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JACOBUS JACOBÆUS VOLFIUS:
CARMEN IN NUPTIAS JACOBI VI REGIS SCOTIAE ET ANNAE
(1589).

Edited with a Study of the Autograph Sources¹

The Danish Neo-Latin poems and prose compositions of the 16th century share the destiny of many literary works from the period. The extant printed copies are either unique or very few, and the surviving manuscript versions are extremely rare. Especially as regards the flourishing genre of occasional poetry and oratory, many works are known to us today only from references in contemporary bibliographical catalogues.

In this perspective the Danish author Jacobus Jacobæus Volfius (Jakob Jakobsen Wolf, 1554-1635) is relatively well represented with four extant Latin titles and a total of eight printed copies of these to be found in Danish and Norwegian libraries.² Volfius' printed Latin works are all registered in the standard work on early printed books in Denmark, Lauritz Nielsen's *Dansk Bibliografi 1482-1600* (hereafter referred to as LN):³

¹ The original Danish-Norwegian manuscripts and printed books studied in this article I examined at first hand, whereas I had access to an excellent microfilm copy of the Scottish material. I would like to thank the National Library of Scotland, the National Library in Oslo, and the Royal Library in Copenhagen for having made this material available to me. I am grateful to Edgar Ytteborg of the National Library in Oslo and to Monica Aase of the University Library of Trondheim for valuable information on the printed books by Volfius which are found in these libraries. Russell L. Friedman kindly offered comments on an earlier draft of this article and corrected my English. — This study forms part of a research project which is financially supported by the Danish Research Council for the Humanities.

² In addition to this, Volfius wrote a 'Chronicle of the Jews' in the vernacular: *Jødekronike, tilsammenskreffven aff den hellige Scrift oc Josepho oc udi Rim korteligen befattet*, which was printed in Copenhagen in 1603. On this work see H. Ehrencron-Müller, *Forfatterlexikon omfattende Danmark, Norge og Island indtil 1814*, 12 vols (Copenhagen, 1924-1935), IX, 167-168.

³ *Dansk Bibliografi 1482-1550* (Copenhagen, 1919); *DB 1551-1600* (Copenhagen, 1931-33); *Registre til DB 1482-1550 & 1551-1600* (Copenhagen, 1935). The whole work was reprinted with a supplement by Erik Dal in 1996.

- (1) *Carmen de animae humanae immortalitate* (Copenhagen: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1582); LN no. 1665. Two copies at the Royal Library in Copenhagen, Denmark (= RL).
- (2) *Cenotaphium Friderico II* (Rostock: Stephen Möllmann, 1588); LN no. 1667. One copy at RL.
- (3) *Carmen in nuptias Jacobi VI Regis Scotiae et Annae Friderici II filiae* (Copenhagen: Lorentz Benedicht, 1590); LN no. 1666. One copy at RL.
- (4) *Tragoediae duae* (Copenhagen: Mads Vingaard, 1591); LN no. 1668. Two copies at RL; one copy at the National Library in Oslo, Norway; and one at the University Library in Trondheim, Norway.⁴

Two of the four titles, viz. nos. (2) and (3), are occasional pieces, known by Lauritz Nielsen in only one copy each. In 1942, however, the Danish bookseller and bibliophile Volmer Rosenkilde announced the discovery of a complete handwritten draft of title no. (3), Volfius' wedding poem celebrating the marriage in 1589 of King James VI of Scotland (later James I of England) to Princess Anne of Denmark.⁵ The draft, along with another manuscript containing a fair copy of the wedding poem (in which the first 12 lines are missing) and four proof sheets of the printed text, was discovered in a book binding together with other manuscript sheets and printed pages, all from the 16th century, and all from the Copenhagen printing press of Lorentz Benedicht.

The documents found by Rosenkilde made it possible to follow Volfius' wedding poem to the royal couple all the way from manuscript copy to printed version. Thus, the handwritten draft contains the corrections and the written approval of Johannes Sascerides (Jan Sasgers), who was from 1557 professor in Hebrew at the University of Copenhagen and an expert writer of Latin poetry himself, as well as the *imprimatur* of the rector of the University, bishop Paulus Matthiae (Poul Madsen). Moreover, the fair copy of the poem displays the inserted markings of the length of the columns as they were later reproduced in the printed book, and in the printed proof sheets are indicated the misprints to be corrected before the final printed version.

⁴ The last copy formerly belonged to the Videnskabernes Selskabs Bibliotek of Trondheim, which in 1996 became part of the University Library.

⁵ On this material, see Volmer Rosenkilde, 'Nogle hidtil ukendte Lorentz Benedicht-Tryk, m.m. Et indholdsrigt Bogbind', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen*, 29 (1942), 80-88 (pp. 84-86).

In March 1942 the documents concerning Volfius' wedding poem were sold by Volmer Rosenkilde to the University Library in Oslo, and two months later they were entered into the library's collections as Ms. 8° 1363. In the beginning of 1999 they were transferred as part of the *Danica-Norvegica* of the University Library to the National Library in Oslo.⁶

In 1991, the printed version from 1590 of Volfius' wedding poem to King James and Princess Anne was re-edited with introduction and notes (in Norwegian) by Egil Kraggerud and translation (into Norwegian) by Hilde Sejersted and Kari Skar.⁷ In his presentation of the text, Kraggerud compared the manuscript material found by Rosenkilde with the extant copy of the printed edition. Moreover, Kraggerud discussed some of the changes and corrections that were introduced into the poem on its way from manuscript to printed book.⁸

The manuscript material and the printed proof sheets which were sold by Rosenkilde to the University Library in Oslo, are now listed in Erik Dal's supplement of 1996 to Lauritz Nielsen's Danish bibliography (see n. 3 above). Yet, the history of Jacobus Jacobaeus Volfius' authorship still offers new surprises. Thus, recently, I came upon another complete printed copy of the *Cenotaphium Friderico II*, which has hitherto been known in only one copy (cf. no. (2) in the list above). The new copy of the book formerly belonged to the Duke of Roxburghe's Collection. In 1812 it was acquired by the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, which now forms part of the collections of the National Library of Scotland. This printed copy of the *Cenotaphium* is, curiously enough, listed as a part of a manuscript, viz. ms. Adv. 19.3.29, in

⁶ I am grateful to Sigbjørn Grindheim of the National Library in Oslo for this information, and to Erik Petersen of the Royal Library in Copenhagen for confirming that RL was never in possession of the documents, cf. n. 8 below.

