



EUROPATRIDA

FRANCISCO OLIVEIRA
RAMÓN MARTÍNEZ
COORDS.

DENMARK (Danemark)

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Ancient Greek came to Denmark with humanism in the beginning of the 16th century but was not taught regularly at the University of Copenhagen before the establishment of permanent professorships following the Reformation, in Denmark declared in 1536. Greek² was by far overshadowed by Latin that not only had come with Christianity 500 years earlier but —as a consequence of the Reformation— was also reinforced in both schools and at university in a new educational system implemented in perfect accordance with Luther's and Melancthon's educational thoughts. In the new humanist programme, *studia humanitatis*, Greek played a role, but since the university had as its most prominent task to educate clergymen for the newly reformed Danish state, Greek and Latin were considered *ancillae* to theology. This subordinated role was reflected in the fact that the professors of theology were paid twice as much as the professors of Greek and Latin. In schools, Greek was offered to the most talented pupils that continued their studies at university, and teaching methods were often of a kind that no modern teacher would like to think of today.

In the beginning, Greek school books and texts were imported from Northern Germany and no Greek-Danish dictionary was compiled until centuries later. The first was published in 1830 by Paul Arnesen —from Iceland! That it went slowly with Greek in Denmark in the beginning is seen in the title of the acceptance speech from 1575 by the new professor of Greek at the University of Copenhagen, Jacob Madsen Aarhus, who added a part: *Ad linguam Græcam discendam adhortatio* (Exhortation to learn Greek) to his speech.

The first Greek literary texts composed by Danes date from the middle and second half of the 16th century. In this period Danish Neo-Latin poetry flourished. Therefore, it is not surprising that the —admittedly few— Greek poems are often found in collections of Neo-Latin poetry and repeat some of

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² In this text *Greek* always refers to *ancient Greek*.

the common genres and metres used for Latin verse. The Greek poems usually consist of epigrams, epithalamiums, odes and tributary poems, the latter typically inserted in the beginning of a Latin work to honour the author and his edition. Often the Greek text –poetry as well as prose– is followed by a Latin translation. It was, of course, considered prestigious and learned to be able to compose a text in Greek.

An example of a Danish Renaissance poet is Hans Jørgensen Sadolin (ca. 1528–1600) who in 1581 published a collection of Latin poetry, *Sylvarum liber*, including several Greek poems. At that time, Sadolin was an experienced poet who had had several ups and downs in his career. In his younger days he had studied with Melancthon in Wittenberg like many other Scandinavian students of this period. Here, he had met another Dane, Hans Frandsen, who became his friend. They dedicated several poems to each other, Sadolin even two whole books to Frandsen, and they are good representatives of the typical poetic friendship in the Renaissance. Later, Frandsen became a doctor in Copenhagen and stopped his artistic occupation. Sadolin continued writing poetry with success and in 1570 was given the honorable title of *Poeta Laureatus* by the Danish king, Frederik II, but his success turned to failure when he made a scandal with a noble girl in a Danish convent. He fled to Germany, but was imprisoned in Denmark. Nevertheless, he was, at least partly, pardoned by the king and managed to regain his former position. Sadolin's 1581 edition is his comeback on the Danish scene. Not surprisingly, several Latin poems are dedicated to the king, among them also a small epigram in Greek disticha (*text 1*). We also find a Greek poem dedicated to his old friend, Hans Frandsen, in the collection written in Homeric style (*text 2*). No real feelings are expressed in the poem, instead that is an exhortation not to listen too much to gossip. Other Greek poems in the edition of Sadolin's selection are: a poem to an anonymous friend (*text 3*), a Christian epigram (*text 4*) and an epithalamium (*text 5*).

