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NOTE

This essay is the third in a set of five articles that form the current issue of JOLCEL. The other contributions are “Introduction: Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Early Modernity” by William M. Barton and Raf Van Rooy (pp. 1–26), “Roger Ascham’s Latin–Greek Code-Switching: A Philosophical Phenomenon” by Lucy Nicholas (pp. 28–49), “Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Vicente Mariner’s (ca. 1570–1642) Correspondence with Andreas Schott (1552–1629): A Case-Study” by William M. Barton (pp. 75–94) and “Non *δίγλωττον* aut *τρίγλωττον* neque *πεντάγλωττον*, sed *παντάγλωττον*?’ The Polyglot Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) and Her (Latin–Greek) Code-Switching” by Pieta Van Beek (pp. 96–117).

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Dialects and Languages in the Poetic Oeuvre of Laurentius Rhodoman (1545–1606)

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the choice of languages and dialects in the poetic oeuvre of the German Protestant humanist Laurentius Rhodoman, introduced in the first section. The second section discusses an instance of Latin-Greek code-switching in the poem *Iter Lipsicum*, arguing that it is influenced by the common educational background of both author and addressee. The third section considers two of Rhodoman's poems written in the Greek Doric dialect and tries to explain the dialect choice by analyzing their context and intended audience. The fourth section examines some of his bilingual poems (both Latin-German and Greek-Latin prose), and the final section is dedicated to the handling of Greek and Latin verse in Rhodoman's bilingual poem *Troica*. The analysis argues that Rhodoman made a highly deliberate choice of languages and dialects.

1 Introduction

Laurentius Rhodoman, a German Protestant, was a humanist active during the latter half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth. He received a deeply humanist education in Magdeburg and, in particular, at Ilfeld Monastery School. After earning the degree of Magister at Rostock University, he served as rector at a series of Latin schools in Schwerin (1571–72), Lüneburg (1572–1584), Walkenried (1584–1591), and Stralsund (1598–1601), and also as

“Μικρὸς ἔην βώμην οὗτος, γνώμην δὲ μέγιστος.

Corpore parvus erat, sed pectore maximus iste.”

et quid plura? satis bonitas tua pignoris edit,

quod sub doctiloquo florens Ilfelda Neandro

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te mihi non ficto quondam sociarit amore.⁷

The insertion of the Greek line may have different functions and invoke various connotations. First of all, Mosellanus was indeed an important teacher of Greek at Leipzig University.⁸ Rhodoman mentioned him in his academic speech *De lingua Graeca* together with Richard Croke, referring to them as “primi ... Graecarum literarum professores” (“the first professors of Greek”) in Germany.⁹ That status is highlighted by the code-switching employed in the quotation of the tombstone’s actual Greek inscription.¹⁰ Rhodoman even allows the reader to participate in the process of reading and interpreting, for he states the Greek first, only afterward adding his own, poetic Latin version, which also tempers, so to speak, the code-switching in an otherwise Latin only context.¹¹

Furthermore, the genre of the hodoeporicon descends from Lucilius and Horace (Hor. *sat.* 1,5), and Rhodoman evokes that heritage by integrating typical elements of satire and satiric language into his poem.¹² Lucilius frequently inserted some Greek in his poems, as Rhodoman may have known from Horace.¹³ Therefore, this code-switching may suggest some genre awareness (although the fact that the original inscription was already a Greek hexameter certainly encouraged Rhodoman simply to copy it¹⁴).

Finally, the context concerns his close friend Jan Steinmetz, who was once a fellow student at Ilfeld. Since Steinmetz had the same thorough training in Greek as Rhodoman himself, the appearance of the Greek line may also be a compliment to Steinmetz and a homage to their common educational background. There is some additional evidence to support this last suggestion: Rhodoman later published two complimentary poems written specifically for Steinmetz. One was a Greek-Latin poem celebrating Steinmetz’s wedding in 1584,¹⁵ while the other was

⁷ See Feller (s.a.), *Laurentii Rhodomanni Iter Lipsicum*, sig. D(6v). The text follows the edition by Thomas Gärtner that will be published on <https://www.rhodomanologia.de/html/Rhod.It.Lips.html> (accessed on 27 April 2023). “Under your guidance, I see images of men and the picture of Petrus Mosellanus, about four spans high. The stone designates him with the following line: “This man here was small with regard to his bodily strength but very great with regard to his mind. [Greek] He was small with regard to his body but very great with regard to his heart [Latin].” What more could I add? Your kindness is sufficient testimony that under the guidance of the prudently speaking Neander, the flourishing Ilfeld once united us by true love.”

⁸ See, e.g., Rhein, “Die Griechischstudien in Deutschland,” 109–13.

⁹ See Rhodoman, *Oratio de lingua Graeca*, 27.

¹⁰ The tombstone is lost now but there are literary testimonies for its inscription. See Schmidt, *Petrus Mosellanus*, 82; Schober, *Petrus Mosellanus*, 60–61.

¹¹ A hint by Irina Tautschnig in the discussion of the paper at the Leuven Workshop “Latin–Greek code-switching in early modernity: A cross-disciplinary workshop” (13–14 October 2022).

¹² See e.g., non-epic vocabulary in l. 44 (emungere), 205 (oppidulum), 230 (lucellum).

¹³ See Hor. *sat.* 1.10.20–35. For mixed poetry, see also Auson. 27.6 & 8 Green (letters) and other poems.

¹⁴ Suggestion by Raf Van Rooy.

¹⁵ See Rhodoman, *Εἰφηνία Graecolatina*.

a Greek-Latin poem cycle congratulating Steinmetz upon the award of his doctorate of medicine in 1592.¹⁶

To contextualize these poems, we should first review some numbers. The “Rhodomanologia” project has counted 57 poems published by Rhodoman up to 1588 (see Appendix). Among these, 22 (~ 39 %) are written entirely in Latin, 18 (~ 31 %) entirely in Greek, 1 (~ 2 %) entirely in German, 12 (~ 21 %) are bilingual (Greek and Latin verse), and 4 (~ 7 %) have a Latin prose translation alongside the Greek. Although these statistics have limited value as they relate only to the first (much smaller) half of Rhodoman’s poetic output, they clearly indicate that bilingual poems consisting of a full Greek and Latin version are not as common as monolingual ones. We may further suppose that their more complex production process gives them a prominent position. Surveying the collection written for Steinmetz’s wedding, one notices that nearly all of the poems are in Latin; only Rhodoman’s poem at the beginning and that by Steinmetz himself at the end are bilingual (Greek and Latin verse). Here again, one might ask why Rhodoman composed a bilingual poem instead of a poem entirely in Greek or Latin. There are two possible explanations. First, Rhodoman may have wanted to make the poem accessible for persons who are unfamiliar with Greek, e.g. the father of the bride. Since her father, Johannes von Schroeter, was a professor of medicine at Jena University, however, and had published on Hippocrates and Galen, we can exclude that possibility. The other, more obvious explanation is suggested by Rhodoman’s and Steinmetz’s common educational background: instead of composing a mere monolingual poem, Rhodoman sought to honor his friend through the double effort needed for a bilingual poem.¹⁷

