

THE NETHERLANDS (Hollande)

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GREEK COMING TO LIFE AGAIN EVERYWHERE!

THE GREEK LANGUAGE IN THE EARLY MODERN NETHERLANDS¹

INTRODUCTION

After antiquity, ancient Greek largely disappeared from Western cultural history. In the 14th century, the early and influential Italian humanist Francesco PETRARCA was one of the first to be interested again in Greek. Petrarch frequently encountered references by Latin authors to Greek source texts, which he was unable to read. Together with his friend Giovanni BOCCACCIO, he invited Leonzio PILATO to Florence to teach Greek.

Pilato was a scholar from the southern Italian region of Calabria, where the study of Greek sources had not fallen into oblivion since southern Italy until the 11th century was under the authority of the Greek-speaking Byzantines. Besides teaching, Pilato also accepted Boccaccio's invitation to make a translation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Hitherto, access to Homer's work was mostly gained through the *Ilias Latina*, a brief summary of the *Iliad* in 1070 Latin hexameters. Pilato's work provided a literal, verbatim prose translation (*ad verbum*), devoid of any stylistic embellishment. This did not satisfy the interest in the character of Homer's Greek language. Moreover, Pilato's Greek lessons did not turn out to be a success.

Although these first initiatives did not immediately launch a fruitful cross-fertilization in the development of the humanistic study of ancient Greek, it was a beginning of renewed interest in the language in the West. Pilato's Byzantine successor Manuel CHRYSOLORAS, by introducing a grammar and many manuscripts containing unknown textual sources, accomplished a more lasting impact. Moreover, Chrysoloras promoted a translation strategy concerned with the notion of a text (*ad sententiam*), holding in mind specific characteristics.

¹ This introduction is an adaptation of a previously published article in Dutch: John Tholen, "Eerst boeken, dan kleren. Grieks in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden", in: *Hermeneus. Tijdschrift voor antieke cultuur* 3 (2017), pp. 126-133. I thank John Bulwer for correcting my English.

In the 15th century there existed a small group of humanists who translated Greek texts into Latin, for example Thucydides by Lorenzo VALLA and Aristotle by Leonardo BRUNI. Primarily through translations in Latin, Aristotle had an enormous influence on early modern theology, political science and rhetoric, amongst other disciplines. Knowledge of Plato, however, was mainly provided by Marsilio FICINO's Latin commentaries on Plato's texts. So, although most scholars had little knowledge of the language, the Greek discourse was not at all out of the picture.

Erasmus of Rotterdam

Desiderius ERASMUS (1466-1536) taught himself Greek, propagated the knowledge of Greek, stigmatised everyone without knowledge of Greek as ignorant, and transformed Greek into a political-religious instrument. Doing so, he made the most significant contribution to a renewed interest in the Greek language in the early modern period. Erasmus believed that without knowledge of Greek few things could be achieved: "*for experience teaches me this, at any rate, that we can do nothing in any field of literature without a knowledge of Greek*", he wrote in one of his letters².

In retrospect, Erasmus complained about the lack of Greek during his own Dutch school period: "*we had no supply of Greek books and no less a shortage of teachers*"³. Such an observation shows us that the position of Greek had little importance in Erasmus' time in Northern Europe. For studying the language textbooks were necessary, but to Erasmus they proved unavailable. Indeed, at that time few printers were occupied with publishing Greek, as this was not an easy way to make money. For a long time, proper dictionaries did not exist either. The Parisian humanist Guillaume BUDÉ, who had mastered Greek by himself too, published a comprehensive dictionary in 1529: his *Commentarii linguae Graecae* was the dictionary that represented the renewed knowledge of the Greek language for the first time.

Despite the poor education and scarce learning material, Erasmus managed to become proficient in Greek. In letters he deliberately presented himself as self-taught: "*I have turned my entire attention to Greek. The first thing I shall do, as soon as the money arrives, is to buy some Greek authors; after that, I shall buy clothes*"⁴. Erasmus had great difficulty to return a borrowed edition of Homer, as we learn from his response to such a request from the rightful owner: "*Indeed my affection for this particular author is so warm that, even though I should fail to understand him, I should still derive refreshment and sustenance from the very*

² CWE 181, 101-3.

³ CWE 1341A, 225-6.

⁴ CWE 124, 72-4.

sight of his work. Nevertheless, I consider it most unfair to oppose you in any matter, even under difficult conditions, especially when you are undergoing misfortune, so I am sending you one part of my Homer, in order that [...] I myself be not wholly bereft of solace”⁵. However, it is difficult to assess how seriously such statements should be taken. Foremost it seems that Erasmus deliberately appropriated Greek for the purpose of self-fashioning.

