictum suum* in the dedicatory letter to

⁵⁹ The entry in Gaffiot cites an instance of *abblandior* in *Anthologia Latina* Anth. 931., while the DMLBS cites three instances of *abblandiri*, one by Adam Scot (b. c. 1140) and two by Thomas More (*occultos cordis motus vanitate caliginosos sibi abblandiri super subtilitate sapientie* Ad. Scot Serm. 332A; *usque adeo assentantes ei ut parasiti quoque ejus inventis, quae dominus per jocum non aspernabatur, abblandirentur* More Ut. 78; *mini coeperunt abblandiri [versus mei] postquam eos video multis commendari* (Id. Ep.) Ep. Erasm. IV 1096). It is tempting to think Garbitius was familiar with the opus of the renowned English thinker, a theologian and Greek scholar like himself. <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/abblandior>, <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/abblandiri>.

Prometheus Bound (Garbitius, 1559b, XXV) but *Sed ille accepto eo, cum malum haberet, intellexit* in the translation of *Works and Days* (Garbitius, 1559a, 63). The latter line echoes Oporinus' *Verum ille suscipiens, cum iam malum haberet, sensit* (Oporinus, 1544, 6). The temporal clause ὅτε δὴ κακὸν εἶχ' is translated as *cum iam malum haberet* by Oporinus, and *cum malum haberet*, by Garbitius in 1559a. These translations follow the word order and the syntax of the original closely (Garbitius (1559b, XXV) only leaves out the particle). In the *Prometheus Bound*, Garbitius chooses to combine κακὸν with δεξιόμενος, turning it into *post malum acceptum*. The temporal clause is neatly left out. In Garbitius (1559b, XXV), the predicate ἐνόησε has *delictum suum* added as its object, making the text easier to understand.

In our opinion, these two examples prove that Garbitius could rephrase Hesiod's lines in his own words in Latin but decided to follow Oporinus as his primary role model for reasons that will be discussed in the final chapter. We conclude that Garbitius read thoroughly the translation by Oporinus and deliberately reused some of his predecessor's verses; Oporinus' version was probably the starting point for his own. As for Figulus, his translation was certainly read by Oporinus, and likely by Garbitius. Neander's fragments were probably developed from Oporinus' translation and later used by Garbitius. The translations by Urceus and the 16th century anonymous seem to be a part of this tradition ("the Hesiodic vulgate", López Zamora, 2017: 449, n. 9).

Garbitius and Melanchthon

Garbitius' ideas are similar to those expressed by his teacher Melanchthon in the Hesiod edition mentioned above. In the two prefaces to his 1534 edition of Hesiod, Melanchthon expresses his views on Hesiod and other literary and moral matters.⁶⁰ In the first preface, he explains why he decided to publish an edition of Hesiod and write a commentary, pointing out that ancient authors like Columella regarded Hesiod as an author of great educational value and worth re-reading.⁶¹ A discussion on the importance of education and classical learning follows.⁶² Hesiod is considered not only a source of moral advice, but also of Greek vocabulary for learners of Greek.⁶³ His influence on Virgil and

⁶⁰ *Praefatio in Hesiodum*, Melanchthon, 1534, [3]–[21]; *Alia praefatio in Hesiodum*, Melanchthon, 1534, [22]–[28].

⁶¹ Melanchthon, 1534, [3]–[4].

⁶² Melanchthon, 1534, [4]–[12].

⁶³ Melanchthon, 1534, [12].

Ovid is mentioned.⁶⁴ Melanchthon stresses the importance of books offering advice on two specific subjects: nature (*de rerum natura*) and ethics (*de moribus*), and Hesiod covers both.⁶⁵ In Melanchthon's opinion, advice that stems from common sense and pagan wisdom is just as valuable as the stone tablets of Moses.⁶⁶ Melanchthon prefers Hesiod to any philosopher because of his gravitas and simplicity in teaching, and because he emphasises men's responsibility for their actions—not everything is in God's hands, as some philosophers would like to believe.⁶⁷ In the second preface, Melanchthon reiterates his interest in moral advice and nature, and states that Hesiod is better at giving moral advice than any other ancient author. Melanchthon praises Hesiod's idea of divine punishment for evil deeds and ends the second preface with some remarks on the appreciation of Hesiod among Greeks and Romans.⁶⁸

Melanchthon believed classical learning essential for developing teaching skills.⁶⁹ He specifically regarded Hesiod as a vital source of moral precepts compatible with Christianity. Garbitius espoused his teacher's ideas on classical learning in general and on Hesiod.

Garbitius' Translation of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*

Early Modern Reception of Aeschylus

Lachmann and Cranz (1971), summarised here, offer invaluable information on the reception of Aeschylus in the Latin West. The earliest Latin translations of Aeschylus are two fragments of lost tragedies by Petrus Candidus Decembrius (d. 1477), predating the *editio princeps* by Franciscus Asulanus published by Aldus Manutius in 1518. In 1555, Johannes Oporinus published all of the plays with a Latin prose translation by Joannes Sanravius. Latin translations of *Prometheus Bound* after Sanravius were penned by Adrianus

⁶⁴ Melanchthon, 1534, [13].

⁶⁵ Melanchthon, 1534, [15].

⁶⁶ Melanchthon, 1534, [16].

⁶⁷ Melanchthon, 1534, [18]–[19].

⁶⁸ Melanchthon, 1534, [22]–[28].

⁶⁹ Zachman, 2004, 25.

Turnebus (1555, manuscript),⁷⁰ Garbitius (published in 1559 by Oporinus, and later in 1567 by Stephanus and in 1614 by de la Rovière), Florens Christianus (lost), Paulus Aicardus (a fragmentary translation from the last decades of the 16th century), and Isaacus Casaubonus (lines 1–642, manuscript).⁷¹ In 1614, Pierre de la Rovière published another edition of all seven plays, including Garbitius’ translation of *Prometheus Bound*. Substantial portions of Garbitius’ translation were also used by Thomas Stanley, whose edition, which included a Latin translation of Aeschylus, was published in London in 1663.⁷² Franciscus Portus wrote a commentary on Aeschylus’ plays between 1557 and 1581.⁷³ Coriolanus Martiranus and Jacobus Augustus Thuanus wrote free adaptations of Aeschylus’ plays, *Prometheus* (1556) and *Parabata vincitus* (1595), respectively.⁷⁴ As for early modern productions of the play, a performance of *Prometheus Bound* was staged in 1609 in the Schultheater in Strasbourg.⁷⁵ Aeschylus continued to inspire vernacular poetry and other art forms like opera and film in the centuries to come.⁷⁶

Aeschylus’ authorship of *Prometheus Bound* has been called into question, but for this article, we shall ascribe it to Aeschylus just as Garbitius did.⁷⁷ Garbitius also considered it the central part of a Prometheus trilogy.⁷⁸

Garbitius’ Aeschylus

Garbitius’ translation of *Prometheus Bound* was first published in 1559 in Basel by Johannes Oporinus.⁷⁹ It was later published again, posthumously, in

⁷⁰ The manuscript *Travaux de Turnèbe sur les poètes grecs* is held in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (Latin 13042). It will be cited as Turnebus, ms. 13042.

⁷¹ Lachmann & Cranz, 1971, 15–19.

⁷² Lachmann & Cranz, 1971, 7.

⁷³ Lachmann & Cranz, 1971, 15–19.

⁷⁴ Mund-Dopchie, 1992, 293.

⁷⁵ Prometheus (1609), accessed at APGRD. There is no information on the language of the performance.

⁷⁶ More in Futo Kennedy, 2018.

⁷⁷ More on the question of this athetesis in a short overview by Griffith in Aeschylus, 1983: 31–35; see also a detailed recent study by Manousakis, 2020.

⁷⁸ Also a contested issue (Griffith in Aeschylus, 1983: 32–33).

⁷⁹ Garbitius, 1559b.

1567 by Stephanus and in 1614 by de la Rovière. The contents of the 1559 edition are as follows. The translator's Greek epigram on Prometheus is included on the title page. A dedicatory epistle to Hieronymus Baumgartner, his erstwhile patron, takes up the following 35 (unnumbered) pages, appended by a short poem by Michael Toxites comparing the plot of *Prometheus Bound* to Adam's fall from grace.⁸⁰ The commentary (*Mathiae Garbitii Illyrici in Aeschyli Prometheum Scholia*) follows on numbered pages, comprising several introductory paratexts: a short preface (*Praefatio*),⁸¹ two hypotheses in Greek with Latin translations (*Ἐπόθεσις prima/Argumentum*, *Ἐπόθεσις altera/Argumentum Aeschyli Tragoediae, quae inscribitur Prometheus uinctus*),⁸² and a brief description of each character in the play (*Τὰ τοῦ δράματος πρόσωπα, De personis fabulae*).⁸³ On page 25 the commentary presents the reader with basic information on the title, author and genre, explains the prologue and the action that is about to unravel.⁸⁴ The Greek text, divided in sections followed by copious notes, begins on page 26 and is the one printed by Turnebus.⁸⁵ The edition ends with an index (*Rerum et verborum in Matthiae Garbitii ad Aeschylum Scholiis praecipue memorabilium index*), and a list of errata (*Errata*).⁸⁶

In the dedicatory letter to Baumgartner, Garbitius explains why he chose to translate this tragedy: he desired to explain an obscure passage from Hesiod. Garbitius' translations of the *Works and Days* and *Prometheus Bound* were both published in 1559, but it is clear that the *Works and Days* translation is the older one; this is made explicit by Garbitius himself.⁸⁷ He compares the story of Prometheus to the fall of man and praises Greek authors for noticing the duality of man's nature: the dichotomy of passion (*appetitus*) and reason (*mens*). He states that reading the Scripture is the best way to learn about the human soul but that pagan authors can also be helpful.⁸⁸ To make his opinions

⁸⁰ Garbitius, 1559b, [III]–[XXXVII], [XXXVIII].

⁸¹ Garbitius, 1559b, 1–15.

⁸² Garbitius, 1559b, 15–18.

⁸³ Garbitius, 1559b, 18–24.

⁸⁴ Garbitius, 1559b, 25–26.

⁸⁵ Körbler, 1901, 96.

⁸⁶ Garbitius, 1559b, [295]–[303], [303].

⁸⁷ Garbitius, 1559b, [III]–[IV]. See n. 2.

⁸⁸ Garbitius, 1559b, [V]–[VI].

on the interpretation of Greek literature clear, Garbitius discusses the Homeric epics, including the parody *Margites*, long attributed to Homer.⁸⁹ The subject of the *Iliad* is the emotional, passionate, and violent part of the human psyche (*appetitiua hominis uis*); while in the *Odyssey* the poet describes the other part of man, the rational mind, and man's virtue. The *Odyssey* is interpreted as an allegory of man's journey through life. Tragic and comic poets reworked Homer's plots: the former was inspired by the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, while the latter was influenced by *Margites*.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, these poets did not inherit Homer's universal approach and dealt only with specific cases of human experience. A brief overview of Greek and Roman comic poets follows.⁹¹ Garbitius then focuses on Aeschylus, who, in his opinion, is the most important Greek tragic poet: the oldest and the most polished.⁹² His best tragedy is the *Prometheus Bound*, which comprises two plots: the story of Io's wandering and suffering that appeals to the passionate part of man's soul, and the story of Prometheus, which shows the power of the human mind and rationality. Prometheus represents the dexterity of the human mind, but this skill has degenerated and been punished. Garbitius introduces here the concept of προμήθεια "foresight, forethought", which is the main subject of the tragedy. Προμήθεια means intelligence, skill, dexterity; Prometheus uses it to benefit humankind but eventually becomes vain and strays away from divine reason and justice. Garbitius compares Hesiod's Prometheus, who is paired with Epimetheus, to Aeschylus' Prometheus, who is not. The Hesiodic brother symbolizes repentance for transgression, while Prometheus in *Prometheus Bound* remains stubbornly opposed to Zeus. There are many examples of such behaviour to be found in the Bible. Garbitius reminds the reader that the son of God was sent to lead the human race, who had defected from God, back to a holier life. In the final part of the letter, Garbitius addresses once again the dedicatee, Hieronymus Baumgartner, praising him for helping Garbitius when he was young and poor and for being a model citizen who uses his abilities to help his country in times of rebellion and unrest. At this point, Garbitius inserts the following passage from Philo of Alexandria (*De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*, 124–125) both in Greek and in a Latin translation that seems to be his own:

⁸⁹ Garbitius, 1559b, [XI]–[XVI]. Modern scholarship does not ascribe *Margites* to Homer.

⁹⁰ Garbitius, 1559b, [XVI].

⁹¹ Garbitius, 1559b, [XVII]–[XVIII].

⁹² Garbitius, 1559b, [XVIII]–[XXXI].

ἔγωγ' οὖν, ὅταν τινὰ τῶν σπουδαίων διαιτώμενον κατ' οἰκίαν, ἢ κατὰ πόλιν θεάσωμαι, τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην εὐδαιμονίζω, καὶ οἶομαι τήντε τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν βέβαιον, καὶ τὴν ἀπόντων προσδοκίαν τελεσφορομένην σχήσειν, τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἀπεριόριστον καὶ ἀπερίγραφον πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ, διὰ ἀξίους καὶ τοῖς ἀναξίοις δωρουμένου. καὶ εὐχομαί γε ὡς πολυχρονιωτάτους αὐτοῦς, ἐπειδὴν ἀγήρως οὐκ ἔστι γενέσθαι, νομίζων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παραμένειν ἄνθρωποις τάγαθὰ, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν οὗτοι χρόνον ζῆν δυνηθῶσιν. ὅταν οὖν ἴδω ἢ ἀκούω τινὰ αὐτῶν τεθνεῶτα, σφόδρα κατηφῶ καὶ ἄχθομαι, καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦς ἢ τοὺς ζῶντας ὀλοφύρομαι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀκολουθία φύσεως τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἀποβῆναι τέλος βίον μὲν εὐδαίμονα, εὐκλεᾶ δὲ θάνατον ἐνδειξαμένοις· τοὺς δὲ ἐρήμους μεγάλης καὶ δυνατῆς χειρός, δι' ἣν ἐσφάζοντο, ἀπολειφθέντας, ταχὺ δὴ μάλα τῶν ἰδίων αἰσθήσεσθαι κακῶν, εἰ μὴ πάλιν ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων ἢ φύσις ὥσπερ δένδρῳ τοὺς ἥδη πεπανθέντας καρποὺς ἀποβαλόντι, νέους ἐτέρους ἀναβλαστῆσαι παρασκευάσει πρὸς τροφήν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν χρῆσθαι δυναμένων.⁹³

Ego igitur quando uideo aliquem bonum et uirtute praestantem uirum degere in familia aut ciuitate, familiam et ciuitatem illam uoco beatam, et iudico eam et praesentium bonorum usum firmum, et absentium expectationem certam habituram ex benignitate Dei, qui suas infinitas et indeterminatas diuitias per dignos etiam indignis largitur: et precor, tales bonos uiros, quoniam sine senectute esse non possunt, uitam quam longissimam consequi, ex hac persuasione, quia arbitror tantisper hominibus permanere bona, dum isti uiuere possint. Quando uero uideo aut audio horum aliquem mortuum, ualde perturbor et doleo, et non magis ipsos quam uiuentes deploro, quia illis ordine naturae contingit necessarius finis per declarationem suae et uitae beatae et mortis gloriosae. Hi autem relictis sine magna et potenti manu, qua seruabantur breui admodum sint sensuri propria mala, nisi rursus natura pro prioribus, tanquam arbori maturos fructus amittenti, nouos alios efficiat repullulare, ad

⁹³ “For my own part, when I see a good man living in a house or city, I hold that house or city happy and believe that their enjoyment of their present blessings will endure and that their hopes for those as yet lacking will be realized. For God, for the sake of the worthy, dispenses to the unworthy also His boundless and illimitable wealth. I know indeed that they cannot escape old age, but I pray that their years may be prolonged to the utmost. For I believe that, as long as they may live, it will be well with the community. So when I see or hear that any of them are dead, my heart is sad and heavy. Not for them. They have reached, in the due course of nature, the end we all must reach. They have lived in happiness and died in honour. It is for the survivors that I mourn. Deprived of the strong protecting arm which brought them safety, they are abandoned to the woes which are their proper portion and which they soon will feel, unless indeed nature should raise some new protectors to replace the old, as in the tree which sheds its now ripened fruit, her agency makes other fruits grow, up to give sustenance and pleasure to those who can pluck them.” English translation by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker in Philo (1929, 183, 185).

nutrimentum et iucundum usum eorum qui sciunt uti. (Garbitius, 1559b, XXXIV–XXXVI)

The predicate in the first sentence, θεάσωμαι, is moved to the beginning and rendered as *video*. Its object, τινὰ τῶν σπουδαίων διαιωόμενον, is rendered *aliquem bonum et uirtute praestantem virum degere*. The partitive genitive τῶν σπουδαίων is not preserved; Garbitius turns it into an accusative singular *bonum et uirtute praestantem* accompanying the pronoun *aliquem*, using four words to convey the meaning of σπουδαίος. The participle διαιωόμενον is turned into the infinitive *degere*, producing the construction *accusativus cum infinitivo*. In the second sentence—καὶ εὐχομαί γε ὡς πολυχρονιωτάτους αὐτούς, ἐπειδὴν ἀγήρως οὐκ ἔστι, γενέσθαι, νομίζων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παραμένειν ἀνθρώποις τὰγαθὰ, ἐφ’ ὅσον ἂν οὗτοι χρόνον ζῆν δυνηθῶσιν *et precor, tales bonos uiros, quoniam sine senectute esse non possunt, uitam quam longissimam consequi, ex hac persuasione, quia arbitror tantisper hominibus permanere bona, dum isti uiuere possint*—the *accusativus cum infinitivo* ὡς πολυχρονιωτάτους αὐτούς γενέσθαι, dependent on εὐχομαι, is turned into *tales bonos uiros uitam quam longissimam consequi*, dependent on *precor*. The simple pronoun αὐτούς is explained rather than translated as *tales bonos uiros* (Garbitius’ intention must have been to make the text easier to follow), and in ὡς πολυχρονιωτάτους γενέσθαι the infinitive γενέσθαι, is replaced with *consequi*, requiring an object (*uitam quam longissimam*), not the adjectival predicate γενέσθαι. In the third sentence, ὅταν οὖν ἴδω ἢ ἀκούω τινὰ αὐτῶν τεθνεῶτα *Quando uero uideo aut audio horum aliquem mortuum*, Garbitius retains the word order and the syntax, translating word for word. In the fourth sentence, τοὺς δὲ ἐρήμους μεγάλης καὶ δυνατῆς χειρὸς ἀπολειφθέντας (*Hi autem relictī sine magna et potenti manu*) is dependent on one of the earlier predicates and therefore in the accusative, and the adjective ἐρημος is followed by a *genitivus copiae et inopiae* μεγάλης καὶ δυνατῆς χειρὸς. Garbitius turns the accusative into a nominative *Hi relictī*, to make it, once more, easier to understand, and the ἐρημος with its attributes is rendered as a prepositional phrase *sine magna et potenti manu*.