The 1592 poem cycle corroborates this hypothesis. By then, Rhodoman was already a professor of Greek and Latin at Jena University. This time, he was the publication’s sole author, which included not just one but four Greek-Latin poems in different meters: two poems written in elegiac couplets, one in Sapphic stanzas, and one in Anacreontic meter. However, this poem cycle is not only bilingual (Greek and Latin) and polymetric but also polydialectal, for the poem in Sapphic stanzas also employs a dialect different from the common, Ionic-epic dialect of Greek that Rhodoman uses in the other poems.

This Sapphic poem (40 lines) is actually a speech by Paideia (the personification of Education), addressed to Steinmetz, and begins as follows (one may note the similarity between ll. 10–11 and the Greek inscription on Mosellanus’ tombstone, cited above¹⁸):

Χαῖρέ μοι λαμπρῶν καθ’ ὄμιλον ἀνδρῶν·
χαῖρε, καὶ σεμνᾶς ἀπόνοιο τιμᾶς,
ἃ τὴν ἔντιμον προτέρων ἀέθλον

Inter exultos mihi prime, salve:
optime vertat tibi, quos honores
addit, ut longi tibi sint laboris

¹⁶ See Rhodoman, *Trias medica*.

¹⁷ For the function of such bilingual poems, see also van Dam, “Poems on the Threshold,” 67–68: “This display of erudition and virtuosity in translating Greek into Latin or Latin into vernacular, honours the addressee of the book, but it is most of all a playful demonstration of the author’s power over language.”

¹⁸ Suggestion by Raf Van Rooy.

ἦλυθε μόχθων.
 ἦ γὰρ ἐκ πρᾶτων βιότῳ θεμέθλων 5
 Μῶσα καὶ πυκνὰ Σοφίας μερίμνα
 ἐς τέλος θ' ὄρμᾶ μεμαῶσα κυδρὸν
 σὰν φρέν' ἀναίθει.
 Εὖτε γὰρ μάτηρ σ' ἐπὶ φῶς ἔχευε,
 Μοῖρα τιν' θέσπιξε τὰδ' ἐκθροεῦσα· 10
 “Ἄρτι μὲν μικρός, τὸ μάθημα δ' ἀσκέων
 πάμμεγας ἔσση.”

Praemia, Numen.
 a tui cursus etenim repaglis,
 vita quem tendit, tibi pectus almae
 concitum Musae Sophiaeque largis
 Ignibus ardet.
 cum tibi primam dedit aura lucem,
 Parca divinas sonuit loquelas:
 “Nunc quidem parvus, sed eris fatigans
 Maximus artes.”¹⁹

The Greek text is marked by peculiarities of the Doric dialect, including the *alpha Doricum*, the genitive in *-ω* (l. 5), the pronoun *τιν* (l. 3, 10), and the forms *Μῶσα* (l. 6) and *μικρός* (l. 11).

In the lines that follow, Rhodoman again alludes to Steinmetz’s education at Ilfeld, which indicates that his choice of Sapphics and Doric dialect is certainly due to the thorough study of Greek that they shared there. Rhodoman wants to honor his friend by combining three ambitious formal criteria: bilingual poetry, a variation of dialect within the Greek part, and a variation of meter.

Taking all of this into account, one can confidently infer that the eye-catching code-switch evidenced in the *Iter Lipsicum* is intended to evoke the common background and close friendship between Rhodoman and Steinmetz. Greek was their common language.

3 Variation of dialect: the case of Rhodoman’s “epitaphius” on Luther and his *Arion*

The 1592 cycle of poems written for Steinmetz draws our attention to the phenomenon of dialect-switching and, moreover, to Rhodoman’s choice of dialect in general. In contrast to Latin, Greek offers the additional literary tool of choosing among different literary dialects. While in most cases Rhodoman uses the Ionic dialect common to epic poetry, there are some notable exceptions. In addition to his Doric Sapphics written for Steinmetz, at least three other Doric poems by him are known: the Doric “epitaphius” on Martin Luther (*Luth. Dor.*; hexameters);²⁰ the epyllion *Arion* (hexameters);²¹ and an epigram on Nicodemus Frischlin’s Greek–Latin grammar (20 lines, elegiac couplets).²² Both the epitaphius and the

¹⁹ Rhodoman, *Trias medica*, sig. A 2v–A 3r. “Greetings to you in the circle of illustrious men, / greetings, and may you enjoy the noble honor / that came to you as the high price / of your previous labors. // For truly, since the first days of your life, / the Muse, the frequent care for *Sophia* [wisdom], / and the effort that eagerly seeks glorious perfection / set your mind on fire. // For when your mother brought you to light, / the Moira gave a prophecy to you, uttering the following words: / “Now you are small but when you exercise your lessons, / you will be magnificent.” (Translation of the Greek text.)

²⁰ Originally Rhodoman, *In Lutherum*. For the Greek text and (German) translation, see Gärtner, “Die diversen Reflexe,” 130–49.

²¹ Originally Neander, ed., *Argonautica*, sig. O 5r–Σ 2v. For the Greek text and (German) translation, see Weise, *Der Arion des Lorenz Rhodoman*.

²² Rhodoman, *In clarissimi viri summique philosophi et poetae*.

epyllion are of considerable length, the first running to 337 lines, the latter to 1248.