In his correspondence, Erasmus consciously made use of Greek, echoing Cicero. By using Greek words instead of Latin ones, Erasmus for example underlined the special nature of a subject, a humorous aspect, or the composition. Sometimes he applied Greek words to contrive a soothing effect of his statement. The choice of Greek above Latin was for example based on liveliness and expressiveness (e.g. λογομαχία “war of words” for *contentio* “quarrel”) or brevity (e.g. γαστροδούλοι “slaves of the stomach” and μυσόμουσοι “Muse haters” are examples of catching a concept in one word).

Erasmus put much effort into translating ancient Greek texts into Latin. On the one hand he regretted that these translations were necessary. He bewailed the poor state of education in Greek that made translations into Latin necessary to unlock the Greek authors. On the other hand, he hoped that his translations would contribute to their superfluity. They would invoke an increasing enthusiasm for the language, resulting in better education, according to Erasmus.

One of the Greek authors that were translated by Erasmus was Lucian. The Latin translations produced together with his friend Thomas MORE resulted in Lucian becoming one of the Greek authors who was printed most frequently in the early modern period, both in Greek and in Latin translation.

Really in the spotlight was Greek from the moment when Erasmus started a most controversial project: publishing a revised Greek edition of the New Testament, accompanied by a new Latin translation, printed by JOHANN FROBEN in Basle in 1516 as *Novum Instrumentum*. Since the 6th century the Vulgate translation of the church father Jerome had been used in every church. In other words: the Vulgate was considered the undisputed Word of God. Erasmus discovered and documented that the Vulgate was not always an accurate representation of his revised version of the Greek source text. By putting the Biblical Greek at the core of his argumentation, Erasmus within humanist circles made Greek into a controversial issue linked to the Reformation. The essence of the controversy consisted of the question whether or not Greek was necessary for the study of the Bible. Indeed, Erasmus made use of his knowledge of the Greek language to create a more genuine version of the Bible that LUTHER, in turn, used as the basis for his vernacular edition. Erasmus himself, however,

⁵ CWE 131, 4-11.

remained faithful to the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, although he criticized aspects of the religious practice.

Printing practice

Erasmus hopefully noticed with excitement the trend that was developing around him: “*How fortunate [...] is our generation, in which we see Greek coming to life again everywhere!*”⁶. Indeed, the interest in Greek was increasing. Libraries such as the one in the Vatican and of the Medici in Florence now contained hundreds of Greek manuscripts, often gathered by “manuscript hunters”. From the 16th century, many Greek authors were printed in an editio princeps, for example by the influential ALDUS MANUTIUS in Venice. This shows a growing interest in ancient Greek texts, to both read and research them. Nevertheless it remained most common to publish Greek authors in Latin translation.

Although books with Greek as the main text were much less prevalent than books mainly consisting of Latin, it was common that some Greek appeared in Latin works. A humanist commentary on a Roman source could for example refer to Greek commonplaces, providing Greek quotes. And, as already showed for Erasmus, early modern authors used Greek words in their texts. Therefore, Greek was a common element in printing practice and many printers would have had an assortment of Greek characters available in their workshop. For example the Hebrew and Arabic alphabets were much less prevalent, and therefore mainly reserved for specialized printers or vast printing companies, such as Christopher PLANTIN in Antwerp. By printing a lot of easily saleable products like almanacs, classics and religious texts, Plantin could afford such a massive production project as the Polyglot Bible, consisting of the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac Bible texts.

From our modern perspective, Greek looks different in early modern print. This is the result of the many ligatures that were used in printing Greek, but which are not in use anymore.

Greek education

Early modern secondary education was traditionally focussed on Latin. The growing interest in Greek within humanist circles also had an impact on education. In his treatise on education (*De ratione studii*) Erasmus had emphasized the importance of both Latin and Greek, as the foundation of learning: “*Grammar, therefore, claims primacy of place and at the outset boys must be instructed in two – Greek, of course, and Latin. This is not only because almost everything worth learning is set forth in these two languages, but in addition because each is so cognate to the other that both can be more quickly assimilated when they are*

⁶ CWE 428, 42-3.

taken in conjunction than one without the other, or at least Latin without Greek”⁷. Additionally, Erasmus published a treatise on the pronunciation of Greek and Latin (*De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione*), in which he defended a pronunciation of Greek by stressing words according to the Greek accent.