⁷ Cf. Egil Kraggerud (ed.), *Kongehyllest. Skrifter av J. J. Wolf og H. Gunnarsson* (Oslo, 1991), pp. 43-55 (introduction), pp. 96-103 (edition with translation), and pp. 112-113 (notes). Unfortunately, both in the table of contents and on p. 43, the chapter concerning the wedding, which took place in 1589, is erroneously entitled 'Fyrstebryllupet i Oslo 1591' ['The Royal Wedding in Oslo, 1591']. The book also contains a re-edition of Volfius' *Cenotaphium Friderico II* (1588), cf. no. (2) in the list above of Volfius' printed Latin works.

⁸ Cf. *Kongehyllest*, pp. 52-55. Kraggerud apparently based his study on photocopies to be found at the Dept. of Classics at the University of Oslo, cf. *Kongehyllest*, p. 52, n. 36, and p. 53, section (b), and did not consult the original material which was then to be found at the University Library in Oslo, and never (*pace* op. cit., p. 52, n. 35) at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

Catherine R. Borland, *A Catalogue of Mediaeval Manuscripts in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh* (III, 702-703).⁹

However, a closer look at the description in Borland's manuscript catalogue reveals that the printed copy of the *Cenotaphium* is bound together with nothing less than a complete manuscript copy of Volfius' wedding poem to King James VI and Princess Anne! Despite the fact that it is registered in the Edinburgh catalogue as well as in Paul Oskar Kristeller's *Iter Italicum*,¹⁰ this Scottish manuscript has until now remained an unexplored source to the *fortuna* of Volfius' wedding poem.

In the following, after a brief introduction to the author and to the circumstances of the composition of the wedding poem, I discuss the identification of the hands in the rediscovered Scottish manuscript and in the manuscript presented by Volmer Rosenkilde. Then follows an examination of (a) the relationship between the two manuscripts, and (b) the relationship between the manuscript sources and the printed edition. Finally I have edited the wedding poem to King James VI and Princess Anne on the basis of the Scottish manuscript which I argue must be Volfius' original version of the Latin text.

1. The author

Jacobus Jacobaeus Volfius was born in 1554 in Odense on the Danish island of Funen. Volfius went to school in Odense and in Ribe, and from 1577 to 1581 he was a student at the University of Copenhagen, where, in 1581, he obtained the bachelor's degree and, in 1594, the master's degree. In 1621 Volfius was appointed professor in theology and Hebrew at the new school in his home town Odense. He died in 1635.¹¹

⁹ The four handwritten vols of Borland's catalogue (which belongs to the National Library of Scotland) were compiled in 1906-1908.

¹⁰ The brief entry in P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, IV (*Alia itinera*, II), *Great Britain to Spain* (Leiden, 1989), is found on p. 18. The manuscript copy is also mentioned in *National Library of Scotland, Summary Catalogue of the Advocates' Manuscripts* (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 85: '1051. Jacob Jacobsen Wolf: poem in honour of the marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark, 1589. Adv. MS. 19.3.29.'

¹¹ See J. Paludan's article on 'Jakob Jakobsen Wolf' in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, XIX (Copenhagen, 1905), 149-151; and R. Paulli's article on the same in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon* (3rd ed.), XVI (Copenhagen, 1984), 14-15.

In the period from 1584 through 1594 Volfius was the headmaster of the school in Oslo. It was while occupying this position that he, in 1588, and apparently at the instigation of his father-in-law, the bishop of Oslo, Johannes Nicolai (Jens Nilsson), composed the oration *Cenotaphium Friderico II*, on the occasion of the death of the Danish King Frederik II.¹²

Although he had thus already proven his abilities as an encomiastic writer, Volfius was not among the poets who celebrated the events of August 1589, when, in Copenhagen, the 14-year-old daughter of the late King Frederik, and sister of King Christian IV, Princess Anne, was married by proxy to King James VI of Scotland. In many Latin verses and various metres, Danish and Scottish poets foretold how the Princess would travel peacefully over the North Sea and be received with due pomp and circumstance by King James in Edinburgh.¹³ However, in reality the travel went quite differently. Thus, having left Copenhagen on September 1, 1589, the ships en route with Anne to Scotland were forced by the autumn gales, after a whole month's voyage, to put in on the Norwegian coast. The bad weather kept the Princess from continuing her travel, but did not prevent King James from setting out to join her in Oslo as soon as he was informed about her delay. Here the royal couple was married on November 23, 1589.¹⁴

Jacobus Jacobaeus Volfius' wedding poem was composed to celebrate the unforeseen event of the royal wedding in Oslo, and — contrary to

¹² Cf. *Cenotaphium*, introductory address to Nicolai, pp. A3v-A4 in the 1588 edition; p. 60 in the re-edition of 1991, in *Kongehyllest* (cf. n. 7 above), pp. 56-95: 'Quod ubi sensit Tua Praestantia, mihi autor fuit ut orationem ipse conscriberem et in auditorio recitarem' [italics mine, cf. n. 15 below]; 'Tua reverentia mihi persuasit ut ob praenominatas causas hanc etiam narratiunculam velut anser strepens inter olores contexerem.'

¹³ On the poems by Andreas Robertsons and Hercules Rollock, and on the *Harmonia gratulatoria* composed by Abrahamus Praetorius, see Pernille Harsting, 'Epitallami latini della riforma in Danimarca (1536-1590): imitazione classica e rappresentazione luterana', *Res Publica Litterarum*, 15 (1992), 97-106 (pp. 103-104). See also the Flemish poet Hadrianus Damman's *Schediasmata de nuptiis Jacobi VI et Annae* (Edinburgh, 1590), reprinted in *Delitiae C. Poetarum Belgicorum* (Frankfurt, 1614), II, 1-43.

¹⁴ The royal wedding is described in an anonymous contemporary Danish and Latin report, two copies of which are preserved in the mss. Add. 332 4° and Add. 51 4° at the Royal Library of Copenhagen. A version of this material was edited by P. A. Munch in *Norske Samlinger*, I (Christiania, 1852), 450-512. On the Princess' interrupted voyage, and on the trials of the 'witches' who were accused of having caused it, see Thomas Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot... Scottish-Danish Relations c. 1450-1707*, 2 vols, Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences, 114 (Odense: Odense University Press, 1988), I, 263-269.

the poems presented in Copenhagen in August — therefore turned out to be the proper word at the proper time and place. It is possible that the poem was read aloud as part of the actual wedding celebrations.¹⁵ However, due to the extraordinary circumstances of the wedding, it was not finished in time to be presented in a printed version to King James and Princess Anne. As Rosenkilde suggests, Volfius probably offered a manuscript copy of the poem to the royal couple while they were still in Norway.¹⁶ This would have been before Christmas 1589 when King James and Princess Anne left Oslo in order to spend the rest of the winter and the beginning of the spring of 1590 in Elsinore and in Copenhagen.

