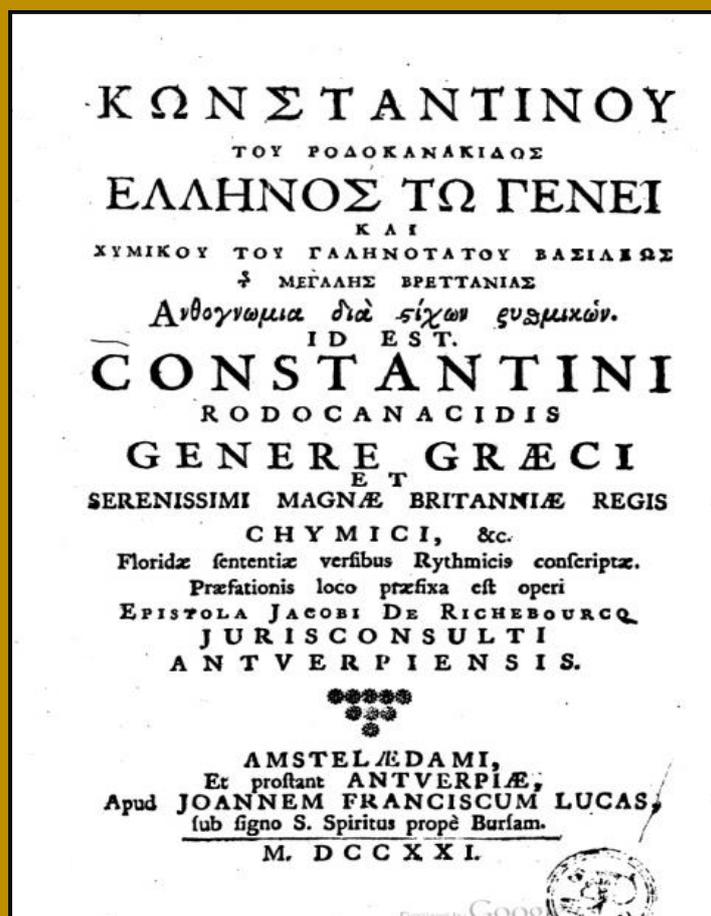


NIKOLAOS MAVRELOS

FROM “MUSA METRICA” TO “MUSA RYTHMICA” AS THE LOSS  
OF “MEMORIA FLORENTIS OLIM IMPERII”:  
J. DE RICHEBOURCQ’S ESSAY (1721) ON METER AND CULTURE



Modern Greek and Comparative Philology Laboratory,  
Democritus University of Thrace  
and Early Modern Greek Culture Program, The Medici Archive Project

KOMOTINI 2022

ISBN 978-618-85138-3-9



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Book Series: “Studies and Texts of Greek Enlightenment”, no 1

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Εργαστήριο Έρευνας για τη Νεοελληνική και Συγκριτική Φιλολογία/Modern Greek and Comparative  
Philology Laboratory, Democritus University of Thrace and Early Modern Greek Culture Program,  
The Medici Archive Project, Komotini 2022

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## FOREWORD

The present volume is the first of a new series of studies and text editions of the Greek Enlightenment, by the Modern Greek and Comparative Philology Laboratory, Democritus University of Thrace. This first volume is in collaboration with the Early Modern Greek Culture Program, The Medici Archive Project, within the frame of the collaboration between our Laboratory and the Program.

The study is about one of the very rare examples, if not unique (till the moment it was written) –and surely one of the very important efforts– to describe the difference between the Ancient and Modern Greek metric systems, namely the transition from prosody to the rhythmical metric system, based on certain-syllable-stresses. Richebourcq’s observations and evaluation of the poems belonging to a friend of his, Constantine Rodocanakis, have the form of an aggressive attitude towards the Greeks and their literary production, roughly from late Byzantium till his days. The common attitude of Westerners towards Modern Greeks (as well as the byzantine Greeks during the 18<sup>th</sup> century) is to be traced in our essay.

Constantine Rodocanakis’ work *Ἀνθογνωμία διὰ στίχων Πυθμικῶν* (1721) was published with an introductory letter in Latin by Jacobus de Richebourcq and an introductory note in Greek by the writer. The poems are written in an archaic form of Greek, using accentuated meter and rhyme. The introductory letter edited in this volume (along with the writer’s short note) is seemingly an essay on comparative metrics, concerning the transition from prosody of the Ancient Greek to the Modern Greek accentuated meter.

Nevertheless, when we read it carefully we can see through the lines an essay on the cultural status of his contemporary Greeks, as a general view and opinion on their proximity to the Orient and their distance from the occidental world of his days. Lamenting the loss of prosody, Richebourcq refuses to accept that similar changes in metric forms happened in occidental peoples. He sees no western influence on Greek poetry, stressing that the main influence was from the Arabs (apart from Turks). It is clear that, what annoys him most, is the coexistence of an archaic form of language in poems written with rhyme and accentuated (popular) meter. Given the fact that the writer's note in Greek can shed light on the arguments presented by Richebourcq, it was necessary to be edited and translated after the introduction by the Dutch lawyer. These two texts are equally important both for the metric identity of the Modern Greek poetry and for the cultural identity of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Greeks.

Jacobus de Richebourcq (1644-1723), the writer of the essay, was a lawyer who lived during the golden era of the Dutch Republic. As a scholar he had many interests, as Paul Bergmans mentions. He was very familiar with Antiquity and the Jew tradition. He met Constantine Rodocanakis in Amsterdam and he decided to publish his poems in a posthumous volume dedicated to his memory, with an introductory study. Constantine Rodocanakis served, as his personal physician, the king of England Charles the II and became famous for his medicine "Alexicacus", at the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. What is also necessary to be done in the future is a translation of the introduction by J. de Richebourcq into a modern language and a new study on the poems themselves, their content and form, their language and meter, as well as the subjects our poet, C. Rodocanakis, poses and treats. In a future edition, more biographical information should be

offered on both J. de Richebourcq and the poet Constantine Rodocanakis.

The Appendix at the end of the volume contains the title page, J. de Richeburcq’s essay in Latin, C. Rodocanakis’ short note in Greek and the first six poems of the collection. The existing original edition is digitized by Google and free access, so everyone can find the entire volume.

Nikolaos Mavrelos  
Komotini 10/11/2022



FROM “MUSA METRICA” TO “MUSA RYTHMICA” AS  
THE LOSS OF “MEMORIA FLORENTIS OLIM IMRERII”:  
J. DE RICHEBOURCQ’S ESSAY (1721) ON METER AND  
CULTURE<sup>1</sup>

*Ἀνθογνωμία διὰ στίχων ῥυθμικῶν/Floridæ Sententiæ Versibus Rythmicis Conscriptæ* is a work by Constantine Rhodocanakis, as mentioned in the title page, with an epistolary foreword by Jacobus de Richebourcq, published in 1721.<sup>2</sup> As mentioned in the title, it is an anthology of poems by poets that Rhodocanakis does not mention. The information Rhodocanakis gives in his introductory note about the “sources” of his poems is in a single phrase: “ἀνθηραὶ καὶ

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1. I would like to thank the colleagues from the Early Modern Greek Culture Program, The Medici Archive Project for their fruitful observations on my text and for their collaboration for the publication of the volume.

2. Κωνσταντίνου του Ροδοκανάκιδος, Ἕλληνας τῷ γένει καὶ Χυμικοῦ τοῦ Γαληνοτάτου Βασιλέως τῆς Μεγάλης Βρετανίας, *Ἀνθογνωμία διὰ στίχων ῥυθμικῶν. Id est Constantini Rodocanacidis, Genere Graeci et Serenissimi Magnae Britanniae Regis Chymici &c. Floridæ sententiæ versibus Rythmicis conscriptæ. Praefationis loco praefixa est operi Epistola Jacobi de Richebourcq, Jurisconsulti Antverpiensis* (Amsteledami, et prostant Anverpiae: Apud Joannem Franciscum Lucas, M.DCCXXI [=1721]). For the surname of our poet, we will follow Dimitrios Rhodocanakis’ spelling (Rhodocanakis), except for the title of the published book by Richebourcq.

ἐπιφανεῖς γνῶμαι ἐκ θεοσεβῶν σοφῶν καὶ δεινῶν συγγραφέων συλλεγεῖσθαι καὶ εἰς στίχους ῥυθμικοὺς καὶ ἡδυφώνους ἀχθεῖσθαι”.<sup>3</sup>

In the present paper we will mainly discuss the foreword by Jacobus de Richebourcq, as a very important comparative essay on Ancient and Modern Greek meter. We will also discuss the writer’s short note on the same issue, as it is also of crucial importance. Additionally, since our writer is a rather unknown figure nowadays – amongst not only the European scholars but also the Greek ones–, it is necessary to mention some biographical information that will clarify his background and his place in the history of Greek and European Scholarship, or else the *Republic of Letters*.

Following Dimitrios Rhodocanakis’ information,<sup>4</sup> Émile Legrand (1841-1903) in his edition of *Carmina Graeca* a year later repeats the very brief outline of Constantine Rhodocanakis’ adventurous life, from his native island (Chios) till the moment he arrived in Great Britain:

“Le Prince Constantin Rhodocanakis [...] naquit le 5 décembre 1635, dans l’île de Chios [...] Il eut pour premier maître l’un de ses

3. “Blooming and famous opinions collected from [the works of] pious wise men and formidable authors, and then transformed into rhythmical and sweet-voiced verses” (N 1). As the page numbering begins with Richebourcq’s foreword (pp. 1-7), but immediately after that we have Rhodocanakis’ note with a new page numbering again from page 1 till page 2, and then continuing this numbering till the end of the book, when citing or mentioning passages we will use numbering F1-7 for our foreword and N1-2 for the note. The vocabulary and spelling of the citations is kept as printed, whereas we correct the diacritics (accents and breathings).

4. See Dimitrios Rhodocanakis, *Βίος καὶ Συγγράμματα τοῦ Πρίγγιπος Κωνσταντίνου Ροδοκανάκιδος: Ἀπογόνου τῶν αὐτοκρατορικῶν οἰκῶν Δούκα, Ἀγγέλου, Κομνηνοῦ, Παλαιολόγου, ἐπιτίμου δ’ ἱατροῦ Καρόλου τοῦ Β’, Ἄνακτος τῆς Μεγάλης Βρετανίας, Γαλλίας καὶ Ἰβερνίας* / *Life and Writings of Constantine Rhodocanakis, a Prince of the Imperial Houses of Doucas, Angelus, Comnenus, Palaeologus and Honorary Physician to Charles II, King of England, France and Ireland* (Athens: Ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου τῆς Εφημερίδος τῶν Συζητήσεων, ΑΩΟΒ’ [=1872]), 8-9.

oncles nommé Étienne, avec lequel il quitta Chios, le 12 mai 1650 et se rendit à Rome, où il devint élève du collège grec de saint Athanase. Au mois d’avril de l’année suivante, Constantin alla à Padoue et, pendant deux ans, étudia la philosophie et la médecine dans la célèbre université de cette ville. En janvier 1653 nous le retrouvons à Pise continuant ses études médicales. Après un séjour d’un an dans cette cité, il part, avec son oncle Étienne, pour visiter les plus fameuses capitales de l’Europe occidentale. Le 3 août 1654, le jeune Grec arrive à Londres”.<sup>5</sup>

Although it is very difficult to trace Constantine’s life and there are many issues, especially for the period he was on the island and for his role during the religious conflict between the orthodox and catholic inhabitants later on, with the admonitions by Italians, we can see that this very life was far from being simple or boring. His biographers, as for example Dimitrios Rhodocanakis (1840-1903) and Konstantinos Amantos (1874-1960), do not agree on some issues, and, as the latter believes, that the antecedent forged many facts and proofs. This is the reason for which, as already mentioned, we will not discuss here many issues about our scholar’s life, apart from some few references useful for our analysis of the essay within the historical frame of his days (second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century). One of them is Rhodocanakis’ role in a conflict between the Chians, as we can make out by the information given by D. Rhodocanakis and the allusions Richebourcq makes, which we will see later.

Since some (religious and political) conflicts already existed on the island, sometimes they were easily stimulated by western states (Florence, Venice, or Genoa) who wanted to regain the privileges

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5. Émile Legrand, ed., *Le Retour de Charles II, Roi d’Angleterre. Poème Grec du Prince Constantin Rhodocanakis, publié d’après l’édition de 1660* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Cie Éditeurs, 1873), 7.

they had in the past (Maona and its influence and privileges for the Catholics). One of these incidents was the Florentine siege of the island (1599-1601), which had a very bad end, with many people slaughtered. There is a rather long description of the siege by A. Vlastos,<sup>6</sup> where the Greek historian refers that the Duke of Tuscany and his fleet attacked the island, invaded, and looted some Christian houses. As a result, many Chians turned against the Florentines under the command of the ottoman army and many Florentines were killed. At the same time many catholic inhabitants of the island fled to the West in order to avoid being accused by the Sultan as traitors which meant executions.

