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"HAVE THE MENACING ALCAEAN MUSES BLOWN THE WAR TRUMPETS AGAIN?" TWO VERSIONS OF JACOBUS WALLIUS' ODE TO MATHIAS CASIMIRUS SARBIEVIUS[1]

In 1632, the Antwerp Plantin-Moretus press published a small book, containing the poetical works of the Polish Jesuit Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius (Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, 1595-1640).[2] As the volume soon sold out, another edition was printed in 1634, of which no fewer than five thousand copies were issued. The two Plantin-Moretus volumes subsequently became the standard editions of Sarbievius' poetical oeuvre until well into the eighteenth century.

Although not mentioned in their title, the books incorporate yet more Neo-Latin poetry. Sarbievius' own work is accompanied by a so-called *Epicitharisma*,[3] a collection of poems in honour of the Pole, written primarily by

[1] This paper is an adaptation of a chapter from my 2013 MA thesis, entitled *The Sarmatian Horace in Antwerp: Three authors praise Sarbiewski*. I am grateful to my supervisor dr. Vincent Hunink for his valuable guidance, and 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 and Wouter Rozing MA, whose keen observations have aided me repeatedly.

[2] *Mathiae Casimiri Sarbievii e Soc. Iesu Lyricorum Libri IV. Epodon Lib. Unus Alterq. Epigrammatum*: "Four Books of Lyrics, One Book of Epodes and Another of Epigrams by Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius from the Society of Jesus". All translations are my own.

[3] The term "epicitharisma" features only once in classical literature, in Tertull. *Adv. Valent.* 33. 1, where it denotes a (musical) "finale" or a short "extra" to a tale or performance.

Flemish Jesuits.[4] In the *Epicitharisma*, Sarbievius is often compared to the likes of Horace, Pindar, and Alcaeus, or even Orpheus and Apollo (e.g. in Habbequius [45-49], Tolenarius [1-12], Hortenius [9-12], and Dierix [11-14]). High praise is also given to pope Urban VIII,[5] former patron of Sarbievius, dedicatee of the volume, and a prolific poet himself.[6]

Most of these eulogies have only one version, extant in the *Epicitharisma*, but three odes were on other occasions printed in a distinctly different form and thus have two versions.[7] This paper focuses on the poem that was altered the most: a composition written by Jacobus Wallius (Jacques vande Walle, 1599-1690), which would later be republished in his "collected works" volume as *Lyr*. I, 11. The aim is to uncover what Wallius had to say about Sarbievius, what differences there are between the two versions of his eulogy, why these differences may have come about, and how they affect the ode's meaning.

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Tertullian furthermore says that his "epicitharisma" is a compilation of different texts, much like the collection of poems in honour of Sarbievius.

[4] The *Epicitharisma* counts fifteen poems by fourteen poets, eleven of whom were Antwerp Jesuits: Maximilianus Habbequius (1580-1637), Joannes Tolenarius (1582-1643), Jacobus Hortensius (1586/8-1633), Lucas Dierix (1593-1639), Joannes Bollandus (1596-1665), Michael Mortierus (1594-1636), Jacobus Wallius (1599-1690), Sidronius Hosschius (1596-1653), Guilelmus Hesius (1601-1690), Guilelmus Boelmannus (1603-1638) and Jacobus Libens (1603-1678). Not from Belgium were the Frenchman Gilbertus Joninus (1596-1638) and Sarbievius' Polish friend Nicolaus Kmicius (1601-1632). The only non-Jesuit was Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646), the famous humanist and successor of Justus Lipsius at Louvain University. See: Borowski (103-108) and Sacré, *Aspects* (109-133) for a general overview of the relation between Sarbievius and the Low Countries, and Starnawski (45-66) for concise information about the poems that make up the *Epicitharisma*.

[5] References to the pope's coat of arms are frequent. See, e.g.: Hortensius (6, 24), Bollandus (52), and Hesius' emblem 2. Puteanus gives a remarkable amount of attention to the pope's poetical skills, mentioning the pontiff, for example, both in the opening verse and in the final verse of his poem. Urban VIII was a member of the Barberini family, which had a coat of arms formed by three bees in a triangle. Sarbievius often refers to the these bees, and they are also visible in Rubens' frontispieces to the Plantin-Moretus editions of the Pole's poetry.

[6] In 1634, the Plantin-Moretus printing press published a volume of the pope's compositions.

[7] These are: the composition by Gilbertus Joninus, which was first published in 1630, the elegy by Sidronius Hosschius, which reappeared in 1656, and the ode by Jacobus Wallius, which was likewise reprinted in 1656. See: Hulsenboom (97-117) for an analysis of Joninus' poem.

Even though he has often been named one of the best Flemish Neo-Latin poets,[8] research on Wallius' life and works has been remarkably scarce.[9] His course of life can be summarised as follows. He was born in 1599, in Kortrijk (Courtrai), and became a Jesuit novice in Mechelen in 1617, after which he spent most of his life travelling through the Southern Low Countries, both studying and teaching at a variety of Jesuit colleges. For example, he studied in Mechelen and Louvain, taught in Bruges and Brussels, and was a prefect of studies in Sint-Winoksbergen, Cassel, and Belle. Additionally, he was a preacher, confessor, librarian, and spiritual leader of the Antwerp Jesuit convict. He died there in 1690, at the age of 90.

Many of Wallius' works were written for specific occasions and therefore published separately, before being collected by Wallius himself and issued by the Plantin-Moretus press in 1656 as *Iacobi Wallii e Societate Iesu Poëmatum Libri Novem* ("Nine Books of Poems by Jacobus Wallius of the Society of Jesus"). In the same year, Wallius assembled (and possibly edited) a large number of poems by his lifelong friend and fellow Jesuit poet Sidronius Hosschius (Sidronius [or Syderoen] de Hossche, 1596-1653). It may be, therefore, that Wallius was inspired to collect his own oeuvre whilst working on Hosschius' poetic material, or vice versa.

Wallius' "collected works" volume is dedicated to pope Alexander VII, and consists of three books of poems, each divided into a further three books, thus presenting us with a collection of nine books in total.[10] The first two of these are entitled *Heroica*, with poems in dactylic hexameters, addressed to people like Felipe II of Spain, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, and Karel vanden Bosch, the bishop of Bruges.[11] Then come the so-called *Paraphrases Horatianae*, followed by three books of *Elegiae*, written in honour of, amongst others, pope Alexander VII,

[8] See, e.g.: the poem by Emmanuel van Outers in De Meyer XV-XI, Hofmannus Peerlkamp (387-393), Fuss XLVI (*Dissertatio*), and 92 v. 237 (*Sacrum*), Star Numan (76-78 and 91), and Van Duyse (66). Van Duyse draws attention to Wallius' lyric to Sarbievius specifically, saying that the Pole had been "eulogised most elegantly by Hosschius and Wallius".

[9] Some brief pieces of information can be found, e.g., in the following works: Mertz, Murphy, and IJsewijn (93-95), Papy (23-56), Roersch (29-37), Sacré, *Sidronius Hosschius*, Sommervogel 8: 966-969, and De Smet (567-568 and 572-575).

[10] The 1656 edition of Hosschius' works was dedicated to the pontiff as well, and both dedications were written by Wallius. Alexander VII had only been in office since 1655.

[11] Hosschius had also composed an elegy in honour of Vanden Bosch, *Eleg*. II, 2. There are more similarities between the two collections. Both Hosschius' and Wallius' volumes, for example, open their second book of elegies with a poem about the "Mother's Mercy". Furthermore, Hosschius (*Eleg*. II, 13) and Wallius (*Eleg*. II, 2) both addressed an elegy to Franciscus Gandavillanus, the baron of Rassenghien and bishop of Tournai.

Ferdinand von Fürstenberg, prince-bishop of Paderborn, and Sidronius Hosschius. The third *Elegia* book bears the title *Oliva Pacis*, and its six poems all deal with the need for peace. Finally, there are three books of *Lyricae*, in which we find Wallius' poem for Sarbievius, but also compositions to such men as Sidronius Hosschius and Aloysius Lauwenbach, likewise a Flemish Jesuit.[12]

Not surprisingly, many of Wallius' poems show signs of significant classical influence, for example through references to Horace and Ovid.[13] The Jesuit Fleming was clever enough to underscore his connection with the ancients, as well as to promote his own poetry quite shamelessly, by opening his "collected works" with Sidronius Hosschius' elegy in his honour. In it, Wallius' old friend encouraged him to publish his works, so that both their own contemporaries and posterity would know that he was "equal to the ancient seers" (Hosschius *Eleg*. II, 12. 49-50). Indeed, Wallius is even called Ovid's successor (*Eleg*. II, 12. 89-91).[14] By advertising his own oeuvre in this manner, Wallius was sending a clear message: his is the work of a talented poet, and it is worth reading.