In the Netherlands, Greek was first introduced as a school subject in Deventer by Alexander HEGIUS. He was the headmaster of the local Latin school when Erasmus got his education there. Erasmus showed great admiration for his teacher, about whom he wrote that he was “*extremely proficient in oratory and poetic theory, and moreover as well acquainted with Greek as with Latin*”⁸.

In Leuven the Collegium Trilingue (College of the Three Languages) opened in 1518. The local printer Dirk MARTENS provided the language institute of many educational materials in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. The creation of such an institute focused on education in these three languages, is another clear sign of renewed interest in the study of Greek.

In this way, Greek slowly became a regular part of the educational curriculum. In 1625, the States of Holland and West-Friesland mentioned in their *School-ordre*, which prescribed the obligatory curriculum for Latin schools, the *Institutiones linguae Graecae* as mandatory grammar book.

Nevertheless, in spite of the standardised role of Greek in the educational system, most middle and upper class men barely mastered Greek, although they did have proficiency in Latin. Its utility in professional lives was nominal. Therefore, Greek remained the domain of a select group of humanistic scholars.

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⁷ CWE 667, 1-6.

⁸ CWE 23, 59-61.

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NEOHELLENISTIC TEXTS

Besides the interest in the Greek language as an aspect of antiquity, from the late 16th century humanists themselves wrote original Greek texts. Greek primarily was regarded as an amusing but elegant way to showcase yourself or others, or to disparage someone. It was a lofty game which could be played only by a small group of like-minded humanists. Occasional poetry (poems to celebrate special family or public events) and threshold poems (which often applaud the author or the subject in the front matter to a book publication) were genres in which Greek was applied frequently.

Hugo DE GROOT (Grotius), for example, made vitriolic accusations in Greek against other prominent figures in the politics of the Republic. Hugo sent to his brother Willem a two-line satire on the Swedish ambassador (Spiring), who he rendered to have owed his position mainly because of his wealth, contrasting his predecessor (Camerarius), who was really knowledgeable through experience. The epigram (in an elegiac distich) is as follows:

Κλαίει Δημοσύνη Καμεράριον εισορόωσα,
πλούτος ὅτι φρενοπλήξ εἶο πλέον δύναται.
“Weep, Skill, when you look at Camerarius, for mad riches can achieve more than him”⁹.

Willem de Groot answered Hugo’s epigram by sending a Latin translation in return, demonstrating his understanding of the Greek original:

*Doctrina aspectu Camerari percita plorat,
vis sua quod gazis est minor illicibus.*
“Doctrine, agitated by the sight of Camerarius, cries, because his strength is less than tempting riches”¹⁰.

Willem was afraid of the possibility that the ambassador would happen to face the poem when it would be circulated. Hugo wrote his brother in response

⁹ The epigram and translation are derived from: M. van Oosterhout, *Hugo Grotius’ Occasional poetry (1609-1645)* (dissertation Nijmegen 2009), F.3, 266-7, providing an introduction and commentary to the lines.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

that the man “understands no Greek” anyway, but nevertheless refrained from circulation. This kind of *Spielerei* shows how Greek in the early modern period functioned as an extra dimension within the Latin Republic of Letters.

Within the Netherlands, the university in Leiden was an important centre for the study and practice of Greek. The most famous professor of Greek was Daniel HEINSIUS (1580-1655). He edited and published many Greek text editions, and furthermore wrote original Greek poetry himself. Heinsius has been one of the few early modern authors from the Netherlands who have published in Greek on this scale. In his *Peplus Graecorum Epigrammatum in quo omnes celebriores Graeciae philosophi [...] recensentur* (“Spectrum of Greek epigrams in which all most famous Greek philosophers are recounted”), published in 1613 by Johannes PATIUS in Leiden¹¹, he included a variety of short poems on, for example, Plato and Homer.

¹¹ STCN record number: 113724845; see Daniel Heinsius, *Peplus Graecorum Epigrammatum* (Leiden: Patius, 1613), pp. 16-25 — Google Books).

Εἰς τὸν Ὀμηρον, τὸν Πά-
σης φιλοσοφίας τὰ πρῶτα.

