

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



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**Hellenostephanos.**  
**Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe**

Learned Communities between Antiquity and  
Contemporary Culture

Edited by Janika Päll and Ivo Volt



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

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

Anonymus Hamburgensis



# CONTENTS

<i>Editors' preface</i> .....	9
I. The transmission of Humanist Greek: regional accounts	
Christian Gastgeber. <i>Transalpine Greek Humanism (Pannonian Area). A Methodological Approach</i> .....	19
Gita Bērziņa. <i>16th–17th-century Humanist Greek Texts at the Academic Library of the University of Latvia</i> .....	40
Janika Päll. <i>Humanist Greek in Early Modern Estonia and Livonia: The Contexts and Principal Genres</i> .....	57
II. The dissemination of Greek: language, texts and theory	
Charalampos Minaoglou. <i>Anastasius Michael Macedo and His Speech on Hellenism</i> .....	115
Erkki Sironen. <i>“Dialectal” Variation in Humanist Greek Prose Orations in the Great Empire of Sweden (1631–1721)</i> .....	130
Kaspar Kolk. <i>Dissemination and Survival of a Book Printed in 17th-century Tartu: The Case of Johannes Gezelius' Lexicon Graeco-Latinum (1649)</i> .....	144
Tua Korhonen. <i>Classical Authors and Pneumatological Questions. Greek Dissertations Supervised by Johannes Gezelius the Elder at the University of Tartu (Academia Gustaviana, 1644–1647)</i> .....	158
Johanna Akujärvi. <i>Xenophon and Aesop for Swedish Youth. On the Earliest Printed Translations of Ancient Literature in Sweden</i> .....	185
Bartosz Awianowicz. <i>Between Hermogenes, Cicero and Quintilian: George of Trebizond's Latinization of Greek Rhetorical Terms Related to Ideas of Style</i> .....	218

### III. Humanist Greek in and for poetry

Jean-Marie Flamand.

*Les épîtres grecques préliminaires de l'helléniste français*

*Jean Cheradame dans son édition d'Aristophane (Paris, 1528)*..... 231

Walther Ludwig.

*Der deutsche griechische Dichter Laurentios Rodoman* ..... 249

Alessandra Lukinovich.

*Florent Chrestien pindarise sous la houlette d'Henri Estienne.*

*Un psaume des montées en vers grecs (Ps. 127 hébreu)*

*dans la version publiée en 1566 et dans un autographe* ..... 260

Martin Steinrück.

*Springlesen: eine akrostichische Form bei Propertius und Filelfo* ..... 299

Martin Steinrück.

*Metric "mistakes" in the Greek epigrams of Angelo Poliziano*..... 318

Tomas Veteikis.

*Imitation of the Carmina Moralia of St. Gregory of Nazianzus*

*in the 16th-century Greek Poetry of Lithuania*..... 336

### IV. Humanist Greek texts

Grigory Vorobyev.

*A New Epigram of Matthew Devaris*..... 379

Vlado Rezar.

*Greek Verses of Damianus Benessa* ..... 391

Pieta van Beek.

*Ῥὸς ῥόδον ἐν ἀκάνθαις – 'As a Rose Among the Thorns':*

*Anna Maria van Schurman and Her Correspondences in Greek* ..... 414

Antoine Haaker.

*An Unpublished Greek Letter of Ismaël Bullialdus*

*to Anna Maria van Schurman*..... 438

About the authors..... 448

Index of personal names..... 451



## EDITORS' PREFACE

### I. Humanist Greek: the language of passion

The bulk of this volume is based on the papers presented at the conference “Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe. Learned Communities between Antiquity and Contemporary Culture”, which took place at the University of Tartu Library in May 2014 within the framework of Janika Päll’s research project PUT132, “Humanist Greek in Early Modern Estonia and Livonia: A Bridge to Modern and Ancient European Culture”, conducted at the University of Tartu Library in 2013–2016 and funded by the Estonian Research Council. Although the publication of the conference volume was delayed, research on Humanist Greek has, in the meantime, received more attention. It suffices to mention another inspiring conference on ‘Neualtgriechisches’ in Wuppertal in 2015, organised by Stefan Weise<sup>1</sup> and the new project, Helleno-Nordica, directed by Johanna Akujärvi (<http://projekt.ht.lu.se/helleno-nordica/>), with subprojects in Helsinki and Tartu.

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> See Weise 2017.

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

<sup>3</sup> See Christidis 2007.

the study and practice of Ancient Greek by both Renaissance Humanists and Byzantine scholars, but temporal limits do not allow us to use it for the discussion of the period after 1600.<sup>4</sup> For periodisation purposes, 'Neualtgriechisch'<sup>5</sup> or 'Altgriechisch nach 1453' ('(Ancient) Greek after 1453') has been suggested in German; although the notion has not yet been established generally in the library catalogues for language classification for Ancient Greek texts from the Renaissance and (Early) Modern period to today, it will hopefully become more and more frequent in the metadata and guide researchers to such texts.<sup>6</sup> However, the sobriety and technical character of metadata language classification overshadows some essential features of this phenomenon of practicing the ancient languages. This is where the notion 'Humanist Greek' becomes useful.

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

<sup>4</sup> For the discussion, led by Luigi-Alberto Sanchi at the round table "Defining Renaissance Greek" at RSA Berlin conference, see: [https://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.rsa.org/resource/resmgr/2015\\_Berlin/pdf\\_of\\_final\\_program.pdf](https://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.rsa.org/resource/resmgr/2015_Berlin/pdf_of_final_program.pdf).

<sup>5</sup> For this, see Weise 2017.

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

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

<sup>8</sup> See Weise 2017, as well as Páll 2017 and 2018.

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

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

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

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

Hoeschelius 1577: B3r.

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

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

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

<sup>11</sup> See for Scaliger in the exhibition catalogue, Päll, Valper 2014: 4.

## II. Tartu conference and its *Acta*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### III. Acknowledgements

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

Janika Päll  
Ivo Volt

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