*PIUS LIPSIUS OR LIPSIUS PROTEUS?**

Jeanine De Landtsheer (Leuven)

Quando hic [Mediolani] sum, non ieiuno Sabbato;
quando Romae sum ieiuno Sabbato.¹

In 1605, Theodore Galle (1571–1633) engraved a portrait of Lipsius at the age of 58 to be inserted in the humanist's famous edition of Lucius Annaeus Seneca, dedicated to Pope Paul V and published in Antwerp in September of that same year. [Fig. 17] Underneath, a distich composed by Henricus d'Oultremannus resounds with Lipsius's praise:

LIPSIADAE velum est Timantis imago. Videri
Sol quoque sub picea non nisi nube potest.

Lipsius's portrait wears the veil of Timanthes. Under a pine tree
even the Sun can only be seen through its cloud-like crown.

In the first verse the author alludes to a painter of Antiquity, Timanthes (late 5th century B.C.), who represented Agamemnon with his head covered by a veil because unable to express the grief of the king when he had to sacrifice his daughter Iphigeneia. With this reference, the humanist poet uses a very popular topos found in verses accompanying humanist portraits: no representation whatsoever, belonging to either the visual arts or the written world, could sufficiently express the real significance of Lipsius for the scholarly world.² With his right hand Lipsius is holding a book, while his left one is resting on the head of one of his beloved dogs, Saphyrus. The dog, a spaniel, was given to him by Theodorus Leeuwius (1548–1596), one of his former students and later councillor at the Court of Holland, in March–April 1590.

* I am indebted to Brenda Hosington for correcting my English.

¹ Ambrose quoted in Augustine, *Letters*, 36, 32: 'When here [in Milan], I do not fast on Saturday; but when in Rome I fast on Saturday.'

² On this engraving, see K. Van Ommen, in J. De Landtsheer *et al.*, *Lieveling van de Latijnse taal. Justus Lipsius te Leiden herdacht bij zijn vierhonderdste sterfdag*, Kleine publicaties van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek 72 (Leiden 2006), 249–250—ill. 63 and Chris Coppens, in G. Tournoy, J. Papy, and J. De Landtsheer (eds), *Lipsius en Leuven. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek te Leuven, 18 september–17 oktober 1997*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia 13 (Leuven 1997), 352–355; ill. 116.

Fig. 17. Theodore Galle, *Portrait of Justus Lipsius*, engraving 1605. Catholic University Leuven, Central Library / Prentenkabinet, inv.nr. PA 81

After being Lipsius's faithful companion for eleven years, the animal met an atrocious death in August 1601, when it fell into a kettle of boiling water.³

More than 125 years later, in 1733, Adolf van der Laan (1684/90–after 1755) sought his inspiration in Theodore Galle's work to draw a similar portrait.⁴ [Fig. 18] Here too Lipsius is accompanied by his dog, but for an entirely different reason, as becomes clear from the poem beneath the portrait, composed by Arnold Hendrik Westerhoff:

Was Wetenschap altydt met Godtvrucht ryk beparelt,
Men zag in Lipsius een wonder van de Warelt.
In't Pausdom opgekweekt, was hy daar aan verslaaft.
In Saxen noemde hy Lutherus geest begaaft
Ter Kerk-hervorming; maar hy prees Calvyn te Leyden,
Als ware Gods-gezandt; dog meende geen van beiden.
Tot zyn uytbraakzel laatst te Leuven weêr gekeert
Met zyn beminden Hond, het Roomsche Babel eert.

Was scholarship by godliness always richly pearled,
one would consider Lipsius a wonder of this world.
Raised in Papacy it made him addicted.
In Saxony he acknowledged Luther as gifted

³ Cf. resp. *ILE* 3, 90 03 24 and 90 04 01 L addressed to Leeuwius about how the dog became Lipsius's pet; see also *ILE* 14, 01 08 29 with an epitaph to Philip Rubens about its sudden death. The dog is described in an appendix to Lipsius's autobiographical letter, *ILE* 13, 00 10 01. *ILE* refers to the series *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae*; *Pars I*: 1564–1583, ed. A. Gerlo, M. Nauwelaerts, and H.D.L. Vervliet (1978); *Pars II*: 1584–1587, ed. M. Nauwelaerts and S. Sué (1983); *Pars III*: 1588–1590, ed. S. Sué and H. Peeters (1987); *Pars [IV]*: 1591, [forthcoming in 2011]; *Pars V*: 1592, ed. J. De Landtsheer and J. Kluyskens (1991); *Pars VI*: 1593, ed. J. De Landtsheer (1994); *Pars VII*: 1594, ed. Ead. (1997); *Pars VIII*: 1595, ed. Ead. (Brussels, 2004); *Pars [IX]*: 1596, ed. H. Peeters [forthcoming]; *Pars [X]*: 1597, ed. J. De Landtsheer and H. Peeters; *Pars [XI]*: 1598, ed. T. Deneire [forthcoming]; *Pars XIII*: 1600, ed. J. Papy (2000); *Pars XIV*: 1601, ed. J. De Landtsheer (2006); *Pars [XV]*: 1602, ed. Ead. [forthcoming]; *Pars [XVI]*: 1603, ed. F. Vanhaecke [forthcoming]. I am also preparing the edition of the final parts, XVII–XIX. See on these letters about Saphyrus J. De Landtsheer, 'Iusti Lipsi Epistolica institutio ou L'art d'écrire des lettres', in L. Nadjo and E. Gavaille (eds), *Epistulae Antiquae II. Actes du IIe colloque international "Le genre épistolaire antique et ses prolongements européens"*, Université François Rabelais, Tours, 28–30 septembre 2000 (Leuven-Paris 2002), 407–423. About Lipsius's love for his dogs, see J. Papy, 'Justus Lipsius and his Dogs: Humanist Tradition, Iconography and Rubens's Four Philosophers', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 62 (1999), 167–198.

⁴ The engraving was published in G. Outhof, *Levensbeschryving van beroemde en geleerde mannen* (Amsterdam: A. Wor, 1730–1733).

Fig. 18. Adolf van der Laan, *Portrait of Justus Lipsius*, engraving 1733. Leiden University Library / Prentenkabinet, inv.nr. Singer 18.538

in reforming the Church, yet praised Calvin in Leiden
 as God's true messenger, without in fact accepting either.
 Finally returned to Leuven to his vomit
 with his beloved dog, the Roman Babylon he honoured.⁵

In these verses the author blames Lipsius for what he considers the inconstancy of his religious ideas: Lipsius was raised a Catholic, although Westerhoff was probably not aware that he had even entered the noviciate of the Jesuit order when he was studying in Cologne (1559–1564).⁶ Between October 1572 and March 1574, Lipsius taught History and Retic at the University of Jena and delivered a few orations with a Lutheran or an anti-Spanish slant, although he objected strongly to any suggestions of publishing them. After a short intermezzo in his strife-torn native country, he decided to accept an invitation from his friend Janus Dousa Sr to lecture on History and Latin at the still very new University of Leiden, inaugurated on 8 February 1575 as a Protestant and anti-Spanish counterpart of Leuven and Douai in the Southern Netherlands.⁷ He lived and lectured in Leiden from April 1578 until March 1591. The fact that he finally returned to the Catholic South is announced by a reference to *Proverbs* 26:11, repeated in 2 Peter 2:22: 'As a dog returneth to his vomit, so a fool returneth to his folly'.⁸ In this way Lipsius's pet had become a metaphor to underline its owner's versatility.

These portraits bring me to the heart of the matter. On the one hand, there is the praise for Lipsius, who earned himself a reputation in humanist circles throughout Europe as a gifted Latinist and

⁵ Cf. on this engraving K. Van Ommen, in *Lieveling van de Latijnse taal*, 252–253, ill. 39; C. Coppens, in *Lipsius en Leuven*, 365–367, ill. 122.

⁶ Lipsius was admitted to the noviciate on 29 September 1562, cf. J. Hansen, *Rheinische Akten zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens 1542–1582* (Bonn 1896), 781; J. Kluyskens, 'Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) and the Jesuits with four unpublished letters', in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 23 (1974), 244–270 (esp. p. 244–246, 262–264).

⁷ On Janus Dousa, cf. C. Heesakkers, in De Landtsheer, Sacré, and Coppens, *Justus Lipsius (1547–1606). Een geleerde en zijn Europese netwerk*. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek te Leuven, 18 oktober–20 december 2006, *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia* 21 (Leuven 2006), 131–144 with further bibliography; Idem, *Twee Leidse boezemvrienden van Justus Lipsius: Janus Dousa en Jan van Hout*, in J. De Landtsheer and P. Delsaerdt (eds), 'Iam illustravit omnia.' *Justus Lipsius als lievelingsauteur van het Plantijnse Huis*, *De Gulden Passer* 84, (Antwerp 2006), 1–19.

⁸ The exact source escaped Van Ommen, who erroneously refers to *Phil.* 3:2 and is not mentioned by Coppens either.

an inexhaustible source of knowledge of the Greek and Roman world, a knowledge always generously shared with his students and correspondents. On the other, there is this controversial reaction, already perceptible during the last years of his life, increasingly intensified and focusing on religious matters, so that even nowadays specialist literature often continues to label him a defector, traitor, and weathervane, without paying too much attention to the esteem for and influence of Lipsius's intellectual heritage throughout the seventeenth century, which transcended confessional rifts. In this paper I propose to tackle this tricky subject and determine, with the help of the correspondence, whether Lipsius was indeed an inconstant Proteus, changing religious sides whenever it suited him, or whether this biased point of view needs to be adjusted. Particular attention will be paid to the correspondence written during his thirteen-year's stay in Leiden and the years immediately following.

LIPSIUS IN LUTHERAN JENA

About Lipsius's stay in Lutheran Jena one can be brief, for he spent barely one and a half years there, and only a limited number of letters (about thirty) have survived. We are thus left with some questions and ambiguities about this early period which in all probability will never be resolved.⁹ First, there is the reason why Lipsius left his native country in late 1571 or early 1572. According to an autobiographical letter dated 1 October 1600, Lipsius fled from the Netherlands because of unrelenting, violent political and religious troubles under the government of Alva, 'the Iron Duke', as he was nicknamed.¹⁰

⁹ On Lipsius's stay in Jena, see S. Sué, 'Iustus Lipsius' verblijf in Jena aan de hand van zijn briefwisseling en redevoeringen, 1572–1574', in *Handelingen (van de) Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis* 22 (1968), 389–410 and M. Vielberg, 'Justus Lipsius en Jena', in R. Dusoier, J. De Landtsheer, and D. Imhof (eds), *Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) en het Plantijnse huis*, Publicaties van het Museum Plantin-Moretus en het Stedelijk Prentenkabinet 37 (Antwerp 1997), 53–62. The correspondence from this period is published as *ILE* 1, 72 09 15 H—74 03 12.