Apart from Wallius' lyric addressed to Sarbievius, there are several other instances in the Fleming's poetry which strongly relate to the Jesuit Pole's lyrics. For example, as was noticed by Dirk Sacré, Wallius' *Lyr*. II, 11 "To my Comrades, Belgian Poets", highly resembles Sarbievius' *Lyr*. III, 29 "To my Belgian Friends", which was written in response to the *Epicitharisma* (*Aspects* 115-116). In both these poems, the authors lament the fall of Greece to the barbarous Ottomans, Belgium's finest poets are hailed as Hellas' saviours,[15] and Sarbievius as well as Wallius praise their fellow Flemish friends Joannes Tolenarius, Guilelmus Hesius, Jacobus Libens, and Sidronius Hosschius. Similarly, the poetic flight through the heavens on Pegasus, which features regularly in Sarbievius' works,[16] also makes an appearance in Wallius' *Lyr*. III, 9.

[12] Lauwenbach was a friend of both Wallius and Hosschius. Wallius dedicated two poems to Hosschius (*Eleg*. I, 7 and *Lyr*. I, 10) and three poems to Lauwenbach (*Eleg*. II, 6, *Lyr*. II, 8, and III, 13). *Eleg*. II, 7 is addressed to Wallius himself, but deals with the recent death of Hosschius.

[13] Wallius' reliance on Horace is apparent most clearly in the *Paraphrases Horatianae*.

[14] Wallius is furthermore set alongside Vergil, Horace, and Homer (Hosschius *Eleg*. II, 12. 57-59).

[15] It is unclear whether Sarbievius' ode should be read as a call to arms against the Eastern invaders, as a plea for the restoration of the Greek chair at the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain, or perhaps as both. See: IJsewijn (25-50).

[16] See: *Lyr*. I, 3, 10, II, 5, 22, III, 11, 16, and 29, the ode addressed to Sarbievius' Belgian friends. *Lyr*. II, 5 is best known for this theme. See: Guépin (58-59), Schäfer (121-

Some exceptionally interesting similarities can furthermore be found between Sarbievius' posthumous *Epod*. V, or *Epod*. XVII "To the Blessed Stanislaus Kostka", and Wallius' *Lyr*. I, 4 "B. Stanislaus Kostka", which both eulogise the Polish saint Stanisław Kostka. Although the Fleming's poem is rather shorter than the Pole's,[17] several of Wallius' verses do resemble Sarbievius' composition,[18] and both poems are written in the Alcaic metre. One might therefore assume that Wallius had read Sarbievius' epode, and had subsequently decided to imitate the Pole's creation. Sarbievius' poem is not called "posthumous" for no reason, however. As it turns out, the Polish Jesuit's epode would not be published until 1665, by the Parisian printer Jean Henault, even though the piece itself had probably been written around the year 1638/9.[19] How, then, is it possible that Wallius' lyric appears to be so similar to Sarbievius' epode? Had Wallius somehow gotten hold of the Pole's eulogy of Kostka before it was published in 1665, twenty-five years after Sarbievius' death, and nine years after the 1656 edition of Wallius' oeuvre? If that were the case, the Fleming's imitation of Sarbievius' epode might be proof of the circulation of at least a part of the Polish poet's yet unpublished work in the Low Countries, before the printing of the 1665 Parisian volume.[20]

As was mentioned before, Wallius in 1656 collected both his own poetry and the works of his friend Sidronius Hosschius. It is interesting to note that Hosschius' eulogy to Sarbievius, which reappeared as *Eleg*. III, 9 in his "collected works" volume, is the second most altered of the three adjusted *Epicitharisma* poems. Could Wallius have decided to change not only his own poem, but that of Hosschius as well?

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123) and Thill (28-33). Also see: IJsewijn (31-32) for the Pegasus theme in *Lyr*. III, 29, and Ludwig, for information about the Pegasus theme in general.

[17] Wallius' *Lyr*. I, 4 counts 36 verses, Sarbievius' posthumous *Epod*. V, or *Epod*. XVII, counts 120.

[18] E.g., Wallius' *ridente vultu* (1) and *dignata vultu* (17) vs. Sarbievius' *ridente, caelo* (45) and *spectare vultu* (81), Wallius' *Arctoi perosum* (3) vs. Sarbievius' *serenus Arcton* (111), Wallius' *Regina, te praesens amico / nomine* (15-16) vs. Sarbievius' *te magna rerum Praeses et aurei / Regina mundi* (5-6), and Wallius' *qui nitor aureo / Infantis ori* (17-18) vs. Sarbievius' *quo pariter tibi blandus ore / respondet Infans!* (24-25).

[19] According to Sarbiewski (608), he told bishop Łubieński about his epode in a letter from 1638. The poem's subtitle (*Pro incolumi Vladislai IV, Poloniae regis, e Badenis reditu, anno MDCXXXIX votum*) suggests that the composition had been re-edited in the following year.

[20] The correspondence between Wallius' and Sarbievius' piece was first noticed by Jerzy Starnawski (64-66). He did not, however, mention the discrepancy concerning the year of publication of Sarbievius' epode.

According to Wallius, as he writes in the dedication to pope Alexander VII, the 1656 edition of Hosschius' works is "imperfect" (1). Wallius has collected most of his late friend's material, he argues, but has kept himself from carrying out any changes, "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" (5).[21] May we assume, then, that Hosschius himself had altered his elegy to Sarbievius before his death in 1653? 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 another collection of poetry, *Septem illustrium virorum poemata* ["Poems by seven illustrious men"], 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.[22] It goes to show that Wallius was no stranger to altering other persons' poems, and it should not astonish us, therefore, that he chose to change his own ode as well.

In this section I will analyse Wallius' lyric to Sarbievius, focusing on those elements that are essentially the same in both its versions. Due to the many differences between the *Epicitharisma* version and the 1656 edition, however, a certain amount of overlap with the final paragraph, which will discuss these differences specifically, cannot be ruled out.

The poem's structure can be perceived as follows: a militarily themed introduction (1-12), the designation of the enemy at hand (13-28), the exhortation of Europe's monarchs in combination with an emphasis on the power of Sarbievius' poetry (29-64/68), a passage which differs significantly in both versions, but which basically applauds the Polish Jesuit by comparing him to Pindar (65/69-76/80), and a conclusion which addresses Sarbievius himself (77/81-108/104).[23]

[21] See: Sacré, *Sidronius Hosschius* (156-157) for brief information about the genesis of the 1656 edition of Hosschius' poetry.

[22] See: Sacré, *Sidronius Hosschius* (161-163) for a more elaborate explanation of the situation.

[23] Unless citing Latin, the numbers refer to the verses in the English translations (see Appendix B), which not always correspond exactly with the numbers of the verses in the Latin originals (see Appendix A). The number before the slash refers to the 1632 edition, the number after the slash to the 1656 text. The difference is caused by the diverging structures of both versions.

The lyric is written in the Alcaic metre, which Wallius also applied in his composition to Stanisław Kostka, and which is used frequently by Sarbievius as well.[24] The title, in the *Epicitharisma* reading "Ode which often inspirits the European Princes to recapture the Empire of the East, by Jacobus Wallius of the Society of Jesus to the Sarbievian Lyre", and in the 1656 volume "Ode XI. Which Excites the European Princes to a Holy War, to the Lyre of Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius of the Society of Jesus",[25] leaves no question as to the piece's main topic: the exhortation of the European monarchs to fight the menacing Ottomans, a subject not unfamiliar to Sarbievius.[26]

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the opening of Wallius' lyric, which contains the largest unchanged section of the poem (1-8), has war written all over it. The Flemish Jesuit cleverly introduces both his own composition and Sarbievius' odes on military subjects, when he writes: "to what arms does the lyre incite the Martial troops? Of what sounds does it sing, and what causes of war?" (1-3). The reader knows the answer, of course, if only because of the title. The enemy is not yet named, however, although we are informed that he is "barbarous" (6). In addition, Wallius points to the ongoing wars raging throughout Europe, which are causing the European blades to be "blunt with friendly blood" (5), and he says that the Western princes are urged to cease their mutual fighting, so as to turn their attention to their common adversary.