2. The copyists

A manuscript copy of the wedding poem was subsequently sent to the printer in Copenhagen. This manuscript — the one found by Volmer Rosenkilde — was written in two different hands: p. 2 through p. 5, line 10 were written in a 'first hand', whereas the frontispiece (p. 1) as well as p. 5, line 11 through p. 7 were written in a 'second hand'. In his introduction to the 1991 re-edition of Volfius' poem, Egil Kraggerud explains the occurrence of the two hands by the possibility that Volfius was interrupted before he had finished copying the text himself. The first of the hands Kraggerud accordingly attributes to Volfius himself, whereas he characterises the second hand as that of a poorer writer and claims that it should possibly be attributed to the messenger who transported the poem from Oslo to Lorentz Benedicht's press in Copenhagen.¹⁷

However, this hypothesis about the two hands seems to be based exclusively on a value-laden argument: it is thus Kraggerud's personal evaluation of the quality of the second hand, along with his unwillingness to associate the author of the poem with poor handwriting, that

¹⁵ As was the case with Volfius' *Cenotaphium Friderico II* which he himself read aloud at the school in Oslo on the same day as the funeral took place in Roskilde in Denmark, cf. the quotation in italics in n. 12 above, and the frontispiece of the printed oration: 'Cenotaphium illustrissimo Principi ac Domino, Domino Friderico II Danorum et Norvegianorum Regi etc. scriptum et die 5 Junii Anno 88 quo tempore eius funeri Roschildiae justa fiebant, in Gymnasio Asloensi recitatum a Jacobo Jacobaco Volfio'.

¹⁶ See Rosenkilde, 'Nogle hidtil ukendte Lorentz Benedicht-Tryk' (cf. n. 5 above), p. 84.

¹⁷ Cf. Kraggerud, *Kongehyllest*, p. 53.

leads him to suggest that the copying was begun by Volfius himself and later taken over by someone else.

In fact, both hands are typical 16th century Northern European hands, and I would describe the second hand as a regularly flowing humanist cursive, and definitely not as poor handwriting. Contrary to the hypothesis presented by Kraggerud, I would suggest that the first hand belongs to the scribe whom Volfius initially commissioned to make a copy of the poem to be sent to the printer, whereas the second hand is that of Volfius himself. The change of hands in the manuscript, from that of the scribe to Volfius' own hand, could be explained by the author himself having taken over the task — maybe in order to finish the copying of the poem in time for the departure of the royal retinue bound for Denmark before Christmas of 1589 — but of this we know nothing.

This hypothesis is strengthened by a comparison with the copy of Volfius' *Cenotaphium Friderico II* which belongs to the Royal Library in Copenhagen (no. (2) in the list above). On the frontispiece of the Copenhagen copy of the *Cenotaphium* is found a manuscript dedication (reproduced in table 1) to Georgius Simonis (Jørgen Simonsen, ?-1602) of Odense:¹⁸ 'Venerando viro, doctrina et vi<rtute...> / praestanti M<agistro> Georgio Simonis Otho<niensi...> / D<omini> Francisci pastori fidelissimo D<...>' ('To the honourable man of great learning and virtue, Master Georgius Simonis of Odense, the faithful pastor of [...].') The dedication was not considered in Kraggerud's analysis of the two hands in the Rosenkilde manuscript, even though in his 1991 re-edition of Volfius' wedding poem and *Cenotaphium* Kraggerud based his edition of the latter work on the Copenhagen copy, which was at that point the only known copy of the book.¹⁹

Yet, there is no doubt that the 'dedicator hand' of the Copenhagen copy of the *Cenotaphium* is identical with the second hand found in the Rosenkilde manuscript copy of the wedding poem. Compare, e.g., the characteristic letter 't' (e.g., 'ct'), as well as the capital letters 'M', 'D', and 'F' in the dedication to the printed work (table 1), with the same letters in, e.g., p. 6, lines 1-4 of the Rosenkilde manuscript (table 2). In other words, there is reason to believe that the 'second hand' of the Rosenkilde manuscript, and the dedicator of the Copenhagen copy of the

¹⁸ See Bjørn Komerup's article on 'Jørgen Simonsen' in *Dansk Biografisk Lexikon*, XXII (Copenhagen, 1942), p. 34.

¹⁹ On the re-edition and use of this source, see Kraggerud, *Kongehyllest*, p. 40.