More ambitious texts are found towards the end of the century. One example is a mirror of princes (*text 6*) composed by the headmaster and Greek teacher Peder Iversen Borch in 1594 in honour of the young Danish king, Christian IV, son and successor of Frederik II. Borch's mirror of princes consists of 507 Greek hexameter lines based on a Byzantine prose version originally composed by the deacon in Hagia Sophia, Agapetos Diakonos, and dedicated to the Byzantine emperor Iustinian. Borch informs the reader that he has critically revised the Greek text and brought it back to a more original form, an example of early textual criticism. The preceding year, Niels Krag had been the first Dane to publish a complete ancient Greek text, Herakleides Lembos' text on ancient constitutions (2nd cent. B.C), printed 1593 in Geneva. Unusually impressive is a manuscript consisting of 31 Greek landscapes, each with an introduction of 1-1½ pages in ancient Greek prose by Hans Laurenberg, ca. 1620.



Graecia Universalis by Hans Laurenberg. The Royal Library of Copenhagen (GKS 2139 folio)

An example of the typical international friendship among the learned men of Europe at that time is a Greek tributary poem (*text 7*) found in Frederik Rostgaard's anthology of Danish poets entitled *Deliciae quorundam Poetarum Danorum*. Rostgaard published his edition in 1693 in Leiden during a nine-year-long European research travel in his youth. He later became a highly positioned secretary in the royal Danish administration, a generous patron and a famous book collector. His collection of books is one of the treasures of The Royal Danish Library today.

Rostgaard's anthology is remarkable because it only includes Neo-Latin poetry even though Danish at that time had started to challenge Latin as a literary language and prose works had begun to replace poetry. Moreover, Rostgaard only included six poets in his edition whereas literary anthologies normally included many more. Rostgaard's edition is an exclusive collection and the Greek tributary poem contributes to the exclusivity and learnedness of the edition. The author who celebrates Rostgaard's edition is probably a learned Dutchman, Johannes Jens, who lived in Leiden during Rostgaard's stay and with whom Rostgaard exchanged poetry.

The creative process of writing Greek gradually decreased and finally disappeared during the 19th century. Some Greek school poems are the last echo of this tradition (*text 8*). Instead, as in the rest of Europe, a much more philological approach to Classics took over, emphasizing the need of textual criticism to improve the editions more or less uncritically inherited from the Renaissance. This tendency went hand in hand with a general new interest for

ancient Greece during the Romantic period. The Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen can be seen as a symbol of this new interest. In Denmark, both tendencies, the philological as well as the cultural, were especially inspired from Germany. This is not surprising considering the high standard of Classics in Germany through the 19th century and Denmark's close link to Germany geographically and culturally. Until 1864, the Danish kingdom comprised the two northern German states, Schleswig and Holstein, and German was self-evident as first foreign language for the Danish cultural and political elite.

The professionalism of Classics was introduced in Denmark by Johan Nicolai Madvig (1804–1886) whose unusual philological talent made him professor of Latin at the University of Copenhagen at the age of only 25, despite his modest origins. During his career, Madvig published several groundbreaking critical editions of Latin texts and published both a Latin and a Greek grammar. But Madvig was more than a dry grammarian. Already after a few years at the university he involved himself in the contemporary educational debate and the role of Greek and Latin in the school curriculum. This engagement was motivated by a crisis that Madvig faced. As a professor of Classics having spent most of his life studying Greek and Latin literature, Madvig was regarded as learned, especially because he was professor of a language that was so strongly emphasized in the educational system and together with Greek was the very symbol of learnedness.



Johan Nicolai Madvig, the founder of Classics in its modern form in Denmark, in the Ceremonial Hall at the University of Copenhagen. The Greek text on the rostrum reads: πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ (in spirit and truth). Carl Bloch, København 1880.