A closely connected similar incident, which interests us more in the present paper, is mentioned by Vlastos<sup>7</sup> and it stems from the same religious (and of course political and commercial) controversy between Catholics and Orthodox on the island that begun in 1664, when the first lost all their privileges (with the catholic bishop Andrea Sofiano nearly executed). Within the frame of this historical moment, Dimitrios Rhodocanacis<sup>8</sup> chooses to put his ancestor as the main protector not only of the Catholics but of the Chians in general. He mentions a catholic priest Andrea Garibaldi, who presumably gave

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6. See Alexander M. Vlastos, *Χιακά, ήτοι Ιστορία της Νήσου Χίου από των αρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι της έτει 1822 γενομένης καταστροφής αυτής παρά των Τούρκων* [=Chiaka, that is the History of the Island of Chios from Antiquity till the 1822 Massacres by the Turks], vol. B (Ermoupolis: εκ της Τυπογραφίας Γεωργίου Πολυμέρη, 1840), 80-85. The English version of this two volumes work is the translation of the second only, under the title *A History of the Island of Chios A.D. 70-1822* (London: Dryden Press 1913). The translation is sometimes not very satisfactory or is omitting information, as for example in page 82, where the names of the English and the Venetian ambassadors are omitted. Therefore, any reader who uses the English text has to be careful and compare it to the original in Greek. In the present paper we use the latter.

7. See Vlastos, *Χιακά*, 104-5.

8. See Rhodocanakis, *Βίος και Συγγράμματα*, 11-12.

him away to the Ottomans. Yet it was impossible to find any such name, either in Vlastos or in any other source. On the contrary, the English ambassador’s “Βιγκιλσῆ” (probably Winchelsea) implication in the story is mentioned by Vlastos<sup>9</sup> as the one who, along with the French and Venetian ambassadors “Φραγκίσκος Ρόβολης” (Jean-François de Roboly, whom Vlastos wrongly considers Venetian) and “Βαλαρίνη” (Giovanni Battista Ballarini) respectively, saved the catholic bishop Andrea Sofiano (not Garibaldi, of course). This very fact is mentioned by Michele Giustiniani two years later.<sup>10</sup> We can thus conclude that Dimitrios is either clearly forging facts (as Amantos accuses him often) in favor of his ancestor<sup>11</sup> and the British Empire, or he uses Giustiniani’s phrase “alcuni Gentilhuomini” to put his ancestor in the frame. Anyway, it is also important to search for any possibility of being this true also in other sources than those in Greek (e. g. Venetian, English or Ottoman reports of the ambassadors or the ottoman state papers). This is something that needs a different (purely historical) study, which is not our case here. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the western-oriented Greeks were in conflict with those who were pro-Orient, a controversy that had its peak in 1694-1695 siege of the island by the Venetians, the brief period when the Catholics regained all their privileges revenging the Orthodox by suppressing them religiously but finally lost the battle. Thus, the Orthodox with the help of Alexander Mavrocordatos, the “exaporit”

9. See Vlastos, *Χιακά*, 106.

10. See Michele Giustiniani, *Lettere memorabili dell’ abate Michele Giustiniani* (Rome: per Nicolò Angelo Tinassi, 1667), 524.

11. See Konstantinos Amantos, “Κωνσταντίνος Ροδοκανάκης” [=Constantine Rhodocanakis], *Αθηνά. Σύγγραμμα περιοδικόν της εν Αθήναις Επιστημονικής Εταιρείας* 44 (1937): 264-6, mainly 266.

of the Sutlan originating from Chios, were saved only by paying extra taxes.<sup>12</sup>

Even if Constantine Rhodocanakis was not involved in the aforementioned 1664-5 incident, we can see from his writings that his preference to anything (politically, religiously, culturally) western is obvious, such as Richebourcq's prejudice for oriental people.

The above brief biographical details offer a picture of his adventurous life and show that Constantine travelled a lot in many places. Therefore, being a cosmopolitan European physician-philosopher, he managed not just to survive but also become a prestigious figure in Great Britain. According to Dimitrios, his antecedent and biographer, he was the heart of the Greek community in London<sup>13</sup> and he also had connections with scholars in Amsterdam and Antwerp, as we can also conclude from his friendship with Jacobus de Richebourcq who published the *Anthology* and wrote the introduction, which we will discuss. As mentioned by all his biographers (Legrand, Rhodocanakis and Amantos),<sup>14</sup> he died there, although the exact date remains uncertain.

The second person that interests us here is Jacobus de Richebourcq (1644-1723), the writer of the essay we will mainly discuss as stated above. Being a lawyer and scholar, he had many interests, as Paul Bergmans mentions in his study,<sup>15</sup> one of which was the publication of Rhodocanakis' *Anthology*. His essay on meter is not only interesting as historical evidence on Modern Greek metrics, being one

12. See Vlastos, *Χιακά*, 108-18.

13. Rhodocanakis, *Βίος καὶ Συγγράμματα*, 10.

14. See Legrand, *Retour de Charles II*, 12; Rhodocanakis, *Βίος καὶ Συγγράμματα*, 13-4; and Amantos, "Κωνσταντῖνος Ροδοκανάκης", 264.

15. Paul Bergmans, *Jacques de Richebourg, avocat et philologue anversoise du XVIIIe siècle* (Ghent : Cam. Vyt, 1907). At this point I would like to thank Vasilis Siametis for his research on the life of our scholar.

of the few theoretical texts on the issue before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but mainly because he discusses (in a comparative way) the transition from “prosody” (syllabic verse) to the rhythmical (accentual) verse with rhyme, or, in his own words, from “*Musa Metrica*” to “*Musa Rythmica*”. Although written in Latin, his description of the examples and most of his arguments are easily and clearly understood, but his argumentation is not exactly scientific in certain points and issues, being sometimes generalizing and prejudiced against the oriental peoples, including Greeks, as it will be shown. His conclusions sometimes seem not only prejudiced but also scientifically doubtful and are easily traced if we read the essay in comparison to Rhodocanakis’ own note after the foreword. It is, therefore, inevitable to examine the note as well, as the poet describes the form of his poems, helping the western reader to understand how he perceived the meter as Greek, and then compare it to Richebourcq’s conception of the Greek language and meter. The reception of the book was good if we consider that a review by Jean Le Clerc (1657-1736) was published almost immediately after it was released, in his famous *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, which we will discuss later.

It should be stressed that Richebourcq –as scholar knowing the Antiquity and being Occidental, who lived (almost all his life) during the golden era of the Dutch Republic<sup>16</sup>–, seems rather prejudiced towards the Greeks of his days, both in linguistic and in more general cultural issues, as it will be argued. This very attitude is not at all

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16. For the cultural, political, and social status in the Dutch Republic see Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1995). See also his more recent ones: *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) and *Enlightenment contested. Philosophy, Modernity and the Emancipation of man 1670-1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

peculiar for a Westerner of his times, not even for Greeks who fled to western countries and criticize as barbarians the oriental peoples in general, including those Greeks who remained in the Ottoman Empire. It is also obvious that Richebourcq knew Constantine, who died and was buried in Amsterdam in 1689, according to D. Rhodocanakis, or 1710 according to Amantos, who is based on the foreword we will here discuss.<sup>17</sup> As it is obvious, there are many “slippery” points concerning Constantine’s life that we will not discuss here.

As we read throughout the foreword, we gradually become aware that the Dutch lawyer read the poems and was dumbfounded by the unexpected combination of the archaic form of the language and the metric form of accentual 15syllable verse with rhyme. This unpleasant surprise must have struck not only our lawyer, but other Westerners as well, because Rhodocanakis himself in his note tries to stress two reasons for which the reader should not be surprised. The first reason he mentions is the fact that most of the Greeks of his days are familiar with (and “sing”) this kind of poetry with pleasure, as it happens with many other European peoples as Italians, French, British, Spanish and Portuguese:

“Χρῶμαι δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γένει τῶν ἐπῶν, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οἱ τὸ νῦν βιοῦντες ἔλληνες πλεῖστον ὅσον χαίρουσιν ἄδοντες τοῖς ῥυθμικοῖς στίχοις, ἅτε δὴ αὐτοῖς λίαν οἰκείοις καὶ συνήθεσιν. Ὡσπερ φιλεῖ

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17. Amantos is based on Richebourcq’s memory (although he was old) that Rodocanakis died 10 or 12 years before writing the foreword and accuses Dimitrios Rhodocanakis for forgery concerning some information. See Amantos, “Κωνσταντῖνος Ροδοκανάκης”, 264-65. But, apart from the fact that the lawyer was old and his memory could not be trusted as evidence, we cannot know if the foreword was written when he published the book or years before. On top of that, if the tomb really existed and it is not forged by Dimitrios, we should consider as correct the information given by the tomb text and place his death in 1689. See Rhodocanakis, *Βίος καὶ Συγγράμματα*, 13-14.

γενέσθαι ἰταλιστί, κελτιστί, βρεττανιστί, ἰβηριστί καὶ ἄλλοθι, προηγουμένως δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐπιχωρίῳ καὶ πεζῷ ἐκάστου ἔθνους ἰδιώματι” (N2).<sup>18</sup>

The second reason he offers is the fact that he considers a great pleasure for him not only sing but also create himself this kind of songs: “Δεύτερον ὅτι ἡδονὴν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν λαμβάνω ποιούμενος τὰ ἔπη τῆς εὐρύθμου ταύτης ἡδυεπείας ἐν ᾗ τρία θεωρεῖται” (N2).

The note of the author ends with a brief (we could say laconic) description of his metric system. The first element he notices is that it is based on accentuated verse, the rhythm of which is mainly regulated by the end of it. This very fact is true, and it exists already in byzantine poetry, before the 15syllable Modern Greek metric form.<sup>19</sup> Second element is that the stresses are in certain syllables;<sup>20</sup> third is that we have certain amount of syllables, probably meaning here the most common Modern Greek meter, the 15syllable; and as fourth he mentions the type of rhyme, which is in couples:

“Πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ῥυθμὸς ἐν τῷ τέλει τῶν ἐπῶν. Δεύτερον παρατηρεῖται ὁ τόνος ἐν ἐνίαις συλλαβαῖς, καὶ τρίτον ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν

18. “Therefore, I use this genre of discourse, first because the contemporary Greeks are very much in fond of singing rhythmical verses, given the fact that they are very familiar with and are used to it. Similarly it happens in Italian, French, British, Spanish and elsewhere, mainly in the local and popular/prosaic language of each nation” (N 2).

19. For the quantitative metrics and the transition from prosody to accentuated verse form during the byzantine period, see Marc D. Lauxtermann, *The Spring of Rhythm. An Essay on the Political Verse and other Byzantine Verses* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), 69-74.

20. For the regulation of the stress in post-Byzantine Era, see Lauxtermann, *Spring of Rhythm*, 74-8.

συλλαβῶν καὶ τέταρτον ἢ ὁμοιοκατάληξις ἐν δυοῖν ἀεὶ στίχοιν. Καὶ ταῦτα τέσσαρα πέφυκε τίκτειν ἔπη λιγύφθογγα καὶ χαρίεντα” (N2).<sup>21</sup>

What interests us more in the above passage is the concluding phrase that characterizes all these four elements and could serve as a guide to read Richebourcq’s essay. It seems that the Dutch lawyer had (deliberately or not is unknown to us) misinterpreted the note and the poems, in relation to the causes that lead to this transition and the value of the new form of meter in comparison to the older one. Apart from this, we can wonder if his prejudiced attitude for the Greeks is based on his opinion or on the information by the writer and his other works, where Rhodocanakis states something similar.<sup>22</sup>

21. “First comes the rhythm at the end of the lines/verses; second is the stress that is placed on certain syllables; and fourth, the rhyming that is always in couples of verses. All these four elements are by nature [the cause] for creating clear and graceful poems” (N 2).