In the case of the epitaphius, an obvious explanation for the choice of dialect is the ancient model that Rhodoman took as a basis for developing his praise of Luther. Rhodoman leans heavily on the *Epitaphius Bionis* (*EB*) from the *Corpus bucolicum*, as Thomas Gärtner has clearly demonstrated.²³ Instead of the bucolic singer Bion, however, Rhodoman mourns for the “German Orpheus,” Luther. The refrain of the *Epitaphius Bionis*, ἄρχετε Σικελικαὶ τῷ πένθεος ἄρχετε Μοῖσαι “Sicilian Muses, begin, begin the lamentation” (*EB* 8, 13, 19, etc.), is adapted to ἄρχετε Γευτονικαὶ τῷ πένθεος ἄρχετε Μοῖσαι “German Muses, begin, begin the lamentation” (*Rhod. Luth. Dor.* 15, 23, 30, etc.).

Although Rhodoman’s epitaphius is merely a liminary piece to the work of another poet,²⁴ there is a specific connection to the learned milieu of Ilfeld, for the epitaphius accompanies a Greek verse paraphrase of Luther’s *Small Catechism* and of some church songs by another Ilfeld student, Johannes Martin. Nevertheless, one may still wonder why Rhodoman chose the genre of bucolic lamentation and the Doric dialect in a work that is otherwise written in Ionic hexameters, making his dialect-switching prominent.

There are three significant factors that may have influenced Rhodoman’s choice. First, Johannes Martin versifies not only the catechism but also some of Luther’s songs.²⁵ By replacing Bion with Luther, Rhodoman highlights Luther as a singer. Second, the bucolic milieu of the epitaphius also has a theological dimension. Luther is not only a singer but also a shepherd who cares for his sheep and defends them from evil, that is the pope, who is identified and ridiculed as the “Ausonian” (Italian) Cyclops Polyphemus.²⁶ Here, Rhodoman wittily employs the potential of the uncivilized and unmusical Homeric-Theocritean figure to contrast the true shepherd (Luther) with the false one (the pope). The musical aspect (important both in Theocritus’ *Cyclops* and the *Epitaphius Bionis*) becomes evident when Rhodoman says that Luther’s wife Katharina fled from the “badly playing” Cyclops (v. 281 πομπύσδοντα) to Luther. A third reason that Rhodoman chose the form of a Doric epitaphius, that is a lamentation instead of, for instance, an Ionic panegyric, may be seen in the intra-Protestant conflict between “Crypto-Calvinists” and Gnesio-Lutherans originating after Luther’s death. Lutherans were afraid of the spread of Calvinism and so opposed people they considered “Crypto-Calvinists.”²⁷ Without being anti-Melanchthonian, Rhodoman seems to have adopted a rather orthodox position or at least tried strongly to avoid any close relation to Calvinism as one can readily deduce from his contact with

²³ See Gärtner, “Die diversen Reflexe,” 117–21, 150–54.

²⁴ For liminary poems and poetry, see van Dam, “Liminary Poetry,” and van Dam, “Poems on the Threshold.”

²⁵ On Martin’s versification of Lutheran songs, see Neuendorf, *Daraus kündten auch die Graeci lărnen*, 284–86.

²⁶ See Gärtner, “Die diversen Reflexe,” 120.

²⁷ For the problem and the differentiation between “Crypto-Calvinism” and “Philippism”, see the case study by Crusius, “Nicht calvinisch, nicht lutherisch,” and Lück, *Alma Leucorea*, 72–78.

Joachim Westphal (1510–1574) and his other Lutheran writings.²⁸ The death of Luther remains relevant since his theological heritage is in danger. Therefore, Rhodoman chooses a lamentation instead of pure praise. Thus, the dialect choice is cleverly motivated by the learned Ilfeld milieu and embedded within it.

Let us also briefly discuss the case of Rhodoman’s Doric *Arion*, anonymously published in 1588, together with his entirely Greek epic poems *Argonautica*, *Thebaica*, *Troica* (*Tro.*), and *Ilias parva*. This collection was designed for pupils, as Rhodoman states in the proem to the *Troica*:²⁹

οὐ μέλπω πινυτοῖσι καὶ ἀνδράσιν, οἷς ἄλις ἐστὶν
 ἰδοσύνης, ποθέω δὲ νέοις παιδεύσιν ὑφαίνειν
 χρήσιμ', ὅσοι φιλέουσιν Ἀχαιῶδος ἦθεα μούσης.
 (Rhod. *Tro.* 11-13)³⁰

With this audience in mind, the poems *Argonautica*, *Thebaica*, and *Troica* retell the plot of each myth in a relatively straightforward manner, including almost no direct speech but adding moral commentaries and long quotations taken from original Greek models such as Homer, Quintus, and Apollonius.³¹ The poems are intended as an introduction to prepare young pupils to read the originals at a later date.

The *Arion*, however, is completely different. The narrative is complex and often interrupted by lengthy speeches and even songs. The effect of this diversity is further heightened by the different dialect. Whereas the collection’s other poems are written in the common epic dialect, the *Arion* is written in Doric. The reason may once again be connected with special generic aspects, since the main figure, Arion, delivers a long lamentation about his future death.³² Thus, there is a certain relation to (traditionally Doric) bucolic lamentation. Another reason, however, becomes clear when considering the poem’s very different original audience. For there seem to have been an earlier edition of the *Arion* by the Basel printer Johannes Oporinus from about 1567. This edition apparently was not intended for children like the 1588 edition, but rather for learned men like Oporinus, and was probably intended to secure their appreciation.³³ Rhodoman makes this explicit by allowing his Arion these lines about his future glory that clearly allude to Oporinus and his signet (Arion riding on a dolphin):

[...] μετεσσομένων δ' ἐν ἀκουαῖς
 βομβασεῖ κιθαρῖσμός ἐμός καὶ θέσπις ἰωά.

²⁸ For Rhodoman’s contact with Westphal, see <https://www.rhodomanologia.de/html/Epist.1570-10-11.Rhod.Westph.html> and <https://www.rhodomanologia.de/html/Rhod.Westph.html> (accessed on 18 April 2023).

²⁹ See Weise, “Griechische Mythologie,” 199.

³⁰ See Neander, ed. *Argonautica*, sig. Z 1v–Z 2r. “I do not sing for prudent men and those who have enough knowledge, but I want to create something useful for all those young children who love the character of Greek poetry.”

³¹ See Weise, “Griechische Mythologie.”

³² For a discussion of the choice of dialect, see Weise, *Der Arion des Lorenz Rhodoman*, 106–7.

³³ See Weise, *Der Arion des Lorenz Rhodoman*, 96–7; Weise, “Griechische Mythologie,” 208–9.