The poem's beginning is thus strongly reminiscent of Hor. *Od*. II, 1, something which Wallius himself implies when he asks if the "menacing Alcaean Muses" have "blown the war trumpets again?" (7-8).[27] Horace's ode deals with the works of Gaius Asinius Pollio, whose *Historiae* discussed the Roman civil

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[24] See: Sarbievius' *Lyr*. I, 1, 3, 5, 8, 10, 15, 19, 22, II, 1, 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, 16, 17, 21, 24, III, 1, 5, 7, 9, 11, 14, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, IV, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17, 20, 27, 29, 31, and 33.

[25] See: Appendix A for the Latin originals (including their sometimes confusing punctuation and spelling) and Appendix B for the English translations of the poem's two versions. An *editio altera* of the 1656 volume was issued in 1657. There are no differences between the 1656 and 1657 texts, however.

[26] The battle with the Eastern adversary features prominently in, e.g., *Lyr*. I, 6, 8, 12, 15, 20, II, 1, 12, 17, 22, III, 10, 20, 30, IV, 1, 3, 5, 6, and 29.

[27] Horace's poem is written in the Alcaic metre, just as Wallius' *Lyr*. I, 11 itself. In fact, many of Wallius' allusions to Horace relate to the Roman's poems composed in this metre. Direct references to Hor. *Od*. II, 1 are *bellique causas* (3) and *principum amicitias* (4), which feature literally in Hor. *Od*. II, 1. 2 and 4. Furthermore, Wallius' *Alcaei minaces (. . .) Musae* (7-8) also refer to Hor. *Od*. IV, 9. 8-9: *Alcaei minaces (. . .) Camenae*.

wars following the First Triumvirate.[28] As the Roman lyricist exalted the historian, Wallius is now applauding Sarbievius' poetry on Europe's battles and his simultaneous call for a new crusade.[29]

The "Alcaean Muses" refer to more than Horace and the poem's metre, however. As the following verses make clear (9-12), Wallius speaks of the ancient Greek poet Alcaeus himself, and of an important topic in his oeuvre: the oppression of the Lesbian town of Mytilene by Pittacus or other tyrants. Alcaeus, of whose work mostly fragments remain,[30] wrote numerous poems about the political situation in Mytilene, and his personal vendettas against some of its most influential figures.[31] Furthermore, Alcaeus is on several occasions mentioned by Horace as well, who took great inspiration from his Greek predecessor.[32] Thus, by harking back to both Horace and Alcaeus and their mutual interest in military and political topics, Wallius is at once relating Sarbievius as well as himself to the ancient lyricists. Additionally, the introduction of Mytilene and its oppressors ties in perfectly with the contemporary situation of Lesbos and, indeed, the whole of Greece, which had largely been under Ottoman rule since the fifteenth century.

The next passage (13-28) shows some notable differences, but the message it contains in both versions is roughly the following: the Ottoman Empire, represented by its moon,[33] is waning in fear of Sarbievius' lyre. Phoebe, goddess of

[28] The First Triumvirate was the unofficial political alliance between Gaius Julius Caesar, Marcus Licinius Crassus, and Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus. It lasted from 60 to 53 BC.

[29] Sarbievius likewise appeals to his Belgian friends to end their fighting in his lyric *Ad Amicos Belgas*, *Lyr*. III, 29. It is interesting to note, however, that Horace's ode ends with the assertion that he would sooner concern himself with lighter topics, rather than with the serious themes Pollio wrote about. Still, as Wallius' poem is itself dedicated to war entirely, Horace's final statement is in this case likely meant to be disregarded. See: Garrison (258-260) for a concise analysis of Horace's composition.

[30] Wallius did not have access to all currently known fragments, but he probably did have a more or less sound idea of what Alcaeus wrote about. In 1568, for example, the Plantin printing house had issued an edition of ancient Greek lyricists, which included several Alcaeus fragments, accompanied by a short commentary.

[31] Alcaeus lived in the seventh and sixth centuries BC. He was himself actively involved in Lesbos' politics, but had little success. The betrayal of Pittacus, who subsequently became tyrant and even became known as one of the Seven Sages of Greece, meant that Alcaeus and his brothers were forced into exile. Fr. 69, 70, 129, 130, 332, 348, and 429 all deal with the Mytilenean tyranny and Alcaeus' exile. See: Dillon and Garland (270-272).

[32] *Od*. II, 13. 27, IV, 9. 8, *Epist*. I, 19. 28, II, 2. 99. See: Paschalis (71-84).

[33] This image is used frequently by Sarbievius as well: see *Lyr*. I, 10. 73, II, 22. 33, and III, 19. 59. The combination of *luna* with *cornua*, often present in descriptions of the

the moon, is pale,[34] and the witch Canidia is seen performing her dark, barbaric magic (17/21-20/24).[35] The association of the Ottomans with Canidia makes them appear more savage still, and helps to clarify why fighting them would be "very just" (5-6). These people are evil, Wallius says, but Sarbievius' poetry is already getting to them, as must the rest of the Christian world.

All this serves to prepare the reader for the inevitable exhortation of Europe's finest (29-64/68), around which the rest of the poem is set up. "Go forth, go forth" (29), Wallius urges the princes and monarchs of a divided Europe to challenge the Ottoman threat.[36] Sarbievius' songs, not some sweet Ionic poetry (33-34),[37] will guide them to victory and provide the soldiers with the rhythm they must keep while marching to meet their foes in battle (35-40).[38] By calling Europe's leaders "Quirites" (39), moreover, Wallius evokes the image of a united people, which is heir to the Roman Empire and thereby obliged to recapture its Eastern territories.[39] Lycurgus too, the famous Spartan lawgiver, prepared his troops with appropriate music, Wallius says (41-42), and Mars will crown those who are soiled by the battlefield's dust (49-50).[40] The passage's final stanza focuses on the difference between the war trumpet and the lyre: while the first can only "dilute funerals and the last words of the fallen", the second will glorify both the wounded and the dead (57/61-64/68).

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Ottomans, also features in, e.g., Ov. *Am*. II, 1. 23, *Met*. II, 453, III, 682, VIII, 11, X, 479, IX, 783-4, and XII, 264. *Luna*, *cornua* and *orbem* (13/17-15/19), although not necessarily in the same forms, appear together in Ov. *Met*. X, 295-6. The same goes for *umbra* and *cornua* (14), which can be found side by side in Ov. *Met*. X, 111-112.

[34] Phoebe is also called "pale" in Sen. *Agam*. 819.

[35] The witch Canidia appears regularly in Horace's works and is usually portrayed as being particularly evil and filthy, and skilled at working with obscure rituals. See: Hor. *Sat*. I, 5. 23 and 48, II, 1. 49, *Epod*. III, 8, V, 15 and 47, and XVII, 6. Also see: Manning (393-401).

[36] *Ite, ite* is also used Sen. *Med*. 845 and in *Troad*. 191, 627, and 1165.

[37] Wallius may be referring to the works of Anacreon, whose Ionic poems were also included in the 1568 Antwerp volume of ancient Greek lyricists, and who tends to write about love, rather than war.

[38] The phrase *ferre pedem* (36) or *pedes* features recurrently in Ovid: *Am*. I, 12. 6, *A. A*. II, 534, *Pont*. II, 2. 78, and *Met*. XIV, 756. It can also be found in Hor. *Od*. II, 12. 17, Tib. II, 1. 30, and Sil. III, 515.

[39] The name *Quirites* is prominent in Sarbievius' oeuvre as well. It appears twenty-two times in total.

[40] This metaphor is also applied in Hor. *Od*. I, 6. 14-15, Sil. III, 407, and Stat. *Silv*. IV, 3. 53, *Theb*. 589 and 827.

Next, almost every one of the following fifteen lines from the *Epicitharisma* edition has, in the 1656 volume, been replaced by another (65/69-76/80). The passage in both cases, however, essentially praises Sarbievius by way of a comparison with Pindar.[41]

The final section addresses the Polish Jesuit himself (77/81-108/104), calling him a "great Seer" (77/81),[42] whom both "the God", presumably Apollo, and the Muses have taught the "Pindaric labours" (78/82-80/84). The Pole's works will enflame horses and riders alike (96/92), and he will victoriously fasten "Latin shackles to the Argolic people" (99/95-100/96), thereby subduing Greece to Rome and the Christian West once more. Wallius utters a classic "hurrah, thrice hurrah!" (101/97),[43] and introduces the ode's climax: if Apollo and the Muses have sung trustworthy prophesies, then the world will know that "Sarmatian strings" have conquered the instruments of war, and that the "enchanted Moon of the Thracians" has bent the knee to Sarbievius' plectrum (101/97-108/104).[44]

Indirectly, then, the Fleming may thus be praising both his Polish fellow Jesuit and himself, as his poem similarly predicts the Ottomans' demise, and Apollo and his Muses could be prophesying through his own verses as well. His main message, however, is not to be mistaken: Sarbievius' lyre will congregate the European forces and inspire them to perform great and heroic deeds. His songs will form the soundtrack to the Christian victories over their barbarous Eastern enemies, and posterity will know it. In the meantime, Wallius is simultaneously glorifying the Pole, and lending him a hand by supporting his cause. Indeed, one might say he would do so twice.