The problem for Madvig was that he did not feel learned. On the contrary, Madvig felt bad thinking about all the important sciences he did not know anything about. As a consequence, Madvig began to dislike Greek and Latin and other intellectual occupations. During his crisis Madvig thought deeply about the meaning of education and the place of Greek and Latin in the educational system, and after having recovered he stepped into the educational debate confronting Danish as well as foreign, especially German, educational thinkers. The result shaped Classics in Denmark. Madvig is special because he did not follow any of the typical tendencies in the educational debate of his time. On one hand, he disagreed with the Danish national romantics that put classical studies aside in order to revive an original nordic or Scandinavian spirit. Madvig simply believed that such a spirit had never existed. On the other hand, he also disagreed with many of the German educational thinkers, especially the so-called neo-humanists who strongly emphasized Greek and Latin in the school curriculum, in reality making pedagogics the same as philology. Madvig actually shared the neo-humanist ideal that the final aim of general education was purely human (rather than nature or religion or any other aim that was put forward in the debate) and to develop humanity but he completely disagreed with the neo-humanistic methods. According to the neo-humanists, this aim could only be reached by the constant reading of Greek and Latin texts, either because the ancient Greek civilisation was a unique peak in human civilisation (e.g. Wilhelm von Humboldt) or because Greek and Latin had ideal ‘formal’ values, i.e. they shaped the pupils’ minds to perfection making them able to handle any intellectual situation (e.g. Friedrich Wolf). Madvig went his own way. He was not blind to the less ideal sides of antiquity and believed that human culture since antiquity actually had developed in a positive way. Concerning language, he developed his own linguistic theory concluding that a language was nothing but a communication form consisting of arbitrary signs and that no language could by nature have superiority to others. If Greek and Latin were mostly studied for their form, the Danish children would learn more from studying Greenlandish. For Madvig, the ancient Greek culture was important, not because it was an ideal in itself to be imitated for idealistic aesthetic reasons, but simply because it was the base of modern culture; and the two languages Greek and Latin should primarily be studied because they communicated that ancient base to modern people. Madvig even hinted —with some caution— that a translation could be almost as good as an original text. Important for Madvig was the concept of *autopsy*, meaning that the ancient sources —actually any scientific subject at all— should be studied without any kind of preconceived attitude. Knowledge about antiquity should be carefully derived from the sources themselves.

In 1832 as a young professor of Classics Madvig published his ideas about school education. In practice it was a more balanced encyclopedia of subjects rather than a confirmation of the overwhelming role that Greek and Latin had

played in the Danish school before. In 1850 as a Minister of Culture he could realize his ideas giving a considerable place to natural science and modern languages and at the same time keeping Greek and Latin on a fair level. Moreover, at this reform the concept of general education was introduced for the first time in the Danish schools and has remained there ever since. Today the reform is known as The Madvig Reform.

Madvig's view on Classics paved the way for the later development of Greek and Latin in Denmark. His students followed his professional line publishing new critical editions of the classical texts, for instance Karl Hude who published the Oxford editions of Lysias and Herodotus and Johan Ludvig Heiberg who published Euclid's *Elements* at Teubner. But Madvig's influence was also felt in another way. A new school reform was passed in 1903 that divided the Danish upper secondary school (gymnasium) into three different study areas, one for ancient languages, one for modern languages and one for mathematics and science. A question in the debate was which role ancient Greek culture should play in the education of those who did not choose the ancient languages as their study area. The solution was given by Madvig's successor as the professor of Latin at the university, Martin Clarentius Gertz. He proposed a new subject where the pupils read the ancient Greek texts, not in Greek, but in reliable Danish translations. This was in accordance with Madvig's thoughts in the way that the Greek culture was given priority to the Greek language but still communicated through the ancient sources, an important approach to keep Madvig's principle about *autopsy*. The subject was a compromise, but a fair compromise, and professor Gertz immediately began an impressive production of Danish translations of Greek and Latin texts to be used in his newly invented subject, in English officially entitled *Classical Studies*, in Danish: *oldtidskundskab*.

Greek and Latin continued in the Danish upper secondary schools during the 20th century and continue today, now well into the 21st century. The present Danish school reform (launched 2017) consists of 18 different study areas and one of them is Greek and Latin on A level. The Greek classes typically consist of 8-12 pupils that study Greek for 2½ years, Latin for 3 years. Annually, around 100 pupils graduate from the Danish upper secondary school having Greek and Latin as their study area (the number of pupils having only Latin is much higher). The study area with Greek and Latin is offered in around 10% of the Danish schools and the number has been steadily growing during the last 15 years.

