Greek Education in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic

Standardisation, Schoolbooks and Students

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MA Thesis Book and Digital Media Studies

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20 June 2014

15.549 words

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Introduction

Ἱστορία φιλοσοφία ἐστὶν ἐκ παραδειγμάτων
'History is philosophy, based on examples'
(Dion. Hall. *Ars Rhetorica* 11.2)

The teaching of Greek and Latin at modern Dutch secondary schools has been the subject of much debate in recent years. Teachers report problems with the examination results, students are struggling to understand the difficult grammars, and universities are complaining about the students not having acquired the desired level of knowledge. To resolve this, a so-called 'Verkenningscommissie' was installed a few years ago, headed by two renowned professors, to examine the current situation with regards to the teaching of the classical languages at schools. A number of recommendations, including advice to educational publishers about teaching materials, were made to improve the situation.[1] These recommendations, however, were not received with unanimous enthusiasm, and it is clear that the position of the classical languages in secondary education will remain an issue to be dealt with in order to determine what role and form the teaching of Greek and Latin will have to take, if they continue to have any value at all for students, schools, and even society at large.

In order to contribute to the current debate about the position of the classics in education, I aim to examine in this MA thesis the teaching of Greek in the seventeenth century at the forerunners of today's 'Gymnasia'; the Latin schools. Greek in particular, as a relatively new subject in seventeenth century education, is particularly interesting to examine, because it was, like both classical languages are today, an addition to the central part of the curriculum of the Latin schools, which consisted mainly in enabling students to acquire a high level of fluency in the Latin tongue. The seventeenth

[1] C. Kroon and I. Sluiter, *Het geheim van de blauwe broer: Eindrapport van de Verkenningscommissie Klassieke Talen* (Leiden/Enschede: SLO, 2010).

century is, moreover, a very interesting and illuminating period to study with regards to education. Not only did the Golden Age bring great wealth to the Netherlands, it also experienced a flourishing of science, the arts, education, and book production.

In the first part of this thesis, the history of the teaching of Greek will be examined, by discussing the role of Humanism. Moreover, the instalment of the 'School Order of Holland' in 1625, one of the first and most influential regulations with regard to the teaching of Greek and Latin, is discussed in order to provide insight into the contents and background of the seventeenth century teaching of Greek. In this first part, the textbooks that were used and prescribed by the School Order are examined, and the curriculum for the teaching of Greek is analysed to establish its role within the Latin school programme.

The second part will consist of an analysis of two textbooks issued by the School Order from the Bibliotheca Thysiana in Leiden. The first is an edition of the *Fables* of Aesop, printed in Leiden in 1632 by Jean Maire, and the second contains three books from the *Iliad*, and was printed by the Elzeviers in Leiden in 1642. This second book is particularly interesting, because it contains extensive annotation. These books have been preserved in the Bibliotheca Thysiana, but their provenance and former owners are unknown. With the help of an analysis of the handwriting and the records of the library, their background will be discussed as well. This second part will thus offer interesting insights not only into the practice of teaching Greek and the experience of students, but also into the textbook production process. It is hoped, therefore, that this thesis will contribute to a better understanding of this interesting but little studied element of the Golden Age of Dutch education and book printing, and provide new insights with regards to the current debate about the position of the classics at secondary schools.

Part I:

The Teaching of Greek at the Latin Schools

Chapter 1. A history of Greek education in the Netherlands

Κρεῖττον γάρ ἐστιν ἄρξασθαι ὀψὲ τὰ δέοντα πράττειν ἢ μηδέποτε
'It is better to start late with the things that need doing than never.'
(Dion. Hall. *Ant. Rom.* 9.9)

Greek was not taught at all in Western-Europe during the Middle Ages. Schools and universities only offered Latin education, and Greek texts were available only sparingly, and solely in their Latin translations.[2] But when the Middle Ages made way for the Renaissance, scholasticism and its focus on the Latin language made way for the study of the classical curriculum as a whole.[3] Under the influence of Humanism, education in Europe changed profoundly, and as the refreshed interest in ancient Greece and Rome entered the spirits of many scholars, finally there was room for that other classical language to be taught – Greek.

In this first chapter, the rise of this new subject is discussed in order to show the process of the introduction of Greek into the Dutch school curriculum. Furthermore, the position of Greek within the seventeenth century Latin school curriculum, and the School Order of 1625 are examined.

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[2] A. Grafton and L. Jardine (eds.), *From Humanism to the humanities: Education and the liberal arts in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Duckworth and Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 99.

[3] Grafton and Jardine (1986) xii.

The rise of Humanism and the introduction of Greek

Before Greek was introduced at the Latin schools of the Dutch Republic, the new way of thinking that opened the door to the teaching of Greek in Western Europe had started to gain ground in Italy. Here, the so-called humanists had started to oppose medieval views on teaching as early as the fourteenth century. They rejected the medieval focus on life after death, and consequently the centrality of God and the church lost ground to the idea that man itself, his earthly life and the ability to use reason should be the primary concerns of human life. This humanistic ideal was perceived to require as its main focus the study of antiquity, which was thought to provide the best example of how man should educate himself in order to become a man of affairs, capable of leading a successful, public life. Guarino Guarini of Verona (1374-1460), one of the most prominent early humanist teachers, phrased this ideal in the following manner:

> What better goal can there be for our thoughts and efforts than the arts precepts and studies by which we may come to guide, order and govern ourselves, our households and our political offices. (…) It [moral philosophy] provides us with weighty counsel for our action and enables us to avoid rashness, the enemy of reason. (…) The very art and method of public speaking which the Greeks call rhetoric must become mute and silent unless it derives subject matter from this philosophy (…). I should argue that it was this very philosophy which once upon a time brought men out of their wild life into this gentle and domesticated condition and which gave them the laws that enabled those assembled together to become a civil society.[4]

The humanist teacher thus aimed to prepare his students for a life as a proper citizen, that relies on reason, classical rhetoric and moral philosophy. This goal differed greatly from the medieval ideal of preparing students for a life in the monastery. Rhetorical training, for which the Greeks were the most

[4] Grafton and Jardine (1986) 2.

renowned, was a central element of the humanist ideals, and thus the study of the Greek texts was considered crucial.

In order to acquire the teaching materials and the insight into how Greek was best taught, these early humanists turned to the city of Constantinople, were the study of Greek was as central as the study of Latin was in the western part of Europe. The books and methods that Byzantine scholars could offer the Italian humanists, however, were not quite as useful as was perhaps expected, as they were created for native speakers of Greek and were thus hardly useful to the Italian teachers of this period, who themselves had not yet acquired much knowledge of the Hellenic tongue.[5] It is therefore not surprising that the study of Greek at Guarino's school did not become nearly as intensive as that of Latin, at which the Italian students were expected to become as fluent as the ancient native speaker. Greek was taught merely in order for students to acquire the ability to read independently a number of ancient texts, without being able to use the language in an active way.[6]

By the sixteenth century, humanism had also gained ground in the northern part of Europe, and in many universities Greek was now an established discipline.[7] One of the most renowned humanist teachers of the Netherlands in particular, was of course Erasmus. Erasmus distinguished himself not only by his excellent knowledge of Greek, but also in his emphasis on the relation between the study of the classical languages and the study of the Bible and the aim to educate proper Christians. This was a specific concern for the northern humanists, and they differed from their Italian colleagues in this respect.[8] In one of his letters, Erasmus emphasises his devotion to applying his knowledge of the ancient languages to pious activities and Scripture (letter 296, 1514):

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[5] Grafton and Jardine (1986) 100-103.

[6] Grafton and Jardine (1986) 16.

[7] P.N.M. Bot, *Humanisme en onderwijs in Nederland* (Utrecht/Antwerpen: Het Spectrum, 1955), p. 181.

[8] Grafton and Jardine (1986) 138-144; Bot (1955) 19-20.

> During the past two years, in addition to many other things, I have emended the text of St. Jerome's epistles. I have indicated the corrupt and spurious passages, and have explained the obscure ones in the notes. By collating the old Greek manuscripts I have emended the entire [Latin] text of the New Testament, and have annotated more than a thousand passages, not without benefit to theologians. I have begun to do commentaries on Paul's Epistles, which I shall finish after publishing this other material. For I am determined to live and die in the study of Sacred Scripture.[9]

Erasmus was thus a so-called Christian humanist, who used his knowledge of the classical languages mainly to improve the translation of the Bible by St. Jerome, providing proper translations and analyzing and interpreting the Bible in the manner of the study of classical texts.[10]

Greek at Latin schools

Erasmus had received his education in Greek at the Latin school in Deventer, which had introduced Greek into its curriculum as one of the first schools in Northern-Europe.[11] The Dutch Latin schools (or *Scholae Latinae*) were founded in the Middle Ages by individual cities in order to educate the boys from the upper classes of society in preparation of a monastic career.[12] When the humanist form of education replaced scholastic teaching, Greek soon became a subject that entered the curricula of many Latin schools. By the 1520's, Humanism had 'defeated' the old scholastic order almost everywhere in the Netherlands,[13] and the introduction of Greek had taken place nearly everywhere in the low

[9] transl. Grafton and Jardine (1986) 145.

[10] Grafton and Jardine (1986) 146.

[11] Bot (1955) 182.

[12] H.W. Fortgens, *Schola Latina: uit het verleden van ons voorbereidend hoger onderwijs* (Zwolle: N.V. Uitgevers, 1958), p. 9.

[13] Bot (1955) 39-43.

countries by the second half of the sixteenth century. Below, an overview is given of Latin schools and the year in which they adopted Greek as a part of their curriculum:

Table 1: Chronological overview of the adoption of Greek by Latin schools[14]

City	Introduction Greek	Teacher
Deventer	1483-1498	Alexander Hegius
Alkmaar	1515	Rutger Rescius
Zwolle	<1516	Gerardus Listrius
Gouda	<1520	?
Haarlem	<1523	Wouter Henrisxz
Breda	<1525	Christiaan Rianus
Utrecht	ca. 1530	Georgius Macropedius
Amsterdam	1533?	?
Leiden	ca. 1537	Jan Sareye
Harderwijk	1540?	?
Groningen	1545	Regnerus Praedinius
Maastricht	1551?	Christiaan Furnius
Leeuwarden	1553?	Petrus Suffridus

The motives for introducing Greek at these schools, were, however, not limited to the humanistic promotion of the study of the classics and the Erasmian ideal of educating good Christians, but an important factor was also that by learning Greek the students could prepare themselves better for a career at the universities. Alexander Hegius, who introduced Greek at the Latin school of Deventer, pointed out that Greek was of use for those who wanted to study philosophy, rhetoric, mathematics, medicine and theology.[15] When we consider the question whether the Latin school succeeded in

[14] These data are derived from Bot (1955) 181-190. Only the schools for which data are available are included here; consequently, this is not a complete overview of all Latin schools in the Netherlands of the sixteenth century.

[15] C.M. Hogenstijn, *Leren voor het leven aan het grote kerkhof: de Latijnse school in Deventer.* (Deventer, 2007), p. 32.

accomplishing this goal, it cannot be denied that there are clear indications that the quality and depth of the teaching of Greek in these days, despite this enthusiasm, should not be overestimated.