The analysis of this passage shows that Garbitius could render Greek text in good Latin prose and that his approaches were varied, from literal to free adaptations. Moštak (2019) comes to the same conclusion on Garbitius as a translator in her analysis of the *Letter of Aristeas* translation, which is also (unlike Garbitius’ version of *Works and Days*) commended by Körbler as “versatile and elegant” (1901, 97).⁹⁴

⁹⁴ A translation of the same passage by Sigismundus Gelenius (1555, 134) does not seem to have influenced Garbitius: *Equidem quando aliquem bonu virum habitantem in aliqua domo aut*

Regarding Garbitius' original prose, Karabaić (1996, 16–17) notes the following hallmarks of his style: synonyms and near-synonyms (*motus, impetus, fluctus et tempestates cupiditatum et affectuum*); litotes (*nullus non*); rare, often poetic, Greek words (*ἀλαοσκοπία, λεωργός*, etc.); post-classical and ecclesiastical Latin vocabulary (*manifestatio, salvificus*, etc.). Still, he did not avoid reading classic prose, as shown by his use of rare words often used by Cicero, like *utilitas* and *peruersitas*.⁹⁵ Just like in the dedicatory letter in the *Works and Days*, Garbitius is fond of abstract nouns, especially in *-itas* and *-io* (*uarietas, captiuitas, dignitas, uoluntas, utilitas, sobrietas, uanitas, simplicitas, diuersitas, peruersitas; conditio, occasio, instauratio, inuectio, imaginatio, digressio, dissensio, contentio, agnitio* etc.).⁹⁶ Here, too, he combines Greek and Latin to produce expressions like *sub specie φιλανθρωπίας* “under the guise of love for humans”, and *de huiusmodi προμηθεία* “on this type of forethought”.⁹⁷

The Commentary

Garbitius' commentary on Aeschylus is quite substantial. The commentary always follows immediately after a character has finished speaking. The first section of the play, spoken by Kratos, comprises eleven lines of Greek text

vrbe video, et domum, et vrbem illam beatam praedico, ratus tum praesentem felicitatem ei mansuram perpetuo, tum absentem expectandam cumulationem, deo vltra modum mensuramque diuitias suas in gratiam dignorum etiam in indignos profundere solito. Quibus quia ne senescant precari mihi non licet, precor vitam longissimam, existimans tam diuturnam felicitatem fore hominibus, quam longum illis vitae tempus contigerit. proinde audita morte alicuius eorum, magna tristitia magnoque dolore afficior, non tam ipsorum vicem dolens quam superstitum. illos enim naturae ordine necessario manet is exitus, vt post vitam feliciter exactam gloriosa mors eos excipiat, istis vero destitutis magna potentique manu qua protecti antea fuerant, suorum malorum sensus imminet: nisi natura tanquam in arbore de qua maturi fructus defluunt, alio recentes substituat, quibus alantur fruuanturque quibuscunque datum est.

⁹⁵ *peruersitas, -atis*, f.: Cic. Or. 9, 31; Tusc. 3, 1, 2; Off. 1, 40, 145; Q. Fr. 1, 1, 13, § 38; Fam. 1, 7, 7. also in Quint. 1, 6, 34; Suet. Aug. 62.; <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/peruersitas>; *utilitas, -atis*, f.: Cic. Q. Fr. 1, 1, 8, § 24; de Or. 2, 51, 207; Fin. 1, 20, 69; Leg. 1, 15, 42; Off. 3, 10, 40; 3, 8, 35; Part. Or. 25, 89; Cic. Imp. Pomp. 6, 14; Cic. Fin. 1, 10, 34, N. D. 2, 22, 58, Lael. 9, 32; Att. 7, 5, 2; Deiot. 5, 13; Fam. 16, 3, 2; . de Or. 1, 9, 36; 1, 43, 193. also Hor. S. 1, 3, 98; Nep. Att. Plaut. Ep. 5, 1, 28 (634); Ter. Eun. 309, Dig. 21, 1, 38, § 7. <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/utilitas>.

⁹⁶ All found in Garbitius, 1559b.

⁹⁷ Garbitius, 1559b, XXV–XXIX.

followed by an equal number of lines in Latin translation, and the commentary on these lines runs on almost four pages. Garbitius explains the parts of the play (*Absolutus est iam primus Actus, qui est Prologus huius fabulae: in quo negotium principale, ut erat a Iove propositum et constitutum, est ex mandato ipsius serio et solícite expeditum* “the first act, which is the prologue of this play, is over; in it the main plotline, as it was designed and ordained by Zeus, unfolds by his own command in a grave and serious manner”)⁹⁸, the mythological background, including the different versions of the myth of Prometheus stealing fire,⁹⁹ rephrases the dialogue (*locum Scythiae, in quem peruenerunt, paucis describit* “he briefly describes the place in Scythia where they have arrived”¹⁰⁰; *primum protestatur de rei indignitate, et de iniquitate Iouis [...] Deinde huius etiam aerumnae diurnitatem deplorat [...]* “firstly he protests against insulting treatment in this matter, and against Jupiter’s injustice [...] afterwards he laments the long duration of this hardship [...]”¹⁰¹), explains the characters’ point of view (*post discessum demum ministrorum Iouis Prometheus incipit lamentari et queri de sua sorte: quia in praesentia ministrorum Iouis neque voluit quicquam mutire, ne crimen ἀθαρδείας aggravaret: neque potuit, propter uim et saeuitiam satellitum, quibus undequaque stipatus atque oppressus erat* “after the departure of Jupiter’s helpers Prometheus begins to wail and complain about his fate: because he did not want even to mumble something with Jupiter’s helpers present, lest he add weight to/make the crime of stubbornness even worse”¹⁰²) and comments on word choice (for example, the comment on παντέχνου πυρός “of the fire that is the assistant of all arts” in line 7, *ignem vocat πάντεχνον quia sine ipso fere neque ab initio potuerunt, nec adhuc possunt confici aut ulla instrumenta, aut opera artium illarum quae sunt de usu vitae quotidiano* “he calls fire the assistant of all arts because without it neither in the early days nor today can any tool be produced, or works of those arts which are of use in everyday life”).¹⁰³ Parallels are drawn with other Greek authors, for example Plutarch’s opinion that fire is better than water is mentioned in the discussion of the

⁹⁸ Garbitius, 1559b, 59.

⁹⁹ Garbitius, 1559b, 29.

¹⁰⁰ Garbitius, 1559b, 27.

¹⁰¹ Garbitius, 1559b, 60.

¹⁰² Garbitius, 1559b, 59–60.

¹⁰³ Garbitius, 1559b, 29.

aforementioned adjective πάντεχνος,¹⁰⁴ and the entry on the word κέαρ “heart” compares this verse (166) to a passage in Homer where Calchas is afraid of provoking Agamemnon (*Iliad* 1.80–84); the common theme in these two passages is the wrath of a powerful superior.¹⁰⁵ Garbitius insists on a moral reading of the play: for example, page 28 is mostly dedicated to explaining how Prometheus cared for people, but his zeal led to overconfidence and arrogance, which caused his downfall. This idea is repeated throughout the book.

Garbitius and Previous Translators of *Prometheus Bound*

As in the case of Hesiod, Garbitius’ translation of Aeschylus should be compared to those of his predecessors. The very beginning of the play in Greek original, and the versions by Sanravius, Turnebus, and Garbitius follow.

Χθονὸς μὲν ἐς τηλουρὸν ἤκομεν πέδον,
 σκύθην ἐς οἶμον, ἄβατον εἰς ἐρημίαν,
 ἤφαιστε· σοὶ δὲ χρὴ μέλειν ἐπιστολάς,
 ἄς σοι πατήρ ἐφεῖτο, τόνδε πρὸς πέτραις
 ὑψηλοκρήμνοις τὸν λεωργὸν ὀχμάσαι
 ἀδαμαντίναις πέδησιν, ἐν ἀρρήκτοις πέτραις.¹⁰⁶
 τὸ σὸν γὰρ ἄνθος, παντέχνου πυρὸς σέλας
 θνητοῖσι κλέψας ὤπασε. τοιαῦς δέ τοι
 ἀμαρτίαι σφε δεῖ θεοῖς δοῦναι δίκην.
 ὡς ἂν διδαχθῆ τὴν διὸς τυραννίδα
 στέργειν, φιλανθρώπου δὲ παύεσθαι τρόπον. (Aesch. *PV* 1–11 in Garbitius,
 1559b, 26–27)

Terrae sane in procul remotum uenimus solum,
Scythicam in uiam, ac profundam solitudinem:
Vulcane, tibi curae esse oportet mandata,
 Tibi a patre edicta: hunc scilicet petris
 Altijugis hominum conditorem ligare,
Adamantinis uinculis, in solidis petris.
 Tuum enim premium omnifici ignis lumen
 Mortalibus furatus praebuit: talis uero

¹⁰⁴ Garbitius, 1559b, 29.

¹⁰⁵ Garbitius, 1559b, 76–77.

¹⁰⁶ There are no comments on the metre.

Peccati ipsum oportet diis dare poenas:
Vt doceatur Iovis tyrannidem
Amare, hominesque desinat diligere. (Sanravius, 1555, 10)

In solum terrae longinquum venimus,
In Scythicum rus in solitudinem inviam.
Vulcane, tibi autem mandata oportet curae esse Jovis.
Quae tibi pater imperavit istum ad saxa
Praerupta sceleratum ut religes
Vinculis adamantinis in rigidis cautibus durissimis.
Nam tuum decus, fulgorem ignis omnia praelustris
Raptum hominibus praebuit. huiusmodi proinde
Maleficii eum oportet diis poenas dare ut discat Iovis imperium
Amare, desistere a benivolentia et humanitate adversum homines. (Turnebus
ms. 13042, f. 2v)¹⁰⁷

Pervenimus quidem in remotum terrae solum,
In viam Scythicam, et solitudinem inuiam:
Tibi uero Vulcane curae esse debent mandata,
Quae tibi pater commisit, ut ad petras
Praeruptas istum confidentem constringas
Vinculis adamantinis, inter saxa firmissima.
Nam decus tuum, ignis artificiosi iubar,
Subreptum hominibus contribuit. Huiusmodi quidem
Delicti oportet ipsum poenam dare diis,
Vt discat Iovis imperium
Magnificere, et desistere a studio humanitatis. (Garbitius, 1559b, 27)

The translation strategies are once again very similar to those employed in translating Hesiod: a linear prose translation with the overall aim to translate every word, even the particles (μὲν: Sanravius *sane*, Garbitius *quidem*; δέ: Turnebus *autem*, Garbitius *uero*).¹⁰⁸ Garbitius' choice of words bears some resemblance to that of his predecessors Sanravius and Turnebus. As with Hesiod, some similarities can be explained by a lack of synonyms; for example, there is no other Latin word for the name *Vulcanus*. Nevertheless, the use of rare words like *invius* and *solitudo*, despite available synonyms *avius*, *devius*, *impervius*, and *inaccessus*, and *secretum* and *secessus*, respectively, calls for attention. Still, different interpretations are offered, for example, for

¹⁰⁷ “in solum... Jovis” also in Lachmann & Cranz, 1971, 16.

¹⁰⁸ Körbler (1901, 89) noted that “the Greek original lost a lot of its beauty in Garbitius' version.”

λεωργός “capable of anything, reckless, wicked”: *hominum conditorem* Sanravius, *istum sceleratum* Turnebus, *confidentem* Garbitius. In translating this adjective, each of the translators gives his own perspective on Prometheus’ actions. The line ἄμαρτίας σφε δεῖ θεοῖς δοῦναι δίκην is almost identical in Garbitius and Sanravius: *Delicti oportet ipsum poenam dare diis* and *Peccati ipsum oportet diis dare poenas*, respectively. The final clause ὡς ἂν διδαχθῆ τὴν διὸς τυραννίδα στέργειν, is rendered as *Vt doceatur Iovis tyrannidem amare* by Sanravius, but *Vt discat Iouis imperium magnificere* by Garbitius: the syntax and word order are the same; the only difference is that Garbitius changes the passive διδαχθῆ “so he would be taught”, retained by Sanravius, to active *discat* “so he would learn”—the same as Turnebus. It is, therefore, possible that Garbitius reused the translations by both Sanravius et Turnebus.

The following examples show additional similarities in word choice.

ἅπαντ’ ἐπράχθη, πλὴν θεοῖσι κοιρανεῖν.

ἐλεύθερος γὰρ οὔτις ἐστὶ πλὴν διός. (Aesch. PV 49–50 in Garbitius, 1559b, 43)

Omnia fieri possunt, praeterquam diis imperare.

Nam nullus liber est, Ioue excepto. (Sanravius, 1555, 12)

Omnia obtigerunt, praeterquam imperare Diis.

Liber enim nullus est, praeter Iouem. (Turnebus, ms. 13042, f. 3r)

Omnia sunt definite constituta, praeterquam diis imperare:

Nam nullus est liber, nisi Iupiter. (Garbitius, 1559b, 43)

Ω διὸς αἰθήρ, καὶ ταχύπτεροι πνοαὶ,
ποταμῶν τε πηγαί, ποντίων τε κυμάτων
ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα, παμμῆτορ τε γῆ,
καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ.

ἴδεσθέ μ’ οἷα πρὸς θεῶν πάσχω θεός. (Aesch. PV 98–102 in Garbitius, 1559b, 55–56)

O Iouis aether, et uolucres uenti,

Fluuiorum fontes, marinorum fluctuum

Infinitus motus, omniparaque terra,

Et qui omnia uidet orbem solis uoco,

Videte me, qualia a Diis patior, Deus cum sim. (Sanravius, 1555, 13)

O ingens aether et flatus praepetes,

Et fluminum fontes ac fluctuum marinorum

Rictus immanis et omnipotens tellus

Et solis orbem omnia lustrantem uoco
Cernite me quae a Diis patior Deus [...] (Turnebus ms. 13042, f. 3v)

O aether Iouis, et flatus celeres,
Fontesque fluuiorum, et fluctuum marinorum
Dilatatio infinita, et terra mater omnium,
Inuoco etiam solis orbem omnia lustrantem:

Videte qualia mihi Deo accidunt a Diis. (Garbitius, 1559b, 57)

All the translators above translated Aeschylus in linear prose translations: one line of Latin for one line of Greek, and often followed the word order of the original text (with occasional differences: *καλῶ* “to call, summon”, translated as *uoco* “to call”, remains at the end of the line both in Sanravius and Turnebus; Garbitius places *inuoco* “to invoke, call by name” at the beginning of the line). All of them translate the aorist imperative with the present imperative since there is no aorist stem in Latin: ἴδεσθε “see”—*uidete* “see” in Garbitius and Sanravius, while Turnebus has *cernite* “perceive”. The translations differ the most when it comes to compounds. The adjective *παμμῆτορ* “mother of all” becomes *omnipara* “all-producing” in Sanravius, *omnipotens* “all-powerful” in Turnebus, *mater omnium* “mother of all” in Garbitius; *πανόπτης* “all-seeing” is *qui omnia videt* “who sees everything” in Sanravius, but *omnia lustrantem* “who observes all” in Turnebus and Garbitius.

The word choice cannot be entirely coincidental since other Latin words could be used in these lines: οὐτις *nullus* could be replaced by *nemo*, *uideo* by *obseruo*; *ποντίων κυμάτων fluctuum marinorum* could be rephrased as *undarum maris*. Since all three translators translated Aeschylus in prose, there were no metrical constraints that called for the use of certain words and exclusion of others. Since the metrical structure of the words was irrelevant, exact matches in word choice are conspicuous.

We find it very likely that Garbitius reused the material from at least one earlier translator. He could have easily obtained the translation by Sanravius since it was printed by his own publisher. The translation by Turnebus was in manuscript, but it is not unthinkable that it circulated among European humanists. Therefore, the possibility that Garbitius used Turnebus’ manuscript cannot be ruled out. The exact relationship between the translations by Sanravius and Turnebus would merit additional discussion elsewhere. For this article, it suffices to state that Garbitius was not entirely independent in his translation of Aeschylus.

Melanchthon and Greek Tragedy

Garbitius shared the interest in ancient drama with his teachers Camerarius and Melanchthon. Melanchthon wrote a short essay *Cohortatio ad legendas tragoedias et comoedias*. He considered drama a helpful vehicle for teaching moral philosophy and was, unlike Camerarius, interested in a Christian reading of the genre.¹⁰⁹ In Lurie's interpretation, "Melanchthon claimed with religious fervor that the Greek tragedians did not write their plays for entertainment, let alone for kings and rulers to be warned of unpredictable misfortunes, but with the intention of forcing the souls of their fellow-citizens to keep their pernicious passions in check out of fear of God's punitive justice".¹¹⁰ Melanchthon's ideas are reflected in the so-called *Wittenberg Sophocles*, a collection of the dramatist's seven plays completed in 1547 and comprising Latin translations by Vitus Winshemius and Melanchthon, and paratexts by Winshemius and Camerarius.¹¹¹ The Reformers believed that "pagan and Christian wisdom speak as one up to a point, beyond which only the Gospel avails"¹¹² and that "sacred tragedies are all to be found in the Old Testament".¹¹³ Garbitius was a proponent of these ideas and in his translations and paratexts he applied them to another Greek tragedian.¹¹⁴

Conclusion

As a translator, Garbitius looked to earlier Latin versions of the texts in question, especially Oporinus' Hesiod, from whose translation he occasionally borrows entire lines. While showcasing his Greek and Latin vocabulary in the paratexts, written in his singular style, in his translations of Hesiod and Aeschylus, he tends to rely on earlier translations. However, Hesiod's fragments and the passage from Philo he incorporated in the dedicatory letter to *Prometheus Bound*, and his translation of the *Letter of Aristeas* suggest he

¹⁰⁹ Lurie, 2012.

¹¹⁰ Lurie, 2012, 443.

¹¹¹ Lazarus, 2020.

¹¹² Lazarus, 2020, 49.

¹¹³ Lazarus, 2020, 51.

¹¹⁴ Camerarius regretted the lack of Greek tragedies in Latin translation (Lazarus, 2020, 44). This might have been another encouragement for Garbitius to translate Aeschylus.

could produce a polished translation on his own.¹¹⁵ Perhaps he did not want to stray too far from the original, believing more literal translations would be helpful to students of Greek, as already suggested by Körbler (1901, 93–94). Reusing the translation of the *Works and Days* by Oporinus and his students and Sanravius' translation of Aeschylus, also published by Oporinus, might have been an homage to his publisher. He also might have considered the commentary, not the translation, his main contribution to Greek scholarship of the time and a suitable vehicle for promoting the views on Greek literature held by his teacher, Melanchthon. Garbitius' analysis of the *Works and Days* does not focus on grammatical issues but on the ideas that can be interpreted as Christian; in the paratexts, he promotes Hesiod as a pagan author close to Christian thought. *Prometheus Bound*, a play, in his mind, inextricably linked to Hesiod, provided Garbitius with another opportunity to discuss morality and punishment. Garbitius also embraces Melanchthon's ideas that ancient literature, especially tragedy, can be instructive and close to Christian values. Garbitius' translations of Hesiod and Aeschylus and their paratexts are very much a product of their time and age: a reading of the classics by a Protestant humanist who took his teacher Melanchthon's ideas to heart and provided a morally instructive, Christianising reading of two important Greek texts.

¹¹⁵ Of course, if we assume there were no editorial interventions in the *Letter of Aristeas*, a possibility that cannot be completely ruled out.

