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### A FORGOTTEN AUTOGRAPH POEM BY SIDRONIUS HOSSCHIUS S.I. (1596–1653)

Primum enim quem literatorum non delectet ac pascat haec suavis et simplex et invidendo ac nusquam affectato cultu insignis, et affectibus piis et exquisitis sentiis et deliciis omnibus redundans poesis?<sup>1</sup>

Il s'est trouvé dans ces derniers siècles un Allemand nommé Lotichius, un Italien nommé Molsa, un Flamand nommé Sidronius, qui ont écrit des élégies d'une grande beauté.<sup>2</sup>

In the manuscript collection of the Museum Plantin-Moretus at Antwerp, Belgium, there is an interesting volume<sup>3</sup> of Latin (and Greek) poems by different authors, dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The last piece, for instance, is an anonymous elegy, written by a Belgian priest, who was put in jail for having insulted the king of the Netherlands; it was composed as late as 1828 by Jan-Baptist Buelens, as we have demonstrated elsewhere<sup>4</sup>. Earlier pieces include a poem by the famous French Neo-Latin poet Nicolaus Borbonius, an epigram by Maximilianus Vignacurtius from Arras, who was a correspondent of Lipsius, and a Greek poem by the physician and famous Pindaric poet Federicus Jamotius from Béthune.

The volume also contains an autograph poem by Sidronius Hosschius<sup>5</sup>. The fact that this poem eluded the notice of the scholars of that Neo-Latin poet should not come as a surprise to us, since the index nominum to the manuscript catalogue of the Museum Plantin-Mo-

<sup>1</sup> *Sidronii Hosschii e Societate Jesu Elegiarum libri sex* (...) (Antverpiae, 1667), f. \*2v: Jacobus Wallius, dedication of Hosschius' poetry to Pope Alexander VII.

<sup>2</sup> René Rapin, *Les réflexions sur la poétique de ce temps et sur les ouvrages des poètes anciens et modernes* [1674]. Édition critique publiée par E. T. Dubois, Textes littéraires français (Genève, 1970), p. 127. The editor has failed to identify Sidronius.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. 444 (M 16).

<sup>4</sup> D. Sacré, "Antrum hoc horrendum caelestis doveret ignis. Een poëtische cel-brief in het Latijn, anno 1828", *Handelingen van de Kon. Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 44 (1990), 63–88.

<sup>5</sup> Ff. 17r – 18r.

retus only mentions him under his Christian name, Sidronius<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, the additional information given in the catalogue is erroneous: there it is said that the elegy is followed by an answer in prose. Actually, the "Responsio ad Zoilos", which we can read on f. 19, is an earlier document (written in an entirely different hand) that has nothing to do with Hosschius: it is a rough copy of an apology drafted by an Antwerp teacher, a former pupil of Lipsius, accused of incompetence, and must date back to the early seventeenth century.

It is worth while having a closer look at Sidronius Hosschius' poem: it is one of the very few autograph poems of his that have come to us (a comparison with some letters, written by Hosschius and kept at the Royal Library at Brussels, makes clear that our version is an autograph one; besides, the copy has a correction *supra lineam* in the same handwriting); the autograph enables us to date and to contextualize the poem, which was afterwards given a place in Hosschius' collected verse, but with some variant readings; finally, it is one of the early printed poems of a poet who for more than two centuries has enjoyed public favour in most countries of Europe and even beyond.

Some of Hosschius' poems were included in a bilingual anthology of Jesuit Latin poets, published a few years ago in the United States<sup>7</sup>. This inclusion was a token of the lasting fame of the poet. The Neo-Latin poet Giuseppe Morabito from Reggio di Calabria, who is in his nineties, but is still active and continues to write Latin poetry, once asked me if I knew Hosschius: the latter was the only Neo-Latin poet from the Netherlands he had ever read, and he considered him to be as brilliant and as smooth an elegiac writer as Ovid. To some extent, his praise might be excessive. Our most famous Neo-Latin poet probably was Janus Secundus (1511–1536), who surpassed Hosschius in poetic intensity and linguistic skill, as well as in thematic richness. On the other hand, Hosschius has often been compared to the greatest Latin elegists, Tibullus and especially Ovid as the author of the *Tristitia*: like them, he strove for a plain elegance. Nevertheless, his imagery is often baroque: in his famous first book of elegies, for instance, he equated human life with a sea voyage; this allegorical as well as moralizing and religious kind of poetry was all the vogue then: so we are not surprised that in 1652 the senior students of the Brussels Jesuit College were asked to make Latin emblems on the same theme, a *Navigatio allegorica de vita humana*<sup>8</sup>; these would be on exhibition

<sup>6</sup> Cp. *Musaeum Plantin-Moretus. Catalogue des manuscrits. Catalogus der handschriften* par – door J. Denucé (Antwerp, 1927), pp. 252–253 and 301.

<sup>7</sup> *Jesuit Latin Poets of the 17th and 18th Centuries. An Anthology of Neo-Latin Poetry*. Selected and Paraphrased by J. J. Mertz, S. J. Edited and Annotated by J. P. Murphy, S. J. in collaboration with J. IJsewijn (Wauconda, 1989), pp. 84–91.

