

Better than Pindar?

The Ode by Sidronius Hosschius to Sarbievius and Its Two Versions

Abstract

The main aim of this paper is to present and analyse an ode by the Flemish Jesuit Sidronius Hosschius (Sidronius [or Syderoen] de Hossche, 1596–1653) to “the Sarmatian Horace” Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius (Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, 1595–1640). This eulogy has often been viewed as a masterpiece. In addition, it has two distinct versions: one published in a collection of poems in honour of Sarbievius (the so-called *Epicitharisma*), first printed in an edition of his *oeuvre* in 1632, and one in the collective volume of Hosschius’s own works issued posthumously in 1656. Both versions were first published by the famous Plantin-Moretus printing house in Antwerp.

The paper consists of three sections. The first one focuses on the relationship between Hosschius and Sarbievius and on the *Nachleben* of Hosschius’s ode. The second section offers a general analysis of the poem. Tracing the contents of Hosschius’s ode and its sources of inspiration, it argues that Hor. *Carm.* IV 2 is central to the poem’s understanding. The third section discusses the differences between the two versions, in an attempt to disclose why the poem was altered and how the changes influence the ode’s meaning. A number of larger changes affect the poem’s central message: while in the earlier version Sarbievius is said to outdo Pindar and even Horace, the later version is more cautious. All it does is admit that Sarbievius could perhaps equal Pindar and Orpheus.

Hosschius’s eulogy and the reception of Sarbievius through his composition have two different traditions: 1) the one found in most editions of Sarbievius’s works, where the poem basically proclaims him to be the best Latin lyricist of all time, thereby tying in with other laudatory contributions and promoting both Sarbievius’s *oeuvre* and the editions themselves, and 2) the one added to Hosschius’s own poetry, where the adjusted version—which contains more references to ancient literature and which could be called more personal, as well as, perhaps, more realistic—became a fan favourite. In both instances, however, the reinterpretation of the psychological effect of poetry—the translation of *furor poeticus* from the author to the reader—and the re-evaluation of the concept of *aemulatio* could be the main reason why Hosschius’s ode was so highly valued.

Keywords

Sarbievius,
Hosschius,
Horace, Pindar,
Orpheus,
aemulatio,
furor poeticus

Nihil tersius exactiusque est Sidronii *Hoschii* poematis, inprimis divina illa ad Sarbievium elegia, cuius exordium:¹

*Romanae fidicen citharae, qui sydera praepes Visis et ignavam, Flacce, relinquis humum.*²

[There is nothing more pure and more accurate than the poems of Sidronius Hosschius; especially that divine elegy to Sarbievius, of which this is the beginning:

Flaccus, player of the Roman cither, you who sees the stars up close, and leaves the earth inactive.]

In 1683, the Danish scholar Olaus Borrichius (Ole Borch, 1626–1690) published his *Dissertationes academicae de poetis*, which includes an extensive list of the *crème de la crème* of Neo-Latin poets. Among such greats as Janus Secundus and George Buchanan, Borrichius also praised the Flemish Jesuit Sidronius Hosschius (Sidronius [or Syderoen] de Hossche, 1596–1653). In order to account for his good opinion of him, Borrichius cited the beginning of what he thought was Hosschius's masterpiece: his ode to Sarbievius (Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, 1595–1640), the Polish Jesuit poet also known as “the Christian/Sarmatian Horace”. The eulogy by Hosschius was considered by many to be his best composition, as well as the most outstanding poem in honour of Sarbievius. This article examines the ode in detail, analysing the messages Hosschius formulated, tracing his sources of inspiration, and considering why he wrote what he wrote.

Hosschius's ode made its first appearance in 1632, in the famous Plantin-Moretus volume of Sarbievius's own poetry.³ This edition also comprised a frontispiece designed by Rubens, as well as a so-called *Epicitharisma*:⁴ a collection of poems in honour of the Pole, written primarily by Flemish Jesuits,⁵ which added to the

¹ This paper is an adaptation of a chapter from my 2013 MA thesis, which I wrote at Radboud University, Nijmegen, entitled *The Sarmatian Horace in Antwerp: Three Authors Praise Sarbiewski*. I am grateful to my supervisor dr. Vincent Hunink for his valuable guidance, as well as to prof. dr. Andrzej Borowski, prof. dr. Dirk Sacré and prof. dr. Piotr Urbański for kindly supplying me with books and articles. I furthermore owe special thanks to Wouter van Gorp MA.

² O. Borrichius, *Dissertationes academicae de poetis, publicis disputationibus in Regio Hafniensi Lyceo assertae, ab Anno 1676. ad Annum 1681. Nunc iterum evulgatae*, Frankfurt: Johann Georg Drullmann, 1683, p. 143. All translations are my own, unless stated otherwise.

³ M.C. Sarbievius, *Lycorum libri quattuor, epodon liber unus alterque epigrammatum*, Antwerpen: Officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1632. Unless stated otherwise, all Sarbievius citations are taken from this edition.

⁴ The term “epicitharisma” features in Tertullian *Adv. Valent.* 33.1, where it denotes a (musical) “finale” or a short “extra” to a tale or performance. Tertullian furthermore says that his “epicitharisma” is a compilation of different texts, much like the collection of poems in honour of Sarbievius.

⁵ The *Epicitharisma* counts 15 poems by 14 poets, most of whom were Antwerp Jesuits. See, for analyses of the poems that make up the *Epicitharisma*, E. Buszewicz, “Poeci o poetach. ‘Epicitharisma’ a inspiracje i wyzwania”, in *Inwencja i inspiracja w kulturze wczesnonowożytnej*, ed. by B. Niebielska-Rajca

popularity Sarbievius was to enjoy all over Europe.⁶ In 1634, a second, pocket-sized edition was printed (with a different frontispiece,⁷ but with the *Epicitharisma*), of which no fewer than five thousand copies were issued.⁸ The two Plantin-Moretus volumes subsequently went on to become the standard editions of Sarbievius's poetical *oeuvre* until well into the 18th century.⁹ The laudatory ode by Hosschius, mean-

and M. Pieczyński, Lublin 2018, pp. 161–177; J. Starnawski, “Sarbievski i jego belgijscy przyjaciele”, *Meander* 50 (1995), no. 1–2, pp. 45–66. For a general overview of the relations between Sarbievius and the Low Countries, see A. Borowski, *Iter Polono-Belgo-Ollandicum: Cultural and Literary Relationships Between the Commonwealth of Poland and the Netherlands in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Kraków 2007, pp. 103–108; D. Sacré, “‘Etiamsi in tuas laudes totum conspiret Belgium’: Aspects of Sarbievius’s *Nachleben*”, in *Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius in cultura Lithuaniae, Poloniae, Europae. Materies conventus scientifici internationalis anniversario quadringentesimo a die natali Poetae dedicati Vilnae, 19–21 Octobris, A.D. MCMXCV, Senosios literatūros studijos*, ed. by E. Ulčinitaitė, Vilnius 1998, pp. 109–133.

- ⁶ Sarbievius was particularly well loved on the British Isles, where his poetry was translated frequently. Literature on this subject is extensive, and a good starting point is *Casimir Britannicus: English Translations, Paraphrases, and Emulations of the Poetry of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski*, ed. by K. Fordoński and P. Urbański, rev. and expanded edition, London 2010, as well as Krzysztof Fordoński’s contribution to this issue. See, for information about Sarbievius’s German reception, P. Drews, “Die deutsche Sarbiewski-Rezeption im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert”, in *Sarbiewski: Der polnische Horaz*, ed. by E. Schäfer, Tübingen 2006, pp. 271–288; Sacré, ‘Etiamsi in tuas’ and P. Hulsenboom, “Sending a Message to the Thebans, Poles and Dutch: The First Published Translation of Sarbiewski in the Low Countries and Its Appropriation to a 17th-Century Dutch Context”, *De Zeventiende Eeuw. Cultuur in de Nederlanden in interdisciplinair perspectief* 32 (2016), no. 1, pp. 81–96, analyse the reception of Sarbievius in the Low Countries. G. Wichary, “Recepcja twórczości M.K. Sarbiewskiego w polskim Oświeceniu”, *Pamiętnik Literacki* 66 (1975), no. 2, pp. 143–157, and O.G. Astafev, “Twórczość Macieja Kazimierza Sarbiewskiego i jej recepcja w dawnych ukraińskich poetykach XVII–XVIII w.”, *Religious and Sacred Poetry* 2 (2014), no. 1, pp. 79–117, discuss elements of Sarbievius’s Polish and Ukrainian reception respectively.
- ⁷ J.A. Chrościcki, “«Horatius Sarmaticus». Dwa antwerpskie wydania «Lyricorum» Sarbiewskiego z frontispisami wedle projektów Rubensa”, in *O ikonografii świeckiej doby humanizmu. Tematy – symbole – problemy*, ed. by E. Karwowska, Warsaw 1977, pp. 281–333 (pp. 301–309) argues, on the basis of accounts from the Plantin-Moretus archives, that both designs were made by Rubens. See, for further studies of the two frontispieces, J. Pelc, “Jeszcze o symboliczne Rubensowskich rycin do antwerpskich wydań poezji M.K. Sarbiewskiego”, in *Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski i jego epoka. Próba syntezy*, ed. by J. Lichański, Pułtusk 2006, pp. 193–203; G. Betram, *Peter Paul Rubens as a Designer of Title Pages: Title Page Production and Design in the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century*, Heidelberg 2018, pp. 197–213.
- ⁸ M.C. Sarbievius, *Lyricorum libri quattuor, epodon liber unus alterque epigrammatum*, Antwerpen: Officina Plantiniana Balthazaris Moreti, 1634. The 1632 edition was printed 1025 times. See D. Sacré, “Some Unnoticed and Unpublished Letters From Balthasar Moretus To or Concerning the Latin Poet Matthias Casimirus Sarbievius (1595–1640) (With an Unknown Autograph Poem)”, *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch. Journal of Neo-Latin Language and Literature* 1 (1999), p. 205, which also provides the necessary archival data. P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, “Kilka uwag o antwerpskich wydaniach poezji Macieja Kazimierza Sarbiewskiego”, in *Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski i jego epoka*, pp. 205–222, discusses the two Antwerp editions in more detail.
- ⁹ The vast majority of the many 17th-century Sarbievius editions kept incorporating the *Epicitharisma*—a survey reveals the following examples: Rome (1643), Antwerp (1646), Dijon (1647, two editions), Paris (1647, two editions), Cologne (1648, 1659, 1682, 1689 and 1692), Wrocław (1660 and possibly 1669), Venice (1668 and 1697), Kalisz (1681), and Cambridge (1684 and possibly 1689); I have not been able to verify the London edition (1684), nor the uncertain Antwerp (1648), Cologne (1652 and 1653),

while, reappeared as *Elegia* III 9 in his 1656 “collected works” volume, also printed by Plantin-Moretus and edited by Hosschius’s friend and fellow poet Jacobus Wallius (Jacques vande Walle, 1599–1690), as well as in later editions.¹⁰

The first section of this article discusses the *Nachleben* of Hosschius’s eulogy, focusing on the poem’s reception by various writers and scholars, and disclosing its popularity and influence throughout the ages. Next, the contents and meanings of the ode itself are analysed. Returning to Borrichius, however, his choice of words introduces another key aspect of the present article. For although the Danish scholar seems to indicate that he had read a number of Hosschius’s poems, he did not use the 1656 volume when citing the ode to Sarbievius: if he had, the lines he quoted would have looked quite differently. Upon closer inspection, one finds that the poem first printed in 1632 differs significantly from the one printed twenty-four years later. Like the poems by Gilbertus Joninus (Gilbert Jonin, 1596–1638) and Jacobus Wallius, two of the other contributors to the *Epicitharisma*,¹¹ Hosschius’s ode thus has two distinct versions, with two distinct messages. Hence the analysis of the poem is divided into two sections: one general discussion and one revealing the differences between the two versions, in which an attempt is made to uncover why the poem was altered and how the changes influence the ode’s meaning.

