

CHLOE

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FROM MELANCHTHONISM TO MANNERISM:
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEO-LATIN WEDDING POEM
IN 16TH CENTURY DENMARK*

Abstract: This article deals with two dominating strands in Danish Neo-Latin wedding poetry of the 16th century: One is the influence of Philip Melanchthon, the other that of a literary style that can best be described as "mannerism". While discussing the manifestation of these strands in one North German and three Danish examples of post-Reformation wedding poetry, I argue that "Melanchthonism" formed a classic strand that was cultivated throughout the 16th century, both in conjunction with and to a certain extent in opposition to a playful stylistic mannerism.

First of all: what is Danish Neo-Latin wedding poetry? – When establishing his Danish bibliography of the 15th and 16th centuries¹, Lauritz Nielsen laid down the principle that all works should be included that were printed in Denmark, Norway and Schleswig, along with those works that were written by Danes, but printed outside Denmark. I am currently working on an edition of all extant Danish Neo-Latin wedding poems from the 16th century. For this work I certainly draw upon the rich bibliographical material collected by Lauritz Nielsen and

* I am grateful to Russell L. Friedman for his comments on an earlier draft of this article as well as for correcting my English. All translations from Latin to English are mine; I wish to thank Sten Ebbesen for his valuable comments on them.

¹ Lauritz Nielsen: *Dansk Bibliografi 1482-1550*. Copenhagen 1919; Id.: *Dansk Bibliografi 1550-1600*. Copenhagen 1931-1933; Id.: *Registre til Dansk Bibliografi*. Copenhagen 1935. A second revised and enlarged edition, prepared by Erik Dal and Grethe Larsen, was published in 1996. Hereafter referred to as LN.

others, but I define “Danish wedding poetry” as poems written on the occasion of actual weddings by authors who were born in Denmark and Schleswig exclusively.

This means that I include the poems by e.g. Jacobus Jasparus (Jakob Jespersen, fl. 1529-1549) who was born in Denmark, yet spent most of his life in the Netherlands² – but on the other hand omit those by e.g. the Scotsman Andreas Robertsonius (Andrew Robertson, fl. 1589-1591) who lived for a period in Denmark where, in 1590, he had his wedding poems for Princess Anne of Denmark and King James VI of Scotland published by the Copenhagen printer Lorentz Benedicht.³

Unfortunately, it also means that I find it difficult to justify the inclusion of such a talented poet as Petrus Lindebergius (Peter Lindeberg, 1562-1596). Lindeberg was born and died in Rostock, and his close connection to the Danish King’s vice-regent in Holstein, Heinrich Rantzau, is hardly enough to consider Lindeberg a naturalised Dane, even though, in fact, in the *Bibliotheca Danica* the attempt has been made to include some of Lindeberg’s works as part of the Danish national bibliography.⁴ (In the present context, however, where the general focus is on North German humanism, I will allow myself to indulge my admiration for Lindeberg and discuss one of his wedding poems along with the Danish material.)

These criteria leave me with around 60 printed books and pamphlets that contain Danish Neo-Latin wedding poetry, as well as a few manuscript poems, from the period 1541 through 1600. These c. 60 items contain a total of around 250 wedding poems of a length that varies between four verses and several hundred verses. Most of these extant poems are written in elegiac couplets or in dactylic hexameters, the easiest of the classical metres and those that the school pupil was first introduced to in his grammar classes. In fact, most of the authors of the Danish Neo-Latin wedding poems were university students writing to their peers or to an addressee of a higher social status. However, as the material shows, it took an experienced and socially

² See Pernille Harsting: Jacobus Jasparus (fl. 1529-1549): “Homerulus noster Danicus”. In: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Hafniensis*. Binghamton 1994, pp. 465-476.

³ In LN the work is registered as no. 1405.

⁴ See *Bibliotheca Slesvico-Holsatica*. Supplement to *Bibliotheca Danica*. Copenhagen 1948, col. 1026, s.v. “Lindeberg, Pt.”.

recognised author, i.e. someone who had finished his university studies and now held a position in the church or in the educational system, to write in celebration of royal couples.⁵

Although Neo-Latin wedding poetry is the second best represented genre in Danish 16th century literature – next to funeral poems and orations only – the research field is a new one.⁶ Until recently, in Danish literary histories, occasional poetry has been either regarded as devoid of interest⁷, or treated as a merely historical source, not as literature. The latter tendency prevailed in the 1970’s and 1980’s: at this point, however, occasional poetry had become more or less “rehabilitated” as an object of study for the then dominant “literatursoziologischen” approach which focused on the production and

⁵ An example is Johannes Georgius Sadolinus (see below in this article) who in 1572 as a pastor, and a recognised *poeta laureatus*, wrote the poem *De nuptiis Friderici II. et Sophiae* (= LN 1409; printed in Copenhagen in 1572 by Lorentz Benedicht) on the occasion of the marriage between King Frederik II and Princess Sophia of Mecklenburg.

⁶ The few published studies can be divided into (A) translations into Danish of selected wedding poems, and (B) genre monographs: (A) Minna Skafte Jensen: *Et nylatinsk bryllupsdigt*. In: *Man må studere*. Aarhus 1984, pp. 255-260 (edition of the Latin text with Danish translation of Johannes Franciscus’ wedding poem to Johannes Georgius Sadolinus, 1566); Karsten Friis-Jensen: *Syvårskrig og salmesang*. In: *Museum Tusulanum* (1987), pp. 94-103 (commented Danish translation of Johannes Pratensis’ wedding poem to Johannes Thomae, 1563); cf. also Erik Petersen’s edition with commented Danish translation of Claudius Christophori Lyschander’s wedding poem to Johannes Kravse and Christina Holck (1579) in: *C.C. Lyschander’s Digtning 1579-1623*. 1-2. Ed. by Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen and E. Petersen. Copenhagen 1989. Vol. 1, pp. 10-19, and vol. 2, pp. 49-51. (B) Pernille Harsting: *Epitalami latini della riforma in Danimarca (1536-1590): Imitazione classica e rappresentazione luterana*. In: *Res Publica Litterarum* 15 (1992), pp. 97-106; Eadem: “Should One Marry?” On the Use of a Classical Rhetorical Theme in Early Lutheran Wedding Poetry. Forthcoming in: *Classica et Mediaevalia* (1999).

⁷ So Carl S. Petersen in: *Illustreret Dansk Litteraturhistorie* 1. Copenhagen 1929, p. 434: “The greatest part of [Neo-Latin occasional poetry] is of no interest after the period in which it appeared. To explore it in greater depth is certainly unnecessary.” (My translation.)

function of the works in relation to the triad author-addressee-audience.⁸

Yet, in order to get a full picture of Danish Neo-Latin wedding poetry it is necessary to examine both the social and religious significance of the poems, and the literary traditions and innovations which they represent. A step along this way is to define the major contributions to the development of the genre. It is the purpose of this article to examine two strands that seem to dominate in the 16th century, namely a Melanchthonian classicism and a stylistic mannerism, and discuss some examples of their occurrence in the Danish Neo-Latin wedding poetry.

MELANCHTHONISM

By the term "Melanchthonism" I refer to the indisputable influence of Philip Melanchthon on the religious, cultural and intellectual developments in the leading social circles in Denmark after the Reformation in 1536 and the re-opening of the University of Copenhagen in 1537. Specifically in this context, however, I am thinking of Melanchthon's direct influence on the Danish students who either studied with him in Wittenberg before his death in 1560 or in other ways became familiar with his teaching and writings.