First of all, the tutors themselves in many cases were not acquainted with the language as much as one might expect from a teacher.[16] A good example is Hegius, who was Erasmus's teacher at the Latin school of Deventer. Erasmus praised his former teacher for his excellent knowledge of Latin, but his praise of his skills in Greek were limited to the statement that he was not completely unknowledgeable in this regard.[17] Some schools, however, did employ a number of great scholars who were very well versed in the Hellenic language, such as the Latin school in Utrecht, where famous names such as Lambertus Hortensius, Cornelius Valerius and Georgius Macropedius were teaching Greek.[18]

A second indication that the teaching of Greek generally remained at a rather elementary level, is shown by the fact that the emphasis still lay first and foremost on learning Latin, which continued to be the core of Latin school teaching.[19] As the students were to be prepared for university, where teachers taught and wrote in Latin, the practical use of the language took up a great part of the time spent in the Latin schools. The primacy of learning to speak Latin in an attractive and eloquent fashion was, moreover, a core issue in the humanist tradition, where eloquence and rhetorical skill were promoted above all else.[20] In Leiden, the students were even obliged to speak only Latin, both during and outside of school hours.[21] For the boys who visited the schools, this must no doubt have been a rather demanding task, as they often had not spoken any other language than their mother

[16] Bot (1955) 183-185, 187.

[17] Bot (1955) 183.

[18] Bot (1955) 87.

[19] Bot (1955) 190.

[20] Bot (1955) 74-76.

[21] A.M. Coebergh van den Braak, *Meer dan zes eeuwen Leids gymnasium* (Leiden, 1988), p. 53.

tongue.[22] This also meant that there was only limited room for teaching and learning Greek, and certainly with regards to the practical use of the Hellenic language, attention for Greek was limited.

The School Order of 1625

A third indication for the marginal position of Greek at Latin schools lies in the installment of the 1625 'School Order' of Holland. In that year, Holland, one of the seven provinces of the Dutch Republic, decided to create a more uniform school curriculum. This was thought necessary because the division of classes, the programme and the books used in the schools varied greatly in the different Latin schools in the province, which was considered to be a hindrance for those students who would move to another city, and those who went on to university.[23] The university professors had indeed complained that the students who started their academic studies were not well-versed in the classical languages, and they blamed the schools for this.[24] The heads of the Latin schools had the freedom to choose or even write the grammar books themselves, and were free to design a programme to their own liking, which led to every school having its own curriculum and the students of the different schools to have a very divergent level of knowledge when they entered university.[25]

These problems had existed for over forty years before the School Order was installed in 1625. Already in 1580 we hear of the above complaints, and the desire to create more uniformity at the Latin schools.[26] This was, moreover, an issue that not only the province of Holland was confronted with; already in the 1550s some German cities installed school orders, and in the Dutch Republic

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[22] Coebergh van den Braak (1988) 53.

[23] E.J. Kuiper, *De Hollandse "schoolorde" van 1625: een studie over het onderwijs op de Latijnse scholen in Nederland in de 17e en 18e eeuw.* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1958), pp. 32-33.

[24] A. Frank-van Westrienen, *Het schoolschrift van Pieter Teding van Berkhout. Vergezicht op gymnasiaal onderwijs in de zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlanden* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), pp. 44-45.

[25] Frank-van Westrienen (2007) 44-45.

[26] W.H. van Seters, 'De historische achtergrond van de uitgave van een Grieks-Latijns schoolboekje, volgens decreet der Staten van Holland in 1626 verschenen, en tot 1727 in gebruik gebleven', in: C.P. Burger and V.A. de la Montagne (eds.), *Het boek: tweede reeks van het tijdschrift voor boek- en bibliotheekwezen* 33 (1958), p. 86.

Friesland had created an order in 1588. It is, however, not very remarkable that in Holland it took so long to come to an agreement to solve the lack of uniformity at the Latin Schools: the headmasters themselves were not at all dissatisfied with the situation and their extensive freedom, and the cities feared to work closely with competing school in the region.[27] Eventually, in 1625, headmasters, Leiden University professors and pastors, who also experienced the negative effects of the lack of uniformity when students entered the church's education programme, came together with the province's authorities to develop the 1625 School Order.

Special attention was given to the position of Greek, which, judging by the text of the School Order, had been neglected at many schools.[28] The text states that '[t]he study of Greek should not be considered arbitrary; because it is a fact that this language is the source of all wisdom and erudition, and that not even Latin can be understood without some knowledge of it [Greek].'[29]

Fig. 1 The Republic of the Seven United Netherlands; source: Wikipedia, 'Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden', http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republiek_der_Zeven_Verenigde_Nederlanden (23-03-2014).

The question is of course whether the School Order of 1625 improved the situation with regard to the quality and extent of the teaching of Greek. The Order provided guidelines for how many hours of Greek were to be taught to which classes, and how these hours were to be spent. The table below shows how many hours a week were now prescribed for the different subjects in each of the classes (VI-I):

[27] Kuiper (1958) 33-34, 41.

[28] Van Seters (1958) 91.

[29] 'Graecae autem linguae stadium nulli arbitrarium esse oportet; quia omnis sapientiae atque eruditionis linguam eam fontem esse constaat; ac ne Latinam quidem sine aliqua ejus cognitione posse intellegi.' Kuiper (1958) 12, *Schoolordre* ll. 107-110. The translation is my own.

Table 2: Lesson table School Order Holland[30]

Subject	**Class VI**	**Class V**	**Class IV**	**Class III**	**Class II**	**Class I**
Grammatica Latina	24	6	2	-	-	-
Vocabula Latina	-	2	-	-	-	-
Prosodia Latina	-	-	2	-	-	-
Autores Latini	-	8	8	10	8	8
Exercitium Latinum	-	6	6	6	6	2
Grammatica Graeca	-	-	4	2	2	-
Autores Graeci	-	-	-	2	2	4
Exercitium Graecum	-	-	-	-	-	2
Rhetorica	-	-	-	1	2	-
Logica	-	-	-	1	2	4
Repertitio	-	2	2	2	2	?
Disputatio	-	2	2	2	2	-
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2
Calligraphia	6	4	4	4	4	
Musica	-	-	-	-	-	(2)
Total Latin	24	26	29	18	16	10
Total Greek	-	-	4	4	4	6
Total per week	32	32	32	32	32	24

It is clear that Greek was still a rather small part of the education of the students of the Latin schools in Holland, with only 13% of school hours reserved for the teaching of the Hellenic language.[31] Moreover, only the highest four classes received Greek schooling, and with the low number of hours available for Greek, a reasonable level of fluency can never have been obtained. It is difficult, however, to assess whether the amount of hours devoted to learning the Greek language increased or decreased after the instalment of the Order. Most likely, this varied greatly between individual schools, but compared to another school Order, namely that of the northern province of Friesland from 1588, the

[30] The table derives from Coebergh van den Braak (1997) 49.

[31] Kuiper (1958) 80.

total number of hours spent on Greek is exactly the same,[32] which suggests that a percentage of circa 10-15% of school hours devoted to Greek was quite common. However, it does not appear to be the case that this scheme and the other decrees included in the Order of 1625 were followed to the letter by every school in the province,[33] and we should thus not confuse these guidelines with actual practice. In the following chapter, we will look further into the success and adoption of the School Order of 1625.

Conclusion

The rise of Humanism changed Dutch education profoundly. This new way of thinking replaced the medieval standards, and was the main instigator for the introduction of Greek into the Latin school curriculum. As opposed to the Italians, Northern European humanists also adopted religious motives for the importance of the study of the classics. Nevertheless, Greek remained a rather small element of the Latin school curriculum, primarily because the students were required to attain a very high level of fluency in Latin, the language of science and university, for which they were preparing. In the following chapter, we will examine the question concerning the quality and form of the teaching of Greek further, by discussing the curriculum and the textbooks as prescribed by the School Order of 1625.

[32] Kuiper (1958) 71.

[33] Th.F.M. Boekholt and E.P. de Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland vanaf de middeleeuwen tot aan de huidige tijd* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1987), p. 63.

Chapter 2. The production of Greek textbooks

Μηδὲν ἄγαν
'Nothing in excess'
(Inscr. temple of Apollo, Delphi)

By the end of the sixteenth century, the number of printers, publishers and book sellers that were located in the Netherlands had started to rise dramatically. Leiden, one of the most important centres for the art of printing, did not only harbour the renowned Christopher Plantin and his son-in-law Franciscus Raphelengius, but was also home to the famous Elzevier dynasty. The development of book printing, however, was partly responsible for the chaotic situation with regard to the education at the Latin schools that led to the instalment of the School Order of 1625. Consequently, the Order prescribed that state editions were to be used for teaching.

The abundance of textbooks was the result of a variety of reasons. First of all, the transition from the Medieval form of education to humanist teaching required new textbooks, and the humanists themselves often produced their own. Secondly, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw a great rise in the number of printers starting up businesses. And thirdly, people became more affluent thanks to the economic successes of the newly created Dutch Republic in this period, which meant that people could more easily afford to buy books. All in all, these factors led to an explosion of textbooks available for students to use in schools.[34]

Not surprisingly, this ubiquitous availability of textbooks necessarily meant that they were not all of a similar quality, and without any central guidelines, their contents also differed considerably.[35] This caused, as we have seen, great dissimilarities in the level of knowledge acquired by students who

[34] Kuiper (1958) 44-45.
[35] Kuiper (1958) 45.

went off to university after graduating the Latin school. The situation was in fact so unsatisfactory, that an effort was made, mainly by the Leiden University professors, to convince the authorities of the province of Holland to set up guidelines with regards to the teaching at the Latin schools, and a vital element of the School Order of 1625 was to prescribe which textbooks were to be used in the Latin schools.

The Leiden professors who had played a central role in the development of the Order were put in charge of the establishment of a list of books and texts to be read in the schools. Because these professors were the ones who had complained about the students that entered the university and their lack of proper prior education, they were more than willing to thoroughly alter and correct the existing books, as well as to produce entirely new editions.[36] It took the Leiden professors more than a year to complete the job, but in 1626, the first new textbooks were printed.[37] The twenty-three different titles were all printed in Leiden, in print-runs varying between 600 and 1200 copies, which were either sent to the schools directly or exclusively sold by appointed book sellers.[38] In the following sections, we will discuss the School Order editions that were issued for each of the three components of Greek education (*Grammatica, Autores, Exercitium*), and compare them to earlier textbooks in order to examine the impact of the Order's regulations on the use of textbooks for the teaching of Greek in the Latin schools of Holland.

Grammatica Graeca

The first step in the process of learning Greek had, since the early humanists developed an interest in the 'other' classical language, consisted of studying grammar. Memorising grammar had been the

[36] Kuiper (1958) 85.

[37] Kuiper (1958) 86.

[38] Kuiper (1958) 87, 146 n. 2. See the appendix fora n overview of the twenty-three new editions. In 1627, three more titles – Ovid's *Tristia,* Xenophon's *Cyropaedis* and a book on Aristotelian ethics - were printed in connection with the School Order of 1625, but these were not included in the original plans. See Van Seters (1958) 105.

single most important feature of humanist education since its early days in the fourteenth century. The development of a satisfactory grammar book, however, proved to be quite difficult. The early Italian humanists, who first introduced the study of Greek to Western Europe, did find books that listed the grammatical rules of the Hellenic tongue in Constantinople, but since these were written for students that had (Modern) Greek as their native language, their use was limited to the Italians, who had no prior knowledge of Greek at all.[39] At around 1400, however, a Byzantine scholar named Manuel Chrysoloras, managed to compile a grammar book that was accessible and user friendly for the Italian humanists, and the book was very popular for a long period of time. However, a student of Greek required more than a list of grammatical rules to acquire a decent level of knowledge of the Greek language.[40] Therefore, renowned printers such as Aldus Manutius, developed more satisfactory textbooks that contained the rules of pronunciation, fragments of text with a Latin translation, and the rules of syntax, and many other grammar books followed.[41]

In the Netherlands, Greek was taught with a variety of grammar books prior to the instalment of the 1625 School Order.[42] During the sixteenth century, the most popular Greek grammar book in use in the Netherlands was that of the Flemish Nicolaas Cleynaerts (Clenardus). His *Institutiones in linguam Graecam* was first published in 1530 in Louvain by Rutger Rescius. It was reprinted and revised on a large scale, and no less than 156 editions are known to have been produced between 1530 and 1783.[43] Clenardus had succeeded in compiling a user friendly, concise and well-structured grammar of the Greek language that comprised only 150 pages, which was considerably less than many other contemporary grammar books.[44]

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[39] Grafton and Jardine (1986) 100.