⊖ Εἶε Μελισσιγνές, σὺ μὲν οὐρανόθεν παρεδοικώς,
Ἄρχῳ Μουσάων μήσαο ἔθφίης.
Ὡς γὰρ ἀπ' Ὀκεανοῖο τ' μυεῖον ἔλκειαι ὕδωρ,
Κελυέων αἰενάων, ἃ̄ ἀνα, καὶ ποταμῶν,
Τῶς καὶ (ὦ γεγάασιν ἀφ' αἱμαλῶ, οὐς τραίφε θεῖς
Κήρυκας ἑθφίης Ἑλλάς ἀπειρεσίη.
Μοῦν ὦ δ' ὕψι βέβηκας, ἄτε Στέντωρ ἢ γελωνῶς,
Πᾶσαν πλήρωσας γλῶ ὀπὸς ἀθανάτου·
Τῆς ἐπὶ νῦν μάλα πάντες ἀκούομεν, ὡς πατράγοιο
Βροηῆς, ἐκ νεφέων μίγδα κυλινδομένων.
Ἀλλά μοι ἰλήκοις πανυπέροισι. (ὦ γὰρ αἰδέειν
Ὡς ὕψι βερέμετε Ζηνὸς ἀπαρχόμεθα.

Εἰς Ἡσίοδον.

Δήμητερ τέλλισε, (εἰ μὲν πολυγηθέα καρπὸν
Ἄλδαιίνην ἑθφίης εἰκὸς, ἄτε σαχύων.
Τὸν μὲν παῖς Δίοιο ἔα γχινὸς Πυκιμήδης,
Ἄσκης ἐνναέτης, οἶδεν ἀμυσάμην ὦ.
Σὺ γὰρ ὑπο τρεφθεῖς μεγαλώνυμε, χεῖρ δ' ἐχέτλιω
Τῇ μὲν ἀερίάζων, τῇ ἢ μέγα δρέπανον,
Ἄρξεν τ' ὀκλάβλωμον, αἰκία λιμὸν ἀμύνειν,
Πρωθίης κορυφῶν δρέψαι ἀπ' ἰδμοσσώης.
Τῶν δέ (ὦ ἀγλαόκαρπα θαλύσια δῶκε κομίζων,
Μελπόμην ὦ γλυκερῆς ἔργα γειπονίης·

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Σωφροσύνη δ' ἐδίδαξε, καὶ ὡς πλέον ἤμισυ παυτός,
 Ἐκ Μουσέων Ῥόθης μέτρα διδασκόμενῳ.
 Ἀλλὰ γέρον μάλα χαῖρε, πανόλβιε· τοῖ γ' ἔνεγκε
 Πολλῶ καὶ πινυλλῶ γαῖα· φυτῶσπορίων.

Εἰς Θάλην.

Ἐπὶ δὲ Ῥόθων τὰ πρῶτα Θαλλῶ τέκε δια Μίληθῳ,
 Ἀστέρων κάλλιπον Πλειάδῳ Ἑλλαδικῆς.
 Ὑδωρ δ' οἱ πέλε πάντα· ἔσθ' ἔφησι γῆρας
 Ὅσα πανομφαῖῳ δέρε' ἠέλιθῳ.
 Πρῶτῳ δ' οὐρανὸν δειρῶ δ' ἀπο χθονὸς ἀμφιπολίσας,
 Ἐσπόλον ἕεθη τὴν πάρε' ἔξέμαθε.

Εἰς Σόλωνα

Διὲ γέρον, ὅ μὲν ἄερον ἀμαρτυρίῳ κ' ἔνικτα
 Παισὶν ἔρεχθῆθ' τειρομένοισι ἐφάνης,
 Σείων πρῶτα μὲν ἄχθῳ Ἀθιναίοις δ' ἀπὸ πᾶσι,
 Κοινῇ δ' ἐλοσυνίῳ κ' ἡεῖα λυσάμενθῳ.
 Εἴτανόμας, νέον ἄχθῳ, ἀμφίλιτρο Δράκοιθῳ,
 Θεσμῶν μελιχίαν ἄων διαμειρόμενθῳ.
 Πάσης δ' αὖ Σαλαμῖνθ' ἀπώσαο δούλιον ἡμᾶρ,
 Καλῶς ἀφραδέων, κ' Ῥοφά μαγνόμενθῳ.

Εἰς

PEPLVS.

ΕΙΣ ΚΛΕΟΒΟΥΛΟΝ.

Οὐδ' ἐμὲ τὸν Κλεόβουλον ἀπείρηνα Λίνδ' ἔπικλε
 Ζωᾶς τὰς βροχίας, οὐ μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα,
 Τὸν πατρὸς γόνον μὲν Φανίη· τῷ Ἑλλάδι φέγγ' ἔθηκα,
 Θεασίξας χροσμῶν πλάθ' ἀπειρεσίων.
 Εἰ δ' ὀλίγα μοι πατρὶς· ὄρη Δία, τὸν πρὶν ἀνάσσειν
 Κρητὲς ἐνὶ Κυκλαῶν ἔπρεψαν βασιδῶν.