In fact, some of the earliest preserved Danish Neo-Latin wedding poems were written by three students of Melanchthon during their stay and studies in Wittenberg in the early 1550's. The authors are Johannes Hoinus (Hans Madsen Højne, d. after 1563), Johannes Georgius Sadolinus (Hans Jørgensen Sadolin, c. 1528-c. 1600) and Johannes Franciscus Ripensis (Hans Frandsen, 1532-1584). Their poems were printed in 1553 as an appendix to a brief prose treatise on marriage, the *Epistola de conjugio*.⁹ This treatise and two of the four wedding poems

⁸ This is the general approach to the studies of 16th and 17th century literature in: Dansk litteraturhistorie 2 and 3. Copenhagen 1984 and 1983 respectively. Karsten Friis-Jensen and Minna Skaftte Jensen's survey of 16th century Danish Neo-Latin literature (vol. 2, pp. 368-438) shows the usefulness of the "Literatursoziologie" as a means of re-introducing the nearly forgotten Neo-Latin authors and works in the historical context of the Reformation period.

⁹ The full title of the imprint is: *Epistola de conjugio cum epithalamiis, ad pium et doctum virum, D. Martinum Themmium, ministrum ecclesiae Dei in*

included in the book are the only extant writings from the hand of Johannes Hoinus whom we know to have studied in Wittenberg in the period 1548-1554. Sadolinus and Franciscus on the other hand were to become two of the best known Danish Neo-Latin authors of the 16th century.

Johannes Franciscus' wedding poem is the fourth and last one in the collection.¹⁰ It is written in elegiac couplets and consists of 46 verses. In the following I will use this poem to illustrate how Melanchthon's teaching on theology and literature is reflected in both the *inventio* and the *elocutio* of his Danish students' wedding poetry.

Johannes Franciscus Ripensis Domino Martino Themmio,
et <D>orotheae¹¹ sponsae. S. D.

Casta Deus mens est casta vult mente vocari,
Et punit cunctos quos vagus urit amor.
Et placitas casto metas praescribit amori,
Atque probat casti vincula firma thori.
5 Ipsius ut maneat cunctis bene nota voluntas,
Quod velit ut certa lege regatur amor.
Exemplisque suam monstravit tristibus iram,
Cum totam Sodomem tartara caeca vorant.
Unde nihil remanet fervens nisi fluctus aquarum,
10 Perpetuo semper sulphure et igne tumens.
Et David poenas solvit pro crimine moechus,
Cum perdit regni ditia sceptrum sui.
Fortia sic clarae ceciderunt moenia Troiae,
Dum laesit Phrygius foedera sancta Paris.
15 Scedasias etiam violant sine foedere gnatas,
Spartani, et rigido turpiter ense necant.
Turpiter imperium clarum post Sparta reliquit:
Quid non, quaeso, mali spurca libido parit?
Haec igitur nobis praestentur munera summo
20 Ut simus casti pectore et ore, Deo,

oppido Oschatz. Wittenberg 1553 (Johannes Krafft) (= LN 968). I have seen the copy in the cathedral library of Strängnäs, Sweden.

¹⁰ Op.cit., D1v-D2r.

¹¹ My correction of the original "Orotheae".

Atque datas primo sacras ab origine leges
 Servantes, summus quas probat ipse Deus.
 Haec quoniam Martine facis carissime, summo,
 Ne dubita, pietas est tua grata Deo.
 25 Vis potius thalami promittere foedera sancti,
 Quam vis insano pectus amore rapi.
 Cum tali semper curas et vivere sponsa,
 Offert quae tecum vota precesque Deo.
 Sit precor haec similis foecundis vitibus, ultro
 30 Producens fructus tempore rite suos.
 Discumbant lautas longo circum ordine mensas,
 Circumdat totam vitis ut alma domum.
 Tu nova nupta novo simul ac laetare marito,
 Numine quem sancto docta Minerva fovet.
 35 Et Deus omnipotens celsa regnator in arce,
 Quem tremit immensi machina tota poli,
 Hunc amat, et servat, praestat, tegit atque gubernat,
 Ipsius et sancto flumine corda rigat.
 Nam sua proponit patulum mandata per orbem,
 40 Filiolos Christi mystica sacra docet.
 En nunc vobiscum divina precamina fundo,
 Vobiscum supplex numina sacra precor,
 Ut vestrum cursum summus Deus ipse gubernet,
 Qui statuit liciti vincula connubii.
 45 Longa regat vestrae placide quoque tempora vitae,
 Inque Deo sit mens una, sit unus amor.
 Τέλος καὶ θεῶν δόξα.

[Johannes Franciscus greets master Martinus Themmius and his spouse Dorothea.

God is the chaste mind and wants to be addressed
 by a chaste mind;
 He punishes all who burn with unsteady love.
 He prescribes acceptable goals to chaste love
 and approves of the firm bond of chaste marriage.
 5 In order that His will remain well known to everybody,
 He wants love to be ruled by a fixed law.

He showed His anger with sad examples,
 when blind hell devoured all of Sodom.
 Nothing remained of the burned town, but waves of water
 swelling forever with perpetual sulphur and fire.
 10 Thus the adulterer David had to pay for his crime,
 when he lost the rich sceptre of his kingdom.
 Likewise fell the strong walls of renowned Troy,
 when Paris the Phrygian offended the holy contract.
 15 Also the Spartans raped Scedasus' daughters against the law,
 and shamelessly murdered them
 with their fierce swords.
 Subsequently Sparta disgracefully lost her renowned power:
 What evil is not born from filthy lust?
 20 May the highest God therefore offer us these gifts,
 in order that we can be chaste in heart and speech,
 and observe the holy laws, which the highest God
 Himself approves of and
 gave to us from the first beginning.
 Because you do that, dear Martinus, there is no doubt
 that your sense of duty is dear to the highest God.
 25 You prefer to commit yourself
 to the contract of holy matrimony
 instead of letting your heart be captured by mad love.
 You are concerned with always living with a bride like her,
 who makes vows and prays to God together with you.
 I pray that she may be like the fertile grapevine and gladly
 30 produce her fruit in due time.
 They shall sit in a great circle around your abundant table,
 just as the bountiful vine surrounds all of your home.
 And you too, newly wedded bride,
 rejoice in your newly wedded husband,
 whom learned Minerva cherishes with divine will.
 35 And almighty God who governs in the high heavens,
 at whom the edifice of the whole wide world trembles,
 He loves, serves, warrants, protects and guides him,
 and strengthens his heart with His holy stream.
 For he puts forward God's commandments to the world,
 40 and teaches Christ's holy sacraments to the children.

So, together with the two of you,
 I now pour forth a prayer to God,
 humbly I pray to the holy God together with you two,
 that the highest God may Himself guide your lives,
 He who established the bond of lawful matrimony.
 45 May He also gently command your life for a long time,
 and may there be one mind and one love in God.
 The end and faith in God.]