Hosschius and Sarbievius

One of the reasons why Hosschius’s ode appears to be so interesting, is because it forms the keystone of his relationship with Sarbievius, which has fascinated authors and literary scholars for centuries. Similarly to Borrichius, many who in the past discussed or studied Hosschius underscored his connection with his Polish fellow Jesuit. A good starting point for the analysis of this relation is a book edited by the Flemish author Prudens van Duyse (1804– 1859), and published in Gent in 1845. It

Paris (1657), and Leipzig (1683) volumes; the Milan printing (1645) is the only one of which I am certain that it did *not* include the *Epicitharisma*. The eulogies thus appear to have become an almost integral part of Sarbievius’s own poetical works. In the next century, they also found their way into, e.g., the Cologne *Horatius Sarmaticus* volume (1721, reprinted in 1781), as well as the editions from Gdańsk (1737), Vilnius (1749), and Wrocław (1753). The substantially expanded Paris edition (1759, reprinted in 1791), however, left out the *Epicitharisma*.

¹⁰ S. Hosschius, *Elegiarum libri sex*, Antwerpen: Officina Plantiniana Balthasar Moreti, 1656. See, for extensive information concerning Hosschius’s life and works, D. Sacré, *Sidronius Hosschius, Merkem 1596 – Tongeren 1653: Jezüet en Latijns dichter*, Kortrijk 1996.

¹¹ See, on the poem by Gilbertus Joninus, P. Hulsenboom, “‘No one touched the strings of the cither more becomingly’: The First Eulogy of Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius”, *Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium Graecae et Latinae* 25 (2015), no. 2, pp. 97–117. See, on the poem by Jacobus Wallius, P. Hulsenboom, “‘Have the menacing Alcaean Muses blown the war trumpets again?’ Two Versions of Jacobus Wallius’ Ode to Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius”, in *Some Renaissance: Early Modern Topoi in the Twenty First Century*, ed. by K. Kujawińska Courtney and G. Zinkiewicz, Łódź 2015, pp. 71–96.

followed and celebrated the unveiling of a bronze bust of Hosschius in the previous year, in the village of Merkem, where the poet had been born some two hundred and fifty years before.¹² In this book, where Hosschius is of course the main protagonist, a crucial role is played by several other Jesuits, particularly Jacobus Wallius and Sarbievius. Whereas both Hosschius and Wallius are described as Sarbievius's followers or even pupils,¹³ Wallius also takes the stage as Hosschius's closest Belgian friend,¹⁴ and the Pole is presented as the most notable of his foreign *sodales*.¹⁵ Furthermore, Sarbievius makes several appearances in a collection of poems in Hosschius's honour, which are added to the volume. For example, the Jesuit priest and poet Karel Valentyns (1791–1865),¹⁶ in his ode *Ad patriam Sidronii Hosschi*,¹⁷ addresses Sarbievius himself, saying: “ac tua, Sarbievi, sequitur vestigia, cultis / et numeris ubi sint otia vera docet” [“And he [Hosschius] follows in your footsteps, Sarbievius, he teaches where the true peace would be with his beautiful verses”] (vv. 27–28). Johannes Dominicus (Jean-Dominique) Fuss (1782–1860), moreover, professor of Latin at the university of Liège and himself a talented poet, remembers how the Pole spoke to his Belgian friends in his *Lyr. III 29 Ad amicos Belgas*, which Sarbievius wrote as a thank-you for the *Epicitharisma*.¹⁸

Te Belga carum, te procul exteri,
te Roma legit; deliciis tuis,
cum Wallio te Casimirus
Sarmatiae celebravit Orpheus.¹⁹

¹² P. van Duyse, *Herinneringen aen het Feest Gevierd te Merckem, den 20 Augustus 1844, ter eere van den dichter Sidronius Hosschius*, Gent: Drukkery van C. Annoot-Braeckman, 1845. For general information about several authors discussed on the following pages, see: D. Sacré, “Neolatijnse poëzie in België in de negentiende eeuw: een terreinverkenning”, *Gezelliana* 7 (1995), pp. 98–115.

¹³ See, e.g., Van Duyse, *Herinneringen*, pp. 50, 66, and 70.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 70–73, 131, 160, and 254. Van Duyse also incorporated several of Wallius's poems to or about Hosschius. See pp. 236–245 and 249–250.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹⁶ Sacré, ‘Etiamsi in tuas’, p. 127, mentions that Valentyns was influenced by Sarbievius as well. In addition, Valentyns was the editor of a collection of Hosschius's works, for the Jesuit college of Aalst, published in 1822, something which is also touched upon in Van Duyse, *Herinneringen*, p. 67. See Sacré, *Sidronius Hosschius*, p. 168.

¹⁷ Van Duyse, *Herinneringen*, pp. 173–174.

¹⁸ This ode first appeared in the 1634 Plantin-Moretus edition. See, for an analysis of this poem, J. IJsewijn, “Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius, Ad Amicos Belgas”, in *Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius in cultura Lithuaniae*, pp. 25–50. Van Duyse himself translated it in 1838. See Van Duyse, “Lierzang van Sarbievius, aen de latijnsche dichters van België”, in *Belgisch Museum voor de Nederduitsche taal- en letterkunde en de geschiedenis des vaderlands*, ed. by J.F. Willems, vol. 2, Gent: F. en E. Gyselynck, 1838, pp. 148–161. He reprinted his translation in Van Duyse, *Herinneringen*, pp. 67–70.

¹⁹ Van Duyse, *Herinneringen*, pp. 167–170, vv. 53–56. Fuss also wrote an ode in honour of Sarbievius, entitled *De Sarbievii poesi*. See J.D. Fuss, *Réflexions sur l'usage du latin moderne en poésie et sur le mérite des poètes latins modernes, suivies de poésies latines en partie traduites du français*, Liège: P.J. Collardin, 1829, pp. 143–145. The Polish Jesuit was one of Fuss's favourite Neo-Latin authors. The professor even

[You, who are precious, the Belgian reads, the foreigners from afar read, Rome reads; because of your delights Casimir, the Sarmatian Orpheus, has praised you with Wallius.]

Fuss's verses might lead the reader to believe that Sarbievius had dedicated a large portion of his poem to Hosschius, but this is not the case: he merely mentioned Hosschius, together with four of the other *Epicitharisma* authors, in a single stanza.²⁰ Bollandus, Habbequius, Tolenarius, Puteanus and Boelmannus were given considerably more attention. This begs the question why, of all the contributors to the *Epicitharisma*, Hosschius in particular was thought to have had a special relationship with Sarbievius. The answer is probably that, with time, Hosschius became known as one of the foremost Belgian Neo-Latin poets. A celebration of Hosschius and his *oeuvre* would invariably emphasise his ties with the greatest Neo-Latin lyricist of his generation, thus further enhancing the Fleming's status. Small wonder, then, that the long list of "judgments" of Hosschius's work, which Van Duyse added to the 1845 volume, opens with Sarbievius's brief remark in his *Ad amicos Belgas*.

Several scholars have viewed Hosschius's ode to Sarbievius as one of the best, if not the best of his compositions. Sometimes, too, their opinions reveal the use of one of the poem's two versions. The ode was first noted in the *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Iesu*, by the Belgian Jesuit priest and bibliographer Philippus (Philippe) Alegambe (1592–1652).²¹ Printed in 1643, Alegambe's work naturally referred to the original 1632 version. As mentioned, Olaus Borrichius in 1683 also made use of the *Epicitharisma*. Not naming a specific version, the Frenchman Jean-Noël Paquot (1722–1803), who was professor at the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain, in 1763 described Hosschius's elegy as his "chef-d'oeuvre".²²

In the 19th century, several scholars evidently made use of the 1656 edition. In 1822, Petrus Hofmannus (Petrus Hofman) Peerlkamp (1786–1865), Dutch professor of ancient literature and universal history in Leiden, wrote the following while referring to both Borrichius and Paquot: "Sarbievius, lyricorum recentiorum princeps,

set up a prize contest at Liège, entitled *De Latina recentiorum poesi et de Horatio atque Sarbievio inter se comparatis*. See Sacré, 'Etiamsi in tuas', pp. 119–121. In one of the two winning dissertations, composed by Fuss's student Cornelius (Cornelis) Star Numan, the author points out that both Hosschius and Sarbievius imitated Seneca's *Thyestes*. See C. Star Numan, "Commentatio literaria de Latina recentiorum poesi et de Horatio atque Sarbievio inter se comparatis", in *Annales Academiae Leodiensis 1822–1823*, Liège: P.J. Collardin, 1824, p. 18 (each dissertation has its own numbering). Numan's paper is preceded by that of Joannes Henricus (Jan Hendrik) Bormans, the other winner of Fuss's competition, who in 1836 translated Sarbievius's *Lyr. II 5 E rebus humanis excessus*. See *Lettervruchten van het Leuvensch genootschap tijd en vlijt. I. Dichtstukken*, Antwerpen: Drukkery van J.-E. Buschmann, 1845, pp. 166–169. As regards Numan, part of his text was also reprinted in Van Duyse, *Herinneringen*, pp. 264–266.

²⁰ Sarbievius, *Lyr. III* 29.53–56: "quo satis Hosschium, / quo Mortieri, quo pia Wallii, et / libentis amplexu coronem / pectora? Quo mihi dulcis Hesi?" ["how could I sufficiently crown Hosschius, how the pious chests of Mortierus, of Wallius, and of Libens with an embrace? How the chest of my sweet Hesius?"]

²¹ Ph. Alegambe, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Iesu*, Antwerpen: Johannes Meurs, 1643, p. 421.

²² J.N. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces de Pays-Bas, de la principauté de Liège, et de quelques contrées voisines*, vol. 2, Louvain: l'Imprimerie Academique, 1763, p. 73.

a nemine melius laudatus est quam ab Hosschio III, Elegia 9. Quae gravitas et ardor orationis!” [“Sarbievius, the best of the modern lyrical poets, has never been better eulogised than in Hosschius’s *Elegia* III 9. What dignity and brilliancy of style!”].²³ He then proceeded to cite the 1656 version. The same goes for Cornelius (Cornelis) Star Numan (1807–1857), a student of the aforementioned Johannes Dominicus Fuss, who in 1824 applauded the altered version of Hosschius’s ode.²⁴ Moreover, Prudens van Duyse linked Sarbievius to both Hosschius and Wallius, saying that “the Pindaric poet Sarbievius, who, in spite of his shortcomings, lack of taste and bombastic verse, fully deserves to be called a lyrical poet, has been eulogised most elegantly by Hosschius and Wallius.”²⁵ According to Van Duyse, Hosschius’s ode was one of two of his poems which were given special attention at the college of Aalst, where editions of Hosschius and Sarbievius had been printed in the years 1822 and 1824 respectively.²⁶ Lastly, Van Duyse translated and incorporated the ode in the 1845 volume, in order to “give the reader an impression of Hosschius’s poetry.”²⁷ He too used the 1656 version.

Thus, besides the fact that many comments on Hosschius’s poetry also inform us about the contemporary views on Sarbievius, we may safely conclude that the poem under discussion is one of Hosschius’s best loved pieces, as well as one of the most successful laudatory poems addressed to Sarbievius.²⁸ Furthermore, it appears that the 1656 version had by the 19th century become the standard variant.

Sarbievius, Pindar and Orpheus

In this section, I analyse Hosschius’s elegy following its own structure. The main questions are: what is Hosschius telling the reader, and why he is telling it? Because the differences between the two versions of the poem are considerable, however,

²³ P.H. Peerlkamp, *Expositio quaestionis ab Academia Bruxellensi propositae*, Bruxelles: P.J. de Mat, 1822, p. 342. Peerlkamp’s opinion can also be found in Van Duyse, *Herinneringen*, p. 263.