¹⁰ It was published by Lipsius as *Epistolarum selectarum centuria miscellanea singularis* (Antwerp: J. Moretus, 1602), 87 (this collection became the *Centuria miscellanea tertia* in all later editions, to begin with 1605). For its annotated edition, see *ILE* 13, 00 10 01. It was a primary source used by Lipsius's biographer Aubertus Miraeus in his *De obitu Iusti Lipsi epistola* (Augsburg: C. Mangus, 1606), a few years later reworked into *Vita sive Elogium Iusti Lipsi* (Antwerp: D. Martinus, 1609) and re-issued four years later as part of the thoroughly revised and extended edition of *Iusti*

A similar argumentation is used in the first chapter of *De constantia*, although in this fictitious dialogue Lipsius's departure is advanced by one year.¹¹ In his article *Lipsius' jeugd* Hendrik D.L. Vervliet put forward the hypothesis that Lipsius, who after a brief sojourn in Rome had enlisted again in Leuven as a Law student, might have enjoyed the company of his landlady, Anna Lottijns, née Vanden Calstere, a bit too much (or perhaps it was the other way around). Hence he had to take leave somewhat precipitately to avoid further troubles with her husband.¹² Se non è vero, è ben trovato, but one should bear in mind that there is no conclusive proof whatsoever that this was indeed the case, even though Lipsius married her one and a half years later, after she had become a widow. After a long journey the humanist arrived in Vienna, where he spent the summer months in the vain hope of obtaining a position at Emperor Maximilian II's court. He must have been introduced there to the gnesio-Lutheran theologian Tilemann Heshuss, then Rector of the University of Jena, who encouraged him to apply for the vacant chair of History at his institution. According to the aforementioned autobiographical letter, Lipsius's learned friends at the court had wanted to keep him in Vienna, whereas he himself preferred to return to Leuven.

Lipsius had already mapped out his home journey via Bohemia, Misnia and Thüringen when he heard that war was fiercely raging once again in his homeland and his estate in Overijse had suffered severely from the Spanish troops. This bad news made him abandon his plans. Joachim Camerarius, whom he met in Leipzig, gave him a letter of recommendation for Jena and soon afterwards his candidacy for the chair of History and Eloquence was accepted.¹³ There were, however,

Lipsi Sapientiae et Litterarum Antistitis Fama postuma (Antwerp: B. Moretus, 1613), 105–150. See also K. Enenkel, 'Lipsius als Modellgelehrter: die Lipsius-Biographie des Miraeus', in G. Tournoy, J. De Landtsheer, and J. Papy (eds), *Iustus Lipsius, Europae Lumen et Columen. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven-Antwerp 17–20 September 1997*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia 15 (Leuven 1999), 47–66.

¹¹ *De constantia libri duo. Qui alloquium praecipue continent in publicis malis* (Leiden: C. Plantin, 1584). Part of the issue was published with the Antwerp address on the title page; the treatise was already available in the autumn of 1583.

¹² H.D.L. Vervliet, *Lipsius' jeugd, 1547–1578: Analecta voor een kritische bibliografie*, Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Akademie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren 31, 7 (Brussels 1969), 38–39.

¹³ See *ILE* 13, 00 10 01, 106–111. The candidacy was read and accepted on 20 September and he was officially appointed on 23 October 1572.

three conditions: Lipsius had to adhere to the Lutheran creed, submit his qualification as *magister artium*, and present a testimony of moral integrity. Since he was explicitly recommended by the Rector and theologian Heshuss, and was able to claim Duke Johann Wilhelm's support as well, the first condition did not cause many problems. There is not even the slightest hint that he was ever obliged to swear or make a kind of public testimony. Because he had to earn a living, he must have thought, 'Who pays the piper calls the tune' and agreed, without taking into consideration any future implications. In a letter written a year before his death, he asserted that the rumours about his writings in particular were exaggerated and flatly mendacious. As to his way of life, it was too easy to find at least an appearance of guilt and point a finger at a young man who was living amidst flattering or threatening people adhering to another religion.¹⁴ There are no testimonies that Lipsius ever took part in Lutheran worship, but in the *oratio funebris* for his patron Johann Wilhelm of Saxony († 2 March 1573) he openly criticized elements of the Catholic faith in favour of Lutheranism, although some of these themes were probably introduced to pay tribute to the creed of the deceased. Apparently he prepared his *Oratio funebris* for the press and even addressed a *praefatio* to the duke's widow, Dorothea-Susanna, but soon became apprehensive of the implications whenever he returned to Catholic regions. Hence he withdrew his text: it had to be perused, corrected and completed. One year later, when paying Duchess Dorothea-Susanna a farewell visit on his way home, the matter of the publication was raised once more. Again Lipsius refused politely, but more firmly now.¹⁵ Nevertheless, Andreas Ellinger had the *Oratio funebris* published some years after Lipsius's departure (Jena: Donatus Richtzenhan 1577).¹⁶

¹⁴ Cf. ILE [18,] 05 07 17 HA: 'Scito illos augere et fortiter mentiri, praesertim quod ad scripta. [...] In aliena religione, in aestu adolescentiae inter blandientes aut terrentes, facile fuit speciem culpae venire, si non culpam.'

¹⁵ Cf. ILE 1, 73 05 16 and 73 04 01 respectively.

¹⁶ In the course of the seventeenth century it was reprinted a few times, e.g., on the death of Johann Wilhelm's son Friederich: *Iusti Lipsii Oratio de obitu Illustrissimi Principis Iohannis Gulielmi, Ducis Saxoniae, Qui vivere desiit XXIV Februarii, anno salutis ∞.D.LXIII. Habita Ienae, Die XVIII Martii anno eodem. Numquam satis laudati Principis ac Domini, Domini Friderici Gulielmi, Ducis Saxoniae, qui cum flagrantissimo Sacrae Caesareae maiestatis, singulorum Romani Imperii Ordinum, maritae sobolisque dilectissimae atque adeo omnium vere piorum civiumque bonorum desiderio, in vera Christi agnitione, constanti eius confessione et ardenti invocatione animam suam placide efflavit. Die VII Iulii anno MDCII, consecrata*, Halle: E.

Johann Wilhelm's successor, Duke Augustus of Saxony, scion of a different branch of the house, preferred to embark on a more moderate course along the lines set out by Philip Melancthon, and banished most of the more extreme professors from the Saxonian universities, Heshuss among them. In Jena only four professors were allowed to stay, among them Lipsius and his friend Andreas Ellinger. Lipsius, who had become dean of the *Artes* faculty in the meantime, used the promotion of seven of his students to *magistri artium* to express his support for the sovereign's more tolerant ideas. This *Oratio de duplici concordia* was a plea to protect the peace of mind of Jena's scholarly world and to guarantee unanimity in religious matters. Augustus of Saxony was compared with his namesake from the Roman Empire and his plea for tolerance seen as the counterpart of the Augustean peace. Once again Lipsius spoke in favour of the Lutheran church and against Catholicism, without publishing his text. Nevertheless, copies of his *Orationes* circulated and both were printed repeatedly from the early seventeenth century onwards, without his authorisation or even his being aware of them. In 1600, Melchior Goldast edited the *Oratio de duplici concordia* (Zürich: Rudolph Nyssenbach). Lipsius, who was by then living in the Catholic South, was outraged. He rejected its authorship and called upon the privilege granted him by Emperor Rudolph II to have the city council and the aldermen of Frankfurt confiscate the whole supply at the semi-annual bookfair.¹⁷

The conclusion one draws from Lipsius's Jena period is that it clearly demonstrated his most opportunistic side. Since he needed an income for the time being, he eagerly took the first occasion that came his way, readily accepting the conditions put forward to him, without too many qualms about being sincere.¹⁸ If a Jena professor had to be a Lutheran,

Hynitzius for J. Kruseken (a copy is preserved in Wolfenbüttel, shelf number 171.3 Quod. (11) 40).

¹⁷ His letter of protest is not preserved, but in *ILE* 13, 00 09 29 he expresses his gratitude for their prompt action and tries to prove that he was not its author. On this matter, see K. Halm, 'Über die Ächtheit der dem Justus Lipsius zugeschriebenen Reden', in *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und der historischen Klasse der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu München* 2 (1882), 1–37. Further editions of both the *Oratio funebris* and the *Oratio de duplici concordia* are mentioned in F. Vander Haeghen and M.-Th. Lenger (eds), *Bibliotheca Belgica: Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*, 7 vols (Brussels 1964–1975).

¹⁸ After his marriage to Anna vanden Calstere, a well-to-do widow, in the first days of September 1573, the need to gain a living presumably became less urgent. Since

Lipsius was prepared to pay lip service to this creed. And this was not the only false pretext he used. Whereas no questions were raised with regard to his Lutheranism, the second condition of his appointment, concerning his qualification as *magister artium*, provoked a vehement conflict with his colleagues of the Arts faculty some six months later, in which both sides claimed the support of the dying Johann Wilhelm. When they kept insisting on seeing the diploma of his *magisterium artium*, Lipsius had to use all kinds of subterfuge, since he had left Cologne before it had been granted to him.¹⁹

LIPSIUS IN PROTESTANT LEIDEN

After his departure from Jena, Lipsius longed for the tranquillity of his estate. There, he could devote himself entirely to his studies and publications in the charming countryside in the neighbourhood of Overijse.²⁰ Yet twice groups of mutineers or looting soldiers forced him to seek refuge within the walls of Leuven. A garrison billeted in the city and the approaching army commanded by Don Juan and his general, Alexander Farnese, caused much apprehension among the city's population. Finally, Leuven surrendered and the Spanish troops entered without doing much harm, although creating some disturbance.²¹ Afraid of reprisals because of his stay in Jena and presuming that peace was far away as long as Antwerp was still in Protestant hands, Lipsius decided to accept an enticing offer from his friend Janus Dousa to move to

she refused to move to Jena, Lipsius returned for the new semester, but handed in his notice at the beginning of March 1574. They met again in Cologne, where they spent the rest of the year before returning to Lipsius's estate in Overijse and Leuven.

¹⁹ The conflict rose when Lipsius wanted to become dean of his faculty. Whereas the professors of the *Artes* refused to accept his equivocations about the *testimonium*, the rest of the faculty supported him. Without hesitation Johann Wilhelm confirmed Lipsius's appointment and even granted him a raise in salary. The matter of the qualification was stirred up again about twenty years later; Lipsius defended himself and explained his point of view in a letter to Abraham Ortelius, cf. *ILE* 5, 92 02 09 O.

²⁰ See *ILE* 1, 75 09 29 extolling life in the countryside and concluding with a poem, *Laus et votum vitae beatae*.