ΕΙΣ ΠΕΡΙΑΝΔΡΟΝ.

Οὐδὲ μάττω Περίανδρον δρισολόχοιο Κορίνθια
 Ἔπεφε γῆ, σάθμω ἦθε', ὄμμα δικῆς.
 Φασὶ δέ νιν πολλὰς δ' ὑποθημοσιώας ἢ δρίσας
 Μουσαίων ἱερῶν ἀνθέμω ἐν ταλαίροις.
 Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μύθους τε πεπλόωφροί τ' ἐνναυτοὶ
 Κλέπται Μνημοσιώης ἤε πασαν ἠδ' ἀρετῆς.
 Οἱ δ' ἔπειραν βῆσαι ψύσαντο νιν· ἢ γὰρ ἀνασσειν
 Κορινθίης ἄλλης οἴκου ὄθειαι Κοφία.

ΕΙΣ ΧΕΪΛΩΝΑ.

Χείλων ὃν Σπάρτας εἰμὶ ξένος τᾶς ἢ πόλιν
 Πρωσύλω ἀμείρεας κάρτε' τοι ἐμπειάμως·
 Χρῆσιμα δ' ἐς βίον εἶπον ὅσα κόνις, οὐ πολὺ μύθ' ἔτι,
 Οὐδ' ἀφαρτῶ περὶ Ἀθίδ' ἐνναέτας.
 Μῦθ' ἔτι πυκνός τε, καὶ ἀσερραῖσιν εἰκώς,
 Ἄ Κοφία μῶνων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

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ἮΣ ἈΠὸ Πιττακοῦ.

Τὸν Μίσυλινναῖον πρῶτον εἶσδε Πιττακὸν ἦρω,
 Τὸν Σοφίην δεινὸν Φῶτα, καὶ Λυορέην.
 Ἦν δ' ἀπιθῆς, Φριώνά μοι εἴεο, πῶς ἐκύλισα,
 Ἐν δαί νιν, κρυπλῶ ἀμφιβαλῶν παγίδα.
 Πολλὰ ἢ θέσσιζον μάλα καίρια· τῷ χάριν αἰεὶ
 Πάτρην ἡμέτερον Φημί μοι ἐκλελέσθην.
 Εἰ ἢ καὶ Ἀλκαῖός μοι ἐπέχεα, λί πλεον ἦδη;
 Οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γλωσσῶν Συκοφάσθης ἀδίκων.

ἮΣ ἈΠὸ Βίαντος.

Ἦρωσ Τυταμίδης, ὁ Σοφοῖς ἐναείθμι ἄλλοις
 Ἑλλάδ' ἀρχαίης, εἰμι Βίας ὁ γέρον,
 Κρείσσων τ' πενίης καὶ ἀπέρθητ' καὶ Ἄρηα,
 Πάσης ἡμέτερος γῆς κεραιζομένης.
 Μοῦσ' ἢ Σοφίης πλουτ' βαθυς, οὔτε λείσος
 Οὔτε δορυκλήτ' γίνε' ἐν πολέμῳ.

ἜΣ ἈΝΑΧΑΡΣΙΝ.

Ἦρα μάτην Ἀνάχαρσι ποθ' Ἑλλάδα κυδιανέσθην
 Τῆς Σοφίης πολλῶν ἦλθες ἐπ' ἐμπορείην,
 Ὅφρα νόμους πίθησθα καὶ ἀγλαὰ θεσμά πολιταῖς
 Τοῖσι γαλακτοφάγοις Σαῖς καὶ ἀμαξοβίοις.
 Ἄλλ' εἰ τ' ἔξοφύρσι νόμων μέλθῃ, οἱ Σοὶ οὔσθην
 Πέμπων ἀνώισον, καὶ μόρον ἀνόμορον.

P E P L U S .

Εἰς Μῦθωνα τὸν Χηνέα.