οὕτως αἰώνεσσιν ὀμήλικος ἔμμορα τιμᾶς
 ἐν πινυτῶν στομάτεσσιν ἀοιδίμος. οἱ δὲ με Φῶτες
 ἐκπρεπέες σοφία τε περιστεφέες τ' ἀρεταῖσιν
 ἐν βίβλοις γραλοῦντι καὶ ἐν σφραγῖσιν ἔῃσιν
 ἀδυμελῆ φόρμιγγα τιταινόμενον μετὰ χερσίν.
 (*Arion* 582–586)³⁴

Significantly, the *Arion* is not mentioned in the title of the anonymous 1588 collection. Here too, then, dialect is used as a mark of distinction.

4 Bilingual poems (Latin–German, Greek and Latin Prose)

Let us finally consider some of Rhodoman's bilingual works.³⁵ On the title page of the 1588 collection, there is a notice about the missing Latin translation: “Accesserunt etiam singuli Poëmatii Argumenta & marginalia, quae & vicem Argumenti longioris & versionis latinae iuventuti praestare possunt.” (“To each poem, summaries and marginal notes have been added, which can serve as a replacement of longer summaries and a Latin translation for young people.”) It thus becomes clear that the Latin versions not only function as a means to demonstrate linguistic excellence but also as a working tool to facilitate comprehension of the Greek text. This is especially true for those poems written in Greek and accompanied by a Latin prose version, such as Rhodoman's *Lutherus* (1579).

The same apparently applies to poems with both Latin and German versions. There are two prominent cases. The first one is a bilingual poem (18 lines, elegiac couplets) from 1594 about the painter Henricus Petraeus, who painted a portrait of Rhodoman.³⁶ This poem is printed on a single sheet together with two other epigrams on the painter, accompanied by a German version (in iambic tetrameters).

Rhodoman apparently wants to compliment the one-eyed painter, whom he compares to Polygnotus. One may suppose that the painter was not able to understand the Latin text, and so Rhodoman added a German version. Nevertheless, it is possible that Rhodoman did not act entirely on his own initiative. The closure of his bilingual poem instead suggests that the single sheet should also serve as publicity for the painter's work and was directed at both learned men and (non-Latinate) wealthy citizens:

³⁴ Neander, ed. *Argonautica*, sig. [Π 7r]. Text according to Weise, *Der Arion des Lorenz Rhodoman*, 194. “My lyre playing and my divine voice will sound deep in the ears of future men. This way, I have won eternal glory as someone famous in the mouths of the learned. Men, excellent in wisdom and crowned by their virtues, will paint me in their books and in their signets, holding [or tuning] my sweet-sounding lyre with my hands.”

³⁵ For Greek–Latin self-translations and their research possibilities, see also Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek*, 101–109.

³⁶ See Rhodoman, *Epigrammata arti Veritatis imitatrici*. The oil painting is still extant at Jena University (Inventar-Nr. GP 7). The second painting at Wittenberg mentioned in Weise, *Der Arion des Lorenz Rhodoman*, 12 n. 23 is a fake (hint by Stefan Rhein, Wittenberg).

Latin version:

Cui placet ars ergo tam nobilis illa, magistro
Cum raro vivum laetus amabit opus.³⁷

Early-New-High-German version:

Wer nun lieb hat die freye Kunst
Der wol diesm Meister erzeigen gunst.³⁸

It seems to me that the German version is somewhat more direct in advertising the master's services than the Latin. The expression "erzeigen gunst" ("show one's favor") should apparently not only exhort the reader to appreciate but also to commission a portrait by the master. Here again, the choice of language seems quite deliberate.

The other case of a Latin–German composition is a commemorative poem on the death of Juliane von Hohnstein, published in 1590.³⁹ Since Rhodoman was both rector and preacher at Walkenried Monastery at that time, the reason for this double composition may have been either that the members of the Hohnstein family lacked a deep knowledge of Latin, or that Rhodoman was acting as a preacher: in a Protestant context, German was the norm for sermons.

Later, when Rhodoman worked as professor at Wittenberg University, his readers' ignorance of Greek certainly impelled him to include Latin prose translations alongside his larger celebratory poems: the 1601 *Musagetes* for Duke Heinrich Julius; the *Threnos Saxonikos*, written in 1602 on the death of Friedrich Wilhelm of Saxony; and the *Hymenaios Saxonikos* written for the wedding of Christian II of Saxony, also in 1602.⁴⁰ He may also have been motivated by time constraints; since he had to write many of these official poems nearly concurrently, he concentrated on elaborating the Greek version, afterward appending a Latin prose version to ensure understanding and appreciation.

In the case of his earlier *Lutherus* (1579), the prose translation clearly assisted his pupils in understanding the Greek, just as the long Latin dedicatory poem secured the benevolence of the dedicatees, the mayors and the senate of Lüneburg, where Rhodoman could not expect any deep acquaintance with Greek. The same reason may have motivated Rhodoman's language choices in his earliest poems. Those two poems accompanied a Greek paraphrase of the old testament book of Jonah composed by his fellow student at Ilfeld, Georgius Cocus (Rhod. *Coc. Ion.* 1-2).⁴¹

4.1 Language-switching between Rhodoman's earliest two poems

The first, lengthier poem (220 lines) is a plea for financial support for Cocus and Rhodoman himself. Since the poem is directed to the counselors of the counts of

³⁷ "Whoever likes such noble art will happily love the vivid work together with its exquisite master."

³⁸ "Whoever loves free art shall show his favor to this master."

³⁹ HAAB Weimar 4° XXXVII: 201.

⁴⁰ For *Threnos* and *Hymenaios*, see also Gärtner, "Die diversen Reflexe," 121–27.

⁴¹ See Cocus, *Ionas propheta*.