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[41] These verses will be dealt with in detail in the final paragraph.

[42] A "seer", or *vates*, is a common title for great poets. Sarbievius called both Horace and himself "seers" (*Lyr*. I, 10. 1-3 and II, 10. 24). For the significance of the word *vates*, see: Kennedy (11-13). In addition, the words *o magne Vates, o Heliconidum/Aganippidum* (77/81) may refer to *o sol / pulcher, o laudande* in Hor. *Od*. IV, 2. 46-47, which according to Kirby (46-47) alludes to the songs sung by Roman soldiers, praising their general in a military procession. The same goes for Horace's *io Triumphe! (. . .) io Triumphe!* in his *Od*. IV, 2. 49-50, which may be reflected in Wallius' *io, ter io!* (101/97).

[43] The exclamation *io, ter io!* can also be found in *Epod*. XXI, 69, by the German Jesuit Jacob Balde (1604-1668). His poem had not yet been published in 1632, however.

[44] Jacob Balde would use the phrase *lyra tacta* (104/100) as well, in his *Lyr*. I, 26. 12. The words *lituis tubas* (106/102) appear side by side, although in a different form, in Hor. *Od*. I, 1. 23. *Excantata*, meaning "enchanted" (107/103), probably relates back to the witch Canidia, who performed her magical spells beside the moon goddess Phoebe earlier on.

The differences between Wallius' lyric in the *Epicitharisma* edition and in his 1656 "collected works" volume are extraordinarily many, with entire stanza's being heavily altered, repositioned, or even replaced. This final paragraph will analyse the discrepancies between the two texts, discuss how and why they were introduced, and deliberate on their meaning. As nearly every larger alteration affects the poem's overall meaning, these differences will be dealt with following the exact order in which they appear.

First, the reference to Alcaeus has taken on a different form in the 1656 volume: "and does Pittacus, unable to control the scepter and his rage, press upon the city with unaccustomed slavery" has been replaced by "and does another tyrant rage again and, unbridled, press upon Lesbos with slavery" (9-11/10). Whereas the *Epicitharisma* text explicitly names Pittacus as the evil oppressor of Mytilene, the second version limits itself to "another tyrant", who "again" subdues Lesbos. The change makes it easier to relate Wallius' verses to the political situation of the time, and subtly portrays the Ottomans as successors of Pittacus, or any of the other Lesbian tyrants. It thus delivers a clearer message than the first version, which alluded less obviously to the Ottoman threat.

Furthermore, the 1656 edition has expanded the connection with Alcaeus by an entire stanza, which does not feature in the earlier version (1656, 13-16). For although "the Lesbian seer may once have shattered" the tyrant's fury, now the river Tanais, the Bosphorus and Ionia fear "the lyre". In the second version, then, the comparison is not merely a negative one, between the Lesbian tyrants and the Ottomans, but a positive one as well, between Alcaeus, the "Lesbian seer", and Sarbievius, the Polish Jesuit. Indeed, Sarbievius actually appears to outrank Alcaeus.

Only then does the 1656 text discuss the "Moon of the Ottomans", copying two stanza's from the *Epicitharisma* volume, with several alterations (13/17-20/24). Firstly, "while the Seer diminishes all its brilliance" has been turned into "caused to tremble by a Sarmatian song" (16/20). This may have to do with the fact that Wallius also used *vates*, "seer", in the aforementioned new stanza, which prompted him to remove it from the following one. In addition, the implementation of "Sarmatian" underscores the comparison between Alcaeus and Sarbievius, and is the first direct reference to the Polish poet.[45]

[45] Furthermore, the combination of *Lesbous* with *Vates* (1656, 13-14) also features, slightly differently, in Ov. *Trist*. III, 7. 20. The same goes for *fregerit (. . .) furorem* (1656, 13-14), which resembles Sen. *Agam*. 775.

Subsequently, "while Canidia thrice, with sacred magical arts, scatters juices, and thrice echoes Martial voices" has made way for "while Canidia thrice, with a magical rite, lights sacred things, [and] she thrice leads the Cytaean poem" (18/22-20/24). By letting her sing a Cytaean,[46] i.e. Colchian or Medean song, the later version emphasises Canidia's barbarous nature.[47] Instead of echoing "Martial voices", which would make her seem full of fighting spirit, she is now associated with the ancient sorceress Medea, whose Caucasian homeland was, at the time, either under Ottoman rule, or close enough to it. Again, therefore, the 1656 text ties in nicely with the contemporary political situation.

Next, there are two stanza's from the *Epicitharisma* edition which have been replaced by a single stanza in the 1656 version (21/25-28). The earlier text speaks of a "prophetic horror", excited by "the Lyre" to summon "bloody waters", which would flow with "Haemonian splendours",[48] and asks the reader if posterity should believe, if the European monarchs fail to act, presumably, that Sarbievius' songs "burn", only to find that "the sacred heights of kings would be profaned by a malicious shadow" (1632, 21-28). The second version is a lot less fuzzy. Who would think of Phoebe and Canidia as threats to Sarbievius' songs, Wallius asks, since the fallen Thracian crowns are trembling with fear (1656, 25-28)?[49] The relation with the previous verses is thereby made a good deal clearer, and the message has been altered. There is no question of whether posterity will remember the strength of Sarbievius' poetry: rather, the Pole's works seem triumphant already. The 1656 poem thus appears to have a more positive tone than the *Epicitharisma* text.

The exhortation of the European kings and princes has also been substantially adjusted (29-64/68). To begin with, "go forth, go forth, brave ones, where the sweet sound of the Sarbievian cither calls [you]" has been converted into "go forth, go forth, Kings, where another able player of the Latin cither calls you" (29-30). Thus, instead of remaining somewhat vague, the second edition directly addresses the "Kings", and furthermore makes an unmistakable allusion

[46] The adjective "Cytaean" is also used, for example, in Prop. I, 1. 24 and II, 4. 7. In the first case, *Cytinaeis* is connected, much as in Wallius' poem, to *carminibus*.

[47] Additionally, it contains a clear allusion to Ov. *Met*. X, 398: *magico lustrante ritu*.

[48] This is likely to be a reference to Hor. *Od*. IV, 2. 5-9, where Pindar is described as a rushing river. Moreover, "Haemonian" generally means "Thessalian", and thus "Greek", but it may also allude to mount Haemus in Thrace, the name of which translates as "bloody".

[49] In both texts, verses 26/25 strongly resemble Hor. *Od*. I, 27. 1-2: *natis in usum laetitiae scyphis / pugnare Thracum est*. *Regum apices* (1632, 28) also appears in Hor. *Od*. III, 21. 20. Furthermore, *trepidant coronae* (1656, 28) returns in Jacob Balde's *Lyr*. IV, 43. 18.

to Hor. *Od*. IV, 3. 23, by calling Sarbievius "another able player of the Latin cither".[50] On the other hand, by removing "Sarbievian", the reference to Sarbievius becomes implicit. In fact, one could argue that Wallius is, in the later version, not only speaking of the Polish Jesuit: who is to say that the "other able player of the Latin cither" is not Wallius himself as well?

In the following two verses, "go forth, and fly towards the Idumean songs after the fields have been conquered" has been changed into "fly, following the preceding Muse to the Thracian fields" (31-32).[51] The 1656 edition thereby produces a strong image of a Muse, supposedly in the form of Sarbievius, who leads the European armies towards the Eastern territories. Furthermore, the addition of the Muse connects the passage to the preceding verses about the "other able player of the Latin cither", since Hor. *Od*. IV, 3 deals with Melpomene as well. It follows, then, that Sarbievius is compared to both Horace and Melpomene herself.[52] Several verses concerning the actual fighting have also been thoroughly altered, leading to the replacement of more than one entire stanza (43-48):

	And the soldier who heeded the melodies Walked rejoicing, and who moderated the true		Thus did a Spartan youth go heeding the Melodies, about to die in the first line of
45	Fears of death with a placid song, Willingly fell for the fatherly hearths Through weapons, and the diffused slaughters, Through ashes, through the dangers of war. (1632)	45	Battle, not familiar with retreating and About to repel degenerate flight for a Hundred vines, or the crime of a slack Battle, and the dishonour of fetters.* (1656)

* The "vines" may refer to the notion of having a good time, drinking wine, instead of fighting for an honourable cause.