<sup>8</sup> Manuscript at the Royal Library at Brussels, 20.311.

during the annual *affixio*. Nor does it come as a surprise that Cardinal Fabio Chigi (Pope Alexander VII from 1655 on), a Latin poet himself, summoned his literary friends to honour the deceased poet with a volume of Latin poetry. After all, the Jesuit had been not only an eminent poet, but also one of the authors of the famous *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu a Provincia Flandro-Belgica eiusdem Societatis repraesentata* (1640), a treasure of typography, issued by Plantin's grandson Balthasar Moretus; moreover he had taught for a couple of years at the court of Archduke Leopold William of Austria, Governor of the Netherlands.

Sidronius Hosschius<sup>9</sup> career as a teacher of Greek and Latin had started at 's-Hertogenbosch (or Den Bosch) in North Brabant (1620–1623)<sup>10</sup>, where he was a professor of Latin, Greek and religion at the Jesuit College, of which he later became the *praefectus scholarum* (1628–1629)<sup>11</sup>. There, he had witnessed the siege of the city by the troops of the United Provinces in 1629; that siege started on 1 May, lasted for four and a half months and ended with the capitulation: 's-Hertogenbosch was lost for the Spanish Netherlands and most Catholics had to flee. Hosschius wrote a short account of the events of 1629, the *Obsidionis Sylvaducensis succincta narratio*<sup>12</sup>.

During his first stay at 's-Hertogenbosch Hosschius had Otho Zylius S. J. (1588–1656) as his principal<sup>13</sup>. This Jesuit, who came from Utrecht, where he had been a fellow pupil of Cornelius Jansenius and an admirer of Justus Lipsius<sup>14</sup>, was not ill disposed to Latin

<sup>9</sup> Born in Western Flanders in 1596.

<sup>10</sup> During the years 1623–1628 he lived in Leuven, i.a. to study theology.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. e.g. G. J. W. Stejns, *Inventaris van het archief van het Jezuïetencollege (1609–1629) te 's-Hertogenbosch*, Rijksarchief in Noord-Brabant, Inventarisreeks, 17 ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1976), p. 106; M. A. Nauwelaerts, *Latijnse School en onderwijs te 's-Hertogenbosch tot 1629*, Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het Zuiden van Nederland, 30 (Tilburg, 1974), pp. 300–301 and 306.

<sup>12</sup> Cp. C. R. Hermans, *Verzameling van zeldzame oorkonden betreffende het beleg van 's-Hertogenbosch in den jare 1629*, 1 ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1850), pp. 99–190. The *Obsidionis Sylvaducensis succincta narratio* does not bear the name of the author, who was a Jesuit beyond any doubt. The work is attributed to Hosschius on the basis of a marginal note in one of the manuscripts.

<sup>13</sup> On Zylius, see e.g. Valerius Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica. Facsimile of the Edition Louvain 1643*, Monumenta Humanistica Belgica, 5 (Nieuwkoop, 1973), p. 710; J. -N. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces dec Pays-Bas* (...), 11 (Louvain, 1768), pp. 179–182; J. F. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica* (...) (Bruxellis, 1739), p. 937; Knippenberg, "Zijl (Otto van)", in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, 5 (Leiden, 1921), coll. 1184–1185; *Mirakelen* [infra, note 16], pp. 53–58.

<sup>14</sup> Cp. F. van Hoeck, "Uit de geschiedenis van het Bossche Jezuïetencollege (1610–1629)", *Bossche Bijdragen*, 14(1936–1937), 165–206, especially pp. 202–206 (an autobiographical passage included in a *Elogium* of Zylius, composed after his death): "Ajebat Jansenius homines illos [scil. Societatis Jesu patres] esse exempli magni rectique, probitatis eximiae, omnigena excultos doctrina, latinitatis purioris, qua ego

poetry (he wrote an epic poem on the siege of the city of Cambrai by the French in 1649)<sup>15</sup>, but took a special interest in hagiography (he made a Latin translation of two Greek saints' lives, and his paraphrases were included in the *Acta Sanctorum*)<sup>16</sup>. He had arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch at the end of 1618 or in the first month of 1619 and, around Christmas of the same year, was appointed as the rector of the Jesuit College<sup>17</sup>. When (in 1622 or so) he found an old manuscript, written in Dutch and describing the miracles connected with a statue of the Holy Virgin in 's-Hertogenbosch<sup>18</sup>, Zylius was so impressed that he decided to make a Latin adaptation of the work: he furnished the public with a large selection from the miracles and added a few chapters on the city of 's-Hertogenbosch. In 1625, however, Zylius left 's-Hertogenbosch for Gent; in 1628, he came to Brussels, where he spent the greater part of his life. When in 1630 the statue of 'his' Virgin of 's-Hertogenbosch was solemnly transferred to Brussels, Zylius finished off his Latin *Miracula* in a hurry. He wrote a couple of new chapters on the siege of Den Bosch, the transfer of the Virgin's statue<sup>19</sup> and on the relation between divine providence and the siege of the North Brabant city. The work, written in elegant Latin, was accepted for publication by Balthasar Moretus in Antwerp; it came out in the summer of 1632<sup>20</sup>: *Othonis Zylui e Soc. Iesu Historia Miraculorum B. Mariae Silvaducensis, iam ad D. Gaugerici Bruxellam translatae*<sup>21</sup>. It was quite normal that Hosschius was asked to adorn the book with a liminary poem<sup>22</sup>, since he was familiar with both the Vir-

tunc quidem capiebam, amatores. Viderem quanti eos faceret Justus Lipsius, vir tantus, qui octavo quoque die in ipsorum templo sacramenta frequentabat. Neque parva apud me valuit auctoritas Lipsii cujus famam et virtutes supiciebam. Itabam igitur ad Societatis aedem et Lipsium, divino ibi epulo accumbentem, identidem observabam".