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Self-Translation in Greek-Latin Occasional Poems from Early Modern Estonia and Livonia

JANIKA PÄLL

Abstract This paper focuses on the phenomenon of self-translation, introducing some criteria for distinguishing between translation and variation in the case of metrical translations. After presenting the context of self-translated Greek-Latin poem pairs in Estonia and Livonia, an experimental method of analysis is presented and tested in three case studies: a gratulation in Latin and Greek by Martin Henschel for Heinrich Hein's rectorate (Dorpat 1639) and two gratulations in Greek and Latin from Tallinn: Reiner Brockmann's gratulation for the *Leyen-Spiegel* (book of sermons) by Heinrich Stahl (Reval 1641) and an epithalamion by Heinrich Vulpius for Heinrich Neuhausen and Margaretha Thier (Reval 1643). Finally some conclusions are drawn.

Keywords Humanist Greek, Latin, translation, self-translation, poeicity

Introduction¹

The present paper is dedicated to self-translation,² a phenomenon that can be found (among others) in Humanist Greek and Neo-Latin poem pairs in early modern prints (usually Latin) or in multilingual occasional poetry collections. In these collections, dedicated to births, graduations, weddings, funerals, coronations or other important events, as well as in the liminary texts to different (especially Latin) prints, the choice of language is varied and depends on the specific context.³ Latin and vernacular languages with an administrative status generally prevail in the 16th–17th century prints; in the context of Latin prints, Greek retained a high status, adding prestige to the book and appearing with a certain frequency.⁴ The following discussion focuses on the specific area of self-translation, namely the Greek-Latin poem pairs where the same poem was presented in both languages by the same author.

In Europe of the 15th–17th century, a particular type of book was very popular, namely *Editio Graeco-Latina*, a humanist bilingual edition of ancient Greek authors. These editions included several liminary poems by the same author, presented in the same bilingual manner as the edited Greek texts and Latin translations. The number of authors of Greek-Latin bilingual poem pairs is quite large, including very well-known humanists, such as Lorenz Rhodoman, Martin Crusius, Franciscus Portus or Simon Stenius.⁵ In addition to humanist editions, such bilingual poem pairs often appeared in occasional poetry collections, where one of the most prolific authors of such poems was

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² For self-translation (auto-translation), see Grutman 1998 and 2008. Grutman's account focuses on the 20th and 21st century, mentioning "translating Latin musings as finger exercises" and referring only briefly to the importance of the choice of language (1998, 17–18).

³ See Kaju, 2006 and Kriisa, 2017ab and 2018 for the background of the case studies discussed below.

⁴ See Deneire, 2014, 47 for self-translations from Latin into Greek as self-fashioning; Van Dam, 2015 for the balance of Latin and vernaculars in general and Van Dam, 2015, 64–67 and Van Dam, 2014, 61–65 and Deneire 2014, 52 for the high status of Greek.

⁵ See *Europa Humanistica* series by Brepols for bibliographies of such editions and the notes below. For Rhodoman, see <https://www.rhodomanologia.de/> (visited 29.9.2023), for other German poets, see Pontani & Weise, 2021.

the Swiss professor Johann Rudolf Wettstein the Son.⁶ However, although in some cases it is obvious, that we are dealing with self-translations, there are many bilingual poem pairs with much more complex source-target relationships.

Like other examples of early modern poetry, Greek-Latin poem pairs often follow the rules of rhetorical or poetic *variatio*, including variation of language, metre, themes, motives, etc. The use of different languages allows the authors to display their virtuosity and to address different readers (who may have different language skills).⁷ In the following I will discuss first the place of Greek-Latin self-translations in the corpus of Estonian and Latvian Humanist (Greek) poetry, after which I will turn to my method of studying the relationship between the possible source and target poems (with some references to European practice) and case studies.

Greek-Latin Self-Translations and Humanist Poetry in Early Modern Estonia and Latvia

Harm Jan van Dam has regarded Latin as the default language and Greek as a language of a higher status in the liminary poetry in Latin editions from London and Holland, but it is plausible to extend his conclusions to the whole of Europe.⁸ Thus we can assume that the same applies to the Swedish Empire and its overseas provinces.⁹ However, the position of Latin and especially Greek language in these regions is different, because there were no such printers who could provide bilingual humanist editions for the European (or world) book market. All books of Ancient Greek authors with Latin translations which were printed in Great Sweden, can be classified as school

⁶ See Päll & Steinrück, 2021, 350–353.

⁷ See Van Dam, 2015, 67 (self-translations as a display of virtuosity), Van Dam 2009 (for translation as transformation), Deneire 2014, 67 (translation as a kind of interlingual imitatio/variatio), and Kaju, 2006, 73–78 (for the influence of the addressee's position, origin and gender on the choice of the language, with some examples, where brides were addressed in vernacular as a sign of special attention and of their linguistic competence).

⁸ See Van Dam, 2015, 66–67. Although Neo-Latin is undeniably the most important language in the academic context, the important status of Greek as an alternative teaching language next to Latin in higher education institutions must be emphasised (its status as a teaching language is confirmed by the tradition of Greek disputation exercises, see Päll, 2021).

⁹ For the complicated political history of the region, see e.g. Mühlen 1994ab.

editions, representing School Humanism.¹⁰ Moreover, as these editions were rare and (probably by chance) did not include bilingual paratexts,¹¹ we need to extend our pool of texts of liminary poetry in scholarly editions, and look at the occasional poetry in Greek and Latin in general, that was printed in four printing houses in the Swedish overseas provinces (roughly corresponding to modern Estonian and Latvian territory): Riga Gymnasium, Tartu (later Pärnu) Academy, Tallinn Gymnasium and Mitau printing houses (the latter served the duke's court, but also the local clergy and the town school).¹²

In Estonian academies, Latin was dominant during the first half of the 17th century, followed by German. At the university, Greek was initially in the third place (during the *Academia Gustaviana* in 1632–1656), but with the rise of vernacular languages (including new ones, such as Estonian), its importance diminished and it fell to the fourth place after Latin, German and Swedish.¹³ Since the general data on language use in occasional poetry are available only for the Tartu Academy, the numbers of printed bilingual Greek-Latin poem pairs are presented in Table 1 against the background of the number of Greek poems (single poems in Greek and Greek poems in multilingual clusters).¹⁴

¹⁰ Such as defined by Storchová, 2014, 13–43.

¹¹ See Rålamb 2019, who lists a total of 224 editions of classical authors (mostly Latin), including 14 bilingual editions (of which 13 were actually printed in Sweden) of 17 different Greek authors printed between 1646 and 1708 (8 more bilingual editions appeared towards the end of the 18th century). Many of these are so-called translation dissertations, see Akujärvi 2021. According to HUMGRAECA vol. 1.0, these editions did not include bilingual paratexts (visited 24.9.2023).

¹² See Garber e.a., 2001–2009. The following data have been collected mainly on the basis of this bibliography, in case of Estonia, also Jaanson 2000 and Reimo e.a. (forthcoming) (most of the data in Reimo's bibliography are also available in *The Online Catalogue of Estonian Libraries*, *ESTER*, see www.ester.ee). The academies in the region were closed for certain periods because of the plague and the wars (the periods of the activity for the period of our study are presented under Table 1 below), see also Päll, 2020.

¹³ The use of Latin is overwhelming in Tartu prints (about 83%), see Jaanson (2000, 78, 80) for Latin and for other languages according to title pages and in occasional texts, *ibid.* 498–499. See also data on language use in Tartu occasional poetry in Viiding, 2002, 40–42 and 50–53 and on language use in Tartu Academy, Kriisa, 2017ab and 2018. In the case of wedding poetry from Tartu Academy and Tallinn Gymnasium, Latin and German were overwhelming and the position of Swedish slightly exceeded that of Greek in Tartu, but Greek was in the third place in Tallinn, while Hebrew and other vernaculars were insignificant, see Kaju, 2006, 60.

¹⁴ Monolingual poems in Latin and in the vernacular and the combinations of Latin and the vernacular languages without Greek are excluded because of the lack of statistical data, but it is actually helpful to gain a clearer focus on the relationship between Greek and Latin and for counterbalancing the studies that are biased towards the use of Latin and vernaculars and

Table 1. Greek-Latin poem pairs in Early Modern Estonia and Latvia: the background (1630–1720)

Poem types	Riga	Tartu/Pärnu	Tallinn	Mitau
Greek poems (total number)	41	84	55	4
Poem clusters in 2–9 different languages including Greek poems	17	9 ¹⁵	26	4
Bilingual poem pairs with Greek poems	9	7	19	0
Greek-Latin bilingual pairs/including self-translation	5	7 / 1	12 ¹⁶ / 2	0
Other bilingual poem pairs including Greek (with Hebrew, French, Swedish or German/including self-translation)	4	0	7 / 1	0

Riga Gymnasium (founded in 1631, closed between 1657–1678); Tartu *Academia Gustaviana* (active 1632–1656); Tartu and Pärnu *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (active 1690–1710); Tallinn Gymnasium (founded in 1631); Mitau (Greek printing first attested in 1695).

If we look at all possible combinations of Greek with other languages, we might be surprised: firstly, as expected, Greek-Latin bilingual poem pairs (possibly including Greek-Latin self-translations) are prominent in the Tartu Academy (*Academia Gustaviana*), where the presence of Latin next to Greek seems inevitable: every poem cluster with Greek also includes Latin, which is also omnipresent in the broader context of the poems: the titles, addresses and signatures, in other paratexts and in principal texts.¹⁷ However, unlike the practice of their German humanist forerunners Crusius or Rhodoman, or the Basel professor Wettstein, adding a Latin translation to a Greek poem (or vice versa) is rather unusual in Tartu: we have only one example of this practice in one wedding poem (see below).¹⁸ The poets at the Tartu Academy do not seem

do not even mention Greek and Hebrew which are important in Humanist learning.

¹⁵ Including one Greek poem with a Latin chronostich and one example where the *Votum* (in Greek), following the Latin poem, is introduced by a separate subtitle. A Latin verse signature under a Greek poem and a Greek verse signature under a Latin poem have not been counted as separate poems.

¹⁶ Including one Greek poem with a Latin chronostich and one Latin poem, in which the following *Euche* (in Greek) is introduced by a separate subtitle.

¹⁷ This is valid for the first period of the activity of *Academia Gustaviana* (1632–1656). During the second period (1690–1710), the importance of Greek diminishes drastically.

¹⁸ In addition to this example there are two other self-translated pairs: two Latin translations (in verse and *ad verbum*) of a poem in Persian (presented in the Hebrew alphabet) by Ericus Fahlenius in *Beatis manibus Olai Mobergii*, 1705 (No 1290, Jaanson 2000, 412, indicates its language as Hebrew vs Päll & Pöldsam, 2023, 248). Another example is a German translation (preceded by a note, *Idem germanice*) of a Swedish epicedium by Petrus Lidenius

to have been inclined to produce polyglot poetry either: there are only two examples of poem clusters with more languages than the usual Greek and Latin. The second period of the academy's activity in 1690–1710 (*Academia Gustavo-Carolina*, in Tartu and Pärnu) has left no Greek-Latin poem pairs, and thus also no Greek-Latin self-translations, although we can see the increasing importance of prose translation in the case of disputations.¹⁹

The percentage of Greek poems in multilingual poem clusters (26 in all) in Tallinn is slightly higher than in Riga (47% against 41% of all Greek poems respectively), including 12 bilingual Greek-Latin poem pairs. Among the latter, there are two Greek-Latin self-translations; one appears as a liminal text in the edition of Estonian sermons, presenting a vernacular (German and Estonian) parallel to the Greek-Latin humanist editions, the other pair is a wedding poem.

Although the number of clusters with poems in more than three languages is greater in Riga and especially in Mitau (where it can be considered an influence of the court),²⁰ Greek-Latin pairs including translations are missing in Latvia according to the current state of research. A plausible explanation seems to be that in Riga and Mitau the principle of (language) variation prevailed over the wish to reach the Greekless reader and/or to demonstrate one's skills by translating – the first is explicitly mentioned as a reason for adding a German translation to a Greek poem from Tallinn, at the beginning of Georg Dunte's epicedium for Gebhard Himsel, the professor of Greek at the Tallinn Gymnasium.²¹ The influence of the occasion on the emergence of multilingual clusters has been highlighted by Katre Kaju, who stresses the importance of *variatio* in the case of epithalamia together with the desire to demonstrate one's mastery,²² as can be seen in the case of poetry for the court

in *Ultimo honori Johannis Holstenii*, 1653 (No 802, Jaanson 2000, 327).

¹⁹ See for example a disputation series by Carl Schulten (praeses) from Pärnu in 1709, presenting a parallel edition and a Latin translation of Rabbi Jehuda Lebh (the text and translations were not printed in Tartu, for the printed paratexts concerning the actual disputation, see nos 1367, 1368 and 1370 under the title *Rabbi Jehuda Lebh versione* with three different respondents in Jaanson 2000, 425–426 and the discussion in Akujärvi 2021; Päll & Pöldsam 2023, 250–251) and a German-Latin anonymously printed *Imago pietismi* from Pärnu (see Anonymous, 1709, *ibid*). Another interesting case is a disputation by Jacob Wilde (praeses) and Johannes Heno (respondens), printed in Latin in Pärnu and in a German translation by Heno in Riga (1707). However, these examples are not self-translations.

²⁰ See Päll 2018, 93–95.

²¹ In *Agona, quem*, 1676, A3v–A4r, see quotation in Päll, 2018, 90–91.

²² Kaju, 2006, 61 (with note 46), 72, 77.

of Mitau. However, the principle of *variatio* is also important in Riga in the case of the funerals which seem to inspire almost as many multilingual poems as weddings (although the latter predominate slightly), so the genre cannot be the only reason.²³

By now, we have established that the number of Greek-Latin (self)translated poems in the Estonian and Latvian corpora of humanist poetry is meagre, even in comparison with multilingual clusters: one poem in Tartu constitutes about one per cent of the total, two poems in Tallinn make up 3.6 %, and from Latvia (Riga and Mitau) we don't have any examples. If we look for parallels in the Swedish realm, we find that self-translated Greek-Latin poem pairs seem to be absent in Finland,²⁴ and rare in Sweden, where the corpus of Greek poetry is significantly larger, but the small number of nine possible Greek-Latin self-translations is less than one per cent of the total for the comparable period (1630–1720).²⁵ The extreme rarity of such poems seems thus at the first sight to be a rule in the Swedish realm, which may be explained with the above-mentioned absence of Humanist bilingual editions. However, if we take a brief look at the practice in Germany (for which we have no comparable data), we can find only nine Greek-Latin self-translated poem pairs in the six volumes of *Europa Humanistica* on the Kurpfalz, which allows us to suggest that this genre was generally rare and that the above-mentioned humanist poets (Rhodoman, Crusius, Wettstein) were rather exceptional in their bilingualism.²⁶ The scarcity of self-translated Greek-Latin poems could therefore be explained by the intrinsic symbolic value of writing a poem in Greek, which was not necessarily increased by adding a Latin translation, but could have been increased by translating a Latin poem into Greek. Therefore, adding a Latin translation to a Greek poem or translating a Latin poem into Greek was probably an individual choice of the author, suggested by his writing context and other circumstances (see below).

²³ For genre indications, see the volumes for Riga in Garber e.a., 2001–2009.

²⁴ At least at the Turku academy, the practice of self-translating has not been mentioned as important in the case of occasional poetry, see Korhonen, 2004, 233–234. This is curious, because poetry and style exercises required translating from Greek into Latin and vice versa, see Korhonen 2004, 63–64, Päll, 2017.

²⁵ According to the HUMGRAECA database, from 825 Greek poems printed in Swedish towns between 1630 and 1720 (not counting manuscript poetry and 7 poems to Queen Christina from a collection by Peter Cattier, printed in an unnamed town, but probably in the Netherlands). See also Akujärvi, Dataset 2023 (<https://datadoi.ee/handle/33/506>, both visited 25.9.23).

²⁶ All these poem pairs are mentioned in the notes below.

Source–Target Relations in the Case of Self-Translation: some Methodological Remarks

It is difficult to distinguish between the type (self-translation or not) and degree of translation from the *ad verbum* or *ad sensum* distinction to looser connections between source and target texts, such as a grammatical or stylistic variation, a paraphrase, or a variation on the same theme.²⁷ The exercises of *variatio*, *translatio* and *paraphrasis* had an important place in the daily practice of Latin (and Greek or vernacular) style exercises in Early Modern schools.²⁸ In these school exercises the distinction between stylistic variation and translation is based on the degree of literalness (the use of the same grammatical constructions and vocabulary which have close semantic correspondences, and in the case of Greek-Latin pairs, are often based on the same roots); in studying these translations, we have to bear in mind that school translations tend to be literal and formal equivalence overshadows other criteria and strategies.²⁹

In the case of translations of poetic texts, in addition to questions about the type of translation and issues of authorship, we have to take into account other dimensions and criteria of translation than literalness, such as dynamic equivalence, which tends to avoid literalness, preferring to convey the message along with its expressive functions in terms of the recipient language; especially in the case of verse translations, which should increase the expressiveness of a poem, the metrical constraints are in danger of pushing the translation towards formality and reducing its expressive force.³⁰ In this paper, as in a laboratory of translation analysis, I will focus on three pairs of poems from early modern Estonia which can be regarded as self-translations (both by external criteria, such as indications in the print, and intuitively, relying on the reader's experience) and try to define more precisely the text-external and text-

²⁷ The modern research literature in English seems to be following Dryden's (1680: [A8]) tripartite division: *metaphrase*, *paraphrase*, *imitation*, see e.g. in Oakley-Brown, 2016, 97, cf. Hargrave, 2017, 9), where the first two correspond to *ad verbum-ad sensum* distinction and the third is strictly not a translation at all. The following discussion does not touch on imitation.

²⁸ See Päll, 2017, 431–434, 462–471.

²⁹ For a definition of literal translation, see Schaeffer & Carl, 2017, 85 and also Baker, 1992 and Nida & Taber, 2003, 47 (intralingual vs loose translation).

³⁰ On dynamic equivalence, see Nida & Taber, 2003, 22sq. On strategies in translating poetry, see Lefevere, especially concerning three strategies: phonemic translation (1975, 19–26), metrical translation (1975, 37–42) and a version (1975, 76–82).

internal criteria for distinguishing between a source and a target text ('the original' and 'the translation') and for determining the nature of their relationship. Before proceeding to these case studies, I will present my criteria for analysis.

External criteria. Firstly, there are several external criteria which help to determine the nature of the relationships of the texts in Greek-Latin or other poem pairs (or larger clusters including translations).³¹ The external indicators are, for example, remarks as *aliud* before the second poem,³² indicating otherness (i.e. absence of translation), while *versio*, *interpretatio*³³ (*ad verbum*³⁴ or *ad sensum*) indicate that the following poem is a translation. The translation may be preceded by other indications, such as *hoc est* or *id est*, which often precedes the translations in prose,³⁵ or *idem graece* or *idem latine* or *idem latine redditum*.³⁶ However, *idem* alone is ambiguous and can also indicate that only the author (not the poem) is the same.³⁷ In the absence of

³¹ Most of the following examples are taken from the six Kurpfalz volumes of the *Europa Humanistica* series, both for their accessibility and for the parallels they provide with the German tradition. Among the liminary poems, presented in these volumes, we find nine self-translated Greek-Latin poem pairs, but one Greek poem has also been translated by other persons than its author, see Greek verses by Laskaris with translations by Simon Stenius and Andrea Alciati in Kühlmann e.a., 2005a, 265–266.

³² See e.g. Kühlmann e.a., 2010, 474 (poem series by David Pareus).