²⁴ Star Numan, “Commentatio”, p. 75. Numan’s opinion can also be found in Van Duyse, *Herinneringen*, p. 266.

²⁵ Van Duyse, *Herinneringen*, p. 66: “Wat Sarbievius betreft, dezen Pindarischen zanger, die, niettegenstaende zyne gebreken, wansmaek en gezwollenheid, den grooten naem van Lierzangdichter ten volle verdient, nooit is hy schooner bezongen geweest dan door Hosschius en Wallius.” The translation is taken from Sacré, ‘Etiamsi in tuas’, p. 124 n. 40.

²⁶ Van Duyse, “Sidronius Hosschius”, in: *Belgisch Museum*, p. 398.

²⁷ Van Duyse, *Herinneringen*, p. 220. The Dutch translation can be found on pp. 229–231. For some reason, Van Duyse left out vv. 26–28. As far as I can tell, Van Duyse was the first to note that there are two versions. See pp. 66–67.

²⁸ Some final examples in which Sarbievius and Hosschius are mentioned alongside each other can be found in Van Duyse, *Herinneringen*, p. 160 (a Latin poem by Norbert Cornelissen, first printed in 1844), pp. 252–253 (the opinions of the 17th-century French Jesuit author René Rapin, who preferred Hosschius to Sarbievius, and the likewise 17th-century French scholar Adrien Baillet, who refers to Borrichius), and p. 268 (a Latin poem by Fuss, who mentions Sarbievius, Hosschius and Wallius, together with a whole set of other, more or less famous authors).

a certain amount of overlap with the following section, which deals with these differences specifically, is inevitable.

After a short introduction (1–4), Hosschius sets forth to compare Sarbievius with Pindar (5–24/22). Next, he goes on to explain his high opinion of the Polish Jesuit's poetry, which in turn is an elaborate comparison between Sarbievius and Orpheus (25/23–70/68). Finally, the conclusion metaphorically summarises the poetical strength of Sarbievius's *oeuvre*, and underscores Hosschius's inferiority to the Pole's literary talent (71/69–80/78).

The poem, entitled either *Sidronii Hoschi e Societate Iesu ad Math[iam] Casim[irum] Sarbievium elegia* (1632), or *Elegia IX Ad Mathiam Casimirum Sarbievium e Societate Iesu, poetam lyricum* (1656),²⁹ is written in Hosschius's favourite metre: the elegiac distich, which was used frequently by Ovid, and consistently by Propertius and Tibullus. The composition opens, however, with a line from another famous Roman poet: Horace. Like Gilbertus Joninus and many others, Hosschius emphasises Sarbievius's close relationship with the ancient lyricist, by paraphrasing his *Carm.* IV 3.23,³⁰ in which Horace addressed the Muse Melpomene. Hosschius has changed the verse slightly, however, so as to address Horace himself. At first, then, rather than celebrating Sarbievius, this seems to be an elegy in honour of the Pole's Roman precursor, who is flying among the stars, and has left the earth "inactive". In the next two verses (3–4), however, the reader is alerted to the fact that the poem will be taking a different turn: Hosschius excuses himself for what will follow, even though he knows full well that he will be contradicting Horace, whose words are as convincing as those of the Greek philosophers Cleanthes and the "Samius senex", Pythagoras. Hosschius is preparing the reader for an unexpected assertion, which will oppose Horace. But what is it that Hosschius is preparing us for?³¹

²⁹ *Elegy of Sidronius Hosschius of the Society of Jesus to Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius* (1632), *Elegy IX to Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius of the Society of Jesus, a lyrical poet* (1656). See Appendix B for the two versions of the poem. There are no differences between the 1632 and 1634 *Epicitharisma* editions, nor do later printings of the 1656 volume differ from the first edition.

³⁰ "Romanae fidicen lyrae" ("Player of the Roman lyre"). In Hosschius's poem, "citharae" has replaced the original "lyrae", as it bears the same meaning, but fits the poem's metre better due to its third syllable. All Horace citations are taken from: Q. Horatii Flacci, *Opera*, ed. by E.C. Wickham and H.W. Garrod, Oxford 1963.

³¹ In addition, the verses contain two references to Ovid. "Pace tua", although a common enough expression, is used in *Pont.* III 1.7, III 9. This in itself is perhaps not noteworthy, but the "Samius senex" also features in Ovid, again in a work concerned with his exile on Tomi, in Sarmatian territory. In his *Trist.* III 3.61–64, the elegist writes the following: "nam si morte carens vacuas volat altus in auras / spiritus, et Samii sunt rata dicta senis / inter Sarmaticas Romana vagabitur umbras, / perque feros Manes hospita semper erit" ["for if the spirit, free of death, flies high through the empty skies, and the words of the old man from Samos are true, then a Roman shade will wander through Sarmatian shadows, and he will forever be a stranger amongst savage ghosts"]. Hosschius's verses thus refer to (1) the flying of the "spiritus", who is in this case represented by Horace, (2) the "dicta Samii senis", the wise words of Pythagoras, who believed in life after death, and (3) the "Sarmaticas umbras", which remind us of

The following section explains it all (5–24/22). Hosschius is referring to Hor. *Carm.* IV 2, in which the Roman lyricist somewhat ironically claims that no one will ever be able to equal Pindar.³² The Jesuit’s “Dircaeus cygnus” (5) is borrowed directly from Hor. *Carm.* IV 2.25, and so is the “aura, qua se levat” (7).³³ Likewise, the verses about Icarus (11/9–12/10), whose wings were “badly waxed”, and who gave the sea a “lamentable/sad name”, are clear allusions to Hor. *Carm.* IV 2.2–4.³⁴ While Horace thought that Pindar, “the Dircaean swan”,³⁵ could not be equaled, Hosschius speaks of an “alter olor” (6),³⁶ who will not end up like Icarus, as Horace implied, but who has the qualities to excel and soar towards the heavens.³⁷ This “other swan” is, of course, Sarbievius.³⁸

Sarbievius’s Polish origin. Ovid citations are taken from the following editions: Ovid, *Fasti*, transl. by J.G. Frazer, ed. by G.P. Goold, Cambridge (MA) 1931 (Loeb Classical Library, 253); P. Ovidi Nasonis *Metamorphoses*, ed. by R.J. Tarrant, Oxford 2004; P. Ovidi Nasonis *Tristium Libri Quinque; Ibis; Ex Ponto Libri Quattuor; Halieutica Fragmenta*, ed. by S.G. Owen, Oxford 1963.

³² See, for a study of this ode: G. Davis, *Polyhymnia: The Rhetoric of Horatian Lyric Discourse*, Berkeley 1991, pp. 133–143.

³³ Hor. *Carm.* IV 2.25: “multa Dircaeam levat aura cycnum”.

³⁴ Hor. *Carm.* IV 2.2–4 read “ceratis ope Daedalea / nititur pinnis vitreo daturus / nomina ponto”. Furthermore, Hosschius’s “aemulus ales” (7) is a reference to Hor. *Carm.* IV 2.1: “Pindarum quisque studet aemulari”, and the combination of “ceratis” and “alis” (11/9) also features in Ov. *Met.* IX.742.

³⁵ “Dircaean” is a reference to the Dircaean fountain at Thebes, in Greece. It was named after Dirce, whose lifeless body was thrown into the fountain’s waters by Amphion and Zethus. Pindar was born in Thebes, so the epithet “Dircaean” suits him well. Amphion himself is also called “Dircaean”, in Verg. *Ecl.* II.24. Sarbievius uses the word in a poetical context in *Lyr.* I 16.6, 22.43, and IV 36.35.

³⁶ Swans were quite regularly associated with poetry. See, e.g., Ov. *Fast.* II.110 and Prop. *El.* II 34.84. Additionally, “aetherias animas” (13/11) resembles Ov. *Fast.* I.473: “simul aetherios animo conceperat ignes”.

³⁷ The interpretation of Horace’s ode is, however, open to discussion. I follow Harrison, who argues that Horace is in fact implying that he himself *can* equal Pindar, since his enumeration of the Greek’s qualities very much resembles his own. Additionally, Horace calls himself a “canorus ales” in *Carm.* II 20.15–16. See S.J. Harrison, “Horace, Pindar, Iullus Antonius, and Augustus: Odes 4.2”, in *Homage to Horace: A Bimillenary Celebration*, ed. by S.J. Harrison, Oxford and New York 1995, pp. 108–127. Also see R. Freis, “The Catalogue of Pindaric Genres in Horace ‘Ode’ 4.2”, *Classical Antiquity* 2 (1983), no. 1, pp. 27–36; N.T. Kennedy, “Pindar and Horace”, *Acta Classica* 18 (1975), pp. 9–24; G. Nagy, “Copies and Models in Horace Odes 4.1 and 4.2”, *The Classical World* 87 (1994), no. 5, pp. 415–426; W.H. Race, “Horace’s Debt to Pindar”, in *A Companion to Horace*, ed. by G. Davis, Oxford 2010, pp. 147–173. It is also interesting to note that Horace seems to prefer a rather more Callimachean writing style over Pindar’s bombastic poetry, when he mentions the “apis Matinae” (Hor. *Carm.* IV 2.27), which is reminiscent of the bees which drink from Callimachus’s small but pure stream (see Call. *Ap.* II.105–113). Horace’s bee does not feature in Hosschius’s poem, but its presence in Horace’s ode may have reminded the reader of some other important bees: those on the Barberini coat of arms, of which Sarbievius sings so frequently.

³⁸ Even though Sarbievius chiefly became known under the name “the Christian/Sarmatian Horace”, he was also greatly influenced by Pindar. Hosschius’s comparison, therefore, is not out of place. Note, too, that Van Duyse refers to Sarbievius as “the Polish Pindar”, perhaps following Hosschius. See Van Duyse, *Herinneringen*, p. 70.

If Horace had expected Sarbievius's poems to be composed,³⁹ so Hosschius says, his opinion might have been different,⁴⁰ since the Pole surpasses "the judgment of the Seer (or seer) and the World (or world)" (20/18).⁴¹ Furthermore, Hosschius's words about the golden age (21/19–23/21) again relate to Horace's ode, where its author says that Augustus is the greatest gift mankind will ever receive from the gods, "even if the time would return to an ancient golden [age]" (*Carm.* IV 2.39–40). In Hosschius's version, one might say, Sarbievius is a gift of equal brilliance, as it is his poetry which turns his age from iron to gold, something which Horace did not expect.

There is yet more at work here, however. Sarbievius wrote numerous odes in which he takes to the sky, observing the lands below.⁴² In one of his "new" poems in book IV, which first appeared in the 1632 volume and which has the same "aeronautical" theme, Sarbievius compares himself to "a bird mingled with the swans of the river" (*Lyr.* IV 32.10: "mixtus flumineis ales oloribus"). Even though he ironically states that he is "unmindful and no follower of his leader Horace whatsoever" (*Lyr.* IV 32.20–21: "immemor et ducis / nil sectator Horatii"), the various references he makes to Horace's odes attest to the exact opposite. At the end of the poem, for example, he alludes to Hor. *Carm.* IV 2: Sarbievius's friend Albertus Turski, to whom this composition is addressed, need not worry that the Jesuit poet follow in Icarus's footsteps, and thereby change the Baltic's name, as he is quite safe with his bed beneath him when he sleeps, and his chair beneath him when he writes.⁴³ In other words: he remains down to earth, but through his reading of Horace, he is

³⁹ Hosschius's "sperasset carmina" (15/13) is reminiscent of Hor. *A. P.* 331: "speremus carmina".

⁴⁰ The precise meaning of, and differences in, verses 15/13–18/16 will be discussed in the following paragraph.

⁴¹ This "Seer/seer" is likely to be read as a reference to Horace, all the more so because Sarbievius called both Horace and himself "seers" (*Lyr.* I 10.1–3 and II 10.24). See, for the significance of the word "vates", Kennedy, "Pindar and Horace", pp. 11–13.