[40] Grafton and Jardine (1986) 102-103.

[41] Grafton and Jardine (1986) 103-105.

[42] Fortgens (1958) 66.

[43] Fortgens (1958) 66-67.

[44] Bot (1955) 201.

Not surprisingly, the School Order of 1625 prescribed this work as the standard grammar book to be used in schools, but not before it had undergone a revision by Gerardus Joannes Vossius, professor of Greek at the University of Leiden. Vossius expanded the work to make it more complete, which led to his edition being double the size of Clenardus's original treatise.[45] It was Vossius's aim to compile a reference work, not a textbook; he wanted to include all of Greek grammar into a single book, that would serve as a tool for students to look up any grammatical difficulties that they encountered in the original Greek texts that were also on the programme.[46] This is a remarkable decision, because it appears that those responsible for the 1625 School Order preferred to create a new grammar book that would be a mix between the Clenardus grammar and Jacobus Golius's more attractive and much used textbook. Golius, professor of Arabic at Leiden University between 1625 and 1667, had produced a grammar book that taught the rules by applying the old method of questions and answers ('Quot sunt declinations nominum apud Graecos?' – 'Decem'). Golius edition also contained more practical elements, such as rules for the accentuation, vocabulary lists and examples,[47] like the successful Italian grammar books printed by Manutius. It is thus remarkable that Vossius, apparently on his own, made the didactic choice to compose a reference work containing only an extensive overview of Greek grammar, instead of more usable and more attractive textbook, as the School Order seems to have desired.

This is even more remarkable when we compare this grammar book to the Latin one that was also edited by Vossius. The latter seems to have received far more attention, and Vossius complained that it was an enormous amount of work to edit the existing grammar that he was to revise.[48] He also states that he left certain elements of the original grammar book untouched, in order that it would be

[45] Kuiper (1958) 123.

[46] C.S.M. Rademaker, *Leven en werk van Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577-1649)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), p. 176.

[47] Kuiper (1958) 124-125.

[48] Kuiper (1958) 97.

easier for the schools that already used this grammar book to get used to the new edition.[49] However, none of these considerations were made for the production of the Greek grammar book; Vossius claimed that he had only made small alterations, consisting mainly of expanding the work to make it more complete. Moreover, for the Greek grammar book, the existing school practice was not taken into consideration at all, and the popularity of Golius was apparently not appreciated. Consequently, whereas Vossius's Latin grammar book remained the single most used grammar book in Latin education until the nineteenth century, the grammar book of Golius continued to be used in many Latin schools after 1625, instead of the Vossius edition.[50]

Vossius was also in charge of executing the School Order's decision to produce a *rudimenta*, a more concise booklet with only the basic rules of Greek grammar for the students who were first introduced to the Greek language. This book was finished as late as 1642, and was titled *Prima linguae Graecae rudimenta*. This habit of not confronting these students with an all-encompassing grammar book at the start of their studies but by providing a *rudimenta* edition, was a new feature of seventeenth century Greek education,[51] which perhaps partly, together with Vossius's dislike for compiling these school books,[52] explains why it took seventeen years before it was printed.

Because Vossius's edition of Clenardus did not contain the rules of syntax or prosody, separate editions were published for the teaching of these elements of the Greek language. For syntax, the relatively little known and certainly prior to the School Order not much used work *Syntaxis Graeca* of Johannes Posselius was prescribed, most likely after the personal preferences of Vossius again.[53] This book was not heavily edited for the School Order's edition of 1626, besides some editing to make it

[49] Kuiper (1958) 97.

[50] Kuiper (1958) 124.

[51] Kuiper (1958) 123.

[52] Kuiper (1958) 125, n. 2.

[53] Kuiper (1958) 126.

more concise.[54] To this edition, a treatise on prosody by Franciscus Vergara, *De omnibus Graecae linguae partibus libri V,* was added, also without receiving any heavy editing.

The grammar books were used in the following manner. As we have seen, the students started learning Greek in class IV, where four hours of grammar were to be taught. They began with learning the letters, the accents, the conjugations and the comparisons, for which the *rudimenta* was used. The Lord's Prayer was also learned in Greek.[55] In the third class, Vossius's grammar book was taught during two hours per week.[56] Greek grammar was then completed in class II with Posselius's syntactic treatise, which was studied on two occasions during the week, for a total of two hours.[57]

Autores Graeci

The three highest classes also spent two to four hours a week on reading Greek authors. The variety of authors read prior to the instalment of the School Order of 1625 was impressive, and differed greatly in each school. Among the works read were that of Hippocrates (Deventer 1564), Aristotle and Xenophon (Utrecht 1565), Isocrates (Deventer 1564 and 1619, Utrecht 1565, Leeuwarden 1588, Groningen 1594, Kampen 1599, Nijmegen 1601, Zutphen 1619, Den Briel 1597), Hesiod (Groningen 1594), Homer (Utrecht 1565, Groningen, Deventer 1611 and 1619, Den Briel 1597), Demosthenes (Deventer 1564, Groningen 1594), Plutarch (Utrecht 1565 and 1578, Leeuwarden 1588, Kampen 1599), Theocritus (Gouda 1565), Lucian (Breda 1525, Utrecht 1565), Plato (Utrecht 1565), Aesop (Deventer 1511, Den Briel 1597), Phocylides (Deventer 1511) and Euripides (Den Briel 1597).[58] This overview indicates that even though the variety of authors read in schools was large, individual schools only rarely treated more than three different authors. Moreover, the curriculum was

[54] Kuiper (1958) 126.

[55] Kuiper (1958) 13.

[56] Kuiper (1958) 15.

[57] Kuiper (1958) 19.

[58] Bot (1955) 194-195.

decided upon by the head masters, and consequently there was very little uniformity in the Latin schools in this regard.

The School Order of 1625 set out to prescribe a more fixed curriculum of Greek authors to be read, starting with Aesop and Isocrates in the third class, then Xenophon, Hesiod and Solon in the second and Homer and Euripides in the first. Moreover, the rhetorical treatises of Aphthonius and Aelius Theon were added to the curriculum, authors that were not read before. Again, the personal preference of the editing professors can be detected, in this case that of Daniel Heinsius.[59]

It is noteworthy that only four textbooks were issued as School Order editions for these authors; only for Aesop, Homer, Aphthonius and Theon, state editions were printed. We must probably assume that other satisfactory editions were already available for the other authors. The Aesop edition was most likely produced by Daniel Heinsius, professor of Greek at Leiden, and included approximately forty fables, each accompanied by a Latin translation and an image. Furthermore, poetic renditions in Latin were added of a number of Aesopic fables written by Avianus,[60] as well as the pseudo-Homeric *Batrachomyomachia* ('Battle of frogs and mice') with translation and two Greek poems and a commentary to the *Batrachomyomachia* by Heinsius himself.[61] The book was reprinted at least seven times (in 1632 in Leiden, in 1660, 1672 and 1726 in Amsterdam, and in 1669, 1685 and 1727 in Utrecht),[62] and we can thus be fairly certain that Aesop remained, as had been the case prior to the School Order, a popular choice for the teaching of Greek in the lower classes.

A School Order edition was also produced for the three books of Homer's *Iliad* that were part of the new curriculum. Originally, only the texts themselves were included, but within ten years, a new edition was produced, which included an alphabetical list of words, made by the Leiden head master

[59] Kuiper (1958) 80.

[60] In the book itself, his name is consistently, though erroneously, spelled Avienus, see Van Seters (1958) 95, n. 1.

[61] Kuiper (1958) 129-130.

[62] Kuiper (1958) 129.

Theodorus Schrevelius. He, as a very experienced teacher of Greek at the Leiden Latin school, had noticed for years that his students were struggling to learn the Greek language, not in the least because they expressed a great dislike for it, and merely considered it a subsidiary subject in view of the small number of hours spent on it.[63] Nevertheless, Schrevelius attempted to make Greek more popular with his students, and part of this attempt was to help his students read the complicated texts of Homer more easily by adding an index to the in itself not very satisfactory School Order edition of Homer's *Iliad*.[64]

The treatises of Aphthonius and Theon were produced by Daniel Heinsius. Both works consisted of rhetorical exercises, commentaries and definitions. Heinsius corrected the texts, and added Latin translations. However, because rhetoric was taught only in a very limited fashion in the Latin schools, and undoubtedly also because there was no tradition of reading these authors prior to the School Order, the books never became popular, and were not even reprinted.[65]

Exercitium Graecum

The final element in the teaching of Greek that the School Order distinguished, was the *exercitium*. This subject was only taught to the highest class, for two hours a week. There were no particular books printed for this subject, but the focus on rhetoric and oratory that was present in the aforementioned Greek textbooks no doubt served in part to prepare the students for the practical use of Greek. The *exercitium* included practical exercises, such as writing letters in Greek, and composing Greek poetry and orations. This was, however, only to be done by the most advanced students.[66] The practical and active use of the Greek language had never been an important part of humanist education in the Netherlands, and very few Latin schools had attempted to teach their students to compose in Greek;

[63] Coebergh van den Braak (1997) 50.

[64] Kuiper (1958) 131.

[65] Kuiper (1958) 137.

[66] Kuiper (1958) 23.

only in Utrecht (1565) and Groningen students translated Latin letters into Greek, and in Kampen (1599) and Deventer (1619) orations and poetry were composed.[67] In that sense the School Order again shows a tendency towards breaking with the traditional form of the teaching of Greek at Latin schools, and demanding more than the schools and the students could probably handle.

Acceptance and success

It was thus very obvious that the demands that the School Order made of students with regard to the study of the Greek language were much too high; Vossius's grammar was an all-encompassing reference work, not a very user-friendly book at all, and at least as bulky as the Latin grammar books, but with only a fraction of the hours spent on Latin available for Greek, these books could not be studied entirely.[68] The School Order thus had difficulty in differentiating between the two classical languages, and the different needs that students had with regards to each language. In the School Order, the importance of learning Greek is emphasised, but only so that the student requires a better understanding of Latin.[69] The dislike for the Greek language and the enormous struggles of the seventeenth century students that Schrevelius complains about also illustrate that students had trouble grasping the use of this second language.

Moreover, the School Order did not make any suggestions as to the quality of the teachers, and this appears to have been an issue as well, which must have added to the lack of motivation on the students' part. It also did not help the success of the School Order that many students left the Latin school for university after only one year of attendance (which Thysius also did, see below), as no requirements were made regarding diploma's or graduation. [70] Since the enormous differences in the level of knowledge of new university students was one of the primary reasons to install the School

[67] Bot (1955) 197.

[68] Kuiper (1958) 145.

[69] Kuiper (1958) 80.

[70] Frank-van Westrienen (2007) 51-52.

Order, it is hard to understand why it did not also set up regulations regarding these aspects of Latin school education.

It is, then, no wonder that the School Order's plans were not welcomed with open arms by all of the Latin schools in the province of Holland. Even though the new textbooks were sent to schools, there are many indications that the School Order's measures were not adopted everywhere; the archives of many schools do not contain any documents concerning any alterations in the programme after the promulgation of the School Order, and it was even decided to send round new copies of the Order because it was noticed that there was little compliance.[71] The adoption of the new regulations was in the hands of the head teachers, and it seems that many may have read the School Order with interest, but without willingness to alter the programme accordingly.[72] We know that the prescribed books and the programme for the teaching of Greek was not adopted in many cities: in Amsterdam, Vossius's grammar was soon replaced by a more concise textbook. In Leiden, Greek grammar was taught in five out of the six classes. Amsterdam did not teach Aesop, Isocrates was only read in Enkhuizen, Hesiod is not mentioned anywhere, nor is Euripides, and other authors, not included in the School Order, were taught instead (Herodian in The Hague, Aelian in Leiden and Haarlem, Epictetus in Leiden and Lucian in Haarlem). Moreover, new grammar books continued to be produced to ease the burden of students in learning the Greek language, but this could not prevent that the aversion towards the Greek language continued to grow during the course of the seventeenth century.[73]

Conclusion

Part of the School Order's plans to create a more uniform programme for the Latin schools consisted of prescribing and producing the schools' textbooks. Unfortunately, however, the School Order's plans

[71] Kuiper (1958) 146-147.