<sup>15</sup> *Cameracum obsidione liberatum* (...) (Antverpiae, 1650); often reissued, i.a. together with Hosschius' poetry.

<sup>16</sup> Cp. *Januarii tomus tertius* (...) (Bruxellis, 1863), pp. 339–345; 699–710.

<sup>17</sup> It is not impossible that he is the author of a *Historia Collegii Silvaeducensis* (manuscript in the Rijksarchief at Brussels): cp. F. van Hoeck, *o.c.*

<sup>18</sup> The original manuscript was published in 1978: *Mirakelen van Onze Lieve Vrouw te 's-Hertogenbosch 1381–1603. Transcriptie, annotatie en inleiding* van H. Hens, G. C. M. van Dijck, J. H. M. Frantzen, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het Zuiden van Nederland*, 42 (Tilburg, 1978).

<sup>19</sup> In the middle of the nineteenth century, the statue returned from the Kapellekerk at Brussels to 's-Hertogenbosch.

<sup>20</sup> For some details concerning the delay in the publication of the work, see appendix 2.

<sup>21</sup> Cp. *Bibliotheca Catholica Neerlandica impressa 1500–1727* (Hagae Comitatus, 1954), p. 250.

<sup>22</sup> The book also contains (on ff. \*\*\*1r-\*\*\*2v) a liminary poem by the Jesuit Jacobus Caterus or Jacques de Cater(e) (Antwerp, 1593 – Brussels, 1657), on whom see C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (...), II (Bruxelles – Paris, 1891), coll. 876–878; E.-H. J. Reusens, "De Cater (Jacques)", in *Biographie nationale* (...) de Belgique, 4 (Bruxelles, 1873), coll. 862–863.

gin of 's-Hertogenbosch and with Zylius. In these years, Hosschius lived in Antwerp, where he was in charge of the resident pupils of the Jesuit College<sup>23</sup>. The manuscript which is now in the Museum Plantin-Moretus might well have been handed over to Balthasar Moretus by Hosschius personally. It was printed, with some changes<sup>24</sup>, in Zylius' book on ff. \*\*\*3r-\*\*\*4v. 1632 was the year in which important poems of Hosschius were published for the first time; Zylius' volume, containing Hosschius' poem, came out in Antwerp in exactly the same month as Sarbievius' *Lyrice*, which were accompanied by a poem of Hosschius too; so two of the greatest Jesuit Latin poets started their international careers in the same place and at the same moment. After Hosschius' death, his friend and *aemulus* Jacobus Wallius S. J. collected the printed poems and the unpublished material together with Guilielmus Becanus' Latin poetry; thus in 1656, Hosschius' collected poetical works were published for the first time by Balthasar II Moretus at Antwerp, under the somewhat misleading title *Elegiarum libri sex*<sup>25</sup>; our elegy was included as the seventh of book two.

From the first edition of the poem on, one distich has been left out:

Et tamen haec una est quae tantum sanguinis hausit.

Heu mala libertas, quam bene tollit Iber.

There it is said that that the Dutch troops pretended to liberate 's-Hertogenbosch from the Spanish yoke and to introduce freedom. In fact, Hosschius replied, they brought the city under the yoke of heresy and eternal damnation; it is a false and bad form of freedom, imposed by bloodshed: therefore, it is better to be under the rule of the Spanish. The distich will have been removed by the poet or by his editor because the pentameter was too explicit in its suggestion that the Spanish deprived the Belgians of their freedom (*libertas, quam bene tollit Iber*). The printed versions offer some less important variant readings too, which I mention in the critical apparatus.

<sup>23</sup> In 1632, Hosschius moved to the Jesuit College of Gent; from ca. 1637 until 1647 he taught in Kortrijk, in Western Flanders; from 1647 to 1649, he was at the Brussels court, where he was involved in the education of the pages of the governor of the Spanish Netherlands; from 1649 to 1652 he lived in Gent; in the summer of 1652, he became superior of the Jesuit residence of Tongeren, where he died in September 1653. For the essential bibliography concerning Hosschius, see A. Gerlo-H. D. L. Vervliet, *Bibliographie de l'humanisme des anciens Pays-Bas. Avec un répertoire bibliographique des humanistes et poètes néo-latins*, Instrumenta humanistica III (Bruxelles, 1972), pp. 369–370; M. De Schepper-C. L. Heesakkers, *Id. Supplément 1970–1985 avec compléments à l'édition de A. Gerlo et H. D. L. Vervliet* (Bruxelles 1972) (Bruxelles, 1988), p. 275.

<sup>24</sup> Our autograph, however, has no notes or marks written in another hand.

<sup>25</sup> The book also contained some poetry in hexameters and in lyric verse.

Sidronius Hosschius' elegy in honour of Zylius' *Miracula*<sup>26</sup> is much richer than the average liminary poem tends to be. Its length exceeds that of a normal laudatory poem accompanying another work; its content is not confined to a mere commendation of Zylius' *Historia*.