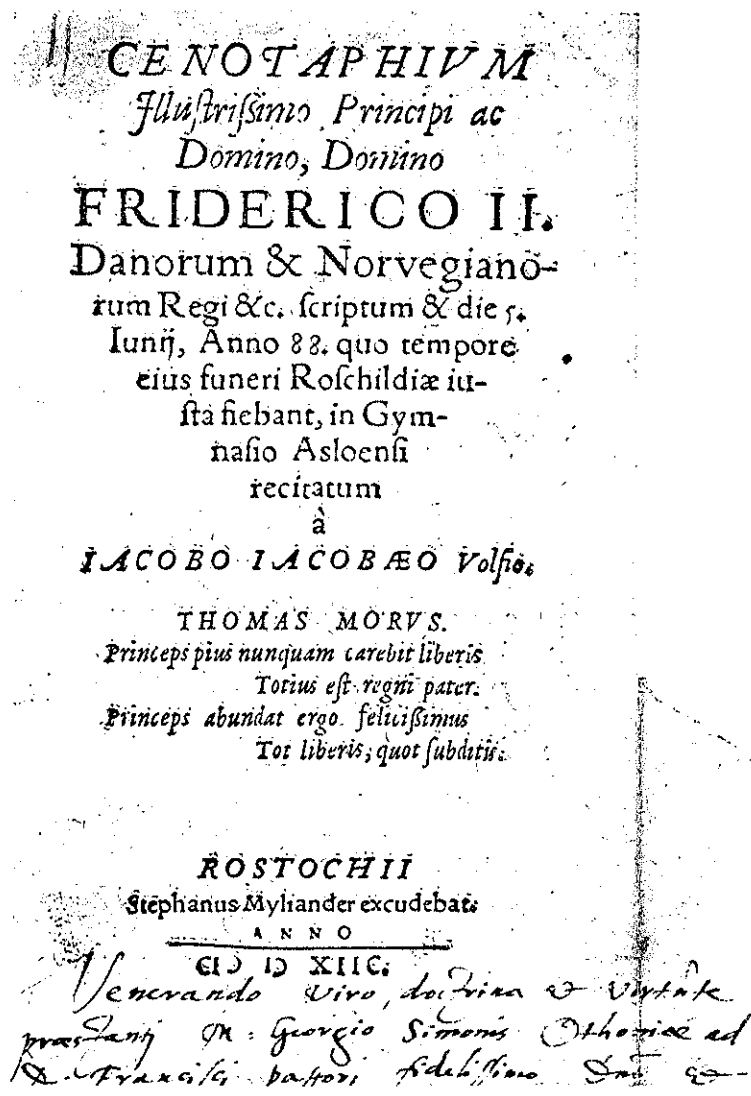


Table 1

Volffius' dedication on the frontispiece of the Copenhagen copy of the *Cenotaphium Friderico II* (1588) (Royal Library, Copenhagen)

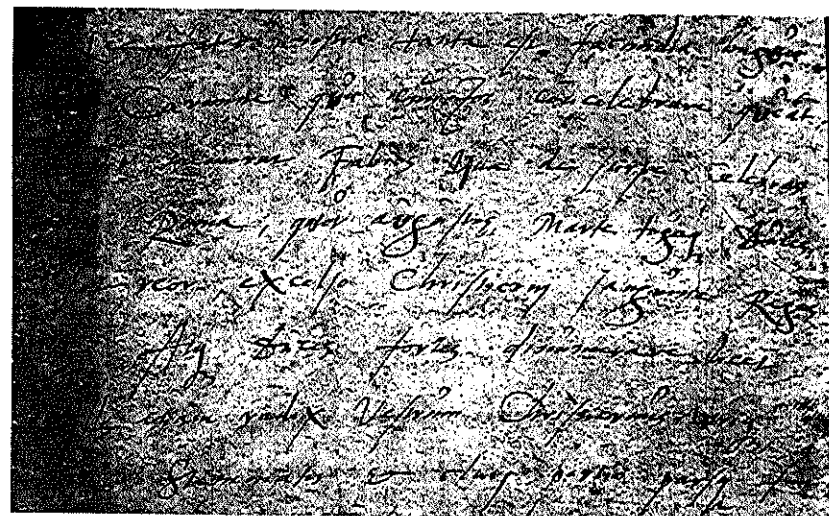


Table 2

Volffius' hand in the Rosenkilde manuscript, p. 6, lines 1-8
 (National Library, Oslo)

Cenotaphium Friderico II, is none other than the author of the two works, Jacobus Jacobaeus Volffius.

The Scottish material carries still more evidence for this identification of the 'second hand' of the Rosenkilde manuscript. The hitherto virtually forgotten Scottish manuscript copy of the wedding poem consists of eleven pages, the first of which contains a dedication from Volffius (reproduced in table 4) to a distinguished fellow poet, namely James VI's royal chancellor, Johannes Metlandi (John Maitland, c. 1545-1595):²⁰ 'Magnifico et amplissimo / Domino, D<omino> Johanni Me= / <t>landi serenissimae Scoto= / rum regiae Maiestatis / Cancellario, domino suo / et mecaenati benignissimo / clientulus / Jacobus Jacobaeus.' ('To the magnificent and great Lord, Lord John Maitland, Chancellor of His serene Royal Majesty of Scotland, his Master and most kind patron, from his humble servant Jacobus Jacobaeus.')

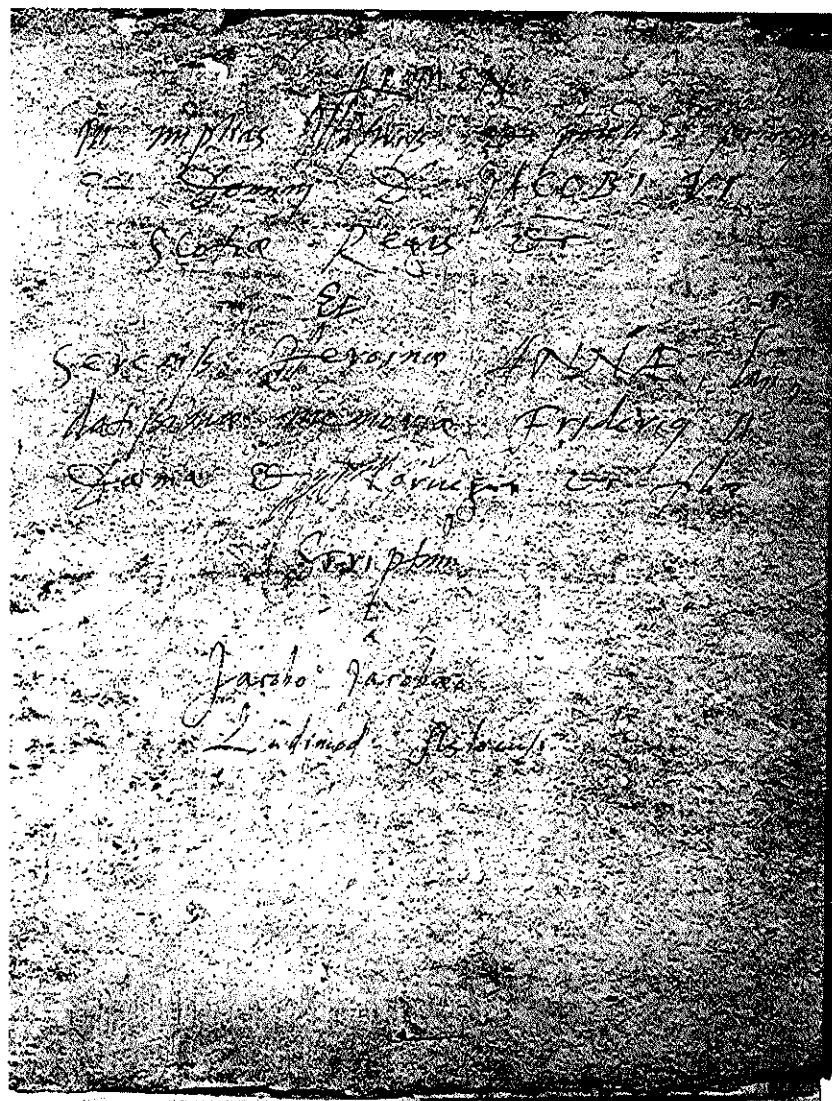


Table 3

Volfius' hand on the title page of the Rosenkilde manuscript
(National Library, Oslo)