[72] Kuiper (1958) 147.

[73] Fortgens (1958) 67-69.

were far from successful, as many of the regulations were not adopted by the schools and many of the textbooks did not make it into the actual programmes. In this sense, the School Order of 1625 was a failure. This lack of success can be explained by the following reasons. First of all, individual professors of Leiden University were often solely responsible for the creation of a textbook, but as many had no first-hand experience in, or sympathy for, secondary school teaching, these books lacked the user-friendliness and didactic aids that are crucial to books that are to be used in schools. Secondly, we have seen that the School Order could not alter the habits and traditions that had already formed with regards to the curriculum and the books in use in the Latin schools. At times, the new regulations were too far apart from existing practice, which meant that it was difficult for schools to make the drastic changes that the School Order required. Thirdly, there appears to have been very little supervision or pressure from the authorities to accept the measures, and each school continued to make its own decisions with regard to the programme and the books that were used in class. And fourthly, the School Order did not set up regulations for the qualification of teachers and diploma requirements for students.

It is, however, not fair to call the School Order of 1625 a complete failure. The regulations for the Latin programme were adopted more eagerly, and Vossius's Latin grammar books remained the most successful textbook in use in Latin schools.[74] With regards to the teaching of Greek, however, the School Order made numerous mistakes, of which the biggest must have been that, on the one hand, the importance of Greek was emphasised, while, on the other, there was very little time made available for the study of Greek. Moreover, the textbooks were not designed properly and proved too demanding for the students. But, perhaps Kuiper in his study of the School Order of 1625 makes a valid point when he states that even if the Order had provided for more time and better textbooks, the practical result would not have been any more positive for the teaching of Greek: Latin remained the

[74] Kuiper (1958) 172.

foundation of seventeenth-century science and scholarship, and Greek, which had the sole purpose of assisting in the teaching of Latin, simply could not compete.[75]

[75] Kuiper (1958) 173.

Part II:

Greek Textbooks in the Bibliotheca Thysiana

Chapter 3. Aesop's *Fables*: a simple textbook in a collector's library

Κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί

'A possession for ever'

(Thuc. *Hist.* 1.22.4)

In the centre of Leiden, a unique seventeenth-century monument of bibliophily lies hidden behind one of the doors of the many canal side houses. In 1653, the young and wealthy nobleman Johannes Thysius founded the Bibliotheca Thysiana with his private collection containing over 2.500 books and several thousand pamphlets. Two of these books, Greek textbooks that were issued by the regulations of the 1625 School Order, will be examined in the following chapters. In this chapter, we will examine the edition of Aesop's *Fables* printed in 1632 by Jean Maire.

Johannes Thysius and the Bibliotheca Thysiana

Johannes Thysius (Jan Thijs) was born in 1622 as the son of a wealthy Amsterdam merchant. At the age of twelve, he moved to Leiden, where he became a student of the Latin school. One year later, he entered the university to study literature, before switching to law. After a grand tour through France

and England, Thysius returned to Leiden where he completed his PhD. In 1653, however, at the age of only thirty-one, Johannes Thysius died of an unknown illness.[76]

During his life, he became a true bibliophile after he had inherited a number of books from his uncle Jacobus Thysius, professor of history in Leiden. Thysius then started to acquire more books at auctions and during his journeys through Europe. In his testament, Thysius had decided to house his collection in a new building, that was yet to be constructed, as a public library that would be mainly intended for the poor international university students.[77] Today, the building and the collection remain almost identical to their seventeenth-century condition, which is truly unique.

Fig. 2 Interior of the Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden; source: 'Bibliotheca Thysiana', http://www.bibliotheek.leidenuniv.nl/bijzondere-collecties/oude-drukken/bibliotheca-thysiana.html (13-5-2014).

The collection is not only quite large considering that it was for the most part collected and financed by a single person, but also very diverse. It contains books on a wide variety of subjects, including anatomy, cartography, classics, music, theology, astronomy and history. A great number of languages are also represented, and the collection includes books in Dutch, Latin , Greek, Hebrew, Arabic,

[76] 'Bibliotheca Thysiana', http://www.bibliotheek.leidenuniv.nl/bijzondere-collecties/oude-drukken/bibliotheca-thysiana.html (13-05-2014); 'Johannes Thysius', http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johannes_Thysius (13-05-2014).
[77] 'Bibliotheca Thysiana', http://www.bibliotheek.leidenuniv.nl/bijzondere-collecties/oude-drukken/bibliotheca-thysiana.html (13-05-2014); P.G. Hoftijzer, *Bibliotheca Thysiana: tot publijcke dienst der studie.* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2009), n.pag.

French, German, English and even Chinese.[78] Thysius himself said that he desired to acquire 'the most beautiful editions, written by the best authors in the areas of history, antiquity or mathematics'.[79]

This begs the question why Thysius also valued the 1632 edition of Aesop's *Fables*. It is hard to imagine that a fairly common, not very renowned textbook would meet the criteria mentioned above. Why did Thysius include this textbook in his collection? The first explanation may be that Thysius kept his own textbook from the time that he was a student at the Latin school himself. We know that Thysius entered the Latin school in Leiden in 1634, and left one year later. The edition of Aesop present in the Bibliotheca Thysiana was printed in 1632, and judging from what we know of the popularity of the book and the acceptance of the School Order regulations by Schrevelius, headmaster of the Leiden Latin school, who praised the reforms and the School Order in many of his speeches,[80] it is likely that the book was in use in Leiden in this period. Let us turn to the book itself, in order to establish whether this was in fact Thysius's own textbook.

Aesop's Fables: acquisition

The Aesop textbook present in the Bibliotheca Thysiana has been bound together with two other treatises: Hesiod's *Works and Days* edited by Philip Melanchthon from 1581, printed by G. Defnerus in Leipzig,[81] and a collection of Latin New Testament texts and poetry, edited by the German theologian Bartholomäus Westheimer, printed probably by himself in Basel in 1542.[82] This treatise is

[78] 'Johannes Thysius', http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johannes_Thysius (13-05-2014).

[79] '[D]e plus belles editions et de les plus beaux autheurs, soit en histoire ou antique ou mathematique.', letter from J. Thysius to George Henry Ludolf June 13, 1650, in: E. Mourits and G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes (eds.), *D'avoir une chambre garnie de plus belles editions. Uit de correspondenties van Johannes Thysius.* (Leiden, 2001), n.pag.

[80] Van Seters (1958) 98.

[81] P. Melanchthon, *Hesiodus, Opera et dies* (Leipzig: G. Defnerus, 1581) Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden, shelf-mark THYSIA 1136:1.

[82] B. Westheimer, *In Testamenti Novi Majorem Partem, h.e. in Euangelia and Epistolas Pauli omnes, poëmata : carmine disertissimo à uarijs and doctis, cum pr[a]eteriti tum nostri temporis Poëtis, in gratiam studiosorum poëticae artis, collecta et aedita* (Basel: [Westheimer], 1542) Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden, shelf-mark THYSIA 1136:2.

the only one in the book that is signed by Thysius himself. The binding, simple white parchment without any decoration, is typical of the seventeenth century. In Thysius's account book,[83] the Aesop edition is mentioned separately, and because the second treatise is the only one that Thysius signed, it seems likely that he bought the treatises individually, and that they were bound later, either by Thysius himself or by later curators of the library.

Fig. 3 Detail from Thysius's account book, mentioning Aesop's *Fables.* Bijzondere Collecties, Universiteit Leiden, Archieven Bibliotheca Thysiana, , inv. no. ATH 434, Account book ca. 1635-1653, f. 126.

What could have been the reason behind uniting these three treatises into one book? They are printed in three different cities by different printers, in three different time periods, and only two of the books contain the works of Greek authors, whereas the theological work is entirely in Latin. Most likely, all three books were used in schools, even though they are not recorded as a textbook in Thysius's account book. Hesiod was widely read, and also included in the 1625 School Order, even though no new edition was printed,[84] and Melanchthon was one of the most renowned educators and humanists of Germany during the sixteenth century. The New Testament treatise could of course also have been read by children in school, especially considering the phrase '*in gratiam studiosorum poeticae artis*' ('For the sake of students of the art of poetry') which occurs in the full title.

For the printing activities of Westheimer, see C. Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007) , p. 76.

[83] Bijzondere Collecties, Universiteit Leiden, Archieven Bibliotheca Thysiana, inv. no. ATH 434, Account book ca. 1635-1653, f. 126.

[84] Kuiper (1958) 80.

The excellent state and the absence of any notes, though, does not seem to indicate that this edition of Aesop's *Fables* was actually used in school as a textbook, let alone that what we have here was once Thysius's own textbook that he studied during his attendance of the Latin school in Leiden. Therefore, the question arises again why Thysius valued this simple, not very exclusive treatise enough to buy it and include it in his collection of 'most beautiful editions'?

One could of course argue that for Thysius, textbooks were not of lower value at all, and that he simply valued them as much as any other book. Thysius did buy more textbooks, and a total of thirty-three textbooks are recorded in Thysius's account book under the heading 'catalogue of books of which their use was in schools'.[85] This indicates Thysius had an interest in textbooks specifically. Somehow, however, most of them did not make it into the Bibliotheca Thysiana collection. Professor Hoftijzer, curator of the Bibliotheca Thysiana, suspects that the first curators of the library wanted to create a scientific library, in which textbooks had no place.[86] Thysius thus seems not to have shared this dislike for textbooks, and this humble Aesop edition apparently appealed to him; perhaps it reminded him of his own days at the Latin school, or, considering his interest in emblem books, he may have appreciated the images.[87] He also may have valued the book because it was edited by the famous Daniel Heinsius, a renowned humanist, poet and editor of classical texts, whom Thysius may even have known personally since he was professor at Leiden University. Or, he may simply have wanted to collect as many classical texts as he possibly could.

Another option is that the book was not purchased by Thysius himself, but bought after his death. In his bibliography of all of Jean Maire's publications, Breugelmans mentions that our Aesop edition was sold at the auction of 18 October 1661, which was held by Maire after he had ended his

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[85] 'Catalogus librorum quorum in sc[h]olis usus fui[t]', Bijzondere Collecties, Universiteit Leiden, Archieven Bibliotheca Thysiana, inv. no. ATH 434, Account book ca. 1635-1653, f. 126.

[86] P.G. Hoftijzer via e-mail correspondence (17-05-2014).

[87] For Thysius's interest in emblem books and other illustrated literature, see E. Mourits, 'Emblem books in the library of Johannes Thysius (1622-1653)', in: A. Adams and M. van der Weij (eds.) *Emblems of the low countries: a book historical perspective* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2003), p. 107.

career as a publisher, printer and bookseller. Maire sold most of his stock, and the Aesop edition is in fact mentioned in the 1661 auction catalogue.[88] This would mean that perhaps the first curator of the Bibliotheca Thysiana, Marcus du Tour (curator from 1653 to 1672), purchased the book. In his records of his acquisitions for the library, however, there is no mention of the book. Moreover, the record of Aesop' *Fables* in Thysius's account book is a strong indication that he in fact bought the book himself.[89] As we have seen, the first curators aimed to make the library more scientific, which led them to remove many of the textbooks. It therefore seems very unlikely that the Aesop School Order edition was purchased in 1661 by these same curators, and the mention of this title in the auction catalogue printed by Maire must refer to another copy than ours.