Admittedly, the first part of it (ll. 1–36) is rather traditional. There, the poet eulogizes the stylistic qualities of Zylius' work: it is clearly inspired by its protagonist, the Holy Virgin herself; it will live forever on the basis of its contents and its literary virtue. To describe these miracles in such a skilful way is to make them happen again. So Hosschius quite audaciously attributes the miracles to Zylius himself as an homage to the brilliant author. He mentions some of them, obviously taking them from the work itself<sup>27</sup>, and he urges Zylius to go on writing on the recent miracles worked by the Virgin<sup>28</sup>. He compares Zylius to the greatest writers of his age. These Latin writers with whom he equates Zylius are, of course, not chosen at random. Both of them had written similar works on miracles of Mary. One is Justus Lipsius, whom Zylius admired so much; he was the author of the *Diva Virgo Hallensis. Beneficia eius et miracula fide atque ordine descripta* (Antwerp, J. Moretus, 1604), and of *Diva Sichemensis sive Aspricollis, nova eius beneficia et admiranda* (Antwerp, J. Moretus, 1605). Just as Zylius' miracles, Lipsius' *miracula* in the *Diva Sichemensis* were adapted from a work written in the vernacular. The other author is Erycius Puteanus, Lipsius' successor at Leuven university and a prolific writer with an eloquent style, who was on good terms with the Jesuits. At the request of Isabella of Austria, Puteanus had supplemented Lipsius' *Diva Sichemensis: Diva Virgo Aspricollis. Miracula eius praecipua a Iusto Lipsio et Erycio Puteano descripta* (Louvain, Van Haestens and P. Zangrius, 1622–1623). Lipsius' name will last as long as Halle and Scherpenheuvel exist<sup>29</sup>. Puteanus' fame will only die together with Scherpenheuvel; so one would expect that the poet would say: 'Zylius' glory will only pass away with 's-Hertogenbosch', but he cannot, since the city is not in Catholic hands anymore. So, ll. 35–36 constitute a natural transition to the second part of the poem,

<sup>26</sup> Critical edition in appendix 1.

<sup>27</sup> Cp. e.g. l. 3 (*flamma innoxia*) with Zylius I,7; l. 4 (*aequora moraris*) with Zylius 2,24; ll. 5–6 (*vincula – fores*) with Zylius 2,119; l. 7 (*infirmos*) with Zylius 2,15; ll. 9–12 with Zylius 4,12; ll. 13–14 with Zylius 1,9; ll. 15–16 with Zylius 2,1; ll. 17–18 (to a certain degree) with Zylius 2,59; 19–20 with Zylius 4,24 (the last miracle, dating from 1603); ll. 21–22 with Zylius 2,54, etc.

<sup>28</sup> Zylius 4,28 had mentioned the fact that the Virgin continued to have a benign influence when her statue was transferred to Brussels: *Quibus dysenteria infesta est, vix alibi praesentium remedium inveniunt. Inde celebre loco nomen obtigit, eiusce morbi curatione vulgatum*".

<sup>29</sup> Ll. 29–34. Two places in Brabant. Scherpenheuvel (Mons Acutus or Mons Asper); Halle (Halla), through which town the Zenne (Senna) flows.

which is a long complaint about the capitulation of the Brabant city (11. 37–76), followed by a section in which the poet expresses the hope that, one day, the Virgin will perform a new miracle and give the city back to the Catholics. Hosschius does not naïvely claim that this miracle will happen in the near future. No, the citizens of Den Bosch should cherish Zylus' work and consider it as a proof that the Virgin can help when things are at their worst; for more than two centuries, these miracles were almost forgotten; now they have come brilliantly to life thanks to Zylus' Latin survey, and from now on they can serve as a comfort, arousing hope even for the afflicted people of 's-Hertogenbosch.

The section on the capture of Den Bosch clearly derives from Hosschius' own experience – the fall of the city will have been one of the most traumatic events of his life- and occurs several times in his poetry<sup>30</sup>. On the other hand, it also refers to Zylus' work itself, which includes a chapter on the capture and also contrasts the previous miracles of the Virgin with her apparently holding aloof from the catastrophe that recently overtook her city. Here, Hosschius lays stress on other reflections than Zylus. For the author of the *Historia miraculorum*, the capture of the city was the result of the divine decision that people should not be happy for too long a period, since this would weaken them and turn them away from the Virgin: "Non satis tutum esse diuturnae felicitatis commercium. Hinc mavult suos Diva salvos quam laetos esse."<sup>31</sup> Though he is aware of the fact that the younger generation of citizens might easily absorb the new and heretical religious convictions<sup>32</sup>, he places his hope in the individual Catholics and their devotion to the Virgin: "At domo sua pulsa Virgo est. Falleris. Non Virginis domus Silvaducis, sed Silvaducenses sunt. Qui quamdiu erunt, hospitium sibi gratum Dia inveniet."<sup>33</sup> So especially in these miserable circumstances, the people of 's-Hertogenbosch have the possibility to gain salvation. For Hosschius, on the contrary, time is an extremely dreadful enemy (11. 59–66). The reader has the feeling that the poet is less optimistic than Zylus was. Admittedly, the final paragraph (11. 77–106) is hopeful: if the citizens do not lose their faith in the operation of the Virgin (and Zylus' *Miracula* will help them to

<sup>30</sup> E.g. *Elegiae* 3,12: *In obitum Lamberti Verreyken, equestris turmae praefecti, ad Silvam Ducis tormenti ictu interempti*. Cp. also his *Obsidionis Silvaducensis succincta narratio*.

<sup>31</sup> Zylus, p. 355.