22. It is characteristic of Rhodocanakis’ ideology the fact that he urges the Greeks in the Orient to read his admonitions and accept to be under the protection of the British King. See Legrand, *Retour de Charles II*, 20. Richebourcq might have been aware of this mainly political admonition. It is necessary to have more focused studies on the political identity of the Greeks at the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, taking under consideration each one’s religious beliefs, his studies in western Universities and the place where he lived. In Rhodocanakis’ case, the religious reasons (controversies between Orthodox and Catholic) are intermingled with the political ones, or they are hiding them. The opposite case is Alexander Mavrocordatos, ‘the Exaporit’ (1641-1709), who studied in Italy but lived in Ottoman Empire and denied offers by the Austrians, choosing to be an officer of the Sultan, or his son Nikolaos (1680-1730). On the contrary, like Rhodocanakis’s ideology (but different in practice) is the case of M. Schendos (1691-approx.1736), who tried to assassinate Nikolaos. See Nikolaos Mavrelou, “Μιχαήλ Σκένδος-Νικόλαος Μαυροκορδάτος: οι αντίπαλοι και η διακίνηση κειμένων, λογίων και ιδεών στις αρχές του 18ου αιώνα” [=Michael Schendos-Vanderbech – Nikolaos Mavrocordatos: the rivals and the circulation of texts, scholars and ideas at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century], *Kathedra* 3, no 1-2 (2018): 237-49. For an overall view on the scholars see Nikolaos Mavrelou, “Latinitas Graecorum: Latin language used by Greeks and Greek identity in 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century texts”. In *Latin in Byzantium III: Post-Byzantine Latinitas. Latin in post-*

Rhodocanakis informs us that «Ἦν καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλ’ ἔγωγ’ αὐτὸς ἐμὲ τυγχάνω διδάξας διὰ .... Σέ»,<sup>23</sup> addressing in second person to a You in capital initial letter that alludes either to God or a person of high esteem, but could it also be to any reader of the book. This connection can be made due to a phrase in the previews page, where the author addresses to any “φιλέλληνα νέο καὶ φιλομαθῆ” [=philhellene youth, thirsty for knowledge], being thus a gentle urging to study his poems, using a didactic hint:

“Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πονήματι οὐκ ὀλίγην πεποιήμαι σπουδὴν, οὐ μόνον ὀρθολογεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στίχους εὐρύθμους, λιγυφθόγγους καὶ εὐμαθεῖς παριστάναι. Ὡς ἂν οἱ φιλέλληνες νέοι καὶ φιλομαθεῖς διὰ τῆς εὐφθόγγου καὶ εὐνοήτου τούτων ἀναγνώσεως πρόβρω τῆς κακίας γενόμενοι, τὴν ἀρετὴν προθύμως καὶ ὀλοψύχως ἀσπάζοιντο καὶ περιλαμβάνοιεν, οὕσαν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δῶρον θεοποιῶν αὐτούς” (N 1).<sup>24</sup>

The essay-foreword by Jacobus de Richebourcq is written in the form of a letter addressed to his cousin, under the same name and surname, also a lawyer from Ghent, Jacobus de Richebourcq. The dedicatory part at the very beginning is short (15 lines). Immediately after, the writer starts talking about the genre where our poems (“genus carminis”, F2) belong, namely “*Musa Rythmica*”. His confusion after reading the poems is soon to be obvious when he

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*Byzantine Scholarship (15<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, eds. V. Vaiopoulos - I. Deligiannis - V. Pappas. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 345-59.

23. “For nobody else but myself taught me [to write the poems] for... You” (N 2).

24. “Therefore, when writing this work, I haven’t made small effort, in order to render my verses harmoniously rhythmical, crystal clear and easy to learn. My aim is, through the nice-sounding and easy to understand when reading, to keep the youths that love Greece and learning away from any malicious acts, in order for them to embrace virtue eagerly and thus acquire this gift donated to humans by God, so as to be able to be like Him”.

confesses to his cousin (or to himself perhaps?) that he does not know if he should classify it in the ancient or modern language (meaning discourse perhaps?), or if it is a poem at all.<sup>25</sup> It is, therefore, obvious that he is almost shocked not only because of the meter, but also because of the language used for the accentuated verse, since we have ancient language with modern metric form, that is “Musa Rythmica” instead of the expected “Musa Metrica” (prosody). As a westerner he knows that since the Renaissance amongst the peoples of Europe scholars were using ancient languages with ancient metric forms, whereas in all other cases modern languages with modern meter were used, except for the Greeks. Is it possible that he did not know the Byzantine predecessors of this type of poems? On the other hand, one might wonder if the Latin word “vox”, apart from “voice”, could also mean here uttered discourse, expression, or language. Or does this imply a connection to the uttered form of poetry and the connection to the modern (in his days) popular way of “singing” the poems written in modern languages? The answers to these questions are not within the aim of this approach, for it would need further research on the Dutch lawyer’s background, but we can draw some preliminary conclusions from his opinions expressed here. Even though he stresses the charming (or even sweet) and “εὐφυσῆ” (the word in Greek) character of “Musa Rythica”, he doubts if these examples can be classified in any of the known poetic genres or in poetry at all, as already mentioned. His bewilderment is obvious, although it was known since the byzantine period, for example concerning the poetry of Symeon the New Theologian (11<sup>th</sup> century) with his “μέτρον

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25. «Genus carminis, si ipsum duntaxat carminis genus inspicimus, nescio utrum antiquum an novum vocem? [=The poem genre, if we suppose it can be classified as poem, I do not know if it belongs to the ancient or modern language] (F2).

ἄμετρον” [=meter without meter],<sup>26</sup> which will keep on challenging the scholars till the 19<sup>th</sup> century for issues of language and meter. We can easily understand that the problem of the two forms of the Greek language (archaic and popular), that has created many problems to the Greek textual tradition till the 20<sup>th</sup> century, includes the metric system and its evaluation.

Trying to trace this kind of precursors in ancient poetry from Aristophanes and on, he clarifies that, during the Byzantine Era, poetry is still regulated by rules, and for this very reason it is less sweet, compared to the modern ones. The deviations from the rules of “*Musa Metrica*” were not the dominant or common cases. As Lauxtermann clearly shows in his aforementioned study, the transition to the rhythmic verse is a very slow procedure that will start from Late Antiquity till the domination of the so called “πολιτικός στίχος” in Late Byzantium and the 15syllable with rhyme in the Post-byzantine Era. Prosody was the dominant metric form in Antiquity with all the deviating examples being the exceptions to the rule and used in very challenging (in form and in content) generic categories as comedy, satire etc.

Richebourcq goes on to mention that “Tzetzes, Manasses, and perhaps some others, had written not a few works of the same genre 400 or 500 years before our days”<sup>27</sup> but he does not know if they were within the frame of the rules of prosody, as it was Aristophanes,

26. The phrase is used by Niketas Stethatos for Symeon’s poetry (Lauxtermann, *Spring of Rhythm*, 41), and in a 15<sup>th</sup> century ms. the so called “πολιτικός στίχος” is described without any surprise as rhythmical in contrast to the accentuated verse (in prosody): «ἐν... τοῖς πολιτικοῖς στίχοις οὐ χρὴ ζητεῖν πόδας σπονδείους τε καὶ ἰάμβους καὶ πυρριχίους, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ εὐρυθμον τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ ὀρθὸν ἐν τε τῇ συντάξει καὶ τῇ συνεπομένῃ ἄλλῃ τῷ πεζῷ λόγῳ ἀκολουθία» (cited in Lauxtermann, *Spring of Rhythm*, 41).

27. “Tzetzes, Manasses, & si qui alii opera eo genere carminis a CCCC. vel CCCCC. annis non pauca scripsere” (F 2).

or freer as the modern or recent ones in his days. Although he admits ignorance of byzantine examples, he is at the same time arguing and drawing conclusions with absolute certainty, the validity of which a reader could doubt today. This also gives a clue for his aforementioned prejudices. As we now know that these examples existed in Byzantium,<sup>28</sup> it needs further research in order to find out if our scholar could have had access in many byzantine and post-byzantine Greek texts, although there are indirect indications he did have,<sup>29</sup> as he later on admits he had some manuscripts, as we will see.

His next step is to offer his reader a general overview of Rhodocanakis' poems, stating that their "rhythms" are completely unfamiliar to him, considering examples either in Antiquity or in more recent times<sup>30</sup> probably referring to the presence of the rhyme combined with the accentuated verse. If we also have in mind that he

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28. Lauxtermann believes that the transition period is from the 4<sup>th</sup> till the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Lauxtermann, *Spring of Rhythm*, 19), when Symeon the New Theologist is considered as founder of a new generation of authors (Lauxtermann, *Spring of Rhythm*, 21-2) with his innovative work, which N. Stethatos characterized as "ἄμετρον μέτρον" (Lauxtermann, *Spring of Rhythm*, 41-2). Little by little this trend will lead to the "πολιτικὸν στίχον" which, by the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, as Planudes observed, had become popular (Lauxtermann, *Spring of Rhythm*, 31). As Lauxtermann argued: "To renounce prosody would have meant a revolutionary change in the way the Byzantines viewed their culture and the Byzantines were not keen on revolution" (Lauxtermann, *Spring of Rhythm*, 42). Examples of pure accentuated verse are to be found, according to Lauxtermann (*Spring of Rhythm*, 60), in some hymns in the so called Ephrem "the Greek" (4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> cent.), a translation of Ephrem's hymns in Greek (Lauxtermann, *Spring of Rhythm*, 78). Nevertheless, as far as discourse rhythm is concerned, the prose begun to dominate over poetry since the Roman Era along with its tendency to become rhythmical, in a prose genre which the westerners called "asian" (Lauxtermann, *Spring of Rhythm*, 81-2), almost as Richebourcq does in our essay.

29. See note 31 below about Le Clerc's information.

30. "Nullus autem ex omnibus iis, nullus vel ante vel post eos, Rythmo, quod sciam, usus est unquam" [=As far as I know, no Rhythm from all of them was ever used, either before or after them] (F 2).

considers Rhodocanakis “*αὐτοδίδακτον*” (Greek in the text), and on top he keeps wondering if all Greeks learned this “rhythm” from the poet he presents,<sup>31</sup> it is very strange that he did not read the note of the poet in a book that himself edits and publishes or if he understands Greek well.<sup>32</sup> In the passage we cited above, the poet stresses that he uses this “rhythm” exactly because it is very common amongst the Greeks as in many other occidental peoples. Perhaps the reason is that Richebourcq could not understand Greek very well or he prefers to present a prefixed image? The series of rhetorical questions seem to lead his reader (or any reader) towards the conclusion that the poet might have imitated French poems, but Richebourcq stresses that the Greeks are Orientals and have only imitated Arabs, Turks, and Persians. It is astonishing that the Dutch advocate changes completely Rhodocanakis’ words. Although the latter clearly states that he chose a very popular rhythm, the former almost ironically (in the form of a rhetorical question) wonders if the

31. “Auctor noster et *αὐτοδίδακτον* se, et inventorem se Rythmi tulit, cum Gallicum, si recte memini, aut aliarum certe gentium vernaculum Carmen conatus est imitari” [=Our author considers himself as *αὐτοδίδακτον* and inventor of the Rhythm, while he tried to imitate the French vernacular songs or even those of other nations, if I remember well] (F 2).

32. We can also wonder the same for Le Clerc who, in the aforementioned book review, repeats Richebourcq’s opinion but avoids commenting on the essay. The useful information in Le Clerc’s review is that he refers to Richebourcq’s study on Jew poetry, offering us a proof that the advocate knew the Oriental tradition but chose to classify the poetry of Greeks and other oriental peoples as barbaric. See the review of Rhodocanakis’ *Anthogynomia* by Jean Le Clerc [review without title], *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne* 16, partie 1 (1721): 187-9. Le Clerc is also aware of the oriental tradition and the status of the peoples during his days, as we can make out from a letter of his (April 11, 1721) to Nikolaos Mavrocordatos, where he talks about Jew poetry and the situation in the Balkans. See Jean Le Clerc, *Epistolarion, vol. IV, 1719-1732 e Indici generali*, ed. M. Grazia & M. Sina (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, MCMXCVII [=1997]), 78-81. We can clearly see in p. 80 that Le Clerc refers to the lack of prosody and the existence of rhyme in Jew poetry whereas he has also referred to the “Blanc Verses” in England (Le Clerc, *Epistolarion*, 79).

poet's supposed self presentation as inventor of the certain rhythm is verisimilar (and therefore trustworthy) and if "Graeciam universam ab auctore nostro Rythmos didicisse".<sup>33</sup>

All these observations are not as charming as they might seem at a first glance, as the reader has not yet read the note of the poet himself. It is necessary, however, to connect them with Richebourcq's view about Rhythm during the Byzantine Era as well as those after Byzantium. He surely seems to be prejudiced (especially when he implies that the oriental people are vulgar, Greeks included) but also not very familiar with Greek language (apart from poetry) after Antiquity. It is difficult to think that Richebourcq did not understand Greek, but it seems he misunderstood some words of the writer.

His argumentation could be based on the anti-Ottoman (apart from the anti-Byzantine) ambient of the Era, although after the Karlowitz Treaty (1699) Ottoman Empire was stopped from entering in Western Europe, just outside Vienna. Even some Greeks living in the West sometimes do despise as culturally inferior the ones living in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, leaving aside Rhodocanakis, and even though he acknowledges that "Musa Rythmica" exists in other western countries, he will insist that the Greek "Musa Rythmica" of his days was only influenced by the Asian peoples (Turks, Arabs, Persians) and it is therefore inferior, having lost the authenticity of the ancient "Musa Metrica", the prosody. He considers that all the oriental peoples have been influenced by Arabs, although he completely avoids mentioning the Jews throughout the essay, despite the fact that he knew their tradition very well. As characteristic of his attitude we can mention the phrase he uses for the quality of this art as he puts men and camels in the same level of aesthetic appreciation

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33. "What can I say? Is it verisimilar [/possible] that all Greece has been taught Rhythm by our author only" (F2).

or matters of taste in general.<sup>34</sup> What strikes our interest as the essay goes on is the fact that he spots the moment of the appearance of accentuated verse just after the Fall of Constantinople, due to the enslavement of the Greeks in all sectors, taste included. He supposes that because of either effort to flatter the conquerors or their real admiration for them, they imitated these oriental (asian) genres of rhythm, which he considers as more tender or even effeminate (“*mollitie rythmi*” [F3]).

