

CHAPTER FIVE

TAKING OCCASION BY THE FORELOCK: DUTCH POETS
AND APPROPRIATION OF OCCASIONAL POEMS

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Introduction

Writing occasional verse brings little fame. Nevertheless the Latin humanists produced it in enormous quantities, and for most occasions they could and did make use of ancient models. How did they cope with, process and appropriate this classical Latin poetry? In the following I shall, after some preliminary remarks on definitions and problems, and on translation as a means of appropriation, examine how Dutch Neolatin poets from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries handled three subgenres of occasional poetry, the *epithalamium*, the *epicedion*, and liminal verse. Since any discussion of the vast ocean of occasional verse must perforce be limited to grazing across the tip of one small iceberg, I have chosen material relatively well known to me, in the hope that this has a wider scope and will at least suggest some patterns of appropriation in this humble, yet revealing poetry. For occasional verse is one point where literature and history, or fiction and reality, intersect. More than most other kinds it may show us the conditions under which literature is produced, received and functions, precisely because of its relation to contemporary reality. Since occasional verse is provoked by events which are of all time but take place in specific historical circumstances, it adapts and appropriates existing forms, thus opening itself to approaches from New Historicism or from intertextuality. Besides, it may inform us about the biographical and historical facts, be instrumental in the self-fashioning of the poet, and serve as a key to unlock networks of European intellectual history.¹

¹ Compare Heinz Hofmann's remarks on one desideratum of Neolatin Studies in *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 2 (2000) 88: 'Studien...welche die Autoren und Texte, aber auch die Bedingungen von Textproduktion und -rezeption und die Funktionen untersucht, welche die lateinische Literatur im Kontext der volkssprachlichen Literaturen,

Panegyrics, Patrons and Occasion

Occasion, praise and a client-patron relationship are closely linked: every occasional poem is a laudatory poem,² but not all panegyric poetry is written for a certain occasion.³ In ancient Latin verse of this kind literary patronage is a decisive factor, that is to say an asymmetrical relationship between poet and patron—although both use the language of friendship.⁴ In late renaissance Holland on the other hand, without a royal court and with relatively few noblemen, much poetry was exchanged between friends and equals. Whereas Janus Secundus (1511–1536) in the beginning of the sixteenth century still spent much of his time looking for a patron, and hopefully composing panegyric poetry for royalty, change was on its way. The economic development and urbanization of the Northern Netherlands, their war with Spain, the exchange of hierarchical Roman Catholicism for a more egalitarian religion and society, and the founding of Leiden University in 1575 all brought change: the professors, indeed the rectors of Latin schools, burgomasters, administrators, doctors, preachers, merchants and the well-to-do bourgeois in general, might still need a social network, but only a few sustained relationships were really asymmetrical. In Dutch Neolatin poetry literary patronage plays virtually no part. Nevertheless, praise of the poet's equals and betters is at the heart of the three examples I will discuss below. They will be focused on the two *primi inter pares* of Dutch Neolatin poetry, Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) and Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655), the former a brilliant poet, politician, jurist, historian and theologian, the latter a young and ambitious professor, renowned as a highly-gifted poet all over Europe.⁵

der Zeitgenössischen Gesellschaft... besitzt'. The discussion on issues and prospects of Neolatin in *Symbolae Osloenses* 76 (2001), opened by Hans Helander, concentrates on the concept of Neolatin and on prose.

² Even poetry of consolation, for the virtues of the deceased are the main ground for consolation. I use the term 'occasional poetry' here as a general, not a generic, term.

³ Apart from ancient examples such as panegyric epic or Statius' non-occasional *Silvae*, an early Italian poet such as Giannantonio Campano (1429–77), who wrote poetry for several patrons, has hardly any occasional poetry, see Beer S. de, *Poetry and Patronage. Literary Strategies in the poems of Giannantonio Campano* (Diss. Amsterdam: 2007) 35–7, with her terminological reservations.

⁴ See Nauta R.R., *Poetry for Patrons: Literary Communication in the Age of Domitian* (Leiden: 2002) 11–34.

⁵ On Grotius the standard work is now Nellen H.J.M., *Hugo de Groot: een leven in strijd om de vrede, 1583–1645* (Amsterdam: 2007). On his poetry, see Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *De dichtwerken van Hugo Grotius* (Assen:

In any attempt to define occasional poetry a first criterion is, of course, that there is a certain social occasion where poetry is produced as an ‘institutionalised communicatory act’.⁶ All occasional poetry is social, but not all social poetry is occasional. Forms of address in the title may reflect this: some poems are simply addressed to someone or something in a general way.⁷ Other poems do address a friend or patron on a particular occasion: “to my friend so and so when...”, and rank as occasional poems.⁸ However, in practice this distinction is more difficult than it seems: the poems often lack titles; in other cases these are given not by the author but by an anonymous editor. To my mind an occasional poem is a single, laudatory poem, referring to a social occasion (preferably of some importance), with at least one other person than the poet himself.⁹

Epigrams may belong to the category of occasional verse; Martial’s poetry proves as much. This is a rather a question of form versus function: a poem may be called an epigram if it is a short poem, perhaps with some point, which draws attention to its own form, and in some cases is fit for inscription on a tomb, whereas on the level of its function it may be an occasional poem. Nevertheless, it may not always be easy to decide what that function is: is a poem of one distich *In nuptias*

1972–1992) 10 vols. (in progress). On Heinsius, see now Lefèvre E. – Schäfer E. (eds.), *Daniel Heinsius, Klassischer Philologe und Poet* (Tübingen: 2008).

⁶ Quotation from Nauta R., (note 4) 163. I found Segebrecht W., *Das Gelegenheitsgedicht* (Stuttgart: 1977) less useful than one might think, perhaps because the German discussion of the subject is heavily influenced by Romantic critical ideas. Its division into four aspects, however, is good (p. 68 ff.): occasion (national/public/private, kind), poem (functions: didactic, amusement, consolation), author (position, commissioned or not, amateur or professional), addressee (position, commissioned or not, use of the poem).

⁷ In Heinsius’ poetry for instance *In urbem Gerardi Montium, or Ad Musas Cornelii Rekenarii apud quas Theocritum suum... inchoaret*. By this criterion titles such as “On the City of Ghent, when he surveyed it from one of its towers” (*in urbem Gandavum, cum ex ejusdem urbis turri eam conspiceret*, Heinsius) refer to a moment rather than to an occasion, just as all poetry in *Alba amicorum* (but what of valedictions there?).

⁸ In Heinsius for instance *In nobilissimam Brugarum urbem, cum aliquoties ab... eius magistratu publice exceptus esset*, or *Ad N.V. Cornelium van der Myle, cum non amplius Academiae cura fungeret*. In this respect also the founding of the university in 1575, which gave rise to groups of colleagues and friends with their common activities, seems to have marked a division: not a few poems from the early 1570s by Janus Douza are addressed to friends, but rarely upon a given occasion.

⁹ The last criterion would exclude sympotic poetry. As far as I can see, this rather belongs to erotic poetry, for example Heinsius *Monobiblos* 7 (ed. 1603), where Bacchus is invoked for four partying friends.

Samuelis Flori et Rosae Gryneae, which plays on the flower theme, only a flourish of epigrammatic wit or does it refer to an occasion?¹⁰

Problems of definition apart, the bulk by far of these humanist Latin poems, like their ancient counterparts, concern a few fixed milestones in life: birth, wedding, death, going away on a journey and returning;¹¹ specific and productive humanist occasions are academic publication of a book and academic promotion.

In ancient poetry we distinguish two levels, that of occasionality, on which a poem gets only a single reception, at the moment of performance, and the level of “publication”, which enables multiple reception. In practice there were many intermediate forms.¹² The invention of the printing press made the original distinction far less important, though it is replaced to some extent by that between poetry in separate issues and in volumes of collected poetry. Indeed, whether or not a poem was actually performed and had a reception at the occasion to which it refers, is important to literary and cultural history, but is irrelevant for its status as an occasional poem. Secondly, in and by a poem the poet sometimes takes the reader through the proceedings of a wedding or funeral in “mimetic” fashion, that is to say he describes the ceremony or proceedings as they unfold; this may happen especially in the epithalamium. Again, this is certainly relevant to narratology or interpretation, but it proves nothing about the real-life performance of the piece.¹³ Some occasional verse is written for occasions which the poet did not attend. This is, of course, often the case in funeral poetry and poetry of mourning, but a poet may also have missed a wedding, as for instance Elias Putsch (1580–1606), who opens a long poem on the wedding of a

¹⁰ By Bonaventura Vulcanius, in Leiden University Library Cod. Vulc. 103 II f. 91 n° 19. But in Heinsius’ *In vesanum qui... ad mactandum Principem Auriacum... manum obtulerat* the social element seems to be lacking.

¹¹ That is, they conform to the rhetorical genres of ‘Menander rhetor’ applied to poetry by J.C. Scaliger in his *Poetics* 3. 95–126, see Deitz L., *Julius Caesar Scaliger. Poetics libri septem*, Band II (Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt: 1994) 40, and Dam H.-J. van, “Wandering woods again. From Poliziano to Grotius”, in J.L.L. Smolenaars – H.-J. van Dam – R.R. Nauta (eds.), *The poetry of Statius* (Leiden: 2008), also below. On the genres, see Cairns F., *Generic composition in Greek and Roman poetry* (Edinburgh: 1972) 70: ‘All the genres originate in important, recurrent real-life situations’, also Nauta R., (note 4) 273 ff.

¹² Nauta 33 ff. and *passim*.