[50] Hor. *Od*. IV, 3. 23 reads *Romanae fidicen lyrae* ("a player of the Roman lyre"). In his ode, Horace praises his Muse Melpomene.

[51] "Idumean" stands for "Palestinian".

[52] This probably also explains why *fila regent* became *Musa reget* (40). Other smaller nuances in these verses are the following: *auribus accinunt: / docent in adversas phalangas* has become *leniter accinit: / urget per obstantes Gelonos* (34-35), presumably since the first version has the aforementioned "Idumean songs" (plural) as the verses' subject, while the second has "the Muse" (singular) (31-32). Additionally, *non (. . .) leniter* and *urget* are stronger than *non (. . .) auribus* and *docent*, and *Gelonos*, indicating the Ottomans, is a name used frequently by Sarbievius as well. Furthermore, Wallius himself had applied *Gelonis* in line 91 of the 1632 text, which he later altered. *Gradivi nervus* has made way for *Gradivi robur* (37) ("Gradivus" meaning "Mars"), possibly because *robur* is more common in ancient Latin poetry. The same goes for *firmat*, which has replaced *stringit* (38). *Ordinatos (. . .) gressus* was changed into *ordinatas (. . .) turmas* (39-40), thus giving the lines a more military flavour.

It is remarkable to find that the *Epicitharisma* text contains significantly more references to ancient literature than the later version,[53] yet the changes are understandable. By speaking of the "Spartan youth", Wallius is relating to both the aforementioned Lycurgus (41), and to the political situation in Greece. Additionally, the implied comparison between the European monarchs and the famous Spartan warriors, who know no fear and loath "degenerate flight", favours Sarbievius' and Wallius' cause: it is not just any "soldier" who will stand against the Ottomans, it is a fearsome "Spartan youth".

More or less the same sort of intensification can be found in the following few verses (49-52), where Mars crowns those who are soiled with "the dust of war" (1656, 50), instead of with further unspecified "sacred dust" (1632, 49-50), and the crowns themselves have suddenly become "golden" (1656, 49).[54] Moreover, whereas in the first version the banks of the Nile and Jordan have "until now" grown green, "and" the monarchs' heads demand palm groves (1632, 51-54), the second edition prefers to state that the shores of the rivers have "long since" been green, but that the kings "at last" demand palm groves (1656, 51-53). Thus, the relation between the leaders of Europe and the "palm-bearing" riverbanks has been made even clearer: the Nile and Jordan have long been known for their splendour, yet now comes the time of Europe's triumph, and the palm groves must pass to the victors.[55]

The Muse theme of the 1656 edition is again picked up in the adjusted lines 54-56, which introduce a new stanza altogether (1656, 57-60). Instead of only mentioning a "better gift than noble wreaths", i.e. Sarbievius' ode to the European victors (1632, 55-56),[56] Wallius in the second version elaborates his

[53] Concerning the 1632 text, *ibat ovans* (44) also appears in Verg. *Aen*. VI, 589, and in Sil. III, 409, VII, 734 and XIV, 499. *Veros timores* (44-45) comes from Hor. *Od*. I, 37. 15. *Ruebat (. . .) per tela* (46-47) is reminiscent of both *per tela ruentem* in Verg. *Aen*. XII, 305, and *per tela ruebat* in Sil. X, 319. *Confusasque strages* (47) corresponds with *confusae stragis* in Verg. *Aen*. VI, 504, and with Jacob Balde's *confusa strages* in his *Lyr*. II, 39. 61. *Per acuta belli* (48) is borrowed literally from Hor. *Od*. IV, 4. 76, and is used by Sarbievius in his *Lyr*. IV, 38. 112 as well. Concerning the 1656 version, *ante aciem* (44) features frequently in ancient literature, for example in Vergil's *Aeneid* and in Silius Italicus' *Punica*. Jacob Balde also uses the phrase *degenerem fugam*, in his *Epod*. XVI, 2.

[54] The difference between *ite, ite* and *sic ite* (49) can be explained by looking at verse 43 of the 1656 edition, which reads *sic ibat*.

[55] Sarbievius on three occasions describes the Nile praising the addressee of his poems. See *Lyr*. I, 10. 38, 21. 32, and *Epod*. VI, 157.

[56] This alludes to Hor. *Od*. IV, 2. 19-20, where Pindar is said to grant "a gift more powerful than a hundred statues".

earlier reference to Horace's Muse, which will not "suppress the wild battles" (1656, 54), but will sing of the defeated Bosphorus and mythical Amazons (1656, 56-58), and of the many lands which would, presumably, eventually yield to or look upon the strength of the European forces (1656, 58-60).[57] Further, while in the *Epicitharisma* the lyre sang of the enemy's "prophesied retreat" (62), in the 1656 volume it speaks of "bloody battles and a breast meeting lances", thereby strengthening the lyric's military theme (66).[58]

What follows is a lengthy passage which has been re-written almost completely (65/69-76/80). In both cases, however, it essentially introduces the ode's climax, and praises Sarbievius by comparing him to Pindar. Crucial to our understanding of this comparison is Hor. *Od*. IV, 2.[59] Pindar, so Horace says, cannot be equaled or surpassed, but that is not how Wallius feels. In the *Epicitharisma* text, we are first told that "not only Pindar did once sing with a poem worthy of the Olympian palace" (1632, 65-66).[60] Indeed, "there is one who would sing of the sacred arms with equal praise, after the Palestinians had been conquered" (1632, 66-68), and as Dirce saw that "the Theban lips were moisturised by the Hymettian waters" (1632, 69-70),[61] so now the Tiber is baffled by the "the works of the Quirinal bees" (1632, 71-72),[62] and pope Urban VIII has "pressed together" the nectar which flows on the Vistula's "hospitable bank" (1632, 73-76). According to Wallius, then, Sarbievius does equal Pindar, and the pontiff's appreciation for the Pole's writings strongly supports his claim.

In the 1656 version the pontiff and his awe for the Jesuit's honey sweet lyrics have made way for the military themes within the Pole's works, thereby

[57] Wallius writes that the Muse *canet, quod Aurorae, quod Austri / regna legant, roseusque Vesper* (1656, 59-60). "The realms of Dawn", "the Southern Wind", and the "Evening" could be interpreted as "the world". Furthermore, "the Southern Wind" may be a reference to Ov. *Met*. VII, 532, where it accompanies a passage about "the moon who filled her horns".

[58] The combination *bene ominato* (1632, 62) also features in Jacob Balde's *Lyr*. I, 33. 37.

[59] This poem is likewise at the centre of Sidronius Hosschius' elegy to Sarbievius.

[60] The phrase *olim lusit* (1632, 65) appears in Hor. *Od*. IV, 9. 9 as well. *Digno (. . .) carmine* (1632, 66) is used, in one form or other, by Vergil, Horace, and Ovid.

[61] "Dirce" refers to Thebes, where the Dircaean fountain was named after the mythological woman whose lifeless body was thrown into the fountain's waters. Pindar was born in Thebes.

[62] This is a reference to both Hor. *Od*. IV, 2. 27-28, where Horace compares himself to a bee, and to the bees on the Barberini coat of arms, of which Sarbievius speaks frequently as well.

changing the passage's purport: posterity will know, we are told, who recaptured Buda and crossed the Greek Eurotas river and Haemus mountain (1656, 69-72).[63] Furthermore, the comparison with Pindar is once again brought to the fore, and this time the reference to Hor. *Od*. IV, 2 is made even clearer. Both Horace and Wallius write that Pindar, "the Dircaean Muse" (1656, 73), sings of gods and kings and of the fall of "the fearful Chimera" (1656, 76) and that he has lifted himself to soar through the heavens (1656, 77-78).[64] Despite all this, however, Wallius appears to believe that Sarbievius still outranks Pindar, or at least equals him, since the Greek's Muse "would envy the triumphed Thracians as material for Latin Muses" (1656, 79-80). Pindar may have sung about the ancient gods, kings, and heroes, Wallius declares, yet he would envy Sarbievius for singing about today's champions, who are about to crush the Thracian Ottomans. With the former pope gone and a new one in place, the Fleming has chosen to change the passage's message: his regard for Sarbievius no longer relies on Urban VIII's high opinion of him, but is based solely on the Pole's songs of military glory.

Lastly, we come to the ode's conclusion, in which Sarbievius himself is addressed and applauded (77/81-108/104). Not surprisingly, there are once again numerous differences between the poem's two versions, most notably the replacement of three entire stanzas from the *Epicitharisma* text by a single one in the later

[63] The city of Buda was taken by the Ottomans in 1541. Wallius is thus opting for its recovery by the European forces, which would also pass the Eurotas and Haemus during their crusade to free Greece. *Signa (. . .) fixerit* (1656, 70) resembles *signa fixurus* in Jacob Balde's *Lyr*. I, 2. 54.