Aesop's Fables: production and didactic quality

Jean Maire was part of one of the many families of printers who had set up their offices in Leiden in the sixteenth century. Jean Maire was probably born somewhere between 1576 and 1578, and came to Leiden with his French father Antoine in 1584. In 1603, Jean took over the publishing firm from his father, and from 1626 onwards he also owned his own printing office.[90] Proud of his new career as a printer, Maire mentions in his first productions from 1626, among which the first School Order

[88] R. Breugelmans, R. *Fac et spera: Joannes Maire, publisher, printer and bookseller in Leiden 1603-1657*: *A Bibliography of his Publications. With a CD-ROM containing the images of the title pages.* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 63, 319.

[89] There is another edition of Aesop's *Fables* in the Bibliotheca Thysiana, L. Lossius, *Fabulae Aesopicae a Gabr. Faerno, Festo Aviano et Mich. Gabria versibus Latinis redditae, quibus subj. sunt Jocoseria Luc. Lossi : omnia figuris elegant. ornata* (Leipzig: H. Grossius, 1618) Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden, shelf-mark THYSIA 1178: 5, and therefore in theory it could have been possible that our Aesop edition was purchased after Thysius's death. However, Thysius records '*Aesopi Fabulae.*' and not '*Fabulae Aesopicae*', and he generally is quite precise in his records keeping, even though he often abbreviates the long titles.

[90] Breugelmans (2003) 1-17.

edition of Aesop,[91] '*typis Iohannis Maire*'. In later editions, such as the 1632 Aesop book from the Bibliotheca Thysiana, the more general '*ex officinal Ioannis Maire*' is printed[92]:

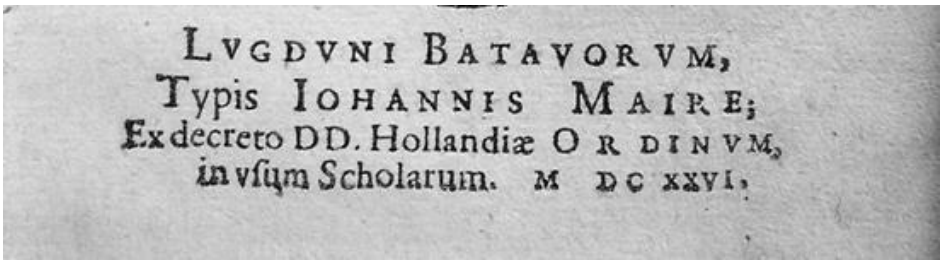

Fig. 4 Detail from the title page of the 1626 Aesop edition. *Fabulae Aesopi* … (Leiden: J. Maire, 1626), Bijzondere Collecties, Universiteit Leiden, shelf-mark 1367 F 31.

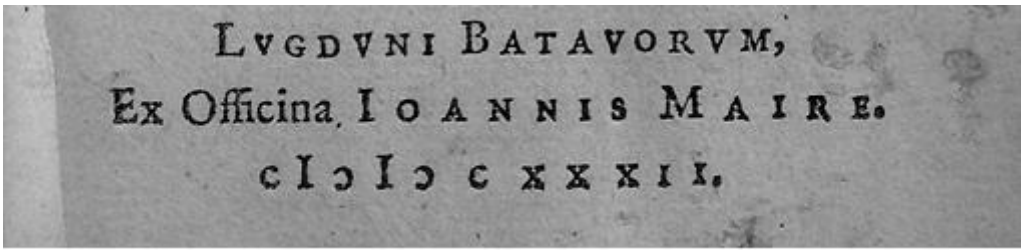

Fig. 5 Detail from the title page of the 1632 Aesop edition. *Fabulae Aesopi* … (Leiden: J. Maire, 1632), Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden, shelf-mark THYSIA 1136:3.

In his first year as a publisher, Maire managed to obtain the rights to publish the 1000 copies of the first School Order edition of Aesop's *Fables*, as well as the 1000 copies of Vossius's edition of Clenardus's *Instutiones Linguae Graecae*, prescribed by the School Order for the teaching of Greek grammar. Both were reprinted during the year 1632.[93] In 1642, he also printed the *Rudimnta linguae Graecae*, also prescribed by the School Order. Interestingly, though, only Vossius's grammar did not carry on its title page the phrase '*ex decreto DD. Hollandiae Ordinum in usum Scholarum*', whereas the Aesop edition and the *Rudimenta* did. Perhaps the book had its value for other audiences as well, and

[91] Kuiper (1958) 129 states that this 1626 first School Order edition has not been preserved, but a copy is present in the Leiden University library.

[92] Breugelmans (2003) 17.

[93] Breugelmans (2003) 25.

Maire did not want to limit himself to the school market. This is an interesting observation, because it indicates firstly that the printer was apparently not obligated to include this phrase on its title page, and secondly that textbooks used in the Latin schools were a more or less distinct category of books in the seventeenth century Dutch book market, that did not necessarily appeal to other audiences. This makes it even more interesting that the Bibliotheca Thysiana holds three editions that were printed with this phrase on their title pages.

Maire reprinted the Aesop edition not once but thrice in 1632.[94] All editions are practically identical, with the exception of the numbering of the pages in the third edition. It is, however, quite possible that the three editions were not in fact all printed in the same year, but that they were simply reprinted from the original

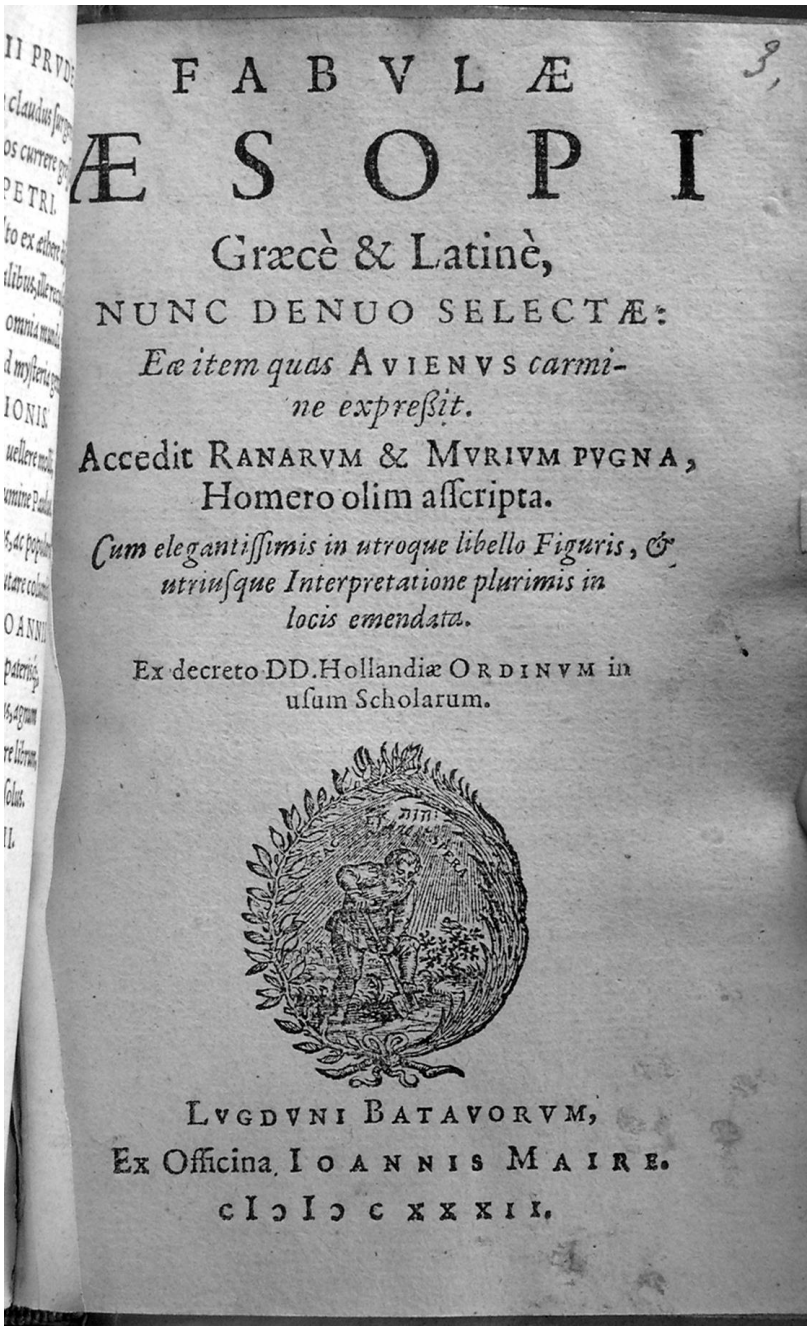
FABVLÆ
ÆSOPI
Græcè & Latinè,
NUNC DENUO SELECTÆ:
Eæ item quas AVIENVS *carmine expreßit.*
Accedit RANARVM & MVRIVM PVGNA,
Homero olim aſſcripta.
Cum elegantiſſimis in utroque libello Figuris, & utriuſque Interpretatione plurimis in locis emendata.
Ex decreto DD. Hollandiæ ORDINVM in uſum Scholarum.
LVGDVNI BATAVORVM,
Ex Officina IOANNIS MAIRE.
cIↃIↃ c XXXII.

Fig. 6 title page of the 1632 Aesop edition from the Bibliotheca Thysiana. *Fabulae Aesopi* … (Leiden: J. Maire, 1632), Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden, shelf-mark THYSIA 1136:3.

[94] Breugelmans (2003) 21, 25. Breugelmans refers tot his practice as 'parallel editions'.

prints when popularity was higher than expected, without even altering the title page.[95] Compared to the first edition from 1626, the layout of the title page is somewhat different with the phrase '*ex decreto DD. Hollandiae Ordinum in usum Scholarum*' above the printer's mark instead of below, and slightly altered typography.

Overall, the design and the typography of the edition is quite good. The forty-seven woodcut illustrations accompany the introduction, each of the forty fables, and the *Batrachomyomachia*. Sixteen of these hold the signature of Christoffel van Sichem (1577-1658), and most likely all illustrations were made by him.[96] The layout of the page is slightly unsatisfactory, because as a result of the already small format (8°), and the decision to place the Greek and the Latin side by side on a single page, the lines have become rather short. The Geek font, moreover, is quite ornamental, which does not contribute to the legibility of the letters. Nonetheless, the book is produced well, and it is, mainly due to the nice illustrations, a very attractive little book.

When we examine the content of the book, and the quality of the edition as a school textbook, several remarks can be made. The Greek text is fairly simple, short and repetitive, which makes Aesop a good choice for students who are just starting to learn to read Greek. The Latin translations that accompany the Greek are equally straightforward and very literal. An example of one of the texts (Fabula III: Sus & Canis, pp. 11-12), with an added English translation, is given below:

> ὗς καὶ κύων περὶ εὐτοκίας ἤριζον. ἔφη δὲ ἡ κύων εὔτοκος εἶναι μάλιστα πάντων τῶν πεζῶν ζῴων, καὶ ἡ ὗς ὑποτυχοῦσα πρὸς ταῦτά φησιν· ἀλλ' ὅταν τοῦτο λέγῃς, ἴσθι, ὅτι καὶ τυφλοὺς τοὺς σαυτῆς σκύλακας τίκτεις. ὁ μῦθος δηλοῖ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τάχει τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τελειότητι κρίνεται

[95] Breugelmans (2003) 24.

[96] Breugelmans (2003) 33.