¹³ Nauta R., (note 4) 249 ff., where it is shown that in Statius *Silvae* 1.2 the poet’s pretence of describing the wedding ceremony is fictional, see also below on Grotius.

friend with *nuper, ut... audivi*.¹⁴ Non-attendance is especially frequent in poems written on the occasion of royal weddings and the like. In poems for royalty with whom the poet is not personally acquainted the emotional and social distance between poet and addressee, and between poet or poem and occasion, are greater than in most cases; it would be interesting to test the hypothesis that these poems are longer, more mythological and more 'distant' than other instances where we know that poet and addressee were closer.¹⁵ In theory even the whole occasion of the poem might be fictional, though this, in contrast to erotic poetry,¹⁶ seems hardly ever to be the case. It hardly needs saying that, even though the occasion is real enough, the poems should not be taken literally; on the other hand, the temptation to do so is nowhere greater than in humanist occasional poetry with its emphatic claim to represent real people in real situations; and sometimes events presented in verse as real are in fact corroborated by documentary evidence. Indeed I am convinced that historians have neglected this kind of poetry as a source of information to a high degree. On the other hand, Neolatinists are reluctant to return to nineteenth century attitudes to literature as a source of factual information. In steering a middle course between those and an exaggerated fear of the biographical fallacy, critics must put the tools of both intertextuality and New Historicism to good use. As far as I can see, the humanists took Statius' *epicedia* or Claudian's *epithalamia* as more or less straightforward representations of the poets' contemporary realities—apart, that is, from the mythological trappings. But in appropriating their poetry they to a large extent renounced the real occasions.

Occasional Poetry: silva(e)

The best known ancient collection of occasional verse is Statius' *Silvae*. It is well known that ancient literary theory has nothing to say about

¹⁴ In *Delitiae Poetarum Belgicorum* vol. 3, 841–44 on the wedding of Ioh. Hertog, see also below on Grotius.

¹⁵ Also by formal linguistic criteria, such as the use of deictic pronouns and adverbs, and first-person verbs. As we shall see, I think that these differences would not be significant.

¹⁶ Among fictional mistresses and imagined situations pride of place is perhaps taken by Paulus Melissus who modelled his life after his poetry, see E. Schäfer in A. Aurnhammer (ed.), *Francesco Petrarca in Deutschland* (Tübingen: 2006), 91–110.

lyric poetry, let alone about occasional poetry. Renaissance criticism and practice based itself on the one hand upon notions developed by Poliziano, on the other hand on the influential *Poetics* of J.C. Scaliger of the late 1540s. This work is a landmark in the appropriation of occasional poetry insofar as it projected (Greek) prose genres upon Latin poetry. As a result the title *silvae* (or rather *sylvae*) became a comprehensive term for all kinds of shorter poems, occasional or not, whereas *epithalamia*, *epicedia*, *genethliaca* and similar occasional productions are found within collections or books called not *Silvae*, but *Farrago*, *Eclogae*, *Odae*, and even more under their own generic designations.¹⁷

In early Dutch volumes of poetry *silva* refers merely to variety.¹⁸ It is only at the beginning of the seventeenth century that Hugo Grotius' three books of *Silvae* mix variety with occasionality. They contain respectively *Sacra* (book 1, poems in different metres on themes from the Old and the New Testament), *Patria* (2, on the war against Spain, also on other patriotic themes, such as Grotius' famous epicedium on admiral Heemskerck, but also including a bucolic poem in imitation of Theocritus), and *Epithalamia* (3).¹⁹ The plan of Daniel Heinsius' three books of *Silvae* is different: the first book has four *epithalamia*, two *epicedia*, one *propempticon* and one panegyric of Scaliger's *Thesaurus temporum*. Heinsius himself in the preface draws attention to the unity of the book (*character...fere uniformis est*, if one excepts the Panegyricus), because of the improvised character of the poems, *temeritas*, a typical reference to Statius' *Silvae*. The second book consists of just one *propempticon* followed by the "Apotheosis" of Jacques-Auguste de Thou; the third book 'in quo Funera' contains the *Manes Scaligeri* and the *Manes Lipsiani*. Because of the poetical genres they embrace, the *Silvae* of Grotius and especially Heinsius fall back on antiquity, but Heinsius puts the generic title *Silvae* to his own uses: during his lifetime Heinsius produced eight editions of his collected verse; in each he

¹⁷ On the role of Scaliger's *Poetics*, see also note 11, and below. On the Neolatin *sylva*, see the groundbreaking work of P. Galand-Hallyn, both on the French sixteenth-century *silva* and on the poetics of these "open", "flexible", "dialogic" compositions: Galand-Hallyn P., 1998, 2002, 2004 (see bibliography), also Adam W., *Poetische und Kritische Walder. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Formen des Schreibens "bei Gelegenheit"* (Heidelberg: 1988), and Dam H.-J. van, "Wandering woods" (note 11) 45–51.

¹⁸ In the works of Janus Secundus, father and son Doussa and others, see Dam H.-J. van, "Wandering woods" (note 11) 50–1.

¹⁹ In July 1603, when Grotius was working on his collected poetry for the first time, he had five books of *Silvae*, distinguished from his epigrams: *Grotius Correspondence* n° 45, 28.VII.1603, to Heinsius.

changed the order of poems and books. The *Silvae* were the last books in early editions, but in the course of time they moved to the first place in the volume: by strategically giving this “social” poetry of occasion a more prominent position, Heinsius wished to emphasize his position as an important man at the centre of a network.

In the field of occasional poetry at least *epithalamia* and *Silvae* seem to belong together. Nevertheless, we often find wedding-poems in other parts of Grotius’, Heinsius’ or others’ volumes, under titles such as *in nuptias*;²⁰ therefore we can conclude that in humanist volumes occasional poetry may be found in any part of an author’s collected verse, under any heading.

Texts and Translations

Appropriation of ancient culture is sometimes discussed in older works in terms of Mimesis, Influence or Tradition,²¹ or Reception, as if later generations were waiting for antiquity to penetrate and impregnate them. As we know, for all their claims of restoring, the humanists seized upon antiquity and made it their own, first of all by finding the ancient texts, reproducing, translating, mixing and imitating them.²² Latin texts were hunted down with determination, and sometimes appropriation here meant downright theft.²³ The great watershed, the invention of printing in the early renaissance, gave many more readers a chance to take possession of any classical text, reproduced mechanically in exactly

²⁰ For instance eleven wedding poems in Heinsius’ *epigrammata et alia poemata extemporanea* (two of them actually entitled *epithalamium*), one in the elegiac book of love poetry *Monobiblos*. Grotius’ poetry on the wedding of his friend Pottey is among his *Farrago*. See also below.

²¹ Such as Auerbach E., *Mimesis: dargestellte Wirklichkeit in der abendländischen Literatur*, (Bern: 1964), Bolgar R. (ed.), *Classical Influences on European Culture. Vol. 1 & 2*, (Cambridge: 1971 & 1976) and Highet G., *The Classical Tradition. Greek and Roman influences on Western literature* (London: 1967).

²² See Wyke M. – Biddis M. in their “Introduction” in M. Biddis – M. Wyke, *The Uses and Abuses of Antiquity*, (Bern: 1999). This is not to say that every effect or result of the humanists’ contact with ancient literature is deliberate.

²³ Poggio Bracciolini is the first to come to mind, but cf. for instance Erasmus describing the activities of the son of his printer Froben, who was travelling in Italy in 1526: ‘Venatur istic vetusta exemplaria, seu precio seu precerio seu furto seu rapto’ (*Ep.* 1705, to L. Casembroot).

the same form.²⁴ Most early printed classical texts, however, are the result of an editor's arbitrary choice of a manuscript which happened to be at hand, and was "corrected" before it went to press; many of these texts, often emended "ope ingenii" in new editions, became the vulgate for centuries to come.²⁵

The appropriation of ancient texts by the humanists emphatically includes transformation by translation, first of ancient Greek texts into Latin, for few Greek texts were published in the 15th and 16th century without a Latin translation. Some Dutch humanists were quite good at it, such as the first real professor of Greek at Leiden University, Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538–1614), who translated Arrian, Callimachus, Agathias and others in his editions.²⁶ Appropriately, he also published a bilingual lexicon and a book on the Gothic language.²⁷ Translation was a school exercise; teachers took serious Quintilian's advice on its relevance, and Janus Secundus and his brothers translated Lucian's dialogues into Latin verse.²⁸ Then it also took the form of artistic play and display of virtuosity: complete poems of Theocritus were translated into Latin by Grotius and Heinsius, and attached to Heinsius' edition of the poems, together with translations from Latin into Greek.²⁹ And especially 16th–17th century *alba amicorum* and sections of *poemata adoptiva* in learned books abound in inscriptions and original poems, in both Greek and Latin, sometimes also Hebrew or even Arabic.³⁰

²⁴ Cf. e.g. Martin H.-J., *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVII^e siècle* (Geneva: 1984) and *La Naissance du livre moderne* (Paris: 2000).

²⁵ Timpanaro S., *The Genesis of Lachmann's method*, ed. and transl. by Glenn Most (Chicago-London: 2005) 45; Kenney E.J., *The Classical Text* (Berkeley: 1974) 12–20, and especially at 12–6 on Andrea De'Bussi (1417–75), the untiring editor of *editiones principes* at Sweynheim and Pannartz in Rome.

²⁶ Arrian in 1575, Vulcanius gives account of his principles in translating on [p.* iiii] of his edition; Callimachus in 1584, on his translation see [p.* 2v]; Agathias in 1594, on p. 1 he notes: 'interpretandi Graecos auctores et in Latinam linguam convertendi rationem veluti genio naturaeque meae convenientiorem semper amplexus dedi operam...'. His colleague Joseph Scaliger remarked on his ability: 'il tourne fort heureusement ce qu'il a traduit' (*Scaligeriana* 1666, s.v. Vulcanius).

²⁷ *Thesaurus utriusque linguae* (Leiden: 1600) and *De literis et lingua Getarum sive Gothorum* (Leiden: 1597), supplemented with snippets of many other obscure languages.

²⁸ Quint. *Inst.* 10.5.2, cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.159–61, also below.

²⁹ In his edition of Theocritus (Leiden: 1603) Heinsius printed his own translations of *Eidullia* 1, 7, 8 and 9 (pp. 100–17), Grotius' translations of three *Eidullia* (pp. 121–7), translations of Epigrams by both (133–41), Joseph Scaliger's and Heinsius' own Greek translations of Vergil's tenth Eclogue (128–32).