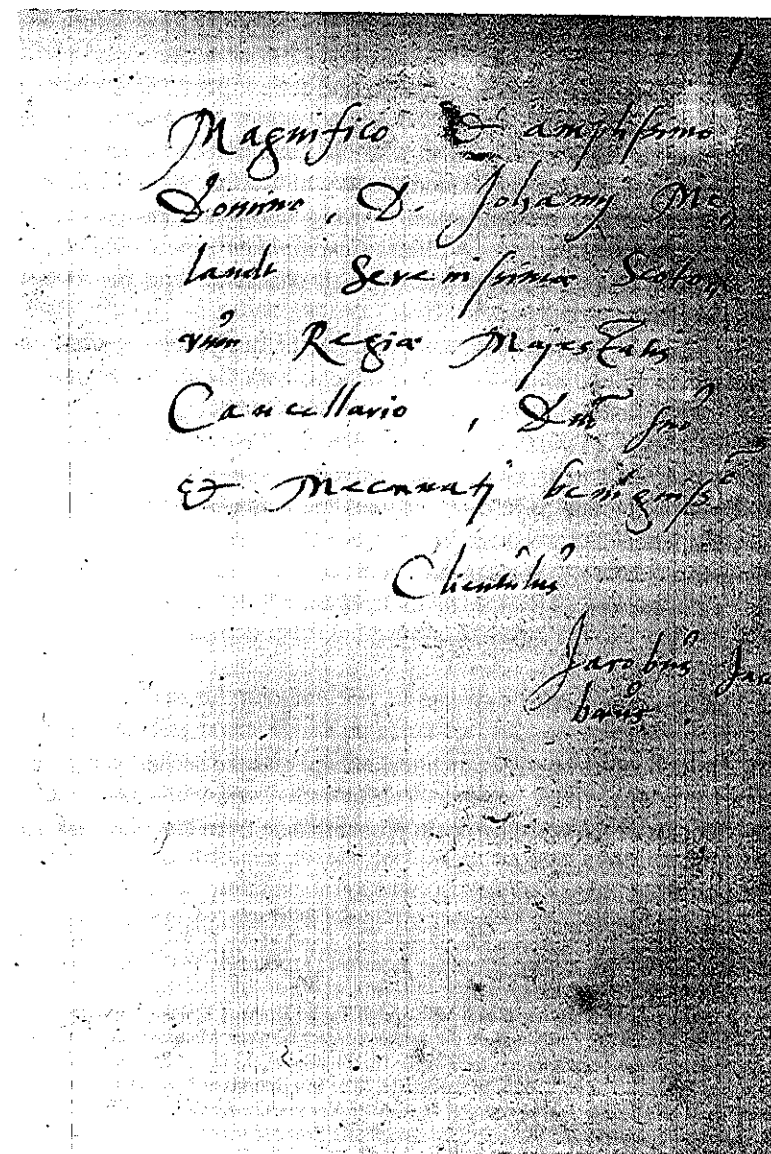


Table 4

Volfius' dedication on p. 1 of the Scottish Manuscript
(National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh)

It is well known that John Maitland while escorting King James and Princess Anne on their travel to Denmark in 1590 made the acquaintance of several Danish noblemen, scholars, and fellow poets. One of these was the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe, whom Maitland presented with poems of his own as well as with his Latin translation of an English poem by King James.²¹ The discovery of Volfius' dedication copy to Maitland of his wedding poem to King James and Princess Anne along with a printed copy of Volfius' *Cenotaphium* is new evidence of the poetic exchange between the Scottish chancellor and his Danish acquaintances.

The whole of the Scottish manuscript, i.e. the dedication copy to John Maitland, is written in the very same hand as both the so-called 'second hand' of the Rosenkilde manuscript copy of the wedding poem, and the 'dedicator hand' of the Copenhagen copy of the *Cenotaphium*. Compare, e.g., the capital letters 'D' and 'M', as well as the words 'Jacobo' and 'Jacobus' in the title page of the Rosenkilde manuscript (table 3), with the same letters and words in Volfius' dedication in p. 1 of the Scottish manuscript (table 4). We can now with certainty identify this hand as that of the author and poet, Jacobus Jacobaeus Volfius himself.

3. The two manuscript sources

Both the rediscovered Scottish manuscript and the second part of the Rosenkilde manuscript are thus Volfius' autographs, and both manuscript copies of the wedding poem probably date from late November to

²⁰ On John Maitland, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Sidney Lee, vol. 35 (London, 1893), 357-60; likewise Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot*, II, 69-70. For Maitland's poetry, see *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* (Amsterdam, 1637), *Pars altera*, II, 138-143 (see also n. 21 below).

²¹ On the visit of King James and Maitland to Tycho Brahe at Uraniborg on the island of Hven on March 20, 1590, and on the further contact between Maitland and Brahe, see Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot* (n. 14 above), I, 121; 123. On Maitland's poems to Brahe, see *ibid.*, I, 126. In the article, 'The Inscriptions at Tycho Brahe's Uraniborg' in Minna Skafte Jensen (ed.), *A History of Nordic Neo-Latin Literature* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1995), pp. 251-266, Peter Zeeberg suggests the possibility that Maitland was the author of a poem (to the Prefect of Bohus, Henrik Gyldenstjerne), which had been wrongly attributed by Pierre Gassendi (in 1654) to Tycho Brahe (Zeeberg, p. 264). However, as Riis notes (*Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot*, I, 126), Tycho Brahe himself (in a letter to Peter Young of March 20, 1592) states that the poem in question was written by King James.

mid-December 1589, i.e. from the time before the royal couple, accompanied by, among others, Chancellor Maitland, left Oslo on their way to Elsinore in Denmark.

As regards the Latin text, the two manuscripts evince only few internal variants, the most important of which are the following (line and verse references are to my edition below): (a) inversion of the word order: 'Regis Scotiae' (Scottish ms.) vs. 'Scotiae Regis' (Rosenkilde ms.), line 5 in the title of the work; (b) omission of a word: 'regis filiae' (Scottish ms.) vs. 'filiae' (Rosenkilde ms.), line 10 in the title; (c) replacements of a word: 'dedit' (Scottish ms.) vs. 'dabit' (Rosenkilde ms.), v. 50; and 'Musae' (Scottish ms.) vs. 'linguae' (Rosenkilde ms.), v. 71.