²¹ The houses of some scholars, who had fled Leuven, were burned. One of Lipsius's cronies during his student days in Leuven, Ludovicus Carrio, lost all his books, whereas Lipsius's own library was saved only thanks to the actions of another friend, Martinus Antonius Delrio. Lipsius thanked him in *ILE* 1, 78 03 04.

Leiden, with its aura of tranquillity and religious tolerance, and the incentive of its newly-founded university.²²

The number of letters preserved from this period of Lipsius's life increases with the years. Not only was he expanding his scholarly network throughout Europe, but he was also taking more care to file his correspondence away with the intention of publishing part of it. In doing so, he followed in the steps of many famous predecessors throughout the centuries. Yet, as only two hundred of his letters were published—a first *Epistolarum centuria* in 1586 and another in 1590—the major part of the letters are unaffected by later events and provide us with a fairly clear and objective view of his impressions and thoughts, and the evolution he underwent.

Lipsius arrived in Leiden around 20 March 1578. On 5 April the University Board, consisting of the three Curators (his friend Dousa among them) and the Burgomasters of the town, appointed him to the chair of History and Law, although he would never lecture on Law. Despite a very warm welcome, he never ceased to make it clear to his friends in North and South from the very beginning that his stay was only temporary and that he intended to return to his native country once the situation had stabilized. For instance, in what must have been one of the first letters from his new home town, he reassured his friends Janus Lernutius and Victor Giselinus, who also were well acquainted with Dousa, as follows:

Circumagunt me hae turbae in Numidae morem, et adhuc discurri sine lare, sine certis sedibus, quas tamen positurus in Batavis videor, Ordinum vocatu et stipendio sanequam honesto. Sed temporaneas, non perpetuas, saltem

‘dum hae consilescunt turbae atque irae leniunt.’

This turmoil kept me wandering as if I were a Bedouin, and until now I was running to and fro without a home, without anywhere to settle. But

²² On Lipsius's thirteen-year stay in Leiden, see De Landtsheer, *Lieveling van de Latijnse taal*, 31–97; R.J. Van den Hoorn, ‘On course for quality. Justus Lipsius and Leiden University’, in K. Enenkel and C. Heesakkers (eds), *Lipsius in Leiden. Studies in the Life and Works of a great Humanist* (Voorthuizen 1997), 73–92; C.L. Heesakkers, ‘Justus Lipsius in Leiden’, in *Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) en het Plantijnse huis*, 63–74; *Id.*, ‘Lipsius, Dousa and Jan van Hout. Latin and the vernacular in Leiden in the 1570s and 1580s’, in *Lipsius in Leiden*, 93–120. The correspondence from this period is published as *ILE* 1, 78 04 01–*ILE* [4,] 91 03 11. Letters addressed to Leiden when Lipsius had already left the city are not taken into account. One should also consult the *addenda*, to be published as the second half of *ILE* 19.

I seem to have found this now in Holland, invited by the States with a more than honest payment. But it will be a temporary stay, not a definitive one, merely

'until this turmoil has quietened down and the anger been calmed.'²³

Affirmation that his stay in Leiden would not be permanent was often linked with complaints about bronchial tube infections; obviously, the dampness of Leiden and its windy climate did not agree very well with his constitution.²⁴ But it was only after a serious liver infection lasting from the end of September 1584 until March 1585, an illness that kept him bed-ridden and forced him to cancel his lectures, that Lipsius became seriously concerned about his health.

Throughout the thirteen years of his professorate, the scholar devoted himself conscientiously and with unflagging zeal to the welfare and expansion of the institution that hosted him. He did so not only from a scholarly or pedagogical point of view, but also in a very practical way, by improving its organisation and management, especially during the years he was Rector.²⁵ Yet, however ready he was to discuss and smooth over upsetting matters or to mediate in disputes between colleagues or between members of the university and townsmen, he always flatly refused to intervene whenever religion was the focal point. This, for instance, was the case when around January 1582 dissension had escalated once again between the more tolerant minister Caspar Coolhaes and his more rigorous fellow theologian,

²³ Cf. *ILE* 1, 78 04 01, 3–7 (dated 1 April 1578). The verse is a quotation from Plautus, *Mil.* 583 and is repeated in a similar context in a letter to another friend of his student days, Andreas Schott: 'Nam Batavi, ut audisse te video, me tenent eiec-tum, imo Deo ducente elapsum illo naufragio, sed ita ut sedes mihi hic statuerim non ultra quam "dum hae consulescunt turbæ atque iræ leniunt"' (For the Dutch, as I see you have heard, keep me here, an exile, or even more, someone who with God's help escaped this shipwreck. Yet in such a way that I decided to settle here for no longer than 'until this turmoil has quietened down and the anger been calmed'). Cf. *ILE* 1, 78 09 03, 6–9 (dated 3 September).

²⁴ See, for example, *ILE* 1, 80 10 19, 10–11 addressed to Dousa: 'Sed et mihi fatales ῥευματισμοί; molesti; quos ut effugiam, credo, aliquando hinc fugiam quovis terrarum' (But for me too these infernal colds are a nuisance; to avoid them, I believe I will once have to flee from here to wheresoever on earth). To which Dousa, who was at that time staying in Utrecht, answered at length and with some sense of drama (*ILE* 1, 80 11 00, 105–121).

²⁵ Lipsius was Rector from February 1579 to February 1581 and again from February 1587 to February 1589. Moreover, the letter appointing Thomas Sosius as Rector on 5 February 1591 (*ASF* 283, f. 101), shows that Maurice of Nassau preferred to grant Lipsius a fifth term but had to choose Sosius instead, because Lipsius had asked for a sick leave during the first months of that year.

Lambertus Danaeus, who had started his lectures only in March 1581 but soon became frustrated by the climate of tolerance in Leiden. Lipsius expressed his worries about the conflict and its impact on the university in a number of letters, but refused to be involved in the commission that finally had to decide on the matter. He did not want to be burned by the flame that had caught so many already. Nevertheless, he was always willing to help them in other cases, as he politely explained to his friend Jan van Hout, the secretary of the University Board, which was made up of the Burgomasters of the city and the three Curators of the University.²⁶

Obviously the first years in Leiden were very successful for Lipsius, from both the scholarly and the social point of view. Despite his many administrative tasks—a proof of his colleagues' esteem for him—he was able to finalize a number of publications, among them the revised, second edition of Tacitus and the long-awaited commentary (albeit only to the *Annales*), some antiquarian treatises, and one of his most influential philosophical treatises, the *De constantia*. He was a zealous teacher as well and the correspondence offers a testimony not only of his engagement towards his students, but also of their appreciation. As for the social point of view, the letters make it clear how much pleasure he took in meeting friends, the Dousa and Van Hout families in particular, enjoying learned discussions, parties, little trips, and a shared interest in gardening. Moreover, he encouraged a number of friends from the Spanish Netherlands, who were troubled by the incessant wars, to settle in the quiet and welcoming North.

Until about 1584, the correspondence offers many testimonies that the scholar and his wife travelled to the Southern Netherlands, to Bruges or Antwerp, to visit friends, look after their estates in Brabant and collect possible rents, or to discuss forthcoming publications. Conversely, they often hosted guests from the South, especially since one of Plantin's grandsons, Franciscus Raphelengius, Jr, was living with them from June 1578 onwards until he set out to continue his studies in Paris around October 1584.²⁷ However, the impending siege of

²⁶ See, for example, *ILE* 1, 81 07 26 V; 82 01 20; 82 01 23 R; 82 03 15 C; 82 03 17. In the letter to Van Hout, *ILE* 1, 82 05 14 H, Lipsius wrote: 'Nam ego, etsi vere et ex animo cupio magistratui et tibi omnia facta, tamen haesit mihi decretum illud meum [...] rebus religionis non misceri. Amburi nolo illa flamma, quae hodie multos involvit. [...] Itaque peto a te ut hac in re me apud tuos excuses [...] et si quid aliud est, in quo utilis ego vobis, poscite.'

²⁷ Cf. *ILE* 2, 84 09 23 R.

Antwerp made such visits more and more difficult. Worried about the increasing pressure of Alexander Farnese's army on the city and its Protestant government, Plantin decided to follow Lipsius's example and moved to Leiden with a few presses in April 1583.²⁸ Thanks to his friend's support he was allowed to set up a printing house and was appointed the official printer of the successful university.

Although it was most convenient and stimulating to have his printer and a dear friend living close at hand, Lipsius felt less and less at ease and increasingly apprehensive because of political changes and their religious consequences. The murder of William the Silent, the *Pater patriae* († Delft, 10 July 1584), had caused a political earthquake within the Northern Provinces. In Lipsius's eyes, his sudden death left the Northern Low Countries leaderless: Maurice, only seventeen years old, lacked his father's authority and the experience to keep the States in check. To boot, the humanist did not believe in a *polyarchia*, as he calls it, a political system consisting of a conglomerate of states trying to agree about external policy but following their own course and interests in all other matters. By the end of the summer he wrote to Franciscus Raphelengius, Sr, then still in Antwerp, in general terms:

Nam tempestas, quae et quam subito exorta sit vides, nec aquae ipsae satis tutae, in quibus hactenus spes nostrae. Deus ista gubernat, mi Raphelengi, Deus, eaque ad meliorem aliquem finem e turbis istis concinnabit praeter spem nostram atque opinionem. Fide tantum. Nos hic iure turbati morte illius magni capitis. Tamen turbati, non deiecti constamus adhuc, nec discrimen tam praesens videtur, si Ordines concordiam cum praesentia animi coniungant.

For you see the storm and how suddenly it has arisen, and even the waters, where we found our hope until now, are not safe enough. The Lord rules all this, Raphelengius, the Lord, and he will calm this turbulence bringing a happier end beyond our hope and imagining. Be confident! We are rightly upset about the death of our head of state. Yet we are upset, not cast down, and we stand firm until now, and the peril does not seem that imminent, if only the States combine unanimity with presence of mind.²⁹

Two months later he explicitly mentioned a possible departure due to the continuing unrest:

²⁸ On Christopher Plantin, cf. De Landtsheer, Sacré, and Coppens, *Justus Lipsius* (1547–1606). *Een geleerde en zijn Europese netwerk*, 554–565.

²⁹ Cf. *ILE* 2, 84 09 23 R, 3–9.

Videbo quid vires, quid valetudo, quid tempora etiam permittent, quae minari nobis migrationem videntur et alias sedes. Nam haec navis ut fluctuet, vides; quam utinam non referant in mare altum novi venti!