³⁰ Poliziano started translation of Greek bucolic poetry with Moschus' *Amor fugitivus*; it had a vogue in late 16th century Dutch poetry with Vulcanius' translations

Unrivalled in the field of humanist translation is Hugo Grotius' Latin version of the *Greek Anthology*, made in the 1630s but unfortunately remaining in manuscript until 1795.³¹

On the whole, Greek and Latin often intermarry in humanist poetry in ways impossible in classical literature, for instance when Byzantine epigrams are imitated in Latin epigrams, or when Heinsius uses topoi and phrases from Theocritus, Moschos and Bion (let alone Musaios) in his elegiac love-poetry. In his Latin didactic poem *De contemptu mortis*, he drew both on Hesiod and on Nonnus. This kind of translingual emulation and appropriation offers a very satisfying field for further research—to be based on painstaking philological work. In a similar way Grotius mentions in one breath Catullus and Theocritus as the authors of wedding poetry.³² Heinsius, the professor of Greek, also puts literary history to his own authorial uses in emphasizing the “Greekness” of his poetry, when in fact he imitates Latin authors, but wishes to emphasize the erotic element.³³ The wildest author is the Leiden professor Baudius, who repeatedly intersperses his Latin poetry with some Greek lines, and in March 1607 composed two hexametric poems where the first half of each line is Latin and the second half is Greek.³⁴ So the *Kreuzung der Gattungen*, characteristic of humanist poetry, also involved crossing language-borders.

In the late 16th century Netherlands the role of the vernacular became more important:³⁵ Janus Dousa (1545–1604), the founding father of

of Moschos and Bion, also Dousa's translation of the *Epitaphium Bionis*. For *Alba Amicorum*, see that of Janus Dousa in the exemplary production (Leiden: 2000), e.g. 17, 20, 43, 44, 81, 89. Greek and Latin versions abound in the manuscript poetry of Vulcanius in Leiden University Library.

³¹ Meulen J. ter – Diermanse P.J.J., *Bibliographie de Grotius* (The Hague: 1950, reprint Zutphen: 1995) 202–5.

³² On Grotius: *Dichtwerken I 2 A/B 3* (1988) p. 437 rr. 21–2, on Heinsius and Theocritus: Dam H.-J. van, “Daniel Heinsius' Erstlingswerk. Prolegomena zu einer Edition der *Monobiblos*”, in E. Lefèvre – E. Schäfer (eds.), *Daniel Heinsius* (note 5) 186–7.

³³ Dam H.-J. van, “Erstlingswerk” (note 32) 179–88, see also E. Lefèvre – E. Schäfer (eds.), *Daniel Heinsius* (note 5) 31 ff., 127 ff.

³⁴ Grotius H: *Correspondence I* (1922), n° 96 and 97 (pp. 82–4).

³⁵ In Italy and France this had, of course, already happened, in ways and at a pace quite different from the Dutch situation. On Dutch translation as a means of appropriation, see Montoya A.C., “A Woman Translator of Montaigne. Appreciation and Appropriation in Maria Heyns's Bloemhof der doorluchtige voorbeelden (1647)”, in P.J. Smith – K.A.E. Enenkel (eds.), *Montaigne and the Low Countries (1580–1700)*, *Intersections* 8 (Leiden: 2007) 223–45, and on translation and appropriation in general: Hermans Th. (ed.), *Translating Others*, 2 vols. (Manchester: 2006).

Leiden University, and his circle were prominent propagators of Dutch poetry, both original and in translation (Dousa translated the *Basia* of Janus Secundus into Dutch).³⁶ The most important figure here is, again, Daniel Heinsius, editor of classical texts in Greek and Latin, virtuoso Latin poet, and the author of highly valued Greek poetry, who wrote a volume of poetry in Dutch, which was acclaimed as (and itself claimed to be) a harbinger of modern poetry, and a volume of emblems with texts in French, Latin and Dutch. His Dutch poetry again is at the origin of the German “Dichterreform”, initiated by Martin Opitz and his sympathizers. This cross-fertilization of languages is complicated, for not only were Heinsius’ Latin poems translated into Dutch (by himself and others) and German, his Dutch poetry was also translated into German and Latin, and in some cases a German translation of a Dutch poem received a new Latin translation.³⁷ Generally speaking, the standard view of Dutch Renaissance culture, that the “Latin scene” and the “Dutch scene” are separate, the one catering for a very restricted group of intellectuals, the other for “the people”, needs revision, and this could be true for different languages (or dialects) in other literatures as well.

Epithalamium and the Occasion: Grotius, Heinsius and Others

In the following I will look at the ways in which Heinsius and Grotius handled the relationships between poem and occasion, and how they restored ancient poetry and put it to their own uses. By far the greater part of separately printed occasional verse celebrates weddings, but of separate Latin editions of *epithalamia* almost nothing is left.³⁸ These

³⁶ Also remaining in manuscript, see Heesakkers C.L., “Secundusverering in Nederland”, *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen* 90 (1986) 25–37.

³⁷ Cf. Bornemann U., *Anlehnung und Abgrenzung: Untersuchungen zur Rezeption der niederländischen Literatur in den deutschen Dichtungsreform* (Assen: 1976) and Gemert G. van, “Heinsius’ *Nacht-clachte* in Deutschland”, in H.-P. Ecker (ed.), *Festschrift Har-mut Laufhütte* (Passau: 1997) 101–115, and Id., “Zum Verhältnis neulateinischer und muttersprachlicher Dichtung bei Daniel Heinsius”, in E. Lefèvre – E. Schäfer (eds.), *Daniel Heinsius* (note 5) 297–313, also Guépin J.P., *Drietaligheid* (’s-Hertogenbosch: 2003). On the sociological and historical importance of writing in both Latin and the vernacular, see Hofmann’s comments in *Symbolae Osloenses* 76 (note 1).

³⁸ In the catalogues of Dutch libraries: I found no more than 20 to 25 copies, some of them for the same wedding, (notably that of Hugo Grotius in 1608, which people

private *epithalamia* are all in the form of an in-4^o booklet of one quire, mostly containing two poems, of four to six pages altogether; the oldest are of 1594.³⁹

We do not know enough of the actual proceedings at weddings in general,⁴⁰ but it seems hardly possible that the longer Latin poems were in any way performed or recited: more than half of the guests—at least all the female attendants—would not have been able to understand the Latin;⁴¹ and declaiming Latin poetry is hardly ever mentioned at all in Holland. Rather the booklets were printed and distributed to the guests or perhaps only to selected guests.⁴² When there was not enough time, printing was not strictly necessary: Daniel Heinsius sent his elaborate cycle of wedding poetry for Dousa's son Stephen, on which he had spent the entire night as he says, in manuscript. Somewhat later, after the wedding but before its inclusion in Heinsius' volume of poetry, it was printed all the same, courtesy of his rich friend Scriverius.⁴³ Grotius' poem on the 1603 wedding of Reinoud van Brederode was even

must have kept because of the fame of the groom) plus some ten copies of publications for royal or quasi-royal weddings. My findings more or less match the number of 16th century wedding poems found by Gruys (see next note), 28. On some disappeared copies: Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *Dichtwerken* (note 5) 198–9 and 219–22.

³⁹ From the late 16th century until c. 1770 poems were printed in-4^o or in plano (but I have as yet seen no Latin plano prints). On other formats and the development of those editions, mainly or only in Dutch, see Steur A.G. van der, *Antiquariaat. Catalogus 28: Gelegenheidsgedichten* (Haarlem: 2004), 12 ff. (Introduction by A.G. van der Steur. The data on Latin 16th century poetry were collected by J.A. Gruys).

⁴⁰ The old work by Schotel G.D.J., *Het Oud-Hollandsch Huisgezin der Zeventiende eeuw* (Haarlem: 1868) 270–310 has many details on Dutch weddings, but the author does not quote sources and bases his conclusions on a few aristocratic weddings. On the performance of Latin poetry it offers nothing. Latin *epithalamia* may well have been recited at a certain moment during royal and similar weddings: these celebrations took days, and representation and display were important aims. Korenjak says nothing about it in his edition of the *Epithalamium* on the wedding of the Austrian archduke Ferdinand II and Anna Caterina Gonzaga composed in 1582 by Johannes Leucht. See Leucht J., *Johannes Leucht Epithalamium heroicum*, ed. M. Korenjak (Innsbruck: 2002).

⁴¹ The father of Hugo de Groot composed both a Latin and a Dutch poem for his son's wedding, the second probably on behalf of the bride and the respective mothers. See also below on Grotius' translation of his *Erotopaignion*.

⁴² That serious vernacular wedding poetry was performed or declaimed is also all but certain, see Steur A.G. van der, *Catalogus 28* (note 39) 17–18. On the earliest full-blown epithalamium in Dutch (1598), which combines a vernacular form (poetry by the "rhetoricians") with classical bucolic (Vergilian) *topoi*, see Schenkeveld – van der Dussen M.A., "Een bruiloftsdicht van Karel van Mander", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en Letterkunde* 92 (1976) 189–202.

⁴³ Letters of Heinsius to Dousa of June–July 1601, in University Library Leiden Ms. F 353, Microfilm Ms. Burney 371, f. 47, f. 51.

composed and printed some months after the event, as its dedication shows (compare the poem by Elias Putsch above). It is an imitation of Catullus 62, called the *Domumductio* of the bride, and both the setting, with fictional choirs of Dutch boys and girls singing a Latin song, and the typically Roman theme of the arrival of the bride in the house of the groom, show that neither Grotius nor the addressee(s) were interested in the poem as a representation of the wedding itself. That occasion was not of prime importance is suggested, again, by Hugo Grotius: he translated his own Latin *erotopaignia*, published for his own wedding together with the *epithalamium* written by his friend Heinsius, into Dutch so that his wife also could read them; it turns out that he had already been working on the Latin cycle some time before he knew who his bride was to be.⁴⁴

The number of *epithalamia* collected in poetry books far surpasses the separate booklets. This indicates that their status was enhanced because of their inclusion in a “real” book, or, rather, it shows that they had never been mere ephemera. This view is supported by Grotius’ reserving a separate book for his *epithalamia*, and also because most Latin *epithalamia* from Holland are long poems written in hexameters, and are therefore prestigious. The metre also shows that the poets reverted to ancient examples, for the standard renaissance metre was the elegiac distich. In the case of Grotius we are privileged to possess the autograph manuscript of his verse, and thus we see that he excluded some wedding poetry from his *corpus*, but none of his hexametric *epithalamia*. It would be interesting to possess such manuscripts of other poets, Heinsius in the first place. He constantly changed his poems in the eight editions of his poetry to appear in his lifetime. A few probes show that in his collected poetry Heinsius also made some changes in the texts of his *epithalamia*. This again widens the gulf between the published poem and the original occasion, and emphasizes the fact that in a different context, within the structure of a new volume, form and function of a poem change. In these cases we can prove what for antiquity we can only surmise.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Nellen H.J.M., *Hugo de Groot* (note 5) 89, and especially E. Rabbie in Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *Dichtwerken* (note 5) 2A/B 4, 428 ff., at 437–8: ‘in no way a realistic reflexion of Grotius’ experiences’.