Θεσμοθέτης Ἀνάχαρις ὅτε Σκυθίης δὸπ' γαίης
 Ἦλυθεν, Ἐλλύων γλῶσσει ἐρχόμενῳ,
 Ἐζήτησ' Ἐοφίλῳ πῖν' ἰδεῖν σάσιμόν τε καὶ ἔργα
 Χρήσιμον, οὐχ' οἴη πολλάκι Κερκσιδῶν.
 Ρήτρικόν τι σοφισμα, λόγοι μόνον, ἄσατα πάντα,
 Οὐδ' ἐν πλῆθ' ἐειδές καὶ κενεοφροσύνη.
 Ἦλθε δ' καὶ κοίλῳ Λακεδαίμονα, μήτερά δ' ἴδω
 Ἀνδρῶν κεινομένων ἐν δαίῳ καὶ σοφίῃ.
 Εἶρε δ' ἐκεῖ Χλωδύσι παρ' ὠρυγίαισι, γέροντα
 Χλωέα, μενοβάτιν, χῶρη ἐν οἰοπόλῳ.
 Ἦν δέ τ' ἐν χερσὶ μέγας ἰσοβοδὺς, τὸν δρόστῳ
 Ἦρμωσεν, ἀμφοτέρῳ κοπιόμενῳ παλάμα.
 Τέχνη δ' ἔσκε γέροντι, γηπονίῳ τρυπιδῶν,
 Παῖδας δ' ἔφειερας θρέψαι Ἰπταμνῶν,
 Ἦς ἀλόχευε παρσιῶν ὅπη θέμις, οἶκον ἀέξεν
 Εὐμελέως, μέμμεν δ' ἔργα δικαιοσύνης.
 Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἰδόμεναι εἶπεν, ἄλλο πλέον εἶδέν ἄλλο,
 Τῆς καλῆς σοφίης οὐπότε γασάμενῳ.
 Ταῦτα μαθὼν Ἀνάχαρις, ἀνήλυθεν· εἶπε γὰρ διρεῖν
 Γυμνῶ τινὲ σοφίῳ, ἐσοφροσυλίῳ.

Εἰς Ἐπιμενίδαην.

Ἦν τις θεῖον ἀνῆρ, ὁμοπάτερον, ἐν πόλει Κρήτῃ,
 Ζηλὸς ἐλεγδῆρα, μανθουσίας δεδαώς.
 Μέλιψατο δ' ὡς Κορύβαντας, ἰδὲ Κρηθία φάλα
 Κρητῶν μεγάλων, ἑὼν ποτε Ζεὺς τροφῶν.

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Ἀργαίτ' αὐδήσαν ἀνά μέλαν οἶδμα θύσαν,
 Μέντω Λευδρομάδων σὺν ἀλεγιζομένω.
 Πενήκοντα δ' ἔτη κοιμήσατο, πρὸς ᾧ ἔπια,
 Τῆς δ' αὐτοῦ βιοῆς εἶδε τεληκόσια.
 Ταῦτα πάλαμ Κρήτες ἠμὲν εἶπασι πολλά καὶ ἄλλα,
 Περσθένεις, μάλα δὴ τέρασιν εἰδόμην.
 Ἰλαθι Ζῶ Κρήτεων· αἰὲ ψόσει γὰρ ἔασιν,
 Οὐ μόνον ἡμεῶν Λαῶν Φείσειζομένοι.

Εἰς Φερεκτῆν.

Οὐδὲ τεὸν Φερέκυδες ἀγακλύσαν δῖχ' ὀλεῖται,
 Πρῶτον ἀληθείης φέγγ' ἀναχόμενε,
 Πυθαγόρης σοφὸς οἶδεν ὀτηλίχ', ἂν Λύ δίδαξας
 Τὼ πρὶ τ' ψυχῆς πᾶσαν ἀληθοσύνην.
 Ὡς ἠμὲν ἀπήμαντός τε ἔθανά τ' ἔα γήρας,
 Θεῖν δ' ἠγεμόνη Κίλιεσ' ἀνδρομέες.
 Ταῦτα γούρ, φθείρεσσι ὅλον δέμας ὡς βεῦρον εἶδες,
 Ἐμὸν τῷ φθορέων εἶχες ὑπερβέβη.

Εἰς Ἀναξαγόραν.

Νῦν ἔμηναι τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ ὅν θνήθισι, ἔφηδα
 Πᾶσιν τ' ἀθανάτοις, πρῶτ' Ἀναξαγόρα·
 Τὸν γὰρ κοσμήσαντα χά' ἄμεγα, τῇ πρὶν ἐφ' ὕλην
 Οἴλων νῦν βλέπομεν τάξιν ἐνηνοχένας.
 Χαῖρ' Εὐβελιάδη φασιμβροτε ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπὶ
 Νοῦ πέει, νοῦν πάσι μ' εἶχες ὑπερβέβη.

ὩΣ ἼΑΠΟ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ.