<sup>32</sup> Zylus, p. 351: "Veteranos catholicos, quos aetas, quos longa disciplina firmasset, quam fidem sanguine defendissent, non spe, non metu abiecturos; verum tironibus eos annos ingressis, qui commenta fallentium degustent et nondum eos qui respuant, omnia timenda imminere. Nihil citius quam hosce vixdum pullulantes pueritae flores levi errorum afflatu in herba elidi posse."

<sup>33</sup> Zylus, p. 356.

persevere), she will be moved to operate once again in favour of her citizens. But one feels that all this is primarily meant as an homage to Zylus' accomplishment. And, of course, Hosschius sympathizes with Zylus' attempt to keep the Catholic tradition alive in the city of Den Bosch.

The lament over the capture of Den Bosch takes the form of a prosopopoeia, introducing Den Bosch as a person. As often, *Buscum-ducum*, *Bolducum* or *Silvaducis* is called *Silva*, referring to its origin<sup>34</sup>. And *Silva* speaks as a human being, while she retains some characteristics of a wood (ll. 39–40, 42, 58, 61–62, 67, 73–74). The poet addresses her as a person. Recalling the situations of extreme affliction in which the Virgin formerly lent aid to man, he reintroduces half of the cases mentioned in the first part of the poem and describes them with slight variations and in a different order (ll. 81–88). Thus he links the third part with the first. For the same reason, he repeats *animosus* (l. 94; sp. l. 27) and introduces a local river, the *Dommela* (l. 92), reminding us of the *Senna* mentioned in the first part (l. 30). In its literary modelling, the poem concludes with a description of the coming of the Virgin of Den Bosch (ll. 97–104); her concern for the people and her virtues are apparent from her physical appearance; thus Hosschius suggests that the citizens of the city now dispose of a literary monument that is as valuable as the statue of the Virgin they have lost.

Sidronius Hosschius' elegy cannot be written off as an occasional poem with a marginal position in his *opera omnia*. It is a well thought-out, balanced and well articulated poem that yields in nothing to the poet's so-called major elegies.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1: A critical edition of Hosschius's poem

SIGLA: A: Autograph manuscript

B: Text in Zylus' *Miracula*

C: Text in Hosschius' *Elegiae* (Antwerp, 1656, etc.)

Ad Reverendum Patrem Othonem Zylum Silva-ducensis DIVAE miracula scribentem

Livor testis erit: geminas miracula, ZYLI;

scribere sic de se non nisi DIVA dedit.

Seu tibi flamma pia est mollique innoxia tactu,

<sup>34</sup> Also mentioned by Zylus, p. 7: "Ceterum ubi nunc est Silvaducis initio nemus fuisse traditur condensum arboribus ac manantibus tranquillo cursu rivis amoenum. Principes amore loci adductos cum delectis amicorum hunc saltum ad agitandas feras frequentasse. Inde Silvaeducis nomen haesit."



aequora suspensis sive moraris aquis,  
 sive iubes rigidi mollescere vincula ferri, 5  
 seu facis aeratas sponte patere fores,  
 seu recreas subitis infirmos virbus artus,  
 prodigiis certat pagina quaeque suis.  
 Sic media ventos in tempestate coerces  
 et placidum invito gurgite sternis iter. 10  
 O quoties sua pro tabulis sunt vota natanti  
 cum ratis insanis victa dehiscit aquis!  
 O quoties pallens coram latrone viator  
 vix "Fer opem, VIRGO" dicit et illa tulit!  
 Ducis et interdum strictos impune per enses, 15  
 quem circum sitiens sanguinis ira furit.  
 Vidi ego quod medio ferrum torpebat in ictu,  
 Virginea vires eripiente manu.  
 Saepe globum vidi, qui fulmine pulveris actus  
 pectoris in summa parte pependit iners. 20  
 Quin etiam tenues redeunt in corpora vitae  
 natalemque novum saepe cadaver habet.  
 Vita licet redeat, tamen hanc mors altera tollet;  
 quam tu das, ZYLI, vita perennis erit.  
 O nova praeteritis miracula iungere felix, 25  
 hoc age, DIVA tuas dirigit ipsa manus.  
 Praecessere duces, animosi LIPSIUS oris,  
 Phoebique et Charitum par PUTEANUS amor.  
 Nomen erit LIPSI donec MONS stabit ACUTUS  
 et rapidis HALLAM SENNA rigabit aquis. 30  
 Et PUTEANUS erit duro dum nomine COLLIS,  
 at non orantum vocibus ASPER erit.  
 Tu quoque, dum votis, ZYLI, tua Diva coletur  
 doctaque dum vivent scripta, superstes eris.  
 SILVA dabit meritos, quamvis maestissima, plausus, 35  
 heu SILVA, heu nullis flenda satis lacrimis.  
 Fas audire fuit, fas et spectare dolentem:  
 sit quoque fas luctus, SILVA, referre tuos.  
 Dicebas (memini): "Prius o a stirpe revellar  
 quam vitiet ramos illa Megaera meos. 40  
 Vana precor; saevis victam tenet Haeresis armis  
 perque meas multo sibilat angue comas.  
 Tristior hic sonus est quam Martius ante tumultus:  
 audivi atque iterum sum mihi visa capi.  
 Haec spiris tenet implicitam; vix libera vox est, 45  
 libera vix tacito gutta dolore fluit.  
 Libertas tamen est, Batavis si creditur. Eheu