⁴² See *Lyr.* I 3, 10, II 5, 22, III 11, 16, and 29, the ode addressed to Sarbievius's Belgian friends. *Lyr.* II 5 is best known for this theme. See J.P. Guépin, "Casimirus Sarbievius, E rebus humanis excessus: Ode II 5", *Bzzletin* (1987), no. 144, pp. 58–59; E. Schäfer, *Deutscher Horaz: Conrad Celtis – Georg Fabricius – Paul Melissus – Jacob Balde. Die Nachwirkung des Horaz in der neulateinischen Dichtung Deutschlands*, Wiesbaden 1976, pp. 121–123; A. Thill, "Sarbievius's Höhenflug als Medium zwischen Horazischer und moderner Dichtung", *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* 20 (1993), pp. 28–33. Also see IJsewijn, "Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius", pp. 31–32, about the Pegasus theme in *Lyr.* III 29, and W. Ludwig, *Der Ritt des Dichters auf dem Pegasus und der Kuss der Muse – zwei neuzeitliche Mythologeme*, Göttingen 1996, for information about the Pegasus theme in general.

⁴³ Sarbievius's exact words are (*Lyr.* IV 32.27–34): "Tursci, saepe tamen mones, / olim ne, veteri clarior Icarum, / veris fabula casibus / mutem Parrhasii nomina Balthici. / Frustra: nam memor Icarum, / addo stultitiae consilium brevi: / nam, seu dormio, me torus, / seu scribo, stabili sella tenet situ." ["Yet, Turski, often do you warn me that I should not, more famous than the old tale of Icarus, someday alter the name of the Parrhasian Baltic with a true fall. In vain: for, mindful of Icarus, I add sense to his brief folly: since, when I sleep, my bed holds me, and when I write, my chair with a firm seat [holds me]."] The term "Parrhasian" refers to the Great Bear, which was associated with the North, and thus with Poland.

touched by divine or poetic madness (*divinus/poeticus furor*) in his dreams and lyrics.⁴⁴ Perhaps Hosschius had read this new poem before it was first printed in the 1632 edition, and subsequently elaborated the reference to Hor. *Carm.* IV 2, as well as the comparison with Pindar.

Now that Hosschius has made his point about Sarbievius and Pindar, it is time for him to explain and prove his bold assertion. What is it, that makes Sarbievius such a great poet? Hosschius's answer lies in another comparison, between the Polish Jesuit and the ancient archetype of all skilled poets: Orpheus. The rest of the elegy is spent elaborating this comparison, which comes down to this: just as Orpheus's songs could manipulate nature, so Sarbievius's poetry too influences the world around him, and it even affects Hosschius's state of mind. First, Hosschius introduces the idea that poetry manipulates nature, something of which the Muses and their laurels on their mountain (either Parnassus or Helicon) are well aware (25/23–26–24). Wherever Sarbievius's songs are played, rocks, waters, and everything wild and feral falls under the poet's spell (27/25–28/26). Next, Hosschius uses geographical names associated with Poland/Sarmatia, saying that both the rocks "Getico sub sidere" (29/27) and whoever lies "Lycaonio Ponte sub axe" (30/28) will be witnesses to the miracle that is about to be described:⁴⁵ Polish/Sarmatian rocks hurry towards Sarbievius's lyrics (31/29) and the river Vistula holds her streams in amazement (32/30). But it is not just Poland that is enchanted by its countryman's poetical genius: every mountain range in the world seems to be taken by his verses (33/31–34/32), and so are numerous well-known rivers (35/33–38/36), such as the Rhine and the Tagus, which in ancient times was renowned for its gold.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ See, for an in-depth interpretation of Sarbievius's ode, W. Ryzek, "Retoryka marzenia sennego. Oda do Wojciecha Turckiego (IV.32) Macieja Kazimierza Sarbiewskiego", *Teksty Drugie* (2016), no. 5, pp. 74–96.

⁴⁵ "Under the Getic star" and "beneath the sky of the Lycaonian Sea". Both of these refer to what is nowadays commonly called Eastern Europe: the Getes were a Thracian tribe, mentioned regularly by Sarbievius as well, and the Lycaonian Sea points to a sea in the north, since the mythical Lycaon was the father of Callisto, who was changed into the Great Bear. It may thus be a reference to the Baltic, or perhaps the Black Sea. "Getico sub sidere" is probably a paraphrase of Mart. *Epigr.* VI 58.2: "Getici sidera ... poli", which is preceded by a verse about the "Parrhasios ... triones". All Martial citations are taken from: M. Val. Martialis, *Epigrammata*, ed. by W.M. Lindsay, Oxford 1963. As Lycaon was king of Parrhasia, this also relates to a northern climate. "Quique Lycaonio Ponte sub axe iaces" is borrowed almost literally from Ov. *Trist.* III 2.2: "quaeque Lycaonio terra sub axe iacet". In both Martial and Ovid, the regions spoken of adhere to, or are close to, the Black Sea, which, in Hosschius's time, was not far from Poland's southern border.

⁴⁶ There are some references to ancient literature in these verses as well. The phrase "tenet/tenes ... aquas" (32/30) is likely taken from Ov. *Fast.* II.84: "carmine currentes ille tenebat aquas", in a passage concerning Arion. "Rhodanumque Padumque ... Rhenum" (35/33) alludes to both Ov. *Fast.* IV.571 and Ov. *Met.* II.258, where one can find the phrase "Rhenum Rhodanumque Padumque". "Oblitos notas" (37/35) resembles Mart. *Epigr.* IV 7.5–6: "iam precor oblitus notae, Vulcane, querelae / parce". The Tagus and its gold are mentioned, e.g., in Catull. XXIX.19, Ov. *Am.* I 15.34, and Ov. *Met.* II.251. All of the mountain ranges and rivers in this passage feature more or less frequently in Sarbievius's works as well.

Should there remain, at this stage, any doubt about what Hosschius is implying, then the following few verses leave no room for uncertainty: Sarbievius is compared with none other than Orpheus himself. The passage about the “aliquis ... vates”, “some seer”, who sits down in a place without shade, but is soon covered in shadow when playing Sarbievius’s songs (39/37–40/38), is a direct reference to Ov. *Met.* X.86–105. There, Orpheus, called “dis genitus vates” (*Met.* X.89),⁴⁷ is surrounded by a multitude of trees the moment he starts plucking his lyre’s strings, and “umbra loco venit” (*Met.* X.90).⁴⁸ Sarbievius is thus portrayed as a divine seer, whose poetry possesses the exact same magical qualities as those of his mythical predecessor. Hosschius then adds a personal touch, saying that he, a Belgian, must sadly read Sarbievius’s poems “amidst clarions and weapons” (42/40)⁴⁹—no doubt an allusion to the Eighty Years’ War.⁵⁰

Next, the Orpheus theme continues, and the ancient lyre player is mentioned by name for the first and only time (43/41). Depending on which version one follows, Sarbievius is either Orpheus’s equal, or even his superior.⁵¹ Either way, the classical clichés of moving forests and rocks are applied once more (44/42),⁵² as is the story of Arion, who used his magical singing to build the walls of Thebes, and who rode a dolphin while singing a beautiful melody (47/45–48/46).⁵³ This passage can be seen as the climax of Hosschius’s comparison between Sarbievius and Orpheus (and, as it turns out, Arion), as the naming of the ancient seer crowns and underscores all the above mentioned references and allusions: Sarbievius is equally talented as (or perhaps even more so than) Orpheus and Arion. It is at this point in the poem that Hosschius begins to elaborate the main idea of his ode, which is a reevaluation of what a modern Orpheus such as Sarbievius does. Starting in verse 49, Hosschius explains how Sarbievius’s poetry affects his thoughts and actions, just as Orpheus’s songs influenced nature. Hosschius either speaks “as if prophesying” (51/49), or he suddenly falls silent (53/51–55/53), and he seems hypnotised by the Pole’s poetical powers (49/47–50/48 and 55/53–56/54). If Sarbievius tells him to “take up arms” against the Ottomans, Hosschius is ready to grab his spear (57/55–58/56), and if the Polish Jesuit soars above the clouds, the Fleming flies with him, watching the

⁴⁷ “A seer, born of the gods.”

⁴⁸ “Shadow came to that place.”

⁴⁹ “Lituos inter et arma.” This was probably borrowed from Stat. *Theb.* III.664: “lituos atque arma”.

⁵⁰ Hosschius regularly deals with the war in the Southern Netherlands. See, e.g., *El.* II 8, 14, III 8.

⁵¹ This will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

⁵² Ovid discusses Orpheus’s magical powers quite frequently. See Ov. *A. A.* III.321: “saxa ferasque lyra movit Rhodopeius Orpheus”, followed by a few words about Arion in III.326. Also see Ov. *Met.* XI.1–2: “carmine dum tali silvas animosque ferarum / Threicius vates et saxa sequentia ducit”, and Ov. *Trist.* IV 1.17–18: “cum traheret silvas Orpheus et dura canendo / saxa”.

⁵³ Again, Hosschius has taken Ovid as his primary source of inspiration. See Ov. *Fast.* II.83–118 for an elaborate description of the story of Arion. Orpheus and Arion are also mentioned together in Hor. *A. P.* 392–394, and Verg. *Ecl.* VIII.55–56. Also, “Aonia arx” (45/43), the “sky of the Muses”, is an allusion to, e.g., Ov. *Met.* V.333.

“Ausonian gardens” and entering “the realms of Zephyrus and Flora” (59/57–62/60).⁵⁴ He is saddened by Sarbievius’s sorrowful songs (63/61–64/62), cheered by his joyous poems (65/63–66/64), and he “burns” for the “pios ... amores” with the Pole extols (67/65–68/66). In short, so Hosschius says, Sarbievius “changes him into all shapes”;⁵⁵ no matter what page of his works he reads (69/67–70/68). This is what it means, Hosschius argues, to bring birds and rivers to a halt, lead stones through the sky, pacify lions, and fraternise wolves and lambs (71/69–74/72).⁵⁶ In other words: a modern Orpheus has a psychological effect on his readers. Hosschius thus has a fresh take on the old idea of *aemulatio*: Sarbievius’s poems not only possess *furor poeticus*, poetic inspiration or madness, which is traditionally associated with poets themselves, but also bestow it to his readers. That is why Sarbievius is as good as, or perhaps even better than his precursors.

Hosschius then turns to the “Pegasides divae” (75/73), the Muses, and asks them “to give their seer the owed garlands”, which could adorn the “Clarius deus” (76/74), Apollo.⁵⁷ One would expect this seer to be Sarbievius, perhaps, but it turns out to be Hosschius himself. Should he be worthy, so he says, he would ask to be “redeemed” with a laurel (77/75–78/76).⁵⁸ Sarbievius, on the other hand, has no need for such

⁵⁴ “Ausonian” means “Italian”, or “Roman”. The word features several times in Sarbievius’s *oeuvre*, in *Lyr.* I 8.28, IV 9.72, 15.16, and 27.64. Zephyrus was married to Flora, who was renowned for her beautiful gardens. Hosschius also mentions Flora and her gardens in his *El.* VI 11.36, and Sarbievius speaks of the “regna Florae” in his *Epod.* VII.51.

⁵⁵ This last clear allusion to Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* appropriately closes a passage full of references to the ancient lyricist. E.g., “aliena locutus ... in ore tuum” (51/49–52/50) features nearly literally in *Ov. Trist.* III 3.19–20: “quin etiam sic me dicunt aliena locutum, / ut foret amentis nomen in ore tuum”. “Diuturna silentia feci” (53/51) resembles *Ov. Fast.* I.183: “nec longa silentia feci”, and “mens abit” (55/53) is also used in *Ov. Am.* III 14.37 and *Ov. Fast.* II.753. Furthermore, “tacitum mirantur” (55/53) corresponds with *Ov. Fast.* V.275: “tacitus mirabar” and “flebile carmen” (63/61) is repeated in both *Ov. Her.* XV.7 and *Ov. Trist.* V 1.5. Lastly, “fletu lumina” (64/62) comes from *Tib. El.* I 8.68, and both “lumina nostra” (64/62) and “urimur” (68/66) return frequently in several of Ovid’s works.