Stolberg and, indeed, to the counts themselves, Rhodoman uses Latin. Moreover, he adds marginal notes to indicate the place where each addressee is mentioned and to summarize the content, which made it easier for the addressees to understand what he wanted very quickly. In the second, shorter poem (20 lines), he switches to Greek, and the poem itself seems somewhat out of place insofar as it congratulates Georg Aemilius (1517–1569) for having regained his health. The only obvious connection between this second poem and Cocus’ paraphrase, or Rhodoman himself is that Aemilius is named a “particular patron and friend of the Ilfeld School” (“patronum et amicum singularem scholae Ilfeldensis”). Still, the Greek poem’s twenty lines are distinguished by their high density of ancient quotations and allusions, much higher than that of the longer Latin poem.⁴² A special clue to this handling can be apparently found at the end of the poem, where Rhodoman mentions himself and asks for Aemilius’ patronage (ll. 20–1). This is the first time that Rhodoman uses the Greek version of his name, Ῥοδομᾶν, perhaps alluding to the name of the ancient Greek lyric poet Ἀλκμᾶν:⁴³

ἀλλ’ ἄγε τὸν Ῥοδομᾶνα, τὸν ἠπιόμοχθον ἀκουστήν
Πιερίδων, ἐπίδερκε γαληνιόωντι προσώπῳ.⁴⁴

Thus, it is clear that Rhodoman uses the shorter Greek poem to advertise his ability in Greek composition and gain the patronage of the much older humanist.⁴⁵ At the beginning of the Latin poem, Rhodoman perhaps paved the way to this virtuoso poem in Greek by drawing a special comparison with a figure from Greek mythology: Philoctetes.

[...] tenebris ego circumfusus opacis
deliteo, torpore gradus detentus inerti,
Lemniacis veluti quondam Paeantius heros
immersus specubus nigris se condidit umbris
extimuitque diem, venas cum virus oberrat
Lernaeum, sontisque incusat tela magistri.
nam mihi nescio quo fato, quo daemonis astu
tabida tristificos hauserunt membra dolores.

⁴² The poem also has a notable number of Greek neologisms: αἰμυλόμολπος (l. 4), ἐπιμήστῳρ (l. 3), ἠπιόμοχθος (l. 19), μουσοπόνος (l. 17; perhaps designed as a counterpart of μισόπονος [suggestion by Raf Van Rooy]), νοόφλεκτος (l. 15), Χριστοβόας (l. 2).

⁴³ See Weise, *Der Arion des Lorenz Rhodoman*, 12 n. 24. Rhodoman’s teacher Neander was the first to edit an anthology of the eight ancient lyric poets next to Pindar. See Page, ed. *Poetae melici Graeci*, v. For Alcman in Neander’s anthology, see Neander, ed. *Ἀριστολογία*, 430–31.

⁴⁴ Originally Cocus, *Ionas propheta*, D 4v. Text according to the edition by Gärtner that will be published on <https://www.rhodomanologia.de/html/Rhod.Coc.Ion.1-2.html> (accessed on 27 April 2023). “But keep an eye fixed on Rhodoman, the gently-working listener of the Muses, with a friendly face.”

⁴⁵ On Aemilius as a student of Melanchthon and as a poet, see Ellinger, *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur*, 110–14. For the higher status of Greek in comparison to Latin, see van Dam, “Poems on the Threshold,” 67.

hinc segni lassata stupent mihi corda veterno,
 Aoniosque animo nequeo tractare labores.
 (Rhod. *Coc. Ion.* 1.14-23)⁴⁶

The second recovery poem, in Greek, is apparently designed as an answer to the curious situation about Philoctetes described in the preceding Latin poem. Like Aemilius, Rhodoman seeks healing through the Muses and patronage from men devoted to them. That Aemilius is honored by this Greek tour de force is a clear indication of the high esteem that Rhodoman wants to pay to him (and also of his expectations of Aemilius' support).

5 Greek-Latin virtuoso pieces: examples from the *Troica*

As we have seen, Rhodoman (and/or his printers) apparently doubted that his major Greek poems would be disseminated and properly understood. He therefore published almost all of them with Latin translations. This is true of his *Lutherus* (1579); the *Historia ecclesiae* (1581); the *Ilfelda Hercynica* (1581); the *Bioporikon* (1582/1585); the *Hymnus scholasticus* (1585); the *Palaestina* (1589); the *Theologiae christianaе tirocinia* (1596); his congratulatory poem for Caselius (1602);⁴⁷ the abovementioned *Threnos* and *Hymenaios Saxonikos*, and his second edition of the *Troica* and *Ilias parva* (1604). In most cases, the Latin version is meant to ensure understanding by either pupils or officials. The most ambitious projects are certainly those poems having both Greek and Latin verse versions: *Ilfelda Hercynica*, *Bioporikon*, *Hymnus scholasticus*, *Palaestina*, *Theologiae christianaе tirocinia*, *Troica*, and *Ilias parva*.

In this last section, I will discuss some examples from the 1604 *Troica* (*Tro.*²), showing that the Latin version is not merely a tool for improved comprehension. It also includes some ambitious intertextual wordplay, and therefore, understanding the whole requires considering both the Greek and the Latin versions.

On the one hand, it must be admitted that the Latin *Troica*, which employs a somewhat Hellenized Latin idiom, is not as elegant as the Greek version.⁴⁸ One often reads forms such as "Hellados" (l. 301), "Hermes" (l. 318), "Helene" (l. 1638)

⁴⁶ Originally *Cocus*, *Ionas propheta*, D Irv. Text according to Gärtner (see above n. 44). "Surrounded by thick darkness, I am hiding. I cannot walk: I have been detained by an idle torpor like the heroic son of Poias [Philoctetes], who hid himself in the dark shadows of the Lemnian caves, feared the daylight whenever the Lernean poison flowed through his veins, and accused the arrows of his guilty master [i.e., Hercules]. For by some unknown fate or a list of the devil [literally: a daemon], my weak limbs have received unhappy pains. Therefore, my heart is stunned by languid lethargy and I cannot approach the works of the Muses with my mind."

⁴⁷ In the case of Caselius, there is no doubt that the addressee was able to understand the Greek text. Hence, the Latin prose translation must have rather been written for others, perhaps at the request of Caselius himself.

⁴⁸ One may note, e.g., some "harder" transitions, the frequent use of "namque," and extreme postposition of relative pronouns. Hence perhaps J. J. Scaliger's verdict: "Rhodomanus doctissimus in Poësi Graeca, sed in Latina imperitus & infoelix. [...] Rhodomanus carmina Latina non benè scribit, sed Graeca bona [...]" ("Rhodoman is very learned in Greek poetry but inexperienced and unsuccessful in Latin. [...] Rhodoman does not write Latin poems well but [he does write] good Greek ones.") See Puteanus and Puteanus, eds. *Scaligeriana*, 393.

and “Helenes” (l. 332, 381), “Aten” (l. 1454, 1569), or other Greek words such as “cetum” (l. 159), “storgen” (l. 165), “calyptra” (l. 184), “technis” (l. 1008), “zelus” (l. 399, 1375, 1657), and “lytris” (l. 1141). Thus, Rhodoman closely follows the original Greek version, perhaps even seeking to inspire his pupils to consult and study the Greek.