His essay then takes a more interesting turn because, as he almost aggressively mentions that, apart from the glory of their ancient ancestors, they also forgot “*memoriam Florentis olim Imperii*” [=the memory of the once Flourishing Empire] (F3). What seems strange at first is why he does not mention Byzantium as Roman Empire, nor Genoa (the city that had occupied the island of Chios) or Venice (which had much more islands in the past). Is it possible that he used this phrase in purpose so as to be associated by the reader’s memory with Florence, by the strange use of the initial capital letter in the word “*Florentis*”? The effect these phonetically similar words have on the reader’s eye (as they share a common part “*Florent-*”) could make the anyone bring in mind the Florentine Siege of Chios island, a historical fact(s) much more close to his (and Rhodocanakis’) days. The capital letter used at the beginning of the word “*Florentis*” might be either the writer’s choice or a typographical error. Therefore, we could consider the optical game suggested above as an indirect reference to the aforementioned siege of the island by the Florentines (1599-1601), or the related incident of the years 1664-5, when

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34. “*Gaudent supra modum Arabes cantu seu Rythmo, quo solo saepe Camelos suos amans Musicae animal regunt*” [=Arabs do enjoy using a lot songs and rhythm, with which they can control their animals, the camels that are fans of music] (F2-3).

Rhodocanakis himself might have been involved, as it stemmed from the religious (and of course political and commercial) controversy between Catholics and Orthodox.

As we continue reading our essay, it becomes clear that the Dutch scholar fuses the historical and/or cultural criteria with the aesthetic evaluation due to a certain belief of his, concerning every cultural product originating from the Orient. He also alludes to the differences and controversies between the Greeks,<sup>35</sup> as those religious (with hints of political aspirations) we described above which Richebourcq could have heard either by Rhodocanakis himself or by others. This was the cause, as the Dutch scholar suggests, for the transition from the glorious prosody to the barbaric rhythm of the Orient. According to his perspective, it is not only the fear of the conqueror that made the Greeks change their aesthetic standards, but also the internecine (civil) struggle (e. g. in Chios), as he alludes also revealing the political background of the religious prejudices. This frame is made clearer if we read behind the lines at the point where he mentions “*Florentis olim Imperii*” just to make the readers’ eyes read “Florentine” instead of “*Imperii Romani Orientalis*”. It could be not only the aforementioned “memory” of the Florentine siege of Chios but also an allusion to the Counsel of Florence for the Union of the Churches (Eastern and Western), as we read the above cited phrase for “discords” between the Greeks before the Fall of Constantinople, clearly putting the blame on the Orthodox who did not want to exchange their political “freedom” for what they thought as religious

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35. “*Si quis putaret diu ante captam urbem, cum mores hostium aliquos, tum etiam Rythmos irrepsisse, dum Graecia perit Graecorum discordiis, non difficulter me haberet assentientem*” [=If someone thinks that, long before the Fall of the City and due to the hostile attitude of some people the Rhythm slipped in, while Greece was defeated, due to the discords between the Greeks, I wouldn’t have any difficulty in agreeing] (F 3).

“slavery” to the Catholics. Richebourcq cannot believe that scholars and philologists like Ioannes Tzetzes (1110-1180) and Constantinos Manasses (1130-1187) could have used such a kind of verses as those he can find in the manuscripts (or printed editions?) he possesses.<sup>36</sup> He seems to be sure that either a scribe or an interpreter forged the original Tzetzes’ and Manasses’ verses, by adjusting them to the new metric form. He thus achieves to prove his theory on the Greeks by giving an explanation that could be considered as a common problem for the mss tradition but difficult to be proved in our case. On the other hand, he tries to connect the change of musical (poetical and metrical?) taste with an indication for a political change which lead to the “defeat of Greece”, that considers it happened because of “the destiny” (“fatale fuit”).

Although he stresses the devastating effects of the fall of the Byzantine Empire for the Greek culture, he avoids mentioning the equally devastating effects of the western invasion in the Empire in 1204, which on the contrary he praises. On top of that, he almost excludes the possibility of western poetic influences despite the fact that the Latin occupation lasted more than 200 years in many places. Instead, he insists that Baldouin’s (or western?) presence “nec fuerit diuturnum” [=was not for a long period] (F3) and “minus verisimile est” [=it is less verisimilar] that there was French or Italian poetic influence. He also suggests that everybody was involved in wars and there was no time for poetry, also arguing that the Italians have “carmen Rythmicum” as well, but their languages are different, so he also denies any similarity. He is rather insistent on denying that the Modern Greeks could be included within the western textual

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36. He uses a strange phrase that does not permit us to tell if he refers to manuscripts or printed editions: “si Manasses mihi meus aut Tzetzes ad manum esset” [=if my Manasses or the Tzetzes I hold in my hands] (F 3).

tradition. It is rather astonishing that he uses no example of any text or reference to any specific author, nor he specifies if he refers to popular anonymous poetry that was sung (as those that in Greece are mentioned as “demotic songs”). As we read his argumentation, we find no such words as Byzantium –which is used for Constantinople at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century by Alexander Mavrocordatos for example– or Eastern Roman Empire,<sup>37</sup> which was the official name of the Empire. It is clear that for Richebourcq, as for many westerners, the only Roman Empire was the Western one and (later on) the so called Holy Roman Empire (from 962 a. D., till his days).<sup>38</sup>

After the exclusion of the Modern Greek poetry from the European textual tradition, he compares it with the oriental one, mainly the Arabic. The main similarities he spots as very annoying are the extended length of their poems and the fact that their verses end in the same way (“ὁμοιόπτωσις”) (F 3-4). As he suggests, the combination of these both is very boring, in contrast to the much more interesting western rhymes, which he probably considers as more civilized. This feeling of superiority can be traced in the phrase where he uses the first person plural in the phrases “si haberemus hic” [=If we were here] and “non uti nos” [=not like us] (3) to contrast the westerners (French or Italian etc.) with the Arabs and the Greeks.

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37. Alexander Mavrocordatos dedicates his doctoral thesis to the Duke of Tuscany Ferdinand II de' Medici, who was under the control of the Holy Roman Empire. By stressing that the Roman Empire's borders were from the Middle East to the European West and that he came to Latium from Byzantium, it is very probable that this was Alexander's indirect way to show the Westerners that the Oriental “Romans” (that is the Greeks/Hellenes) are Romans (/civilized) as well.

38. A much more negative description of the cultural status of the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire (and the Orient in general) we find two years later (1723) in a book by a Greek doctor Michael Schendos-Vanderbech, who is in favor of the West (probably a spy of the Austrian Emperor) and tries to assassinate N. Mavrocordatos. See Mavrelou, “Μιχαήλ Σκένδος”, 237-49.

At this point we can clearly see that it is the certain form of rhyme that annoys him, as the variety of word-couples rhyming is limited in Greek poetry, according to his opinion, although he does not mention in which kind of poetry (popular anonymous or by scholars).<sup>39</sup> Richebourcq will go on to present a general (but very brief) overview of rhyme in peoples all over the world (Asia, America, Europe and Africa) admitting that it is widely used, but he finally ends up that “ὁμοιόπτωσις” (F 4) is what renders boring this kind of poetry sung “either in Greece or in our streets”.<sup>40</sup>

As aforementioned, this belief of the inferiority of poetry using accentuated verse with rhyme (ὁμοιόπτωσις/ὁμοιοκαταληξία) and written either in popular (δημώδης) or, in our case, archaic (ἀρχαῖζουσα) form of language is common even for Greek scholars till the 19<sup>th</sup> century. An example we mentioned is Korais, who uses a characteristic medical word for this rhyme that annoys him a lot like an itch: “ψώρα” [=scabies].<sup>41</sup> Living for many years in France, Korais also adopts the western view, considering “ὁμοιόπτωσιν” as very annoying and its use during a period he will also call barbaric, using

39. Perhaps he does not believe it is necessary because, for the westerners or the Greeks studying and living in the western countries, Greek is only Ancient Greek, as if Byzantine and Modern Greek (popular) did not exist. An example of Greek scholar who divided between Hellenic (Ελληνική/Ancient Greek) and Greek (Ρωμαϊκή or Γραικική/Modern Greek) was Adamantios Korais.

40. The phrase in Latin is “nunc in Graecia vel in triviis canitur” (F 5). It is obvious here that “Greece” is an abstract category, not only without any correspondence to any state but also without any geographical reference at all, for there was never any Greek state before 1821. The end of the phrase though shows that he means popular anonymous poems, whereas he publishes a volume of poems by a certain author, whom he seems to despise for imitating the popular metric form writing in a presumably ancient language.

41. Adamantios Korais, *Αλληλογραφία* [=Correspondence], vol. Γ': 1810-1816 (Athens: ΟΜΕΔ 1979), 500.

for the language or style exactly the same adjective (“μίζοβάρβαρος”)<sup>42</sup> as Richebourcq’s “Mixobarbaris” (F 5).

At this very point of the essay there seems to be a sort of inconsistency as far as his argumentation is concerned, since he starts tracing rhythm in ancient authors, not only in Aristophanes but also in Anacreon and his epithalamia which he finds in manuscript he possesses.<sup>43</sup> The meter of these poems is today considered as close to the byzantine ones in eight-syllable verse, which is also called anacreonteian and contributes a lot as far as the transition from prosody to the accentual verse is concerned.<sup>44</sup> In brief, his initial notion that the Greek “Musa Rythmica” appears after the Fall of Constantinople, seems to be invalid here, for he does not clearly state that the problem is not “Musa Rythmica” in general, but only the rhyme of this kind of poetry, and even more specifically the poor rhyming combinations. It is true that the byzantine “πολιτικὸς στίχος” lacks rhyme that is dominant in the “ἰαμβικὸς δεκαπεντασύλλαβος” [=iambic 15-syllable] verse of the post-byzantine period till the 19<sup>th</sup> century. But, as it is today widely known, rhyme is to be found in the poems of the so called Early Cretan Renaissance production,<sup>45</sup> which was under Venetian occupation and had very

42. Adamantios Korais, *Ἀτακτα* [=Scattered Notes] B', St. Fasoulakis, intr./ed., (Chios: Τυπογρ. ABC, 1998), ιβ' and κθ'. Korais also refers to the Asian style. See Korais, *Ἀτακτα*, κε' and Adamantios Korais, *Προλεγόμενα στους Αρχαίους Έλληνες Συγγραφείς* [=Prolegomena to the Ancient Greek Writers], vol. B (Athens: M.I.E.T., 1998), 61.

43. Although he does not mention the word manuscript, he refers to “Epithalamio hymno Anacreon fol. mihi 210” (F 5).

44. For the terms οκτασύλλαβος ανακρεόντειος and a comparison between their differences see Lauxterman, *Spring of Rhythm*, 43-5.

45. See the anthology of Early Cretan Poetry recently published with an extended introductory study by St. Kaklamanis (intr./ed.), *Η κρητική ποίηση στα χρόνια της Αναγέννησης (14ος - 17ος αι.)*, vol. B: *Ανθολογία (14<sup>ος</sup> αι. - περ. 1580)* [=The Cretan Poetry in Renaissance Era (14<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> cent.), vol. B (14<sup>th</sup> cent. till approx. 1580)] (Athens: M.I.E.T., 2020).

close literary relations with the mother state, something that Richebourcq either does not know or deliberately hides.<sup>46</sup> One way or another, by stressing the popular identity (and therefore inferior quality) of this verse, he points to a value that focuses purely on its utility, that is the quick memorization due to this monotony.

The last part of his argumentation is even more interesting, because he chooses to compare the Greek “*carmina Rythmica*” with the so called *leonine verses*, a product of “*mixobarbaris saeculis*” (F 5), without mentioning that they have forerunners in Antiquity, as e. g. Ovidius’ *Ars amatoria*.<sup>47</sup> He thus concludes (as he states) that Rhodocanakis is not the inventor of this rhythm, making it even stranger for the reader who, immediately after, will read the reassurance of the poet that he did not invent the metric form. Since it would be almost impossible not having read the note that follows, it seems more likely that Richebourcq could not understand very well the Greek verb “*διδάξας*” in the final phrase “*Ἦν καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλ’ ἔγωγ’ αὐτὸς ἐμὲ τυγχάνω διδάξας διὰ ..... Σέ*” (N 2). The verb here means “teaching myself” or simply “learn”: “Nobody taught me but I learned it alone for ..... You”.