[64] Hor. *Od*. IV, 2. 13-16 read "whether he sings of gods and kings, and the blood of gods, through which the Centaurs rightly died, [and] the flame of the fearsome Chimera died out", lines 25-26 read "a great wind lifts the Dircaean swan, Antonius, whenever it tends towards the high stretches of clouds". Wallius' *Lyr*. I, 11. 73-78 (1656) read "although the Dircaean Muse sings of Gods and kings, by whose hand the ungodly youth, trusting in arms, and the fiery power of the fearsome Chimera died, she has lifted herself higher than the earths into a high air with a clapping wing". The "blood of gods" of which Horace speaks is Pirithous, the Lapith king who defeated the Centaurs. The Chimera was famously killed by Bellerophon. Wallius' "ungodly youth" may be a reference to both Pirithous and Bellerophon, as both heroes tried to thwart the gods, but paid dearly for it as a consequence. Moreover, *impia brachiis / fidens iuventus* (1656, 74-75) is strongly reminiscent of Hor. *Od*. III, 4. 50: *fidens iuventus horrida brachiis*, and *terris altior* (1656, 77) can be found in Ov. *Met*. XIII, 103 as well. *Plaudente penna* (1656, 78) is similar to *plausit pennis* in Ov. *Met*. VIII, 238, and *tollit in aethera* (1656, 78) was also used in Ov. *Fast*. IV, 315. The phrase returns again, only slightly altered, in Jacob Balde's *Lyr*. III, 9. 20.

edition (81/85-92/88).[65] The earlier version describes the extraordinary power of Sarbievius' poetry, which flows "with a storm of nectar" (1632, 85),[66] and conquers "noisy rivers" with the help of the wind god Notus and the river god Nereus (1632, 85-87). The phrase "assisted with auxiliary waves" (1632, 87), which accompanies both Notus and Nereus, was taken nearly literally from Ov. *Met*. I, 275, where Jupiter and Neptune flood the earth. Likewise, the notion of waves that destroy houses and "swallow cattle" (1632, 88) was taken from the same passage,[67] indicating the sheer force of the "noisy rivers", and, thus, of Sarbievius' verses as well. Indeed, their force is so great, that they "destroy the high rocky shores" (1632, 90) and threaten the "Gelonic lands" (1632, 92), i.e. the realm of the Ottomans. Sarbievius' lyrics, then, rich as they are with poetical nectar, will incite a flood to overflow Europe's enemies, much like Neptune swept away everything in his path, only this time the flood will consist of armed men, not water.

A similar idea can be found in the 1656 text, yet one stanza cannot express what three can. The Vistula hears Sarbievius' songs "with restrained waves" (1656, 85-86), and so will the South-Eastern European rivers Sperchius, Thermodon, and Hypanis, which represent the Ottoman Empire (1656, 86-88). The Pole's influence on Europe's foes has thus been kept, as has the river-theme, but the reference to Ovid and Neptune's flood has downright disappeared. What is particularly interesting, however, is the fact that the comparison of Sarbievius' lyrics with a nectar-filled current has for the second time been removed completely.[68] Moreover, the same has happened in the following few verses, where the *Epicitharisma* version urges the Pole to "roll down honey-bearing streams with a grand lyre" (1632, 93-94), but the 1656 edition prefers to spur him to "inflame Mars with a Heliconian song" instead (1656, 89-90).[69]

[65] A smaller discrepancy in the preceding stanza is the following: *Heliconidu sororum* has become *Aganippidum sororum* (77/81-78/82), perhaps because the latter is rarer, and therefore emphasises Wallius' creativity. In *Lyr*. III, 10. 36, moreover, the Fleming also wrote *Aganippidosque fontes*.

[66] The idea of a "honey river" is also expressed, e.g., in Verg. *Geor*. IV, 278, and in Ov. *A. A*. I, 748.

[67] *Tecta* and *pecudesque* (1632, 88) are both used in Ov. *Met*. I, 286-7. Furthermore, Wallius' *effraenis* (1632, 91) presumably alludes to *defrenato* in Ov. *Met*. I, 282. Additionally, the phrase *pectoris alveo* (1632, 82) resembles Jacob Balde's *pectoris alveum* in his *Lyr*. II, 10. 38. It appears that a study of the relation between Wallius' and Balde's works would not be out of place.

[68] The first time had been in lines 69/73-76/80, discussed on the previous pages.

[69] Wallius' *matrem accendere cantu* was borrowed from Verg. *Aen*. VI, 165.

The naming of Mars furthermore echoes *Martis* in line 95 of the 1632 text, which in turn has made it possible for Wallius to replace "soon when you have filled the public ears, the ardour of Mars will grow" (1632, 94-95) with "what fury will join the armed wedges! What ardour will grow" (1656, 90-91), thus underscoring the inspiriting strength of Sarbievius' poems, by way of a clever combination of "fury" with "ardour".

Yet why has Wallius chosen to remove all references to rivers of honey and nectar? In two cases the theme has made way for military motifs (1656, 69-76 and 89-90). It may be that by 1656 the Fleming found that the sweet honey rivers did not match his essentially martial ode, and he wanted to give his "Holy War" an additional highlight. Moreover, the river theme of the *Epicitharisma* poem was first introduced in a passage where pope Urban VIII, whose coat of arms bore three bees, played an important role. By the time the second version of the poem appeared, however, Urban VIII was dead, and Alexander VII had taken his place. Wallius may therefore have decided to eliminate every possible reference to the former pontiff, especially since the 1632 volume had been dedicated to the former pope, while Alexander VII was the dedicatee of the 1656 edition.

The final alteration of note emerges in lines 97/93-98/95. The difference between "o how many hats, which must be bought with all burdens, will you restore to the slavish herd!" and "how many hats will you thence restore to shaven heads, and [how many] splendours to our sacred rites!" probably has multiple reasons. Firstly, the new *quot* ("how many" in 1656, as opposed to *quanta*, "how many" in 1632) ties in with the old one in verse 99/95. Secondly, by adding the "heads" in the later version, the use of the "hats" has been elucidated.[70] Lastly, naming the Greeks a "slavish herd" may on second thoughts not have seemed particularly appropriate, in contrast to the mentioning of "sacred rites".[71]

In order to account for the larger prominence of political and military motifs in the second edition, we may consider the fact that the political situation

[70] *Pilea sarcinis* (1632, 98) corresponds with Mart. II, 68. 4. A *pilleus* or *pilleum* (spelled by Wallius as *pileum*) was a felt hat or cap, which could be given to a freed slave. It thus represents freedom.

[71] Lastly, there are a few minor differences in the final two stanzas: *quercus fatidicum sonat* was superseded by *laurus fatidicum canit* (102/98), since *laurus* and *canit* allude to poetry more clearly than *quercus* and *sonat*, and *credetur* was turned into *dicetur* (107/103), which suitably ties in with *dicentur* (105/101).

of Greece, or part of it at least, had by 1656 changed significantly, as compared to 1632. Between 1645 and 1669, the Ottomans were at war with the Venetian Republic, in what was to become known as the Cretan War, as the conflict mainly revolved around the largest of the Greek islands.[72] While the position of the Greek territories in 1632 had been relatively unchanged since the 1570s, when the Ottomans had conquered Cyprus, the Cretan War put an abrupt end to Greece's apparent stability. The conflict, which by 1656 had been raging for over a decade, gave renewed relevance to the topic of a European crusade against the Ottoman threat, and it may have inspired Wallius to have another go at his ode. Inflamed by the new war, he may have decided to sharpen a few edges and underscore the poem's military appearance.

To conclude, the ode comes down to an appraisal of the Sarbievius' patriotic lyrics, and to a simultaneous call for a new European crusade to free Greece from the barbarous Ottomans. The numerous adjustments which Wallius has made, all add up to alter the ode's overall purport, or accents, but they do nothing to change the poem's inherent meaning: contrary to the eulogy itself, the author's views on Sarbievius appear not to have changed substantially. If anything, Wallius seems to have had an even greater admiration for the Pole in 1656 than he had had in 1632.

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[72] The Cretan War was the fifth Ottoman - Venetian war in one hundred years, which resulted in the occupation of Crete by the Ottomans. It would be followed by two more armed conflicts between the warring nations.