⁵⁶ Hosschius may be referring to several texts here. E.g., in *Ov. Fast.* II.84–90, Arion’s songs also hold back running waters, halt wolves and sheep, and soothe all manner of birds. Additionally, “leonibus iras” (73/71) is reflected in *Ov. Met.* X.551: “inpetus est fulvis et vasta leonibus ira”. Furthermore, the adjective “rabidos” (74/72), used for wolves by Hosschius, is in *Hor. A. P.* 393, in a passage concerning Orpheus and Arion, connected to lions instead. The combination of lambs and wolves is also very frequent, particularly in Ovid. Finally, Hosschius could also be alluding to some of Sarbievius’s poems: in *Lyr.* III 17, the Pole asks the Tiber to slow down its streams, and *Lyr.* IV 36 describes how Amphion built the walls of Thebes with nothing but his music. *Vide supra* n. 52 for instances of moving rocks in Ovid’s *oeuvre*.

⁵⁷ Apollo is called “Clarius” several times, e.g. in *Ov. A. A.* II.80, *Ov. Fast.* I.20, and *Ov. Met.* XI.413. The reference here is both to *Ov. Fast.* II.105–106, and to *Hor. Carm.* IV 2.9. Ovid says that “Arion capit ... coronam / quae possit crines, Phoebae, decere tuos”, while Horace asserts that Pindar is “laurea donandus Appolinari”. The verse thus takes up the comparison with Pindar from the beginning of the elegy, as if to emphasise once more the fact that Sarbievius is equal to his Greek master. In this case, however, one might also argue that Hosschius is in fact comparing himself to Pindar as well, as he actually wants the “owed garlands” for himself.

⁵⁸ “Quid precor?” (77/75) is also used in *Ov. Her.* II.103, “si merui” (78/76) features in *Tib. El.* I 2.85.

honours: the laurel speeds to his temples of its own accord (79/77–80/78), just like the trees had brought shade to the “aliquis vates”. That is why Sarbievius does equal Pindar, even though Horace had denied the possibility: not only does nature come towards his poetry, poetry comes naturally to him as well.

Superiority or equality?

There are a considerable number of dissimilarities between the 1632 *Epicitharisma* version and the 1656 “collected works” version of Hosschius’s poem. This section discusses these differences, considers why they may have been introduced, and reflects on their impact on the elegy’s meaning.

As Jacobus Wallius says in his dedication to pope Alexander VII, the 1656 edition of Hosschius’s works is “imperfect” (p. 1). Wallius has collected most of his late friend’s material, but has kept himself from carrying out any changes, since “ut enim nemo inventus fuit, qui eam tabulae partem, quam Apelles inchoatam reliquit, absolveret ... sic ea quae Sidronius ... non perfecisset, propter eorum quae fecit praestantiam, nemo persecuturus fuisset” (p. 5).⁵⁹ Can it be assumed, then, that Hosschius himself had altered his elegy to Sarbievius before his death? Perhaps, but it may also be that Wallius, contrary to what he would have the reader believe, did have a hand in the matter. In 1660, Wallius was the compiler of the *Septem illustrium virorum poemata*, issued by the Plantin-Moretus press. Several of the seven authors, however, whose poems Wallius had gathered, expressed their dissatisfaction with the volume, since the compiler had adjusted their original compositions.⁶⁰ Could Wallius have been meddling with Hosschius’s elegy as well? As this question is likely to remain unanswered, I have chosen to refer to Hosschius as the author of both versions.

Most alterations are small, and have no great bearing on the poem’s contents, but such minor nuances may influence the reader nonetheless.⁶¹ Many of these

⁵⁹ “For as no one has been found, who would have finished that part of the painting, which Apelles has left imperfect ..., so no one would have had attended those things which Sidronius had not perfected, because of the excellence of that which he has made.” See Sacré, *Sidronius Hosschius*, pp. 156–157, for brief information about the genesis of the 1656 volume.

⁶⁰ See *ibid.*, pp. 161–163, for a more elaborate explanation of the situation.

⁶¹ The least significant differences are the following: “fuerit ... lingua” has been turned into “fuerint ora” (4), perhaps because “ora” appears more poetical than “lingua” (it is more frequent in Ovid, for example). “Haec ubi cantantur” has been changed into “haec ubi cantatur” (27/25), but this makes little sense, as it turns out in verse 35/33 that “haec” is in this case plural. It may thus be a typo. Moreover, “et” became “haec” (35/33), probably for the simple reason that “haec” makes the text easier to understand, and furthermore ties in with the repetition of the word in the previous verses. Moving on, “canit” has substituted “sonat” (42/40), perhaps to emphasise the fact that Sarbievius’s words are magical, not the melody alone, but the difference is too small to be sure. In addition, “rupit” (54/52) might have seemed more captivating than “tenuit”. The other difference in the same verse, between “lingua repente” and “lingua retenta”, again stems from the author’s wish to tie in with the classics more

changes in one way or another relate to classical literature. Thus, the difference between “qui sidera praepes / visis, et ignavam, FLACCCE, relinquis humum” and “qui sidera tangis / vertice et ignavam despicias ales humum” (1–2)⁶² most probably emerged because of the famous Hor. *Carm.* I 1.36: “sublimi feriam sidera vertice”.⁶³ This second reference to Horace made the explicit naming of him redundant, so instead of addressing him as “Flaccus”, Hosschius was able to begin the bird theme at the very opening of the elegy. Through the combination of two separate odes of Horace, Hosschius makes an even more impressive entry, and the reader is alerted to the Fleming’s poetical creativity. Likewise, where “nec dabit aequoreis flebile nomen aquis” is replaced by “aequoreis nomen triste daturus aquis” (12/10),⁶⁴ the verse gains in strength because of the second version’s resemblance to Hor. *Carm.* IV 2.3–4: “vitreo daturus / nomina ponto”.⁶⁵ The 1656 text thus ties in even better with Horace’s poem, and in doing so accentuates Hosschius’s message about Pindar and Sarbievius.

Something similar is at work in line 23/21, although in this case we have a reversed situation. The 1632 edition reads “se fugit haec certe, priscumque recurrit in aurum / Illa est carminibus gloria parta tuis”,⁶⁶ in which there is a clear reference to Hor. *Carm.* IV 2.39–40: “quamvis redeant in aurum / tempora priscum”,⁶⁷ but the 1656 version prefers “nomine nostra suo est melior, dicique meretur / aurea carminibus nobilitata tuis”,⁶⁸ which has no apparent classical example. Why, then, has this verse been altered? The one reason that comes to mind, is that the second version is more flattering than the first: instead of saying that his age is “fleeing” towards a golden future, Hosschius now argues that his age should already be called golden, because of Sarbievius’s phenomenal poetry. Apparently, that thought was in this case more important than imitating Horace.

Next, the dissimilarity between “at neque sola videt properare POLONIA rupes” and “at neque solus habes auritas, Sarmata, rupes” (31/29),⁶⁹ followed by either “mirantesve tenet VISTULA solus aquas” or “mirantesve tenes Vistula solus aquas”

closely: both “lingua repente” and “lingua retenta” are used by Ovid, yet the latter features five times, the former only once. Nuances in spelling and punctuation will not be discussed.

⁶² “FLACCUS, who see the stars as you fly, and leave the inactive earth” (1632), “you who touch the stars with your forehead, and as a bird look down on the inactive earth” (1656).

⁶³ “I will strike the stars with my lofty head.”

⁶⁴ “Nor will he give a lamentable name to the waters of the sea” (1632), “about to give a sad name to the waters of the sea” (1656).

⁶⁵ “About to give a name to the glassy sea.”

⁶⁶ “This one certainly flees, and runs back to the ancient golden one. That is the glory which has flowered by your poems.”

⁶⁷ “Even if the time would return to the ancient golden [age].”

⁶⁸ “Ours is better than its own name, and it deserves to be called golden, made famous because of your poems.”

⁶⁹ “But not POLAND alone sees the rocks hasten” (1632), “but not you alone, Sarmatian, have rocks with ears” (1656).

(32/30),⁷⁰ means that the author now personally addresses the Pole and the Vistula river, instead of describing their actions, perhaps so as to personify them more convincingly. Additionally, the adjective “auritas” is also used in Hor. *Carm.* I 12.11–12, where it accompanies “quercus”, “oak”, in a passage concerning the supernatural powers of Orpheus and his lyre.⁷¹ Whereas the 1632 version did not refer to anything, the 1656 version clearly alludes to Horace, thereby once again drawing attention to Hosschius’s literary skills, and thus increasing his authority.

There can be multiple reasons for the difference between “haec animum certe mihi sic demulcet, ut illum / auferat et memorem non sinat esse sui” and “me certe tua Musa sui dulcedine cantus / abripit et memorem non sinit esse mei” (49/47–50/48).⁷² Some of it may have to do with phrases used by Ovid, but none of these possible references is particularly convincing, and they certainly do not explain why these verses should have been altered.⁷³ Rather, Hosschius appears to have changed the emphasis of the passage. Most importantly, he has given the verses a more personal accent, by saying that he himself is snatched away, not just his “spirit”, and that he is not allowed to be mindful of *himself*, instead of his spirit of *itself*. Furthermore, “Musa” is more poetical than a mere “haec”, and “abripit” and “sinit” are perhaps stronger than “auferat” and “sinat”.

The last of the minor discrepancies occurs in verse 60/58, where the 1632 text reads “sollicitat nostros protinus aura pedes”, while the 1656 edition says “ipse levi videor nube repente vehi”.⁷⁴ It is interesting to note that “nube ... vehi” also appears in Ov. *Met.* XV.149, in a passage where Pythagoras soars above the earth, much like Horace, Pindar, Sarbievius, and Hosschius himself are doing in the Fleming’s elegy. In addition, the “Samius senex” was already mentioned before, in line 4. Moreover, the second version is again more personal than the first: Hosschius “himself” is the subject of this sentence, not “the wind”.

Apart from these smaller differences, there are a few rather more major adjustments, which directly affect the poem’s overall meaning. The most important of these is the removal of verses 9–10 from the 1656 text. In the 1632 edition, Hosschius was bold enough to write the following: “alter olor par abit et forsan cursum sublimis

⁷⁰ “Nor does the VISTULA alone hold the amazed waters” (1632), “Nor do you alone, Vistula, hold the amazed waters” (1656).

⁷¹ One could also suggest that as “auritas” has one less syllable than “properare”, “Sarmata” may have been the obvious replacement for “POLONIA”.

⁷² “This (lyre) certainly caresses my spirit so, that it carries it away, and does not allow it to be mindful of itself” (1632), “your Muse certainly snatches me away with the sweetness of her song, and she does not allow me to be mindful of myself” (1656).

⁷³ The similarities with Ovid are the following: the combination “haec animum” (49) is used in Ov. *Fast.* III.136, Ov. *Her.* XII.89, Ov. *Pont.* I 2.13, and Ov. *Rem. Am.* 197; “certe mihi” (49) features in Ov. *Met.* XII.540; “me certe” (47) can be found in Ov. *Rem. Am.* 761; and “tua Musa” (47) corresponds with Ov. *Am.* III 1.27.

⁷⁴ “The wind moves my feet far and wide” (1632), “I myself suddenly seem to be carried by a light cloud” (1656).

urget; / et quo non potuit PINDARUS, ille volat”,⁷⁵ thereby effectively saying that Sarbievius is in fact a better poet than Pindar was. But why were these verses not included in the 1656 version?