³³ E.g. *Elegia Simonis Stenii ad Iulium Pacium et interpretatio Latina* in the edition of Porphyrius, *Isagoge* (Frankfurt: Marne and Aubry 1597), reprinted in Kühlmann e.a., 2016, 814–816) or the introduction to a poem by Giulio Pace, *IVLIVs PACIVS ita interpretabatur*, in *Aristotelis Organon* (Geneva: Laimarie, 1584), reprinted in Kühlmann e.a., 2016, 787). At least in these volumes, *versio* tends to be used in order to refer to the Latin translations in the bilingual editions of Greek texts, but not for the translation of Greek paratexts.

³⁴ For example, a poem by Aemilius Portus in Greek and its Latin translation are introduced by *cum interpretatione Latina ad verbum*, in the edition of Proclus, *Institutio theologica*, Frankfurt: apud Rulandios 1618 (reprinted in Kühlmann e.a., 2016, 529–542). For comments on *versio*, see Kriisa, 2018, 168–169.

³⁵ See below, Case Study 3 (*hoc est*) and Kriisa, 2018, 168 (*id est*).

³⁶ For an introduction *Idem Latine redditum*, see the poem by Simon Stenius, in *Biblia Sancti Pauli Ep. Ad Corinthios*, Heidelberg-Frankfurt 1609 (reprinted in Kühlmann e.a., 2010, 150–151) and similar introductions to poems by Guntherus (*IDEM Latine*, *ibid.*, 477), Hemelius (*IDEM LATINE*, *ibid.*, 642) and Pareus (*IDEM Latine*, *ibid.*, 862).

³⁷ We will see below that *idem* can precede a translation (as in the case of a poem by Herzog, see section 4.1), but it can also indicate that another poem by the same author is to follow, as in the case of a Humanist Greek and German poem pair by Martin Herzog for Heinrich Dahlen and Dorothea Wangersheim (*Hymen votivus*, 1642, cf. Klöcker, 2005, 264–265) or in the case of a poem pair by Michael Cramerus, introduced by *idem*, in Kühlmann e.a., 2010,

other markers, the order of the texts is also a possible indicator of the relationship, as the first (or left) poem is usually the original, and the translation follows.³⁸

Text-internal criteria. In order to test the external criteria, or to compensate for their absence, text-internal criteria have to be considered as well. The correspondences in the texts (ideas and motives, their lexical and grammatical forms³⁹) seem to be sufficient for deciding that two poems in a pair are indeed in a translational relationship (either “original” and “translation” or two different translations of a third source). In order to decide, which poem of the pair (or a cluster) is the source text (the “original”), we can look at the features, which depend on the context of the source language and are considered untranslatable (or difficult to translate), from poetic figures such as word and sound plays to fixed poetic formulae. Translating such features can be even more difficult in verse translation, where we have the additional constraint of meter.

In the following analyses I have looked for different features of this kind which might disappear in a metrical translation, where strong rhythmic constraints might have forced the author to avoid literal translation and to resort to dynamic equivalence. The (mostly stylometric) test analyses of three pairs of poems are presented below. In case studies 1–3 I have presented both versions (Greek and Latin in the order in which they appear in the original print) side by side, with my literal translations into English below the Greek and Latin texts. In both versions I have looked for correspondences and changes: semantic and grammatical equivalences are in bold, word or stem repetitions are underlined, and changes in syntactic constructions are in italics. I also counted the number of words occurring in metaphors, poetic formulae, idiomatic expressions; word repetitions (from the same word to polyptota and stem repetitions) and sound figures in both language versions of each pair (the results are summarised in Tables 2–4). In order to compare the poeticity of each poem, in Tables 2–4 I present the so-called Poeticity Factor (PF) for each language version, which corresponds to the ratio of poetic figures to the number of words: if we start from the assumption that the original should be

472 or Konrad Rittershausen, *ibid.*, 685 (or Kühlmann e.a., 2005b, 661) or τοῦ αὐτοῦ, Kühlmann e.a. 2010, 817 (poems by Johannes Mylius).

³⁸ See Kühlmann e.a., 2013, 459–460 (a poem by Friedrich Sylburg), and Kühlmann e.a., 2005b, 681 (a poem by Christophorus Colerus).

³⁹ See also word-level, above-word, grammatical and communicative level equivalence in Baker, 1992, and phonemic, literal, metrical translation, version and imitation in Lefevere, 1975.

the more poetic text, the texts with the higher PF should be counted as originals. In order to measure and compare the poetic dimension of the (possible) translations, I counted the number of ‘untranslated’ figures in each language version (presented in round brackets in Tables 2–4), that is the number of figures in one poem which have no equivalent in the other poem of the pair, as well as the number of figures which correspond in both texts (so-called shared figures). As a counterpart, I have given the number of common or shared figures (i.e. figures which appear in both versions, presumably as a result of translating). The individual ratio of the sum of the figures to the shared figures (IPRF) should thus reveal the degree of poetic freedom and independence of a given text. In addition to the Poeticity Factor, I also use the Poeticity Rendering Factor (PRF), which is the mathematical ratio of the total number of figures in a presumed source text (a text with a higher PF, that is a higher number of poetic figures) divided by the total number of figures in a presumed target text. I have assumed that ideally, the Poeticity Rendering Factor should be close to 1 (when both the original and the translation are equally poetic), when the PRF remains above 1, the translation should be labeled as less poetic and when the PRF remains below 1, the translation could be considered more poetic than the original.⁴⁰ This should be compared to the *ad verbum* translation criterium (ratio of the total number of words divided by the number of words translated with both semantic and formal equivalents) – the more it is above 1, the freer the translation.

My assumption in these analyses is that the text with a greater number of poetic figures and/or “untranslated” poetic features should be the original, i.e. the source text. In order to take into account language differences (and possibly also the authors’ proficiency in a given language), I have also looked separately at how many of the figures were rendered (or not) in the other language of the pair. Another hypothesis is that in the case of a parallel creation in both languages according to the principle of *variatio*, the general frequency of the poetic figures used may be similar in both poems (the PRF remaining close to one), but without exact correspondences on the micro level (for example, both poems may use alliteration, but not in same parts of the poem, etc.), and without strict closeness in meaning and structure, as far as the *ad verbum* principle (giving the same or close number of words and exact rendering of syntactic constructions) is concerned. This would correspond to the strategy of dynamic equivalence in a poetic (metrical) translation, which can be seen,

⁴⁰ As the corpus is small, I do not emphasise statistical analysis, as for example in Schaeffer & Carl, 2017, my only intention was to support the analyses presented below.

when we compare the ratios of rendered figures to the ratios of untranslated figures.

Case Study 1: Martin Henschel on the Occasion of the Rectorate of Heinrich Hein

The pair of poems by the Tartu Academy student Martin Henschel from Wriezen in Brandenburg is dedicated to the inauguration of the rectorate of the first professor of law at the *Academia Gustaviana*, Heinrich Hein, whose daughter Henschel married a few years later.⁴¹ In accordance with his status as a student, Henschel has the sixteenth place among the seventeen authors of the collection, which includes a total of nineteen poems (18, if we count Henschel's pair as one) in Latin (mostly), German and (once) in Greek.⁴² The Greek poem is the second in the pair, and is introduced by an ambiguous *idem* ('the same').

Praemia si doctis doctus promittit Apollo:
Si datur augustis laurea digna Viris:
Jure tibi mittit jam praemia doctus Apollo,
Teque virum augustum laurea pulchra manet;
Nam dudum Juris-Consultus jure vocaris,
Doctorisque diu nomen & omen habes.
Ergo haud immerito RECTOREM Heliconis amantem
Te nunc MAGNIFICUM docta Minerva creat.
Gratulor inde tibi, RECTOR venerande, quod hocce
Sceptrum sis nactus : Det tibi fausta DEUS!
[63 words, 32 ad verbum renderings, 9 (from 11) same syntactic constructions]

If learned Apollo promises prizes to the learned,
if the deserved laurels are given to honourable men,
then by now Apollo is deservedly (=lawfully) sending you prizes
and the beautiful laurel is waiting for you, honourable man.
For you have just been lawfully called Law Consultant
and for a long time you hold the name and omen of the Doctor.

⁴¹ Henschel immatriculated in Tartu University in 22.07.1639, later received a post at St. Olai Church in Tallinn, married the daughter of Heinrich Hein in 1643 and died in 1657, see Tering, 1984, 190.

⁴² In *Sceptris Academicis*. Tartu 1639. See also Orion & Viiding 2003. The pair of poems is mentioned in Klöcker, 2005b, 212–213.

So it is not without merit that the learned Minerva makes
you the Magnificent Rector, lover of Helicon.
I therefore congratulate you, venerable Rector,
for having received this sceptre: may God give you favourable fortune!

Idem.

Εἰ καλὰ παιδευτοῖς⁴³ νέμει ἀνδράσιν ἄθλα Ἐπόλλων :

εἰ δίδοται στέφανος δάφνινος εὐπρεπέσιν :

Ἄζιά σοι πέμπει νῦν ἄθλα δίκαιος Ἐπόλλων,

Καί σοι κεδνοτάτῳ προσφέρεται στέφανος.

Ἐσσί γάρ ἐκ πολλοῦ σοφός ἦδὲ δικαστικός ἀνὴρ,

Ἦδὲ διδάσκοντος φαίδιμον οὖνομ' ἔχεις.

Τοῦνεκα ἡμετέροιο κλυτοῦ ἄρχοντα λυκείου

Κυδάλιμον πλήθος σε προφέρουσι σοφῶν.

Τούτου συγχαίρω σκήπτρου σοι φέρτατε ἄνερ

τοῦ βίου ἐνόμιμος χρήσιμα πάντα σέο.

MARTINUS HENSCHELIUS Wrizen: March:

[59 words, 32 ad verbum renderings, 9 (from 11) same syntactic constructions]

The same.

If Apollo distributes beautiful prizes to learned men,
if the laurel wreath is given to the outstanding,
then the just Apollo is now sending you deserved prizes
and the wreath is brought to you, the most honorable one.
For you are since long a wise man and a man of Justice,
and bear the glorious name of a teacher.
Therefore the honourable crowd of wise men makes you
the leader of our famous Lyceum.
I congratulate you on this sceptre, the most valid man,
praying all useful things for your life.

Martin Henschel from Wriezen in Brandenburg

As we can see from the English translations, both texts are lexically so closely related (slightly more at the beginning than at the end) that it is justified to consider their relationship as one of original and translation. In order to verify this conclusion, I have studied the use of epithets, metaphors and stem and phonic repetitions in both poems, assuming that the number of these stylistic features is greater in the original. The comparison of usage in the two poems leaves no doubt about which is the original and which is the translation.

⁴³ My correction ex παιδευταῖς.

Table 2. Analysis of the Latin and Greek poems by Martin Henschel

Verse no	Words in a figure—Latin	Figures	Figures	Words in a figure—Greek
Metaphors & idiomatic expressions (incl. without parallels)				
2, 4	laurea [...] laurea	2 (2)	0	στέφανος δάφνινος [...] στέφανος no metonymy
8	docta Minerva	1 (1)	0	πλήθος σοφῶν no metaphor
7	Rectorem Heliconis amantem	1 (1)	0	ἡμετέριοι κλυτοῦ ἄρχοντα λυκείου no metaphor
10/9	sceptrum	1	1	σκήπτρου
6	nomen & omen	1 (1)	0	ὄνομα
	Sum	6 (5)	1	
	Shared	1	1	
Word and stem repetitions (incl. without parallels)				
1,3,6	doctis, doctus (2x), Doctoris, docta	5 (5)	0	
1,3	Apollo, Apollo	2	2	Ἄπολλων, Ἄπολλων
2,3	praemia promittit, praemia mittit	4 (2)	2	νέμει [...] ἄθλα, πέμπει ἄθλα
2, 4	laurea, laurea	2	2	στέφανος, στέφανος
2.4	augustus, augustum	2 (2)	0	
2,4,5,9	Viris, virum	2	3 (1)	ἀνδράσιν, ἀνὴρ, ἄνερ
3,5; 5,8		0	4 (4)	δίκαιος, δικαστικός; σοφός, σοφῶν
4,8		0	3 (3)	προσφέρεται, προφέρουσι, φέρτατε
1,10	datur [...] det	2 (2)	0	
7, 9	rectorem [...] rector	2 (2)	0	
3,5	jure [...] juris-consultus jure	3 (3)	0	
3,4,8–10	tibi, teque, te, tibi (2x)	5	5	σοι, σοι, σε, σοι, σέο
	Sum	29 (16)	21 (8)	
	Shared	13	13	
Sound repetitions (incl. without parallels)				
1,3	praemia doctis doctus promittit	4 (4)	3 (3)	ἀνδράσιν ἄθλα Ἀπόλλων
2	datur [...] digna; augustis [...] viris	4 (2)	2	δίδοται [...] δάφνινος; no rhyme
3	no alliteration	0	3 (3)	ἄζια ἄθλα Ἀπόλλων
3, 5	Jure [...] jam [...] Jur-is [...] Jure vocaris	4 (4)	0	no alliteration, no rhyme
6	nomen & omen	2 (2)	0	ὄνομα
5–6		0	2 (2)	δικαστικός [...] διδάσκοντος
7		0	2 (2)	κλυτοῦ [...] λυκείου
8–9	MAGNIFICUM [...] Minerva	2 (2)	2 (2)	πλήθος [...] προφέρουσι
9–10	sceptrum sis	2	3 (1)	συγχάιρω σκήπτρου σοι
10	det [...] Deus	2 (2)	0	
	Sum	20 (16)	17 (13)	
	Shared	4	4	
	Total sum	55 (37)	39 (21)	

Total shared		18	18	
PF	55/63 = 0.87		39/59 = 0.66	(figures to words ratio)
IPRF	55/18 = 3.0		39/18 = 2.2	(individual ratio of the sum of figures to shared figures)
PRF	55/39 = 1.4			(ratio of figures in source text to target text)

We see that the PF of the Latin poem is closer to one, which is corroborated by the Poeticity Rendering Factor $PRF = 1.4$, both indicating the much greater number of poetic figures in the Latin poem than in the Greek poem. The structure of Henschel's Latin poem is based on the repetition of the keywords: the reference to the honours received (*praemia datur*) is echoed back in the final wishes (*det tibi [...] Deus*) and the second part of the poem repeats the addressee's newly acquired title with the usual epithet (*Rectorem Heliconis amantem, magnificum, Rector venerande*). Word repetitions and polyptota are more common in Latin (*datur-det, doctis-doctus-doctor-docta, augustis-augustum, rectorem-rector-rector*) and less common in Greek (προσφέρεται-προφέρουσι, δίκαιος-δικαστικός; σοφός-σοφῶν) and only occasionally coincide in both languages (second person pronouns, *viris-ἀνδράσιν, praemia-ἄθλα, Apollo-Ἀπόλλων, laurea-στέφανος*). Combined stem repetitions in Greek δίκαιος, δικαστικός ἀνὴρ, φέρεται ἄνερ seem to compensate for the repetition *jure-juris-jurisconsultus* in Latin.

The Latin text uses references to the Roman gods, metaphors and idiomatic expressions (*doctus Apollo, docta Minerva, Heliconis amantem, nomen & omen*) which are neither rendered nor compensated for with similar expressions in Greek. For example the metonymic reference to the Senate of the Academy by *docta Minerva* (the goddess of knowledge) is replaced by a functional equivalent in Greek 'the crowd of wise men' πλῆθος κυδαλίμων σοφῶν (perhaps also trying to compensate for the missing epitheton *docta*). However, the alliterations and sound echoes are only slightly more frequent in Latin, here we can observe a compensatory mechanism in Greek, which can also be seen in the case of word repetition (the repetition rarely occurs in exactly the same place). As the number of shared (presumably translated) figures is lower for these two types of figures, there seems to be a compensatory mechanism at work.

Thus, our conclusion confirms that *Idem* does not only refer to the same author in this case, but also indicates the sameness of the second poem in Greek, which has to be considered a translation of the Latin poem. The much smaller number of poetic figures in Greek also seems to indicate that the author is less comfortable writing in Greek.

Case Study 2: the Poem Pair by Reiner Brockmann for the book of sermons by Heinrich Stahl

Our second case study is dedicated to the pair of poems by Reiner Brockmann, in a set of five poems by four authors, who congratulate Heinrich Stahl on his second book of sermons in Estonian and German.⁴⁴

A note by the author indicates that the Latin poem (placed after the Greek one) is an equivalent of the first in sense: *Idem quoad Sensum Latinis Elegis expressum*. As the word *expressum* can stand for both ‘translated’ as well ‘expressed’, it is already ambiguous, and the explanation that the rendering is *ad sensum*, not *ad verbum*, warns the reader to expect some liberties. Reiner Brockmann (1609–1647) from Mecklenburg had worked as a professor of Greek at the Tallinn Gymnasium (1632–1639), after which he became pastor in Kadrina (Tristfer) in 1639, where he worked until his death in 1647; he is best known for his Estonian poems and choral translations into Estonian, as well as several Greek poems.⁴⁵

ΣΤάλιε Θειολόγων μεγαλώνουμε ὄρχαμε ἀνδρῶν,
οὐρανίων δώρων εἶνεκεν ἐσσι μάκαρ.

Χρήσιμα πολλὰ χέεις, **καὶ οὐρανὸν** αὐτὸν ἀνοίγεις
Τριλλίστω **βίβλω**, ἧς πόθος ἔσχε Σοφοῦς.

Χαῖρε τόσοις **δώροις**, **καὶ** σὸν **δρόμον** ὧδε **τελέσσας**
Μακρῶ **ἐν οὐλύμπω** **ἄξιον ἴσχε** **γέρας**.

[37 words, 20 ad verbum, 7 same constructions (from 12)]

1 Aristoph. *Thesm.* 315 Ζεῦ μεγαλώνουμε; *Hymn. Orph.* 12.10 μεγαλώνουμε Παιῶν etc; Hom. *Il.* 2.837 ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν | 3 Rhodoman, *Palaest.* 1.4 χεῦει χρήσιμα πάντα καὶ οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν ἀνοίγει | 4 Hom. *Il.* 8.488 τριλλιστος | 5 Soph. Fr. 646.3 οὐ χρή ποτ’ εὖ πράσσοντος ὀλβίσιαι τύχας ἀνδρός, πρὶν αὐτῷ παντελῶς ἤδη βίος διεκπεραθῆ καὶ τελευτήσῃ δρόμον; *Acta ap.* 20–4 ὡς τελειώσω τὸν δρόμον μου | 6 Hom. *Il.* 1.402 ἐς μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον; Posselius *Epitaphium Sophiae [...]* *Chytraei* 18 μακρῶ ἐν οὐλύμπω (*Scripta in academia Rostochiensis* 1560, 145)

⁴⁴ See Stahl, 1641, Continuatio, after p.112, digitised in <https://www.digar.ee/arhiiv/nlib-digar:102274>. The poem has been republished as a facsimile under no. 43a in Priidel, 2000, 175. See also Klöcker, 2005, 253 (nos. 238–9).

⁴⁵ See Priidel, 2000. On Brockmann’s Theocritean Cento, absent in Priidel, see Päll, 2013, 424–425, 436–439.

Stahl, leader of men of theology with a great name,
you are blessed because of the heavenly gifts.
You pour out many useful (things) and open the heaven itself
with your much-prayed-for book, the desire for which possesses the Wise.
Rejoice in such gifts and when you have thus completed your course,
receive the deserved prize on the high Olympus.