⁴⁵ However, the changes made by Heinsius in my sample are relatively unimportant; more extensive research is desirable.

In Italy the formal *epithalamium* had been very rare; the wedding speech was the norm. If the northern poets restored the ancient *epithalamium*, this must be in consequence of Scaliger's *Poetics*.⁴⁶ For the longer wedding poems of Grotius and Heinsius and other Dutch poets of the period, the most important classical models are Catullus' *Carmen* 61, Statius' *Silvae* 1.2 and Claudian's *Epithalamium Honorii et Mariae*.⁴⁷ Catullus 61, a poem in lyric metre, is almost a catalogue of wedding themes.⁴⁸ Statius' hexametric *Epithalamium Stellae et Violentillae* (*Silvae* 1.2) combines the poet in his role of master of ceremonies, who observes the wedding as it proceeds, with a mythological narrative: Venus is depicted together with her Amores somewhere in the sky and we are told how she has brought about the wedding, mainly by persuading the bride. Claudian's equally hexametric *Epithalamium Honorii et Mariae* elaborates on the Venus theme: the narrator describes a lovely Venusberg on Cyprus, peopled by Amores, and also by allegorical figures. Here Venus is told that she must persuade Maria to marry Honorius who is already conquered by Amor, and on Triton's tail she rides overseas to Italy and Milan. The *epithalamium* is accompanied by four *Fescennina*, poems in different lyric metres, to be sung in front of the bridal bedroom; the last of them is the most overtly sexual. The most important Christian *epithalamium*, that of Paulinus of Nola, is never imitated in Dutch or other Latin poetry before 1618, for that is the year of its first printing; Christian themes in Neolatin *epithalamia* seem on the whole infrequent.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ See Elia A.F. D', *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge (Mass.)-London: 2004), especially 35 ff., 139 ff., and note 11, also p. 87, above.

⁴⁷ On renaissance epithalamia see Tufté V.J., *The poetry of marriage. The epithalamium in Europe and its development in England* (Los Angeles: 1970), ch. 6, and especially A.C.G.M. Eyffinger in Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *Dichtwerken* (note 5) 414 ff, bibliography on 458–9.

⁴⁸ Catullus' *Carmen* 64, a complicated epyllion taking off from the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, is mainly relevant insofar as it functions as an index of wedding poetry: naming Peleus and Thetis became almost obligatory in epithalamia, without any imitation of Catullus 64 as a whole. Thus Claudian in his preface to the *Epithalamium Honorii*. His emphatic references to Peleus and Thetis in the *Rape of Proserpine* suggest the epithalamial aspects of that poem.

⁴⁹ Examples in Jermann T.C., *Thematic Elements in Thirty Neo-Latin Epithalamia* (Ann Arbor: 1977), see E. Rabbie in Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *Dichtwerken* (note 5) 200. Perhaps the fact that for Protestants marriage is not one of the sacraments plays some role, but a lack of good classical models seems more important. On two epithalamia by Grotius, see below.

The earliest Dutch Latin *epithalamia*, written long before Scaliger's *Poetics* appeared, do not conform to any classical example: Erasmus' *epithalamium* for his friend Peter Gilles is in a variety of lyric metres, and was embedded in a prose-work when it was published.⁵⁰ Janus Secundus' original *epithalamium* was more influential: it is written in hendecasyllables. It does not refer to any specific occasion, but is rather a kind of Fescenninum with some imitation of Claudian; the tone, however, is wholly Catullan. It was imitated by Dousa, Heinsius and Grotius, sometimes in other genres.⁵¹ The Dutch Latin private *epithalamium* apparently first received its "classic" format, as prescribed by J.C. Scaliger, with references to Venus, Amor and Mars, praise of birth, family, deeds and beauty, and persuasion of the bride by Venus, in the 1590s. First it existed alongside metrically different, more Erasmus-like forms, until Heinsius and Grotius dignified the *epithalamium* into hexametric imitations of Statius, Claudian and sometimes Sidonius Apollinaris, rejuvenating older forms. They represented the "new" poets of the young university who, together with their fellow students such as Jacob van den Eynde (1575–1614), Elias Putsch and Janus Dousa filius (1571–1596), showed that poetry should be learned, long and in the classical, mythological style. Poems written in obvious imitation of Secundus' playful hendecasyllables or in other lyric metres, or in default distichs, proclaimed their authors to be old-fashioned or themselves trivia.⁵²

Grotius, setting the fashion for the hexametric *epithalamium*, is also the most original poet in the genre. In his early poems, written as a boy, he is still finding his way: the alcaic stanzas in the poem for Joris de Bie and Maria van Almonde of January 1595, when Grotius was four-

⁵⁰ The poem was written for the wedding in 1514, and published in the 1524 edition of the *Colloquia*.

⁵¹ Grotius' close imitation, in *Ad nuptias Johannis ten Grootenhuys*, (Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *Dichtwerken* (note 5) I 2 A/B 4 107–08), is much shorter.

⁵² Such as an *epithalamium* by Corn. Rekenae in imitation of Catullus 61 on the wedding of Iustus Menenius and Catharina vander Hagen, another one by him and one by Pilius on Jacob van der Eijck and Clara Iacobi, poems in Horatian metres written by Vulcanius in Secundan hendecasyllables and by Vossius on the wedding of Hadr. Marcellus and Agnes Pelgrom, all in 1594, collected in Leiden University Library brochure 1370 E 19; also 15 distichs by Secundus' brother Hadrianus Marius on the 1543 wedding of his friend Viglius of Aytta in *Delitiae* vol. 3.433–4. Dousa filius wrote in 1594 on Martinius Pilius and Anna Olivaria (also in Leiden brochure 1370 E 19). The formal 22-page poem by Hadrianus Iunius (1511–1575) in *Delitiae* 3.7–28 on the wedding of Philip II of Spain and Mary Tudor (1554), is a special case.

teen, are old-fashioned; his 1600 poem on the marriage of W. Martini, counting no fewer than seven hundred lines, is an orgy of unfocused imitation of Latin poetry in general by a young poet determined to show his stupendous erudition.⁵³ Of the other four great *epithalamia*, the 1603 one on the wedding of Caspar van Kinschot is a rather close imitation of Statius *Silvae* 1.2. But his more personal contributions to the genre are on the one hand the combination of Statius and Claudian (and Sidonius) in the poem for Cornelis Vander Myle (1579–1642) of the same year; the role of Claudian is made extra clear because Grotius adds a poem in imitation of Claudian's *versus Fescennini*; it is a paradoxical imitation, for Grotius states, in Fescennine metre, that his poetry is not Fescennine, but pure and stops outside the bridal chamber (4 *nos thalami sistimur ante fores...*, cf. 17 *Fescennina procul discede licentia linguae*).⁵⁴ The last two *epithalamia* are really new: the metrical form and length of the poem for the marriage of his friend Johan Boreel to Agnes Hayman in 1608 are classical, but the handling of the theme is anything but traditional: Grotius describes the groom's travels which brought him to Syria, and then goes on to connect that country and this marriage to that of Adam and Eve in Paradise, and to the wedding at Cana where Jesus was present, which forms the main part of the poem.⁵⁵ A similar innovation is found in Grotius' *epithalamium* for Prince Philip William of Nassau (1606): some classical motifs are employed but handled in a new way, for instance the epiphany of Venus, who appears here in a dream, a motif absent from earlier examples; but the most important change is that this is now a philosophical poem, in which Venus represents heavenly love.⁵⁶ Grotius did not include among his *epithalamia* his "real" *Fescennina*, a cycle of

⁵³ Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *Dichtwerken* (note 5) I 2A 1, 13–23 and 217–73.

⁵⁴ A.C.G.M. Eyffinger, (note 46) 440–481. In a letter regarding the edition of his collected poems Grotius mentions that he imitated Claudian, but remained more chaste: 'nonnumquam castigatius aliquid ad Statii et Claudiani instar conantem', *Correspondence* n° 441, 15.XII.1615 (p. 457).

⁵⁵ See A.C.G.M. Eyffinger quoted in note 46 and especially Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *Dichtwerken* (note 5) 217–21. Although Adam and Eve or the wedding of Cana are not entirely new in *epithalamia*, the combination with Boreel's travels on the one hand and the classical manner (including some classical comparisons) on the other hand, is a good example of Grotius putting to use well-known forms for his own purposes.