quanto libertas me premit illa iugo!  
 Impia libertas arctandaque mille catenis,  
     quae nisi qua pereant non sinis ire tuos. 50  
 Unica, te domina, miseris obstructa salutis,  
     et centumgeminae mortis aperta via est.  
 Et tamen haec una est quae tantum sanguinis hausit.  
     Heu mala libertas, quam bene tollit Iber.  
 Libera sic non sim, mihi vix captiva videbor. 55  
     Haeresis est luctus summa caputque mei.  
 Illa necaturi perfundit tabe veneni  
     aetherio solitas rore madere comas.  
 Ergo ego paulatim Stygia corrumpar ab aura,  
     ille mei sensim defluet oris honor, 60  
 qualiter aut gelidis pallens Aquilonibus hortus,  
     aut vito caeli deficit aegra seges.  
 Pugno quidem contra, sed tempus, ut Haeresis, instat  
     et spoliū de me quilibet annus habet.  
 Cumque alios sanet tempus minuatur dolores, 65  
     nostra quod augebit vulnera tempus erit.  
 Ah potius ferro, victor, me perde vel igni:  
     sic mihi, si nescis, lenior hostis eris.  
 Non flebo in cineres verti bustumque meorum,  
     dummodo sit pretium cladis avita fides.  
 Hoc mihi contingat: reddent haec funera vitam  
     aeternosque rogos obruet ille cinis.  
 At nunc o utinam (miseris ignoscite votis)  
     quam quod sum potius campus et herba forem!  
 Vos flentum precibus faciles subscribere, DIVI, 75  
     hoc date, si mereor clade minore premi."  
 Erige, SILVA, animos. Spes numquam in VIRGINE nulla est,  
     spes falli auguriis non solet illa suis.  
 Respice quo soieat succurrere tempore VIRGO:  
     hoc tibi spem quamvis flebile tempus alet. 80  
 Cum iacuit nulla medici curabilis arte,  
     tunc exoravit VIRGINIS aeger opem.  
 Quique sacra pictas suspendit in aede procellas  
     navita servatus, naufragus ante fuit.  
 Vincloꝝ immunes an onustos pondere ferri 85  
     laxavit tacita iussa catena sera?  
 VIRGO quibus gelidos animam revocavit in artus  
     nonne prius cassum lumine funus erant?  
 Denique vota tuam toties orantia DIVAM  
     pro deploratis scis valuisse malis. 90  
 Et tu spem retine, quamvis pessumdata, quamvis

maerens captivas DOMMELA volvat aquas.  
 Et quantum opprimeris, tantum sperare memento:  
     crede mihi, superos spes animosa capit.  
 Si capit hos, satis est; tunc invia nulla saluti                      95  
     moenia nec vastae stagna paludis erunt.  
 En tibi, quo maior surgat fiducia, VIRGO  
     per duo vix notam saecula monstrat opem.  
 Aspicias ut puro veniat pulcherrima cultu,  
     si sineretque tuus, tota serena, dolor?                      100  
 Aspicias augustae quam blanda modestia formae,  
     quam spiret roseis gratia viva genis?  
 Maternos animos oculis vultuque fatetur  
     nec facie mentem dissimulante venit.  
 Et venit in tenebras numquam reditura priores:                      105  
     historiae, ZYLI, lux erit illa tuae.

Sidronius de Hosche S.I.

Tit.: Ad ... scribentem **A**: Reverendo Parti Othoni Zyllo Silvaducensis Divae miracula scribenti **B** Ad Othonem Zylum, e Societate Jesu. Cum Silvaducensis Divae miracula evulgaret **C** 7 infirmos: languentes **A** *ante correct.* 16 furit **A**: fremit **BC** 28 Phoebique et **A**: Et Phoebi et **BC** 32 orantum **A**: languentum **BC** 53–54 omiserunt **BC** 56 summa **A**: causa **BC** 65 minuatve **A**: minuatque **BC** Expl.: Sidronius de Hosche S.I. **A**: *omiserunt* **BC**

## Appendix 2: Unpublished letters from Balthasar Moretus to Otho Zylus, 1632

Through these letters, preserved in the Plantin Archives at Antwerp (ms. Arch. 144)<sup>35</sup>, we gain a clear understanding of the process of printing of the *Miracula*. The letters suggest (i) that Zylus had to round off his work in a hurry and that he did not pay much attention to the proofs he received from the printer. The first folia of the work have been printed late in 1631 (the *censura* by the bishop of Den Bosch dates from 13 December 1630, the *facultas* was given by the Provincial of the Jesuits on 25 June 1631, and the *approbatio censoris Antverpiensis* followed on 29 June 1631). At least the dedication to Isabella of Austria, the foreword to the reader and probably the liminary poems were handed over to Moretus in August 1632; (ii) that the middleman between the author and the editor was the famous Jesuit Bollandus, who also acted as an intermediary when Moretus

<sup>35</sup> In ms. Arch. 94 there is one autograph letter from Zylus to Balthasar Moretus (Brussels, 15 November 1634), which has nothing to do with the publication of the *Miracula*. In that letter, however, Zylus is complaining once again, because some of the books he has received from Moretus are too expensive. He even returns some to the publisher.

edited Sarbievius' *Lyrica* in the same months (on Bollandus, see e.g. A. Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas* (...) (Bruxelles, 1927), passim); (iii) that Zylus sometimes was a difficult person to work with (cp. the third letter, note 35 and A. Poncelet, *o.c.*, I, p. 518).