Appendix A: Latin originals

1632
IACOBI WALLII
E SOC. IESU
ODE
AD LYRAM SARBIEVIANAM,
saepius Europaeos Principes ad
recuperandum Orientis Imperium
animantem (p. 311-315)

Quae Martiales barbitos incitat
In arma turmas? quos strepitus canit,
Bellique caussas? quas coïre
Principum amicitias, & enses

Pingues amico sanguine barbara
In terga verti iustius imperat?
An rursus Alcaei minaces
Classica personuere Musae?

Sceptrique & irae Pittacus impotens
Urbem insolenti servitio premit,
Saevumque detractat superbi
Ferre iugum Mitylena regni?

Fallorne? Tristi Luna Othomanidum
Pallescit umbra: cornua contrahit:
Plenumque desperavit orbem,
Omne iubar minuente Vate.

Sic noctilucis pallida cornibus
Phoebe laborat, ter, Magicis sacris,
Spargente succos, terque Marsas
Canidia recinente voces.

Praesagus horror, quem Lyra Thracio
Incussit astro, sanguineas aquas
Pro rore sub noctem coëgit
Aemonijs fluitare cultis.

Tantisne credet posteritas minis
Natos in usum laetitiae modos
Fervere, ut augusti maligna
Regum apices violentur umbra?

1656
ODE XI.
AD LYRAM MATHIAE CASIMIRI
SARBIEVII
E SOCIETATE IESU,
EUROPAEOS PRINCIPES
AD SACRUM BELLUM
EXCITANTEM (p. 333-336)

Quae Martiales barbitos incitat
In arma turmas? quos strepitus canit,
Bellique causas? quas coire
Principum amicitias, & enses

Pingues amico sanguine barbara
In terga verti iustius imperat?
An rursus Alcaei minaces
Classica personuere Musae?

Alterque rursus saevit & impotens
Lesbon tyrannus servitio premit?
Saevumque detractat superbi
Ferre iugum Mitylena regni?

Lesbous olim fregerit illius
Vates furorem: nunc Tanaim lyra,
Lateque regnatum tyranno
Bosporon, Ioniumque terret.

Fallorne? tristi Luna Othomanidum
Pallescit umbra: cornua contrahit:
Plenumque desperavit orbem
Sarmatico tremefacta cantu.

Sic noctilucis pallida cornibus
Phoebe laborat, ter, magico sacra
Lustrante ritu, ter Cytaeum
Canidia praeeunte carmen.

Natis in usum laetitiae modis
Has esse quisquam crediderit minas?
Iam sceptra, iam Thracum caducae
Verticibus trepidant coronae.

Ite, ite, fortes, quo citharae vocat
SARBIEVIANAE clangor amabilis:
Ite, & triumphatis Idumes
Ad numeros volitate campis.

Non molle quiddam, non quod Ionicis
Aptum choreis, auribus accinunt:
Docent in adversas phalangas
Ferre pedem bene temperatum.

Ordo, Gradivi nervus, aheneas
Stringit catervas. Ite canentibus
Plectris, Quirites: ordinatos
Fila regent numerosa gressus.

Lycurgus olim sic Lacedaemone
Pugnae imminentis signa dedit lyra:
Et miles observans modorum
Ibat ovans, placidoque veros

Mortis timores carmine temperans,
Promptus ruebat pro patrijs focis
Per tela, confusasque strages,
Per cineres, per acuta belli.

Ite, ite: sancto pulvere sordidos
Mavors coronis vestiet: hactenus
Nilique Iordanisque ripae
Palmiferis viruere silvis,

Vestrosque poscunt caedua vertices
Palmeta. Quin & barbita munere
Vestros adornabunt labores
Nobilibus potiore sertis.

Accendit omnes Martia buccina
Cantu: sed, heu! non nisi funera,
Vocesque supremas cadentum
Docta sono tenuare rauco.

At illa, quae vos increpuit, lyra
Bene ominato signa receptui
Datura, vulgabit decore
Vulnus hians, obitasque mortes.

Non solus olim lusit Olympica
Digno palaestra carmine Pindarus:
Est, qui Palaestinis subactis
Sacra pari canat arma laude.

Ite, ite, Reges, quo citharae potens
Alter Latinae vos fidicen vocat:
Musam antecedentem secuti
Threiciis volitate campis.

Non molle quiddam, non quod Ionicis
Aptum choreis, leniter accinit:
Urget per obstantes Gelonos
Ferre pedem bene temperatum.

Ordo, Gradivi robur, aheneas
Firmat catervas. Ite canentibus
Plectris, Quirites: ordinatas
Musa reget numerosa turmas.

Lycurgus olim sic Lacedaemone
Pugnae imminentis signa dedit lyra:
Sic ibat observans modorum,
Ante aciem moritura primam

Spartana pubes, nescia cedere,
Vitisque centum degenerem fugam,
Aut segnis aversura pugnae
Crimen, & opprobrium catenae.

Sic ite: belli pulvere sordidis
Mavors coronas destinat aureas.
Nilusque Iordanesque pridem
Palmiferis viruere ripis;

Vestrosque tandem caedua vertices
Palmeta poscunt. Nec fera praelia,
Bellique, quos suasit, labores
Musa premet. Canet illa torvo

Decussa per vos cornua Bosporo,
Gravemque nexis Strymona vinculis:
Canet, quod Aurorae, quod Austri
Regna legant, roseusque Vesper.

Accendit omnes Martia buccina
Cantu: sed, heu! non nisi funera,
Vocesque supremas cadentum
Docta sono tenuare rauco.

At illa quae vos increpuit lyra
Pugnas cruentas dicet, & obvium
Pectus sarissis, & decore
Vulnus hians, obitasque mortes.

Quae quisque gessit, posteritas sciet:
Quis signa Budae fixerit arcibus
Primus: quis Eurotam natatu;
Quis pedibus superavit Heamum.

Nec sola Dirce vidit Hymettijs
Thebana tingi labra liquoribus:
Apum Quirinarum labores
Obstupuit Tiberinus amnis,

Et hospitalem Vistula nectare
Madere ripam, quod sibi Romula
Stipavit URBANUS Tiara
Mellifluos glomerante rores.

O magne Vates, o Heliconidum
Mystes sororum, quem Deus incola
Musaeque, securum pericli,
Pindaricos docuere nisus;

Pars quanta laudum, mella liquentibus
Stillasse labris? pectoris alveo
Dives refundis mellis agmen,
Nectareaque ruens procella

Sonora vincis flumina, quae Notus
Spumansque Nereus auxiliaribus
Dum iuvit undis, versa secum
Tecta trahunt, pecudesque sorbent.

Talis superbos colligis impetus,
Altosque ripae diruis obices
Effraenis, & foedam Gelonis
Perniciem meditatus arvis.

I, perge, grandi mellifluos lyra
Devolve fluctus. Mox ubi publicas
Impleris aures, Martis ardor
Crescet equis, equitumque turmis.

O quanta servo restitues gregi
Emenda totis pilea sarcinis!
Quot victor innectes Latinas
Argolico populo catenas!

Io, ter io! Si quid Apollinis
Divina quercus fatidicum sonat,
Verosque praesagit triumphos
Vaticinis lyra tacta Musis,

Dicentur olim Sarmaticae fides
Vicisse mistas cum lituis tubas:
Credetur excantata Thracum
Luna tuo trepidasse plectro.

Dircaea quamquam Musa Deos canit,
Regesque, per quos impia brachiis
Fidens iuventus, & tremendae
Ignea vis cecidit Chimerae,

Seseque terris altior arduum
Plaudente penna tollit in aethera:
Thracas triumphatos Latinis
Materiem invideat Camoenis.

O magne Vates, o Aganippidum
Mystes sororum, quem Deus incola
Musaeque, securum pericli,
Pindaricos docuere nisus:

Quem nunc repressis Vistula fluctibus,
Olim & canentem corniger audiet
Sperchius, arrectusque capta
Thermodoon, Hypanisque ripa,

Intende chordas: Martem Heliconio
Accende cantu. Quis cuneos furor
Committet armatos! quis ardor
Crescet equis, equitumque signis!

Quot inde raso pilea vertici
Cultusque nostris restitues sacris!
Quot victor innectes Latinas
Argolico populo catenas!

Io, ter io! Siquid Apollinis
Divina laurus fatidicum canit,
Verosque praesagit triumphos
Vaticinis lyra tacta Musis,

Dicentur olim Sarmaticae fides
Vicisse mistas cum lituis tubas:
Dicetur excantata Thracum
Luna tuo trepidasse plectro.