There are many corrections in the Rosenkilde manuscript, especially in the first part, where the text copied by the unidentified 'first hand' was revised both by Volfius himself and by the official corrector at the University of Copenhagen, Johannes Sascrides. One of the corrections clearly indicates that the Rosenkilde manuscript is the earlier version of the poem. This correction was made by the 'first hand' himself who copied and immediately thereafter deleted a whole pentameter: 'Arctius, et valide quemque tuentur, amant'. Subsequently he replaced the verse by another: 'Et proceres ipsos indigenasque fovent?' (v. 12 in the edition below).

In his introduction to the 1991 re-edition of the printed version of Volfius' wedding poem, Egil Kraggerud correctly observed that both the first and the second version of the pentameter were written by the same hand, i.e. the 'first hand'. From this Kraggerud attributed the copying, deletion, and replacing of the line to Volfius himself.²² I have already shown that this attribution is incorrect. What we may conclude from the replacement of the pentameter is either (a) that the scribe, while copying Volfius' exemplar, caught himself including a verse that had already been expunged, or (b) that Volfius himself, while dictating the poem to the scribe, changed his mind about the verse in time for the scribe to enter the correction into the text itself.²³

²² See Kraggerud, *Kongehyllest*, p. 53. Kraggerud was unable to read the first version of the line, because he used only a microfilm copy. The original manuscript offers a quite clear reading.

²³ The copyist deleted the first version of the pentameter in question, but forgot to indent the substituting verse when he copied it into the next line. In the manuscript it therefore follows the left margin and visually misleads the reader to expect an hexameter.

There is no trace of corrections in the Scottish manuscript, and here the line which was replaced in the Rosenkilde manuscript appears in its second and better version. The Scottish manuscript thus seems to have been copied by Volfius after he had put a final touch to the Rosenkilde manuscript, i.e. the copy of the wedding poem which was to be sent to the printer in Copenhagen. The Scottish manuscript, i.e. the presentation copy to John Maitland, apparently represents Volfius' finished and polished original version of the wedding poem.

4. The manuscript sources and the *editio princeps*

Lorentz Benedicht's *editio princeps* of 1590 — and Egil Kraggerud's 1991 re-edition of this — differ in various places from Volfius' original poem in the two manuscript versions. In order to compare the handwritten and the printed material we have to take into account the many levels of correctors involved. Thus, the Rosenkilde manuscript was emended by three different hands: (1) the unidentified 'first hand', (2) Volfius himself, and (3) the official corrector, Johannes Sascerides. As regards the printer's material, both the proofs and the final printed version of the poem reveal the work of an editor at the printing press. The following examples of the differences between the two manuscript sources and the *editio princeps* clearly show how the official corrector and the editor, while preparing the text for the printing press, both made several minor adjustments and some major changes to Volfius' Latin text (NB: the verse references are all to my edition below).

To the category of minor *corrigenda* belong the changes of capitalized and emphasized words in the text. An example are the words 'Jacobe', v. 26, and 'Anna', v. 28, in the two manuscripts. These words were corrected to 'IACOBÉ' and 'ANNA', respectively, in the printer's fair copy and appear like this in the final printed version. Apparently these corrections were the responsibility of the press and were made according to the editor's taste and understanding of the *decorum* of the genre as well as of the specific occasion.

Of greater importance, and probably also the editor's full responsibility, is the inclusion in the beginning of the printed text (p. A2v) of the quotation from Psalm 128:²⁴ 'Uxor tua sicut vitis fructifera', which was

²⁴ Cf. Psalm 127 of the modern version of the *Vulgata*, 'Uxor tua sicut vitis abundans'.

a general *topos* in the context of the genre, but cannot be found in Volfius' original manuscript. On pp. A1v-A2 in the *editio princeps* are depicted the Scottish and the Danish royal coats of arms. This appears, in fact, to have been an obligatory feature of the wedding poems presented to the royal couple.²⁵

One of several major changes to Volfius' Latin text is the official corrector's reworking of vv. 53-54 in the Rosenkilde manuscript from: 'Mascula nulla fuit regali sanguine proles / Iam dudum Danis, illa sed interiit', into: 'Mascula non fuerat regali sanguine proles / Iam dudum Danis ast ea corruerat'. The latter reading is found *ante correctionem* in the printer's fair copy of the poem. However, the verses apparently did not satisfy the editor, since they were subsequently corrected and remodelled into the form in which they appear in the *editio princeps* (cf. the *apparatus criticus* in my edition below).

Presumably with an eye to *variatio*, the whole of v. 56: 'Nescio quo fato prorsus et interiit' in the Rosenkilde manuscript appears to have been changed by the official corrector to: 'Conciderat, finem mox habitura suum', which is found in the printed edition as well. Moreover, in v. 82, the manuscripts have 'Junxerat heroas', which the corrector changed to 'Heroas junxit', preferring *praeteritum simplex* to Volfius' *praeteritum perfectum*. The corrector's version is the one found in the *editio princeps*.

Volfius concludes his poem with an eteostichon, a type of distich in which the capital letters were to be read as Roman numbers that added up to the date of the wedding in question. Eteosticha were in fashion and could be found in many Danish wedding poems by the end of the 16th century.²⁶ After the Greek genre *titulus*, ἐτεόστιχον, Volfius adds in the manuscript versions: 'etiam diem initi matrimonii complectens' ('An eteostichon which also gives the day of the wedding'). Yet, Volfius' distich only gives the year of the wedding. This unfulfilled promise seems to have bothered the editor at the printing press, who in the final printed version added in a parenthesis after the word 'matrimonii':

²⁵ See, e.g., the six printed parts of Abrahamus Praetorius' *Harmonia gratulatoria* (cf. n. 13 above), copies of which are to be found in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, in the British Library, and in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.

²⁶ On the appearance of manneristic features in Danish and Northern German wedding poetry of the late 16th century, see Pernille Harsting, 'From Melanchthonism to Mannerism: The Development of the Danish Neo-Latin Wedding Poetry in the 16th Century', in Thomas Haye (ed.), *Humanismus im Norden. Frühneuzeitliche Rezeption antiker Kultur und Literatur an Nord- und Ostsee*, Chloë 32 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), pp. 289-318.

'Is erat xxiii. Novembris, anni a reparatione salutis humanae 1589' ('i.e. November 23, in the year of our Saviour 1589').²⁷

* * *

Usually we are unable to examine the development of a 16th-century poem from manuscript draft to printed edition. The chance finding of the printer's material reused in a contemporary book binding, combined with the lucky survival of two complete manuscript copies (one and a half of which are autograph), makes this a rare opportunity to study the author's working process and to evaluate the influence of the corrector and the editor on the final printed version.