On top of this, although Richebourcq states he is putting an end to his text, he keeps on for two more pages explaining in a rather verbose way, why Rhodocanakis is not the inventor and that this form existed in many textual traditions, disappeared sometime in the past and then was reinvented as some products he mentions: gun

46. There are many writers who used this rhyme in Cretan dialect texts but the most famous was Bergadis’ *Απόκοπος*. It was first published in 1509 (but written much earlier) and very soon had a second edition (1519). Is it possible that the Dutch scholar did not know any of these texts? It cannot be said with certainty.

47. See Terry V.F. Brogan, “Leonine verse, rhythm”. In *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, Alexander Preminger, Terry V.F. Brogan et al., eds. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 687.

powder, naphtha, and printing. He also states that he mentions what he keeps in the “treasury of his memory” and found in some books, but he ignores what is written in the books he did not check, trying to prevent any negative comment on the efficiency of his argumentation.

The most puzzling point of his text is when at the end of page six he closes the letter with the final salutation “vale”, but then goes on to mention one more example from ancient poetry that proves the existence of “Musa rythmica” even before Aristophanes. He cites a Sapphic poem where he thinks that the Aeolian verses are mixed with common language, but they do not have rhyme («ὁμοιόπτωσιν»), a characteristic that contributes to their superior value.

After the last paragraph, where he declares for the third (and last) time that he will end his letter saluting his relative, Richebourcq writes a stanza in ancient Greek language –using the rhyme he accuses of being boring– that is “in laudem auctoris” [=as a praise to the author]. The question that is posed in the reader’s mind is why he tries to argument on the inferiority of the rhymed verse in archaic Greek, if at the end he praises the author and he himself uses the same metric form.

Concluding, we could sum our approach in the following four points:

a) this essay is one of the older ones commenting on the domination of the accentuated verse with rhyme, but written in archaic form of Modern Greek, a combination rather puzzling for a Westerner, although he personally knew the author. Equally, if not more important, is the note by the author on the same issue;

b) despite the inconsistencies or lack of recent examples, it is an interesting historical overview of the transition from prosody to the

accentuated rhymed verse, the effort to trace the moment of the shift from one to other, comparing it to western and eastern metric forms;

c) the aesthetic value of the modern form is judged as inferior mainly due to the poor rhyme as a result for the “*saeculi mixobarbari*”, a reason that will be used also by Greek critics when telling their opinion on the modern Greek metric system, as Korais or others;

d) there are some political and cultural prejudices traced within the arguments of our scholar that affect his aesthetic evaluation of Byzantine and Modern Greek poetry and language form, focusing on the cultural identity of the Greeks, as almost irrelevant to the ancient ones and close to the oriental/asian peoples’ culture, apart from the linguistic influences and despite the religious differences. As a result, Richebourcq thinks that the poetry of all the oriental peoples is inferior and does not distinguish between e. g. Turks, Arabs, or Persians, despite their differences.<sup>48</sup>

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48. Some years earlier (1716-18) Nicolaos Mavrocordatos tries to prove the exact opposite by writing a novel (*Φιλοθέου Πάρεργα*), which he sends in two copies, one to Jean le Clerc in Holland and another to the librarian of the French Royal Library. See Nikolaos Mavrocordatos, *Φιλοθέου Πάρεργα [=Philotheos’ Pastime Oeuvres]*, J. Bouchard, ed./trans./notes, K. Dimaras, pref. (Athens-Montreal: Όμιλος Μελέτης του Ελληνικού Διαφωτισμού-Les Presses de l’ Université de Montréal, 1989). It is characteristic that he depicts the Sultan and the Ottoman citizens as different from the clichés the westerners have for them (p. 86), contrasting them to the Arabs (p. 86) and Persians (p. 92).



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ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ

ΤΟΥ ΡΟΔΟΚΑΝΑΚΙΔΟΣ

ΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ΤΩ ΓΕΝΕΙ

ΚΑΙ

ΧΥΜΙΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΓΛΑΗΝΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

ῥ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΙΑΣ

*Ανθολογία διὰ σίχων συρμικῶν.*

Ι Δ Ε Σ Τ.

CONSTANTINI

RODOCANACIDIS

GENERE GRÆCI

Ε Τ

SERENISSIMI MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ REGIS

CHYMICI, &c.

Floridæ sententiæ versibus Rythmicis conscriptæ.

Præfationis loco præfixa est operi

EPISTOLA JACOBI DE RICHEBOURCQ

JURISCONSULTI

ANTVERPIENSIS.



AMSTELÆDAMI,

Et prostant ANTVERPIÆ,

Apud JOANNEM FRANCISCUM LUCAS,

sub signo S. Spiritus propè Burlam.

M. DCCXXI.



( 1 )

VIRO ERUDITISSIMO

ET

G R Æ C E

AC LATINE DOCTO

D. JACOBO DE RICHEBOURCQ

JURISCONSULTO

ET

Quinquaginta (& amplius) annis Advocato Gandensi.

JACOBUS DE RICHEBOURCQ

JURISCONSULTUS

A N T V E R P I E N S I S .

S. P. D.



Tſi maluiſſem ex te intelligere quid ſentires de hymno tibi tranſmiſſo, & de genere carminis quo ſcriptus eſt : quia tamen & hymno illo cum primis eſ recreatus, & libuit tibi haecenus, non tam quid ſentires exponere, quam laude deſungi : experiar an poſſim ſuſcipere partes quas rejicis, & quæ ex te audire cupieram, narrare conabor. Non

quod putem me quidquam afferre poſſe quod tibi ignotum ſit, ſed ut delectere ſi quid protulero à quo non diſſentias, vel certè ut cenſorem tunc agas, cum videris me hallucinantem in re, de quâ hoc quidem tempore, ſolis fere con-

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jecturis ac suspicionibus uti possim. Sed ad rem. Hymnus quem vides, videtur extemporaneum carmen esse, quod minori forsitan labore pepigit auctor, quam ego descripsi. Et tamen, ut verè ais, mirè venustum est, & *ἁρμόσιον*, & genio musæ Rythmicæ dignum. Facile quoq; est, & quod tamen non tam facile quis assequatur, quam assecuturum se speret: adeo multis locis suavissimam venerem spirat. Genus carminis, si ipsuduntaxat carminis genus inspiciamus, nescio utrum antiquum an novum vocem? non dubito quin simile aliquando legeris in Aristophane, sed magis adstrictum legibus, ac minus suave. Ita ut hoc quod vides, quo minus adstrictum legibus, eo antiquius videri possit, & rursus quo suavius est, eo recentius videatur. Tzetzes, manasses, & si qui alii, opera eo genere carminis à CCCC. vel CCCCC. annis non pauca scripsere. An tamen adstrictiores sint legibus ut Aristophanes, an vero solutiores ut hic hymnus iis recentior, equidem nescio cum neuter ex illis ad manum sit, nec à longo tempore fuerit. Nullus autem ex omnibus iis, nullus vel ante vel post eos, Rythmo, quod sciam, usus est unquam. Auctor noster & *ἁρμόδιστος* se, & inventorem se Rythmi tulit, cum Gallicum, si recte memini, aut aliarum certe gentium vernaculum carmen conatus est imitari. Et tamen (quod mirere) Hodiernis ajebat Græcis Rythmica illa esse magnopere familiaria. Quid hîc dicam? an verisimile est Græciam universam ab auctore nostro Rythmos didicisse? ab auctore inquam nostro Christi causâ, à primâ pueritiâ, ex insulâ chio in exilium sponte profecto & toto vitæ tempore in Galliis, in Magnâ Britanniâ, in Belgio etiam nostro versato, ubi à decem vel duodecim circiter annis excessit è vitâ? an potius dicam, uti auctor noster in Galliis ad imitationem Gallici carminis, Rythmos invenit, ita Græcos in græciâ ad imitationem Arabici vel Turcici carminis, similiter invenisse? vix dubito quin hanc in partem inclinem. Præsertim cum omnis, ut puto, Arabum Musâ Rythmica sit, quemadmodum & Persarum, & Turcarum, dialecto solum ab Arabibus discrepantium. Gaudent supra modum Arabes cantu seu Rythmo, quo solo sæpe Ca-

melos suos amans Musicæ animal regunt. Igitur verisimile est, post captam à Turcis Constantinopolin, victam gentem, vel adulatam victori populo, vel admiratione & suavitate Arabici catminis captam, Rythmos, quos quotidie audiebat, imitari conatam fuisse, faventibus hac in re Turcis, ut mollitiæ Rythmi, Majestatem Metrici carminis frangerent, & sensim ex animis victarum gentium exciderent memoriam Florentis olim Imperii, & veteris gloriæ majorum. Et sane si quis putaret diu ante captam urbem, cum mores hostium aliquos, tum etiam Rythmos irrepisse, dum Græcia perit Græcorum discordiis, non difficulter me haberet assentientem. habes jam quæ ex tempore mihi in mentem venere. *ἄλλῃ τῆς δροῦς*, meras, inquam, conjecturas ac somnia: certiora puto aliqua promerem, si manasses mihi meus aut Tzetzes ad manum esset, cujus vel commentator, vel certe interpres, verisimiliter aliqua scripsit de genere metri illo, quod à plurimis annis non legi, & quod etiam, ut verum fatear, non nimium probo. Quanto enim præcedit Magnificentiam, Majestatem, lepore, Metrica Græciæ Musa? miror Græciæ populos, cum scirent Philosophum ex mutatione Musicæ rerumpublicarum mutationes augurari, hostilem illam Arabum Musicam Rythmos, si scilicet ante captam urbem inveci erant, non expulisse: sed fatale fuit Græciam vinci, & amittere pristinas artes suas. Posset & quis suspicari aliquid Rythmorum irrepisse in Græciam, à Galliæ & Belgii populis, qui Duce Balduino Flandriæ Comite, Constantinopolin Bello cepere circa annum CIO. CC. unde Balduinus per aliquot annos Imperator Græcorum fuit. Verum id mihi minus verisimile est, cum propter continua Bella, tum quod Imperium Balduini fere mœnibus urbis contineretur, nec fuerit diuturnum. Italis, aliisque etiam carmen est Rythmicum: verum aliud genus metri, etsi linguam eorum id genus metri capacem esse non diffitear. Si haberemus hinc Rythmica, qualia Græcis in Græciâ familiaria sunt, perspicere forte posset, an Gallicum vel vernaculum nostrum carmen, an vero Arabicum imitentur. Nam Arabes, non uti nos, duos tantum habent versus similiter desinentes,

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sed plures. Imo qualibus syllabis primi versus alicujus hymni terminantur, iisdem terminantur reliqui omnes. Habent hymnos mille & plurium versus, qui omnes eodem fere modo Rythmicè finiunt. Nec mirum videri debet, cum sint quibus videatur Arabum lingua linguam Græcam multis parafangis copiâ verborum præcedere. Incidit mihi hæc scribenti, hymnum divi casimiri, incipientem.

Omni die dic Mariæ mea laudes anima, &c. Hymno tibi transmissio per similem esse, nisi quod Græcus unico Rythmo, latinus duplici constat: quali & per se mirum in modum gaudent, & Galli & Belgæ non raro utuntur. Pleraque ex his quæ de Arabicis narraui, ex fide narraui viri Arabice cum primis eruditi. Bootsii inquam Bremensis, omnium fere Orientalium linguarum periti, quem Illustris Spanhemius, Illustrissimi Regis Præsiæ in Angliâ legati defuncti frater alicubi diligentissimum vocat. Spero autem memoriam me non sefellisse. Porro animadvertisse quoque videor, omnem fere Europam à multis jam sæculis, Asiam item atque Africam, Rythmicâ Musâ uti. Solis severambis, si credere fas est, & quibusdam forte Americæ populis, Metrica, ut conjicio, Musa est. Dicit forte quis, Rythmos veteribus cum Græcis, tum latinis notos fuisse tam esse evidens ut negari non possit. Non nego: vera sunt, quæ dicuntur. Imo Rythmum metri Patrem vocat fuidas. Verum aliud id genus Rythmi, quam quo utitur auctor noster, & Hodier-nus fere terrarum orbis. Defuit veteribus ὁμοιόπρωσις in sine versusum ut ex vetustis Rythmorum fragmentis vidi. Quis tamen est qui dubitet, quin interdum casu inciderint in ὁμοιόπρωσις; en suavissimi Poëtarum suavissimum carmen, in quo Rythmum videbis, vel casu, vel arte insertum.

Ὅμ μοι μέλα γύγασ

Τὲ σάργεων ἀνακλῶ

Ὅυθ' ἀγέται με χρυσοσ'

Ὅυδὲ φρονῶ τεράννοις

Ἐμοὶ μέλα βόδοισιν

Κατασέφην καρῆνα

Ἐμοὶ μέλα μύροισιν

Καλαβρέτχαν ὑπῆλιν

Τὸ σήμερον μέλα μοι

Τὸ δ' αὐριόγ' τις οἶδεν:

Terrastichum fere Rythmicum vides, ex quo conjici potest id genus carminis seu Rythmi, fors notum fuisse priscis, sed contemptum, ac soli forte plebi usurpatum, quemadmodum & nunc in Græciâ vel in triviis canitur. Carmen, quod nescio an memoriter rectè. Reddiderim, conatus fui olim utcumque ex parte imitari, hoc modo.