Idem quoad Sensum Latinis Elegis expressum.

Inter Theiologos non ultima Gloria primos

Stahli, te vere *munera dia beant.*

Commoda multa creas, ac ipsum sat bene coelum

Recludis libro sedulus ecce ! tuo.

Macte tuis donis, ac hujus carcere vitae

Decurso in coelis praemia digna cape.

REINERUS BROCMANNUS

Pastor Tristferensis.

[38 words, 20 ad verbum, 7 same syntactic constructions (from 10)]

3–4 Verg. *Georg.* 4.52 coelumque aestiva luce reclusit | 5–6 Lucr. 3.1042 Ipse Epicurus obit decurso lumine vitae; Henricus Decimator, *Sylvae quinque linguis vocabularium et phrasium*, 1595, Kk 5 e carcere vitae humanae ereptus, *ibid.*, Zzz: migrare moriens humanae e carcere vitae.

The same, as regards the meaning, expressed in Latin elegies.

Among the first theologians, with not the least glory,

Stahl, the divine gifts make you truly blessed.

You create many useful (things) and persistently,

behold!, you open pretty well the heaven itself with your book.

Enjoy your gifts and when this prison of life

has finished its course, receive worthy prizes in heaven.

Reiner Brockmann, Pastor in Tristfer

In Brockmann's case, the comparison of the English translations reveals more differences, although the underlying idea of both poems is the same. Since the number of stylistic features used in both poems is smaller (and the poems themselves shorter), and the author stresses the meaning (*ad sensum*) in its title, I have also analysed the use of functional equivalents and syntactic constructions, as well as poetic borrowings (which could indicate which is the source text).

Both poems state that the addressee, Stahl, is an eminent theologian, who has received a divine gift, a poetic talent, which he has realised in the book of his sermons, which in its turn opens the way to heaven, his reward in the afterlife.

Table 3. Analysis of the Greek and Latin poems by Reinerus Brockmann

Verse no	Words in a figure—Greek	Figures	Figures	Words in a figure—Latin
Metaphoric & idiomatic expressions, poetic borrowings & adaptations (incl. without parallels)				
1	Θειολόγων, μεγαλώνουμε (epic word)	2 (1)	1	Theiologos (grecism)
1	ὄρχαμε ἀνδρῶν (formulaic language)	1 (1)	0	
1		0	1 (1)	non ultima Gloria primos (litotes)
2	οὐρανίων δῶρων εἵνεκεν ἔσσι μάκαρ (Homerisms)	2 (2)	1 (1)	te vere munera dia beant (metaphor)
3	χρήσιμα πολλά χέεις (borrowing)	1 (1)	0	
3–	οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν ἀνοίγεις (borrowing/metaphor)	2	2	coelum recludis (inexact borrowing/metaphor)
4	τρίλιστον (epic word)	1 (1)	0	
5	δρόμον ᾧδε τελέσσας	1	2(1)	carcere vitae decurso (metaphor & borrowing)
6	ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ, γέρας (epic word, metaphor)	2 (2)	0	
4		0	1 (1)	ecce! (emphasis)
	Sum	12 (8)	8 (4)	
	Shared	4	4	
Word and stem repetitions (incl. without parallels)				
2,5	δώρων, δώροις	2 (2)	0	
2,3,6	οὐράνιων, οὐρανὸν	2 (1)	2 (1)	coelum, in coelis (compensatory)
2,5,6		0	3 (3)	tu, tuo, tuis
4.6	ἔσχε, ἴσχε	2 (2)	0	
	Sum	6 (5)	5 (4)	
	Shared	1	1	
Sound repetitions (incl. without parallels)				
3	Χρήσιμα [...] χέεις; αὐτὸν ἀνοίγεις	4 (4)	3 (3)	commoda [...] creas [...] coelum
5	δώροις [...] δρόμον	2 (2)	0	
6		0	4 (4)	decurso [...] digna; coelis [...] cape
	Sum	6 (6)	7 (7)	
	Shared	0	0	
	Total sum	24 (19)	20 (15)	
	Total shared	5	5	
	PF	24/37 = 0.65	20/38 = 0.53	(figures to words ratio)
	IPRF	24/5 = 4.8	20/5 = 4	(individual ratio of the sum of figures to shared figures)
	PRF	24/20 = 1.2		(ratio of figures in source text to target text)

The Poeticity Rendering Factor in Brockmann's pair of poems is PRF = 1.2, indicating that both poems are poetic. However, if we look at how often a figure is rendered with the same (or equivalent figure), we see, that the use of figures is mostly compensatory: the number of common (shared) figures is

only four, appearing in the metaphors and borrowed phrases. Also, looking at figures alone should be made with some caution: indeed, we could get the impression that Brockmann's poems are less poetic than Henschel's (the PF in Brockmann is much lower, about 0.53–0.65), but in Henschel's case the high PF resulted from excessive use of repetitive figures (whereas Brockmann relies more on variation).

Brockmann's Greek poem is framed by repetition and variation of two keywords, which appear together at the beginning: the heavenly (divine) gifts, i.e. the talent of Stahl, which opens the path to heaven for him, promising happiness and another gift (γέρας) of life in the Heaven (Olympos). Although the Latin translation has equivalents for these words, it does not retain the repetition and change to the metaphor in the end pattern (*munera-donis-praemia, dia-coelum-coelis*). But a more revealing indication of the primary text here is in the usage of Homeric adjectives and epitheta: μεγαλώνυμε, ὄρχαμε (Homer: ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν), μακρῶ ἐν οὐλύμπῳ (Homer: μακρὸν ἐς ὄλυμπον), and especially in v. 5, where the the object of the praise, a book of sermons, is accompanied by a rare Homeric adjective (βιβλῶ τριλλίστῳ), which is in its turn explained in the second pentameter (ἦς πόθος ἔσχε Σοφούς), whereas the adjective and its explanation are omitted from Latin and replaced by a relatively formal phrase, adapted to the situation (*libro sedulus ecce tuo*). Another, partly adapted, partly direct borrowing occurs in verse 3, which is based on the introduction to Laurentius Rhodoman's epic *Palaestina*, published in Frankfurt in 1589.⁴⁶ Another Greek metaphor for reaching the end of life, δρόμον τελέσσας, is replaced in Latin by an equivalent metaphoric phrase *carcere vitae decurso*, but the chosen participle *decurso* which seems appropriate as a translation for τελέσσας (finish the course) does not exactly correspond to the Latin commonplace *carcer vitae*.⁴⁷

In comparison with Henschel's poem for Hein, we also see that syntactic constructions are changed more extensively, replacing a positive epithet and partitive genitive with a litotes and prepositional phrase (*non ultima inter theologos*) or changing the grammatical and so-called logical subjects

⁴⁶ The use of Rhodoman's epic is remarkable and may indicate that Brockman had the volume of *Palaestina* at hand.

⁴⁷ The idea of which has in the Christian context also been connected to the Psalms: see Vulgate Ps.141.8: *Educ de custodia animam meam ad confitendum nomini tuo* and the gloss to it: *Quod et qualis carcer sit corpus humanum ipsi anime: et quibus modis anima educatur de custodia eius* in: Martin Morard, ed., Philipus Cancellarius, *Summa super Psalterium* (Ps. Psalmus 141), in: *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2023, https://glossae.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?id=phi&numLivre=26&chapitre=26_141 (retrieved 12.10.2023).

(οὐρανίων δώρων εἵνεκεν ἐσσῑ μάκαρ vs *te munera dia beant*). In these poems the sound figures are generally infrequent, leading the reader to suspect that occasional repetitions of word-initial sounds are unintentional. However, it seems that each of the poems has its own repeated sound patterns. Thus both the Poeticity Rendering Factor as well as the close reading of the poem suggest an independent dynamic translation with poetic intentions, and even (since the individual freedom in the use of figures, IPRF is high) a parallel creation.

Case Study 3: the Poem Pair by Heinrich Vulpius for Heinrich Neuhausen and Margaretha Thier

The third Greek-Latin poem pair in our case studies is an epithalamion from 1643 by the Westphalian Heinrich Vulpius senior (ca 1612–1646), the Rector of the Tallinn Gymnasium (1632–1646), for Tallinn merchant Heinrich Neuhausen and Margaretha Thier, a daughter of a Tallinn merchant.⁴⁸

Μεμνηστευομένη Νέω-οἴκω παρθένος, ἤδη
 Νυνὶ γυνή, ἐστὶν **ΘῆΡ**^a **μόνω** οὐνόματι.
 Ὅντως δὲ ζῶον λογικόν καὶ μάργαρόν ἐστιν,
 Ἴδὲ Νέω-οἴκω τίμιός ἐστι λίθος.
Εἶη δῶμα νέον βραχέως τε **νεοσσο**τροφεῖον,
Καὶ καθ’ ἕκαστον ἔτος Μάργαρα ζῶα ἔχοι.
 a. *Secundum pronunciationem Veterum, Thir.*
 [37 words, 17 ad verbum, 4 same syntactic constructions]

The virgin who is married to New-Home, now already woman, is WILD (animal)^a in name only. In reality, she is a rational animal and a pearl and a precious stone for New-Home.

Let there soon be a new house and a nursing home and let it have living (=animal) Pearls every year.

a. According to the old pronunciation, *Thir*

⁴⁸ See *Frewd-und Ehren-Fackel*, 1643. For information, see Klöcker (2005: 2, 289 and 2005: 1, 745) and also Kaju, 2010.

Hoc est.

Non FERA Sponsa tua est, NEUHAUSI : **nomine saltem**

Sit fera; sed *verè* dicitur esse ANIMAL .

Est **animal ratione** valens, animal cicur: **Estque**

GEMMA micans, cordis portio Sponsa tui.

Ergo **novæ domui** praesit ratione, **quotannis**

Et **nova sit proles**, **vivaque gemma tibi**.

Sic gratulabundus ad nomina /alludebat/

M. HENRICUS VULPIUS,

Gymnasij Rector & Inspector.

[41 words, 17 ad verbum, 4 same syntactic constructions]

This is.

NEUHAUSIUS, your bride is not WILD (animal), she is wild
in name only, but is rightfully called to be ANIMAL.

Your bride is a powerful rational animal, a mild animal, and is
a glittering GEM, a part of your heart.

Therefore let her preside over the new house with her ration(al mind),
and let every year be new offspring and living gem for you.

Master Heinrich Vulpius,

the Rector and Inspector of the Gymnasium

thus made a pun on the names in order to congratulate

The Latin poem for Heinrich Neuhausen and Margaretha Thier is introduced by a reference to a possible translation (*Hoc est* 'this is') and although we find differences between the texts (as presented in the English translations), the main idea and the basis of the poem's structure and the word-play with the groom's and the bride's names occurs in both languages, although the groom's surname has been translated only into Greek and not into Latin and the bride's name and surname have been adapted to the Greek language and translated into Latin. Looking at the details, we can see that the Latin poem addresses the groom more directly and the number of poetic figures is even slightly greater in the case of Latin.

Table 4. The analysis of the Greek and Latin poems by Vulpius

Verse no	Words in a figure—Greek	Figures	Figures	Words in a figure—Latin
Metaphors, word-plays & other poetic figures (incl without parallels)				
1,2	παρθένος, γυνή	2 (2)	0	no antithesis
2,3	Θῆρ οὐνόματι, ὄντως ζῶον λογικόν	4	4	nomine fera, sed vere animal ratione valens
1,5,6	ἤδη νυῖ, βραχέως, καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος	3 (3)	0	no clear gradation
1,4	Νέφ-οῖκω, ΘHP, Νέφ-οῖκω, μάργαρόν, δῶμα νέον, Μάργαρα	6 (1)	6 (1)	FERA, Neuhausi, fera, GEMMA, novae domui, gemma
4	τίμος ἐστι λίθος	1 (1)	1 (1)	cordis portio (metaphor)
4,5	νεοσσοτροφεῖον	1 (1)	0	
	Sum	17 (8)	11 (2)	
	Shared	9	9	
Word repetitions and polyptota (incl without parallels)				
1,2,4	μεμνηστευομένη ΘHP	0	4 (4)	non fera, fera; sponsa, sponsa
2,3,6	ζῶον ζωά	2	3 (1)	ANIMAL, animal, animal
1, 4, 6		0	3 (3)	tua, tui, tibi
1,2,3,4,5	ἐστίν (2), ἐστι, εἶη	4	4	est, esse, est, estque
2,5,6		0	3 (3)	sit, praesit, sit
3	no epianaphora	0	1 (1)	est, estque
1,4,5,6	Νέφ-οῖκω (2), νεόν, νεοσσοτροφεῖον	4 (2)	2	novae, nova
3,5	λογικόν	0	2 (2)	ratione valens, ratione
3,4,6	μάργαρόν, Μάργαρα	2	2	gemma (2) (position compensatory)
	Sum	12 (2)	24 (14)	
	Shared	10	10	
Alliterations and other sound repetitions (incl without parallels)				
2	μόνω οὐνόματι	2 (2)	2 (2)	dicitur [...] cicur
2	ἐστίν [...] οὐνόματι	2 (2)	0	no end-rhyme
5	νεόν [...] νεοσσοτροφεῖον	2 (2)	0	no end-rhyme
6	Καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος [...] ἔχου	5 (5)	0	no alliteration/sound repetition
	Sum	11 (11)	2 (2)	
	Shared	0	0	
	Total sum	40 (21)	37 (18)	
	Total Shared	19	19	
	PF	40/37 = 1.1	37/41 = 0.9	(figures to words ratio)
	IPRF	40/19 = 2.1	37/19 = 1.95	(individual ratio of the sum of figures to shared figures)
	PRF	40/37 = 1.1		(ratio of figures in source text to target text)

In the case of both poems by Vulpius the Poeticity Factor is close to one (PF = 1.1 in the case of the Greek poem and PF = 0.9 in the case of the Latin poem), and the Poeticity Rendering Factor is 1.1, which puts both texts on the same

level as far as poeticity is concerned. The references in the paratexts and the analysis of poetic figures and phonic repetitions seem to confirm that the first poem is the original and the second its translation. However, the main feature which suggests that the Greek poem is the original, is the similarity of the pronunciation of the bride's surname, Thier [thiir], to the Byzantine and Modern Greek pronunciation of the word, which means 'wild animal' θήρ [fiir], and the fact that etymologically her name Margaretha means pearl in Greek. Accordingly, both poem are based on these puns (typical to wedding poetry).⁴⁹ The groom's surname Neuhaus ('new home') has mostly been translated into Greek (Νέω-οἶκω in v.1 and 4, δῶμα νέον and νεοσσοτροφεῖον in v.5), while the Latin version uses the vocative of Latinized German name form *Neuhausi* (in v.1) without translating. Elsewhere these names, which cannot be translated into Latin with the same phonic pattern, have been translated according to their meaning (*gemma* 'gem' in v.3 and 5, *novae domui* 'in a new house' in v.5).

As in the previous poem, this keyword-like repetition is used as the structural basis of both poems, with a slight modification at the end (the translation of Neuhaus has been replaced by a synonym and refers to the new house of the happy couple, v. 5 δῶμα νέον, *novae domui*), the structural development towards the end is intensified by repetitions in v. 5 (νέον [...] νεοσσοτροφεῖον), v.3 and 6 (ζῶον, ζῶον λογικὸν καὶ μάργαρον ἔστιν [...] μάργαρον / Μάργαρα ζῶα), culminating in the usual wedding poem wish for many children.

When we look at the Latin poem, we see that, following the same basic structure (based on the word-play with the couple's name), it also includes several independent repetitions. The first, repeated use of the second person pronoun, which does not appear in the Greek poem, is linked to the address to the groom. Although the word 'to be' appears in both, it is emphasised more in Latin (especially the words *sit, praesit*, expressing the wish). Also, although the bride's surname 'Thier' does not have the same phonic connotations in Latin as it does in Greek, Latin uses more repetitions of the theme of the wild animal versus the rational animal (*fera, animal, ratione*), referring to the supposed meaning of the bride's surname, and also repeats the title of the bride (*sponsa*). In addition, the repetition structure in the Latin poem is slightly different from the Greek poem, underlining the first part (referring to the wedding, groom and bride, closing in v.4) and also building connections from first to the final part.

⁴⁹ See Kaju, 2010.

So we have to conclude that the author did not simply translate the text of the Greek poem, but rather composed a Latin poem, which is a variation on the same theme, based on the meaning of the bride's name in German and Latin (Margaretha Thier, i.e. 'Pearl Wild animal'), but also referring to the Greek pronunciation, and including typical epithalamion topics: the bride will be taken to a new home, where she will start giving birth to new babies. Once again we have an example of dynamic equivalence or parallel creation in poetic translation.

Conclusion

The comparison of the multilingual poem sets from the Tartu Academy, the Tallinn and Riga gymnasia and the Mitau printing house, revealed that the translating of Greek poems seemed to be slightly important only in Tallinn, while the single example from Tartu could be considered an exception. The reason for this could be the lack of the tradition of Humanist bilingual Greek-Latin editions. Although the corpus of bilingual Greek-Latin poems from Estonia is very small and does not allow us to draw too many general conclusions, it seems to confirm the validity of the method of analysis, presented above.

Our three case-studies revealed different translating procedures: firstly, a relatively verbal Greek translation of a Latin poem by Henschel, indicated by the close numbers of words used with the same meaning and form in both versions, while the so-called Poeticity Rendering Factor (PRF = 1.4) confirmed their source-translation relationship. The lower individual freedom in the use of figures in the Greek poem, compared to the Latin one (IPRF = 2.2 vs IPRF = 3.0) is an additional confirmation. Secondly, a relatively loose Latin (*ad sensum*) translation of a Greek poem by Brockmann, as indicated by a smaller number of exactly rendered words and constructions (although the number of words is relatively close). Their source-target relationship is not confirmed here by the Poeticity Rendering Factor (about 1.2), which suggests a poetically independent rendering and dynamic equivalence, perhaps even a parallel creation. The individual poetic freedom of each version is exceptionally high (IPRF = 4.8 for the Greek poem, IPRF = 4 for the Latin poem), confirming the author's equal mastery of both languages. Statistically, however, the ratio of figures revealed in the Poeticity Factor is lower than in the case of the student Herzog's and professor Vulpius' poem pairs: this is due to the much lower use of repetition figures, which could be explained by the author's greater

preference for variation. Thirdly, a pair of poems by Vulpius presents the same idea and motives in a relatively independent way in each of the two languages, as indicated by the small number of exactly (ad verbum) rendered words, syntactic constructions, and expressions, as well as the independent use of figures (the IPRF is about 2 in both versions, being slightly higher in the Greek poem). However, each language version uses a remarkable number of poetic figures (PF is close to 1, but slightly higher in the Greek poem), and the Poeticity Rendering Factor is 1.1. Since the close reading revealed that the word-plays underlying the poems are based on the meaning of the names of the newlyweds in each of the used languages, and that the poetic structure is partly independent, the PRF again suggests dynamic equivalence or even parallel creation, despite of the indication of sameness (*hoc est*).

The stylometric and statistical analyses revealed some obvious problems with the quantification of poetic figures and the measuring of poeticity. In analyses focusing on poetic values, the repetition figures should have a lower weight in the statistics (as at present the Poeticity Factor of the poem pair by the acknowledged poet Brockmann turned out to be much lower than that of the poem pair by Professor and Rector Vulpius and even that of the student Herzog). However, as an indicator of the relationship between the original and the translation, stylometric analyses seem to be reliable in the case of more literal translations (poems by Herzog), whereas in the case of dynamic equivalence or independent creation (poems by Brockmann and Vulpius), the results were inconclusive, possibly because of the shortness of the poems.