In order to answer that question, it is imperative to first focus on the remaining two larger alterations. As the first of these concerns the comparison between Sarbievius and Pindar, and the second relates to the comparison between Sarbievius and Orpheus, both are of considerable importance to the way in which the Polish Jesuit is portrayed. Their analysis may thus reveal why verses 9–10 were excluded from the 1656 edition.

To begin with, verses 13/11–18/16 differ in a remarkable way. For the sake of clarity, I cite both versions side by side:

<p>Aetherias animas testor Zephyrosque Notosque Et quaecumque sacros detulit aura modos: Si tua, SARBIEVI, sperasset carmina (quale Non fieri merito posse putavit opus) Pindaricas laudes pressisset HORATIUS et tu Materies illi primaque cura fores.⁷⁶</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(1632)</p>	<p>Aethereas animas testor Zephyrosque Notosque Et quaecumque tuos detulit aura modos; Si tua, Sarbievi, sperasset carmina Flaccus, Et factum fieri posset (<i>sic!</i>) putasset opus: Forsitan aequari vatem non posse negasset, Quem vigor in caelum plurimaque aura levat.⁷⁷</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(1656)</p>
---	--

What is striking about these two texts, is that the message they contain is notably disparate: whereas the 1632 edition clearly favours Sarbievius to Pindar and even to Horace, the second version is not nearly as flattering. “Sacros” has been reduced to a simple “tuos” (14/12), Horace suddenly may have thought the composing of Sarbievius’s lyrics likely (1656, 14), and whereas at first he would have “pushed away the Pindaric praises” and devoted himself to the Pole’s heavenly poetry (1632, 17–18), he would now *perhaps* not have denied the possibility that Pindar, who is raised by “the greatest wind”,⁷⁸ could in fact be equaled (1656, 15–17). In other words, the 1656 text does not extol Sarbievius above Pindar and Horace at all. All it does, is admit that the Pole could perhaps equal his Greek predecessor, but even of that it seems uncertain.

Likewise, in verses 43/41–48/46, the comparison between Sarbievius and Orpheus reaches a different conclusion, depending on which version one prefers:

⁷⁵ “He goes off equally, and perhaps urges a more sublime course; and where PINDAR was unable, this one flies.”

⁷⁶ “I invoke the heavenly spirits, both the Zephyrs and the Notos’s, and whatever wind carried off the holy songs: if HORACE had hoped for your poems, SARBIEVIUS (such a work as he justifiably did not believe to be possible to be made), he would have pushed away the Pindaric praises; and you would be his subject, and first care.”

⁷⁷ “I invoke the heavenly spirits, both the Zephyrs and the Notos’s, and whatever wind carried off your songs; if Flaccus had hoped for your poems, Sarbievius, and would have thought that the work could be made: perhaps he would have denied that the seer cannot be equaled, whom vigor and the greatest wind raises in the air.”

⁷⁸ Like verse 7, this is a reference to Hor. *Carm.* IV 2.25: “multa Dircaeuum levat aura cycnum”.

Si sic in patriis cantasset montibus Orpheus	Si tantum in patriis cantasset montibus Orpheus,
Cum silvis melius saxa secuta forent.	Cum silvis itidem saxa secuta forent.
Promptius Aoniam lapis ascendisset in arcem,	Nec minus Aonias lapis ascendisset in arces,
Evectus numeris, magne poeta, tuis.	Evectus numeris, magne poeta, tuis.
O, quanto delphin pernicious ille natasset	Nec minus his captus, qui vexit Ariona, delphin,
Per mare, tam blandae raptus amore lyrae! ⁷⁹	Aequoreis ludens exsiliisset aquis. ⁸⁰
(1632)	(1656)

Again, while the 1632 text argues that Sarbievius surpasses even Orpheus and Arion, the 1656 version is rather more cautious. Instead of saying that the rocks would have followed Orpheus “better” if he had sung “like” Sarbievius (1632, 43–44), the 1656 edition prefers to state that they would have followed “equally” if Orpheus had sung “a great poem” (1656, 41–42). Furthermore, the stone in the following verse would no longer have climbed the Aonian citadel—Thebes, which Arion built by singing—“more eagerly”, but settles for doing so “no less” in the 1656 version (45/43). The same goes for Arion’s dolphin, whose enthusiasm for Sarbievius’s poetical talents is notably less ardent in the second version than it was in the first.⁸¹

Overall, then, it would appear that the author had a change of heart concerning Sarbievius. For whereas in the *Epicitharisma* he was not afraid to exalt his Polish fellow Jesuit to heights which not even the best of the ancient poets, neither real nor mythical, had hoped to reach, his opinion on the matter seems remarkably more conservative in the 1656 collection. This is also, it can be assumed, why verses 9–10 were removed from the text, as they did not tie in with the poem’s adjusted appearance. Who did this, however, and why he did it, is uncertain. Perhaps Hosschius found that he could do no less than to idolise Sarbievius in the *Epicitharisma*, which had after all been composed specifically for that purpose, but later on, possibly after the Pole’s death, he thought it best to tone down his initial judgment. Or perhaps his friend Wallius was of the opinion that Hosschius had exaggerated, and decided to change the ode for him. One could argue, in fact, that the composition is more convincing in its second version, since its overall statement is not as excessive as it had been before.

⁷⁹ “If Orpheus had sung like that in his fatherly mountains, the rocks would have followed the woods better. Exalted by your verses, great Poet, the stone would have climbed the Aonian citadel more eagerly. O how much quicker would that Dolphin have swum through the sea, captured by love for such a caressing lyre!”

⁸⁰ “If Orpheus had sung such a great poem in his fatherly mountains, the rocks would have equally followed the woods. No less would the stone have climbed the Aonian citadels, exalted, great poet, by your verses. And no less would this captivated dolphin, who carried Arion, have jumped out of the seawater, playing.”

⁸¹ This is also caused by the fact that, whereas “tam blandae raptus amore lyrae” (48) alludes to *Ov. Fast.* II.762, there is no such reference in the 1656 text.

Conclusion

The exploration at the beginning of this paper, of the reception of Hosschius's eulogy, showed that various authors were familiar with various versions of the poem. Reading, praising (and, in Van Duyse's case, translating) Hosschius's ode to Sarbievius, some made use of the original *Epicitharisma* version, while others referred to the poem published three years after the Flemish lyricist's death. Van Duyse seems to have been the first to notice the distinction between the 1632 and 1656 versions, and the fact that he chose to translate the latter probably means that he preferred the poem's second interpretation. Hosschius's eulogy, and the reception of Sarbievius through his composition, thus have two different traditions: 1) the one found in most editions of Sarbievius's works, in the *Epicitharisma*, where the poem basically proclaims him to be the best Latin lyricist of all time, thereby tying in with the other contributions and promoting both the Polish Jesuit's *oeuvre* and the editions themselves, and 2) the one added to Hosschius's own poetry, where the adjusted version—which contains more references to ancient literature, and which could be called more personal and, perhaps, more realistic, became a fan favourite. In both instances, however, the reinterpretation of the psychological effect of poetry—the translation of *furor poeticus* from the author to the reader—may have been the main reason why Hosschius's ode was so highly valued, as it gave a new twist to the old debate about *aemulatio*: Sarbievius equaled or even surpassed his predecessors because of the psychological effect of his lyrics. And whichever version one reads, both are highly complimentary. Anyone reading the *Epicitharisma* would find a lovely poem, well suited to the volume it occurred in, while anyone enjoying an edition of Hosschius's works would stumble across a similarly fine, and in fact still extraordinarily flattering ode, even if Sarbievius is no longer said to surpass Pindar, Horace, Orpheus and Arion, but “merely” to be their equal.

Appendix A: Latin originals

1632

Sidronii Hoschii e Societate Iesu

ad Math[iam] Casim[irum] Sarbievium elegia

(pp. 315–318)

Romanae fidicen citharae, qui sidera praepes
 Visis et ignavam, FLACCE, relinquis humum:
 Pace tua, quamvis nec certius alta Cleanthis,
 Nec fuerit Samii lingua locuta senis;
 Semita Dircaei non est tamen invia cygni, 5
 Ivit et hanc pennis repperit alter olor.
 Nec minus est aurae, qua se levat aemulus ales,
 Nec spatio nubes inferiore secat.
 Par abit et forsan cursum sublimius urget
 Et quo non potuit PINDARUS, ille volat. 10
 Nec male ceratis ad sidera nititur alis,
 Nec dabit aequoreis flebile nomen aquis.
 Aetherias animas testor Zephyrosque Notosque
 Et quaecumque sacros detulit aura modos;
 Si tua, SARBIEVI, sperasset carmina (quale 15
 Non fieri merito posse putavit opus)

1656

**Elegia IX ad Mathiam Casimirum Sarbievium
 e Societate Iesu, poetam lyricum**

(pp. 109–112)

Romanae fidicen citharae, qui sidera tangis
 Vertice et ignavam descipis ales humum:
 Pace tua, quamvis nec certius alta Cleanthis,
 Nec Samii fuerint ora locuta senis:
 Semita Dircaei non est tamen invia cygni: 5
 Ivit et hanc pennis repperit alter olor.
 Nec minus est aurae, qua se levat aemulus ales,
 Nec spatio nubes inferiore secat.
 Nec male ceratis ad sidera nititur alis,
 Aequoreis nomen triste daturus aquis. 10
 Aethereas animas testor Zephyrosque Notosque
 Et quaecumque tuos detulit aura modos;
 Si tua, Sarbievi, sperasset carmina Flaccus,
 Et factum fieri posset (*sic!*) putasset opus:

Pindaricas laudes pressisset HORATIUS et tu
 Materies illi, primaque cura fores.
 Felix, credibili maior quem concitat ardor;
 Iudicium superas vatis et orbis idem. 20
 Non abit in peius semper vitiosior aetas,
 Nec quamvis semel est ferrea, semper erit.
 Se fugit haec certe priscumque recurrit in aurum
 Illa est carminibus gloria parta tuis.
 Haec ego vos, Musae, vestroque in monte virentes 25
 Iam pridem lauros edidicisse reor.
 Haec ubi cantantur, nec saxa, nec aequora surda,
 Nec sunt indomitae turba timenda ferae.
 Vos eritis testes Getico sub sidere cautes,
 Quique Lycaonio Ponte sub axe iaces. 30
 At neque sola videt properare POLONIA rupes
 Mirantesve tenet VISTULA solus aquas
 Et Rhodope, et scopulis veniunt plaudentibus Alpes
 Nullaque non montes gens videt ire suos.
 Haec Rhodanumque Padumque tenent et carmina Rhenum 35
 Oblitos notas, ut prius, ire vias.
 Haesit saepe Tagus fulvaque reclinis in urna
 Dixit: Eunt auro purius illa meo.
 Saepe aliquis nulla vates haec legit in umbra,
 Et circum viridis protinus umbra stetit. 40

Forsitan aequari vatem non posse negasset, 15
 Quem vigor in caelum plurimaque aura levat.
 Felix, credibili maior quem concitat ardor!
 Iudicium superas vatis et orbis idem.
 Non abit in peius semper vitiosior aetas;
 Nec quamvis semel est ferrea, semper erit. 20
 Nomine nostra suo est melior dicique meretur
 Aurea carminibus nobilitata tuis.
 Haec ego vos, Musae, vestroque in monte virentes
 Iam pridem lauros edidicisse reor.
 Haec ubi cantatur, nec saxa, nec aequora surda, 25
 Nec sunt indomitae turba timenda ferae.
 Vos eritis testes Getico sub sidere cautes,
 Quique Lycaonio Ponte sub axe iaces.
 At neque solus habes auritas, Sarmata, rupes,
 Mirantesve tenes Vistula solus aquas. 30
 Et Rhodope, et scopulis veniunt plaudentibus Alpes
 Nullaque non montes gens videt ire suos.
 Haec Rhodanumque Padumque tenent, haec carmina Rhenum,
 Oblitos notas, ut prius, ire vias.
 Haesit saepe Tagus fulvaque reclinis in urna 35
 Dixit: Eunt auro purius illa meo.
 Saepe aliquis nulla vates haec legit in umbra,
 Et circum viridis protinus umbra stetit.