> Sus & Canis de foecunditate certabant. Ac Canis quidem omnium pedestrium se foecundissimam aiebat. Cui Sus occurens, Haec cum dicis, inquit, caecos quoque catulos te parere memento. Fabula significat, non ex celeritate sed ex perfectione de rebus judicari.
>
> 'A pig and a dog fought over their fertility. And the bitch said that she was the most fertile of all walking creatures. The pig said in reply to this: "When you say this, remember that you also bear your young blind". This fable makes clear that one should not judge matters by speed, but by the result.'[97]

The texts are short, and the translation is almost word for word, which must have been a great help to the students who were for the first time reading original Greek texts. Interestingly, there has been a long debate in modern education about the use, or even danger, of providing students with ready-made translation, as some fear that this would have a negative effect on students' ability to translate the texts themselves. In their 2010 rapport, the Verkenningscommissie Klassieke Talen recommended to partly replace the modern habit of having students translate the texts themselves by providing them with the translations instead, and as expected, the reactions to this proposal were mixed.[98] Apparently, this was not really an issue in the seventeenth century, and there are no indications that the Latin school students had to produce their own literal translation of Ancient Greek texts.

On the other hand, we should not too readily assume that this textbook contributed enormously to the students' knowledge of the Greek language: after the forty Greek fables and their translation, there are forty-two Latin elegiac renditions of Aesopic fables by Avianus, which serves, as the editor states, to show how the fables can be turned into poetry. As Kuiper rightfully remarks, we can see here a clear example of how the study of Greek was first and foremost a means to improve the students' knowledge of the Latin language.[99]

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[97] The translation is my own.

[98] Kroon and Sluiter (2010) 41-43.

[99] Kuiper (1958) 130.

Conclusion

In the Bibliotheca Thysiana, which contains the collection of Johannes Thysius (1622-1653), we find an edition of Aesop's *Fables* from 1632, printed by Jean Maire. This is one of very few School Order editions still present in the library. The book was bought by Thysius himself, though it was not a textbook that he used during his days at the Leiden Latin school. What exactly moved Thysius to buy this rather common textbook, has not become entirely clear, but we can be certain that for him textbooks were worth collecting nonetheless. The 1632 bilingual Aesop edition is in very good condition, is not signed and does not contain any notes. Furthermore, it was a very attractive textbook for those just starting to learn Greek, even though we find once again that the emphasis, even in the Greek textbooks, lay on the study of Latin.

Chapter 4. Homer's *Iliad*: Thysius's notes

Λευκὸς κόραξ

'A white raven (a rarity)'

(Lucill. Epigr. 43)

In the Bibliotheca Thysiana, we also find a School Order edition of Homer's *Iliad*. This book, printed by the famous printing house of the Elzevier family in 1642, also contains the index that Leiden headmaster Theodorus Schrevelius created to help students cope with the complicated Homeric texts. Just how difficult these texts were for the seventeenth-century Latin school students, is reflected in the many notes that are made in the margins of this book. In this final chapter, these notes and the history behind this unique textbook will be examined.

The Elzeviers' textbooks

The members of the Elzevier family were active in the book industry from 1575 up until 1712, and their work has earned them a place among the most successful and renowned printers, booksellers and publishers ever. Between 1625 and 1652, Abraham and Bonaventura Elzevier ran the Leiden based company, and it was under their supervision that the company flourished. They were appointed as university printers, and they published many works from the hands of the Leiden University professors.[100]

It is thus no surprise that the publishing of the School Order editions, which were edited by the Leiden professors, was for the most part delegated to the university printers Abraham and Bonaventura Elzevier. But as we saw earlier, some titles were left to other Leiden-based publishers, such as Jean Maire, Andries Cloucq and Abraham Commelinus (see the appendix for an overview of

[100] P.G. Hoftijzer, 'Elzevier Press', in: P.F. Grendler (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Renaissance*, vol. II (New York: Scribner, 1999), p. 264.

all of the printers). Van Seters suggests that perhaps the Elzevier presses could not manage to print all of the editions, and passed a number of titles on to others.[101] Whether this was indeed the reason for the Elzeviers not to publish all of the School Order editions is hard to ascertain, but in 1592 the Leiden University Senate advised to have all the new editions printed by the academy's printer (in 1592 still Franciscus Raphelengius, son-in-law of Christopher Plantin), in order to achieve a uniform appearance.[102] However, in 1625 most of the other cities objected to the plan to have all the books printed in Leiden,[103] no doubt because the printing of these new editions would be a very lucrative business, that each city wanted a share of. Nevertheless, in the end all books were printed in Leiden, and most of them by the academy's printers the Elzeviers.

Homer's Iliad: acquisition

The edition of Homer's *Iliad* was one of the School Order textbooks that the Elzeviers published. The book was printed in 1626, 1635 and 1642. Many extra pages were added to each of these editions, with the first only containing eighty pages, and the final one no less than 175 pages. This was due to the addition of Schrevelius's index, which takes up almost a hundred pages in the final edition. Of these editions, only very few books still remain, especially of the first two editions.[104]

In the Bibliotheca Thysiana, we find one of the books printed in 1642. In the account book, the title is mentioned in the same list of textbooks where Aesop's *Fables* is recorded. Thysius paid eighteen 'stuivers' for the book, no less than ten 'stuivers' more than he paid for the Aesop edition,

[101] Van Seters (1958) 94.

[102] Kuiper (1958) 44.

[103] Kuiper (1958) 86.

[104] Of the first edition, one copy is present in the Elsevier Heritage Collection in Amsterdam, and one copy is now in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg. Of the second edition, the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam owns the only surviving copy. Of the third edition, seven copies survive. See the STCN database (http://www.kb.nl/expertise/voor-bibliotheken/short-title-catalogue-netherlands) for further information about the locations.

while they both contained approximately the same number of pages. Moreover, after the title, the word *macul* appears, with a line across the top of the 'l':

Fig. 7 Detail from Thysius's account book, mentioning Homer's *Iliad*. Bijzondere Collecties, Universiteit Leiden, Archieven Bibliotheca Thysiana, inv. no. ATH 434, Account book ca. 1635-1653, f. 126.

This indicates that in the binding, access printing materials were used, often consisting of misprints or left-overs.[105] This thus provides us with interesting information about why the price that Thysius paid was somewhat higher than that of the Aesop text: the answer is probably that he bought the Homer text bound, and the Aesop edition without binding. It is also interesting to observe that the price for the printing of the text as recorded in the School Order documents, and the price that Thysius paid for the book were quite far apart, even though the price of eighteen 'stuivers' is still quite low. We know from the School Order documents that the production of a single copy of this Homeric texts cost one 'stuiver' and thirteen and a half 'penningen'.[106] The Latin school of Amsterdam was charged fourteen guilders and sixteen 'stuivers' for the 160 copies that they were sent.[107] These were most likely not bound, but it is still remarkable that Thysius paid close to ten times as much as the production of the book cost. This is remarkable, especially considering the fact that the book price in this period was mainly determined by the cost of production, which was usually doubled for the retail price.[108] This

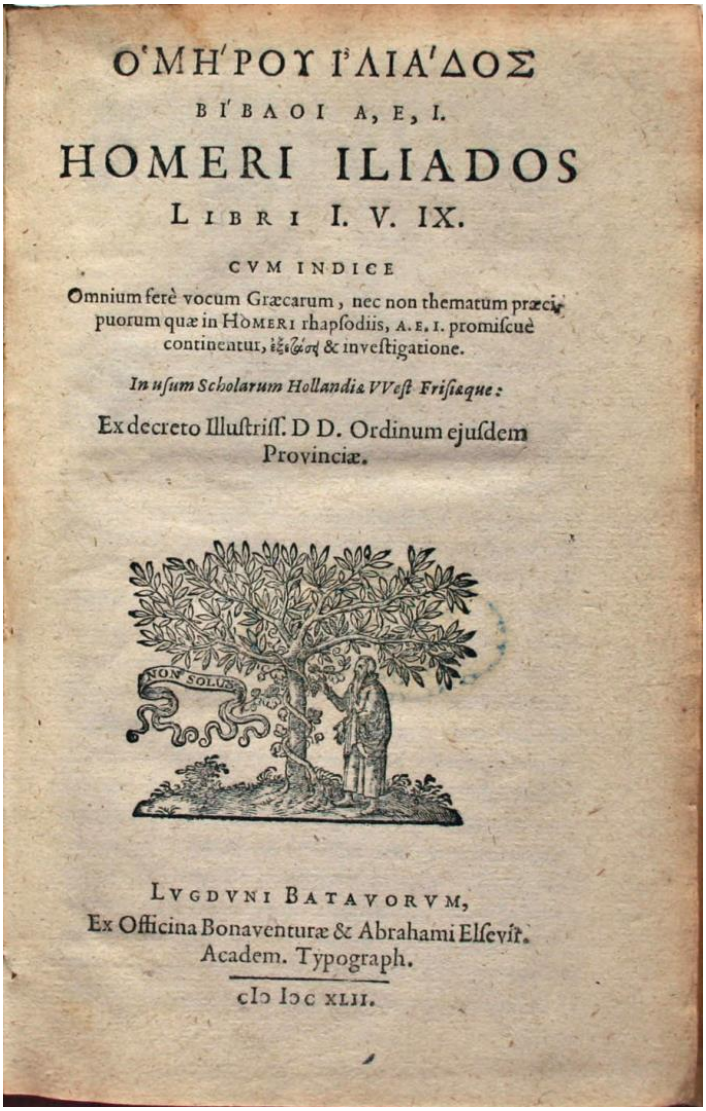
[105] In the Homer edition, there are no traces of writing on these pages, as far as can be detected without tearing the binding.

[106] Kuiper (1958) 87; Van Seters (1958) 100. One guilder contained twenty 'stuivers', and one 'stuiver' was made up of sixteen 'penningen'.

[107] Van Seters (1958) 101.

[108] B. van Selm, "'... te bekomen voor een Civielen prijs' De Nederlandse boekprijs in de zeventiende eeuw als onbekende grootheid', *De zeventiende eeuw* 6 (1990), p. 103.

tells us that even though the price of the textbooks were low in comparison to many other books, as we can see in Thysius' account book, they were much higher than expected on account of their cost.



Ο ΜΗΡΟΥ ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ

ΒΙΒΛΟΙ Α, Ε, Ι.

HOMERI ILIADOS

LIBRI I. V. IX.

CVM INDICE

Omnium ferè vocum Græcarum, nec non thematum præcipuorum quæ in HOMERI rhapsodiis, A. E. I. promiscuè continentur, ἐξηγήσει & investigatione.

In usum Scholarum Hollandiæ VVest-Frisiæque:

Ex decreto Illustriss. D D. Ordinum ejusdem Provinciæ.

NON SOLUS

LVGDVNI BATAVORVM,
Ex Officina Bonaventuræ & Abrahami Elsevir.
Academ. Typograph.

cIↃ IↃC XLII.

Fig. 8 title page of the 1642 Homer edition from the Bibliotheca Thysiana. *Homeri Iliados Libri I, V, IX* (Leiden: B. & A. Elzevier, 1642), Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden, shelf-mark THYSIA 1226.

We can therefore conclude that these editions were valued, and probably sold well. Perhaps their popularity was partly due to the uniqueness of these School Order editions printed on authority of the province of Holland.

Homer's Iliad: the notes

What makes this edition of the *Iliad* even more unique, is the presence of many notes in the margins and between the lines of the text, and the addition of extra sheets with notes that have been sown into the book (see the images below).