There are certainly other ways of analysing Greek-Latin or Latin-Greek self-translations, which can be tested on larger corpuses in the future. But I hope that this paper has provided a method for analysing Greek-Latin poem pairs, which may be useful for determining their translational relationship in the absence of other indicators.

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The Case for Crediting Benzelius the Younger as the Source for Two Undated Linköping Editions of Basil of Caesarea in Greek

PER RÅLAMB

Abstract The purpose of this article is to show that while separate homilies (sermons) by some of the Greek church fathers were printed in Sweden towards the end of the 17th century, they were not widely read and these sermons by Basil of Caesarea were left as unfinished projects by Erik Benzelius the younger (1675–1743).

Keywords Erik Benzelius the younger, Basil of Caesarea (Basil the Great, Basilus Magnus, St. Basil), *Homilia XI De Invidia* or *On Envy*, *Homilia XIV Contra ebriosos* or *Against Drunks*, bibliography

Introduction

Only thirteen works by the church fathers printed in Sweden and its historical territories prior to 1800 have come down to us. Of the ten printed between 1680 and 1716, six are in Latin, Swedish and German. Four are in Greek, some with Latin translations: John Chrysostom, based on a previously unpublished manuscript that Benzelius had found at the Bodleian Library, of which the first part, *Homilia in evang. Johannis V. 19.*, was issued as a dissertation by Erik Benzelius the younger in 1702 under Lars Norrman's direction,¹ the second part, *Homilia de poenitentia, et de Herode atque Joanne Baptista* was issued under his own direction in 1705,² which were then re-issued with a few additional texts in *Supplementa Homiliarum* in 1708;³ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Γνωμαὶ Γρηγορίου δίστιχοι*, Linköping 1690 by an anonymous editor;⁴ and Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia XI De Invidia* or *On envy* and *Homilia XIV Contra ebriosos* or *Against drunks*, both without print locations, publication dates, or information about editor.⁵ In addition, excerpts of Greek patristic texts by Nemesius and Clement of Alexandria are included in school anthologies, such as Haquin Spegel's *Centuria prima*, first printed in 1685 and again in 1712.⁶

I found the two volumes of the two homilies by Basil in a sammelband (Saml.band Utl. litt. klass. 79:105) in 2009 while conducting bibliographical research at Carolina Rediviva Library at Uppsala University. After further review, I learned that they were not listed in the current library catalog or in the national bibliography by Isak Collijn nor had a bibliographical study of the two editions been done before.

The purpose of this paper is to reveal the conclusions from my research into the two homilies. I will attempt to establish that both editions are unfinished projects initiated by the industrious and learned bibliophile, Erik Benzelius the younger, and that they were likely proofs printed prior to 1707. My investigation will build on Forssell's biography of Benzelius by incorporating the scholar's correspondence with his learned friends, contemporary

¹ Lidén, 1778. 371

² Lidén, 1778, 58–59; Fant 1755–1784, XI 96.

³ Lindroth, 1975b, 218; Rålamb, 2019, #131;

⁴ Collijn, 1942–44, col. 327:01; Rålamb, 2019, #111.

⁵ Rålamb, 2019, #28, #29.

⁶ Villadsen, 2021, 109.

bibliography, and a discussion of the role of Greek in the educational system of the time, as well as Benzeliu's influence on printing and publishing.

Saml.band Utl. litt. klass. 79:105

Both works are bound in a sammelband that contains six individual works in total and have Greek as their only commonality. The titles included are Euripides, *Hecuba*, Uppsala, 1651, 56p., A–G4;⁷ Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, Uppsala, 1655, [14], A–D4;⁸ *Fabulae Aesopi selectae*, Åbo/Turku, 1688, [2], 3–40p., A–B8, C4;⁹ *Fabulae Aesopicae*, Linköping, 1764, 68p., A–I4;¹⁰ Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia XI*, 27p., A–G2;¹¹ Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia XIV*, 31p., A–H2.¹² Both works by Basil are printed entirely in Greek and lack printed title pages.

In Uppsala University Library, Carolina Rediviva archives is an early printers' list (signum I3) with the following handwritten title: "List of books and pamphlets which in accordance with the ordinance of 1707 were sent to the Royal Academy in Uppsala by the printers".¹³ This document was compiled at Uppsala and includes among (fol 7r) four works listed under the heading "Linköpings Tryckerij" (Linköping's printer). Among those but without a print date noted is "Βασιλείου Όμιλία ΙΔ κατὰ μεθούτων. Since the other works on the list show print dates of 1707 and 1708, it is reasonable to conclude that it was probably printed sometime prior to 1707 and by Ephraim Kempe's widow who operated the establishment in Linköping after his death in 1700.

Since these printer lists begin with the year 1670,¹⁴ further research in subsequent lists up to 1707 may reveal when *Homilia XI* was received at the

⁷ Collijn, 1942–1944, col. 244:02; Rålamb, 2019, #107; Hammarsköld, 1817, 113.

⁸ Collijn, 1942–1944, col. 236:03; Rålamb, 2019, #102; Hammarsköld, 1817, 113.

⁹ Collijn, 1942–1944, col. 006:04; Rålamb, 2019, #5B; Elmgren, 1861, 82; Hammarsköld, 1817, 114.

¹⁰ Rålamb, 2019, #9B; Hammarsköld, 1817, 117.

¹¹ Rålamb, 2019, #28; Aurivillius, 1814, 79.

¹² Rålamb, 2019 #29; Aurivillius, 1814, 79.

¹³ Carolina Rediviva archives signum I3 "Förteckning uppå de Böcker och skrifter som sedan förordningen åhr 1707 utkom til Konl. Academiens uti Upsala behof ifrån Tryckerierne inlefwederade äro".

¹⁴ Bring, 1962, 164.

library which, in turn, may offer a general idea of when it was printed. The revised Ordinance of 1707 had increased the printers obligations who were now required to send six “pliktexemplar” (depository copies) upon the publication of a book to the Royal Archives (Riksarkivet) in Stockholm, which would then distribute the volumes as per the ordinance guidelines to designated institutions.¹⁵ These institutions included the Royal Library and the universities in Uppsala, Lund, Åbo and Tartu which at the time was Swedish territory.

Since the *Fabulae Aesopicae* was printed in 1764, the sammelband was created after the second half of the 18th century. There are two reasonable explanations for why the sammelband was created. First, Head Librarian Birger Frondin’s organizational projects initiated in 1750, which eventually led to an alphabetical library catalogue completed in 1768,¹⁶ may indicate that the sammelband came about because of restructuring efforts at the library. The other possibility concerns the period after 1787 when Per Fabian Aurivillius became Head Librarian. Claes Annerstedt writes that Aurivillius initiated major restructuring and redesigning efforts at the library of the sort that had not been seen since Erik Benzelius the younger had left as the head of the institution.¹⁷ Aurivillius also engaged in significant cataloging efforts that led to the publication of *Catalogus Librorum Impressorum Bibliothecae Regiae Academiae Upsaliensis* in 1814.¹⁸ Both homilies are briefly mentioned in this catalogue and appear in Lorenzo Hammarsköld’s *Förteckning på De i Sverige, från äldre till närvarande Tider, utkomna Schole-och Undervisnings-Böcker*, (1817), a bibliography of early printed schoolbooks, only to return to obscurity afterward.¹⁹

The Greek Church Fathers in Protestant Education

Why publish homilies by Basil (330–379), the East Roman bishop of Caesaera, also known as Basil the Great, in the first place? One explanation is that Basil’s writing was recognized as a model of style by classical scholars in northern

¹⁵ Klemming, 1883, 294–295.

¹⁶ Annerstedt, 1914, 490–491.

¹⁷ Id., 494.

¹⁸ Aurivillius, 1814. 79.

¹⁹ Hammarsköld, 1817, 114.

Europe. Moreover, the reformers valued Basil as a moderate defender of pagan letters (Melanchthon), as a moralist (Stein), as an advocate for orthodoxy in the struggle against Arianism (Beza) and, more surprisingly, as a founder of religious communities that were seen as the forerunners of the Reformed Churches.²⁰ Robert Ralph Bolgar describes Basil as among “the boldest and most open protagonists of a Christian Humanism who had ever dared to make his voice heard.”²¹ The protestant theologian John Calvin quoted him in his sermons and the brilliant 16th century Huguenot classical scholar Isaac Casaubon (1550–1614) read all seven hundred pages of the editio princeps edition of the Opera Omnia in Greek in only twenty days, indicating an enthusiasm for the text.²² While in Sweden, the learned Laurentius Paulinus Gothus, writes Sten Lindroth, concurred with Basil that it was healthy for Christians to read philosophy and poetry.²³ Many certainly must also have been aware of Basil’s *Homilia XXII* that explained the benefits of reading pagan literature.²⁴ The Northern European scholars and theologians found that Christian Greek moved their souls, and Basil inspired them more than other patristic writers.

The inclusion of texts by the church fathers in the educational system and the interest in learning Greek after the Reformation in Germany and later in Sweden arose from a desire to better understand the New Testament. This new foundation was also considered useful in debates against the faith of the Catholics and the authority of the Latin vulgate Bible. Paraphrasing Martin Luther, Schultze writes: “Even if the Fathers taught nothing that is wrong, their exposition of the Scripture nevertheless always remained uncertain for want of mastery of the languages.”²⁵ Luther adopted St. Augustine’s admission in *De Doctrina Christiana* that a Christian teacher who is to expound Scripture must have command of Latin, Greek and Hebrew.²⁶ Christians, as Luther stated, should judge the Fathers’ books in the clear light of Scripture, which will clarify whether the Fathers are “clear” or themselves “obscure”.²⁷

²⁰ Backus, 1997, 845.

²¹ Bolgar, 1963, 50.

²² Pattison, 1892, 198.

²³ Lindroth, 1975a, 321.

²⁴ Laistner, 1931, 27.

²⁵ Schulze, 1997, 614.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Id., 623.

In Sweden, it was first due to King Johan III and Archbishop Olaus Petri that the study of the church fathers was incorporated into the Church Ordinance 1571. It was, according Ragnar Askmark, necessary in order to understand the Scriptures to inquire with the church fathers, who were the true witnesses of the faith and search for patristic consensus.²⁸ Bernhard Lundstedt writes that the early Swedish reformers Olaus and Laurentius Petri studied Greek under direction of the famous Philip Melanchthon.²⁹ Bolin adds that Greek also started to penetrate the Swedish educational system by 1580 and had reached the status of an official course of study at the academy in Uppsala by 1622.³⁰ Sixty-four years later, the church law of 1686 established a criterion for becoming an ordained minister: It required “ett allvarsamt förhör”, a serious and disciplined cross examination conducted by the bishop and the kollegium that included Greek proficiency among the required subjects. The first such exam took place in Strängnäs March 5, 1688.³¹

The Parliament of 1689 marks the first time that the bishops put forth a proposal for a revised school ordinance, which eventually led to the Ordinance of 1693. The previous approach to teaching Greek based on the Ordinance of 1649 changed with the Ordinance of 1693; the new pedagogic method was based on *Methodus Informandi* by Johannes Gezelius the elder (1615–1690), Professor at Tartu University and later Bishop of Åbo.³² As a pedagogue Gezelius was particularly influenced by the Czech philosopher and pedagogue Johannes Comenius (1592–1670). He also published numerous editions of Greek and Latin authors for educational use and worked diligently towards improving education for all. His basic principles for teaching Greek were as follows: Plenty of practice; few and short grammatical rules; and plenty of memorization, but not until the basic elements were understood.³³

The bishops were also responsible for ensuring that textbooks were available at a reasonable price.³⁴ During the Parliament of 1686, the bishops had formulated a list of textbooks which they felt ought to be printed in the

²⁸ Askmark, 1948, 268.

²⁹ Lundstedt, 1875, 3.

³⁰ Bolin, 1918, 20.

³¹ Afzelius, 1897, 11–12.

³² Falk, 1926, 85.

³³ Heikel, 1894, 120.

³⁴ Hollander, 1884, 427.

kingdom.³⁵ Among the roughly forty titles on this list, there are many with a strong emphasis on the classical authors, Latin, Greek and Hebrew grammatical works, as well as New Testament and church history. This list included no works by any of the church fathers.

Some pagan classical works gave space to Christian authors, church history and the shortest *Epistolae S. Apostolorum* from the Greek New Testament. Studying the core scripture languages was considered essential to avoid misinterpretations or heresy. Weekly class schedules began to show evidence of a rigorous emphasis on the core fundamentals. At Helsingborg's school three days, Thursday through Saturday, were dedicated to the study of Greek vocabulary and grammar with readings from the New Testament.³⁶ A similar schedule is found in Strängnäs,³⁷ while the schedule at Linköping gymnasium indicates that Greek lessons were assigned on four school days a week.³⁸ Isocratean orations, especially *Ad Demonicum* and *Ad Nicoclem*, continued in use at the gymnasiums. Four different editions printed in Greek for school use appeared between 1690 and 1700, the first in Viborg. The boys studied Greek vocabulary following the grammar by the earlier mentioned Gezelius and first printed in 1647. It became an officially assigned schoolbook because of the 1693 School Ordinance³⁹ and remained a popular study companion until 1813 with about thirty reprints.⁴⁰ The *Disticha Catonis* in a Greek translation (like the one by the byzantine scholar Maximus Planudes, mentioned in the 1693 ordinance) also continued in use as a popular standard. Other references show classroom readings that followed the 1693 school ordinance guidelines, which placed emphasis on historians and moralists. The former offered training for various roles in the public service by providing examples, while the latter addressed morality and vice. Yet by 1724, the new ordinance was deemed unsatisfactory, and changes were yet again implemented.

One can argue that the moral subject matter of the two homilies by St. Basil and the books' rarity indicate use as school textbooks, considering the age-old practice of reusing such instructional volumes until they disintegrated and became more useful as paper pulp. Furthermore, the homilies address specific

³⁵ Askmark, 1948, 316.

³⁶ Petersson, 1953, 66.

³⁷ Falk, 1926, 98–99.

³⁸ Lindblom, 1795, 392–393.

³⁹ Tengström, 1833, 82.

⁴⁰ Kolk, 2018, 145.

Christian moral subjects, *Homilia XI* (On envy) and *Homilia XIV* (Against drunks), which seems to indicate that they were formulated for older students. The question remains: Were more copies printed and used, or are these unique samples from the printer that represent an unfinished publishing project?

The fact that both volumes lack title pages, print dates and may have been issued without one, is a clue. After a survey of the classical texts printed in Sweden prior to 1800, I found that only six works issued separately are missing a printed title page or print date; one of these is technically a surviving fragment, but the other five are known to exist only in single copies. One explanation is that they are, in fact, galley proofs. Adding a title page with a print date would have been considered unnecessary at that early stage of the editorial process.

A Case for Erik Benzelius as the Possible Editor

While there is no direct documentary evidence regarding the publisher of the Linköping editions of Basil, one can argue based on the historical clues available that Erik Benzelius the younger (1675–1743) is most likely to have been responsible for both publications.

Why? First some background. Benzelius was the son of the Archbishop of Uppsala Erik Benzelius the Elder (1632–1709) and Margaretha Odhelia (1653–1693) and he stood for solid philological learning in Sweden to a degree that was difficult for his contemporaries to even approach. Benzelius was a learned classical scholar with a thorough interest in philology, church history, and he was a skilled writer. Benzelius' influence is reflected in Lidén's remark regarding the scholar's book collection that appears in the preface to *Repertorium Benzelianum*: "He who knows the immense learning, extensive reading, and excellent knowledge of books of this unforgettable man (and what scholar can be ignorant of that?), can easily conclude the inherent value of this book collection."⁴¹ His most significant impact was probably his success in encouraging a growing interest in these topics among his contemporaries with his lectures, wide cultural interests, and encyclopedic learning.⁴² He pursued a three-year educational trip to the continent on a Royal scholarship in 1697.

⁴¹ Lidén, 1791b, 1 "Den, som känner denne oförgätelige mannens stora lärdom, vidsträckt beläsenhet och ypperliga bok-känedom (och vilken lärd kan väl därom vara okunning?), kan och lätteligen sluta: till inre värdet af des boksamling".

⁴² Stavenow, 1922, 122.

While in Hamburg, he met the young classical scholar Johann Albert Fabricius (1668–1736), who would become one of the most learned and prolific bibliographers of the 18th century. Benzelius and Fabricius soon became intellectual soulmates and their association continued through scholarly letter exchanges until the latter’s death. Seven dated letters and one undated letter from Fabricius to his colleague have survived. Fabricius’ scholarly production was immense and both his *Bibliotheca Latina*, first printed in 1697 and the monumental *Bibliotheca Graeca*, first printed in 1705–1728, are still consulted today. Balsamo writes that contemporaries described his *Bibliotheca Graeca* as the “the greatest treasure of classical erudition”.⁴³ As Forssell adds, Benzelius’ passion for the patristic period is evident from the numerous annotations he made in the volumes covering the Alexandrian and Byzantine church fathers in his own set of Fabricius’ *Bibliotheca Graeca*.⁴⁴ When G. C. Harless (1738–1815) decided to issue a revised edition of the *Bibliotheca Graeca*, he received from Bishop Lindblom copies of Benzelius’ handwritten marginal notes and commentaries in his own copy of the original edition, which Harless found of significant value.⁴⁵ Most of his supplementary commentaries were essentially from the volumes covering the church fathers and Byzantine authors and include philological commentaries in Greek.

As a bibliophile and scholar, Benzelius painstakingly explored numerous libraries on the continent during his travels and often found ancient manuscripts that had been tucked away or overlooked. But it was his visit to England in 1699–1700 that proved the most fruitful.⁴⁶ His findings at Oxford lead to the publication of previously unknown homilies by John Chrysostom in 1702–08.⁴⁷ His work on a complete edition of Philo Judaeus and the subsequent handover of all the work was truly unfortunate. During his research among the Selden manuscripts at Oxford, Benzelius discovered a previously unknown fourth book of the Special Laws by Philo Judaeus that inspired him to publish a complete annotated edition. This work would fully engage him for many years as he wrote textual emendations that filled forty folio pages.⁴⁸

⁴³ Balsamo, 1990, 113.

⁴⁴ Forssell, 1883, 209.

⁴⁵ Sondén, 1875, 90.

⁴⁶ Lindroth, 1975a, 216.

⁴⁷ Forssell, 1883, 205; see also above.

⁴⁸ Lidén, 1791a, 98–99.

While the University of Uppsala attracted scholars from the Continent during the 17th century, its limited resources with respect to Greek textual criticism and paleography could not match those of the centers of learning on the continent. Twenty years of Swedish engagement in war had also left its mark on the country. Recognizing these limitations and after lengthy negotiations, Benzelius reluctantly handed over all his work on Philo to Thomas Mangey, canon at Durham in England, who was also working on an edition. Mangey's edition appeared in two large folio volumes in 1742, with as John Sandys writes, "very inadequate acknowledgement of the generous aid he had obtained from Benzelius."⁴⁹

Shortly after his return from his three-year educational tour on the continent, Benzelius was appointed Head Librarian at Uppsala University in 1702 and under his scholarly guidance the library built a sizeable collection. Claes Annerstedt describes Benzelius' time at the helm as a high point in the library's history.⁵⁰ Despite meager resources, he managed the acquisitions with great resourcefulness, even at times sacrificing personal financial resources.⁵¹ The library held no Greek manuscripts in its collection prior to his tenure, but Benzelius acquired numerous partly through the Sparwenfeld donation, but also through the acquisition of the Schefferus collection as well as at auctions in Stockholm.⁵² It was also during this period that the library began acquiring scholarly periodicals.