On the other hand, Rhodoman also inserts ‘neologisms’ and/or rare adjectives into the Latin verse, such as “sceptritenens” (l. 324), “undipotens” (l. 763), “Musiparus” (l. 1210), “armicrepus” (l. 1234), “hastipotens” (l. 1617), and “anxificum” (l. 1685), thereby displaying some higher poetic ambition or at least creative handling of the Latin idiom.⁴⁹

Another means of polishing the Latin verse was to use or allude to classical Latin models. Three different levels may be distinguished. The first and simplest level is the use of typical Latin *formulae* and *clausulae*, such as “it comes” (l. 207; = Verg. *Aen.* 6.159, 448 et al.) or “fortibus armis” (l. 422; = Verg. *Aen.* 10.735; Ov. *met.* 1.456 et al.). The second level is a concrete allusion to a Latin model without a corresponding allusion in the Greek text. A good example can be found in l. 1566, where Rhodoman refers to Venus’ continuous anger at Diomedes.⁵⁰ The Latin reads:

[...] At flebile divae
vulnus Acidaliae manet alta mente repostum,
ex quo vir fortis palmam violaverat hasta.⁵¹

Whereas the Greek *τραύματος ἐν φρεσὶ μνηστὶν ἀεικέλιον φέρουσα* has no particular model, the Latin clearly alludes to *Aeneid* 1.26, where Vergil recapitulates the reasons for Juno’s wrath toward the Trojans. Rhodoman’s allusion has a special force here since the situation is exactly reversed: this time, Aeneas’ ally, Venus, is angry with a Greek (Diomedes) for his disrespect. In the following text, Venus punishes him through his wife, who forces him into exile. Every pupil of Rhodoman’s era would certainly have recognized the allusion to Vergil. In this passage, it seems that Rhodoman already had the Latin in mind when he composed the Greek.⁵² Another passage that might corroborate this hypothesis is ll. 1190–1194, which concerns the ‘Oenotropae’ (the women “who change (water into) wine”), the daughters of King Anius, who had the ability to change everything that they touch into wine, corn, and oil. Here, even more perspicuously, the Greek depends

⁴⁹ For Rhodoman’s predilection for neologisms in his Greek poems, see Ludwig “Der Humanist Laurentius Rhodomanus,” 165; Weise, *Der Arion des Lorenz Rhodoman*, 118–9; and Weise, “Griechische Mythologie,” 205.

⁵⁰ For the motif, see Mimn. fr. 22 West. See also Verg. *Aen.* 11.275–7; Ov. *met.* 14.477–8.

⁵¹ “But the painful wound of divine Venus persists in her high mind, since the brave man wounded her hand with his spear.”

⁵² See also l. 1673–4 on the foundation of the city Petilia by Philoctetes: *ἐνθάδ’ ἄρ’ οὐ ταναοῖσι περιδρομον ἀκοδόμησε / Κρήμισσαν τείχεσσι, Πετίλιον ἄστν δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῆ.* – huc, ubi non longis inclusit moenibus urbem Crimissam, parvo cui iuncta Petilia muro. The Latin version clearly alludes to Verg. *Aen.* 3.402 (*parva Philoctetae ... Petelia muro*).

on the Latin, rather than vice versa (the similarities to Ovid, below, are underscored):

τῆσι γὰρ εὐφροσύνης τε δότηρ σταφυλῆς τε φυτευτῆρ
μείζον ἐτητυμίας καὶ πίστιος ὄπασε δῶρον,
πάντα μάλ', ὧν ῥαδιναῖς δραξαίατο χερσίν, ἐς οἴνου
 ἠδυπότου μετάγειν ζωρὴν χρῆσιν ἐς τε μελιχρὸν
πυρὸν ὀμοῦ καὶ πῖαρ ἐλαιῖνόν Ἀτρυτώνης.

maius enim veroque fideque his praebitor uvae
 laetitiaeque hilaris munus concesserat auctor,
in dulces vini latices convertere et almi
 naturam tritici et baccarum pingue Minervae,
 quicquid sors manibus comprehendere forte dedisset.⁵³

In both the Latin and the Greek version, the text is clearly inspired by Ovid *met.* 13.650-4:

... dedit altera Liber
 femineae stirpi voto maiora fideque
munera. nam tactu natarum cuncta mearum
in segetem laticemque meri canaeque Minervae
transformabantur, divesque erat usus in illis.

The third level of intertextuality concerns passages in which one finds allusions to both Greek and Latin models in each version. An interesting case is l. 95, about the sons of Tros: Ἴλος τ' Ἀσσάρακος τε καὶ ἰσόθεος Γανυμήδης (“Ilus and Assaracus and godlike Ganymedes”) in Greek and “Ilus et Assaracus diisque assimilis Ganymedes” in Latin. The Greek text is an adaptation of Hom. *Il.* 20.231 (Ἴλος τ' Ἀσσάρακος τε καὶ ἀντίθεος Γανυμήδης), whereas the Latin verse perhaps adapts Ovid *met.* 11.756 (“Ilus et Assaracus raptusque Iovi Ganymedes”).⁵⁴ In both adaptations, Rhodoman varies his model. In the Greek, he replaces the Homeric ἀντίθεος by ἰσόθεος, while in the Latin, he replaces Ovid’s “raptusque Iovi” by “diisque assimilis,” which simultaneously re-Homerizes the Ovidian version of the verse (if Ovid was the model). One may further note the different handling of the cesura: the Greek retains the κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον cesura, whereas the Latin prefers the penthemimeral cesura. This is a highly sophisticated way of intermingling Greek and Latin and concurrently showing their interdependency without ignoring the linguistic differences.

⁵³ Originally Rhodoman, “ΤΡΩΙΚΑ,” 78–9. Text according to the edition by Weise that will be published on <https://www.rhodomanologia.de>. “For the giver of joy and the planter of the vine [i.e., Dionysus] offered to them a gift beyond truth and belief: the gift to change everything their slim fingers touch into a pure stream of sweet wine, honeysweet wheat, and the olive oil of Athena.” (Translation of the Greek text.)

⁵⁴ See also Verg. *Aen.* 6.650 (“Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor”).