The extant source material demonstrates the meticulous work of the University's corrector and the editor at Lauritz Benedicht's printing press. It also suggests that their influence on the final printed product was only just second to that of the official *imprimatur*. Although the corrections made to Jacobus Jacobaeus Volfius' wedding poem certainly did not change the poem altogether, nevertheless they clearly left behind the traces of the various levels of censorship involved.

In the following edition of Volfius' wedding poem I have included the two extant manuscript sources as well as all of the printer's material. Whereas the printed proof sheets and the final edition are represented along with the Rosenkilde manuscript and the printer's fair copy in the *apparatus criticus*, the main text is based on my transcription of Volfius' hitherto neglected dedication copy to John Maitland which, as I have argued above, may be regarded as Volfius' original — uncensored and autograph — version of the poem.

²⁷ Kraggerud in *Kongehyllest*, p. 55, claims that there is a printer's error in the distich (a supposedly missing 't' in the word 'SeXtVs'). This is not correct: the letter is certainly there, both in the printed proofs, and in the final printed version.

EDITION OF
JACOBUS JACOBÆUS VOLFIUS' WEDDING POEM OF 1589
TO KING JAMES VI AND PRINCESS ANNE,
BASED ON THE COMPLETE AUTOGRAPH VERSION OF THE LATIN TEXT

List of abbreviations:

- E ms. Adv. 19.3.23, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh = the Scottish manuscript (i.e. the dedication copy to John Maitland)
- O ms. 8° 1363, National Library, Oslo = the Rosenkilde manuscript
- O¹ unidentified 'first hand' in the Rosenkilde manuscript, p. 2 through p. 5, line 10
- O² Volfius' hand = the 'second hand' in the Rosenkilde manuscript, p. 1 (frontispiece) and p. 5, line 11 through p. 7
- O³ the official corrector's (= Johannes Sascrides') hand in the Rosenkilde manuscript
- F the printer's fair copy of the Rosenkilde manuscript
- P printed proof sheets, pp. A2, A3-A3v and B1, from Lorentz Benedicht's press (NB: The minor lacunae in the proof sheets, a result of the pages having been used in a book binding, are not indicated in the *apparatus criticus*)
- B *editio princeps* of 1590 from Lorentz Benedicht's press = no. (3) in the list of Volfius' printed Latin works

General editorial principles:

The orthography and the punctuation are normalised (e.g., 'œ' => 'oe'; 'æ' and 'e caudata' => 'ae'; and 'jj' => 'j' or 'i'). NB: 'U' is rendered 'V' in the eteostichon.

All abbreviations (except 'etc.') are expanded.

[p. 2r E || p. 1 O || A1 B]

1 CARMEN
in nuptias illustrissimi et
potentissimi Principis et Do=
mini, Domini IACOBI VI
5 Regis Scotiae etc.
et
serenissimae heroinae AN=
NAE laudatissimae memoriae
Friderici II Daniae et
10 Norvegiae <etc.> Regis filiae,
scriptum
a
Jacobo Jacobaeo
14 ludimoderatore Asloensi.²⁸

[p. 2v-3 E || p. 2 O || A3 P, B]

1 Inclyte Rex, ampli Scotorum gloria regni
Et decus Arctoi spesque salusque soli.
Multis saepe agitat variam sententia mentem,
Hosque velut pinum verbere ventus agit:
5 Maxima regnorum quae gloria, maxima plebis
Ornamenta, decus, vita, corona, salus.
Num sacrata levi constructa e marmore templa,
Aethera quae tangunt turribus alta suis?
Vel nitidae fossis munitae et montibus arces,
10 Quales magnanimis regibus esse solent?
Num sanctae leges sociant quae viscera regni, [p. 3v-4 E]
Et proceres ipsos indigenasque foveant? [p. 1 F]
Sic animos torquent, sed eos, Rex optime, solus
Illa doces, huius dulcis imago rei.

tit. 5 Scotiae Regis O², B || etc. om. B || 10 etc. O²: om. E || Daniae Norvegiae etc. B || Regis om. O² ||

7 Num deest O¹: add. in mg. sin. O² || 8 Aethera] Aetherea O¹ a.c. || 11 Num] Vel O¹, P, B || regni] in linea seq. scripsit et del. Arctius, et valide quemque tuentur, amant O¹ || 12 proceros P || post foveant inc. F, sed Sic - solus difficilior legitur F ||

²⁸ Below this follows in B, A1: 'Hafniae, / impressit Laurentius / Benedictus. / M.D.XC.'; A1v: the royal Scottish coat of arms; P & B, A2: the royal Danish coat of arms; B, A2v: 'Psal<mus> 128. / Uxor tua sicut vitis fructife= / ra, in lateribus domus tuae, / filii tui, sicut rami oliva= / rum, in circuitu mensae tuae.'; P & B, A3: 'Serenissimo et poten= / tissimo Domino, Domino Iacobo VI. / Scotiae Regi / et / serenissimae heroinae Annae, / beatissimae memoriae Friderici II. / Daniae Norvegiae etc. Regis / filiae.'

15 Quid refero solus? Nonne id tua regia conjux
Obtinet, aut pariter vendicat ANNA sibi?²⁹ [A3v P, B]
Hanc certe laudem merita est cum rege marito,
Qua nec privari nostra Thalia sinet. [p. 3 O]
Verum quid cunctor? Quid sic ambagibus utor?
20 Quin potius retro Musa reflectat iter?
Exprimat et paucis, quod prodidit ante, politis:
Maxima quae regnis gloria, quaeque salus? [p. 4v-5 E]
Si libet annales Danorum inquirere regum,
Et conferre simul secla vetusta novis,
25 Si libet illustrem scrutari ab origine stirpem
Ex proavis Danis, Rex Jacobe, tuam,
Si libet et nitidis virtutibus, HEROINA
Anna, tuam penitus cernere progeniem, [p. 2 F]
Quae sit vera salus lucens quae gloria regnis
30 Hic labor e multis unicus expedit.
Regna licet decorent permulta, tamen decus unum
Est regnis, Regem regibus esse satum. [p. 5v-6 E]
Non tamen hoc satis est, sed prolem regna virilem
Continue ex ducibus posse tenere suis.
35 O regio felix igitur, rex cuius honestum
Connubii properans ardet inire thorum. [p. 4 O]
Quoque thorus fuerit foecundior ipse jugalis,
Major eo regnis venerit inde salus.
Hinc reges uno coalescunt corpore multi,
40 Latius hinc fines tendit amicitia,³⁰ [A4 B]
Hinc manet inviolata suis pax publica regnis
Et placida colitur religione DEUS. [p. 6v-7 E]
Quid multis? Quicquid felici est nomine regnis,
Felix hoc uno nomine semper erit.
45 Quocirca Domino dicendae pectore grates,
Qui Danos tanta prosperitate beat.
Vidit enim multos gemmantia sceptrata per annos
Continue reges obtinuisse suos. [p. 3 F]