The introduction of Classical Culture as a compulsory subject in the Danish upper secondary school is one of the most groundbreaking turns in the history of Greek —and Classics— in Denmark. It means that Denmark has three classical subjects instead of normally two. Classical Studies is today a one year course wherein the pupils are presented to some of the most important ancient Greek authors as well as Greek art and architecture. In 2005 it was decided to include

Roman authors in the subject but still with an emphasis on the Greek side. At the same time it was decided to include post-classical texts, so-called 'perspective' texts, the idea being to demonstrate more explicitly than before the reception of the ancient Greek culture in the Western world. The teaching is, in its present form, arranged around themes. Typically an epos theme includes readings of some songs of Homer, a song of Vergil's *Aeneid*, a song of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, a text by Ludvig Holberg perhaps ending with modern examples of epic narrative in all its aspects. A philosophical theme could include Plato and Søren Kierkegaard, a political theme Thucydides, Aristotle, Cicero and Montesquieu etc. The post-classical texts are almost always in Danish translation and can be chosen from any post-classical period and from any country. The only criteria is that the traces back to ancient Greece must be clear. When it comes to visual art the teacher typically focuses either on architecture or sculpture, first presenting some selected Greek masterpieces to the pupils, afterwards demonstrating the influence on post-classical Western art and architecture from any period or country where the Greek influence is prominent.

Despite distance in geography and time, Denmark has kept a quite close relation to ancient Greece. This is reflected by the permanent teaching of ancient Greek in the Danish schools since the Renaissance and today two universities offer complete educations in Greek. There are often Danish archeological excavations in Greece, and The Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, probably the most beautiful museum in Denmark, is a proud monument of this archeological tradition. But it is probably the invention of the subject Classical Studies in 1903 as a compulsory subject in the Danish schools that today makes the ancient Greek culture most present to many Danes. During one year, the pupils read Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle etc. combined with readings of later Western literature. It is not too much to say that this subject demonstrates in a very concrete way how, despite all modern diversities, Denmark and the Western world in general have a common origin in ancient Greece.

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GREEK TEXTS

1. Poem to the Danish king, Frederik II (1534-1588) and his queen, Sophie of Mecklenburg (1557-1631). *De Friderico II Danorum Rege et Sophia Illustrissima Regina*. Hans Jørgensen Sadolin's *Sylvarum liber*, Copenhagen 1581.

Δεύτερος ἐν Δανῶν λάμπει Φριδερίκος ἄναξ,
Αἰχμητῆς κρατερός καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀγαθός·
Ἡ νεανίς Σοφία βασιλίσσα πρεπώδης,
Καὶ δέσποινα αἰεὶ ἄζομένουσα θεόν·

Οὐράνιος τούτῳ ἀρχός τε πατήρ τε κυβερνῶ
Νοῦς τε πατρός τέκνον, πνεῦματε ἀμφοτέρῳ.

2. Poem to Sadolin's friend, Hans Frandsen, *Ad eundem Iohannem Franciscum, Poëtam et Medicinae Doctorem*. Hans Jørgensen Sadolin's *Sylvarum liber*, Copenhagen 1581.

Βομβοῦσι σκαιοὶ ἄνδρες, καὶ βαττολογοῦσι·
Οἱ δ' ἦτορ σφέτερον συμβαρεοῦσιν ἄγαν.
Αὐτὸς ἔγωγε βροτοὺς λυσοῦντας δ'οὐκ ἀλεγίζω·
Νοῦν γὰρ ἔμὸν στομοῖο, πνεῦμα θεοῖο θεός.
Καὶ σὺ, Ἰωάννης Φράγκισκ', Ἀσκληπιοῦ ὦ παί,
Μηδενὶ σπερμολόγους ἐν θέσο θῶπολόγῳ.
Λοιδορεοὺς βόμβους καὶ ἀμούσας βαττολογείας
Ἄερος ὦ λαίλαψ ἠνεμόεντος ἔχε.

3. Sadolin to a learned friend, *Ad amicum quendam eruditum*. Hans Jørgensen Sadolin's *Sylvarum liber*, Copenhagen 1581.