Just a quick look at Johannes Franciscus' wedding poem makes it clear that it differs markedly from the classical Latin wedding poems by e.g. Catullus or Statius. Yet, these poems were the models of much wedding poetry in both Northern and Southern Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries. So much so, in fact, that the presentation of the genre in Julius Caesar Scaliger's posthumous *Poetices libri septem* from 1561 to a great extent takes the shape of a commentary to Catullus' *Carmen* 61.¹² Following the structure of Catullus 61, Scaliger recommends that the wedding poem should be divided into six sections. It should begin with a description of how Venus induced the couple to marry. In the second section follows praise of the couple; in the third good wishes; further, in the fourth section, the poet alludes to the approaching wedding night; and, in the fifth section, he expresses the wish that the couple have children, then prays for them, and wishes them a happy future together. The poem should end on a joking note in the style of the Roman *Fescennina*, urging the couple to go to bed and *not* sleep, as Scaliger writes.¹³

Turning back to Johannes Franciscus' poem from 1553, we find that the general disposition of the poem does not differ much from the one

¹² Scaliger on the *Epithalamion* is found in: op.cit. Lyon 1561, ch. 101, pp. 150-155; cf. also the facsimile edition with introduction by August Buck (Stuttgart / Bad Cannstatt 1964). The chapter is registered as "Cap. 100" (sic) in vol. 3 (1995), pp. 62ff., of the 5-volume modern edition and German translation of Scaliger's *Poetices*, which is being prepared by Luc Deitz and Gregor Vogt-Spira (Stuttgart 1994-). An English translation by Jackson Bryce of Scaliger's chapter is published in Heather Dubrow: *A Happier Eden. The Politics of Marriage in the Stuart Epithalamium*. London 1990, pp. 271-296.

¹³ "Postrema pars exhortationem continet ad somnum: ac somnum quidem aliis, illis vero vigiliam" (p. 150 in the 1561 edition).

recommended by Scaliger. Following the tradition of the genre, the *exordium* of Franciscus' poem consists of a thesis on the *autor* and *fautor conjugii*, the *narratio* contains *enkomion* or *laus* of the couple, and the *peroratio* expresses *vota*, good wishes for their future life together. Yet, the content developed within this framework is of a somewhat different kind and character from that recommended by Scaliger.

Thus, in his poem's introduction (vv. 1-22), Johannes Franciscus argues for the importance of chastity before and in married life: because God is chaste, He approves of marriage as the only way in which man can live a chaste life. Therefore God punishes those who do not marry and "burn with unsteady love". Franciscus' examples of God's anger and punishment are taken both from the Bible and from classical Greek literature: the misdeed and fall of the people of Sodom and King David are paralleled with Paris' crime that caused the fall of Troy, and with the Spartans' rape and murder of Scedasus' daughters that brought an end to the power of Sparta.

The obligatory *laus* is also formulated on quite a different note than the one found in Scaliger: in vv. 23-26, the bridegroom, the pastor Martinus Themmius from Oschatz, is praised for his desire to live in accordance with God's holy laws; and again, in vv. 33-40, for the fact that he is favoured by Minerva because of his learning, and protected by God as a member of the clergy. The poem concludes with the traditional wishes that the couple have many children and live long lives – and with prayers for the couple that they may always be guided by God and their love in God (vv. 41-46).

Thus, in place of the somewhat bawdy *topoi* recommended by Scaliger, in Johannes Franciscus' poem we find an exposition of chastity and a description of how God punishes those who do not respect the God given order of marriage.

Chastity is one of the four *bona conjugii* (along with *sanctitas*, *necessitas*, and *societas*), and a central idea in the Lutheran doctrine of marriage. It was also a central and recurrent theme in Philip Melanchthon's teaching. This we know from various sources, one of which is Melanchthon's *Postilla* of January 1551. Here Melanchthon exhorts his students to employ the theme of chastity in their poems and

declamations which, as we are told, formed part of their writing exercises, for this pleases God and “studia abeunt in mores”.¹⁴

In his wedding poem Johannes Franciscus shows himself a good pupil of Melanchthon. Not only does he focus on the theme of *castitas*, he even quotes at the very beginning of his poem the first verse of a programmatic epigram from Melanchthon’s own hand:

Casta Deus mens est, casta vult mente vocari,
Et castas pondus jussit habere preces.

[God is the chaste mind and wants to be addressed
by a chaste mind;
it is His will that all chaste prayers are heard.]

This was a verse that Melanchthon often recited to his students in connection with his teaching on the subject of *castitas*, as we learn from the *Postilla* of 1551.¹⁵

As Johannes Franciscus’ poem began, so it concludes with a verse from another well-known epigram by Melanchthon:¹⁶

Conjugium vestrum sit felix numine Christi,
Inque Deo sit mens una, sit unus amor.

[May your marriage be happy with the divine will of Christ,
and may there be one mind and one love in God.]

¹⁴ *Postilla Melanthoniana*, Dominica II. post Epiphania. In: *Corpus Reformato-
rum* (hereafter referred to as CR) 24 (1856), coll. 272-288: col. 278.

¹⁵ “Saepe recito hunc versum: *Casta Deus mens est, casta vult mente vocari*”, op.cit. (see note 14 above), col. 281. Cf. also CR 10 (1842), col. 649, no. 335, where the epigram is edited along with the Greek version from 1549 (on this version, see Stefan Rhein: *Philologie und Dichtung. Melanchthons griechische Gedichte* [unpublished doctoral thesis]. Heidelberg 1987, pp. 247-248.) See also note 19 below.

¹⁶ First (?) presented by Melanchthon to Johannes Stigelius in 1544; cf. CR 5 (1838), col. 399, no. 2948. See also CR 10 (1842), col. 657, no. 356, last verse: “Conjugibus sit mens una, sit unus amor.” Cf. note 19 below.

In this way Melanchthon becomes literally both alpha and omega, not only to Franciscus’ wedding poem, but to the whole collection of writings in which Franciscus’ is the last one. For just as the book in this way closes with a quotation from Melanchthon, so it opened with one: on p. A1 verso, facing the beginning of Johannes Hoinus’ *Epistola de conjugio* on p. A2, we find another poem by Melanchthon on the themes of chastity and marriage:

Pectus ut in sponso flammaram incendia sentit,
Qui vero sponsae flagrat amore suae,
Naturam sociam vero sic diligit igne
Filius aeterno de genitore satus.
Induit humano¹⁷ quam foedere, quo sibi nostrum
Fraterno pariter junxit amore genus.
Jura thori Deus exemplum cum foederis huius
Esse velit, caste praecipit ipsa coli.

[Just as the bridegroom feels the flames in his heart,
when he burns with true love for his bride,
thus the Son who is sprung from His eternal parent,
loves nature’s bond with true burning love.
This bond He assumed with a human contract, by which He
also joined us to Him with brotherly love.
Because God wants lawful marriage to represent this
contract,
it is His will that it be practised with chastity.]

This poem is found in several of Melanchthon’s own writings on marriage and on the theme of *castitas*. An example is the emblematic use of the poem as an introduction to Melanchthon’s technical treatise on marriage and marriage law, *De conjugio pia commonefactiones* of 1551.¹⁸

¹⁷ Originally “immoto”, to be translated: “This bond He assumed, with a firm contract (...)”. Melanchthon in most cases preferred the variant “humano”.

¹⁸ Cf. also CR 10 (1842), col. 645, no. 327: *De conjugio*, in *nuptias Johannis Cratonis, artium et medicinae Doct. Vratislaviae, an. 1559. mense Septb.*: “Pectus ut in sponso (...)”.