The donation of the Sparwenfeld book and manuscript collection was by far the most significant of these acquisitions. The diplomat and linguist, Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld, (1655–1727) had built up a sizeable collection rich in Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Persian books, and manuscripts during his extensive travels. He corresponded frequently and over a long period time with Benzelius on topics relating to rare books and philology.⁵³ Lidén in *Repertorium Benzelianum* 1791 records letters covering the period 1703 to 1724.

The donation certainly consumed a significant part of Benzelius' time, as evident from his correspondence. Benzelius published a catalogue of the collection in 1705 under the title *Catalogus centuriae librorum rarissimorum manuscript. & partim impressorum, arabicorum, persicorum, turcicorum, graecorum, latinorum*. Alvar Erikson, in his work *Erik Benzelius' Letters to*

⁴⁹ Sandys, 1908, 347.

⁵⁰ Annerstedt, 1908, 416.

⁵¹ Sondén, 1875, 81.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Lindroth, 1975b, 234.

his Learned Friends, lists a dozen entries regarding Sparwenfeld and the donation covering the period 1702–1707.⁵⁴ Among Benzeliuſ’ archives preserved at Stiftsbiblioteket in Linköping is a letter dated 1702 from Benzeliuſ addressed to Wilhelm Ernest Tenzel (1659–1707) that mentions the discovery in the Sparwenfeld collection of a manuscript with previously unpublished homilies by Basil.⁵⁵ There is no record of Tenzel’s reply. The manuscript mentioned by Benzeliuſ is probably MS Gr.5, currently at Uppsala University library which, among other patristic works, contains the sermon *Consolatoria ad aegrotum* or *Consolation to the sick*, a text of disputed authorship, which in this manuscript is without title and ascribed to Basil, but is also known under the name of Proclus, Archbishop of Constantinople as *Homilia 35* (*Homilia consolatoria* or *Consolatory sermon*).⁵⁶

Benzeliuſ was characterized by a comprehensive intellect and an extraordinary literary and bibliographical knowledge, often displayed in his correspondence with his brother Gustaf Benzelstierna published by Lidén in 1791. His keen attention to detail also led to an interest regarding the output of some printing establishments. In a letter dated March 8th, 1732, he complains to his brother Gustaf Benzelstierna, Censor Librorum, that the printer Petter Hansson Pilecan produced nothing but basic ABC books, “it’s a scandal that our youth must help themselves with Greek and Latin books that are printed in Germany and as a result absorb more errata in their heads than correct Greek och Latin.”⁵⁷ He also asks his brother in the same letter to write Johan Herman Kirchner, who owned a type foundry in Hamburg, with instructions to ship the new type fonts which had been paid for to Petter Hansson Pilecan’s printing establishment. The quality of the production from printers had not always been so grim. Kempe, a Linköping printer family, had a long history of producing quality textbooks. Daniel Kempe who was active 1654–1688, printed several works, including an edition of Gezelius’ *Grammatica Graeca*. His son, Ephraim Kempe, printed Gregory of Nazianzus in Greek in 1691 and his widow continued the business after his death in 1700, remaining active until 1715.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Jacobowsky, 1932, 310.

⁵⁵ Benzeliuſ, 1983, 33.

⁵⁶ For the manuscript, see <https://www.manuscripta.se/ms/100005#>.

⁵⁷ Lidén, 1791a, 91 “Thet är skam at vår ungdom måste hjelpta sig med Grekiska och Latinska böcker som tryckas i Tyskland på kjøp och dermed med få flere errata i sitt huvud än rätt Grekiska och Latin.”

⁵⁸ Klemming, 1883, 202–203.

Kempe needed a transcript of the core text of the two homilies to complete the typesetting. Some works by Basil were already available on the continent in printed Latin translations before the end of the 15th century. The editio princeps, but not containing the entire corpus in the original Greek edited by Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1466–1536) was printed by Froben in 1532. The Venice edition of 1535 added additional works. In 1551, the industrious Froben printed the complete *Opera Omnia* in the original Greek and edited by Janus Cornarius (1500–1558). Both the 1532 and the 1551 editions are listed in Uppsala University library catalogue of 1814 including other separate works by Basil.

Benzelius' personal library, which was donated to Linköping Gymnasium in 1757, consisted of three thousand volumes of principally Greek and Latin classics, including history and antiquities, in addition to numerous manuscripts. Like many private scholarly libraries of his time, however, it was a "working library": he made numerous marginal annotations directly onto the pages or on inserted paper slips. Among his books is a copy of the 1551 *Opera Omnia* by Basil with text underlined and marginal annotations reflecting a studious scholarly interest.⁵⁹ Since each of the two homilies are about four pages long in this edition, it would not have been a complicated nor a time-consuming exercise for Benzelius to copy the Greek text by hand onto folio pages and have them sent to the printer.⁶⁰ By having the galley proofs of the core texts printed first, it is reasonable to argue that Benzelius may have planned to add an index similar to his edition of Isaac Casaubon's Theophrastus *Notationes Morum* printed in Uppsala 1708.⁶¹ Contrary to the John Chrysostom edition printed at the same year which was a philological study of an ancient manuscript, the Theophrastus edition was a reissue of Isaac Casaubon's edition of 1592 with an improved philological index.

Why *Homilia XI* and *XIV*? Philip Schaff writes in the preface to Jackson's translation that "Twenty-four homilies on miscellaneous subjects, published under Basil's name, are generally accepted as genuine. They are conveniently classified as (i) Dogmatic and Exegetic, (ii) Moral, and (iii) Panegyric."⁶² It is reasonable to argue that Benzelius' personal moral and principled character, as well as his competency in Greek, directed him towards the twelve homilies that address moral issues since they also provided educational value for the

⁵⁹ Stiftsbiblioteket (Ex. :F20888).

⁶⁰ Basil of Caesaria, 1551, 170–174 (*Homilia XI*), 190–194 (*Homilia XIV*).

⁶¹ Rålamb, 2019, #207A.

⁶² Jackson, 1895, XXXIII.

mature student, considering the moral subject matters in both *Homilia XI* and *XIV*.

Benzelius' status within the contemporary scholarly world was clearly recognized but, when we survey some of the standard 18th and 19th century encyclopedic bibliographies and catalogues, an interesting picture of the dynamics of scholarly collaboration emerges. Bibliography as a scholarly subject is usually identified as the compilation and use of booklists, but it can also serve as a source for the analysis of complex social and historical communications. Books included in 18th century encyclopedic bibliographies were not necessarily included in the same category of bibliographies printed in the 19th century.

In the *Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexicon* of 1750, Christian Gottlieb Jöcher provides a detailed description of Benzelius' scholarly achievements and includes his John Chrysostom 1708, but not the Basil editions.⁶³ The exact same pattern occurs in Fabricius' *Bibliotheca Graeca*,⁶⁴ Ebert's *Allgemeines Bibliographisches Lexikon*,⁶⁵ Fant's *Historiola Litteraturae Graecae in Svecia*,⁶⁶ Harless' *Brevior Notitia Litteraturae Graecae*,⁶⁷ and *Catalog Öfver Skara Kongl. Gymnasii Bibliothek*.⁶⁸ Only Hoffmann, in *Lexicon Bibliographicum*, lists both Basil editions, referencing the Uppsala University catalogue of 1814 as the source.⁶⁹

But with the emergence of a new revolution in bibliography with Guillaume François De Bure's *Bibliographie instructive: ou traité de la connaissances des livres rares et singuliers* (1763), followed by Jacques-Charles Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire de L'Amateur de Livres*, Paris 1860–1880. [Fifth and last edition] and J. G. Theodore Graesse's *Trésor de Livres Rares et Précieux ou Nouveau Dictionnaire Bibliographie* 1859–1869, Benzelius' John Chrysostom 1708 was suddenly edited out of the John Chrysostom sections, despite the bibliographers had access to some of the earlier bibliographies. Despite their rarity the homilies by Basil were not included and remained in obscurity. Much of this is a result of changing fashions in the book collecting world.

⁶³ Jöcher, 1750, 1. col. 977–978.

⁶⁴ Fabricius, 1715, 654.

⁶⁵ Ebert, 1821, #4201.

⁶⁶ Fant, 1784, 96.

⁶⁷ Harless, 1802, 741.

⁶⁸ Luth, 1830, 13.

⁶⁹ Hoffmann, 1832, vol. 1, 440.

The eighteenth-century and earlier bibliographies were compiled by scholars who, through their various productions, helped develop a new academic science. De Bure and the later nineteenth-century influential bibliographies such as Brunet who helped reshape the book collecting market were predominantly rare book dealers. While bibliographies technically offered a list of books with appropriate description, the concept of rarity, as David McKittrick adds, “developed from the first half of the eighteenth century, by compilers of manuals of rare books, in an effort to understand what was meant by the manufacture of books, where what was made did not necessarily survive”.⁷⁰ This approach received a new further defined direction with De Bure in *Bibliographie instructive*. De Bure found it easier to define rarity, “not based on survival, but according to price”.⁷¹ This approach had a significant impact on the book collecting market and the bibliographies throughout the 19th century. While Benzelius’ John Chrysostom 1708 was a scholarly production, it was not considered a rare book.

While Benzelius is the most likely person behind the publication of the two homilies, that they remained unfinished is not uncharacteristic compared to other projects he left unfinished. Many of the copied manuscripts that Benzelius accumulated during his travels were either sent to other scholars or were apparently shelved without further study. All the manuscripts copies of Christian poets made during his visit to England were passed on to Fabricius. His Eusebius was shelved until, as Forsell writes, it was used during a presentation at the Royal Society of Sciences (Vetenskaps-societeten).⁷² Fant lists fifteen Greek manuscripts from Benzelius’ library, of which some are copies from Upsala, Oxford or Paris, while others were purchased during his travels.⁷³

Both Forssell and Annerstedt describe the period from when Benzelius became Head Librarian at Uppsala University in 1702 and onwards as an active one during which he was engaged with numerous scholarly projects, library administrative activities, lectures, correspondence with his learned friends, and much more. For the busy scholar, prioritizing the projects that were to receive his attention was not an option; it was a necessity.

⁷⁰ McKittrick, 2018, 189.

⁷¹ Id., 193

⁷² Forssell, 1883, 207.

⁷³ Fant, 1784, 103–104.

Conclusions

The goal of the school ordinance of 1693 states “that the student should study those distinguished subjects which can be useful and proper for life in general and for the ecclesiastic and secular offices that the student will in due time hold.”⁷⁴ In all practicality, it meant formatting schooling to meet the administrative needs of the kingdom and prepare clergy for the church. Within this framework, profane texts in Greek to a degree replaced the traditional pagan classical authors. Out of the eleven printed works between 1680–1716 by the church fathers, four were in Greek. The date on the printer’s list indicates that *Homilia XIV* reached the University prior to 1707.

While *Homilia XI* is not included in the early printers list (signum I3), at Uppsala University Library’s Carolina Rediviva archives, it is reasonable to assume because of the font and page layout that it was printed within the same general period as *Homilia XIV*. The lack of a printed title page or a print date on either work can be attributed to them being printer’s proofs and therefore lacking such finishing touches since they would not have been viewed necessary at that point. A title page with a print date was often added when the work was considered done and ready for sale or circulation. The only exception, of course, would be books or pamphlets with content that the official censor would find objectionable.

As shown above, the presence of the two homilies in bibliographies is certainly extremely limited; the question is why? Fabricius produced some of the most essential tools for the development and advancement of research in classical literature. His momentous *Bibliotheca Graeca* published in fourteen quarto-size volumes are a bibliographical overview of all published research results on Greek literary learning up to about 1710. The section on Basil of Caesarea appears in volume VIII, printed in 1717, but the two homilies are not included among the works listed. Yet, Benzelius’ John Chrysostom 1708 is included, and Fabricius had also referenced Benzelius’ scholarly contributions on Philo in his *Bibliotheca Antiquaria* in 1716.⁷⁵ But, Fabricius inclusion of Benzelius in his bibliographies is not just limited to classical works. The theological dissertation *de Providentia Dei* printed in 1707 appears in Fabricius *Delectus Argumentorum et Syllabus Scriptorum qui Veritatem*

⁷⁴ Hollander, 1884, 425 “de stycken förnämligast må läsas, som i det gemena lefvernet och i de den studerande ungdomen med tiden tillfallande tjenster i andligt och verldsligt stånd kunna vara gagnelige och anständige.”

⁷⁵ Fabricius, 1716, 2.

Religionis Christianae [...] *asseruerunt* printed in 1725.⁷⁶ The absence of the homilies may be explained if both were considered unfinished work in progress.

As a result of Benzelius' wide-ranging interests and responsibilities, some of his planned works never came to fruition. Since historical records show that Benzelius was actively engaged with several projects, the need to prioritize them lead to the homilies being shelved. In addition, it would not have been within Fabricius's scholarly nature to include draft works in his bibliography.

As a person of immense learning, but aware of the limited resources available to him, Benzelius must have felt something of what Newton once expressed: the painful contrast of the infinity of nature and the insignificance of man's knowledge of it. The German classical scholar, Daniel Wytttenbach (1746–1820), Patterson writes, expressed the same sentiment in literature when he set himself to complete an edition of Plutarch: Ten years passed with no light at the end of the tunnel and after five more years, what remained to be done was still more than what he had already completed⁷⁷. Benzelius must certainly have shared this frustration regarding his *Philo*. Forssell emphasizes Benzelius' high level of learning when he argues that his broad range of academic publications indicates that he was a very versatile scholar who moved with ease from one subject to another.⁷⁸ But, for such an intellectual giant, there were simply not enough hours in a day.

⁷⁶ Lidén, 1780, 51; Fabricius 1725, 415.

⁷⁷ Pattison, 1892, 423

⁷⁸ Forssell, 1883, 267.

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Greek at Uppsala University in the Early Seventeenth Century:

Library Holdings and Arrangements in the Light of the University Statutes

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Abstract When Uppsala University reopened in 1593, one of the seven professors was made responsible for teaching Greek. In the first university statutes of 1626, the instruction of the professor of Greek were regulated in more detail. It was also made apparent that the professors of poetry and of the New Testament needed knowledge of Greek literature in order to fulfil their duties. Using the first University Library catalogues, compiled between 1638 and 1641, this article aims to present an overview of the holdings of Greek books at Uppsala University at the time. The intention is to see them in the light of the University statutes, as well as in the context of the general library arrangement and of literary spoils of war, which Uppsala University received as donations from the Crown in large numbers in the early seventeenth century.

Keywords Greek Studies, Uppsala University Library, Spoils of War, Library History

There are some easily discernible phases in the early history of Uppsala University. Although the institution was founded and started its activities as early as 1477, it suffered greatly from the ecclesiastical Reformation of the sixteenth century and for a while even had to close. In the meantime, John III opened a *collegium* for higher studies in Stockholm. A decision to reopen the university at Uppsala was then taken at the ecclesiastical Assembly at Uppsala in 1593, where it was also finally decided that Sweden should be a Lutheran country.¹ Not until more than two decades later, however, in the 1620s, were real efforts made to raise academic standards, mainly through large donations from King Gustavus II Adolphus. A University Library was formally founded in 1620 and 1621, a new main building for the University was constructed—the still-extant Gustavianum next to the Cathedral—foreign professors were invited, and a solid financial foundation laid. This phase after the reopening from 1593 to 1641, when the first library catalogues were created, will be my focus here. My intention is to look closer at the library holdings of Greek literature of this period in the light of the instructions on the teaching of Greek given in the first University statutes from 1626. This will illustrate the importance that literary spoils of war had for the supply of Greek literature, but also establish the place of Greek books in the general arrangement of the collections. I have treated the ordering of the first Library in several other contexts, but a brief account is necessary here, too.²

Although there were books at the University already in the medieval period, and it was decided at the Uppsala Assembly that the collections should be inventoried, the number of titles did not grow substantially until after the formal foundation of the Library in 1620 and 1621. In the Royal decrees from those years, it was decided that the University should receive a modest sum for book purchases, but also that the Royal book depot of almost 4000 books in Stockholm would be donated to Uppsala.³ In the following two decades, several more donations from the Crown were made to Uppsala, some of them collections taken as spoils of war from different locations on the continent. It started with books from Riga, and was followed by collections from Braniewo, Frombork, Würzburg, and Mainz.⁴ In Lutheran Uppsala, these Catholic

¹ John III's son Sigismund had ascended the throne in 1592 when his father died. He was raised as a Catholic and had been crowned King of Poland already; however, before his coronation in 1594, he had been obliged to accept the conclusions of the Assembly.

² See e.g. Sjökvist, 2019; Sjökvist, 2020; and Sjökvist, 2023. The early library history is given in Annerstedt, 1894.

³ Walde, 1915, 317–322; and Davidsson, 1982, 93–110.

⁴ Catalogues covering the three first mentioned have been compiled: Trypućko, 2007; Kreigere-

libraries were of course very welcome. The idea was to deprive the confessional enemies of their intellectual armoury, but also to start using these books in the correct way in order to promote the country's own religious views. There were nevertheless several books among the spoils that were of little use, such as Catholic liturgical books, dogmatics, sermons, etc., and these were accordingly located on the lower storage floor of the new library building opened in 1627. The books on the upper floor constituted the stock of the active University Library. When the first library catalogues were made between 1638 and 1641, one covering the upper floor and one covering the lower, the number of titles recorded had increased to around 10,000 volumes.⁵ Not a few of them were in Greek. Such books were normally indicated in the catalogue entry with the word *Graece*, although this was not always consistently applied. The bibliographical standards used at the time leave much to be desired from a modern perspective since the information given is often inconsistent and inaccurate. The account here, therefore, mainly aims to demonstrate the presence of Greek authors in the first catalogue by using the information given in it, however inconsistent and deficient it may be. An identification of every edition and copy mentioned is not intended in this survey, and is perhaps not even possible since not all of the books have come down to us. In what follows we shall see many examples of books in Greek held in the first library. We shall also observe in what sections they occur, and, going through the catalogues shelf by shelf, note what role they played in the University curriculum. It will also be documented in the footnotes when certain books came to Uppsala as war booty.

Already in the document from the Uppsala Assembly of 1593, it is stated that one of the seven professors at the University should teach New Testament exegesis and Greek.⁶ At the Diets in Norrköping of 1604, however, the new king, Charles IX, who had ousted Sigismund from the throne some years earlier, suggested that there should be a professor for the languages of Greek

Liepiņa et al. 2021; Wittmann, 1891. On Swedish literary spoils of war in general, see Walde, 1916–20.

⁵ The catalogues have the shelfmarks UUB Bibl. arkiv K3 and UUB Bibl. arkiv K2. They are also available in digital format in Alvin:
<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-270365> and
<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-270360>.