a) P. 241: 3 January 1632

Othoni Zyllo, Bruxellam. Reverende in Christo Pater, Ignosce, nihil aut parum dubitationi meae satisfactum, sed opinio mea confirmata est libro primo anni 1381 miracula recenseri, libro secundo non anni 1383, sed anni 1382 inchoari<sup>36</sup>. Inspiciet quaeso Reverentia Vestra folia quattuor a Reverendo Patre Bollando missa et quantum quod his iungo<sup>37</sup>: nusquam in his anni 1382 mentio, nisi initio libri secundi, ubi ego annum istum substitui loco insequentis quem Reverentia Vesta indicarat. Siquid hic erroris lateat nescio. Vale, Reverende in Christo Pater, et feliciter hunc annum vive, mei in sacris precibus memor. Antverpiae in Officina Plantiniana, 3 Non. Jan. 1632.

b) P. 241: 7 January 1632

Othoni Zyllo, Bruxellam. Reverende in Christo Pater, Denuo mitto quod Reverentia Vestra remisit folium quintum; et miror Reverentiam Vestram remisisse non dico examinatum, sed nec leviter aspectum. Scilicet titulus pro libro secundo repetitus ipsam fefellit. Aliter haud soleo et idem in aliis libris fiet, ut decorum observetur. De annis iterum scribit et non persuadet. Iam bina adhuc folia excusa sunt, F et G<sup>38</sup>, titulo anni 1632/ Num ibi in libro secundo 32 annus deprehendi possit nullus video. Quis saltus fit a Novembri prioris anni ad Novembrem posterioris, et quidem tanti hiatus non facta mentione? Vale, Reverende in Christo Pater. Antverpiae in Officina Plantiniana, 7 Januarii 1632.

c) P. 282: 2 June 1632

Othoni Zyllo Societatis Iesu Bruxellas. Reverende in Christo Pater, Legi vestras ad Reverendum Patrem Bollandum litteras et miratus sum typos meos morae incusari; quae nulla est ab horum negligentia, sed a chartae solius inopia, sine qua miraculum sit Miracula Silvaducensia posse excudi. Certe nullo meo commodo librum iam pridem inceptum intermitto. Simile damnum in Reverendi Patris Corderii Dionysio Areopagita<sup>39</sup> haud libens patior, cuius dimidium iam

<sup>36</sup> In the final edition, the second book starts with the miracles from 1383.

<sup>37</sup> Folia A–E = Zylus 1,1 to 2,1 (partly). In 2,1 Moretus printed M. CCC. LXXXII. A I was added by hand, it seems.

<sup>38</sup> = Zylus 2,1 to 2,11 (partly).

<sup>39</sup> Cp. *Opera S. Dionysii Areopagitae cum scholiis S. Maximi et paraphrasi Pachymerae a Balthasare Corderio Societatis Jesu* (...) (Antverpiae, 1634). So Cordier's (+ 1650) translation was only edited in 1634. Cp. S. Axters, *Geschiedenis van de vroomheid in de Nederlanden*, IV: *Na Trente* (Antwerpen, 1960), p. 43.

diu absolvi et necessario abstineo, donec similem nanciscar chartam qua cudere incepi. At pro vestro opere spem mihi fecit mercator chartae intra octiduum advehendae; ego ea allata serio pergam. Remitto chartulam, quam nihil truncandam censeo, ut marginis aliqua maiestas servetur. Vale, Reverende in Christo Pater, mei in sacris precibus memor. Antverpiae, in Officina Plantiniana, postrid. Kal. Iunii MD-CXXXII.

d) P. 293: 4 July 1632

Othoni Zyllo Bruxellam. Reverende in Christo Pater, En fidem praesto: charta accepta serio in Miraculis Divae Virginis Silvaducensis cudendis pergo. Et vero ea solvere imprimis curo, ut eorumdem lectione plurimi ad pietatem incitati singularem eius opem pro Belgica afflicta implorent. Vale, Reverende in Christo Pater, mei in sacris precibus memor. Antverpiae, in Officina Plantiniana, 4 Iulii, 1632.

e) P. 304: 7 August 1632

Othoni Zyllo Bruxellam. Reverende in Christo Pater, En sex folia Divae Silvaducensis. Supersunt circiter quattuor cudenda. Neque enim in mora iam sum, charta operi absolvendo sufficienter allata. Itaque Reverentiam Vestram rogo ne moras ipsa iam nectat, praefationem aliaque in initio vel fine apponenda submittat. De imaguncula item quid fiat (pro cuius idea duos patacones<sup>40</sup> Reverendo Patri Bollandi his diebus solvi) aveo intelligere an istic a Cornelio Gallaeo incidatur, qui et titulo pro Reverendi Patris Sarbievii Lyricis a me impeditur<sup>41</sup>. Utrumque expediri titulum velim ne librorum editio retardetur. Vale, Reverende in Christo Pater, mei in precibus memor. Antverpiae, in Officina Plantiniana, 7 Augusti 1632<sup>42</sup>.

f) P. 305: 9 August 1632

Othoni Zyllo Bruxellam. Reverende in Christo Pater, His diebus folia impressa misi; et de praefatione indicibusve expecto responsum. Ecce nunc folium VII serio excusum, et XX non prius cudendum quam dubia Reverentia Vestra solverit, quae in postremo miraculo occurrunt in vocibus *nequaquam* et *enim*,<sup>43</sup> prout in ipso folio annotavi.