The poem is also quoted, along with the two above mentioned epigrams by Melanchthon, in David Chytraeus' wedding speech, *Oratio de conjugio in nuptiali sacro Tilemanni Stellæ et Helenæ*, which was first printed in Wittenberg in 1554.¹⁹ In the reprint of 1555, the wedding speech is likewise attributed to David Chytraeus.²⁰ Yet, a comparison of the wedding speech to the above mentioned *Postilla* of 1551 and to Melanchthon's other writings on the subject of marriage and chastity leaves no doubt that this is not Chytraeus', but Philip Melanchthon's work. It is well known that Melanchthon was the author of a great number of sermons and orations that were later delivered by his students and colleagues, and the *De conjugio* is clearly an example of this practice.²¹

Thus, Melanchthon's poems were used and re-used both by himself and by his followers throughout the 16th century: the formulations and verses were so well known and so characteristic that on the one hand they became 'common property', whereas on the other they always remained distinctively his and therefore lent authority to the works in which they were quoted. The appearance of Melanchthon's poem "Pectus ut in sponso (...)" as an introduction to Johannes Hoinus' *Epistola de conjugio* – and the quotation of the above mentioned verses from Melanchthon's epigrams on chastity and marriage in Johannes Franciscus' wedding poem in the same 1553 imprint (and in a great number of other 16th century Danish wedding poems as well) – should be understood in this context. To the Danish students and wedding

¹⁹ *Oratio de conjugio*, recitata in sacro nuptiali clarissimi viri Tilemanni Stellæ et pudicissimæ virginis Helenæ filiae honestissimi viri Baldasari Rotermunds Consulis Suerinensis. Autore Davide Chytraeo. Wittenberg 1554 (Johannes Krafft). The book also contains an *Epithalamion* by Johannes Willebrochius (C3v-D2r). Melanchthon's poem is found on B4v: "ut in dulcissimis Philippi versibus dicitur: Pectus ut in sponso (...)." And his epigrams on A2r: "Casta Deus mens est (...)" and B1r: "Inque Deo sit mens una, sit unus amor". – I have had access to this book at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.

²⁰ The editio princeps of 1554 (cf. note 19 above) is not mentioned in the introduction to the text in: CR 12 (1844), no. 148, coll. 127ff.

²¹ Cf. CR 10 (1842), coll. 683-684, with edition of the introduction from 1558 to the fourth book of Melanchthon's orations, "quas conscripsit et partim ipse in schola Vitebergensi recitavit, partim aliis recitandas exhibuit".

poets Melanchthon was both a *praeceptor* and an *auctoritas*, both a source of inspiration and an authority for their own inventions.

In the *Postilla*, when underlining the pedagogic and moral usefulness of the theme of chastity, Melanchthon explains that "there are many famous sayings and stories that can be woven into this kind of writing, both about chastity rewarded and lust punished". True to his conviction of the importance of combining Lutheran doctrine and humanist learning, Melanchthon's examples in the *Postilla* of "chastity rewarded" and, especially, of "lust punished" are drawn from both the Bible and from classical literature. Thus, the fall of biblical Sodom and Gomorra is given as an example along with that of classical Troy.²² Another example recommended by Melanchthon, is the story of Theban Scedasus. This story recurs often in Danish Neo-Latin wedding poetry of the period, and we have already seen it employed by Johannes Franciscus in his poem of 1553. In Franciscus' rendition (vv. 15-18) we are told how certain Spartans raped and murdered the daughters of Scedasus, and how Sparta, as a consequence of this, lost all her power.

We know that Melanchthon was familiar with the Scedasus story from his studies of classical Greek literature, more precisely from the comprehensive version given in the third of the Pseudo-Plutarchean *Amatoriae narrationes*. This appears from the "Children's Catechism" where, in his exegesis of the sixth commandment, Melanchthon follows his own prescriptions and uses the Scedasus story to illustrate how lust and moral blindness are punished severely by God:²³

Plutarchus narrat duas puellas a Laconicis juvenibus per vim stupratas deinde interfectas esse. Narrat et alia quaedam facinora, sed in pugna Leuctrica Lacedemonii victi sunt ad sepulchra illarum puellarum, ut appareret et Deum ulcisci illa stupa.

[Plutarch relates that two girls were raped and then killed by some young Spartans. He also tells about other misdeeds, but the Spartans were defeated in the battle at Leuctra at the tomb

²² Op.cit. (note 14 above), coll. 278 and 279ff.

²³ Catechesis puerilis. CR 23 (1855), coll. 160-162: col. 161.

of these girls, so that it was clear that God also avenged the rapes.]

It is probable that Melanchthon learned about the Scedasus story from Angelo Poliziano's Latin translation of the *Amatoriae narrationes*.²⁴ The translation which dates from 1479 was published posthumously in Poliziano's *Omnia opera* by Aldus in Venice in 1498, and reprinted in several collections in the years following. In 1530 it appeared in a volume of the Plutarchean *Opuscula* printed by Andreas Cratander in Basel. Melanchthon was undoubtedly familiar with this edition. For among the numerous translations contained in the volume is Melanchthon's own Latin version of one of Plutarch's "Table-talks".²⁵

Johannes Franciscus may have been the first Danish Neo-Latin poet and student of Melanchthon to use the Scedasus story in his wedding poem of 1553. Another very detailed and absorbing version of the story is found in an *Epithalamium* from 1570²⁶, written by the then 20 year old Johannes Hemmingius (Hans Hemmingsen, 1550-c.1602). In 1569 Hemmingius had finished his studies in Wittenberg, and in April 1570 he was appointed *professor paedagogicus Terentianus* at the University of Copenhagen. The *Epithalamium* celebrates the marriage of Salome and Olaus Theophilus, the headmaster of the cathedral school in Copenhagen. It consists of 134 verses, written in dactylic hexameters.

The following excerpt (vv. 54-109) from Hemmingius' wedding poem contains his rendition of the Scedasus story:

²⁴ The version given in Nicolai Leonici Thomaei: De varia historia libri tres nuper in lucem editi. Basel 1531 (Johannes Frobenius). Book 2, ch. 8, pp. 125-127, is also based on the Ps.-Plutarchean story, but Leonicus' free rendering differs in various places from the original – and from the summary offered by Melanchthon in his *Catechesis*.

²⁵ Melanchthon's translation of the section *De nota Pythagorica* (op.cit., book 8, question 7) was first published in: Plutarchi Chaeronensis opuscula quaedam, Basel 1518 (Johannes Frobenius), pp. 191-194.

²⁶ *Epithalamium* in honorem nuptiarum clarissimi viri eruditione et veris virtutibus ornatissimi D. Magistri Olai Theophili ludirectoris in Regia urbe Hafniensi, et Salomes, honestissimi viri Melchioris Aurifabri piae memoriae, filiae. Copenhagen 1570 (Lorentz Benedicht) (= LN 742).