Τῶν σοφῶν Πειθῶ, τὸ φεισόνου γλυκὴ φίλῳ
 Ἄττιδ' ὀδραῖς Σωκράτη εἰ ποθέεις,
 Τὸν τὰ Σειλιῶ παρομοίον αὐτῆ ἰδέσθαι,
 Τὸ κανόνα μορφή, καὶ πρὸς ἀμορφότατον,
 Αὐτὸς ξεῖνέ τί εἰμι πανεργότατον ὅσα πάντα
 Ἐν λόγῳ ἰσάνασι δίκτυα ἔπαγίδας.
 Αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἔχομαι, διαθευπτόμενον καὶ ἀθύρων,
 Καὶ πάλιν ἀκκίζων, ἔσπερασιζόμενον.
 Εἶμι δ' ἐν Ἡλυσίοισιν αἰετῶν γοργῶν,
 Ἐνθεα βακχῶν εἰσέπαι καὶ μεθύων.
 Αὐτῷ τὸ γλυκερὸν καὶ ἀγῶγιον εἰσέπαι ναῖω,
 Τὸ πρὸς τῆ πηγῇ, καὶ ὅσα τῆ πλατάνω.
 Αὐτῷ Γοργίω τύφον πατῶ, ὡς τὸ πάροσπες,
 Ἄντισοφισθῶ δ' εἰσέπαι τὰ Περδίκω.
 Εἰσέπαι ἢ μηδὲν φημ' εἰδένα, ἐστὶ ἢ μούνη
 Μοὶ σοφίη, σοφίης χῆμα πᾶσι μηδεμιῆς.

ὩΣ ἼΑΠΟ ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ.

Ὁ Γρύλλος παῖς εἰμὶ τὸν δευροτόξον Ἀπόλλων
 Περσίδι Σαῦ, τηλοῦ πέμπε μαχεσόμενον,
 Σωκρατικοῦ μάλα δηρὸν ἀποσασθέντα γάλακτον,
 Ὡς πᾶσι ἀπὸ μαζῶν παῖδα καὶ ἀγαλίδων.
 Ἡμῶν δ' ἀμφοτέρη φειδέξιν ἄλλοτε μὲν δὴ
 Κήρυξ Μυσσῶν ἠπύτα καὶ χαρίτων,

DANIELIS HEINSII

Ἄλλοτε δ' ἐν παρμάχοισι κ' κλονὸν ὄξυ' Ἀρηθῶ
 Ἀσπίδα νωμύσας γῆς ὑπὲρ ἡμετέρης.
 Τῷ μὲν, Βαρβαρῆς δ' Ἑλλάδα μόνῃ ἐρύσας·
 Τῷ δ' αὖ Βαρβαρίῳ Ἑλλάδ' ὄξυ' ἔλασας.

Εἰς Φαίδωνα τὸν Σωκράτους τὰ
 παιδικὰ, ἔ τ' Ἠλειακῆς καὶ πινὰς ἀρίστως πε-
 σησάμενος. ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

Εἶ πινὰ που Φαίδωνα φίλον Χαρίτεσιν ἀκούεις,
 Ἥλείον, παλῆρων παῖδά ποτ' ἀγχιμένων,
 Δελοσιμῆς ἢ πάλιν πειρωμύρον, αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ
 Αὔθις δελοσιμῆς ἀχθῶ ἀπώσαμύρον,
 Ζεῖνε πέπον, τίός τι ἔλω' ἰδέτω κεφαλῷ μου,
 Καλὸν Σωκρατικῆς παίγνιον διφροσιμῆς·
 Οἷα γὰρ ἐψίασκε κατὰ ψῆσας ἐ κατ' ἀρετα,
 Εὐθύς ῥε θεῖθ' φήσ' Ἀριστοκλέης.
 Ἄμ' οὐ τὼ τευφελῷ μου ἐπαυχένιον τείχεα δήεις·
 Τὼ γὰρ ὅπασα φέρει κείνῳ λοποχοιμῶ.
 Ὡς ποτε Πηλείδαο κέαρ μέγα, τὼ πρὶν ἔβοσκε,
 Ἐν Φθίῃ κταμῶ κείρε Μενοικιάδῃ.

Εἰς τὰς τοῦ Πλάτωνος βίβλους.

Παῖδες Ἀριστοκλείους, θεῖθ' ἄκονθ', ἀχθῶ Ἀθληῶν,
 Σωκρατικῆς ἱερῆς μάξιμους διεπίης,
 Ὑμέας ἐσουμῆας μακιδύσατ' δια μέλιοντα,
 Χεῖλεσιν ἀχεράνοις κείνου ἐφεζομῆ.
 Αὐτὰρ ὁ καλά πρὸς ὄψωπα καὶ ἡμέρην σῶμα Φαίδρου

Γεγά-

PEPLVS.