Cui licet, haec gelida nemorum securus in umbra;
 BELGA sed heu! Lituos inter et arma sonat.
 Si sic in patriis cantasset montibus Orpheus,
 Cum silvis melius saxa secuta forent.
 Promptius Aoniam lapis ascendisset in arcem, 45
 Evectus numeris, magne poeta, tuis.
 O, quanto delphin pernicious ille natasset
 Per mare, tam blandae raptus amore lyrae!
 Haec animum certe mihi sic demulcet, ut illum
 Auferat et memorem non sinat esse sui. 50
 Saepe fui, ceu vaticinans, aliena locutus
 Et fuit abrepti carmen in ore tuum.
 Saepe locuturus diuturna silentia feci,
 Aut tenuit medios lingua repente sonos.
 Mens abit et subito tacitum mirantur amici; 55
 Me rapiunt numeri, cygne canore, tui.
 Sive iubes in Threicium capere arma tyrannum,
 Paene minax digitis sumitur hasta meis.
 Sive super nubes sublimis et aethera tendis,
 Sollicitat nostros protinus aura pedes. 60
 Sive per Ausonios spatiaris lauriger hortos,
 Me Zephyri et Florae regna subire puto.
 Seu maerente canis testudine flebile carmen,
 Palleo, nec fletu lumina nostra carent.

Cui licet, haec gelida nemorum securus in umbra;
 Belga sed heu! Lituos inter et arma canit. 40
 Si tantum in patriis cantasset montibus Orpheus,
 Cum silvis itidem saxa secuta forent.
 Nec minus Aonias lapis ascendisset in arces,
 Evectus numeris, magne poeta, tuis.
 Nec minus his captus, qui vexit Ariona, delphin, 45
 Aequareis ludens exsiliisset aquis.
 Me certe tua Musa sui dulcedine cantus
 Abripit et memorem non sinit esse mei.
 Saepe fui, ceu vaticinans, aliena locutus,
 Et fuit abrepti carmen in ore tuum. 50
 Saepe locuturus diuturna silentia feci,
 Aut rupit medios lingua retenta sonos.
 Mens abit et subito tacitum mirantur amici;
 Me rapiunt numeri, cygne canore, tui.
 Sive iubes in Threicium capere arma tyrannum, 55
 Paene minax digitis sumitur hasta meis.
 Sive super nubes sublimis et aethera tendis,
 Ipse levi videor nube repente vehi.
 Sive per Ausonios spatiaris lauriger hortos,
 Me Zephyri et Florae regna subire puto. 60
 Seu maerente canis testudine flebile carmen,
 Palleo, nec fletu lumina nostra carent.

Seu tristes hilari solaris pectine curas, 65
 Defluit ex animo cura dolorque meo.
Sive pios castae suspires mentis amores,
 Urimur, ardentes sunt tua verba faces.
Denique me formas subito convertit in omnes
 Qualiscumque operis pagina lecta tui. 70
Hoc est et volucres cantu fluviosque morari,
 Hoc est aeria ducere saxa via.
Hoc est fulmineas auferre leonibus iras,
 Hoc agnis rabidos conciliare lupos.
Pegasides divae, vestro date debita vati 75
 Quae possint Clarium sarta decere deum.
Quid precor? exiles lauro redimite poetas;
 Vos mihi, si merui, nectite sarta deae.
Nam tua, SARBIEVI, cum silvae plectra sequantur,
 Ad crines properat laurea sponte tuos. 80

Seu tristes hilari solaris pectine curas,
 Defluit ex animo cura dolorque meo. 65
Sive pios castae suspires mentis amores,
 Urimur, ardentes sunt tua verba faces.
Denique me formas subito convertit in omnes
 Qualiscumque operis pagina lecta tui.
Hoc est et volucres cantu fluviosque morari:
 Hoc est aeria ducere saxa via. 70
Hoc est fulmineas auferre leonibus iras:
 Hoc agnis rabidos conciliare lupos.
Pegasides Divae, vestro date debita vati,
 Quae possint Clarium sarta decere deum.
Quid precor? exiles lauro redimite poetas: 75
 Vos mihi, si merui, nectite sarta deae.
Nam tua, Sarbievi, cum silvae plectra sequantur,
 Ad crines properat laurea sponte tuos.

Appendix B: English translations

1632

**Elegy by Sidronius Hosschius of the Society of Jesus
to Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius**

(pp. 315–318)

Player of the Roman lyre, you, FLACCUS, who sees the stars
 As you fly, and leaves the earth inactive:
 By your leave, although the lofty language of Cleanthes or the
 Samian old man would not have been spoken more decidedly;
 Nevertheless, the path of the Dircaean swan is not impassable, 5
 Another swan, with feathers, has gone and found it.
 The wind, with which the following bird lifts itself, is not milder,
 Nor does he pierce the clouds with an inferior course.
 He goes off equally, and perhaps urges a more sublime course;
 And where PINDAR was unable, this one flies. 10
 Not with badly waxed wings does he advance towards the stars,
 Nor will he give a lamentable name to the waters of the sea.
 I invoke the heavenly spirits, both the Zephyrs and the Notos's,
 And whatever wind carried off the holy sounds:
 If HORACE had hoped for your songs, SARBIEVIUS (such a 15
 Work as he justifiably did not believe to be possible to be

1656

**Elegy IX to Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius of the Society of Jesus,
the lyrical poet**

(pp. 109–112)

Player of the Roman lyre, you who touches the stars with your
 Forehead, and as a bird looks down on the inactive earth:
 By your leave, although the lofty words of Cleanthes or the
 Samian old man would not have been spoken more decidedly:
 Nevertheless, the path of the Dircaean swan is not impassable, 5
 Another swan, with feathers, has gone and found it.
 The wind, with which the following bird lifts itself, is not milder,
 Nor does he pierce the clouds with an inferior course.
 Not with badly waxed wings does he advance towards the stars,
 About to give a sad name to the waters of the sea. 10
 I invoke the heavenly spirits, both the Zephyrs and the Notos's,
 And whatever wind carried off your sounds;
 If Flaccus had hoped for your songs, Sarbievius,
 And would have thought that the work could be made:

Made), he would have pushed away the Pindaric praises; and
 You would be his subject, and first care.
 Happy are you, whom an ardour beyond belief excites;
 You equally surpass the judgment of the Seer and the World. 20
 A wicked age does not always depart into an even worse one,
 Nor will it, although once made of iron, be so forever.
 This one certainly flees, and runs back to the ancient golden one
 That is the glory which has flowered by your poems.
 I judge that you, Muses, and the long since green laurels on 25
 Your mountain have learned this.
 Where these [things] are sung, the rocks and the seas are no longer deaf,
 And the troops of the untamed wild are not to be feared.
 You, stones underneath the Getic star, will be witnesses,
 And you, who lie beneath the sky of the Lycaonian Sea. 30
 But not POLAND alone sees the rocks hasten
 Nor does the VISTULA alone hold the amazed waters:
 Both Rhodope and the Alps come with clapping crags
 And there is no race that does not see its mountains go.
 35 These poems control the Rhone and Po and Rhine, 35
 Forgetful [rivers], to go along known paths, as before.
 Often did the Tagus hesitate and, reclining in its golden urn,
 Say: Those [poems] go forth more purely than my gold.
 Often did some seer read these in a place bereft of shade,
 And a green shadow stood around him far and wide. 40

Perhaps he would have denied that the seer cannot be equaled, 15
 Whom vigor and the greatest wind raises in the air.
 Happy are you, whom an ardour beyond belief excites!
 You equally surpass the judgment of the seer and the world.
 A wicked age does not always depart into an even worse one;
 Nor will it, although once made of iron, be so forever. 20
 Ours is better than its own name, and it deserves to be called
 Golden, famous because of your poems.
 I judge that you, Muses, and the long since green laurels on
 Your mountain have learned this.
 Where this is sung, the rocks and the seas are no longer deaf, 25
 And the troops of the untamed wild are not to be feared.
 You, stones underneath the Getic star, will be witnesses,
 And you, who lie beneath the sky of the Lycaonian Sea.
 But not you alone, Sarmatian, have rocks with ears,
 Nor do you alone, Vistula, hold the amazed waters. 30
 Both Rhodope and the Alps come with clapping crags
 And there is no race that does not see its mountains go.
 These poems control the Rhone and Po and Rhine,
 Forgetful [rivers], to go along known paths, as before.
 Often did the Tagus hesitate and, reclining in its golden urn, 35
 Say: Those [poems] go forth more purely than my gold.
 Often did some seer read these in a place bereft of shade,
 And a green shadow stood around him far and wide.

Whoever can, echoes these safely amidst the cold forest shades;
 But oh! The Belgian does so amidst clarions and weapons.
 If Orpheus had sung like that in his fatherly mountains,
 The rocks would have followed the woods better.
 Exalted by your verses, great Poet, the stone would have 45
 Climbed the Aonian citadel more eagerly.
 O how much quicker would that Dolphin have swum
 Through the sea, captured by love for such a caressing lyre!
 This [lyre] certainly caresses my spirit so, that it carries it away,
 And does not allow it to be mindful of itself. 50
 Often did I speak, as if prophesying, someone else's words,
 And your poem was in the mouth of one who was captivated.
 Often did I make a long silence when I was about to speak,
 Or did my tongue suddenly hold back in the middle of sounds.
 My mind leaves me, and my friends suddenly wonder at the 55
 Silence; your melodies, swan singer, take hold of me.
 If you bid to take up arms against the Thracian tyrant,
 The threatening spear is almost picked up by my fingers.
 If you, raised on high, stretch above the clouds and the heavens,
 The wind moves my feet far and wide. 60
 If you, wearing laurels, spread out across the Ausonian gardens,
 I think that I enter the realms of Zephyr and Flora.
 If you sing a lamentable poem with a sad lyre,
 I turn pale, and my eyes have no shortage of tears.

Whoever can, reads these safely amidst the cold forest shades;
 But oh! The Belgian does so amidst clarions and weapons. 40
 If Orpheus had sung such a great poem in his fatherly mountains,
 The rocks would have equally followed the woods.
 No less would the stone have climbed the Aonian
 Citadels, exalted, great poet, by your verses.
 And no less would this captivated dolphin, who carried 45
 Arion, have jumped out of the seawater, playing.
 Your Muse certainly snatches me away with the sweetness of
 Her song, and she does not allow me to be mindful of myself.
 Often did I speak, as if prophesying, someone else's words,
 And your poem was in the mouth of one who was captivated. 50
 Often did I make a long silence when I was about to speak,
 Or did my tongue break restrained in the middle of sounds.
 My mind leaves me, and my friends suddenly wonder at the
 Silence; your melodies, swan singer, take hold of me.
 If you bid to take up arms against the Thracian tyrant, 55
 The threatening spear is almost picked up by my fingers.
 If you, raised on high, stretch above the clouds and the heavens,
 I myself suddenly seem to be carried by a light cloud.
 If you, wearing laurels, spread out across the Ausonian gardens,
 I think that I enter the realms of Zephyr and Flora. 60
 If you sing a lamentable poem with a sad lyre,
 I turn pale, and my eyes have no shortage of tears.