55 Urbs antiqua fuit Graii quam nomine Leuctram
Dixerunt, dives studiisque asperrima belli.
Non procul hac Scedasus vixit, binasque decora
Insignes forma, excellentesque omnibus arte
Foeminea, genuit natas. Huc forte solebant
Spartani adventare viri, hospitiumque rogare.
60 Cumque domo Scedasus non fausto tempore abesset
Tres numero claris a stirpe parentibus orti
Adveniunt juvenes, recipi sub tecta petentes,
Hospitium datur, ingressi mox foedera rumpunt
Hospitii, et miseris Sathana impellente puellas
65 Incautas subito, et prorsus nil tale putantes,
Arripiunt, violant (scelus ach immane) trucidant,
Stupratas, puteoque aderat qui forte profundo
Abscondunt, terram accumulans, Spartamque revisunt.
Interea infoelix Scedasus redit, atque tremente
70 Voce vocat natas, nulla harum apparet, at ille
Sollicite inquit, tandem cum tempore longo
Quaesisset, puteum accedit, terraque repletum
Comperit, hic maestus natas invenit amicas.
Continuo huic gelidus fugit ad praecordia sanguis.
75 Nec fari poterat, nam lingua dolore retenta est.
Tandem quae fuerit tantorum causa malorum
Repperit, et justa lacrymans incanduit ira.
Moxque in Spartanam ut venerat se contulit urbem,
Vimque suis factam natis, mortemque cruentam
80 Conqueritur. Judex haec surda praeterit aure,
(Et Scedasus pro iure domum ludibria portat.)
Discedens talem rupit de pectore vocem:
"O Deus omnipotens, qui sceptris ligonibus aequas,
85 Talia me passum cerne, et miserere dolorum
Tantum, miserere mei non digna ferentis.
O si quae est coelo pietas, quae talia curet,
Ultor ades, homines nam te dare jura loquuntur."
Dixit et in sese capulo tenus abdidit ense
Impatiens, vitamque atro cum sanguine fudit.
90 Non multos post inde annos, Spartana juvenus
Induit arma (hominum genus intractabile bello)

Aoniamque urbem muris et turribus altam
 Funditus eruere, et flammis miscere parabant.
 Denique Thebanis fama haec pervenit ad aures,
 95 Nec mora, fit strepitus, discurritur undique portis,
 Ingentesque animos spirans Draconigena²⁷ proles
 Ingreditur, strictisque ferox mucronibus horret.
 Tela sonant humeris, lato venabula ferro
 Aptantur, iam iamque aderat Spartana juvenus,
 100 Thebanosque petit directo tramite. At illi
 Accelerant, contraque pedum vestigia figunt.
 Inque locum clarae stabant ubi moenia Leuctrae
 Deveniunt, manus hic manibus miscentur, et ingens
 Fit pugna, hic diris clamoribus aëra complent.
 105 Spartani dant terga viri, Thebana juvenus
 Accendit Martem cantu, insequiturque fugaces,
 Et robur sternit Spartanum, hic praemia solvunt
 Illusi tandem Scedasi, mortisque cruentae
 Gnatarum illius, per vim fractique pudoris.

[There was an old town which the Greeks called Leuctra,
 55 rich it was and very fierce in war.
 Scedalus lived not far from there and had two daughters
 who were very beautiful and better skilled than anyone
 else in the work of women. As it happened Spartan men
 would often come to their house and ask for hospitality.
 60 At an unfortunate time when Scedalus was away from home,
 three young men of fine family came
 and asked to be received in the house; they were accepted,
 but soon after they had entered the house they broke the laws
 of hospitality and induced by Satan
 they at once seized the poor girls
 65 who were not on their guard and certainly did not expect
 anything of this kind,
 raped them (alas, what a monstrous crime), slaughtered them
 after the rape, and hid them in a deep well

²⁷ Dra-co-ni-ge-na results from Hemmingius' effort to mould the Latin word for "the people-sprung-from-dragon's-teeth" into the inexorable dactylic hexameter; the correct scansion is Dra-cô-ni-ge-na.

that happened to be there,
 and heaped earth upon it. Then they returned to Sparta.
 Meanwhile poor Scedalus comes back and calls
 70 with trembling voice for his daughters.
 Neither of them appears, so he
 searches anxiously for them, and after having searched
 for a long time
 he at last came to the well and saw
 that it had been filled with earth;
 devastated he found his beloved daughters there.
 All at once his blood runs cold in his veins.
 75 He could not speak a word, for his tongue was held
 captive by grief.
 Finally he understood the cause of this great evil
 and shedding tears he turned pale with just rage.
 He immediately made his way to the town of Sparta,
 and as soon as he had arrived,
 he complains bitterly about the violence that had been done
 to his daughters and about
 80 their cruel death, but the judge does not care to listen to him,
 and Scedalus brings home derision instead of justice.
 When he departed, he uttered from his heart:
 "O almighty God, to whom there is no difference
 between kings and ordinary men,
 see what I suffer and have pity on my great distress
 85 and with the undeserved burden that I have to carry.
 O, if Heaven feels pity and cares about such matters,
 then come as my avenger, for they say
 that you bring justice."
 Having said this, unable to endure his pain,
 he stabbed himself deeply
 and his life ran out with his dark blood.
 90 Not many years after this, the Spartan youth
 took up arms, (for they were a warlike people),
 and made preparations to destroy entirely the Aonian town
 with its high walls and towers and burn it all down.
 As soon as rumour of this reached the Thebans
 95 there was uproar, people ran from all directions

to the city gates,
 and the dragon-born people advanced with great confidence,
 intrepid and frightening with swords held high.
 Spears resounded on their shoulders,
 hunting-spears were prepared with
 broad iron heads, and now the Spartan youth were there
 100 and they make for the Thebans in direct attack.
 But the Thebans
 quicken their pace and advance in counterattack.
 They reach the location of the walls of renowned Leuctra:
 here they fight in close combat and a great
 battle takes place, here they fill the air with dreadful cries.
 105 The Spartans flee, the Theban youth
 excite Mars with song and pursue those who flee,
 and the Spartans' strength gives out, here they finally
 pay the price for having abused Scedasus
 and for the cruel death
 of his daughters by violence and violated modesty.]

The appearance of raped Theban girls and historical battle scenes in a wedding poem would, to a Danish or German reader in the 16th century, have been an understandable part of the Lutheran program of *castitas*, known to school pupils and university students from Melanchthon's teaching. The use of classical learning and literature in the propagation of Lutheran doctrine is precisely what constituted Melanchthon's "Lutheran humanism". Thus, Johannes Hemmingius' inclusion of the Scedasus story in his wedding poem is a clear expression of Melanchthon's influence, and a 'school example' of the unity of *studia* and *mores* which Melanchthon aimed at, both as a teacher and as a theologian.

To sum up: the poems by Johannes Franciscus and Johannes Hemmingius reveal the enormous influence of Melanchthon's own wedding poetry and of his teaching and writing on the subject of chastity and marriage. And these are not isolated examples of the importance of "Melanchthonism" to Danish students and wedding poets throughout the 16th century.

Melanchthon rightfully appears a *sine quo non* to the development of Danish Neo-Latin wedding poetry in the 16th century. Yet, along with

Melanchthonism and often interwoven with this tradition, there is another important thread to be considered, namely the whole spectrum of playful rhetorical and poetical devices and inventions that can be described as literary "mannerism".

MANNERISM

It is important to underline that I do not use the term, "mannerism" or "Manierismus", in the same way as, for example, Arnold Hauser in 'Der Ursprung der modernen Kunst und Literatur. Die Entwicklung des Manierismus seit der Krise der Renaissance' (1964). Here Hauser discusses "Manierismus" as a chronologically defined period that falls in between Renaissance and Baroque.

On the contrary, I am influenced by the idea presented by Ernst Robert Curtius in 'Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter' (1948), of a continual interrelationship between "Klassik" and "Manierismus".²⁸ Curtius insists that it is impossible and useless to talk about a manneristic "system". Mannerism is characterised by deviation, it is a style in constant opposition, or in Curtius' own words: "Der Manierist will die Dinge nicht normal, sondern anormal sagen. Er bevorzugt das Künstliche und Verkünstelte vor dem Natürlichen. Er will überraschen, in Erstaunen setzen, blenden. Während es nur eine Weise gibt, die Dinge natürlich zu sagen, gibt es tausend Weisen der Unnatur" (op.cit., p. 286).