Λῆγ' ἔριδος· τότε δ'οὐλομένην, ὦ φίλτατε, μνήμην
Δείκνυτι, καὶ δύναμιν βασάνιζε, τίταινέ τε χεῖρας,
Ὅππότε πρᾶγμα πάτρας φωνῆ, καὶ ὀρσῆ ἀνάγκη.
Νῦν δὲ ἀνὴρ φόρμιγγος ἐπιστάμενος καὶ αἰοιδός
Διογενῆς ψάλλει· γελάει μὲν Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων·
Ὅρχοῦνταί τε νέοι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιοι.
Καὶ σὺ φίλων μούνος τυρβάξεις φέρτατα πάντα;
Φέρτατα πάντα φίλων τυρβάξεις φέρτατος αὐτός;
Λῆγ' ἔριδος· οὐ χρὴ ραίειν θελκτῆρια δαιτός.

4. Sadolin, *Admonitiuncula de pietate*. Hans Jørgensen Sadolin's *Sylvarum liber*, Copenhagen 1581.

Λάτρευε κρήγυος θεῶ
Νικεῖν θέλων τοὺς κινδύνους.
Θεὸς κακούργους μισεῖ,
Δίδως χάριν σεβασμίοις

5. Sadolin, *Epigramma nuptiale*. Hans Jørgensen Sadolin's *Sylvarum liber*, Copenhagen 1581.

Τερπνός καὶ καθαρὸς θεός ἐστ' ἀγαθός τε καὶ ἄγνός
Τούτῳ οἱ ἔσπονται φαίδρον ἔχουσι γέρας.

Νυμφίε εὖγε, καὶ ὦ νύμφη χαριεστάτη εὖγε,
Ἵμῖν γὰρ πορέει δῶρα μέγιστα θεός.

6. Peder Iversen BORCH's hexameter poem to the Danish king, Christian IV, based on a prose version honoring the byzantine emperor, Iustinian, composed by the deacon in Hagia Sophia, Agapetos Diakonos.

Borch's dedication to the Danish king, Christian IV:

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΑ ΠΑΡΑΙΝΕΤΙΚΑ
τοῦ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΥ τὰ μετὰ μέτρου πεποιημένα καὶ συγγε-
γραμμένα τῷ τῶν Δανῶν καὶ Νορουαγιανῶν καὶ τε
ἄλλων λαῶν θειοτάτῳ καὶ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ
ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΙ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΩΙ παρὰ Πέτρου τοῦ
Βορριχίου ὑπηρέτου μετὰ τῆς ταπεινότητος
έτοιμοτάτου.

The beginning of Borch's hexameter poem:

Παμπόλλης, Βασιλεῦ, ὃς ἔχεις κλέος ἐν μερόπεσσι
ἄφθιτον, εὐαγέσιν τιμῆς βασιλῆα μόναρχον
πρῶτον λατρεῦσαι καὶ εἰς ὃ κ' ἄυλος ἀυτμῆ
ἐν στήθεσσι μένη καὶ σοι φίλα γούνατα ὀρώρη·
ὄττι ὑπουρανίου καθ' ὁμοίωσιν βασιλείης
σοι χθονὸς εὐρυχόρου χρύσειον σκῆπτρον ἔδωκε,
ὄφρα δίκην γλυκερὴν ἀνθρώπους σφόδρα διδάξῃς
ἰθυπέροισιν ἀεὶ αὐτοὺς θεσμοῖσι δικάζων.

7. Tributary poem by the Dutschman Johannes JENS celebrating Frederik Rostgaard's edition of Danish Neo-Latin poetry, *Deliciae quorundam Poetarum Danorum*, published 1693 in Leiden.

ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΙΗΝΣΙΟΣ
Σπουδαιοτάτῳ καὶ φιλομαθεστάτῳ
ἀνδρὶ
ΦΡΙΔΕΡΙΚΩΙ ΡΩΣΤΓΑΡΔΙΩΙ
τῶν ἐν τῇ Δανίᾳ περιβοηθέντων
ποιητῶν ποιήματα
συλλέξαντι καὶ ἐκδόντι

Πολλὰ τυραννίζων Πεισίστρατος ἔρδεν Ἀθήναις
πένθιμα, Μούσαισι πολλὰ δ'εὐχόμενα·
ὃς τυφλὸν τε καὶ θαπτόμενον Σμυρναῖον ἀοιδόν

εὖ μάλ' ἀναστήσας λαμπρόν ἔθηκε φάος,
 Πατρίδι καὶ μούσαις, ΡΩΣΤΓΓΑΡΔΙΕ, πλείονα ῥέζεις
 καὶ πάσαις Χάρισι πλείον' εὐχόμενα.
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκ σκοτέων ἀνορύσσεις μῦνον Ὅμηρον
 κράτιστον δ' ὄμιλον, τὸν φιλέει Ἑλικῶν.
 Σὺ κοσμησαμένων Δανίης ποτὲ πατρίδα γαῖαν
 βληθέντων μοίρας ἀλλὰ βέλει στυγερῶ
 ὡς ἀγαθὸς δαίμων μούσας, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἄμουσος.
 Μὴ φθίνεσθαι ἔἴς, συμπολίτας τε σέβεις
 ἐξ Ἀἴδαο πυλῶν ἀνάγεις μελετήματα κρύπτα,
 ἀθάνατόν τε διδῶς ὄλλυμένοισι βίον.
 Τὰς τοιάσδε χοὰς σὺ τέοις πατρίοισιν αἰδοῖς
 σὺν χάριτι πολλῇ νερτερέοισι φέρεις.
 Ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε ῥέη, καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλη
 Ἡελίου τ' αὐγὴ Ἀρτέμιδός τε φάνοι·
 Ἔστ' ἂν πνεῦμα σφοδρὸν δεινοῦ Βορέας πνεύσῃ,
 τοῦνομ' ἀεννάως πνεύσεται σοῦ Βορέας.
 Καὶ σφίσι εὐεργήσαντι Δανίη χαριέσσα
 οὐποτε παυσομένην σπείσεται μνημοσύνην.
 ἌΛΛΩΣ
 Χαῖρε Ξεῖνε παρ' ἄμμι φιλήσῃ, πάντας αἰοιδούς
 ὅς κεν ἐρανίζεις ἄμμι ὑπερβορέους.
 Σοὶ τίνα δώσουσι Βαταοῦοι ξείνια δῶρα,
 ἀγλαὰ σφιν πρότερον δῶρα χαριζομένῳ;
 Γῆ Βαταοῦιά σε καὶ σὰ χαρίσματ' ἐν ὠλενέαισιν
 ἀζομένη γε θυμῶ ἀμφοτέραισι κυνεῖ.

8. Peder Grib FIBIGER's poem to Sorø Academy.

Peder Grib Fibiger (1784-1833) was a teacher, later headmaster in the Danish city of Kolding, and a lover of ancient poetry. In 1827 he published a selection of his own Greek poems dedicated to the prestigious school in Sorø (Sorø Academy). Even the title was given in Greek, including the name of the publisher and the publication year:

Εἰς
 ΤΗΝ ΚΑΘΙΕΡΩΣΙΝ
 ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑΣ ΣΩΡΑΝΗΣ
 ψῆδάριον
 συμφοικοῖς στίχοις συνετάξατο
 Π. Γ. ΦΙΒΙΓΕΡ
 Τύποις ἀπέγραψεν ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΣΕΙΔΕΛΙΝ
 α ω κ ξ

Fibiger's first poem is in sapphic stanza:

Σήμερον, πατρὶς, τίνα βωμὸν εἰς σὸν,
ἢ λίθου στίλβη Παρίου κρατοῦντα,
ἐκκαλεῖς σεμνῶς ἱερῆα, ποῖον,
ἔννομα ῥέξειν;
Ἄνδρὰ νῦν γ', οὐ λωίον' οὐκ ἔτρεψας,
Δάνια, μήτερ, μεγαλητόρεσσι
Κυδιῶσ', αἰεὶ, στεφάνων πλέκεσθαι
παισὶν ἄωτα.