Appendix B: English translations

1632
ODE
which often inspirits
the European Princes
to recapture the Empire of the East
BY JACOBUS WALLIUS
OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS
TO THE SARBIEVIAN LYRE
(p. 311-315)

To what arms does the lyre incite the Martial
Troops? Of what sounds does it sing,
And what causes of war? What friendships of
Princes does it command to assemble, and what

Swords, blunt with friendly blood, does it very
Justly command to be turned to barbarous backs?
Have the menacing Alcaean Muses blown the
War trumpets again?

And does Pittacus, unable to control the scepter
And his rage, press upon the city with
Unaccustomed slavery, and does Mitylene refuse
To bare the fierce yoke of vain kingship?

Am I deceived? The Moon of the Ottomans turns
Pale with a sad shadow: it draws in its horns:
And it has given up hope of a full orb,
While the Seer diminishes all its brilliance.

Thus a pale Phoebe labours with horns
That shine by night, while Canidia thrice,
With sacred magical arts, scatters juices,
And thrice echoes Martial voices.

1656
ODE XI.
WHICH EXCITES
THE EUROPEAN PRINCES
TO A HOLY WAR,
TO THE LYRE OF MATHIAS
CASIMIRUS
SARBIEVIUS OF THE SOCIETY OF
JESUS
(p. 333-336)

To what arms does the lyre incite the Martial
Troops? Of what sounds does it sing,
And what causes of war? What friendships of
Princes does it command to assemble, and what

Swords, blunt with friendly blood, does it very
Justly command to be turned to barbarous backs?
Have the menacing Alcaean Muses blown the
War trumpets again?

And does another tyrant rage again and, unbridled,
Press upon Lesbos with slavery?
And does Mitylene refuse
To bare the fierce yoke of vain kingship?

The Lesbian seer may once have shattered
His fury: now does the lyre scare the Tanais,
And far and wide the Bosphorus, and Ionia,
Ruled by a tyrant.

Am I deceived? The Moon of the Ottomans turns
Pale with a sad shadow: it draws in its horns:
And it has given up hope of a full orb,
Caused to tremble by a Sarmatian song.

Thus a pale Phoebe labours thrice with horns
That shine by night, while Canidia thrice,
With a magical rite, lights sacred things,
[And] she thrice leads the Cytaean poem.

The prophetic horror, which the Lyre excited
Upon the Thracian star, has summoned the bloody
Waters before the dawn, under the night, to flow
With Haemonian splendours.

Or will posterity believe, because of such threats,
That the songs, born for the use of happiness,
Burn, so that the sacred heights of kings
Would be profaned by a malicious shadow?

Go forth, go forth, strong ones, where the sweet
Sound of the SARBIEVIAN cither calls [you]:
Go forth, and fly to the Idumean songs after the
Fields have been conquered.

Not something weak, not that which is apt for
Ionic choirs, do they sing to ears:
They teach to step a well tempered foot against
The enemy phalanxes.

Order, the power of Gradivus, brings
The bronze troops together. Go forth with playing
Plectrums, Quirites: harmonious strings
Govern regulated steps.

Thus did Lycurgus once give the signs of the
Imminent battle with a Spartan lyre:
And the soldier who heeded the melodies
Walked rejoicing, and who moderated the true

Fears of death with a placid song,
Willingly fell for the fatherly hearths
Through weapons, and the diffused slaughters,
Through ashes, through the dangers of war.

Go forth, go forth: those dirty with sacred
Dust will Mars don with crowns: until now
The banks of the Nile and Jordan
Have grown green with palm-bearing trees,

And your heads also demand palm groves
Fit for cutting. And truly will the lyres adorn
Your labours with a better gift
Than noble wreaths.

Who would have believed that the songs, born
For the use of happiness, would have such threats?
Already do the scepters, already do the crowns,
Fallen from the heads of Thracians, tremble.

Go forth, go forth, Kings, where another able
Player of the Latin cither calls you:
Fly, following the preceding Muse to the
Thracian lands.

Not something weak, not that which is apt for
Ionic choirs, he sings gently:
He urges to place a well tempered foot through
The opposed Gelones.

Order, the strength of Gradivus, fortifies
The bronze troops. Go forth with playing
Plectrums, Quirites: the harmonious Muse will
Govern regulated troops.

Thus did Lycurgus once give the signs of the
Imminent battle with a Spartan lyre:
Thus did a Spartan youth go heeding the
Melodies, about to die in the first line of

Battle, not familiar with retreating and
About to repel degenerate flight for a
Hundred vines, or the crime of a slack
Battle, and the dishonour of fetters.

Go thus forth: Mars destines golden crowns to
Those dirty with the dust of war.
The Nile and the Jordan have long since grown
Green with palm-bearing banks; and at last

Do your heads demand palm groves fit for cutting.
And not will the Muse suppress the wild battles,
Nor the labours of war, which she has exhorted.
She will sing of the horns, shaken off by you

The Martial trumpet inflames everyone
With song: but, oh! alas, it has learned merely
To dilute funerals and the last words of
Those fallen by a hoarse sound.

But that lyre, which incited you, which will
Well give signs for the prophesied retreat,
Will make honourably gaping wounds and
Received deaths known publicly.

Not only Pindar did with once sing with a poem
Worthy of the Olympian palace: there is one
Who would sing of the sacred arms with equal
Praise, after the Palestinians had been conquered.

And not only Dirce saw that the Theban lips
Were moisturised by the Hymettian waters:
The Tiber's current was amazed at the works of
The Quirinal bees, and that the Vistula has made

The hospitable bank moist with nectar,
Which URBAN, while the Romulean Tiara
Was collecting the honey-flowing dews,
Has pressed together for himself.

O great Seer, o priest of the Heliconian
Sisters, [you] whom, safe from danger, the God as
Inhabitant and the Muses have learned
The Pindaric labours;

How big is the part of your praises, that honeys
Have dropped from your liquid lips? You
Pour a current, rich with honeys, back out of the
Concavity of the chest, and you conquer, while

Flowing with a storm of nectar, noisy rivers,
Which, while Notus and the foaming Nereus
Assisted with auxiliary waves, drag ruined
Houses with them, and swallow cattle.

From the savage Bosphorus and [of] the Amazon,
Heavy with fastened shackles: she will sing of
That which the reigns of Dawn, of the Southern
Wind gather, and the rose Evening.

The Martial trumpet inflames everyone
With song: but, oh! alas, it has learned merely
To dilute funerals and the last words of
Those fallen by a hoarse sound.

But that lyre which sounded to you, will speak
Of bloody battles, and a breast meeting lances,
Honourably gaping wounds, and received
Deaths.

Posterity will know, who did what: who first
Thrust the banners in the fortresses of Buda:
Who conquered the Eurotas by swimming;
Who surpassed the Haemus with his feet.

Although the Dircaean Muse sings of Gods
And kings, by whose hand the ungodly
Youth, trusting in arms, and the fiery power
Of the fearful Chimera died,

[And although] she has lifted herself higher than
The earths into a high air with a clapping wing:
She would envy the triumphed Thracians as
Material for Latin Muses.

O great Seer, o priest of the Aganippean
Sisters, [you] whom, safe from danger, the God as
Inhabitant and the Muses have learned
The Pindaric labours;

Whom now the Vistula hears with restrained
Waves, and [whom] once the horned Sperchius
And, after the bank has been taken, the excited
Thermodoon and Hypanis will hear singing,

You gather such proud assaults, and you
Destroy the high rocky shores of the bank,
[You], unbridled, and reflecting upon a
Horrible death for the Gelonic lands.

Go, make haste, roll down honey-bearing streams
With a grand lyre. Soon when you have
Filled the public ears, the ardour of Mars will grow
For the horses, and for the troops of horsemen.

O how many hats, which must be bought with
All burdens, will you restore to the slavish herd!
How many Latin shackles will you, as victor,
Fasten to the Argolic people!

Hurrah, thrice hurrah! If the divine oak of
Apollo resounds something prophetic,
And the lyre, touched by the prophesying
Muses, forebodes true victories, [then] the

Sarmatian strings will once be said to have
Surpassed the tubas, mixed with clarions: the
Enchanted Moon of the Thracians will be thought
To have been frightened by your plectrum.

Strike the strings: inflame Mars with a
Heliconian song. What fury will join the armed
Wedges! What ardour will grow
For the horses, and for the signs of horsemen.

How many hats will you thence restore to
Shaven heads, and [how many] splendours to
Our sacred rites! How many Latin shackles will
You, as victor, fasten to the Argolic people!

Hurrah, thrice hurrah! If the divine laurel of
Apollo sings something prophetic,
And the lyre, touched by the prophesying
Muses, forebodes true victories, [then] the

Sarmatian strings will once be said to have
Surpassed the tubas, mixed with clarions: the
Enchanted Moon of the Thracians will be said
To have been frightened by your plectrum.