The Lutheran message, in the shape and formulation given to it by Melanchthon, is the backbone of Danish Neo-Latin wedding poetry throughout the 16th century. Both as regards *res* and *verba*, *inventio* and *elocutio*, the Melanchthonian wedding poem holds the position of the "Normalklassiker", as Curtius would say.²⁹ However, in the last

²⁸ For Curtius' precise definition, see op.cit., ch. 15 "Manierismus", §1 "Klassik und Manierismus", p. 277: "Zu diesem Zweck müssen wir das Wort freilich aller kunstgeschichtlichen Gehalte entleeren und seine Bedeutung so erweitern, dass es nur noch den Generalnenner für alle literarischen Tendenzen bezeichnet, die der Klassik entgegengesetzt sind, mögen sie vorklassisch oder nachklassisch oder mit irgendeiner Klassik gleichzeitig sein. In diesem Sinne verstanden ist der Manierismus eine Konstante der europäischen Literatur. Er ist die Komplementär-Erscheinung zur Klassik aller Epochen."

²⁹ "Der Normalklassiker sagt das, was er zu sagen hat, in natürlicher dem Gegenstand angemessener Form." (op.cit., p. 278).

quarter of the century, the genre form and content of the wedding poem is subject to changes and variations, many of which can be described as “mannerisms” in contrast to the linguistic and stylistic purity of Melanchthonian “classicism”. The appearance of acrostics, eteostics, and chronostics in the Danish wedding poems of the 1580’s is an example of this development. Here the manneristic deviation can be described as “empty” *amplificatio*: the increase of signs does not correspond to an increase of information.

A clear example of the manifestation of 16th century mannerism in Neo-Latin wedding poetry is the popularity of the “Echo”-effect, and it is upon this that I want to concentrate the remainder of this article. As is the case with the acrostics, the variation obtained by the Echo-effect is connected with one of the classical *virtutes elocutionis* – not only with *ornatus*, however, but with the very essence of *latinitas*: for the Echo-poem is based on a semantic and grammatical play on words.

I have chosen to use an Echo-poem by the North German poet Peter Lindeberg (1562-1596) as an introduction to the genre, and further as a basis of comparison to a Danish wedding poem formulated as an “Echo”. Lindeberg’s poem is to be found both in his collection of Ἠδύσματα which was published in 1592, and in the re-print of these in *Juvenilium partes tres* from 1595.³⁰ The poem, which consists of ten elegiac couplets, was written on the occasion of the wedding of Samuel Crugerus, whom we know also as the author of a commendatory epigram to Lindeberg’s *Hodoeporicon* from 1586.³¹

Nuptiis M. Samuelis Crugeri. Sponsus, Echo.

Garrula quae tumidis reboas in vallibus ECHO,
Me quando sponsum dic fore reris? E. Eris.

³⁰ Petri Lindebergii Rostochiensis *Juvenilium partes tres*. Secundae partis liber secundus, continens epithalamia. Frankfurt 1595 (Zacharias Palthenius), G7v-G8r (= pp. 110-111). I have had access to the two copies of this book in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Dieter Lohmeier has kindly given me information about the copy of Lindeberg’s Ἠδύσματα to be found in the Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesbibliothek, Kiel. In this earlier edition, the poem is printed on p. 127.

³¹ The poem “Aliud M. Samuelis Crugeri”, is found on Alv in *Hodoeporicon* (Rostock: Stephanus Myliander).

O res grata mihi, sed quae pro conjuge conjux
Ducenda est, totus qui malesanus? E. Anus.
5 Hanc nolo, quamvis malesanus amore, dolorem
Et videar tristis multiplicare? E. Care.
Ducam igitur pulcram pulcra pro conjuge nympham,
Et facie et vultu est quae generosa? E. Rosa.
Quae mecum poterit perducere molliter aevum
10 Atque operi patiens invigilare? E. Lare.
Quid cupidam cupidis sponsam circumdare cesso
Ulnis, connubia haec cum tibi grata? E. Rata.
Grataque sint Veneri, et Veneris cum Pallade proli,
Ardentique mihi sint quoque grata? E. Rata.
15 Ergo age jungemus, dulcissima sponsa, jugali
Vinclo, nostra statim pectora fida? E. Fide.
Tu meus ardor eris semper, mea vita, meum cor,
Solaque prae reliquis dulce levamen. E. Amen.
Interea longum salve resonabilis Echo,
20 Quaerere non etenim plura juvabit. E. Abit.

[On the marriage of Master Samuel Cruger. The bridegroom, Echo.

Babbling Echo who answers back in the swelling valley,
Tell me, when will I become a bridegroom? E. Soon.
Oh, that’s wonderful, but what kind of wife will I marry,
I who am totally lovmad? E. An old bag.
5 I don’t want her, even though I am crazy for love,
and as I am already distressed
wouldn’t I thus seem to increase my pain?
E. Then do without any.
Can’t I get a beautiful young woman to be my beautiful wife,
one who
has both a pretty figure and a pretty face?
E. You’ll get a rose.
And one who will live a sweet life together with me,
and patiently
10 pay attention to her duties? E. She’ll take care
of your home.
Why should I keep back from holding my loving bride

in my loving arms,
when this marriage is acceptable to you?

E. That's decided.

But if it is acceptable to Venus and to Venus' child
along with Pallas, then it should
also be acceptable to me who is ardent?

E. That's decided.

15 So shouldn't we at once join our faithful hearts,
my sweetest betrothed,
by the marriage bond? E. In faith.
You will always be my love, my life, my heart,
and you alone
my sweet solace before everything else. E. Amen.

20 So: bye to you, long resounding Echo, for there is no
need to ask more. E. Off he went.]

The principle of Lindeberg's Echo-verses is the classic in which the last two syllables of the pentameters repeat or rhyme with the preceding two syllables. The result is often humorous, as for instance the echo *malesanus* – *Anus* (v. 4); and surprising, as *multiplicare* – *Care* (v. 6).

In a recent article, Perrine Galand-Hallyn has drawn a sketch of the history of the Echo-poems from their first appearance in Greek literature to the dialogue between Echo and Narcissus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and up to the reappearance of the genre in the Italian Renaissance.³²

Also in this context, Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494) plays an important part in the transmission of the classical texts to the Renaissance audience: Poliziano is known to have composed (in the 1470's?) a Latin translation as well as one in the vernacular of an Echo-poem found in the *Greek Anthology* and attributed to the late Greek author Gauradas. Furthermore Poliziano is himself the author of an Echo-poem in the vernacular from c. 1479 which probably made him the first to have used the genre in the 15th century.³³

³² Perrine Galand-Hallyn: Des "vers échoïques" ou comment rendre une âme à Echo. In: Nouvelle Revue du Seizième Siècle 15 (1997), pp. 253-276.