⁶ The first professors in this chair were Petrus Kenicius Botniensis (1593–1595), Jacobus Erici (1595–1599) and Laurentius Paulinus Gothus (1600–1606). Annerstedt, 1877a, 85, 93 and 95. For the following section, cf. Lundstedt, 1875, 8–18. A list of teachers of Greek at Swedish universities is given in Plantin, 1736, 30–34.

and Hebrew, and this directive was implemented in the following years.⁷ In a draft of the first University statutes from 1606, it was suggested that lectures in Greek and Hebrew should be given at 4 o'clock every weekday afternoon. An adequate knowledge of Greek was also necessary in order to attain the Masters' degree.⁸ When the University statutes were finally undersigned by the Chancellor of the University Johan Skytte and the Chancellor of the Realm Axel Oxenstierna on the orders of Gustavus Adolphus in 1626, they included more precise regulations on what literature the professor of Greek should teach:

Graecae linguae professor docebit Grammaticam Clenardi vel Gualperij, usum autem Graecae Grammatices in Novi Testamenti libris, in Patrum scriptis, in Homero, Euripide, Pindaro, Theocrito, Sophocle, item Gregorio Nazianzeno, monstrabit Socratice, idque hora 7 antemeridiana.⁹

The professor of the Greek language shall teach the grammar of Cleynaerts or Walper, but shall demonstrate the usage of Greek grammar in the books of the New Testament, in the writings of the Fathers, in Homer, Euripides, Pindar, Theocritus, Sophocles, and likewise Gregory of Nazianzus in a Socratic way, and this at seven before noon.

The professor of the Greek language was not, however, the only professor working with Greek texts. Concerning the duties of the professor of poetry, the statutes say:

Usum autem praeceptorum monstrabit [poëseos professor] in Homero, Hesiodo, Theocrito, Pindaro, Euripide, Sophocle, Virgilio, Horatio, Psalterio Buchanani, Ovidio, Propertio, Juvenale [...] ¹⁰

[The professor of poetry] shall demonstrate the usage of the precepts in Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Pindar, Euripides, Sophocles, Vergil, Horace, the Psalter of Buchanan, Ovid, Propertius, Juvenal [...]

⁷ Annerstedt, 1877a, 111.

⁸ Annerstedt, 1877a, 136–137.

⁹ Annerstedt, 1877b, 278.

¹⁰ Annerstedt, 1877b, 279.

In addition, it was the duty of one of the four professors of theology to lecture on the books of the New Testament.¹¹ The authoritative Greek grammarian for the theoretical teaching at the University was thus the Flemish Nicolas Cleynaerts (Nicolaus Clenardus, 1495–1542), who had taught Latin in Spain at Braga and Granada, and who had published the widely used primers *Institutiones in linguam Graecam* (first ed. 1530) and *Meditationes Graecanicae* (first ed. 1531).¹² The alternative, as mentioned in the statutes, was the German Otto Walper [Otho Gualperius] (1543–1624), who had published the *Grammatica Graeca* (first ed. 1590).¹³ For the practice of Greek, a number of ancient Greek classics well-known to us were selected, including the fourth-century Christian theologian and poet Gregory of Nazianzus.

According to the first catalogues, on the upper floor of the library, in the part arranged according to the four faculties, the section labelled *Grammatici* contained a considerable number of Greek grammars.¹⁴ Listed there are editions of Diomedes (Venice, 1500; Paris, 1528), Urbano Bolzanio (Basel, 1535), Martin Crusius (Basel, 1558; 1568–1569),¹⁵ Philipp Melanchthon (Leipzig, 1569; Frankfurt, 1545), Johann Possel (1569),¹⁶ Jacob Gretser (1598; 1612),¹⁷ and Michael Neander (Basel, 1561), among others. Most importantly, however, several copies in different editions by Nicolaus Cleynaerts are listed in the following entries: *Grammatica Graeca* (Paris, 1575);¹⁸ *Institutiones grammaticae Graecae* (Lyon, 1557; Frankfurt, 1590);¹⁹ *Clenardi institutiones grammaticae cum scholiis antesign* (in three copies, without names of publishers, places, or dates mentioned); *Grammatica Graeca* (Leipzig, 1574).²⁰ Cleynaerts's grammar was part of the spoils from both Riga and Braniewo, in copies still extant at Uppsala University Library. While the Riga

¹¹ Annerstedt, 1877b, 276.

¹² Sandys, 1908, 138–139. Deutscher, et al., 1985, 312–313.

¹³ For the biography of Otto Walper, see *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 1896, 768–769.

¹⁴ UUB Bibl. arkiv K3, 141–143.

¹⁵ Crusius 1568–69 arrived with the Riga-spoils. Kreigere-Liepiņa, et al., 2021, 323.

¹⁶ Arrived with the Riga-spoils. Kreigere-Liepiņa, et al. 2021, 323, 435–436.

¹⁷ Both arrived with the Riga-spoils. Kreigere-Liepiņa, et al., 2021, 323, 362–363.

¹⁸ Cleynaerts, 1575.

¹⁹ Cleynaerts, 1557. Cleynaerts, 1590 [1591].

²⁰ Cleynaerts, 1574 [?].

copy must be the one mentioned above printed in Lyon 1557,²¹ the extant copies of the *Institutiones* from Braniewo bear the imprints “Cologne: Gymnich, 1543”; “Cologne: Soter, 1561”; “Cologne: Baum, 1566”; and “Frankfurt: Wechel, 1580–1583”: (the last includes both the *Institutiones* and the *Meditationes*).²² The importance of Cleynaerts’s grammar for the teaching of Greek at the University is further attested by the fact that an edition was even locally produced at Uppsala in 1618, printed by Eskil Mattsson and funded by the local citizen Johan Tile.²³ In contrast, it must be added that there is only one entry for Otto Walper, his *Grammatica Graeca* (Lübeck, 1612).²⁴

For the demonstration of Greek in practice as required by the statutes, there were many books on the upper floor that would serve this purpose. Many had arrived with the libraries taken as spoils from Riga and Braniewo. The first room, entered as the opening section in the catalogue, started, as one would expect, with Theology and Bibles in many different languages.²⁵ Several Greek versions are listed there, for instance, the important polyglot edition of Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598), published in Antwerp 1569–1573, which included Hebrew, Chaldean, Greek, and Latin in five volumes. This arrived at Uppsala with the spoils from Braniewo.²⁶ The Septuagint printed in Rome 1587 is there too, as well as at least three copies of Erasmus’s Greek New Testament with a Latin translation, printed in Basel in 1521, 1527, and 1535.²⁷ A larger group of Erasmus’s New Testaments was located in one of the sections labelled *Theologi*, with fourteen copies edited in different places and years.²⁸ Many students at the University of this time were ordained as clergymen around the country, and New Testament exegesis was emphasized first in the regulations when specifying the duties of the professor of Greek and one of the theology professors. The oldest catalogue of lectures still extant,

²¹ Kreigere-Liepiņa, et al., 2021, 311.

²² Trypućko, 2007, 156–157.

²³ Cleynaerts, 1618.

²⁴ Walper, 1612. This edition is still the only one represented, and only in one copy, at Uppsala University Library. It arrived with the Riga spoils. Kreigere-Liepiņa, et al., 2021, 366–367.

²⁵ UUB Bibl. arkiv K3, 5–6.

²⁶ Trypućko, 2007, 661–662.

²⁷ The first of these, the one from 1521, probably arrived with the books from Braniewo. Trypućko, 2007, 84.

²⁸ UUB Bibl. arkiv K3, 42. At least one New Testament of Erasmus arrived with the Riga spoils. Kreigere-Liepiņa et al., 2021, 278.

dating from the end of 1636, provides in a snapshot confirmation of the importance of biblical Greek for the professor of the Greek language at the time:

M. Johannes Laurentii Stalenus, Graecae Ling. Prof. ord., absoluta analysi Epistolae Paulinae ad Ephes., Epistolam ad Philippinenses et Coloss. suis auditoribus resolvendas et explanandas proponet.²⁹

Master Johannes Laurentii Stalenus, ordinary professor of the Greek language, having finished the analysis of The Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians, suggests he will reveal and explain the letter to the Philippians and Colossians to his listeners.

Just as the Fathers follow in the enumeration of the statutes, they do so too in the physical arrangement of the upper floor of the library. *Patrum scripta* is widely defined, including in addition to the Greek and Latin Church fathers, later theologians down to those Catholic and Protestants theologians active when the catalogues were being compiled.³⁰ Among the Greek Church Fathers mentioned is a Basel edition without year of publication of the works of Gregory of Nazianzus, and the works of Basil of Caesarea (Basel, 1551; Paris 1570), Eusebius of Caesarea (Paris, 1545), John of Damascus (Basel, 1575), Theophylactus (Rome, 1542), the works of John Chrysostom in eight volumes (Eton, 1613), Cyril (Ingolstadt, 1607), Maximus the Confessor (Paris, 1562), as well as George Pachymeres (Paris, 1561).

Turning to the section for Poets, we find the other authors mentioned in the University statutes, usually in several different editions.³¹ There are numerous editions of the Homeric epics (for instance: Venice, 1524; Basel, 1535; 1561; 1567; Strasbourg, 1539; 1550; 1555),³² with the commentaries of Eustathius (e.g.: Basel, 1560; Rome, 1542). There are also editions of Euripides (Venice, 1507; Basel, 1562); Pindar (Rome, nd; Basel, 1528; Antwerp, 1567); Theocritus (Frankfurt, 1545; 1558);³³ Sophocles (Basel, 1558; Paris, 1568);

²⁹ Annerstedt, 1877b, 329.

³⁰ UUB Bibl. arkiv K3, 7–24. Almost all Greek fathers can be found on pp. 7–13.

³¹ UUB Bibl. arkiv K3, 132–140.

³² The copy of Basel 1561 arrived with the Riga spoils. Kreigere-Liepiņa, et al., 2021, 372–373. The copies of Basel 1535 and Strasbourg 1550 arrived with the Braniewo library. Trypućko, 2007, 320–321. One copy of Basel 1567 arrived with the spoils from Würzburg. Wittmann, 1890, 28.

³³ The copy of the edition Frankfurt 1558 arrived with the Braniewo library. See Trypućko,

Hesiod (Basel, nd; Venice, 1537; Leipzig, 1585),³⁴ and Gregory of Nazianzus (in two copies, nd, np).³⁵ But several more Greek authors are there too, for instance, Athenaeus (Venice, 1514); Aristophanes (Basel, 1547); Aeschylus (Paris, 1557); and Apollonius of Rhodes (Basel, 1572; Paris, 1574).

As we have seen, there was plenty of literature in the library to satisfy the needs of Greek teaching according to the statutes, but Greek works could be found in several other sections around the library. Just to give an impression of its prevalence, we shall make brief mention of some examples. In the first of the two very broad sections labelled 'Theologians' (*Theologi*),³⁶ where both older and contemporary works were located, several Greek *Psalterium Davidis* could be found (for instance: Venice, nd; 1547, np; Basel 1557³⁷), as well as the letter of Aristeas on the Septuagint translation (Basel, 1561). In the second are listed books such as Andreas Osiander's *Harmonia evangelica* in Greek and Latin (Basel, 1537), next to the works of Justin (Paris, 1551); Theodoret's *De selectis scripturae divinae quaestionibus* (Paris, 1558); the works of Dionysius Areopagita (Paris, 1562); and a catechism by Zacharias Gerganos (Wittenberg, 1622).

The section of Church History contains copies of works by Josephus (Basel, 1544); Philo (Paris, 1552); a collection of writers on old Church History like Eusebius, Theodoret, Sozomen, etc., (Basel, 1544);³⁸ a collection of the *Acta et scripta theologorum Wirtembergensium et patriarchae Constantinopolitani*, which they sent to each other concerning the *Confessio Augustana* (Wittenberg, 1584),³⁹ and an epitome of the life of St Peter by Clement (Paris, 1555).⁴⁰

While the catalogue on the upper floor seemingly does not indicate any Greek titles in the section for Law, that for Medicine holds a few, such as the works of Hippocrates (Basel, 1538); Paul of Aegina (Venice, 1528); the

2007, 592–593.

³⁴ One of the three copies of Hesiod from Braniewo is one from Basel without date. Trypućko, 2007, 313–314.

³⁵ Cf. Trypućko, 2007, 284.

³⁶ UUB Bibl. arkiv K3, 25–31, and 33–47.

³⁷ The copy of the edition Basel 1557 arrived with the Braniewo-library. See Trypućko, 2007, 80.

³⁸ The copy of Basel 1544 arrived with the Braniewo-library. See Trypućko, 2007, 48.

³⁹ The copy arrived with the Braniewo-library. See Trypućko, Trypućko, 2007, 8.

⁴⁰ UUB Bibl. arkiv K3, 48–55.

Commentarii Utriusque Linguae of Joachim Camerarius, in which the names of bodily parts are discussed and explained (Basel, 1551); and the *Galenii isagoge sive medicus*, now considered to be Pseudo-Galenian, in Latin and Greek (Lyon, 1537).⁴¹ In the Mathematics section there are copies of the *De situ orbis* by Dionysius Periegetes (Paris, 1556; 1559; Basel, 1566; Antwerp, 1572);⁴² works by Euclid (Strasbourg, 1571),⁴³ as well as his elements of music (Paris, 1557).⁴⁴

In the section for Secular History there are numerous books in Greek, for instance, Xenophon (Florence, 1524; Halle, 1540; Basel, 1569), Thucydides (Basel, 1540), Diodorus Siculus (Paris, 1559; Basel, nd), Pausanias (Venice, 1516), Arrian (Basel, nd; Basel, 1539), Plutarch (Basel, 1560), Polybius (Basel, 1549), Philostratus (Venice, 1502), Dio Cassius (Paris, 1548), Appian (Paris, 1551), Herodian (Venice, 1524), Diogenes Laertius (Basel, 1531; Paris, 1570).⁴⁵ The case is similar in the section for Orators.⁴⁶ We find there collections of Greek orators (Venice, 1508; Paris, 1575), Aristides (Florence, 1517), Demosthenes (Paris, 1570), Isocrates (Basel, 1567; Basel, 1571; Cologne, 1588),⁴⁷ Callimachus (Paris, 1575) bound together with Dio Chrysostom (Paris, 1554), Themistius (Amberg, 1605), Julian the Emperor (Paris, 1583), Dionysius Halicarnassus (Paris, 1554), Dio Chrysostom (Venice, nd), the rhetorical works of Aphthonius, Hermogenes, and Ps-Longinos (1569, np), Aristotle (Basel, 1546; Strasbourg, 1570), and others.⁴⁸

The sections for Dictionaries and Lexica naturally hold several Greek exemplars, for instance, the *Thesaurus linguae Graecae* of Henri Estienne (Paris, 1572), as well as several Greek-Latin dictionaries, such as Budaeus (Basel, 1572), Gessner (Basel, 1548), and Hesychius's Greek dictionary (Hagenau, 1521), but also more general ones such as Elias Hutter's *Dictionarium harmonicum biblicum*, covering Hebrew, Greek, and Latin

⁴¹ UUB Bibl. arkiv K3, 75–85.

⁴² Arrived with the Würzburg-library. See Wittmann, 1890, 19.

⁴³ Arrived with the Braniewo-library. See Trypućko Trypućko, 2007, 236.

⁴⁴ UUB Bibl. arkiv K3, 86–91.

⁴⁵ UUB Bibl. arkiv K3, 92–108.

⁴⁶ UUB Bibl. arkiv K3, 110–120.

⁴⁷ The copy of Basel 1571 arrived with the Braniewo-library. See Trypućko, 2007, 348.

⁴⁸ The copy of Basel 1546 arrived with the Riga-spoils. Kreigere-Liepīņa, et al., 2021, 258.

(Nuremberg, 1598).⁴⁹ The same is the case for the section on Philologists (*Philologi*), where we find among other things, Stobaeus (Basel, 1549; Zürich, 1559),⁵⁰ Aesop (Venice, 1505), Guarino da Verona's compendium of the Grammar of Chrysoloras, *Guarini Erotemata* (Leuven, 1517), and Lycophron (Basel, 1560).⁵¹

In the 1640s, the section of Philosophy on the upper floor, which for some reason had not been included in the first two catalogues, was added in a third supplement volume for Uppsala Library; this supplement also included some other books missing from the previously registered subjects.⁵² As might be expected, a considerable number of Greek books appear, for instance, works by Aristotle (Basel, 1539; 1550; 1583; Venice, 1551[?]; Paris 1560),⁵³ Maximus of Tyre (Paris, 1557), Oppian (Paris, 1555), Plato (Basel, 1556; Paris, 1551; 1578), Plutarch (Paris, 1572), Themistius (Venice, 1534), Xenophon (Halle, 1540; Basel, 1545),⁵⁴ as well as commentaries in Greek on Aristotle by authors such as Alexander of Aphrodisias (Venice, 1513) and Simplicius (Basel, 1551).

Having passed through the sections in the first catalogues of Uppsala University Library in an admittedly rather dry account of some examples of Greek books available there in the early seventeenth century, some important conclusions can be drawn. These give new insights into the conditions for Greek studies at Uppsala University at the time, and shed further light on the arrangement of the books in its first Library. It is clear that Greek did not matter only to those studying the Greek language as their primary pursuit: theologians needed it for their biblical exegesis, and it was also necessary for the effective study of patristics. In the age of confessionalization after the Reformation and Renaissance, the Lutheran doctrine of *sola scriptura*—where the Bible was held up as the principal authority for Christian life and faith—made studies of the sacred text in its original languages absolutely necessary. As a result, Greek occupied a strong position in the Uppsala University curriculum, and its importance was manifest from the start.

⁴⁹ UUB Bibl. arkiv K3, 121–123.

⁵⁰ The copy of Basel 1549 arrived with the Braniewo-library. See Trypućko, 2007, 572–573.

⁵¹ UUB Bibl. arkiv K3, 124–131.

⁵² UUB Bibl. arkiv K4, 3–30.

⁵³ The copy of Basel 1583 arrived with the Braniewo-library. See Trypućko, 2007, 39.

⁵⁴ The copy of Basel 1545 arrived with the Braniewo-library. See Trypućko, 2007, 656.

While the first University statutes of 1626 clearly stated which grammars were deemed to be the principal authorities, and which authors should mainly be taught, we have seen that the Library held books in many more fields than those explicitly mentioned. Greek literature was available in almost all academic sections on the upper floor of the library. Thus, Greek books appeared on the shelves reserved for Bibles, the Church Fathers, Theologians (in two different sections), Church History, Medicine, Mathematics, History, Orators and Rhetoric, Dictionaries, Philology, Poetry, Grammar, and Philosophy, but not in the section for Law. The literary spoils of war donated to Uppsala in the 1620s added a substantial number of Greek titles to the general holdings. Most importantly, however, one essential detail should be stressed: when going through the catalogues we have avoided discussion of the sections located on the lower floor of the library, the storage area reserved for less useful books. The reason is very simple. In the less useful holdings of the lower floor, *not a single title has been labelled with the word 'Graece'*. In the sections of mostly Catholic books on this floor, covering such areas as law, Bible commentaries, controversial theology, catechisms and *loci communes*, prayers and meditations, sermons, scholastic theology, etc., there were no books in Greek. It has previously been described as a kind of paradox that so many of the glorious literary spoils of war were stored away and almost destroyed in the unsuitable climate of the lower floor of the first Uppsala University Library.⁵⁵ Be that as it may, this was clearly not the case with the Greek books that had been taken as war booty. These were sorted out from the less useful books and readily located on the upper floor in order to be used in the regular teaching at the University, as specified by the University statutes of 1626, but also deployed for the better delivery of lessons in other subject areas.

⁵⁵ Hornwall, 1981, 67.

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