If you comfort sad cares with a cheerful cither,
 My troubles and grief disappear from my spirit.
If you long for pious loves of the chaste mind,
 I burn, your words are burning torches.
In short, whichever page of your work is read,
 It changes me into all shapes. 65
This is what it means to delay birds and rivers with a song,
 This is what it means to lead rocks on a heavenly path. 70
This is what it means to take away the destructive rages of lions,
 This is what it means to unite wild wolves with lambs.
Pegasidean Goddesses, give your Seer the owed garlands,
 Which could adorn the Clarion God. 75
What do I pray for? Redeem the poor poets with a laurel;
 You, Goddesses, tie garlands to me, if I have deserved it.
For if the woods, SARBIEVIUS, follow your plectrums,
 The laurel speeds to your head of its own accord. 80

If you comfort sad cares with a cheerful cither,
 My troubles and grief disappear from my spirit. 65
If you long for pious loves of the chaste mind,
 I burn, your words are burning torches.
In short, whichever page of your work is read,
 It changes me into all shapes.
This is what it means to delay birds and rivers with a song:
 This is what it means to lead rocks on a heavenly path. 70
This is what it means to take away the destructive rages of lions:
 This is what it means to unite wild wolves with lambs.
Pegasidean Goddesses, give your seer the owed garlands,
 Which could adorn the Clarion God.
What do I pray for? Redeem the poor poets with a laurel: 75
 You, Goddesses, tie garlands to me, if I have deserved it.
For if the woods, Sarbievius, follow your plectrums,
 The laurel speeds to your head of its own accord.

Bibliography

Primary sources

- Alegambe, Ph., *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu*, Antwerpen: Johannes Meurs, 1643.
- Borrichius, O., *Dissertationes academicae de poetis, publicis disputationibus in Regio Hafniensi Lyceo assertae, ab Anno 1676. ad Annum 1681. Nunc iterum evulgatae*, Frankfurt: Johann Georg Drullmann, 1683.
- Casimir Britannicus: English Translations, Paraphrases, and Emulations of the Poetry of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski*, ed. by K. Fordoński and P. Urbański, rev. and expanded edition, London 2010.
- Duyse, P. van, *Herinneringen aen het Feest Gevierd te Merckem, den 20 Augustus 1844, ter eere van den dichter Sidronius Hosschius*, Gent: Drukkery van C. Annoot-Braeckman, 1845.
- Duyse, P. van, “Lierzang van Sarbievius, aen de latijnsche dichters van Belgie”, in *Belgisch Museum voor de Nederduitsche tael- en letterkunde en de geschiedenis des vaderlands*, ed. by J.F. Willems, vol. 2, Gent: F. en E. Gyselynck, 1838, pp. 148–161.
- Duyse P. van, “Sidronius Hosschius”, in *Belgisch Museum voor de Nederduitsche tael- en letterkunde en de geschiedenis des vaderlands*, ed. by J.F. Willems, vol. 2, Gent: F. en E. Gyselynck, 1838, pp. 396–405.
- Fuss, J.D., *Réflexions sur l'usage du latin moderne en poésie et sur le mérite des poètes latins modernes, suivies de poésies latines en partie traduites du français*, Liège: P.J. Collardin, 1829.
- Horatii Flacci, Q. *Opera*, ed. by E.C. Wickham and H.W. Garrod, Oxford 1963.
- Hosschius, S., *Elegiarum libri sex*, Antwerpen: Officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1656.
- Lettervruchten van het Leuensch genootschap tijd en vlijt. I. Dichtstukken*, Antwerpen: Drukkery van J.-E. Buschmann, 1845.
- Martialis, M. Val., *Epigrammata*, ed. by W.M. Lindsay, Oxford 1963.
- Ovid, *Fasti*, transl. by J.G. Frazer, ed. by G.P. Goold, Cambridge (MA) 1931 (Loeb Classical Library, 253).
- Ovidi Nasonis, P. *Metamorphoses*, ed. by R.J. Tarrant, Oxford 2004.
- Ovidi Nasonis, P. *Tristium Libri Quinque; Ibis; Ex Ponto Libri Quattuor; Halieutica Fragmenta*, ed. by S.G. Owen, Oxford 1963.
- Paquot, J.N., *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces de Pays-Bas, de la principauté de Liège, et de quelques contrées voisines*, vol. 2, Louvain: l'Imprimerie Académique, 1763.
- Peerlkamp, P.H., *Expositio quaestionis ab Academia Bruxellensi propositae*, Bruxelles: P.J. de Mat, 1822.
- Sarbievius, M.C., *Lycorum libri quattuor, epodon liber unus alterque epigrammatum*, Antwerpen: Officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1632.
- Sarbievius, M.C., *Lycorum libri quattuor, epodon liber unus alterque epigrammatum*, Antwerpen: Officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1634.
- Star Numan, C., “Commentatio literaria de Latina recentiorum poesi et de Horatio atque Sarbievio inter se comparatis”, in *Annales Academiae Leodiensis 1822–1823*, Liège: P.J. Collardin, 1824.

Secondary sources

- Astafev, O.G., "Twórczość Macieja Kazimierza Sarbiewskiego i jej recepcja w dawnych ukraińskich poetykach XVII–XVIII w.," *Religious and Sacred Poetry* 2 (2014), no. 1, pp. 79–117.
- Betram, G., *Peter Paul Rubens as a Designer of Title Pages: Title Page Production and Design in the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century*, Heidelberg 2018.
- Borowski, A., *Iter Polono-Belgo-Ollandicum: Cultural and Literary Relationships Between the Commonwealth of Poland and the Netherlands in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Kraków 2007.
- Buchwald-Pelcowa, P., "Kilka uwag o antwerpskich wydaniach poezji Macieja Kazimierza Sarbiewskiego," in *Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski i jego epoka. Próba syntezy*, ed. by J. Lichański, Pułtusk 2006, pp. 205–222.
- Buszewicz, E., "Poeci o poetach. 'Epicitharisma' a inspiracje i wyzwania," in *Inwencja i inspiracja w kulturze wczesnonowożytnej*, ed. by B. Niebielska-Rajca and M. Pieczyński, Lublin 2018, pp. 161–177.
- Chrościcki, J.A., "«Horatius Sarmaticus». Dwa antwerpskie wydania «Lyricorum» Sarbiewskiego z frontispisami wedle projektów Rubensa," in *O ikonografię świeckiej doby humanizmu. Tematy – symbole – problemy*, ed. by E. Karwowska, Warsaw 1977, pp. 281–333.
- Davis, G., *Polyhymnia: The Rhetoric of Horatian Lyric Discourse*, Berkeley 1991.
- Drews, P., "Die deutsche Sarbiewski-Rezeption im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," in *Sarbiewski: Der polnische Horaz*, ed. by E. Schäfer, Tübingen 2006, pp. 271–288.
- Freis, R., "The Catalogue of Pindaric Genres in Horace 'Ode' 4.2," *Classical Antiquity* 2 (1983), no. 1, pp. 27–36.
- Guépin, J.P., "Casimirus Sarbievius, E rebus humanis excessus: Ode II 5," *Bzzletin* (1987), no. 144, pp. 58–59.
- Harrison, S.J., "Horace, Pindar, Iullus Antonius, and Augustus: Odes 4.2," in *Homage to Horace: A Bimillenary Celebration*, ed. by S.J. Harrison, Oxford and New York 1995, pp. 108–127.
- Hulsenboom, P., "Have the menacing Alcaean Muses blown the war trumpets again? Two Versions of Jacobus Wallius' Ode to Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius," in *Some Renaissance: Early Modern Topoi in the Twenty First Century*, ed. by K. Kujawińska Courtney and G. Zinkiewicz, Łódź 2015, pp. 71–96.
- Hulsenboom, P., "No one touched the strings of the cither more becomingly? The First Eulogy of Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius," *Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium Graecae et Latinae* 25 (2015), no. 2, pp. 97–117.
- Hulsenboom, P., "Sending a Message to the Thebans, Poles and Dutch: The First Published Translation of Sarbiewski in the Low Countries and Its Appropriation to a 17th-Century Dutch Context," *De Zeventiende Eeuw. Cultuur in de Nederlanden in interdisciplinair perspectief* 32 (2016), no. 1, pp. 81–96.
- Ijsewijn, J., "Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius, Ad Amicos Belgas," in *Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius in cultura Lithuaniae, Poloniae, Europae. Materies conventus scientifici internationalis anniversario quadringentesimo a die natali Poetae dedicati Vilnae, 19–21 Octobris, A.D. MCMXCV, Senosios literatūros studijos*, ed. by E. Ulčinaitė, Vilnius 1998, pp. 25–50.
- Kennedy, N.T., "Pindar and Horace," *Acta Classica* 18 (1975), pp. 9–24.

- Ludwig, W., *Der Ritt des Dichters auf dem Pegasus und der Kuss der Muse – zwei neuzeitliche Mythologeme*, Göttingen 1996.
- Nagy, G., “Copies and Models in Horace Odes 4.1 and 4.2”, *The Classical World* 87 (1994), no. 5, pp. 415–426.
- Pelc, J., “Jeszcze o symbolice Rubensowskich rycin do antwerpskich wydań poezji M.K. Sarbiewskiego”, in *Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski i jego epoka. Próba syntezy*, ed. by J. Lichański, Pułtusk 2006, pp. 193–203.
- Race, W.H., “Horace’s Debt to Pindar”, in *A Companion to Horace*, ed. by G. Davis, Oxford 2010, pp. 147–173.
- Ryzek, W., “Retoryka marzenia sennego. Oda do Wojciecha Turckiego (IV.32) Macieja Kazimierza Sarbiewskiego”, *Teksty Drugie* (2016), no. 5, pp. 74–96.
- Sacré, D., “Etiam si in tuas laudes totum conspiraret Belgium: Aspects of Sarbievius’s Nachleben”, in *Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius in cultura Lithuaniae, Poloniae, Europae. Materies conventus scientifici internationalis anniversario quadringentesimo a die natali Poetae dedicati Vilnae, 19–21 Octobris, A.D. MCMXCV, Senosios literatūros studijos*, ed. by E. Ulčinaitė, Vilnius 1998, pp. 109–133.
- Sacré, D., “Neolatijnse poëzie in België in de negentiende eeuw: een terreinverkenning”, *Gezelliana* 7 (1995), pp. 98–115.
- Sacré, D., *Sidronius Hosschius, Merkem 1596 – Tongeren 1653: Jezüiet en Latijns dichter*, Kortrijk 1996.
- Sacré, D., “Some Unnoticed and Unpublished Letters From Balthasar Moretus To or Concerning the Latin Poet Matthias Casimirus Sarbievius (1595–1640) (With an Unknown Autograph Poem)”, *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch. Journal of Neo-Latin Language and Literature* 1 (1999), pp. 205–229.
- Schäfer, E., *Deutscher Horaz: Conrad Celtis – Georg Fabricius – Paul Melissus – Jacob Balde. Die Nachwirkung des Horaz in der neulateinischen Dichtung Deutschlands*, Wiesbaden 1976.
- Starnawski, J., “Sarbiewski i jego belgijscy przyjaciele”, *Meander* 50 (1995), no. 1–2, pp. 45–66.
- Thill, A., “Sarbiewskis Höhenflug als Medium zwischen Horazischer und moderner Dichtung”, *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* 20 (1993), pp. 28–33.
- Wichary, G., “Recepcja twórczości M.K. Sarbiewskiego w polskim Oświeceniu”, *Pamiętnik Literacki* 66 (1975), no. 2, pp. 143–157.

PAUL HULSENBOOM

🏠 Radboud Universiteit, Nijmegen / Radboud University, Nijmegen, Netherlands

@ p.hulsenboom[at]let.ru.nl

🌐 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3138-3695>

🌐 <https://paulhulsenboom.com/about/>

Paul Hulsenboom—PhD student at the Department of Dutch Language and Culture at Radboud University, Nijmegen. Research interests: early modern relations between the Low Countries and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, cultural and literary exchange, diplomacy. Recent publication: “Diplomats as Poets, Poets as Diplomats: Poetic Gifts and Literary Reflections of the Dutch Mediations between Poland-Lithuania and Sweden in the Early Seventeenth Century”, *Legatio: The Journal for Renaissance and Early Modern Diplomatic Studies* 3 (2019).