⁵⁶ E. Rabbie, (previous note) 222–23, also 229–60.

poems on the wedding of his friend Enoch Pottey, considered by some critics as Grotius' best nuptial verse.⁵⁷

Daniel Heinsius, probably a more gifted poet overall, has less variation in the four formal longer hexametric *epithalamia* in book 1 of his *Silvae*: they all concern friends or brides from the province of Zeeland, where Heinsius had lived as a boy, and are more or less interchangeable. Unlike Grotius' compositions, those of Heinsius have hardly any mythological narration, but they abound in mythological exempla and comparisons.⁵⁸ Heinsius' particular way of using ancient poetry in new forms is the creation of the cycle, a form of appropriation by extension, probably initiated by Pontano and the essence of Janus Secundus' *Basia*. In the case of wedding poetry, *Fescennina* such as his friend Grotius had composed, were one example on which Heinsius, more interested in erotic matters, could build. One of his first and best instances is the cycle on the wedding of Stephanus Dousa mentioned above, consisting of thirty-seven poems written in several lyric metres. Heinsius removed it from his collected poetry after 1606, either because of its putative obscenity or perhaps because it was too deviant.⁵⁹

In conclusion, in these poems the wedding itself is almost irrelevant; some longer poetry was sent after the occasion, and so-called *Fescennina* could hardly have been performed outside the bridal chamber, by mixed choirs singing in Latin. Though they will have supposed that Statius and Claudian wrote realistic poetry, mythology apart, Grotius and Heinsius rarely strove for that level of reality. Dutch life was much more remote from this poetic world than Roman life from their models. Their return to the full-blown classical *epithalamium* was, in fact, a double innovation, because Scaliger had projected prose genres onto poetry and secondly because they ousted easier, lighter, Secundus-like verses. Within this category Grotius developed a new blend of Christian, or philosophical and ancient, motifs, whereas Heinsius' innovation lies in the development of the cycle, a strategy he employed elsewhere as well.

Let us conclude this section with a short digression on possible irony, and a remark on appropriation by quotation. Heinsius' second

⁵⁷ O.c. 273 ff.

⁵⁸ But the beginning of the much-admired poem on Grotius' marriage is inspired by Claudian's description of Amores on Cyprus. On his exempla, see below on Milander.

⁵⁹ Seven additional, shorter poems, in other metres such as hendecasyllables, he included elsewhere in his collected poetry (ed. 1649).

epithalamium is for the wedding of Johannes Milander, Lord of Poederoeye, and Maria van Hohenlohe in 1609.⁶⁰ The husband was one of the most trusted councillors and generals of Maurice of Orange, over sixty years of age at the time, the bride was Maurice's illegitimate and much younger niece. According to Heinsius, now that there is a truce soldiers can marry at last. Maria is such a radiant beauty, surpassing Diana and Venus herself, that the old general Milander is magnetized by her charms; but he is ashamed of his old age, his failing feet and eyes. Gradually however, as if by magic, he grows younger; the nymphs see him riding and exercising. He is not only an athletic, he is also an immensely rich old man. The bride should be a Danaë to his Jupiter and receive him; it would be a pity if this golden rain missed her (*nequiquam depluat imber*). Ancient examples of old men and beautiful women abound: Venus and Anchises, Numa and Egeria, Tithonus and Diana. Jupiter will force the Parcae to spin slowly, or even backwards, so that Milander may still engender a son.

It so happens that we know how Heinsius' friend Grotius judged the bride and groom from some sarcastic letters Grotius wrote, mocking the doubtful virginity of Maria and the old age of Milander, whom he designates as 'your Tithonus' (*Tithonus tuus*), which implies that he had read Heinsius' poem.⁶¹ If we assume that Heinsius thought of the whole thing in similar terms, we are now perhaps tempted to read his poem ironically, and look for ambiguities in the mythological allusions, for instance in the shrivelled and chirping Tithonus. However, though the facts behind panegyric is a central problem of occasional verse, which becomes more acute the better we are informed, questions of sincerity are never fruitful.⁶²

Appropriation by quotation could be illustrated from any Neolatin poem, but I take one from Heinsius here, from the *epithalamium*

⁶⁰ Ed. 1649, 7–12.

⁶¹ Grotius *Correspondence* n° 145 and 147. Grotius himself composed a rather frigid congratulation of 14 distichs for the occasion. On another point we have additional knowledge as well: the bride really was extremely beautiful, for Heinsius writes to Casaubon *exquisite formae atque aetatis floridae*, see E. Rabbie in Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *Dichtwerken* (note 5) 150. On his own poem on the occasion of a doctorate Vulcanius writes to a friend that the young doctor had nothing *eruditionis nomine magnopere laude dignum*, so that he had to be insincere: Vulcanius B., *La Correspondance de Bonaventura Vulcanius*, ed. H. De Vries de Heekelingen (The Hague: 1923) 244.

⁶² Cf. the ongoing discussion on flattery or irony in Statius and Martial, summarized in Newlands C., *Statius' Silvae and the poetics of Empire* (Cambridge: 2002), 18 ff.

for Grotius. Towards the end of the poem the poet cries out *Felices animae*... to Hugo and his bride Maria, repeating the words two lines further.⁶³ Does Heinsius refer to Ovid's *Fasti* 1.297 where we read *Felices animae* in the same position in the line?—perhaps in jest, for stars form the context in both passages, the pleasures of astronomy in Ovid and in Heinsius the pleasures following upon the appearance of the evening star (*faustam promittunt sidera noctem*)? Should we then not connect with this phrase Vergil's praise of natural philosophy: 'Happy he, who could understand the causes of things' (*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*, *Georgica* 2.490)? Or is it an allusion to Vergil's prophecy of everlasting fame for Euryalus and Nisus *Fortunati ambo* (O blessed pair, *Verg. Aen.* 9.446), repeated in Ausonius' *Cento nuptialis* (!) 77? Thus, we could try to show how Grotius is fashioned as a philosopher by Heinsius, or argue that the poem wishes that Grotius, Maria and Heinsius may live forever, like Euryalus, Nisus and Vergil, as exemplified perhaps in Ausonius' echo of Vergil. And should we try to fit all other quotations into an overall structure of a poem?—for instance when Hadrianus Iunius opens his *epithalamium* with *describant alii* (cf. *Aeneid* 6.847, 849: *excudent alii... describent*, *Hor. Carm.* 1.7.1 *laudabunt alii* etc. etc.), goes on with Ovid's *In nova fert animus...*, and then throws in some Lucretius?⁶⁴ The problem, even for those who fundamentally reject intentionality, is in choosing the right mean between assuming intertextual appropriation as a strategy and discarding quotations as accidental rags and tags from the commonplace book.⁶⁵

Epicedium and Function: Heinsius' Strategy on the Death of Lipsius

Poems which mourn a death seem much more frequent than *epithalamia*. They bear many different names: *epicedium*, *epitaphium*,

⁶³ Edition 1649 p. 6.

⁶⁴ One of the most famous intertextualities of Latin poetry consists in the ramifications of Catullus' *invita o regina tuo de vertice cessi* (66.39) in Vergil *Aeneid* 6.460, Statius *Achilleid* 1.653 and elsewhere. Should we then include in this web Nicolaas Heinsius who, in his farewell poem to the Bay of Naples (!), sighs *invitus... tuo de litore cessi*?

⁶⁵ I leave aside as unfruitful the mechanical pursuit of classical parallels, as when Heinsius ends a line on *versatur imago*, and we note that there are only two classical instances of these words ending a line, Statius *Thebaid* 12.187 and Silius Italicus *Punica* 14.616.

*lac(h)rymae, manes, obitus, funus / funera, tumulus / tumuli.*⁶⁶ *Epicedium, epitaphium* are mentioned by J.C. Scaliger, who also names *funebri oratio, threnus* and *monodia*, and mixes poetry and prose, ancient views and his own, into a rather muddled discussion of funerary verse.⁶⁷ The ancient designation *consolatio* is lacking, which is probably significant of a shift in interest, from care for the survivors to praise of the deceased.

Like wedding poetry, funerary verse was printed separately, but in larger volumes; which is why more of these booklets or books are preserved. At the death of professors and other notabilities this poetry was sometimes published in one volume with the funeral oration, as in the case of Heinsius' orations on Scaliger (1609) or Vossius' oration on Thomas Erpenius, professor of Arabic (1624). Whether verse was declaimed at funerals, or after funeral orations I do not know: the long *epicedia*, in spite of their title which suggests as much, seem as unfit for performance during a ceremony as the *epithalamia*, but for academic funerals this may well have been different.⁶⁸ Shorter poems were declaimed at memorial services held on the anniversary of a death: Scaliger refers to the custom, and we know that less than a year after the death of Bartolomeo da Platina (†1481) poetry was recited during a ceremony.⁶⁹ Separate volumes of funerary verses were published under titles such as *Manes, Tumulus/Tumuli* or *Lacrimae*. They might be the work of one single author, such as Janus Lernutius' 6 poems on the death of Justus Lipsius in 1606;⁷⁰ or one or two editors, sometimes relatives of the dead man, might collect poetry among their own immediate acquaintance or from farther afield, depending on the dead man's importance. More than one volume of poetry might result, not only in the case of the famous scholar Lipsius, as we shall see: when

⁶⁶ In the *Delitiae* many of them are, again, indexed under the name of the deceased person or the survivors.

⁶⁷ P. 168. Servius is quoted on *epicedium* and *epitaphium*, but the Greek rhetors are not.

⁶⁸ It is claimed that the title of Hessus' elegy on Dürer, *In funere... Dureri*, shows that the poem was recited at the funeral (Kühlmann W. – Bodamer C., *Humanistische Lyrik des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt a. M.: 1997) 1114). However that might be, the poem acquires its significance from its combination with eleven other elegies into an Ausonius-like whole.

⁶⁹ According to Jacopo di Gherardi (Il Diario p. 98). I owe this information to Dr. Susanna de Beer.