I will see what my strength, my health, the circumstances permit; they seem to threaten me with migration and settling elsewhere. For you see how this ship of state is fluctuating; if only new winds will not push it towards the open sea.³⁰

The criticism became louder and more pointed in a long letter to one of his former students, Theodorus Leeuwius, who was by then councillor of the Court of Holland and probably had complained and expressed his concern about the state of affairs (his letter is lost). It is worth discussing in some detail, because it gives a clear picture of Lipsius's ideas and is also brilliantly written. Once again he referred to the death of William of Orange as the origin of the misfortunes: 'Fallor aut profecto labitur hoc libertatis atrium, imo ruit utique post deiectam grandem illam columnam quae sola fulciebat' (I must be wrong or this Hall of Freedom is certainly reeling, yes indeed, it is crashing to the ground now that this mighty column has been pulled down, which was its only support).³¹ He had little faith in the States General:

[...] quibus alii boni, sed imperiti; pars magna mala, lucri cupida et suae, non publicae rei. Itaque multi isti Sinones facile imponunt pauculis illis Priamis et Troiam hanc producunt hosti.

[...] some of its members are honest men, but without experience; the majority, however, are bad, lusting for profit and bent on their own interest rather than that of the state. Hence these many Sinons easily deceived the Priams and opened our Troy to the enemy.³²

In the next lines, the humanist inveighed strongly against these unreliable, short-sighted, and utterly selfish politicians:

³⁰ Cf. *ILE* 2, 84 11 06 T, 12–15 to Laevinus Torrentius, vicar to the Prince Bishop of Liège, Ernest of Bavaria, and future bishop of Antwerp. See on him De Landtsheer, Sacré, and Coppens, *Justus Lipsius (1547–1606). Een geleerde en zijn Europese netwerk*, 352–365.

³¹ Cf. *ILE* 2, 85 06 28 LE, 10–12. No wonder that this letter, preserved among Lipsius's copies (Leiden, UB, ms. Lips. 3(1), f. 13), was not included in Lipsius's *Epistolarum centuriae*. It was, however, posthumously published in *Iusti Lipsii ad Theodorum Leeuwium Epistolae* (Leiden, 1649) and in Petrus Burmannus, *Sylloges epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum tomi V*, 5 vols (Leiden: Samuel Luchtmans, 1724–1727), 1, 39–41, no. 37.

³² *Ibid.*, 13–15.

Nosti ipse eorum ingenia et mores et quam unum hoc curent, ut per publicam hanc tempestatem sarcinulas suas salvas habeant, imo auctas. Hi sunt vultures patriae, hirudines aerarii, qui adflixere rempub[licam] istam et adfligent, quamdiu locus iis in puppi. Quid censes? Victoriam spectare eos aut meliorem statum? Imo tumultum, noctem, turbas, e quibus creverunt et per quae vivunt. Redeant enim et revolvantur ipsi iterum ad suas tenebras, si sol aliquis illucescat firmæ bonaeque gubernationis. Ut blattae et stelliones lucem fugiunt, sic quietem rapones isti.

You know their characters and their manners and how there is only one thing they really take to heart, viz. how they can keep their purses safe, and even add to them amidst this tempest. They are vultures preying on their native country, leeches bleeding the public treasury, who have afflicted and continue to afflict the state, as long as there is room for them on the stern. What do you think? That they are seeking victory or a better state? On the contrary, they are bent on uproar, night, turmoil, which make them thrive and are their breath of life. For they might take their leave and return again to their darkness if the sun of firm and good statecraft would shine. As cockroaches and newts run away from light, likewise these robbers are shy of tranquillity.³³

Not a good word could be said about the army either; 'quite the contrary: no honest man can look at it and keep his eyes dry' (adeo contra est, ut nemo bonus eam intueatur oculo sicco). The soldiers were a motley crew

sine disciplina reperies, sine ordine, manibus rapaces, pedibus fugaces, et in quibus linea nulla aut color militum, nisi quod avidi praedae, sed eius ipsius tamen incruentae. Adde quod tyrones, quod subitarii, quod e faece collecti, in quibus nihil aut virium aut animorum. Iam ipsi duces quid? Temerarii, caeci, properi, ut unam illis provisionem cautionemque hanc iures, nihil provide agere, nihil caute. [...] Canes enim ecce ab illa parte et leones prodeunt; a nobis lepores aliquot galeati, quos hinnuleus ducit aut cervus.

without discipline or order, with grabbing hands and skedaddling feet; there are no traces of military lines or colours, except that they are all greedy for booty, albeit without shedding a drop of their own blood. Moreover, most of them are young soldiers, hastily recruited, picked out of the scum, without a spark of strength or courage. And what about the officers? Rash, blind, hasty men whose only prudence and precaution, as you would swear, consists in doing nothing prudently or cautiously.

³³ *Ibid.*, 15–22.

[...] On the other side you see dogs and lions appear; on our side are hares wearing helmets, led by a little foal or a deer.³⁴

These evils, Lipsius continued, were almost innate to their kind of government and could only be corrected 'not by changing it but by turning it upside down. The confusion of [various] councils must be cleared, the *polyarchia* removed, and the main part of the common wealth put in the hands of only one man.'³⁵ In later letters, too, written when he had again settled in the Southern Low Countries, he would formulate his distrust and negative opinion about the political system in the North.³⁶ According to him, no person of authority, wisdom and reliance could be found within the Netherlands. Hence the government had to look abroad, as they already did, but without much success, for the king of France had wheedled and spurned them. The other possible resource, England, was governed by a woman; she promised plenty, but it was doubtful whether she would keep all her pledges, as she had to pay heed to her rival, Mary, Queen of Scots, and to the dissensions within her realm. It goes without saying that Lipsius closed his letter with the urgent warning that this straightforward letter was intended for his correspondent's eyes only.³⁷

On 20 August 1585, Queen Elizabeth and the ambassadors of the Northern Provinces, Dousa among them, came to an agreement (the

³⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 24–29. The need of a well disciplined army would also be discussed in his *Politica sive civilis doctrinae libri sex* (Leiden: F. Raphelengius, 1589), 5, 13, where *disciplina* is described as *praecipuum decus et stabilimentum imperii* (the chief adornment and support of a reign) and *severa conformatio militis ad robur et virtutem* (the strict formation of a soldier to strength and virtue). The subject was expounded at great length in book V of *De militia Romana* (Antwerp: J. Moretus, 1595–1596), which, in fact, covered the second half of the whole treatise.

³⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 37–39: 'Evertenda haec forma reipub[licae] est, non convertenda. Confusio ista consiliorum tollenda, *πολυαρχία* removenda et caput salutis nostrae ponendum in capite uno.' This preference for monarchy is explained in the *Politica*, 2, 2, a chapter entitled *Divisio imperii. Principatus, prima et optima eius pars; id variis argumentis ostensum* (Subdivision of constitution. Monarchy as its oldest and best part, as proved by various arguments).

³⁶ Cf. three letters in which Lipsius gives his opinion about the policy the Spanish king should adopt towards his enemies, *ILE* 8, 95 01 02 S; [9,] 96 07 20 C, and [17,] 04 01 26 V. See on these letters (the first one in particular), N. Mout, *Justus Lipsius between War and Peace. His Public Letter on Spanish Foreign Policy and the Respective Merits of War, Peace or Truce* (1595), in J. Pollmann and A. Spicer (eds), *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands* (Leiden-Boston 2007), 141–162.

³⁷ Cf. *ILE* 2, 85 06 28 LE, 64–65: 'Hanc epistolam uni tibi libere scriptam ab uno te velim legi.' Another letter to Leeuwius, dealing with the disadvantages of *polyarchia* and the political situation is *ILE* 3, [88 07 00].

Treaty of Nonsuch): she promised them military and financial support until they had concluded a satisfactory treaty with the Spanish king. In exchange she was given control of the strategically important ports of Flushing and The Brill, both garrisoned at her expense, but it took several months before her representatives finally set foot ashore. Lipsius's correspondence from the second half of 1585 several times echoes his growing impatience and uncertainty. Early in 1586 he briefly outlined the agreement and expressed some satisfaction with the solution in a letter to Henricus Ranzovius, a nobleman from Schleswig-Holstein and an influential politician at the Danish court.³⁸

Lipsius clearly had good contacts with Philip Sidney and Thomas Cecil, Earl Burghley, who had been appointed governors of the aforementioned ports. Several letters were exchanged during the short period Sidney was living in Flushing. One contained a plea to intervene in favour of Plantin's agent, who was captured and ransomed by the English garrison of Bergen-op-Zoom.³⁹ On Sidney's request Lipsius also composed a short treatise on the correct pronunciation of the Latin language (*De recta pronuntiatione linguae Latinae*), which he dedicated to the English nobleman shortly after the latter's arrival on the Continent.⁴⁰ When Paul Buys, one of the three Curators of Leiden University, was taken prisoner in Utrecht on 19 July of that same year, Lipsius approached both Sidney (*ILE* 2, 86 08 30) and William Cecil, Thomas's father (*ILE* 2, 86 09 23, to have him freed.⁴¹ Some years later

³⁸ Cf. *ILE* 2, 86 04 05, 14: 'Respublica apud nos paullo melior adventu Anglorum' (Our State is doing somewhat better thanks to the coming of the English). This is followed by a brief report on who was sent and the conditions of the treaty (ll. 14–26).

³⁹ On Philip Sidney, cf. De Landtsheer, Sacré, and Coppens, *Justus Lipsius (1547–1606). Een geleerde en zijn Europese netwerk*, 160–166.

⁴⁰ Cf. its dedicatory letter, *ILE* 2, 86 03 17, and a recent, bilingual and annotated edition by E. Dévière (ed.), *Iustus Lipsius. De recta pronuntiatione Latinae linguae dialogus. Juste Lipse. Dialogue sur la prononciation correcte du latin. Édition, traduction, commentaire*, Noctes Neolatinae 6 (Hildesheim–Zürich–New York 2006). The work was among the first to be published by Franciscus Raphelengius, who had succeeded Plantin in Leiden since the beginning of the year. Part of the issue appeared with the Antwerp imprint on its titlepage, to allow it to be sold in the Southern Provinces as well. Nevertheless Plantin preferred to remove the dedicatory letter in almost all of these copies, to avoid any conflict with the authorities.