Concerning the linguistic differences, I may add a final textual observation: Rhodoman is so keenly aware of these differences that even though he knows the correct spelling of Greek words, he chooses medieval spellings for Latin words of Greek origin. Therefore, one should not wonder at forms such as “Paeantius” (Rhod. *Coc. Ion.* 1,16; *Tro.*² 1366) instead of “Poeantius,” “aulaedi” (Rhod. *It. Lips.* 211) instead of “auloedi,” “epar” (Rhod. *Tro.*² 1329) instead of “hepar,” “Moeonio” instead (Rhod. *Tro.*² 1219) of “Maeonio,” or “Syrenas” (Rhod. *Tro.*² 1692) instead of “Sirenas.”⁵⁵ Despite pairing Greek and Latin, Rhodoman also knows how to keep the two spheres separate, respecting their different traditions.

6 Conclusions

In this brief survey, I examined Rhodoman’s careful choices of languages and dialects along with his use of them. The Doric dialect appears in pieces addressed to the highly learned milieu of Ilfeld fellow students and learned men in general. The dialect is an essential part of the content, as in the case of the epitaphius. The Latin–German bilingual poems, on the other hand, seem composed for a combined audience of both learned men and non-Latinate citizens. Latin prose translations are intended either for officials without any Greek or as a means to ensure comprehension by pupils with an imperfect mastery of Greek. Of course, they also serve as a training tool for both languages. Greek–Latin bilingual poems have a double focus: the Latin version secures understanding but it also enriches the text with new or further allusions to Latin models, with the result that each version is only a part of the whole. Thus, they best illustrate the underlying bilingual culture, which demands and reproduces fluent knowledge in Greek and Latin alike.⁵⁶

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⁵⁵ Some of these cases may simply be due to the printers’ inaccuracy, specifically, the failure to differentiate between the ligatures æ and œ. However, there is also clear evidence of this phenomenon in Rhodoman’s manuscripts. See Gärtner, “Zwei Widmungstexte,” 62 (ad v. 7).

⁵⁶ For early modern Latin–Greek bilingual culture, see Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek*.

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Appendix: List of extant Rhodoman poems written before 1589¹

Year of print (date of composition)	Short description and abbreviation	Nr.	Language/Meter ²	Evidence
Ifeld				
1567	Two poems appended to Georg Cocus' <i>Ionas Propheta</i> (<i>Coc. Ion.</i> 1–2)	1-2	<i>Coc. Ion.</i> 1: lat./hex <i>Coc. Ion.</i> 2: gr./hex	VD16 ZV 1797 (here: sig. D 1r–[D 4v])
Harburg				
1570 (15.ix.1569)	Poetical request for friendship to Thomas Mauer (<i>Mau.</i>)	3	lat./el	VD16 M 1627 (here: sig. Ff 1v–Ff 4v)
Rostock				
1571 (18.iv.1571: death of Chytraeus' wife)	Consolatory poem (<i>Paramythikon epos</i>) to David Chytraeus on the occasion of his wife's death (<i>Par. Chytr.</i>)	4	gr./hex	VD16 ZV 4221 (here: sig. I 2r–I 5r)
1.v.1571	Two epicedia on Hermann Carstens (<i>Carst.</i> 1–2)	5–6	gr./hex	VD16 ZV 10850 (here: sig. C 2v–[C 4r])
1571 (30.ix.1571: date of wedding)	Wedding poem for Johannes	7	gr./hex	VD16 C 2795

¹ This provisional list results from close collaborative work with Thomas Gärtner. Main works (according to a list of Rhodoman's published works, included in a letter from 1603) are printed in **bold**. See also <https://www.rhodomanologia.de/html/werke.html> and <https://www.rhodomanologia.de/html/Epist.1603-10-06.Rhod.anon.html> (both accessed on 6 June 2023).

² Abbreviations: ger. = German; gr. = Greek; gr. (dor.) = Doric Greek; lat. = Latin; hex = hexametres; el = elegiac couplets; 2ia[^] = catalectic iambic dimeters; 4ia = iambic tetrameter.

	Caselius (<i>Nupt. Cas.</i>)			(here: sig. A 4r-v)
1571	Wedding poem (with acrostichs) for Heino Diepenbruch (<i>Carm.</i> 1) and a valedictory poem to Andreas Saurer (<i>Carm.</i> 2); accompanying epigram (<i>Carm.</i> 3)	8-10	lat./el	VD16 ZV 30636
1571	Congratulatory poem for Joachim Westphal (<i>Westph.</i>)	11	gr./hex	VD16 C 1147 (here: sig. A 2r-v)
Schwerin				
after 16.iv.1571 (day of death)	Epitaphium for Martin Burggravius (<i>Inscr. Burgg.</i>)	12	lat./el	D. Schröder, <i>Kirchen-Historie des Ev. Mecklenburgs</i> , Dritter Teil, Rostock 1789, pp. 127-8
Lüneburg				
begun before 1567, reworked between 1572-84	Handwritten <i>Theologia christiana</i> (<i>Theol. christ.</i>) with an augmented version of <i>Ilfelda Hercynica</i> (<i>Ilf. Herc.</i> ²) and a dedicatory poem to Neander (<i>Theol. christ.</i> Neand.)	13-14	<i>Theol. christ.</i> : gr./hex lat./prose <i>Ilf. Herc.</i> ² gr. + lat./hex. <i>Theol. christ.</i> Neand.: gr. + lat./2ia [^]	HAAB Weimar fol. 67 (autograph), fol. 68 (apographon)
1573	Doric epitaphius on Martin Luther (<i>Luth. Dor.</i>)	15	gr. (dor.)/hex	VD16 L 5258 (here: sig. A 5v-B 4r)
1575 (13.viii.1575: date of the speech)	Epitaph (<i>Epigramma</i>) on Thomas Mauer (<i>Ep. Mau.</i>)	16	lat./el	DKB Kopenhagen 183:2, 248 (here: sig. [a 8v])
1577 (1573)	Poetic summaries of books 12-14 of Quintus of	17-20	gr. + lat./hex	VD16 N 394 (<i>praef. Quint.</i> : Nn 3v-Pp 3r; <i>Per. Quint.</i> 1 Pp)