⁷⁰ Lernutius J., *Iani Lernuti Epicedia sive Funus Lipsianum, immortalitati sacr.* (Antwerp: 1607).

the wife of an Uppsala professor died in 1628 her husband received no less than five volumes of verse.⁷¹

The custom of putting together a volume of poetry in memory of a deceased person is not ancient, as far as we know. Some ancient poets, such as Statius, wrote several consolations or *epicedia*, others, such as Ausonius, composed a whole volume of funerary poems for groups of people, the *Parentalia*, and the *Professores Burdigalenses*. But I know no poet who composed several longer poems for one and the same dead person, nor a volume of poetry composed by different poets for one and the same dead person; the nearest thing may be Book Seven of the Greek Anthology with its funerary epigrams.⁷² In Neolatin poetry, on the other hand, these volumes abound, starting with the early humanists: to the earliest belong the memorial volume for Albiera degli Albizzi, opened by fourteen-year-old Poliziano and the poems on the death of Battista Sforza, wife of Federico da Montefeltro in 1472.⁷³ North of the Alps the vogue seems to begin in the 1530s. A major factor in the propagation of such books in the Netherlands is probably the earliest example outside Italy known to me, the volume composed at the occasion of Erasmus' death in 1536, *Tumulorum Erasmi libellus*, followed by two slimmer volumes in the following year.⁷⁴ Eight years later the Spanish pedagogue Juan Vives, who lived in the Southern Netherlands, received a similar tribute.⁷⁵ Dutch libraries hold around twenty-five such memorial books of the 16th century, most of them from Germany; the earliest, after those associated with Erasmus, is for the German poet Eobanus Hessus in 1540. Composing occasional poetry is a frequent topic in correspondences, most often the writing of funerary poetry. It was important for an editor, especially if he was related, to gather

⁷¹ Ström A., *Lachrymae Catharinae* (Diss. Stockholm: 1994). On handbooks, ancient and humanist, which teach the theory and practice of funerary poetry, see also Ström A. – Gejrot C., *Poems for the Occasion* (Stockholm: 1999) 79 ff.

⁷² Martial sometimes has more epigrams on one death, and in this resembles the Greek Anthology. Ausonius together with the Greek Anthology underlies the two books of *Tumuli* (113 poems) by Pontano.

⁷³ Both exist only in (luxury) manuscripts. On Albiera, see F. Patetta in *Atti della Società Reale di Torino* 53 (1917–18) 290–4, 310–28, and Dam H.-J. van, "Wandering woods (note 11) 47, on Battista Sforza, in Ms. Urb. Lat. 1193, see Beer S. de, *Poetry and Patronage* (note 3) 280, also 275 note 10, 277 note 14.

⁷⁴ See De Vocht H., *History of the Collegium Trilingue* (Louvain: 1951–55) III 390–453.

⁷⁵ Tournoy G., *Latijnse verzen bij het overlijden van Juan Luis Vives* (preprint KULAK: febr. 1994).

poems from persons of consequence, and publication of a *tumulus* conferred the highest status.⁷⁶

As we have seen, Daniel Heinsius carved a niche for himself by specializing in poetic cycles, and this is particularly apparent in his cycles of funerary verse. Throughout editions of his work he gave pride of place to his *Manes Scaligeri* and *Manes Lipsiani*. Together with the *Manes Dousiaci* for Janus Dousa, they formed three elaborate structures, solemn and varied. Not only are such longer series of poems represented by these *Manes* an innovation,⁷⁷ Heinsius also made strategic use of them for his own authorial purposes and career, as the case of the *Manes Lipsiani* shows.

This concerns the Leiden *tumulus* for Justus Lipsius, who died in the night of 23/24 April 1606. From 1578 until 1591 he had been professor of history and law at the Reformed University of Leiden in the Northern Netherlands, but in 1591 Lipsius left Leiden and eventually returned to Louvain where he had studied and worked earlier. There he lived and died a devout Catholic, publishing two religious treatises on the Blessed Virgin, and earning thereby nothing but scorn in Leiden.⁷⁸ Not long after his death Lipsius' Louvain circle produced a large and beautiful in-4^o volume in his memory, published at Antwerp in February 1607, and containing some hundred pages of verse, apart from several works in prose.⁷⁹ In Leiden the publisher Maire brought out, in March 1607, a volume called *Epicedia in obitum Clarissimi et summi viri Iusti Lipsii* with seventeen poems by the celebrated names of Latin poetry and scholarship: first Joseph Scaliger, then Bonaventura Vulcanius, the only contributor to have been a colleague of the dead man, Dominicus Baudius, gifted composer of iambic poetry, Daniel

⁷⁶ That in 1617 no-one gathered the poems on the death of Jacques-Auguste De Thou into a book, as he had done himself for his brother and father, is an indication of the descent in fortune of the family: De Smet I., *Thuanus. The Making of Jacques-Auguste De Thou (1553–1617)* (Geneva: 2006) 279–80.

⁷⁷ Series of funerary poetry are also found in collected poetry, apparently not published separately. Dousa's poetry for the deaths of Hadrianus Iunius, *Manes Iuniani*, and of Louis Boisot, in his collected poems (*Nova Poemata* 1576²) show an earlier stage than the later *tumuli*: the poems, by several authors, have no titles and are separated only by spacing; they are mainly elegies (epigrams) of 10–30 lines.

⁷⁸ *Diva virgo Hallensis, beneficia eius et miracula*, 1604 and *Diva Sichemiensis sive Aspricollis nova eius beneficia et admiranda*, 1605.

⁷⁹ *Iusti Lipsi Sapientiae et litterarum antistitis Fama postuma*, Cf. *Bibliotheca Belgica* III 1111 ff., also Jan Papy in *LIAS* 22 (1995) 157–62. Lernutius' memorial volume was mentioned above (p. 93). Max. De Vignacourt composed a *Iusta Iusti Lipsi Threnodia*, Louvain 1606. A second enlarged edition of the *Fama postuma* appeared in 1613.

Heinsius, just appointed professor of Greek, and finally Hugo Grotius and Petrus Scriverius, two scholars and poets neither of whom taught in the university. Joseph Scaliger had been the first in Leiden to hear of Lipsius' death, and says that he had praised him and was criticized for it before June 1606.⁸⁰ Lipsius' friend and heir Woverius soon contacted him and other Leiden scholars asking them to contribute to the Antwerp volume; some of them seem to have promised a poem. In the end, however, they published a volume of their own which was directed and prefaced by Heinsius, then twenty-six years of age, and by common consent Leiden's best poet.⁸¹ Heinsius is certainly the most prolific contributor to his own volume, for he included nine poems of his own, against one poem by Scaliger, Vulcanius and Baudius, two by Grotius and three by Scriverius. In his nine poems Heinsius displayed a superior command of metre, beginning with a formal *epicedium*, in hexameters, and passing from elegiacs via catalectic iambic tetrameters to something he calls *epimikton*, a kind of free verse, in his famous *lusus ad apiculas*, which consists of choriambic and iambic elements. As I said, he included the poems in his collected poetry under the title *Manes Lipsiani*.⁸²

The Leiden volume of *epicedia* had several aims: its first purpose was to outdo the tribute of the Catholic Louvain circle of Lipsius' last years, bring together the best scholars and poets of the Northern Netherlands, and only them, and show that they not only wrote better poetry, but were also morally superior by this tribute to one who remained a great scholar and luminary of the university, in spite of his "religious errors".

Heinsius' preface however, qualified as 'divine' by Scaliger, points to another purpose as well: in it Heinsius rages against "those who attack the memory of great men such as Julius Caesar Scaliger, whose son is reduced to beggary. Apparently nowadays one must be either a Jesuit or

⁸⁰ Scaliger *Epistulae* (ed. Daniel Heinsius, Leiden: 1627) n° 120 (p. 313) to Casaubon of 12.IV.1606: 'Primus ego in Batavia nuncium illum accepi' and n° 122 (p. 317) of 27.V.1606: 'Lipsius a me laudatum fuisse, aliquos aegre laturos... constabat'.

⁸¹ The volume is anonymous, but Heinsius' role is shown by Grotius *Correspondence* n° 95, I p. 81 [Jan. 1607]: 'editionem a te parari' and Scaliger *Epistulae* 130 (p. 330) to Casaubon of 11.III.1607 'Heinsii, qui et maxima pars est poetarum qui contulerunt operas et cuius divina est illa praefatiuncula'.

⁸² On Heinsius' *Manes Lipsiani*, see now Lefèvre E., "Daniel Heinsius' *Manes Lipsiani* nebst einer Erklärung von Joseph Scaligers *Epicedium* auf Lipsius", in E. Lefèvre – E. Schäfer E (eds.), *Daniel Heinsius* (note 5) 203–48 with text, German translation and commentary.

a philistine. Scaliger was the first to offer his admiration, and he invited us to imitate him. Noble minds do not know jealousy”.⁸³ Scaliger himself praised the Leiden volume with the words: “the whole Jesuit order could not write such a book”.⁸⁴ This mentioning of the Jesuits, for which there is no immediate cause, makes us realize that the book is not so much concerned with the death of Lipsius as with the life of Scaliger. As is well-known, Scaliger and his father prided themselves on their nobility, as descendants of the Veronese family of the Della Scala à Burden. In 1605 the rector of the Antwerp Jesuits, Scribanius, had already written that Scaliger’s real name was Burdo, which means mule. The dirty work, however, was done by Kaspar Schoppe, a Catholic “journalist”, who in 1606 wrote a slanderous book of 900 pages in order to prove that the Scaligeri were not at all noble—in which he was undoubtedly right. Scribanius was a Jesuit, Schoppe was not, but Scaliger claimed that he merely acted the part written for him by the Jesuits.⁸⁵ Heinsius’ references to the Scaligeri, to *genus*, and to Jesuits make clear that this book is an *Homage to Joseph Scaliger* even more than an *Homage to Justus Lipsius*. That also explains the choice of contributors: not the ex-colleagues of Lipsius, many of whom were still professors in Leiden, but only the Scaliger circle. They honour Lipsius, for ‘noble minds do not know what envy is’ (*nobilia ingenia... invidere nesciunt*), or perhaps rather ‘Noblemen do not know what envy is, *noblesse oblige*, (as the noble Scaliger demonstrates)’.⁸⁶ However, Heinsius’ strategy does not stop at honouring Scaliger and repaying a debt to his protector, who had been instrumental in securing his chair of Greek; his main purpose in appropriating the form and theme of the *epicedion* is to present himself as a virtuoso poet, who dwarfs all others by the quantity and quality of his verse, and as the spokesman for the scholarly Leiden community rallying to the side of the great Scaliger. Perhaps Heinsius goes even further: the sixth poem is addressed to Isaac Casaubon, making the point that with Lipsius’ death only two of the *triumviri litterarum*, Casaubon

⁸³ ‘aliorum generi detrahitur...Ita nemini impune esse potest, aut Loiolitam non fuisse aut fuisse eruditum...Nobis pax est cum mortuis. Lipsium ut olim amavimus, ita nunc admiramur...Nobilia ingenia, ut invidiam facile contemnant, ita invidere nesciunt’.