⁴¹ Buys had to wait until 24 January before he was given his freedom. Cf. W. van Everdingen, *Het leven van Mr. P. Buys* (Leiden 1895), 146–157.

he showed his esteem for Thomas Cecil by dedicating his second *Centuria* of letters to him.⁴²

Meanwhile, Lipsius became aware that the political change had implications for the way of life in general and that the region's much praised tolerance was gradually shrinking. The pace of this process was increased after the Fall of Antwerp (17 August 1585), when the authorities of Church and State in the South stated that citizens who had converted to Protestantism had to make up their mind either to become Catholics again and stay, or to remain Protestant and leave the country within the next four years. This decision caused a flow of refugees from Brabant, but also from Flanders, towards the North, so that after some years the number of recently-converted Protestants surpassed that of the natives, as was the case, for instance, in Leiden, Haarlem, and Amsterdam.⁴³ Of course, these immigrants, who had left their goods and chattels behind because of their religious convictions, were little disposed to tolerance towards Catholics living in a country that was first and foremost Protestant. Hence dissension was gradually building up between the various Protestant fractions themselves. The tendency towards a stricter attitude in religious matters was enforced by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the third of Queen Elizabeth's representatives, who had been appointed Governor General of the Northern Low Countries and favoured the strict Protestants.⁴⁴ After his arrival, freedom of movement and trade between the North and the South, already seriously curtailed by the siege of Antwerp in 1584–1585, was put under embargo. Leicester, who was a rigorous Protestant, even considered taking steps to move the university from the rather liberal Leiden to the more strictly Protestant Utrecht and soon the Northern Provinces were facing an irreparable rift between themselves, which was the precursor of the conflict between the Gomarists and Arminians at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Lipsius vented his apprehensiveness in a letter to Marnix of St Aldegond, who was by that time living in his castle in West-Souburg near Flushing:

⁴² Viz. *Epistolarum centuriae duae. Quarum prior innovata, altera nova* (Leiden: F. Raphelengius 1590). The dedicatory letter was published as *ILE* 3, 90 04 11.

⁴³ See on this issue, e.g., A. Van Schelven, *Omvang en invloed der Zuid-Nederlandse immigratie van het laatste kwart der 16e eeuw* (The Hague 1919) and J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek 1572–1630. Een demografische en cultuur-historische studie* (Sint-Niklaas 1985).

⁴⁴ There are no traces of epistolary contacts with Robert Dudley.

Utinam inter nos saepius videremus! Loca vetant et tempora, quae maligna in bonos; plena suspicionum omnia et praesertim in dominanti nunc gente, quae ab hoc vitio non aliena.

If only we could see each other more frequently! But this is refused us by the places where we are living and these times, which are malignant towards all honest men. Suspicion is everywhere, especially in the nation that is lord and master now, for it is quite familiar with that vice.

Next he discussed his plans for the future in an outspoken way, asking his friend for advice:

Quid suades? Secedere mihi ex his locis decretum vel abire. Istud turbae suadent et bellum, cui non finis; illud morbus lentus, pertinax, et cui medici remedium quoque unum ponunt [...], aquas. [...] Acidi fontes in Eburonibus sunt, quae viae tamen nunc parum tutae. Sed eiusdem generis et virium mihi esse dicti, imo et lecti apud Andernacum et Confluentes. Huc magis spectem. Eadem fortasse de loco circumspiciam, ubi languorem hunc et otium ponam aut sepeliam. Legere istud et docere paullatim mihi molestum.

So what is your advice? I have decided either to quit these places or to go away for a short while. If I decide to do the former, it is on account of the turmoil and war, which is dragging on interminably; if the latter, it is because of this lasting and tenacious illness, against which there is only one remedy, according to physicians, going to a spa. There are sources rich of minerals in the neighbourhood of Liège, but the ways to get there are not very safe. But I have been told and have read about sources with the same healing properties in the neighbourhood of Andernach and Koblenz. I would rather go that way and on that same journey I can perhaps look out for a place where I can dispel or bury this languor and inactivity. All this reading and teaching is getting more and more of a burden for me.⁴⁵

On 13 September 1586, the Board of Leiden University rejected Lipsius's request to resign for health reasons, but did grant him a sick leave of about half a year to take the waters in the neighbourhood of Frankfurt.⁴⁶ The scholar agreed, but still pondered the possibility of proceeding on his travels to the Southern Netherlands once his health

⁴⁵ For both quotes, see *ILE* 2, 86 04 01 M, 12–20. Lipsius kept this letter too among his drafts without publishing it (Leiden, UB, ms. Lips. 3(7), f. 1). It was, however, included one and a half century later by Burmannus (*Sylloges*, 1, 156–157, no. 152).

⁴⁶ Cf. P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit, dl. 1 (1574–1610)*, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën. Grote serie 20 (The Hague 1913), 47.

was sufficiently recovered.⁴⁷ A recently published letter from Nicolaus Oudaert, vicar of Jean Hauchin, Archbishop of Mechelen, to the Antwerp printer Christopher Plantin proves that friends and acquaintances in the Netherlands encouraged Lipsius in these plans by guaranteeing him a warm welcome and negotiating about an appointment at Leuven University.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, his friends left behind in Holland must have expressed their concern about his true intentions, for he explicitly reassured Leeuwius in the following way:

Consilium viae meae non ignoras, cui valetudo caussa et finis. Homines aliud loquuntur? Garriunt; non me movent. Ego re virum bonum et fortem me ostendam et procul a me isti, qui virtutem et constantiam colunt verbis. Turbae nullae patriae a patria me excludunt. Hoc excipio nisi vis animo infertur et delibatur interna illa libertas. Quod sane conatos scio quosdam; nescio an pie, scio quod imprudenter. Sed nec pie, quia verissimum illud Tertulliani censeo: 'Religionis non esse religionem cogere'.

You are not unaware of the intention of my travel: its reason and purpose is my health. People are saying something else? Let them talk; they do not bother me. My deeds will show that I am a good and courageous man, distinct from those who honour virtue and constancy in words only. No turmoil in my country will remove me from my country. The only exception I make is when pressure is put on my mind and my inward freedom is affected. I am well aware of the attempts of some people to do so; whether out of piety, I do not know, but I am sure it is inconsiderate. And actually it is not pious either, for I believe that Tertullian's words are most fitting: 'To enforce religion is not religious.'⁴⁹

Movements of Dutch troops in Westphalia forced him to interrupt his journey in Oldenburg and Emden for a couple of weeks. To Dousa he confessed his doubts about spending the winter in Emden or returning to Leiden, asking for information about the situation in that city. On no account did he want to end up rashly in the middle of the

⁴⁷ Cf. CP 8–9, Ep. 1155, 1167, 1174. CP refers to M. Rooses and J. Denucé, *Correspondance de Chr. Plantin*, 9 vols, (Antwerp 1883–1920); vol. 10: M. Van Durme, *Supplément à la correspondance de Christophe Plantin* (Antwerp 1955).

⁴⁸ Cf. J. De Landtsheer, "Die wereldvreemde proffen van Leuven in hun ivoren toren." Een vergeten brief van Nicolaas Oudaert aan Christoffel Plantijn', in *De Gulden Passer* 87 (2009), 34–52.

⁴⁹ Cf. ILE 2, 86 10 07 LE, 5–12. Lipsius is quoting Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam* 2, 2.

ministers' quarrels.⁵⁰ No reactions are recorded, but in the middle of November Lipsius was back in Leiden.⁵¹

It was probably during this journey that he conceived the idea of writing a treatise on statemanship, *Politica sive civilis doctrinae libri sex* (Leiden: F. Raphelengius, 1589), to form a kind of philosophical diptych with his *De Constantia*. Yet the writing was considerably slowed down by the fact that Prince Maurice appointed him Rector of the University in February 1587 and again in 1588, an appointment Lipsius was very reluctant to accept, according to Plantin.⁵² Moreover, a short note from the Antwerp printer to Martinus Antonius Delrio, a friend from Lipsius's student days who by then had joined the Jesuits, suggests that Lipsius must have opened his heart and mind to him.⁵³ Lipsius's reluctance was well founded, for while the political situation in the Northern Provinces was far from stable after the unexpected death of Philip Sidney (at Arnhem on 17 October 1586 in a skirmish with the Spanish), troubles were arising in Leiden as well. On 24 April the University Board dismissed Hugo Donellus, a Professor of Law, after an inquiry directed by Curators Dousa and Buys, without giving specific arguments. Lipsius was only informed about this action after a few hours, with the warning that none of Donellus's colleagues should

⁵⁰ Cf. *ILE* 2, 86 10 15 D and 86 10 18. The text is preserved in a manuscript copy by Arnoldus Buchelius (Utrecht, UB, ms. 0B7, f. 6 and 6v-7 respectively), and was used for compiling the *Iusti Lipsii Epistolarum (quae in centuriis non extant) decades XIII* (Harderwijk: Widow T. Henricus, on the expenses of W. Verbruggen, 1621), resp. XXI-XXII, no. III, 1 and XXII-XXIV, no. III, 2. I suspect that the second letter is, in fact, a reworked, more elegant version of the first, which is very matter-of-fact. The passage I paraphrased in the first version is: 'Redimus illico? Festinat et ardet animus (quid ni ad tam amicos?), retinent et terrent ea quae non nescis. Dem me in compedes ministrorum? Consilium non est, nisi si quid refutatus ille fervor quem fervebant.' In the second version this became: 'Hiemem hic transigam an ad vos redeam non constitui et pendet sententia, donec de vestro statu rerum a vobis audiero. Veniamne temere iterum in Ministrorum turbellas? Da veniam, consilium non est.'

⁵¹ The first, accurately dated letter from Leiden is *ILE* 2, 86 11 16.

⁵² Cf. *CP* 8-9, *Ep.* 1225 to Nicolas Oudaert, dated 18 March 1587: '[Accepi] auctorem [= Lipsium] praeterea se invito et frustra reluctante creatum esse huius anni Rectorem' ([I heard that] the writer has been appointed Rector for this year, against his will and despite his objections). I corrected *est* to *esse*.

⁵³ Cf. *CP* 8-9, *Ep.* 1331, dated 29 November 1587: 'Inclusas tandem a Iusto Lipsio mihi nunc reddidit mercator [...] Is [= Lipsius] ad me scribit se tibi mentem suam aperire in illis et asserit se bona fide facturum quod tibi promittit.' Unfortunately, Lipsius's letter to Delrio is not preserved. See on Delrio De Landtsheer, Sacré, and Coppens, *Justus Lipsius (1547-1606). Een geleerde en zijn Europese netwerk*, 51-61.

interfere. In a letter to Leeuwius, Lipsius discussed this matter in the following way:

At apud nos hic turbae. Curatores et Consules Donellum missum fecerunt ‘certis de caussis’ (ita dixerunt), nec iis expressis. Rogas? Magni fluctus. Ego, Gubernator ille scilicet et anni huius Rector, imprimis involvor nec scio an tempestati sedandae. Suspikor (tibi habe) sermones hoc ei conciliasse et linguam parum cautam.