Ὅ μοι μέλει ἐμῶ  
 Ὅ τ' ἐμῶ πάντων  
 Ἐμὲ μέλει ἑροτοῖσιν  
 Ἐμὲ μέλει θεοῖσιν  
 Ἐμὲ μέλει ἀνακλι.

Ἄνακλι τῷ ἀρίστῳ  
 Ἄνακλι τῷ μεγίστῳ  
 Ἄνακλι τ' ἀνάκτων  
 Θεῶ θεῶν μέλει μὲ.

Nec semel duntaxat, sed sæpius Rythmo usus Anacreon est: canit namque.

Ὁ πλῆτ' ἄγε χρυσὸν  
 τὸ ζῆν παρῆγε θνητοῖς  
 Ἐκαρτέρην φυλάττων  
 Ἴν' ἀν' θανῆν ἐπέλθῃ  
 Λάβῃ τι καὶ παρτέλθῃ

Et ad pictorem βλέμμα αἰτ ποίησον

Ἄμα γλαυκὸν ὡς ἀθίνης  
 Ἄμα ὕγρον ὡς κυθήρης.

Et alibi.

Et in Epithalamio hymno  
 Anacreon fol. mihi 210.

Τὸ μὲν εἴν πόμα λάβωιδμ  
 Τὰς δ' ὄ φροντίδας μετῶιδμ.

Θεῶν ἀνασσα κύπρι  
 Ἴμερε κράτ' ἑθονίων  
 Γάμε βίοτοιο φύλαξ  
 Ἵμέας λόγοις λιγαίνω  
 Ἵμέας σίχοις κοδάίνω.

Leonina, ut vocant, priscis nota fuere, sed vitio vertebantur: Mixobarbaris sæculis quidam ea putidè affectarunt. Facio finem scribendi, si modo dixero vel repetiero potius, putare me, non modo auctorem nostrum, sed plures alios inventores fuisse carminis Rythmici: cum verisimile sit, quod ait Philosophus, omnes artes sæpe inventas fuisse, sæpe

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deperditas. Nisi Malimus credere, non tam fuisse deperditas, quam migrasse de gente ad gentem. Quidni & dicamus similia, cum de pulvere pyrio ac tormentis Bellicis, tum de Typographiâ? didici ex Historiâ Belli Tartarici, tormenta ac pulverem pyrium à quater mille circiter annis apud finas nota fuisse. Audivi ex avunculo Thomâ haberi in itinere contulis Brugenſis Stochovii, typis excuſo, vel certè in alio libello, Alexandrum Magnum oppugnasse arcem in indiis, quæ insigniter fulminibus petebat hostem. Quid aliud ea fulmina, quam ignis tormentis Bellicis expressus? non recordor me hæc legiſſe in Plutarcho, Arriano, Curtio, aliis: ex quo ſcriptore hauſtum ſit, nescio. Puto me legiſſe in Historiis Hispaniæ atque Italiæ tormenta Bellica in uſu fuiſſe in obſidionibus Algeziræ & Venetiarum, quinquaginta circiter annis ante, quam apud nos. Veriſimiliter igitur alius iis iuventor pulveris pyrii, quam noſtris. Sed an pulvis pyrius ignotus Virgilio dum canit.

*Vidi & crudeles dantem Salmonea pœnas  
Dum flammæ jovis & ſonitus imitatur olympi,  
Et non imitabile fulmen?*

An perſis, quibus Naphtha in uſu? Typographia ſinis quoq; diutiſſime nota, ſed an ignota latinis? boum Sifyphi ungulæ inſcriptæ erant litteris, quæ excudebantur in arenâ, ut legi à quolibet poſſet, cujus boves tranſiſſent. Non dubito quin plura talia animadvertent docti. Ego ea tantum protuli, quæ Theſaurus memoriæ ſuppeditabat. Libros vix ullos inſpexi, nec ad manum ſunt, ut inſpicere poſſim. à multis annis ignobilis oîi ſtudia & Græciæ Muſas deferui. Sector aſtream & leges, quæ quod nunquam fore putaveram, etiam placere cœperunt. Sed tempus eſt ut Epistolæ ſinem imponam, ne fortasſe paululam immutato Græcorum proverbio, mihi jure reſcribi poſſit, *μεγάλην ἐπιτολήν μέγα κακόν ἔχει*. Vale

Hiſce ſcriptis animadverti apud cœlium, quod antiquior Ariſtophanæ Suppho, eodem genere carminis uſa ſit. adſcribam

versum in quem incidi, quia suavis ac lepidus est, & dignus Poëtriâ Sappho.

Παρθενία παρθενία ποῖ με λιπύσα διχῆ.

Pro λιπύσα reponendum λιποῖσα videtur, nisi dicamus xolico carmini vocem linguæ communis immixtam esse, aut Poëtriâ illam non semper ἀολίσδει voluisse. Sed prior sententia mihi verior videtur, eique fragmenta Sapphus adstipulantur. Puto igitur dubitari non posse, quin antiquissimis Græcis genus carminis, quo Hymnographus utitur, notum fuerit. Ὁμοιοπώσεις tamen hæctenus non deprehendi, nisi in quas casu inciderunt. Incidi & in hoc Sapphus quod sequitur carmen ex Hephæstione desumptum, quod elegantisæ causâ apponam.

Δίδουκε μὲν ἄ σελάνα

Καὶ πλειάδες, μέσαι δὲ

Νώκλιες, παρὰ δ' ἐρχεθ' ὦρα

Ἐγὼ δὲ μόνα καθεύδω.

Quæ an idem sint genus carminis quod supra dixi, an vero affine Anacreonteis carmen, aliorum iudicium esto. Facio finem scribendi, si modo dixero, suavissimam nostram Sappho, cujus opera Constantinopoli olim excusa sunt, aliquantulo castiorem videri quam ilientes nupturæ, quæ apud Bonifacium Rhodiginum, in scamandro se lavabant dicentes μὲ λάβε παρθενίαν. Vale & boni consule, si aliquot dies feriatos consumere, non omnino forsan ineptissimè nugando conatus sum. Dabam Antverpiæ..... Augusti. CIO. IOCCI.

Idem in laudem auctoris.

Ὡ μύσα ὦ χάρισα κωνσταντίνοιο μύσα

Τὸ κλίε τὴ σε κλίσα κλίε καλῶς διαδρυλλύσα

Ἄσπάζομαι σὺν χάριτα ἀινῶ σὺν τυροθμίαν

Καὶ τυχομαί τῷ κλίση σὺ εἰς ἀεὶ σῶληρίαν.

ΙΑΚΩΒΟΣ ΠΛΟΥΤΑΚΡΙΟΣ  
ΑΝΤΟΥΕΡΠΙΑΝΟΣ.



# ΑΝΘΟΓΝΩΜΙΑ

Δ Ι Α

ΣΤΙΧΩΝ ΡΥΘΜΙΚΩΝ



ἕτ' εἰς ἀθηραὶ καὶ ἐπιφανῆς γνώμα ἐκ  
θεοσεβῶν σοφῶν καὶ δεινῶν συγγραφεῶν  
συλλεγεῖσθαι καὶ εἰς εἶχες ῥυθμικαὶ καὶ ἡδυ-  
φῶνας ἀχθεῖσαι παρὰ κωνσταντῖνος τῷ  
ῥοδοκανάκιδος ἑλληνοσ τῷ γενεῖ καὶ χυμικῷ  
τῷ γαληνοτάτῳ βασιλεῖος τῆ μεγάλης  
βρετανίας

Πρὶν μὲν γὰρ περὶ τῶν γνωμῶν ῥυθμίζεν  
ἄρξασθαι, ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν προσπεῖν τινα περὶ θεῶν ἀγγέλων, κλίσεως  
κόσμου, παραβάσεως ἀδάμ καὶ ἀνακλίσεως τῶ γενεῖ ἡμῶν. Τῆτο  
μὲν ὅτι πρέπων ἐστὶ καὶ ὀφειλόμενον τῷ θεῷ. Τῆτο δ' ὅτι καὶ ἐνταῦθα  
τῶ ῥηθισῶν γνωμῶν εἶχασθαι τὴν ἀναφορὰν πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἅπασιν  
προτεθέντα μάλλον ἢ τὰς γνώμας εὐκαταληπταίως ποιήσασθαι.

καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τῷ πονήματι ἔκ' ὀλίγην πεποιήμα σπαρδὴν,  
καὶ μόνον ὀρθολογεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς εἶχες εὐρύθμικα λιγυφύγγα καὶ  
εὐμαθεῖς παριστάναι. Ὅτι ἂν οἱ φιλελληνοσ νέοι καὶ φιλομαθεῖς διὰ τῶ  
εὐφύγγα καὶ εὐνοίῃ τῶτων ἀναγιγνώσκουσ πορβῶ τῶ κακίας γενόμενοι  
τὴν ἀρετὴν προθύμως καὶ ὀλοφύχως ἀσπάζοιτο καὶ περιλαμβάνοιεν  
ἔσαν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δῶρον θεοποιεῖν αὐτοῖς.

Α

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Χρῶμα δὲ τῆτα τῶ γίνε τῶν ἰπῶν, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι δι τὸ  
νῦν βιγνίεσ ἑλληνεσ πλεῖστον ὄσον χάρυσιν ἀδοῦλεσ τοισ ρυθμικοῖσ  
εἴχοισ, ἀτε δὴ ἀυλοῖσ λιανόκίοισ κῆ συνήθεσιν. Ὡσπερ φιλεῖ γενέσθαι  
ἰταλιεσ κελτιεσ, βρετανιεσ ἰβηριεσ κῆ ἀλλοθι, προσηγμένωσ δὲ ἐν τῶ  
ἐπιχωρίῳ κῆ περὶ ἑκάσθῃ ἔθνεσ ἰδιώματι. Δεύτερον ὅτι ἡδονὴν ἔτην  
τυχεῖσαν λαμβάνω ποιούμενοσ τὰ ἔπη τῆ ευρύθυμῃ τάλιησ ἡδουεπίασ,  
ἐν ἧ τρία θεωρεῖθ.

Πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ρυθμὸσ ἐν τῶ τέλει τῆ ἰπῶν. Δεύτερον παραληρεῖθ  
ὁ τόνοσ ἐν ἐνάτισ συλλαβαῖσ, κῆ τρίτον ὁ ἀριθμὸσ τῆ συλλαβῶν κῆ  
τέταρτον ἡ ὁμοιοκαταληξισ ἐν δυοῖν ἀεὶ εἴχοιν. κῆ ταῦτα τέσσαρα πεφυκε  
τίλιον ἔπη λιγύφθογγα κῆ χαρίεντα. . . . Ἦν κῆ μηδεὶσ ἀλλ' ἔγωγε  
ἀυλοσ ἐμὲ τυχεῖανω διδάξασ διὰ. . . . Σα.



Ὑμνοῦ εὐχαριστικὸς εἰς τὸ θεοῦ πατέρα, υἱοῦ  
 καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τριάδα ὁμοῦσιον καὶ ἀχώρι-  
 στον ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὀλίγα ἄλλα περὶ τῆς διαστολῆς τῆς  
 τριάδος ὑποστάσεων.

Πρῶτοι μὲν εὖ ὑμνήτομεν τὴν πάντων βασιλείαν  
 Πατέρα καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ κόσμου πρυτανείαν  
 καὶ τῦτον εὐλογήσομεν μετὰ δοξολογίας  
 καὶ προσκυνήσομεν ἀεὶ μετὰ πολλῆς λατρείας  
 Πατὴρ φῶτων πᾶσι πηγῇ, φέυγσα νόσος τάχος.  
 Ἄϊεν ὑπεκπροθέουσα φρένας, τὸ θεῖον λάχος  
 Ἐξ ἀνάρχου δῆτα πατρὸς ἀναξ υἱὸς γεννηθῆ  
 καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ δυοῖν Προεβλήθη  
 (Πατρὸς γεννηθῆ) ἐν τῷ εἰχῶ καὶ ὑπερετίθη ἐκ δυοῖν)  
 Ὡς ἀγέννητος ὁ πατὴρ υἱὸς γεννητὸς πᾶσι  
 καὶ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύον πνεῦμα ἐμμεναί θέλει,  
 Τὸ ὄν τίνον τὸ τῆς θεῶν θεωρεῖται ἐν μονάδι  
 Αἱ δὲ ὑποστάσεις τῆς ἐν ἁγία τριάδι  
 Ἐσι μὲν ἴδιον θεῶν ἐσθλοῖσιν ὑπερτάτοις  
 καὶ αἰωνίοις ἀγαθοῖς κάλλει θαυμαστοτάτοις  
 Περιβρέτειν καὶ ἀρετῇ, δυνάμει καὶ σοφίᾳ  
 Ἐπιγηθῆεν πάντοτε καὶ χαίρειν αὐτῶν ἰδίᾳ  
 καὶ ὡς πάντων πανάριστος τερπνοῦσθαι αἰδίως  
 καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἀβήτοις διαχεισθῆ αἰωνίως  
 Ἐτι δωρεῖσθαι ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθὰ πᾶσι θέλει.  
 Ὅτι φύσει παρεκκλινὸς τῶν καλῶν αἰεὶ πᾶσι  
 Τῦτον εὐχαριστήσομεν πολλὰ καλὰ παθόντες.  
 Ἐκ καρῶν θεῶν εἶναι καὶ ζῆν πάντες ἴσμεν λαβόνητες.