⁸⁴ ‘Tota societas Loiolitarum talem praestare non potuit’ (*Epistulae* 130).

⁸⁵ *Ep.* 121 (p. 315) 19.V.1606 to Casaubon: ‘Loiolitae sunt huius dramatis poetae, ille histrio’.

⁸⁶ Detailed interpretation of Heinsius’ poetry confirms this view. For the central role of Scaliger, see also Lefèvre E., “Manes Lipsiani” (note 82) 216 ff.

and Scaliger, are left. Might Heinsius perhaps have hoped that, not at once but later, he, as a pupil of the great Scaliger, as a gifted poet and philologist, would be considered as the new *triumvir*?

This combination of a memorial volume with a defence of Scaliger, a career move, and self-fashioning by Heinsius, may be an extreme case, but Neolatin funerary poetry is a medium easily adaptable to personal strategies of representation and self-advertisement. The genre as a whole, in which consolation is mostly lacking, appropriates ancient forms in which the survivors were more important. This is most obvious in the *tumuli*, which by their nature are more distant from the occasion and emphasize group ties.⁸⁷

Paratexts and Publicity: Grotius, Heinsius, Vulcanius

The least studied occasional poetry is one of the most interesting kinds, the *liminale*, or poem at the beginning of a book. The publication of a book is a meaningful social occasion for the author, and his friends might be expected to celebrate it in numbers. This kind of poem is typical of the academic circle, and is at home in philological works, but also in other books such as drama and volumes of poetry.⁸⁸ The terminology of these poems is uncertain: some speak of *liminalia*, others of *liminaria*; *carmina adoptiva* refers partly to the same thing, but the term “dedicatory poem” is misleading.

This poetry for books is a humanist innovation, based on the invention of printing and on the growth of national and international scholarly peer-groups. The humanists took the ancient custom of dedicating a book to a patron and used it for their own purposes, such as creating and extending a network, self-fashioning, and, as far as publishers were concerned, raising sales figures. Many ancient books, poetry and prose

⁸⁷ In addressing his elegies on the death of his parents to Lipsius and Scaliger respectively Paulus Melissus positions himself within the European Republic of Letters. See Kühlmann W. – Bodamer C., *Humanistische Lyrik* (note 68) 814 ff. and notes. Similarly Hessus addresses his elegy on Dürer to Camerarius (o.c. 274–84) and Ioh. Posthius his elegy on Lotichius to Rudinger (*ibid.* 740–2).

⁸⁸ Segebrecht W., *Das Gelegenheitsgedicht* (Stuttgart: 1977) excludes the genre from his book for the very reason that only the highest levels of society could contribute here. I know no specific literature on the subject. In Demmy Verbeke’s useful edition and study of Latin dedicatory material for editions of motets (see bibliography), the 70 poems are somewhat underprivileged. My own research is still in its early stages, and this section is not more than a first exploration. In the *Europa Humanistica* project the preliminary matter of humanist books will be published, including verse.

alike, had a prose-preface; books of poetry might open with a poem dedicating it to a patron. In late antiquity, with Ausonius and Sidonius, the double dedication, in poetry and in prose, became frequent.⁸⁹ With the disappearance of the system of patronage and the possibility of endless reproduction in the Renaissance, Neolatin authors chose new and varied strategies. In my material, which consists mainly of the poetry by and for Heinsius, Grotius and Vulcanius, there are several different forms of introductory poems, each with its own paratextual status,⁹⁰ and its own adaptation of ancient modes: writers may open their books with a poem upon it.⁹¹ In that case they build upon classical opening poems of a book, or closing poems which function as a *sphragis*, such as the first poem of Ovid's *Tristia*, or the final poem of Horace's *Odes* III. Sometimes the author dedicates his volume to someone by such a poem: Vulcanius, grateful for his appointment in Leiden, dedicated his edition of Callimachus to the curator Janus Douza in this way, Heinsius opened his first publication, the edition of Silius (1600), with a poem in Greek to Scaliger. Here the classical models are Catullus 1, Horace *Odes* I 1, and many later examples. In these cases however the modern poems are part of the paratext, not of the text itself. In sending a copy of his book to a foreign scholar of importance or offering it to a personal friend the author often added a poem accompanying his gift by which he dedicated that copy to the addressee, for example Hugo Grotius when he offered his tragedy *Adamus exul* to Heinsius.⁹² Verses, especially epigrams, accompanying a gift, of a book or otherwise, are frequent in antiquity. Most often one or more poets compose a poem for the book of a friend, in which it is published; this is what we call

⁸⁹ See Dam H.-J. van, in Bossuyt I. (Ed.), "*Cui dono lepidum novum libellum?*": *dedicating Latin works and motets in the sixteenth century: proceedings of the International conference held at the Academia Belgica, Rome, 18–20 August 2005* (Leuven: 2008), 13–33, and Nauta R., *Poetry for Patrons* (note 4) 98–99, 103, 113, 120–31, 280–90, 374–8. Ausonius' *Bissula* has a dedication in prose and one in verse to his friend Paulus, followed by one to the general reader, similarly his *Cento* (*The works of Ausonius*, ed. R. Green (Oxford: 1991) 132–4), cf. Sidon. *carm.* 15, 22. The agricultural authors Columella and Palladius were the first to use this double dedication. In Verbeke 2005 there are 132 preliminary Latin letters, mainly of dedication, and 70 Latin poems (sometimes more than one poem per book).

⁹⁰ Surprisingly I found no discussion of the *adoptivum* in Genette G., *Seuils* (Paris: 1987), which discusses virtually all other preliminary matter.

⁹¹ Thus Vulcanius' edition of Arrian (1575), and that of Hadrianus Junius' *Batavia* (1586). Heinsius opens his edition of Hesiod (1602) with a series of five epigrams.

⁹² Bloemendal J., *Daniel Heinsius, Auriacus, sive Libertas saucia*, Ed. with Dutch transl., intr., comm., 2 vols. (Voorthuizen: 1997) 2. 276, cf. e.g. Grotius *Correspondence* I p. 22 note 3 for Grotius' manuscript dedicatory poem to Nic. Lefèvre.

carmina adoptiva. This practice is conditional upon the possibilities of quick and wide distribution, and aims at networking; therefore this seems to be the most recent and most developed strategy. Finally, if the author is a poet, he may include among his *epigrammata*, *silvae* or *farrago* those poems he wrote for the books of others and among the *adoptiva* any corresponding tributes offered to him.

The aims and functions of these poems vary: a dedicatory poem opening a printed volume is a public gesture, visible in each copy of the book, by which an author honours the dedicatee and at the same time signals the important connections of the same dedicatee—or vice versa. A dedicatory poem accompanying one copy of a book also honours the addressee, but in a less public way, more as a demonstration of devotion.⁹³ A poem by the author on his own book shares with *adoptiva* the function of advertising, but *adoptiva* emphasize the position of the author as part of a group. Moreover, any liminal poetry in humanist books must be seen in conjunction with the prose dedication, almost invariably present, of that same book to an important person or political body. Did the choice of a dedicatee precede that of the writers of *adoptiva*? If so, did it influence their willingness and on which grounds?

In the *poemata collecta* of Heinsius and Grotius we find many poems on the books of others. Were they written for and included in these books, or could they, like wedding poetry, also at times be late? We know that Grotius composed three poems on Heinsius' tragedy *Auriacus*, one of which is printed with it; one other is only in Grotius' poetry manuscript, not in his collected works.⁹⁴ What governs such selection? The final strategical move in networking is, of course, publication of a *liber adoptivorum*, as Heinsius makes clear by its subtitle *in quo magnorum aliquot virorum ad autorem poemata*, or, as his son Nicolaas puts it, *quasi compendium eruditi tui saeculi*.⁹⁵ It opens, of course, with verse by Scaliger and Dousa. It might be interesting to check whether, in including *adoptiva* in the collected works of a poet, certain poems were left out and why.

⁹³ Gérard Genette distinguished the two forms, indistinguishable in antiquity, into *dédier*, dedicating a book, and *dédicacer*, dedicating or inscribing a copy.

⁹⁴ Bloemendal J., *Auriacus* (note 92) 302, A.C.G.M. Eyffinger, *Dichtwerken* (note 47) 348. It is among the *Adoptiva* in Heinsius' *Poemata*.

⁹⁵ Cf. also Dousa's second book of *Silvae*, with the *adoptiva* by his friends from France, Flanders, Brabant, England and Holland.

The importance of this *adoptiva*-poetry is apparent from many demands for and promises of such poems in letters, also from their relative preponderance in number: in Heinsius' poetry it is the largest category with some forty poems for books in the 1649 edition. In the *Delitiae...poetarum Belgicorum* around 30% of Vulcanius' poetry is on books by others; here the numbers are small since Vulcanius did not publish his collected poetry, but in his manuscript poetry equally the share of these poems is at least 30%. Poems introducing a book are mostly short, but certainly not always so: Baudius composed three pages of iambs for Vulcanius' edition of Callimachus, Janus Dousa filius ninety-four couplets for Vulcanius' *De Mundo*. The choice of metre is free, we find all kind of lyric metres, many iambic poems (also because Baudius, a prolific contributor, specialized in iambs), somewhat less distichs, and few hexameters, a distribution which reflects the relative insignificance of this genre,—relative because it had its differences in level. Thus Grotius complained that Meursius had not been satisfied with his "epigramma" for Meursius' *Meditationes christianae*, but had wished for a real encomium.⁹⁶

There seems hardly any connection between the subject of the book and the metre or content of the introductory poetry, except, of course, insofar as the message of all poems is that at last we can read this wonderful book or author. In other words, the theme is praise of the writer-editor, and nothing but praise, with perhaps a few apt words thrown in on the theme of the book. At times, though, we meet with a witty epigram or a pointed allusion to the work of the ancient author published here.