	Smyrna (<i>Quint. Per.</i> 1–3) with a dedicatory poem to Bishop Eberhard von Holle (<i>Quint. praef.</i>)			3v–Qq 1r; <i>Per. Quint.</i> 2: Vu 2v–Vu 4r; <i>Per. Quint.</i> 3: Bbb 1v–Bbb 3r)
1579 (5.viii.1577: date noted below <i>Luth. epist.</i>)	Two books <i>Lutherus</i> (<i>Luth.</i> 1–2) with a dedicatory poem (<i>Luth. epist.</i>)	21–23	<i>Luth.</i> 1–2: gr./hex, lat./prose <i>Luth. epist.</i> : lat./hex	VD16 R 2100
1580	Inscriptional epitaph for Lüneburg pupil Albert Seulinckhausen (attribution by Th. Gärtner) (<i>Inscr. Seul.</i>)	24	lat./el	DI 100, Nr. 532 (originally at Lüneburg St.-Nicholas Church; not preserved)
1581 (1580)	Liminary poem for Martin Moller’s <i>Esaiæ prophetæ con- ciones</i> (<i>Moll.</i>)	25	lat./el	VD16 B 3769 (here: A4v–A 5v)
1581	<i>Historia eccle- siae</i> (<i>Hist. eccl.</i>)	26	gr./hex lat./prose	VD16 R 2093
1581	<i>Ifelda Hercyn- ica</i> (<i>If. Herc.</i>)	27	gr. + lat./hex	VD16 R 2096
1680 ³ (1581)	<i>Iter Lipsicum</i> (<i>It. Lips.</i>)	28	lat./hex	VD17 14:052235A
1584	Wedding poem for Johann/Jan Steinmetz (<i>Steinm.</i>)	29	gr. + lat./hex	VD16 ZV 30487 (here: sig. A 1v–A 3r)
1584 (1579)	Liminary poem for Martin Crusius’ <i>Turcograecia</i> (<i>Crus. Turc.</i>)	30	gr./hex	VD16 C 6153 (here: sig. [† 4r])
1595 (1584)	Poem on Jacob Monavius’ symbolum “Ipse faciet”	31	gr. + lat./el	VD16 M 6138 (here: p. 170f.)

³ The poem was not printed during Rhodoman’s lifetime but later from a manuscript formerly preserved in Leipzig’s University Library but now lost.

	(<i>Monav.</i> 1)			
1585 (1584)	Consolatory and liminary poem (<i>Philikon epos</i>) for Reiner Reineccius (<i>Phil. Rein.</i>)	32	gr. + lat./hex	VD16 R 858 (here: sig. O 2r-P 1r)
1585 (<i>Ep. Crus.</i> 1: 1580) (<i>Ep. Crus.</i> 2: 1581) (<i>Ep. Crus.</i> 3: 1582) (<i>Biop.</i> : 1582)	Three poetic letters to Martin Crusius (<i>Ep. Crus.</i> 1-3), <i>Bioporikon</i> (<i>Biop.</i>)	33-36	<i>Ep. Crus.</i> 1: gr./prose + hex <i>Ep. Crus.</i> : 2-3 gr./hex <i>Biop.</i> : gr. + lat./hex	VD16 C 6110 (<i>Ep. Crus.</i> 1-3: pp. 343-7; <i>Biop.</i> pp. 348-55)
Walkenried				
1584	Inscriptional epitaph on Walkenried rector Johannes Mylius (†1584) (attribution by Th. Gärtner) (<i>Inscr. Myl.</i>)	37	lat./el	DI 105, Nr. 84 (not preserved)
1584-1586	Inscriptional epitaph on Count Volkmar Wolfgang von Honstein (†1580) (attribution according to Letzner) (<i>Inscr. Volc.</i>)	38	lat./el	DI 105, Nr. 85 (original stone preserved in the cloister of Walkenried Monastery)
1584-1586	Inscriptional epitaph on Countess Anna von Honstein (†1581) (attribution according to Letzner) (<i>Inscr. Ann.</i>)	39	lat./el	DI 105, Nr. 86 (original stone preserved in the cloister of Walkenried Monastery)
1585	Liminary poem (<i>Hymnus scholasticus</i>) for Michael Neander's <i>Physice</i> (<i>Hym. schol.</i>)	40	gr. + lat./hex	VD R 2094
1585	Dedicatory poem of Rhodoman's edition of Dio to Count Ernst VII von	41	gr. + lat./hex	VD16 D 1810 (here: pp. 4-13)

	Hohnstein (<i>Dion. praef.</i>)			
1585	Five laudatory epigrams on Heinrich Rantzau (authorship not certain) (<i>Ranz.</i> 1–5)	42–46	lat./el	VD16 R 221 (here: 409–10)
5.viii.1585 (Rhodoman’s 40th birthday)	Handwritten dedication of Rhodoman’s edition of Dio to Marcus Gerstenberg (<i>Gerst.</i>)	47	lat./el	SLUB Dresden Mscr. Dresd. Da. 23 (here: 95v) (copy by Georg Friedrich Thryllitsch)
1586 (x.1585, month of his death)	Inscriptional epitaph on Lüneburg pupil Georg Reuscher (<i>Inscr. Reusch.</i>)	48	lat./el	Originally at Nordhausen St.-James Church (not preserved); Fr. Chr. Lesser, <i>Historische Nachricht von der alten Kirche S. Iacobi der kayserl. freyen Reichs-Stadt Nordhausen, Nordhausen 1744, pp. 111ff.</i>
1586	Inscriptional epitaph on Count Volkmar Wolfgang the Younger (†1586) (attribution according to Letzner) (<i>Inscr. Volc. iun.</i>)	49	lat./el	DI 105, Nr. 89 (original stone preserved in the cloister of Walkenried Monastery)
1586 (viii.1583?)	Poetic letter to Christoph Frey (<i>Frei.</i>)	50	gr./hex	VD16 N 390 (here: fol. 53v–54r)
†1621 (1586?)	Poetic letter to Matthaeus Gothus (<i>Goth.</i>)	51	gr./el	VD17 23:295799C (here: sig. D†(6v]–D†(7r))
1588	Inscriptional epitaph on Elisabeth von Honstein (†1588) (attribution)	52	ger./4ia	DI 105, Nr. 93 (original stone preserved in the cloister of Walkenried Monastery)

	according to Letzner) (<i>Inscr.</i> <i>Elisab.</i>)			
1588	<i>Argonautica</i> (<i>Arg.</i>); <i>Thebaica</i> (<i>Theb.</i>); <i>Troica (Tro.)</i> ; <i>Ilias parva (Il.</i> <i>parv.)</i> ; <i>Arion (Arion)</i>	53- 57	gr./hex <i>Arion</i> : gr.(dor.)/hex	VD16 R 2088