15 conjunx F || 16 aut a.c. O¹: et add. et del. O²: aut p.c. O² || si<...> F || 17 marito] m<...> F || 27 HEROI<...> F || 28 pro<...> F || 29 Quae sit... regnis] difficile legitur F || 31 unu<...> O¹ || 33 vi<...> O¹ || 37 thorus] torus O¹, F, P, B || ante torus del. th F || 40 Post hanc lineam expl. P || 45 post dicendae add. ex O¹ s.l., F, B ||

²⁹ In F, the page division is marked at the beginning of the next line.

³⁰ In F, the page division is marked at the beginning of the next line.

- Felix illa dies, CHRISTI DE NOMINE PRIMO
 50 Dania ubi primum regna regenda dedit.
 Felix illa dies niveis signanda lapillis
 Ille subit thalamos qua, DOROTHEA, tuos. [p. 7v-8 E]
 Mascula nulla fuit regali sanguine proles
 Iam dudum Danis, illa sed interiit. [p. 5 O]
 55 Quocirca antiquum series et linea regum
 Nescio quo fato prorsus et interiit.
 Sic DEUS omnipotens cum fert sua sancta voluntas
 Transfert regna, alios constituitque duces.
 Quid poterit, quaeso, nunc esse beatius illo
 60 Cum videas tantam surgere progeniem?
 Ut patulos uno diffundit stipite ramos
 Arbor dans foetus fertilitate suos. [p. 8v-9 E]
 Utque aliis illa decerptos arbore ramos
 Inserimus, fructus uberiusque ferunt.³¹ [A4v B]
 65 Sic quoque CHRISTIERNI foecundo e corpore REGIS.
 Reges innumeros secula nostra vident
 Magnanimosque duces, reginas atque ducissas
 Queis refluus famam terminat Oceanus. [p. 4 F]
 Ut modo praeteream multos, Rex, omnibus unus
 70 Sufficis, et conjux regia, SEXTE, tua. [p. 6 O]
 Nec, fateor, nostrae tanta est facundia Musae
 Carmine quae cunctos concelebrare queat. [p. 9v-10 E]
 Quot memorat Fabios una de stirpe celebres
 Roma, quot augustos Marte togaque duces,
 75 Tot reor excelso Christierni sanguine reges
 Atque duces fortes dinumerare licet.
 Ille etiam radix vestrum Christiernus utrique
 Stemmatibus et clari portio parsque fuit.

49 Felix... PRIMO] *difficile legitur* F || 50 dabit O¹ a.c.: dedit E, O² [seu O³?], F, B || 52 Ille F a.c.: Is F p.c., B || subiit O¹, F, B || 53 nulla fuit] non fuerat O³?, F a.c.: iam dudum F p.c., B || 54 Iam dudum F a.c.: Nulla fuit F p.c., B || illa sed] sed p.c. > O¹ a.c.: ast ea O¹ p.c. || interiit O¹ a.c.: corruerat O¹ || illa sed interiit] ast ea corruerat F a.c.: illc... > F p.c. || 56 Concid / nem <...> / tura / J / add. in mg. O¹ || Nescio - interiit] Considerat, finem mox habitura sum F, B || 57 volunt... > O¹ || sancta <...> F || 58 du<...> F || 64 Post ferunt expl. O¹ et inc. O² || 65 Reg<...> F || 68 Ocean<...> F || 69 Ut... unus] *difficile legitur* F || 70 SEXTE] an Sexto F? || 71 Nec] Non F || fateor] non legitur O² || Musae] linguae O², F, B ||

³¹ In O, a catchletter 'S' is added in the right margin, maybe by Volfius himself. — In F, the page division is marked at the beginning of the next line.

- Sed genus amborum vestrum ceu scinditur uno
 80 Sanguine, sic uno corpore junxit amor.
 Vos pater omnipotens, uno qui corpore binos
 Junxerat heroas, servet et unanimes. [p. 10v-11 E]
 Nestoreos vivant REX et REGINA per annos
 Fertilis et videant pignora connubii [p. 7 O]
 85 Et natos natorum et qui nascentur ab illis
 Ut proavos priscos vidit uterque suos.
 Vivite felices igitur, REX inclyte et ANNA.
 ANNA, decus patrii et magna corona soli. [A5 P, B]
 Vivite felices, soli sed vivite Christo.
 90 Qui dabit aeternae gaudia sortis. Amen. [p. 11v E]

ἐτεόστιχον
 etiam diem initi ma=
 trimonii³² comple=
 ctens.

CLemS LaetVs erat, IaCobVs SeXtVs et Anna
 ConnVbII CLaros Vt petlere thoros.³³

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79 amborum *iteratum* a.c. F || 82 Junxerat *expunxit* O¹: junxit *add. s.l. post* heroas O¹ || Junxerat heroas] Heroas junxit F, B || 85 nascentur E: nascentur O², F, B || 88 Post soli inc. P || 90 sortis] non legitur F || Post Amen expl. F ||

³² After the word 'matrimonii' is added a caret in P. This corresponds to the inserted parenthesis after the same word in B: '(Is erat xxiii. Novem= / bris, anni a reparatione salutis humanae / 1589)'.

³³ The sum of the capital letters, C+L+M+L+V+I+C+V+X+V+C+V+I+I+C+L+V+I = 1589, indicates the year of the royal wedding. — In O follows, at the bottom of p. 7, the corrector's note: 'Carmen hoc vidi, correctumque sic satis existimavi, quantum ad grammaticam et prosodiam. Johan<nes> Sascridides', along with the approval of the rector of the University of Copenhagen: 'Imprimatur. P. Matz<en>'. On p. 8 is found an anonymous note from the printing press: 'Den 25. Dag februarii begynte ieg at sette dette Carmen / Anno 1590, som er underschreffuen aff D. Pouel / Matzen och M. Hans Sacarides [sic!]' ('On the 25th of February, 1590 I began to set this Carmen which is signed by Doctor Pouel Matzen and Master Hans Sa<s>cridides').

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