But we have our own turmoil in Leiden. The Curators and Burgomasters have dismissed Donellus ‘for certain reasons’ (that is what they said), but without explaining them. Need you ask? Great upheaval everywhere. I, the Head of the University and this year’s Rector, am closely involved and I do not know if this is to still the waters. I suspect (keep this to yourself) that this is the consequence of his talking and his tongue, which he did not curb enough.⁵⁴

Some lines before in that same letter, Lipsius had declined to dwell upon the political situation for too long because his letters might be intercepted:

Plura possem et vellem, sed reprimo, quia intutam eiusmodi rerum scriptionem esse didici exemplo. Non quia fidei tuae parum fidam (aeque ac meae), sed quia casus et litteris intervenire possunt et illis ad quos mittuntur.

I could and would have written more, but I restrain myself, because I have learned from experience how unsafe this kind of writing is. Not because I do not completely trust your fidelity (which equals mine), but because misfortune can happen to both letters and the men to whom they were sent.⁵⁵

Lipsius, who was called to account by a number of the students and correspondents, worried that the matter might deepen the rift between the provinces. Despite official protests from Donellus and some pleas and pressure from Lipsius and from Leicester in person, the University Board took a firm stand and Donellus had to leave. The scholars’ feelings were hardly calmed, when Lipsius had to step into the breach for another colleague. Shortly after Leicester’s departure a group of his followers had tried to bring down the government of the city of Leiden,

⁵⁴ Cf. *ILE* 2, 87 04 29 L, 23–27. According to some rumours, the discharge was seen as retaliation on the part of Buys, who had been kept in jail in Utrecht from 19 July 1586 to 24 January 1587, because of his anti-Leicesterian feelings.

⁵⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 15–17. Next he explains how a letter to Philip Sidney, in which he had discussed Paul Buys’s situation rather freely (*ILE* 2, 86 08 30), had fallen into the hands of less reliable people because of the untimely death of its addressee.

since it favoured a more independent course from England. The Protestant Professor of Divinity, Adrianus Saravia, who was known for his pro-English sympathies, was accused of complicity and discharged by the University Board. Lipsius must have expressed his doubts, as becomes clear from a letter of thanks from Saravia, in which he insisted on his innocence.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the theologian was expelled from the city in January 1588 and decided to settle in England.

Despite his pedagogical and administrative duties Lipsius found the time to proceed with his *Politica*, a treatise occasionally referred to throughout the letters from 1587 onwards; the first copies were available in August 1589.⁵⁷ This important work—it was often re-issued in Latin and translated either as a whole or in epitome in a number of vernacular languages—was obviously influenced by the relentless political and religious conflicts in France and Germany he had heard and read about, or eye-witnessed in the Netherlands. Moreover, the chapters in book four, dealing with the relationship between Church and State, clearly mirror the religious attitude adopted by Lipsius during his Leiden years: he was utterly convinced of the principle *cuius regio, illius religio*, as developed in the Peace of Augsburg (1555). Citizens standing up for their deviant opinions on God and religion, and encouraging others to follow them were not to go unpunished, lest the prince be harmed because of them. If they paid no heed to warnings and slight punishments, the prince had every right to take firm measures, a piece of advice confirmed by quoting Cicero: ‘Ure, seca, ut membrorum potius aliquod quam totum corpus intereat’ (Burn, cut, in order that some member perishes rather than the whole body).⁵⁸ Individuals, however, who lived quietly and kept their ideas to themselves should not be punished, nor sought out or thoroughly interrogated. Nevertheless, the chapters on religion and the quotation from Cicero in particular, provoked a fierce reaction from Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert, who claimed that Lipsius was defending the Spanish inqui-

⁵⁶ Cf. *ILE* 2, 87 10 31.

⁵⁷ See the extensive introduction to the modern critical edition *Justus Lipsius. Politica. Six Books of Politics or Political Instruction*. Edited, with translation and introduction by Jan Waszink, *Bibliotheca Latinitatis Novae* 5 (Assen 2004). On Lipsius’s political ideas, also see my article, ‘On good Government: Erasmus’s *Institutio principis Christiani* versus Lipsius’s *Politica*’ in H. Trapman, J. van Herwaarden and A. van der Laan (eds), *Erasmus Politicus: Erasmus and Political Thought*, [forthcoming].

⁵⁸ Cicero, *Philippica* 8, 5, 15.

sition with its appalling practices of torture and sending people to the stake. He vented his protests in his *Proces vant Ketterdoden ende dwang der Conscientien* (Gouda: Gaspar Tournay, 1590); the fact that his criticism was written in the vernacular meant that it would reach a larger audience.⁵⁹ Although the Burgomasters and Council of Leiden distanced themselves from Coornhert's work and renounced its dedication on 18 October 1590, this polemic certainly confirmed Lipsius in his belief that it was time to leave Leiden and that now that the political situation was stabilized in the South, life would be much more calm and peaceful there than in the North, with a political system he did not trust and the announcement of religious conflict.⁶⁰

To conclude this part about Lipsius's Leiden years, a word must be said about religious matters. Despite good contacts with his, mostly Calvinist, friends and colleagues, there are no indications that Lipsius ever took Holy Communion with them, as is clearly attested by the aforementioned Adrianus Saravia. About twenty years after his departure from Leiden, he fondly recalled Lipsius in a letter to Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury:

Doctrinam evangelicam numquam professus est [Lipsius]; illi tamen aperte, quod sciam, quamdiu nobiscum vixit, numquam adversatus est. In controversiis, quas nebulones illic moverant, meliori parti favere et assentiri, pacem et concordiam amare et odisse seditiosos nobis videbatur.

[Lipsius] has never professed the Protestant faith; yet, as far as I know, he never openly opposed it during the years he was living in our midst. In the controversies some paltry people had provoked there, he always seemed to support and approve the better part, to love peace and concord, and to loath troublemongers.⁶¹

In the same letter Saravia nevertheless supposed that Lipsius must have been involved with the House of Love, since he had seen him walk-

⁵⁹ Lipsius would sharpen his quill as well and refuted Coornhert's reproaches in his *Adversus dialogistam sive de una religione*, dedicated to the States of Holland and published that same year by Raphelengius in Leiden, only a few weeks before Coornhert's death. On Coornhert, cf. De Landtsheer, Sacré, and Coppens, *Justus Lipsius* (1547–1606). *Een geleerde en zijn Europese netwerk*, 173–182.

⁶⁰ Cf. F. de Nave, *De polemiek tussen Justus Lipsius en Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert* (1590): *hoofdoorzaak van Lipsius' vertrek uit Leiden* (1591), in *De Gulden Passer* 48 (1970), 1–36. De Nave, however, is pointing too exclusively in Coornhert's direction, without taking into account the changes in the political and religious climate of the North during the second half of the 1580s.

⁶¹ Cf. Saravia to Bancroft, dated 20 October 1608, London, BL, *Add.* 28.571, f. 214–218 and published by H. Van Crombruggen, 'Een brief van Adriaan Saravia over Lipsius en "het Huis der Liefde"', in *De Gulden Passer* 28 (1950), 110–117.

ing and conversing with its leader, Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt, alias Hiël. Saravia's presumption seems, however, rather far-fetched, for there is no hint whatsoever in the whole of the correspondence that might suggest membership. Quite the reverse: Barrefelt only comes up in three letters from 1584, in which Lipsius urges his correspondent, Leeuwius, to return a copy of Barrefelt's *Het Boek der Ghetuygenissen vanden verbor-gen Acker-Schat* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1581).⁶² He must have browsed through it himself, for on two occasions he refers to it in a condescending way: 'Puto certe tanti tibi non esse, ut eum magnopere retentum velis' (I do not believe that you are so keen on it that you really want to keep it) and 'Quid enim hic magnum aut serius?' (Is there anything important or serious in this book?). This is definitely confirmation that an occasional stroll through Leiden in the company of Barrefelt does not imply that Lipsius was an adept of the House of Love.

On the other hand, as a Catholic who went to live for professional reasons in a Protestant area for some time, Lipsius immediately became a black sheep in the eyes of rigorous Catholics, despite the fact that some of Lipsius's friends kept stressing that he never renounced the true Faith, but remained discreet in matters of worship and belief in order to avoid possibly offending his hosts. One of the most interesting and no-nonsense examples of how some influential Catholics kept defending Lipsius against accusations that he was no longer 'of the true faith' is found in a letter the Spanish theologian and royal chaplain Benito Arias Montano⁶³ wrote to congratulate his friend Christopher Plantin on his safe return from Leiden to Antwerp:

Haec [nonnulla *Epistolarum centuriae primae* folia] mihi gratissima, ut Lypsii scripta omnia, et Lypsius ipse, cuius et virtutem et pietatem ego nunquam in dubium vocari passus sum, ubicumque fuerim. Sed scis qualia omnium iudicia sint, hominum dico, qui nulli alii integram laudem tribui vellent, quam sibi ipsis, qua tamen vel hoc ipso invidentiae vitio sunt indignissimi. Vix quicquam de cuiuspiam viri eruditione vel ingenio, vel industria praedicari occipitur, quin sit aliquis vel neget illum illo loco recte de religione sentire, vel cum modestissime agere videatur, hoc modo non dubitet: 'Fierine potest ut ille catholicus sit qui illic vivat?' Quos tamen ita redarguere soleo, silentioque involvere: 'Tu ergo si qua

⁶² Cf. *ILE* 2, 84 04 28; 84 05 16 and 84 06 11. The quotations are taken from the first (l. 5–6) and third letters (l. 3). By combining the information found in the three letters it becomes clear that Lipsius had borrowed a copy via Plantin on Leeuwius's request. The latter had passed it to a friend of his, a physician.

⁶³ On Arias Montano, cf. De Landtsheer, Sacré, and Coppens, *Justus Lipsius* (1547–1606). *Een geleerde en zijn Europese netwerk*, 525–540.

sorte vel ratione illuc migrare cogereris, catholicus non viveres, religionem quam primum abiurares, quam nunc, quia hoc loco es, colere te putas firmissime? Quasi vero religio locum sequatur et non animo infixā haereat.' [...] Ad Lypsiū nostrum redeo, quem unum ex clarissimis bonarum disciplinarum nostro tempore hominibus semper iudicavi et iudico, et hoc nomine ubique celebrare et commendare soleo cum attestatione summae erga pietatem integritatis, vel hoc documento unico, eoque maximo, quod is tibi semper et gratissimus et familiarissimus fuerit, qui catholicum ab haeretico, ut isti loquuntur, discernere nosti.