³³ Gauradas' Echo-poem is no. 152 of the Planudean Anthology. A modern edition of Poliziano's Italian Echo-poem is found in: Angelo Poliziano. Poesie

In Northern Europe Erasmus of Rotterdam wrote a prose *Echo* which was published in 1526³⁴, and Johannes Secundus included an Echo-poem in his *Sylvae* from 1539, a poem in which the narrator, as is the case in Lindeberg's poem, questions Echo on his love prospects.³⁵

The following "Echo" forms part of a small collection of poems which celebrate the wedding of Professor Johannes Stephanius of the University of Copenhagen and Anna, the daughter of Bishop Petrus Vinstrup.³⁶ The poems were printed in 1598 and written by Nicolaus Foert (Niels Føerd, c. 1576-1635), the son of a bookseller of the same name who was born in Kiel but spent most of his adult life in Copenhagen.³⁷ Nicolaus Foert Junior was registered as a student in Oxford and in London in 1599, and like many of his predecessors – among them Johannes Franciscus and Johannes Hemmingius – Foert wrote his wedding poems at a young age.

Italiane. Ed. by Saverio Orlando. Milano 1976, p. 193 (with a note on P.'s Gauradas translation).

³⁴ See Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami 1.3. Colloquia, ed. by L. E. Halkien and others. Amsterdam 1972, pp. 553-558.

³⁵ The poem *Echo. Viator* forms part of *Sylvarum liber unus* in e.g.: Johannis Secundi Hagiensis opera. Nunc primum in lucem edita. Trajecti Batavorum 1541 (Harmannus Borculeus), S5r-S6r.

³⁶ Juri sacro, quum humanissimum, doctrina et eruditione praeclara, ornatissimum virum, Dn. Magistrum Johannem Stephanium, inclytae Academiae Hafniensis Professorem Logicum dignissimum, praeceptorem longe charissimum, sponsum, tum honestissimam ac pudicissimam virginem, variis virtutum dotibus dotatam, Annam, reverendissimi et vigilantissimi Dn. Episcopi, Dn. Doctoris Petri Vinstrupii filiam dilectissimam, sponsam, utrosque, Prid. Calend. Maii, Anni 98 secundis nuptiarum votis maritaliter involventi, gratatur Nicolaus Foert Hafniensis. Copenhagen 1598 (Henricus Waldkirchius) (=LN 643). The "Echo" is printed on A2r-A2v.

³⁷ Cf. H. Ehrencron-Müller: Forfatterlexikon omfattende Danmark, Norge og Island indtil 1814. Vol. 3. Copenhagen 1926, p. 158. Foert/Føerd is not mentioned in any of the three editions of the standard biographical reference work, Dansk Biografisk Leksikon. See this work for additional information on all the other Danish Neo-Latin poets mentioned in this article.

ECHO, in quo de amore conjugali colloquuntur Hymen et Echo, lusu anagrammaticali.

- H.** Blanditiis gratis nunc sat reor esse vacatum,
Musa placet Musisque chelis celebrata canoris.
Musa placet modulans, jaceant ast otia pigra.
Tristia sed quoniam tristis, laetantia laetus
5 Exequitur, juvat extemplo nos, omine fausto,
Egredier, quaerens hilaris quur tendat in urbem
Magnificam populus? Nitida quur fronte puellae
Comptae procedunt? Phano quur nabla resultent?
Alloquium, novi, qui vix iterare recuset,
10 Adveniens, salibus nostris Echo stridula gaudet.
E. Audet? **H.** Prô! Homo mortalis? Deus? An vero diva?
An, dubito, mihi dic, si Echo es? **E.** Haec est.
H. Bona nympha,
Nunc tibi nunc tandem adveniendi tempus, ubi te
Tam latitasse diu credam? Mihi mox peto narras,
15 Egisti tu, fare, quid? **E.** Age quid? **H.** Heus nimium sed,
Ludis Echo. **E.** Quis? Ego? **H.** Mihi dic
plaudent juvenes quur?
Quur sacra turba tumet nympharum? Dic mihi quaeso,
Unde ruit clamor? **E.** Heî, urit Amor. **H.** Rogo doctam,
Expediat breviter, solet ut, Musam, quid amare?
20 **E.** Ah mare! **H.** Sed maris esse igitur,
credis modo portus?
E. O hortus. **H.** Mollis thorus, hortus forsân et ille est?
E. Sane ille est. **H.** Thalamo sed quis valet esse molestus?
E. Aestus. **H.** Cui videas mortales usque favêre?
E. Vere. **H.** Sed Zoilus sciolo cum fratre gemello,
25 Ipse Deus quid? Dente nigro si foedera rodit?
E. Odit. **H.** Qui caste veneratur, diligitur ne?
E. Diligitur nae. **H.** Vera refers Echo bona, pergo.
E. Ergo? **H.** Decora viro, ducenda ne sponsa, pudico?
E. Dico. **H.** Deus casti thalami num maximus autor?
30 **E.** Fautor. **H.** Et his ne piis bona plurima confert?
E. Immo confert. **H.** Coelestis furor hos quoque tangit?
E. Angit. **H.** Nos igitur fas est ut munera laudum

- Atque precum canimus qui foedera sancta verentur.
E. Sancta ferentur. **H.** Nos sponso modo sacra vovemus.
35 **E.** O sacra avemus. **H.** Te Lachesis, precor,
optima, sponsus
Efficias superet, corvi ter secla quaterque.
E. Terque. **H.** Decora, pii quoque vincat sponsa, mariti,
Lubrica vivacis cervi ter secla quaterque.
E. Terque. **H.** Deus, cunctis, sponsi, dic, rebus abundant.
40 **E.** Undent. **H.** An mirum si fessi simus uterque?
E. Imus uterque. **H.** Igitur nos, ut video, ecce relinquis.
E. Inquis. **H.** Vox igitur nunc garrula abibit. **E.** At ivit.

[An Echo-poem, in which Hymen and Echo talk about love and marriage in a play of transposing words and letters.

- Now I believe that there is enough time
for charming pleasures.
I favour the Muse and the lyre that is praised
by the harmonious Muses.
I favour the Muse of song and dance,
now let lazy idle life be forgotten.
But just as he who is sad pursues sad things
and the merry go for merry things,
5 I feel like going out at once with favourable omen
and ask why the happy people are directing themselves
to the splendid town? Why are the girls advancing
with their beautiful
heads adorned? Why do the harps resound in the church?
I know the one who is coming there and
who would not refuse
10 to reply when spoken to, and that is hissing Echo
who is pleased with my wit.
E. Who does he think he is? **H.** Oh, hello!
Are you a living person, a God, or
indeed a goddess? Do tell me: are you really Echo?
E. I am. **H.** Sweet nymph,
now that I finally get to meet you, where am I to believe
that you have

- 15 been hiding for so long? Tell me now, please,
 what have you been up to? **E.** What do you mean?
H. Oh, Echo, you make all
 too much fun of me. **E.** Who? Me? **H.** Tell me:
 why do the young men applaud?
 Why is the holy group of young girls so excited?
 And please tell me:
 where does the applause come from?
E. From burning love. **H.** I ask you,
 learned Muse, that you explain this briefly as always:
 what is love?
- 20 **E.** Oh, the sea! **H.** But do you believe
 that it's a man's harbour?
E. Oh, it's a garden. **H.** Maybe the soft bridal-bed is
 also a garden?
E. Sure it is. **H.** But who is capable of being
 troublesome in bed?
E. The heat. **H.** Do you really think people like that?
E. Absolutely. **H.** But what does God do, if hypercritical Zoilus
 with his know-all twin
 25 eats away at the sacred bond with his black tooth?
E. He hates him. **H.** He who worships Him
 in a chaste manner, isn't he loved?
E. Yes, he is. **H.** You answer true and good things,
 Echo, so I go on.
E. Yes? **H.** Isn't it a beautiful bride who is to be married
 to the virtuous groom?
E. Certainly. **H.** Isn't the greatest God the founder of
 chaste marriage?
- 30 **E.** He favours it. **H.** And doesn't He bestow many good things
 upon these devout people?
E. Indeed He does. **H.** And heavenly madness
 also strikes them?
E. It torments them. **H.** So it is right that we sing their praise
 and pray for those, who respect the holy bond?
E. It shall be said that they kept it holy.
H. We pray for the holy union of the couple.
- 35 **E.** Oh, we long for the holy union.