ἵς πλατότερον λήξομεν μάξιου σφαητέα  
 Ἐι θεοῖο τῷ τριφαῦς βοηθεῖ εὐδοκία.

## ΠΕΡΙ ΑΓΓΕΛΩΝ

Ἐλ θεοῖς ἐπι φάσιος ἀγγελοι ἀσπίτες  
 Γεχόνασι ἀγγλήνιες, νοεραὶ, διασογίες  
 καὶ καθαροὶ θεράπωνιες ἀνακί⊕ καθαροῖο  
 Τύτοις γὰρ πόδι⊕ εἰς εἰσι ἀεὶ αὐτῷ θεοῖο  
 Ὅι πῆρι μέγαν καὶ λαμπρονὸ συμβεβαώτες θρονον  
 Μετὰ πόδιθ θεοῖο κῆριον μόνον  
 Νόες γὰρ ὅνιες ἐλαφραὶ θεῖσι δι' αἰθέρι⊕  
 καὶ ὑποδράσσεισι ταχὺ ἐπιεμάς τῷ πάλιερ⊕  
 Τοῖσι μὲν ἔ γάμ⊕ ἐσιν ἔτ' ἀληθῆ καὶ φροντίδες  
 ἔτε παθέων κλύδωνες, ἔτε φθαρίων μερίδες  
 ἔτε πασι καὶ γυνεξὶ τῆρωνθ γλυκαῖ πόνω  
 Τῷ ἀληθῶς πᾶσι βροταῖς ὅνι μογερώ κλόνω  
 ἔ πλῆτ⊕ ὁ ἐράσμι⊕ ἰνκλιῖς, ἀρίσκα κέναισι  
 ἔδὲ χαίρεισιν ἀγαθῶς φθαρίοις τε καὶ γήναισι  
 ἔτε πειλάγη πλέυσιν ἐνεκεν ἀτοιρί⊕  
 Γαστέρ⊕ ἀρχεκάκοιο καὶ αἰώω θυμαλγί⊕  
 Τύτοις γὰρ ἀπασι τροφῆ ἀρίση μία πῆλλο  
 Χαίρειν ἐν τῷ νῶ τῷ θεῷ ὡς ἀκροτάτω τέλει  
 καὶ πάλιερ⊕ φώτων θεῷ ἐυρισκομένοις πῆλλο  
 Ἐκ τριάδ⊕ τ' φαεινῆς ἔλκειν ἀρρήλιαν ἀτλας  
 ἔτε ἀπάρχονθ σαρκός, ἔτ' εἰς σάρκα κωρύσιον  
 Ἄμ' ὅπτερ γέρονι' ἐξ ἀρχῆς πῆκ' ἐκεῖ καὶ τῆρῶσι

## ΠΤΩΣΙΣ ΑΓΓΕΛΩΝ

Ἄμ' ἔ πάντες διέμειναν ἐν τῇ ἀσζωῖα  
 Κάν τῇ ἐνδόξω τῷ θεῷ νάουθ ἐυδαιμονία  
 Ὅσοι γὰρ πῆλλοσι θάρρησαν ἐσπίς ἀγαπησι  
 ἔτοι τόλμησαν ἀνακί⊕ θεῷ ἐπιεμάς

ΟΨΙΝ

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Ὅθεν ἀφίητες πρέπυσαν θεῶν μόνα λαίρῃων  
Ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν προήλοιο σχῆν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν  
Καὶ ἔγω μὲν ἐφρόνησαν, ὡς εἰς φύσιν ἰδίαν  
Ἀπονέμειν θεότηλα καὶ ζωὴν αἰωνίαν  
Διὸ ἐκίευσ τὸ φῶλος πέλυσσι βερηθέντες·  
Καὶ εἰς τὸ σκότῳ τῷ φρικτῷ δαπῶς εἰσι βληθέντες  
Καὶ ἔτσι μὲν γεγόνασι δαίμονες κακουργήτες  
Καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν δαινῶς εἰσιν αἰεὶ φρονήτες  
Τῆτων ἀπάντων σαλινας· ὁ δράκων τυραννεύει  
Ὅτι ἀπάντων ἦ κακῶν αὐτοῦ μόνῳ προήλυσ  
Φυλαχθῶμεν ἔν' ἄπαντες ἀπὸ τῆ φιλαυτίας  
Καὶ σχῶμεν φόβον πάντοτε τῆ ὑπερηφανίας  
Ἀπὸ αὐτῆς γὰρ ἄπαν κακὸν ἦλθε πᾶσι βροτοῖσι  
Καὶ νῦν ἔτι βλάβην δεινὴν τίθει πάντοτ' αὐτοῖσι

#### ΠΕΡΙ ΚΤΙΣΣΕΩΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ

**Η** ὅποτε δτε κελαυνῆ νύξ ἐκάλυπτε πανία  
Συνέσχε γὰρ χάῳ αὐτὰ ἀτάκτως καθιστάνα  
Τότε γὰρ ἔκ ἐράσμιον φάῳ ἠόῳ πέλε  
Ουδὲ πυρόεσσα ὄδον ἤλιῳ σείεν θέλε  
Ουδὲ μῆνη κερύεσσα ἐν νυκτὶ φανερότο  
Ἀλλὰ ξυμπαίν' ἀλλήλοισι φορηδὸν ἐκινῶτο  
Σὺ δὲ μέντοι μάκαρ υἱὲ τῆ τὸ πάρος φραδίη  
Παιδόμενῳ διεκρινας ἄπαντα συν' σοφίη  
Ἐν πρώτοις γὰρ ἐποίησας φάῳ ὡς ἐν λαμπρότοι  
Τὰ ἔργα τὰ ἐσόμενα καὶ παλιελῶς φαιδρῶνοι  
Ἐἴτ' ἀερόεντ' ἔρανον κύκλωσας θαυμασιῶς  
Ἐἴτε μῆνη ἄστροις τε ἐκόσμησας πλεσιῶς  
Τῷ μὲν, ὡς ἐλισσόμενῳ ποιεῖο τὰς ἡμέρας  
Καὶ εἴη τοῖς μερόπεισιν χρῆσον καὶ λαμπρόν γέρας  
Τῆ δέ, ὡς κίερας καὶ ἀχλὺν καὶ παῖ σκότῳ φωλίζοι  
Συν' τοῖς ἄστροις σελάγουσιν εἴτ' ἔρανον σολίζα

B

Ὑπὸ δὲ τύτοις ἔθικασιν ἄλλων ἡμῶν κεν γαίαν  
 Δένδροις, φυλοῖς βοτάναις τε καὶ ζώοισιν ἄρταίαι·  
 Ἐτ' ἀγκαλίδισι τ' γῆς τῆς ἀλάστας· εἰ δὲ σάσ  
 Καὶ γῆν κόλπῳ περιβύβιον ὠκεανὸν πάσης  
 Οὐρανοῦ εἴν τοῖς φέγγεσι, πόντῳ δὲ ταῖς παλαῖσιν·  
 Ἡγάλοισι ὡς καὶ ἡ γῆ ἔχασιν ταῖς πελοῖσιν·  
 Ἀθρήσας ἔπειθ' ὁ παλιρ' καὶ ἀρμενα νοῖσας  
 Πάντα ἐπ' ἔρωσε τῷ ὑπὲρ καλλίσις ἢ γηλοῖσιν·  
 Πρὸς τοῖς καὶ ἐπιέροσε δέξεται τ' σοφῆς·  
 Καὶ ἀνακίλα θεοσδῆ τασαυτῆς ἑκοσμῆς·  
 Διὸ τὰ τοιαῦτ' εἶρηκεν εἰς χάριν ἡμετέραι·  
 Ἀφορόντα εἰς τῆν ἡμῶν φέσιν εὐγενετέρας·  
 Οἱ ἀγγελοὶ τ' ἕρανον ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ καλοῖσιν  
 Καὶ ἰπὸ κλίθ' τὸ ἀλλήλων τῶμον πάντοθ' ἕμνῆσιν·  
 Ἀμ' ἐν τῇ γῆ ἀνάσθηλα, ἀσθητάτ' ἀφραδύβια·  
 Ζῶα πᾶσι διάφορα καὶ λάγν' ἀμοιρύνια·  
 Ἡῖρσι τόνινυ τῆξασθαι μετὰν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν γένθ'·  
 Ὡς ἂν ἔχοι ἐπὶ τ' γῆς λόγον κῆδῳ καὶ ἀθῆνθ'·  
 Καὶ εἴη μεσηγὺ θνητῶν καὶ ἀθανάτων νοῦμα·  
 Ὅρανίων χθονίων τε καὶ τ' τῆδε ἀσῆμα·  
 Καὶ εἴη ἀμθ' ἀγγελθ' καὶ ἕμνητῆς ἑμοῖο·  
 Καὶ λάτρεις καὶ προσκυνητῆς φιλοτάτης μετ' ἑοῖα·  
 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν μοῖραν ἔλαβε γαίης νεοπαγῆθ'·  
 Καὶ τὴν μορφήν ἐτήσατο, ἀνδρῶν τε ἑκκείθ'·  
 Καὶ τάυτη ἑμοιρῆσιν καὶ ζῶῆς τ' ἀμνῆσιν·  
 Καὶ γὰρ πνεῦμα ἐνεῖμα παύτῃθ' ἀγίας·  
 Καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὁ ἀνδρῶνθ' ἐκ τῶν θεῶν ἐπαλάσθῃ·  
 Ὑμνοπόλθ' καὶ θεωροῖς τῶν ἀσθῆν· ἐλαμᾶσθῃ  
 Ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ κρατῆνθ' θεῶν ἀμμα πᾶσι  
 Ἡ ἕπερ εἰκὼν κ' ἀποσπασμα ἀσθῆν ἀκίμων θῆλα·  
 Ἐτ' ἔπος παῖς ἑμοίωμα καὶ ἀπαρῆξ καλῆθ'·  
 Καὶ παρ' ἀγγέλων τ' ἕσασθ' οὐκ ἀσῆμαλι τῆσθ'

Ὄδον ἔρον ἐν γήθεισιν ἔχε βιότου δίε  
 Φιλοσοφίαν πάλιν αὖ γήινον πέδε βίε  
 Παραπλησιον δ' ἄρωγός ἔπεια τις κείνω πείε  
 Καὶ θεός· πλάσης δάμακαί τύτα σύμβιον θέε  
 Ὄδον βροίον ὄν ἔτευξε διάνοιχα μοιρήσασ  
 Ἐκ λαγόνων μόνην παλευράν ἢ τῆ χειρὶ αἰρήσασ  
 Καὶ γυναῖκα δαιμάμεν ὄ κέραςε φίλιαν  
 Ἐν ἔργοις ἀμφοτέραιοι σφοδράν τε καὶ πλεσίαν  
 Καὶ τύτοις ἐνετάλατο ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ερωφάσθαι  
 Ἐπίθετο δρον πόδοισιν, ἐφ' ᾧ γε μὴ πλανᾶσθαι  
 Ὁ προπῶταρ ἡμῶν ἀδάμ τὸτ' ἢ πᾶσι περήμων  
 Καὶ τὸ κόσμῳ ἦ ἀπῶν ἔξαρετ ὄ δαίμων  
 Διάγειν εὔ καὶ ζῆν καλῶς ἔθεθεν ἐπαύλυτον  
 Καὶ πάντα τὰ χαρίσματα σαφῆς ἐπιπέδον  
 Ἐν καλλίῳ σωμαί' αὐτῷ ἔκ' ἐπλεῖο κακία  
 Ἡ πέλοι ἡγεμονικῶ· συγχύσεως ἀτία  
 Ἐν τῇ ἀσθήσει κίνησις ἐπλεῖο ἕδεμία  
 Μῆτ' ἐν νοί ἀμάρισμα, πλάνη καὶ ἀταξία  
 Ἦν γὰρ νοί ἡ ἀσθησις, πάντοτε πειθαρχήσα  
 Καὶ ἡ διάνοια ἀπ' τῆς διακας τρυήσα  
 Τῆς γὰρ σώσεως τὸ ἀδάμ πειλάσης ἐν ἐυδία  
 Ὁ λόγῳ τὰ κινήματα εἶχεν ἐν ἐυλαξία  
 Ὄδον ἕδεν ἐκόλυε τ' νῆν πρὸς θεορίαν  
 Ὡν ὁ θεός ἐποίησεν εἰς πάντων εὐχρησίαν  
 Ου νότῳ πάμπαν ἡμαξεν, ὄξρὸς ὦν, ὑπερέσχε  
 Καὶ τ' ἐν γῆ καὶ ἕρανῳ κρυπῶν, εἰδῆσαν ἔσχε  
 Ου γὰρ ἤρκει τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς αὐτῷ καλῶς εἰδένα  
 Ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ ἕρανόν· πῶθει γ' ὄλον ἰτένα  
 Εἶχε τότε πανιάπασιν ἐνὶ φύσιν ἀνθρώσαν  
 Καὶ τ' ὑπερ' νῆν ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν ἐυπορῆσαν  
 Δικαιοσύνη ἦν αὐτῷ θεῶα καὶ ἕρανία  
 Ὑπάρχουσα τ' ἑαυτῷ ψυχῆς χειραγωγία