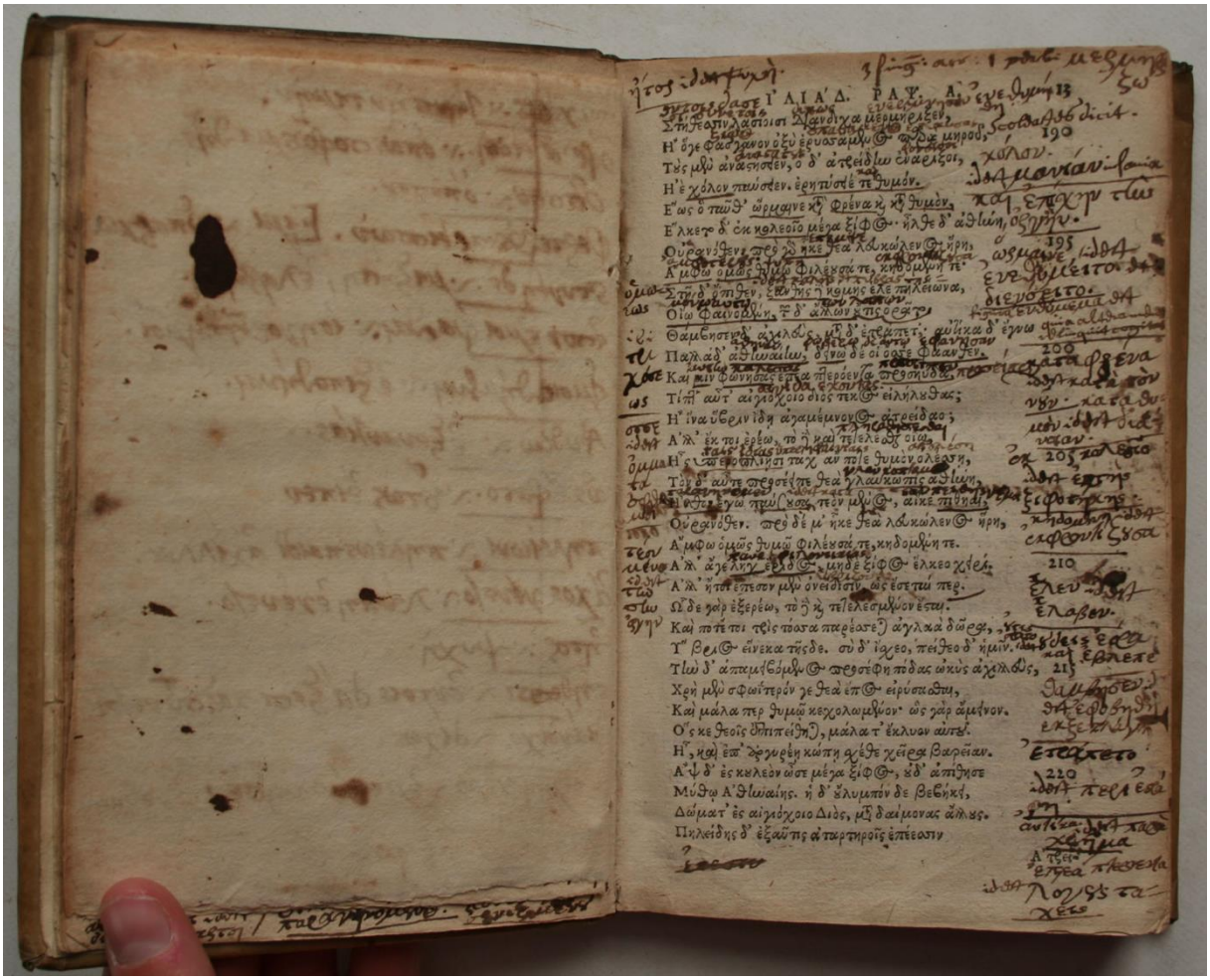


Fig. 9 page with notes; *Homeri Iliados Libri I, V, IX* (Leiden: B. & A. Elzevier, 1642), p. 23. Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden, shelf-mark THYSIA 1226.

Who made these notes? Was it a student of the local Latin school, and did Thysius buy the book with the notes? Or did Thysius himself study the text, and was it him who added all of the annotations? The book is not signed by Thysius, but from the handwriting we can draw some clear conclusions as to who made these notes.

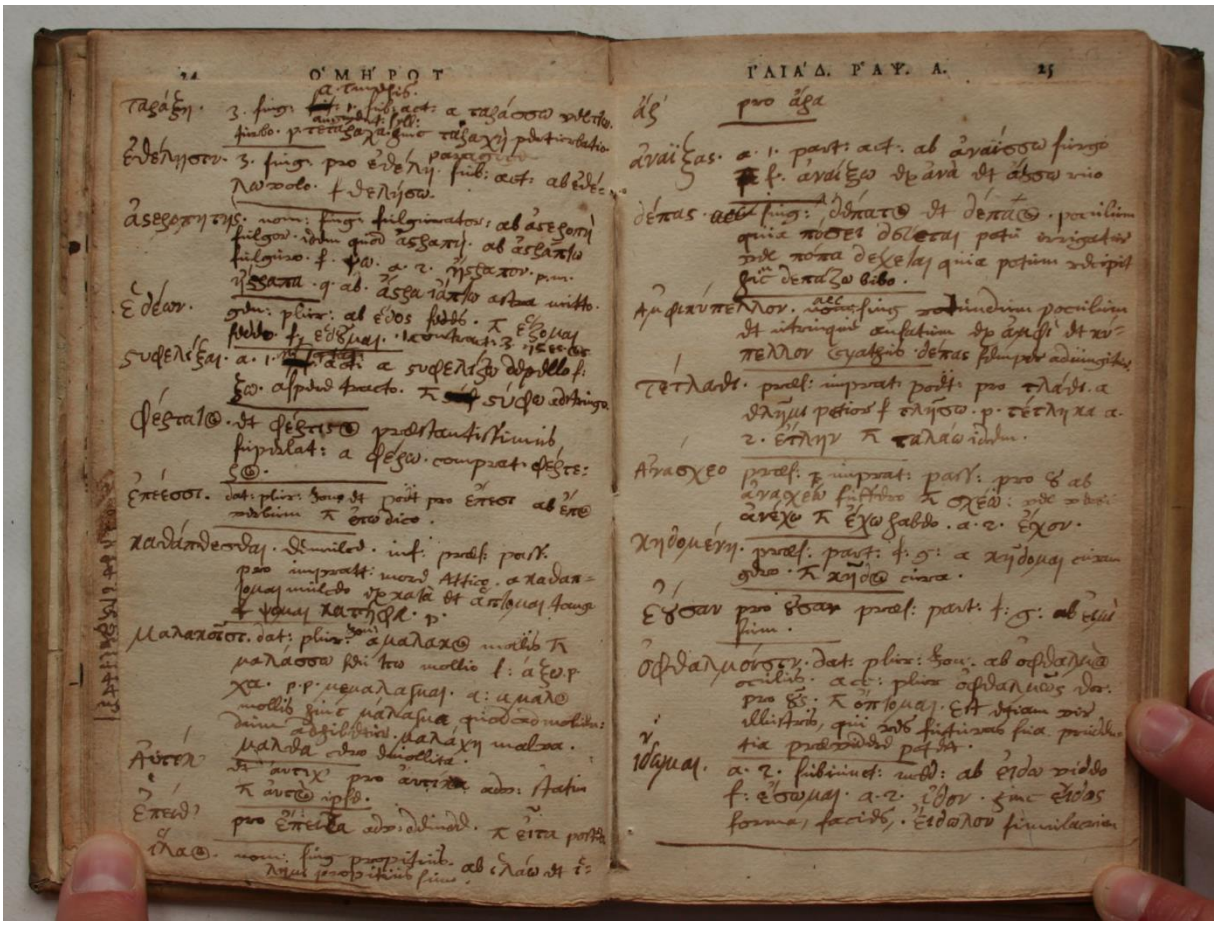
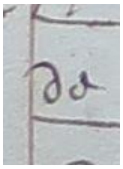


Fig. 10 inserted pages with notes; *Homeri Iliados Libri I, V, IX* (Leiden: B. & A. Elzevier, 1642), Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden, shelf-mark THYSIA 1226.

In order to establish whether Thysius himself wrote the added pieces of text, we will compare the handwriting of the account book, which was definitely written by Thysius, to the notes. Of course, in the account book, there is no Greek writing, so only the notes in Latin in the Homer text are compared to the account book. The images below show that many letter shave a very similar shape in both texts. A first example is the letter 'd':



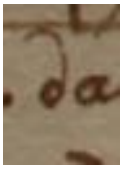


Fig. 11 and **12** detail of the letter 'd' from the account book and the Homer edition. Bijzondere Collecties, Universiteit Leiden, Archieven Bibliotheca Thysiana, inv. no. ATH 434, Account book ca. 1635-1653, f. 126; *Homeri Iliados Libri I, V, IX* (Leiden: B. & A. Elzevier, 1642), Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden, shelf-mark THYSIA 1226.

Both letters show a large curly stroke at the top, and a starting point in the middle of the letter where the circular part begins. Both letters thus have a similar *ductus*. The letter 'e' is also very similar in both books:

Fig. 13 and **14** detail of the letter 'e' from the account book and the Homer edition. Bijzondere Collecties, Universiteit Leiden, Archieven Bibliotheca Thysiana, inv. no. ATH 434, Account book ca. 1635-1653, f. 126; *Homeri Iliados Libri I, V, IX* (Leiden: B. & A. Elzevier, 1642), Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden, shelf-mark THYSIA 1226.

Both have a shape that resembles the Greek letter theta, and the open left side, with the upper curl not touching the bottom half. Then there is the sequence 'it':

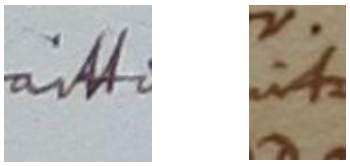


Fig. 15 and **16** detail of the letters 'it' from the account book and the Homer edition. Bijzondere Collecties, Universiteit Leiden, Archieven Bibliotheca Thysiana, inv. no. ATH 434, Account book ca. 1635-1653, f. 126; *Homeri Iliados Libri I, V, IX* (Leiden: B. & A. Elzevier, 1642), Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden, shelf-mark THYSIA 1226.

In both cases, the letterforms are sharp strokes, without any rounding, and the i's are less than half the size of the t's. The final example is the word 'ab':

Fig. 17 and **18** detail of the word 'ab' from the account book and the Homer edition. Bijzondere Collecties, Universiteit Leiden, Archieven Bibliotheca Thysiana, inv. no. ATH 434, Account book ca. 1635-1653, f. 126; *Homeri Iliados Libri I, V, IX* (Leiden: B. & A. Elzevier, 1642), Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden, shelf-mark THYSIA 1226.

The b's are drawn from the bottom of the a's, and the loops at the top are closed, while the bottom part has the form of a circle. Both a's show a small line sticking out at the top. Clearly, the letter forms in these four examples show such close similarities, that it suffers no doubt that Thysius himself annotated this text. As far as is now known, this makes this the only book in the Bibliotheca Thysiana that has been annotated by Thysius.[109]

Of course, the text was printed in 1642, long after Thysius had started his academic studies, and therefore, it is not possible that Thysius made these notes as a student of the Latin school. Moreover, he switched from studying literature to law in 1639, and in 1647 he obtained a law degree in Angers, followed in 1652 by a PhD in Leiden. It may therefore be possible that he studied the *Iliad* text as a student of law, perhaps even for his PhD research. Unfortunately, however, his dissertation has not survived, and therefore it is difficult to establish with certainty whether he studied the passages from the *Iliad* for any of these purposes.

Another possibility is that Thysius read the Homeric texts while he was on his 'grand tour', perhaps even while he visited and studied with the French philologist and theologian Samuel Bochart in Caen between November 1646 until April 1647.[110] However, there is no mention of this Homer edition on the list of books that he brought with him on his 'grand tour',[111] but he may have received it from Daniël Elzevier, whom he met with prior to his visit to Bochart.[112] This is of course a very speculative hypothesis, and it will probably never become completely clear for what purpose Thysius chose to study and annotate this text during his law studies.