What we would like to have is some more information from the history of publishing: did publishers ask for this paratextual material? Did they have a say in the number and length of the poems, and the place where to print it—sometimes poems are printed at the end rather than at the beginning. In many philological publications and volumes of poetry all kinds of paratextual material is clustered in the openings and endings, not only *adoptiva* and dedications, but also extra poems or other texts from the author or others, material clearly used as padding, possibly to eliminate blank pages. Closer investigation of such

⁹⁶ *Correspondence* n° 50, 05.II.1604, to Heinsius, another venomous letter. Note the word *rogatus*, the standard expression for the request to compose an occasional poem.

problems is required, but we also need to know more in general about the background and workings of this poetry as a social phenomenon.

The liminal poetry of the Leiden circle transposes the classical conditions of patronage, literary circles and manuscript publication into a world of peer groups, scholars and the printing press, at the same time employing some ancient models for dedicatory and introductory poetry in adapted form. Occasion does play a part insofar as it is always there: the reader sees book and poem together, but it is evident that publicity and networking are the main factors, sometimes by groups positioning themselves.

Conclusion

It is hardly possible to draw general conclusions from this divergent, and limited, material. Preliminary steps included the invention of printing and the appropriation of Greek rhetorical forms by Latin poetry. The ancient context of literary patronage was replaced by the scholarly peer group. Occasion yielded to emulation. Individual strategies infused new, Christian or philosophical content, or modified the form by multiplying poems. Major aims were strengthening group ties, but also self-fashioning, presentation and publicity by the poets themselves.

APPENDIX I

LATIN OCCASIONAL POETRY FROM ANTIQUITY⁹⁷

Marriage (Epithalamium), Catullus 61, 62, 64 (Peleus and Thetis), Statius *Silvae* 1.2 (Stella and Violentilla), Claudianus *Epithalamium Honorii & Mariæ*, including *Versus fescennini in nuptias Honorii et Mariae*, 1–4, *Palladii et Celerinae*, [Claudianus] *Laurentii et Floridae*, (Ausonius *Cento Nuptialis*), Paulinus of Nola *Epithalamium Iuliani et Titiae*, Dracontius *Iohannis et Vitulae*, *Victoriani, Rufiniani et duarum sororum*, Sidonius Apollinaris *Ruricii et Hiberiae, Polemii et Araneolæ*, Ennodius, *Epithalamium Maximi*, Venantius Fortunatus *Sicheberti et Brunichildis*.

Death (Epicedium, consolatio etc.): Catullus *carmina* 3 (*passer*), 96, 101, Horatius *Carmina* 1.24, Propertius 3.7 (Paetus), 3.18 (Marcellus), 4.11 (Cornelia), Ovidius *Amores* 2.6 (parrot) 3.9 (Tibullus), *Pontica* 1.9 (Cotta), (4.11, Gallio), Anon. *Consolatio ad Liviam*, Anon. *Elegiae in Maecenatem*, Statius *Silvae* 2.1, 2.4 (parrot), (2.5: lion), 2.6. 3.3, 5.1, 5.3, 5.5, Martialis 6.28–29 and many others, Ausonius *Epicedium in patrem* (and many epitaphs, poems in the *Parentalia* etc.).

Dedication⁹⁸ Catullus, Propertius I–II, Tibullus, Horatius *Iambi, Sermones, Epistulae, Carmina*, Anonymus *Ciris, Culex, Panegyricus Messallae, Laus Pisonis, Elegiae in Maecenatem*, Statius *Silvae* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.1, Martialis 1, 2, 8, 9, 12 (letters), 3, 5, 6, 10, 11 (poems), and several other poems, Optatianus *De figuris* (Constantine), Ausonius *various poems and letters*, Claudianus *De raptu Proserpinae II (Cons. Mallii Theodori, 3rd cons. Honorii)*, Sidonius Apollinaris *many poems and letters*, Luxorius.

⁹⁷ I have excluded Greek texts here, though some were certainly relevant (epigrams!), and all prose texts. Of course the possibilities of appropriation varied with age: the early humanists disposed of fewer texts than the later ones.

⁹⁸ This is not more than an enumeration of the location of poems with introductory motifs, excluding epic and didactic poetry and prose.

Birthday (Genethliacon), Tibullus 1.7, 2.2, [Tibullus] 3.11, 3.12 (= 4.5, 4.6), Sulpicia 5, 6, Propertius 3.10, (Horatius *Carmina* 4.11), Ovidius *Tristia* 3.13, 5.5, Statius *Silvae* 2.3, 2.7, Martialis 4.1, 4.45, 7.21–23, 9.52, 9.53, 10.24, 10.87, 12.60 (8,64, 10.27, 11.65, 7.86), Apuleius *Critias* (in: *Apologia* 9.13), Ausonius *Genethliacon ad Ausonium nepotem*, (Iulianus *Anthologia Latina* II 638 (Riese)), Paulinus of Nola 14 *natalicia Sancti Felicis*, (Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ad Ommatium, carmen* 17), Merobaudes *carmen* 4, (Venantius Fortunatus *carmen* 11.3, 11.5, 10.7 (S. Martinus)).

Farewell (Propempticon): Horatius *Iambi* 1, (10), *Carmina* 1.3, (1.11, 3.27), *Epistulae* 1.20 (book), Propertius 1.6, 1.8, 3.12, Tibullus 1.3 Ovidius *Amores* 2.11, *Tristia* 1.1 (book), *Pontica* 4.5 (book) Statius *Silvae* 3.2, Paulinus Nolanus *carmen* 17, Sidonius Apollinaris *carmen* 24.

Recovery from illness (Soteria): Catullus 44, Horatius *Carmina* 2.17, (3.8), Propertius 2.28, Statius *Silvae* 1.4.

APPENDIX II

SOME FACTS AND FIGURES ON NEOLATIN OCCASIONAL POETRY

How many Latin occasional poems by humanists do we possess? This is almost anybody's guess. However, in recent times some figures have at least been mentioned, and large amounts of poetry have been put on the Internet.

Libraries tend to restrict their counts to separate editions. It has been estimated that Swedish Libraries possess at least 12,000 separate editions of 17th century occasional poetry printed in Sweden. In the 1640s 81% of those were in Latin, in the 1670s 33%.⁹⁹ It seems to me that the situation in 17th century Holland is not unlike that in 17th century Sweden, except that everything is a bit earlier in Holland (contrary to the *dictum* erroneously ascribed to Heine), both the flowering of Latin poetry in the academic milieu and its trickle into non-academic circles and ultimate displacement by the vernacular. Latin poetry by the Italians and by the French came earlier to the Netherlands than to Scandinavia.¹⁰⁰ The holdings of the Dutch Royal Library in The Hague in this field seem rather meagre: the total amounts to just 648 poems (only two of them predating 1600), 21% of which (107) are in Latin.¹⁰¹ Strangely enough, a few libraries in the Dutch province of Overijssel yield more, probably because this research was not restricted to

⁹⁹ See Ström A., *Lachrymae* (note 71) and Ström A. – Gejrot C., *Poems* (note 71) As to the German situation, Segebrecht W., *Das Gelegenheitsgedicht* (Stuttgart: 1977) counted only separate editions in German, which resulted in a total of more than 150,000 *Einzeldrucke* until 1820, with a peak around 1700. However, for the Latin occasional poem this is unhelpful.

¹⁰⁰ For both Italian and French "influence" Joseph Scaliger may well have been crucial. I am unconvinced by A.G. van der Steur's view (Steur A.G. van der, *Catalogus* 28 (note 39)) that all occasional poetry was imported to Leiden University from the German universities.

¹⁰¹ This paucity is largely accounted for by the limitations of the approach, which included only separate editions of poems addressed to Dutchmen (or rather, persons living within the borders of what is now the Netherlands), who were private citizens: see Bouman J., *Nederlandse gelegenheidsgedichten voor 1700 in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek te 's-Gravenhage* (The Hague: 1982).

separate publications: 167 Latin occasional poems on a total of 783 (13%). The most useful data from the Netherlands are found in a bookseller's catalogue: separate editions of Latin occasional poetry between 1541 and 1600 amount to 125 copies, none of them earlier than 1582.¹⁰² The results from these sources, arbitrary as they are, suggest that in separate publications wedding poetry is dominant (more than half of the material from the Royal Library, more than twice as much as the next kind, funerary poetry), but that in collected poetry funerary poems may well have the upper hand, although less clearly so than the wedding poetry in the separate publications.¹⁰³

Much Neolatin poetry has been published in the last fifty or so years. Much more has been put online recently. However, practical problems of finding representative material remain. In the first place, the compilers of anthologies are not fond of occasional poetry, and hardly ever include poetry such as *carmina adoptiva*. Therefore we must turn to original editions, taking into account that some poets revise their volumes. It is difficult to chase genres in older collections, in particular in the large volumes of *Delitiae poetarum Belgicorum* and *Germanorum*: not only do similar poems bear different titles, such as *obitus*, *lachrymae*, *tumuli*, *manes*, *epicedium*, *epitaphium*, many other relevant poems are indexed under the (first) name of the addressee, or hide under a title such as *Ad Ianum Ianssonii*, or have no title at all.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, the German and Dutch *Delitiae* of 1612 and 1614 are rather early: some important poets cannot but be absent, such as Jakob Balde or Hugo Grotius, who published his collected poetry only in 1617. The explosion of texts on the Internet is a blessing mainly because it makes work at home possible.

¹⁰² Steur A.G. van der, *Catalogus* 28 (note 39). Virtually all these poems are connected to Leiden University. By far the greatest percentage concerns poetry on the occasion of an academic promotion.

¹⁰³ The picture is corroborated by the collection of the provincial library of the Dutch province Zeeland; but here the numbers are very small (only 7 Latin occasional poems from the 17th-century): Daamen M. – Meijer A., *Catalogus van gedrukte Nederlandse gelegenheidsgedichten uit de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw in de Zeeuwse Bibliotheek te Middelburg* (Middelburg: 1990).

¹⁰⁴ Tufte V.J., *The poetry of marriage* (note 47) claims that there are over 200 epithalamia in the *Delitiae poetarum Germanorum*.

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