These [few quires of the first *Centuria* of letters] have pleased me very much, as goes for all of Lipsius's writings, and for Lipsius himself, and I have never permitted that an inkling of doubt be shed on his virtue and piety, wherever I was. But you know what the judgement of most people is, I mean of those who do not want to speak a word of sincere praise to anyone but themselves, praise they do not merit at all because of this vice of envy. Hardly has anyone uttered a word about the learnedness or the talents of a man, or about his zeal, that someone comes up with some serious doubts about the other's orthodoxy based on the place where he is living, and even when he seems to be living in a very modest way, the backbiter does not hesitate to question: 'Could it be true that a man who is living in such a place is a Catholic?' I usually give them tit for tat and squelch them by asking: 'So, if by some hazard or choice you would be forced to move out there, you would not live there as a Catholic, you would as soon as possible renounce the religion, which you think you profess most firmly as you are living in this place? As if religion were linked to places, instead of being firmly imprinted in the mind.' [...] I return to our friend Lipsius, whom I have always considered and still consider one of the most illustrious scholars of the *bonae literae* of our time. Because of that opinion I always praise and recommend him everywhere, asserting his total integrity in matters of faith, even with this only proof, and especially with this proof, that he has always been a very dear and very close friend to you, who know how to distinguish a Catholic from a heretic, as they say.⁶⁴

A FAREWELL TO LEIDEN⁶⁵

Lipsius's first attempt to leave Leiden had made it clear to him how important it was to plan well in advance and to observe an almost absolute secrecy about his intentions, even towards his friends in the

⁶⁴ Cf. *CP* 7, *Ep.* 1071, dated 1 February 1586 (esp. p. 265–266).

⁶⁵ About Lipsius's journey and his sojourn in Liège, see more extensively *Lieveling van de Latijnse taal*, 99–137. The correspondence from this period will be published as *ILE* [4.] 91 03 18–5, [92 08 begin].

South.⁶⁶ Moreover, he did not want to burn his boats in Leiden either, unless he was sure about his welcome in the Catholic Low Countries, even after a thirteen-year stay in a bulwark of Protestant and anti-Spanish policy. Johannes Moretus, who had succeeded his father-in-law, Christopher Plantin, in Antwerp, was probably the only one who was taken into his confidence, as becomes clear from a letter dated 13 January 1591, which also shows that Lipsius had been planning his departure for a few months already. Lipsius opens with ‘Scripsi iam bis de commeatu impetrando pro amico’ (I have written to you twice already about a letter of safe-conduct for a friend), before switching to the first person:

Si nondum perfecta res sit, potest tuto omitti; si facta, bene est. Non quia consilium mutarim de profectione, sed ut libere tecum agam, quia tunc deliberabam an non occulte iter facturus essem per Campiniam vestram in Leodiensem agrum et ad fontes. Nunc certum mihi est in Germaniam recta ire atque ita minus egere videor commeatu, non quidem tam cito. Si tamen, ut dixi, res iam perfecta est, gratum id habeo et ratum transmittite. Erit usui, sed magis si uxoris quoque mentio facta esset. Nam illa videtur anhelare ut semel excurrat ad amicos, sed fortasse non tam cito.

If this matter has not yet been arranged, you can forget about it; otherwise, it is alright. Not that I have changed my plans to leave, but to tell you honestly, I was earlier pondering whether to travel surreptitiously through the Kempen area towards the principality of Liège and the waters of Spa. Now, however, I have decided to go directly to Germany, hence such a safe-conduct will be less needed, or at least not so soon. But if, as I said before, the matter is already arranged, I am grateful and you must send me the bill. The safe-conduct will be useful, especially if my wife’s name were mentioned as well. For she seems to be panting to come and see her friends, albeit perhaps not so quickly.⁶⁷

Once again, his delicate health was a welcome, albeit not entirely fictitious, excuse to get away. About the same time as he wrote to Moretus,

⁶⁶ One year after his return to Leiden he apparently reproached a number of friends, Plantin among them, that their lack of discretion about his plans had been the main cause of his re-appointment as Rector in 1587, cf. *CP* 8–9, *Ep.* 1324 dated 20 november [1587]: ‘[...] litteras in quibus conqueritur amicos nimium praeproperos fuisse istic in disseminando eius voluntatem et cetera de suo redditu, hinc primam fuisse occasionem illum alligandi rectoratui.’

⁶⁷ Cf. *ILE* [4,] 91 01 13 M. The previous letters asking for a safe-conduct are not preserved.

he also informed Cornelis Aerssens, secretary to the States General, who had to approve his request for a safe-conduct to Germany:

Mihi decretum est valetudinis caussa in Germaniam proficisci (nam alia loca clausa) proximo vere. Hoc consilium celare te non debui, veterem et fidum amicum. Sed profectio illa tamen temporaria est et dumtaxat ut imbecillum hoc corpusculum paullum sive aeris mutatione, sive fontium potu, sive ipsa motione et itinere firmem. Nam profecto vires magis magisque in dies mihi collabuntur et deficiunt.

For considerations of health I have decided to go to Germany next spring (for I cannot go anywhere else). I must not keep my plans secret from you, an old and dear friend. But my absence will be temporary and has only this one purpose: to give this feeble body of mine some strength again either by a change of air, or by taking the waters, or by the motion of travelling itself. For truly, my physical strength is getting weaker by the day and is leaving me.⁶⁸

When Lipsius's plan became known, friends and colleagues in Leiden, as well as the members of the States of Holland, had a feeling of déjà vu. Following a suggestion by Franciscus Raphelengius, the States of Holland sent Leonard Voocht, Pensionary of Delft, to assure the humanist that the authorities did not agree with Coornhert's criticism: they had even officially forbidden the *Proces vant ketterdoden* on 31 January 1591. On 10 February the University Board tried to have him reconsider his decision by raising his salary by 200 florins, which made him the best paid among his colleagues.⁶⁹ Yet Lipsius did not give in, although he solemnly promised to Voocht, as the representative of the States of Holland, and in the presence of Dousa and Van Hout that he would return to Leiden. On 26 February he obtained leave to spend some three or four months in a spa somewhere in Germany to recover his health.

A sharp frost kept Lipsius in the city for a few more weeks. Afraid to miss his ship in Amsterdam (the plan was to go by ship to Hamburg and hence by coach and horse towards Frankfurt), he even pondered about an alternative route over land, cautiously mentioning to his friends in Holland a possible route via Liège to Aix-la-Chapelle:

⁶⁸ Cf. *ILE* [4,] 91 01 21 and 91 01 26 A.

⁶⁹ Cf. Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 1, 59; Witkam, *Dagelijkse zaken*, 4, 190.

Quid igitur suades? Dic, quaeso, libere! An non possem terrestri via Leodium et inde Aquisgranum pervenire? Eo magis illuc inclinarem, quia valetudinem meam video et metuo ut tam longae et difficili viae resistat.

So what do you suggest? I beg you, tell me freely! Could I not go by land to Liège and hence to Aix-la-Chapelle? I would feel the more inclined to choose that route when I consider my health. I am afraid that it is not up to such a long and arduous sojourn.

Finally, on 15 March, he left Leiden in the company of a small group of students, who wanted to continue their studies abroad. One, Adam Leemput from Utrecht, remained with Lipsius until the middle of October and acted as his secretary. He jotted down an almost day to day account of Lipsius's route through Germany, although mostly only dates and places were recorded.⁷⁰ Moreover, once Lipsius had arrived at his destination, Leemput also took care to copy most of his mentor's letters before they were sent.⁷¹ Only a small part of them was later published in the *Centuriae*; a careful analysis shows clearly how cautious Lipsius was in selecting the information he sent to his correspondents. After having spent a few days in Frankfurt, where he met a number of acquaintances at the book-fair and bade farewell to most of the accompanying students, he continued his travels to Mainz. On 14 April 1591, shortly before noon, he knocked at the door of the Jesuit College, asking to confess and become reconciled with the Catholic Church. He stayed in Mainz for about ten days, time and again visiting the Jesuits; at the same time, he informed two friends about his decision. The first was one of his former teachers in Cologne, Franciscus Costerus, by then living in the Southern Netherlands, the second a companion from his student's days, Martinus Antonius Delrio, who had entered the order and was living in the Jesuit College in Liège. In both cases he urged his friends to secrecy, since his wife and his possessions were still in Leiden. Delrio was only allowed to pass the news on to Johannes Oranus, another

⁷⁰ This document, an in-folio leaf folded in half, is preserved in Leiden, UB, ms. Lips. 56 (5). For its edition and analysis, see J. De Landtsheer, 'From North to South. Some New Documents on Lipsius' Journey from Leiden to Liège', in D. Sacré and G. Tournoy (eds), *Myrica. Essays on Neo-Latin Studies in Memory of Jozef IJsewijn*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia 16 (Leuven 2000), 303–331.

⁷¹ They are systematically gathered in more or less chronological order in what is now Leiden, UB, ms. Lips. 3(9), 3(11) and part of 3(10). Once he had left Liège, Lipsius set out to copy his out-going letters himself, until he was firmly settled in Leuven.

Jesuit from Lipsius's Cologne days and also living at the Liège College.⁷² One week later Lipsius also contacted Francesco Benci, a friend whom he had met during a sojourn in Rome from the late summer of 1568 to early April 1570 and who had become a Jesuit shortly afterwards. On the same day Lipsius told botanist Carolus Clusius that he would go to Spa, since the inns in Germany were killing him and he asked him to forward his mail.⁷³ Once he had settled in Cologne, he also wrote to his closest friends in Holland that he had left Frankfurt and was on his way to Spa, without adding another reason for this change of plans other than the appalling state of the accommodation.⁷⁴ To Johannes Moretus, however, he was more sincere, since the Antwerp printer had to take care of his luggage. Nevertheless, he too was asked to keep silent about the decision because Lipsius's wife and possessions were still in the North.

Mihi decretum est in finibus Belgii paullisper haerere, in otio et solitudine agere et videre si non exitum, saltem inclinationem bellorum istorum. Cur ultra sim in partibus? Praesertim cum animus meus (nec tu ignoras) partibus aut factionibus numquam fuerit addictus. Magis sapimus. Plura de consilio meo alias, quod cupio celari a te, quia divulgari parum adhuc tutum. Uxor et res meae sunt apud Batavos, uti non ignoras. [...] Ad amicos certa de caussa nondum scribo: rogo tamen uti D[ominum] Ortelium a me salutes itemque uxorem tuam, socrum et familiam universam. Brevi, ut dixi, plura et tum quoque ad amicos.

I have decided to stay a little while in the neighbourhood of the Southern Low Countries, to spend my time in leisure and solitude, and see, if not the end of those wars, at least the inclination to bring them to an end. Why would I adhere any longer to a faction? Especially while it has never been in my character (a fact you are well aware of) to side with this or that faction or camp. I am wiser than that! Next time more about

⁷² Cf. *ILE* [4,] 91 04 14 C and D (since Delrio's answer was delayed, Lipsius repeated his plea for support and advice in *ILE* [4,] 91 05 03). An undated fragment addressed to Ludovicus Thuardus, Rector of the college in Cologne, might also be situated around this period (it is listed as 91 00 00 T in A. Gerlo and H.D.L. Vervliet, *Inventaire de la correspondance de Juste Lipse, 1564-1606* (Antwerp 1968), but will be published as *ILE* [4,][04 2de helft]). Two letters dated on 14 April one addressed to the Italian physician Hieronymus Mercurialis and another to a German Catholic, Marcus Welser, still bear the Frankfurt address (*ILE* [4,] 91 04 14 M and W). It is impossible to find out whether they were indeed written just before Lipsius left Frankfurt, or whether he consciously preferred to suppress his whereabouts for a few more days.