<sup>40</sup> A piece of silver money.

<sup>41</sup> In the case of Sarbievius the design came from the famous painter Rubens. The image of the Virgin of Den Bosch on the title page of Zylus is the oldest one that has come to us.

<sup>42</sup> In a letter from 5 August 1632, to Benedictus Van Haeften, Moretus wrote (pp. 302–303): "Praeter Senecam hoc Augusto absolvam Lessium de Iustitia et Jure, Othonis Zylii Historiam Miraculorum Divae Virginis Silvaducensis, Casimiri Sarbievii Lyricorum libros quattuor." The references are to Leonardus Lessius' *De Iustitia et Jure* (Antwerp, 1632), Zylus and M. C. Sarbievius, *Lyricorum Libri IV* (Antwerp, 1632). See for Sarbievius' Lyrica D. Sacré, "Aspects of Sarbievius' *Nachleben*" (in the press).

<sup>43</sup> Cp. Zylus 4,24: "Sed globus, ab hoste nequaquam in miraculi gloriam missus ..."; the word *enim* does not occur in the last miracle.

Reverendus Pater Bollandus tanti ea esse putat, ut de iis Reverentiae Vestrae expectanda sit sententia. Quaeso quam citissime solutis dubiis folium remittat; et valeat mei in precibus memor. Antverpiae, in Officina Plantiniana 9 Augusti 1632.

g) P. 321: 11 October 1632

Othoni Zyllo, Bruxellam. Reverende in Christo Pater, Mitto XXXIX exemplaria incompacta, e quibus novem numerum supplent XXV quae dono. Pretium libri statuo XXXVI asses, at a Reverentia Vestra XXX tantum exigo. Omnia vero exemplaria in candida et scriptoria charta impressi; nam hunc imprimis honorem merebatur Virgo candidissima; quam nescio quibus non scriptoribus iam deferant Hollandi. Decem compacta, ut absolverit bibliopagus, mittam. Errorem in fine dedicatoriae ubique correctum videbit. Vale, Reverende in Christo Pater, mei in sacris precibus memor; qui iam (Deo gratia esto) a calculo immunis. Antverpiae XI Octobr. 1632.

h) P. 322. 14 October 1632

Othoni Zyllo, Bruxellam. Reverende in Christo Pater, Decem Divae Silvaducensis exemplaria compacta mitto: alia XXXIX incompacta Reverentiam Vestram iam a diebus aliquot accepisse confido. An vero Serenissimae Principi<sup>44</sup> obtulerit exspecto, ut aliis vendendi sit libertas. Vale, Reverende in Christo Pater, mei in precibus memor. Antverpiae, 14 Octobris 1632.

i) Pp. 328-329: 6 November 1632

Othoni Zyllo, Bruxellam. Reverende in Christo Pater, Mitto hoc vespere per Joannem Berghmans nautam, qui die lunae proximo istuc adfuturus est, decem quae Reverentia Vestra desideravit Divae Virginis Silvaducensis exemplaria compacta, duo incompacta. Addo item alia duo compacta, quorum alterum Amplissimo Domino Cancellario, alterum amplissimo Domino Consiliario Malinaeo ratione privilegii debeo<sup>45</sup>; meoque nomine Reventia Vestra reddat rogo. Reperiet in eadem sarcina frontispicia et librum Reverendo Patri Bivero reddendum cum folio ultimo quod requirebat<sup>46</sup>. Rationes vestras mitto, quae centum duodecim florenorum sunt, assium septemdecim. Sed ex his subducendi sunt quos promisi donaturum me in singula exemplaria sex

<sup>44</sup> Isabella of Austria, widow of archduke A. ert.

<sup>45</sup> The *cancellarius* was Ferdinandus a Boischoi (+ 1649), Malinaeus Aurelius-Augustinus Van Male; cp. i.a. A. Gaillard, *Le Gonse de Brabant. Histoire – organisation – procédure*, 3: *Organisation et procédure* (Bruxelles, 1902), pp. 340 and 357–358.

<sup>46</sup> Cp. Petrus Biverus, *Sacrum oratorium piarum imaginum immaculatae Mariae (...): ars nova bene vivendi et moriendi* (Antwerp, 1634); Id., *Sacrum sanctuarium crucis (...)* (Antwerp, 1634). Cp. also *Bibliotheca Catholica*, o.c., nrs. 8685–8686.

asses, qui quinquagies septies multiplicati septemdecim florenos conficiunt duosque asses; ut restent tantummodo solvendi 96 floreni, 15 asses. Gallica et Teutonica versiones, ut paratae erunt, deliberabo an statim ordiri possim<sup>47</sup> tot aliis operibus impeditus, quibus prela antea addixi, non tam infesta rei librariae tempora fore arbitratus. Si oblatam Batavi pacem amplectantur, operarum numerum augere potero; quem iam imminuere variae rationes suadent. Vale, Reverende in Christo Pater, mei in sacris precibus memor. Antverpiae, in Officina Plantiniana 6 Novembris 1632<sup>48</sup>.

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<sup>47</sup> These translations, if ever they have been made, have not been published by Moretus.

<sup>48</sup> I wish to thank my friend and colleague, prof. dr. William McCuaig (Toronto), who corrected the most obvious errors in my English.