- H.** I beg you, good Lachesis, that you
 take care that the groom outlives the raven's lifetime
 three times and four times.
E. And three times more. **H.** And that the beautiful bride of
 this devout husband,
 may surpass the long-lived hind's fleeting lifetime
 three times and four times.
E. And three times more. **H.** God, grant the bride
 and bridegroom that they abound in everything.
- 40 **E.** May they flow over. **H.** Is it any wonder
 that we are both tired now?
E. We'll both take our leave. **H.** So, I see that you leave me!
E. You said it. **H.** So now the babbling voice
 will take its leave. **E.** And it did.]

In his wedding poem Foert touches on the traditional Melanchthonian theme of chastity: God is the creator of chaste marriage and favours those who respect this order (vv. 26-34). However, Foert does not develop the theme as Franciscus and Hemmingius did in their wedding poems: what used to be a dominant *topos* is no longer central to the invention of the wedding poem. On the contrary Foert's poem is a tour de force in variation and amplification on the level of *elocutio*. This is a clear example of the change of focus in Danish Neo-Latin wedding poetry in the 16th century from the cultivation of Melanchthonism in the 1550's to that of stylistic mannerism in the 1590's.

Foert's is in many ways an extraordinary poem – and no small challenge to the translator who must find a solution to the long series of ambiguities and double entendres. Yet, all the digressions and sudden transitions, created by Echo's often enigmatic answers, are an expression of *copia*, of the abundance and variety that characterise mannerism. Everything overflows, even the title of the collection of wedding poems in which the Echo forms part (see note 36).

The propensity to extravagance is seen on all levels of Foert's poem. Thus the echos vary not only in length – from two to five syllables (*Audet*, v. 11; *Age quid?*, v. 15; *Immo confert*, v. 31; *Diligitur nae*, v. 27) – their position in the metre is also extremely varied. Most of the echos are initial, and answer, like an enjambment, the last words of the preceding verse (e.g. *quid amare?* – *Ah mare!*, vv. 19-20), whereas

four are found within the hexameters (e.g. *Ludis Echo. – Quis? Ego?*, v. 16).³⁸ In fact, the only example of a classic final echo is found in the very last verse of the poem (*abibit. – At ivit*, v. 42).

In Peter Lindeberg's poem, it was the future bridegroom himself who addressed and questioned Echo on the subject of love and marriage. In Foert's poem, by contrast, the merry narrator is nobody but Hymen, the wedding god himself, who observes the marriage procession in the streets and hears music streaming out from the church, but feigns not to understand the full meaning of the festivities. More information is needed before Hymen is able to convey his wishes and prayers to the bride and bridegroom.

In the many Neo-Latin wedding poems which imitate the setting and the atmosphere of the classic bucolic, this information would be delivered by a shepherd returning from town with the latest news of the marriage. In Foert's Echo-poem, as appears from vv. 9-10, Hymen's curiosity is satisfied by the appearance of a most "responsible" messenger as it were, namely by Echo herself who is always quick at repartee, but cannot be taken at her word.

This priority of playful effect to message and meaning in the echo-poem is expressed in the very title of Foert's poem, "Echo, in which Hymen and Echo talk about love and marriage, in a play of transposing words and letters".

Verse 12 is a typical example of the grammatical and semantic equilibrium that constitutes this *lusus anagrammaticalis*:

An dubito, mihi dic, si Echo es? E. Haec est. H. Bona
nympha (...).

The scanning of the verse results in the echoing [sê-kê – sê-kê], where the meaning of the words to a great extent yields ground to a sophisticated play with metre and sound effect.³⁹ This may be an invention of

³⁸ The other examples are vv. 12, 15, and 18. Cf. Perrine Galand-Hally, op.cit. (note 32 above), p. 274: "les réponses de la nymphe [i.e. Echo], qu'elles soient placées en fin ou, plus rarement, en début de vers (...)" (my italics).

³⁹ The echo effect is clearly based on the elision of the terminal vowels "i" and "o" in the first half of the echo: [s' Ech'e] . I am grateful to Jürgen Leonhardt for having drawn my attention to the fact that this is yet another example of the non-existing aphaeresis in connection with *est* and *es* in Medieval and

Foert's, but it could just as well be an effect that Foert borrows from another poet. Some of Foert's verses certainly "echo" other poems, but this interdependence and intertextuality is, of course, exactly what forms the framework of genre tradition and makes innovation or deviation possible.

One of the conventions of the Echo-poems of the 16th century is the elegant synchronicity of narration and form: in most cases there is no end to the poem before the partners of conversation take their leave.⁴⁰

Thus, in the final hexameters of Foert's poem, just as in those of Peter Lindeberg's Echo-poems the narrators bid farewell to the nymph – who always gets the last word:

Foert: E. We'll both take our leave. H. So, I see
that you leave me!
E. You said it. H. So now the babbling voice
will take its leave. E. And it did.

Lindeberg: So: bye to you, long resounding Echo, for there is no
need to ask more. E. Off he went.

The Echo-poems generally strike a light and humorous note: as we have seen, the echo-effect is both a play *with* and a play *upon* words. Moreover: from Callimachus and Gauradas to Poliziano and Secundus, the Echo-poems almost always convey an amorous, not to say erotic, atmosphere. Echo's charms and her playful character made the genre especially suited for love poems – and for late-16th century Danish wedding poems as well.

* * *

In conclusion I would like to offer at least a provisional characterisation of the development of the Neo-Latin wedding poetry in 16th

early modern poetry. On this discussion, see Jürgen Leonhardt: Die Aphärese bei *est* in der Geschichte der lateinischen Metrik. In: Glotta 66 (1988), pp. 244-252.

⁴⁰ Cf. also the end of Erasmus' *Echo* (op.cit., note 34 above), lines 120-121: "JUVENIS. Proinde si me voles abire, dicito. / ECHO. Ito." The *Echo-Viator* poem by Johannes Secundus (see note 35 above) is an exception to the rule.

century Denmark. Generally speaking, there seems to occur a significant change from chaste "Melanchthonism" at the middle of the century to playful mannerism at the end of the century. However, as I have suggested, the picture is not unambiguous. Melanchthonism culminates in the period 1550-1570, but Melanchthon's influence can be observed in the wedding poetry throughout the century. Conversely, manneristic traits of various kinds can be found in many of the wedding poems from the period, but mannerism as such seems to reach its height from the 1590's on.

The three Danish examples discussed illustrate this development: Johannes Franciscus Ripensis and Johannes Hemmingius who write in 1553 and 1570 respectively, are both heavily influenced by Melanchthon and fully absorbed in propagating the Lutheran ideas of marriage. Nicolaus Foert, on the other hand, who writes at the very end of the century, in 1598, still pays tribute to the classic Melanchthonian topics, but concentrates his efforts on the employment of a wide range of linguistic and stylistic devices.