Ἐἰς ἀγαθὰ θεοπροπῆ, μόνιμα καὶ ἰδραῖα  
 Θυσπίσια καὶ ἀγία καὶ ἀρρήτως ὠραῖα  
 Ἡ θέλησις ἐτίλεθεν ἀυίε πανελευθέρα  
 Κ' εἰς πᾶν ὄσιον καὶ ἄγιον αἰεὶ προδυμοτέρα  
 Κωλύμαίῳ καὶ ταραχῆς πανίελως ἀμοιρῆσα  
 Καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀγαθοῖς ἀφθάριως εὐδυμέσα  
 Θυμον' ἀπλοῖς νοήμασι τρέφε τε καὶ ὄσιοις  
 Καὶ μύσης θεῖ' ἐπλετο ἐν ἔργοις ὑρανίοις  
 Πληγισθεῖς μὲν ἔν' ὁ ἀδάμ πολλαῖς εὐεργεσίαις  
 Παρὰ θεῖ' καὶ ἀρεταῖς κυρίως θαυμαστίαις  
 Ἰδρῶδη παρὰ τῆ' ἀυίε ἐν τόπῳ εὐδαλεία  
 Ὠραῖω τε καὶ ἀνθηρῶ, εὐδένδρῳ κ' εὐκραίῃ  
 Ἦν τόπῳ ἕτῳ εὐδειῳ τῆ' εὐ ζῆν μακαρίους  
 Παράδεισῳ καλῶμενῳ παράγε τοῖς συρίοις  
 Καὶ τ' ἀδάμ ὁ κύριῳ εἴσο' ἐκῆ βασιλεῖα  
 Κυβερνήτην, ἐλεύθερον, πρὸς καὶ διανομέα  
 Ὡς ἰαυλιὸν καὶ ἀπαντα τὰ ἐκῆ διοικέοι  
 Σοφίῃ καὶ ὀρθότητι θεῶς οἰκονομέοι  
 Ἀυίη δ' ἡ δίκη ἐπετο τῷ λογιῶ τῷ τελείῳ  
 Καὶ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τῆ' θεῖ' ἐξοχ' ἐπιηδέει  
 Οὐτῳ νόμῳ παρὰ σοφοῖς ὑπερτάτῳ καλεῖῳ  
 Καὶ θεῖ' παρ' εὐδάμοσι σὺν χάριτι τηρεῖῳ  
 Καὶ εἰ μὲν ταῦτα εὐσεβῶς κείδι' ἐπιηδέυσοι  
 Ἐπαγγελίαν ἔλαβεν ὡς ὑρανὸν ὀδέυσοι  
 Πάμπαν ἐνοδησόμενῳ ἀγαθῶ ἀκροτάτῳ  
 Ἀρρήτῳ τε καὶ θαυμαστῶ θεῶ καὶ ὑπερτάτῳ

## ΠΑΡΑΒΑΣΙΣ ΑΔΑΜ

**Α** μ' ἑδαμῶς αἰ (ἀν) ζῆν ἐκῆ μακαρίως δυνῆδη  
 Ὅτι ὑπὸ τῆ' ὄφρωσ δεινῶς ἐξηπαλήθη  
 Τίτσαρα γὰρ συνέδραμε τῆτον παρακρησθῆνα  
 Καὶ ἐκ τῆ' παραδόξοιο λογῶς ἐξορισθῆνα

Πρώτον μὲν ἔν ἡ δράκοντι ⊕ πρὸς αὐτὸν βασκανίη  
 Δεύτερον δὲ ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀλοή φιλαυλίη  
 Καὶ τρίτον ἡ πανόλεθρη ⊕ αὐτῆ ἀγερσχήη  
 Καὶ ἔσχατον ἡ πεισικὴ ἕως ἀτασθαλίη  
 Διὰ γὰρ γεῦσιν ἀλιτρὴν φυλοῖο ἀνδροφόνου  
 Ἔτυχε δὲ δαίης δεινῆς δαίης, καὶ πολυπόνου  
 Πάσαλο μὲν ὁ δαίλαμ ⊕ ὠραίοιο καρποῖο  
 Ἄλλ' ἐγεύθη καὶ συν' αὐτῷ θανάτῃ λυπηροῖο  
 Γῶαν ἔν τὴν αὐτῆ εὐδυσ' ἐνδεδυκῶς χιτῶσι  
 Δερματίνοισιν ἡξάλιο γεπονῆν ἀγῶσι  
 Παλαίστρα γὰρ κόσμ ⊕ εἰσὶν ἔτ ⊕ ὄν καλοικῆμεν  
 Ἐν ἡ ἀγωνιζόμεθα κάμνομεν καὶ πονῆμεν  
 Ἡ πάλη δ' αὐτὴ τετραπλῆς ἡμῖν ἐνιάυδα πέλει  
 Ὅτι ὁ κόσμ ⊕ τετραχῶς θλίβειν ἡμᾶς ἐθέλει  
 Ἡ μὲν πρὸς τὴν τῆ δράκοντι ⊕ τελέθει βασκανίην  
 Ἡ δὲ πρὸς πᾶντων τ' ἐχθρῶν φθορερὰν ἐπιρείην  
 Ἡ τρίτη σώματος εἰσὶν εἰς πᾶσαν ἀβρωσίην  
 Καὶ ψυχῆς ἄλλη πρὸς σαρκὸς πᾶδη καὶ ἀμαρτίην  
 Κατὰ βαθμὸν ἔν τὸ κακὸν πρὸς ἄνω ἐν θνητοῖσιν  
 Ἄκρον γὰρ κέχυθ' κακὸν εἰς ὄλην οἰκνῆμένην  
 Τῷ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' ἡλίον δόλοισι πέλει πλησμένην  
 Ἄυλαρ' ἐπὶ ὕβριν ἰλὺς ἐξέξουσ' ἀνοσίως  
 Καὶ οἱ βροτοὶ παρέλιπον ἐργάζεσθαι ἀγίως  
 Τότε πολλοῖς παιδεύμασι τὸ πλάσμα ἐπιεράσθη  
 Καὶ ποιῶν διαφόροισι παιδευθὲν ἔδαμάσθη  
 Τεμνομένησι γλώσσησι, κατὰ κλισμῶ καὶ κάυσει  
 Νόμοις γραπτῶσι, τροφῆταις τε λίαν ἰκανὰ κλάυσει  
 Οὐ θέλει γὰρ ἀπὸ δεσμᾶ τινάξαι τ' κακίης  
 Ἄλλ' εἴχει ὡς ἄμμασι σαρκικῆς ἀμωπλακίης  
 Καὶ μέδουσιν καὶ εἰδώλοισι πρὸς τοῖς καὶ μαχλοσύνας  
 Μεμηγνός δῆλον γένειο γάνυσθαι μαργοσύνας

ΑΝΑΚΤΙΣΙΣ Τῆ ΓΕΝΕΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΔΙΑ Τῆ  
 Τῆ ΚΥΡΙΩ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ  
 Τῆ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΘΗΜΑΤΩΝ

Ὑψάτιον λεύσσω θεός πατήρ ὑπὸ κακίας  
 Θυμοβόρυ γένῃ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπὸ πανουργίας  
 Δαπνιόμενον καὶ δράκοντα σκολιὸν βασιλεύειν  
 Βροτῶν ἀθλίως καὶ δεινῶς ἀπάτιων τυρανεύειν  
 Οὐκ ἔτι νέσοι ἄλλοισιν ἀρῆκεν ἀρηγόσιν  
 Ὡς πρότερον μουσαγωγῶις ἀγίοις ἡγεμόσιν  
 Ἄλλ' ὃν κλίῃ ἕρᾶνιον κενώσας, ἐξ ἀγίας  
 Πνεύματι καὶ παρθένου μαρίας θεσπισίῃ  
 Συγκατέβη υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸ λόγον σαρκωθῆναι  
 Καὶ θεάνθρωπον τὸ χρῆσθον ἄπασι θεαθῆναι  
 Ὡς πρὸς ζωὴν παλίνορτον τὸ ἀδάμ ἐπανάξει  
 Καὶ δράκοντα παλιόπασιν καὶ καιρίως παλιόξει  
 Ὁ σῶτηρ ἡμῶν γέγονε παθήμασι χρῆστοιο  
 Ὅγ ἀδίκως κατὰ κριθεὶς θάνει διὰ σαυροῖο  
 Καὶ γὰρ σὸ μ' ὄλον τῆς πλῆγῆς, ἤλας τὰς χεῖρας θλίψε  
 Χολῆ τὴν γεῦσιν ἔτισε, καὶ ὑψὲ γὰρ τρεῖς  
 Καὶ ἱερὸν δέμας αὐτῆς πείρασιν ἐξαπλώσας  
 Ἐκ περᾶτων συναγαγὼν πέλει εἰς ἐν ἐνώσας  
 Γένῃ ἡμῶν τὸ δυσυχές καὶ δεῦρ' ἐξωρισμένον  
 Παραδείσοιο καὶ δεινῶς καταδεδυλομένον  
 Καὶ ἐν ἀγκάλαις ἔθηκε μέγαλοιο θεοῖο  
 Καὶ αὐτῆς ἐφανέρωσεν ὁδὸν τῆς ἕρᾶνοιο  
 Ἄμνοιο μὲν τῷ αἵματι μολύσματα καθήρας  
 Καὶ ἀγῆ καὶ ἀμάρτημα ἄπαν ἔνθεν ἀείρας  
 Ἄνασας γὰρ τριήμερῶν ἐφάνης νικηφόρῶν  
 Καὶ παλιόσας τὸ θάνατον θανάτω ζωηφόρῶν

**Book Series by The Modern Greek and Comparative Philology Laboratory: “Studies and Texts of Greek Enlightenment”, no 1 / «Μελέτες και Κείμενα του Νεοελληνικού Διαφωτισμού», αρ. 1**

Nikolaos Mavrelou, *From “Musa Metrica” to “Musa Rhythmica” as the loss of “memoria Florentis olim Imperii”: J. de Richebourg’s essay (1721) on meter and culture*, Modern Greek and Comparative Philology Laboratory, Democritus University of Thrace and Early Modern Greek Culture Program, The Medici Archive Project, Komotini 2022.

THIS VOLUME HAS BEEN EDITED BY DIMITRIS TZELEPIS,  
MEMBER OF THE MODERN GREEK  
AND COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY LABORATORY  
(NOVEMBER 2022).



Constantine Rodocanacis' work *Ἀνθογνωμία διὰ στίχων ῥυθμικῶν* (1721) was published with an introductory letter in Latin by Jacobus de Richebourcq and an introductory note in Greek by the writer. The poems are written in an archaic form of Greek, using accentuated meter and rhyme. The introductory letter edited in this volume (along with the writer's short note) is seemingly an essay on comparative metrics, concerning the transition from prosody of the Ancient Greek to the Modern Greek accentuated meter. Nevertheless, when we read it carefully we can see through the lines an essay on the cultural status of his contemporary Greeks, as a general view and opinion on their proximity to the Orient and their distance from the occidental world of his days. Lamenting the loss of prosody, Richebourcq refuses to accept that similar changes in metric forms happened in occidental peoples. He sees no western influence on Greek poetry, stressing that the main influence was from the Arabs (apart from Turks). It is clear that, what annoys him most, is the coexistence of an archaic form of language in poems written with rhyme and accentuated (popular) meter. Given the fact that the writer's note in Greek can shed light on the arguments presented by Richebourcq, it was necessary to be edited and translated after the introduction by the Dutch lawyer. These two texts are equally important both for the metric identity of the Modern Greek poetry and for the cultural identity of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Greeks.

ISBN: 978-618-85138-3-9

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Εργαστήριο Έρευνας για τη Νεοελληνική και Συγκριτική Φιλολογία/Modern Greek and Comparative Philology Laboratory, Democritus University of Thrace and Early Modern Greek Culture Program, The Medici Archive Project, Komotini 2022