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[109] Mourits (2003) 108, n. 27 observes that there is not a single book in the Bibliotheca Thysiana that contains notes made by Thysius. The above observations indicate that this view is incorrect.

[110] For a discussion of Thysius 'grand tour', for which he travelled through France and England, see C. de Jonge, 'De "grand tour" van Johannes Thysius', *Jaarboekje voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Leiden en omstreken* 68 (1976), pp. 65-80.

[111] Thysius made notes of his luggage, which included twenty-one books, and of his travels during this 'grand tour' in his 'Reysboeck', Bijzondere Collecties, Universiteit Leiden, Archieven Bibliotheca Thysiana, inv. no. ATH 428, Travel notebook 1646-1648.

[112] De Jonge (1976) 76.

Nevertheless, even though we will not be able to discover why, we will be able to see how Thysius studied the *Iliad*. He only made notes to a number of passages (vv. 172-211, 229-255, 415-611) from the first book of the *Iliad*,[113] but he studied them with great care. In each sentence, many words are underlined, there is writing in between the lines and in the margins, and Thysius even wrote on the flyleaves and added blank pages which he filled with notes, to the book (see fig. 10). The notes consist almost exclusively of grammatical determinations of verbs and nouns. Typical examples are given below:

μυρμιδόνεσσιν. dat: plur: Ion. et poet: a μυρμιδῶν

And:

φάσθαι aor: inf: med: verbi φημὶ dico.

The case and the number of the word from the text is thus given in the case of nouns, followed by the dialect and the nominative form. For verbs, the aspect, mood and voice is given, as well as the first singular present form and a Latin translation. This is what most of the notes look like, though some are more and others less extensive than this example. On the first added blank page, there is also a short handwritten text which appears to be a translation of the first passage that is annotated, but extensive translations are not present throughout. In some cases, Thysius refers to the very extensive index of the book by mentioning a page number. All in all, the grammatical orientation of the notes suggest that Thysius studied this text solely to practice his Greek reading skills. This, together with the number of notes and the many grammatical determinations, indicates that Thysius's knowledge of Greek was very basic at the most. In each sentence, he had to look up many words, and even rather basic vocabulary and grammatical forms were apparently not easily recognised by him. Still, Thysius's notes are sound, and even though it must have taken him quite some time to get through the text, he

[113] It is not clear to me why Thysius chose these passages in particular; there is not really a uniting or common theme between them.

did manage to read the words of Homer, while leaving us with the only example of a textbook that contains notes from the founder of the library himself.

Conclusion

The edition of Homer's *Iliad* present in the Bibliotheca Thysiana is an interesting example of the textbooks that were published for the School Order of 1625. It was printed by the famous Bonaventura en Abraham Elzevier, who, as university printers, produced most of the twenty-three School Order editions. Even though the production of these editions was rather inexpensive, their retail price shows that they were popular, and easy to sell. Thysius also bought a copy, and even studied the first part of the book meticulously. There is no doubt that the handwriting in this book belongs to Thysius himself, which is unique, as he did not, as far as we can tell, annotate any other book in his library. By the time the book was printed in 1642, however, Thysius had since many years left the Latin school, but apparently he still thought he needed to practice his Greek reading skills. The notes consist of grammatical determinations and short translations, and show that Thysius's knowledge of Greek was rather limited, and that he had to look up many words. This is not surprising, as he only attended the Latin school for one year. Still, this book shows not only that Thysius was still working on his knowledge of Greek long after he had left the Latin school, but also that the School Order textbooks were a valued and useful possession for a wider audience.

Conclusions

Πάντα ῥεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει
'Everything flows and nothing stays.'
(Heraclitus)

This research into the nature of Greek education in the seventeenth-century Dutch republic has yielded several interesting new insights into the position and history of Greek within the Latin school curriculum, the history of education regulations, and textbook production and use.

It has first of all become clear that Greek has never attained a similar position to the teaching of Latin, due to several reasons. Greek was introduced into the curriculum as late as the sixteenth century, while traditional education, science and religion had always evolved around the use of Latin. And even when the humanists recognized the importance of the study of Greek for its own sake, still the supremacy of Latin was non-negotiable, and the position of the teaching of Greek at Latin school was that of a subsidiary subject. The traditional role of Latin did not change, nor did the knowledge of teachers allow for high-standard Greek education.

The School Order of the Dutch province of Holland from 1625 did put emphasis on the importance of Greek, but again, mainly in order to assist in the teaching of Latin. The School Order's regulations did prescribe a very complete programme for the teaching of Greek, but allowed to little time for students to acquire even the basic knowledge of the challenging Hellenic tongue. The School Order failed to improve the position of Greek at Latin schools due to the lack of supervision, a lack of regulations regarding the education of teachers and graduation, too little consideration for existing practice, and a failure to produce adequate and useful textbooks.

Though the School Order of Holland of 1625 was not the first set of regulations for schools issued by the authorities, it was unique in both its scale and its measures regarding the production of

new textbooks. The Leiden professors were in charge of producing new textbook editions for the Latin schools. No less than twenty-three new editions were printed in 1626, of which seven were concerned with the teaching of the Greek language. However, a significant element of why the School Order's success was limited, was the inadequacy of these editions. The Greek grammar book, edited by Vossius, was designed as an all-encompassing and not very user-friendly gigantic body of grammatical conjugations. But because Greek was taught only as a subsidiary subject, this book did not meet the needs of the students. Moreover, the original Homer edition was soon re-issued by Leiden head-master Theodorus Schrevelius, because he saw that his students were having great trouble reading the Homeric text without a proper and extensive index of words. The School Order editions for the teaching of Greek thus greatly contributed to the failure of the School Order to provide adequate Greek education.

In the second part of this thesis, two of the textbooks issued by the School Order of 1625 that are present in the Leiden Bibliotheca Thysiana were examined. This has yielded new information about the status of these textbooks within the Golden Age of printing and the seventeenth-century book trade. Collector Johannes Thysius acquired a copy of the School Order's edition of Aesop's *Fables* from 1632. printed by Jean Maire, for his extensive and diverse book collection. Though we know that Thysius himself visited the Leiden Latin school in the year 1634, this textbook does not show any signs of use in this context. However, the book is printed very nicely, and the many images and the poetic renditions in Latin, which show again that Greek was considered a tool in the study of Latin, are very attractive. Most likely, Thysius bought this simple textbook because he appreciated these elements, and also because textbooks did not appear to him to be of any lower status than the other books he collected for his library. This is clear also from the retail price that he paid, which was much higher than the costs of printing, and the many textbooks that he bought.

The second School Order edition that was discussed, was that of Homer's *Iliad*, printed in 1642 by academic printers Bonaventura and Abraham Elzevier, who took on the responsibility of

printing most of the School Order editions. The book also contains many notes, and an analysis of the handwriting has confirmed that Thysius himself made them. This is the only book from the Bibliotheca Thysiana that contains extensive annotation by the collector himself. The notes consist of grammatical determinations and short translations, and show that Thysius made a good effort to read and understand the Greek text, even though his knowledge of Greek must have been rather basic. Thysius made these notes long after he had left the Latin school to start his academic studies, which again shows that the School Order editions found a wider audience than school boys alone.

The School Order editions are thus a very interesting and unique example of governmental regulations regarding Greek education. And even though the School Order's efforts were, with regard to the teaching of Greek, rather unsuccessful, Greek did manage to keep its place in the Dutch secondary school curriculum. Today, its position has again posed the authorities with problems, as students are still struggling to grasp the complex basics of the Hellenic tongue. Fortunately, many of the errors that were made by the School Order of 1625 cannot be detected in the rapport of the Verkenningscommissie, which has assessed the current situation and has recommended regulations for the teaching of the classical languages; teachers were consulted more thoroughly, and governmental requirements regarding the qualifications of teachers and the graduation of students will all contribute to a much better acceptance and success of these latest regulations.[114] Interestingly, the government now does not issue the textbooks any more, but instead only guidelines are formed, which then allows educational publishers to create and promote their textbooks. This means less uniformity, but more freedom for teachers and students to choose a textbook that fits their needs and demands best. It will be interesting to research in a few years how effective the measures that were recommended by the Verkenning-scommissie will have been, and especially in comparison to past regulations, including the School Order of 1625.

[114] Kroon and Sluiter (2010).

However, now that the discussion regarding the teaching of Latin and especially Greek has focused itself less on the form of education and more on the use and value of the classical languages *an sich*, let us hope that the teaching of Latin and Greek will not become a subject of historical research only.

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Appendix – School Order editions

The following editions were printed in 1626 as part of the School Order of 1625. Where known, the publisher is mentioned, as well as the place of printing, the size, number of pages, price and print run. In some cases, the first editions have not survived, and in those cases there often is no information available besides what was recorded in the official documents of the School Order. The table is derived from Van Seters.[115]

Table 3: School Order textbooks first printed in 1626.

No.	Title	Publisher	Place	Size	Pages	Price	Print run
1	Rudimenta Linguae Latinae	B. & A. Elzevier?	Leiden	8°		1 st. 11 p.	1200
2	Grammatica Latina	B. & A. Elzevier	Leiden	8°	120, 80, 48	3 st. 11⅓ p.	1200
3	Colloquiorum Mat. Corderii centuria una			8°		3 st. 11⅓ p.	1000
4	M. Tull. Ciceronis Epistularum selectarum libri tres	B. & A. Elzevier	Leiden	8°	160	2 st. 4 p.	1000
5	Catonis Disticha de Moribus	Andr. Cloucq	Leiden	8°	152	3 st. ½ p.	1000
6	Nomenclator Junii contractus			8°		3½ st. 0 p.	1000
7	De Civilitate Morum Puerilium, per D. Erasmum Rot. libellus	Abr. Commelinus		8°	55 + [1]	0 st. 12½ p.	1000
8	Rudimenta Linguae Graecae					2 st. 8 p.	1000
9	Grammatica Graeca					5 st. 12 p.	1000
10	Joh. Posselii Syntaxis Graecae Linguae	Wed. Johannes Pae(d)ts	Leiden	8°	[8] + 224	4 st. 9 p.	1000

[115] Van Seters (1958) 102-105.

11	Fabulae Aesopi, … nunc denuo selectee	Joh. Maire	Leidenq	8°	112 + 46 + [2]	2 st. 6 p.	1000
12	Catechesis Religionis Christianae					4 st. 8 p.	1000
13	Institutionum logicarum libri duo	Abr. Commelinus	Leiden	8°	[16] + 395 + [1]	15 st. 0 p.	1000
14	P. Ovidius Nas. Metamorphoseon, libri I, II, VIII, XIII	B. & A. Elzevier	Leiden	8°	151	2 st. 2 p.	1000
15	M. Tull. Ciceronis Orationum selectarum liber	B. & A. Elzevier	Leiden	8°	239	3 st. 6 p.	1000
16	Q. Hor. Flacci Sapientia, sive Odae selectee	B. & A. Elzevier	Leiden	8°	110	1 st. 9 p.	1000
17	Homeri Iliados libri I, V, IX	B. & A. Elzevier	Leiden	8°	80	1 st. 13½ p.	1000
18	Rudimenta Rhetoricae					0 st. 11⅓ p.	800
19	Conciones et Orationes ex Historicis Latinis excerptae					7 st. 6⅔ p.	800
20	Aphtonii Progymnasmata	Abr. Commelinus	Leiden	8°	102	2 st. 9 p.	700
21	Theonis Sophistae Progymnasmata	B. & A. Elzevier	Leiden	8°	[8] + 144	3 st. 10½ p.	700
22	Sphaera Johannis de Sacro-Bosco	B. & A. Elzevier	Leiden	8°	117 + [2]	1 st. 13 p.	600
23	Sulpitii Severi Historia sacra	B. & A. Elzevier	Leiden	8°	[2] + 271	4 st. 3 p.	600