Γράψατο, καὶ μαλακοῦ Φάσα Χαρμίδεω.
 Ναὶ ναὶ ζώειέ μοι τὴν Σωκρατικὴ αἰὲν εἶναι,
 Καὶ μὴ ἔδω δεσμὸς, καὶ μὴ τὴν θανάτων.
 Ἄλλ' ὅπ κ' ἐζώε καὶ ἀγήραο ἔασε αἰεὶ,
 Τῷ Μελίτῳ κατὰ μοι λέξαίε, τῷ τ' Ἀνύτῳ.

Ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Πλάτωνος κατόχοις.

Ἐρρέε θηλύτεραι καὶ παρθένοι, ἔρρετ' ἔρωτες,
 Καὶ κῶμοι, καὶ μοι χαίρειε παννυχίδες,
 Χαίρ' αὐτῇ Κυβέβεια δολοπλόκε· χαίρειε ἦ ἔστω
 Τοξότα λωβητῆς, κοῦρε Φαρίεσφορα·
 Ἄλλ' ἔρωσ, ἄλλ' δέ μ' ἐχέ πόθο· ἐς χεῖρ' ἄλλω,
 Καὶ τὰς Σωκρατικὰς ἀπιδόμην ἀγλαίας.
 Οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ Σεμνῆς Σοφίης μέλι· ἔστω ἀγαμαὶ ἦ
 Τὰς πωγωνιάδας, τὰς Σοβαρομοῦρας.
 Αὐτὸ δ' εἰσορέων περφερῶ Φαίδων· ἐθέριω,
 Κεῖνον ἦ μαλακῶς τῆσδε καθαπίόμνον,
 Χαρμίδεω δ' ὀφθαλμὸν ἀμήχανον, ἄστρον ἔρωτο,
 Καὶ τὴν Κλεισίω παῖδα μεθυσφαλέα,
 Οὐδὲν προσδέομαι Γανυμήδεο· οἰνοχοεῖ γὰρ
 Αὐτὸς ἐμοὶ θεῖο νέκταρ Ἀεισονίδης.

Εἰς Μάξιμον τὸν Τύριον,
 Πλατωνικὸν ὄντα φιλόσοφον.

Σωκρατικῶν μελίγηρῳ ἀπιδόνα μενδοσιμῶν,
 Ἀρχελύπε πιεὸν φέγγ' ἐτηλυμίας

B

10

DANIELIS HEINSII

Μάξιμον αἰ Λιβάνοιο χορδιλίδες ἔτρεφον ὦραι,
 Δέξατο ἡ μεγάλων κοίραν' Αὔσονίων·
 Τέπιξι ποθέρις πανομοίον, οἱ πόλ' Ἀθλιῆς
 Δένδρεσιν δρχαίοις ἦδον ἐφεζόμενοι.
 Χαῖρε ἔσ' ὄν νεκρῆς φίλε Σώκρτες, ἀντὶ ἡ φίλτε
 Τέρπεο σὴ νέκταρ σπενδόμυ' κύλικι.
 Ἦ ῥα καὶ εἰν Αἴδαο πολὺ ποθέβηκας ἀπάντων,
 Σὴ γλυκερῆ δαμάσας Αὔσονίης Κοφίη.

Εἰς τὸν ἄττον.

Ἰμερρέντα Πλάτωνα θεοῖς ὀναλίγκιον ἦσα
 Ἰγνώ καὶ γλυκερῶ κόμαλι θελγόμενον,
 Βρέξέ τε καὶ μέλι μήδετ' Ἰπὶ σωματέωςι μέλισσα,
 Μελλούσης ἰσρῆ μαῖτις εὐλαλῆς·
 Τοῦτ' τεαῖς Γελίδεσσι Ἰπιβλύδ' εἰσέτι ἔτι νυῖ
 Μάξιμε, θεοτάτης κληρονομ' διεπίης.
 Ἔνθεν δ' Αὔσονίω μέγας ὄρχαμ' αὐτὸς ἔλειξεν,
 Ὡς γάλα, μητρῶων δὴθὺς ἀπὸ λαγόνων.
 Ρῶμη δ' ηὐθὺς ἀνάσσει, γάλα σάξασα λυκανῶν
 Ἦρωσι ποθέρις, νυῖ μέλι βαγγύων.

εἰς

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