⁷³ Cf. *ILE* [4,] 91 04 21 B and L (the latter repeated in *ILE* [4,] 91 05 07 L).

⁷⁴ Cf. *ILE* [4,] 91 04 26 A to Cornelis Aerssens, D (a few lines only, addressed to both Janus Dousa and Jan van Hout) and R to Franciscus Raphelengius, the Elder.

my plans, which I want you to keep secret for a while, for it is not yet safe to disclose it everywhere. My wife and possessions are still in Holland, as you know. [...] I have my reasons not to write to my friends yet; nevertheless I ask you to give my regards to Ortelius and your wife, your mother-in-law, and the whole circle of friends. I will write more shortly, as already said, and then to our friends too.⁷⁵

His Dutch friends quickly answered the letters sent from Cologne, keeping him informed about what was happening in Leiden, regretting the fact that his health had not yet improved, showing concern about the hazards of his journey, but most of all expressing how much the University, both his colleagues and his students, were missing him. Yet the letter of Dousa, Sr in particular also hinted at their doubts about his intention, reminding Lipsius of his promise to Van Hout and himself, before concluding with the urgent request to return as soon as his health allowed it.⁷⁶

Lipsius, meanwhile, continued his travels and kept writing to the Jesuits in Liège, who promised their support: their Rector had taken care of Lipsius's letter to his wife and Johannes Oranus was awaiting him in Spa. Delrio insisted on discretion, for the ways were unsafe and letters might easily fall into the wrong hands. It was even better not to write to his friends in Brabant, unless it was absolutely necessary to do so.⁷⁷ The wariness was not without cause, for by the end of the month Lipsius had already received two letters from Dominicus Lampsonius, the secretary of the Prince-Bishop of Liège,⁷⁸ referring to his sojourn in Cologne and the fact that he was expecting him in Spa. Lipsius's next letter to Delrio shows clearly how he underestimated the importance his hosts in Holland attached to his pledge, whereas he himself was rather unconcerned about it:

A Batavis etiam ipsis cur aut quid metuam? Amant me et aegre carent, fateor, sed nos devincti nemini mortalium fuimus in unam horam. Innoxius et liber ego ab omni promissionis vincolo. Itaque honeste et primo tempore missionem petam, constet modo mihi de translatione rerum mearum, quas nolim equidem amissas. Et tamen ita sit, perierint. Quid tum? Ego et optima illa pars mei salva.

⁷⁵ Cf. *ILE* [4,] 91 04 28 MO. Moretus's many business contacts with printers and booksellers in Cologne made it easy to address possible letters for Lipsius to the Jesuits, who could in turn forward them without much ado to their colleagues in Liège.

⁷⁶ Cf. *ILE* [4,] [91] 05 17.

⁷⁷ Cf. *ILE* [4,] 91 05 24 D.

⁷⁸ On Dominicus Lampsonius, cf. De Landtsheer, Sacré, and Coppens, *Justus Lipsius (1547–1606)*, 226–236.

Why should I be wary of the Dutch, or what should I fear from them? They love me and they will be reluctant to do without me, I confess, but we have had no obligations to one single soul for one single hour. I cannot be blamed and I am free of the tie of any promise. Hence I will honestly and at the first opportunity ask for discharge, if only I am reassured about the the moving of my possessions, which surely I would prefer not to lose. And even if it would happen, let them be lost. So what? I myself and what is the better part of me will be safe.⁷⁹

In the first days of June, after he had recovered from the long and exhausting journey in Spa and was becoming assured about his welcome in the South, Lipsius informed his friends and colleagues in the North about his irrevocable decision. Besides a twofold, official request for honourable discharge to the University Board and its Council (i.e., the professors and their Rector, Thomas Sosius) he also wrote a series of private letters, pointing out that after having given the best of himself to the university and its students for thirteen years, his faltering health was impelling him to pass the torch to others.⁸⁰ The spa waters had not brought him the relief he had hoped for; he no longer had the energy to cope with the exigencies of academic life, and he wanted to spend the rest of his life in tranquillity, without any official assignment.⁸¹ Time and again he asserted his gratitude for the hospitality and the benevolence which had surrounded him all these years, and assured them that his decision had been prompted by personal reasons, on which he did not expound. He apologized in particular to Dousa and Van Hout, who had been present when he pledged himself to the representatives of the States of Holland, for causing them grief and admitted that he had taken his decision consciously and some time previously, but had kept his plans silent to prevent any attempts to lure him back. The circumstances had given him sound reasons to settle elsewhere than in Holland and to renounce his teaching obligations, which demanded so much of his physical strength.

Although Lipsius's first attempt to leave in the autumn of 1586 and the doubts which had risen when he mentioned his intention to resume this journey should have prepared his colleagues, they were

⁷⁹ *ILE* [4,] 91 05 27 D.

⁸⁰ *ILE* [4,] 91 06 02 L¹⁺²; three days later he repeated his request along the same lines in a separate letter to the Burgomasters, *ILE* [4,] 91 06 05.

⁸¹ Thus Lipsius was interpreting the formula of his promise, to return after his health was restored, in a very literal way: since it was only slightly improving, without much hope for total recovery, he felt no qualms about staying away.

nonetheless deeply affected when his letters arrived. Both officially and privately they refused to accept his departure and tried to make him change his mind. His departure would lead to the fall and ruin of the university—they even called him its principal support, next to God ('daer van wy u, naest God, houden ende bekennen tvoorneemste steunsel'). Once again, he was strongly reminded of his promises, not only towards his colleagues in Leiden, but towards the States of Holland, to return once he had sufficiently recovered. Meanwhile, they agreed to send his wife to help him through his illness; upon his return they would find a solution which would be opportune to the country, university, and students, yet favourable to Lipsius's health as well.⁸² Dousa the Elder in particular reacted bitterly with a letter full of theatrical effects, reproaching Lipsius that he had stabbed him through the heart and had delivered the final blow to the University. Hence his hasty departure, without being wary of wintry weather and a heavy sea, although everyone, except for one troublemaker, wanted to stop him! How did his Leiden colleagues deserve that? Did Coornhert mean so much to him? He found it hard to believe that Lipsius had left for considerations of health, yet he could accept that he was wishing to do so, since Lipsius had already made it clear that he no longer felt at home in Holland. But why the secrecy? Why not confide in him or in Van Hout? And why had he simply to deceive the States of Holland by pledging to return after some three, four months, although he was fully aware that he never would? How unlike that courteous man, as he was known to everybody in Leiden! Only in the closing sentence did Dousa cool off somewhat, promising to send a longer letter when he was in control of himself again, for at the present time he was overwhelmed by distress at Lipsius's departure.⁸³ Although he wanted to create the impression that he wrote his letter on the spur of the moment, Dousa was not that upset that he forgot to add a few quotes.⁸⁴ To boot, the references to a wintry weather and a stormy sea, together with the complaints about the unrightfulness and stealth of Lipsius's decision—the whole carefully packed with figures of speech—must surely have reminded the skilled humanist that

⁸² Cf. *ILE* [4,] 91 07 02 L¹ and L² resp.

⁸³ Cf. *ILE* [4,] [91] 07 03.

⁸⁴ Sc. Erasmus, *Adagia*, 1, 3, 30; Persius 3, 105; Ennius *apud* Cicero, *Laelius* 6, 22; Tibullus 4, 13, 8, and Plautus, *Stich.* 1, 2, 82.

Lipsius was of Queen Dido's famous harangue against Aeneas, when she became aware of his preparations to leave Carthage.⁸⁵

Lipsius, however, did not yield to their protests, but firmly repeated that his decision was made in a brief official letter to the University Board and the Burgomasters from Leiden, and somewhat more extensively in letters to his friends, encouraging them to continue their friendship through correspondence.⁸⁶ Pending a final decision by the States of Holland, the authorities in Leiden allowed Lipsius's wife, Anna vanden Calstere, to join her husband provided that both should return to Leiden once he had sufficiently regained his strength.⁸⁷ One week later the States finally reconciled itself to the facts and granted Lipsius an honourable discharge from his office. It soon became clear that Leiden University would keep thriving, even when Lipsius was no longer there. Moreover, the fact that the great Josephus Justus Scaliger seemed willing to come to Leiden and fill the vacancy soon made them overcome their frustration and grief about Lipsius's departure.⁸⁸ Only in 1604, after Lipsius had published his *Diva Virgo Hallensis*, the discussions about his inconstancy in matters of faith flared up again.

LIÈGE AS A TEMPORARY HOME BASE

Around the same time that Lipsius informed his colleagues in Leiden of his plans, he also announced his return to friends and men of influence in the South. He especially wrote to his contacts in the States of Brabant, in the hope that they would speak up for him and facilitate his reconciliation with the authorities in the Spanish Netherlands. Despite his long sojourn in the North, he had always been a good Catholic and a faithful subject of King Philip II; he was longing to return to his home country, to lecture in Leuven, and enjoy the pro-

⁸⁵ Cf. Vergil, *Aeneis* 4, 305–330.

⁸⁶ Cf. *ILE* [4,] 91 07 12 to the Board and a number of letters written to Janus Dousa father and son, Jan Van Hout and Franciscus Raphelengius the Younger the day before. In his answer to Dousa the Elder, *ILE* [4,] 91 07 11 D¹, Lipsius asserted that his departure had not been influenced by Coornhert.

⁸⁷ Cf. *ILE* [4,] 91 08 24.

⁸⁸ Around the middle of September Franciscus Raphelengius Sr informed Lipsius about the upcoming negotiations; his letter is not preserved, but Lipsius immediately congratulated his colleagues with their choice, yet not without expressing some doubts as well. Despite Lipsius's misgivings Scaliger arrived in Leiden on 26 August 1593 and stay there until his death on 21 January 1609.

ceeds from his estates. As had been the case in the letters to his friends in Leiden, he time and again stressed the courtesy and benevolence he had always met in the North, and that his decision was due entirely to personal reasons, but now usually with a more explicit reference to his conscience or his faith.

In the course of June 1591 Lipsius also carried on a busy correspondence with a number of acquaintances in Liège, Jesuits—especially his fellow students Johannes Oranus and Martinus Antonius Delrio—or an increasing number of humanists, Dominicus Lampsonius, Johannes Oranus's brother Petrus, and Jacques de Carondelet, all of them intimi of Ernest of Bavaria, the Prince Bishop of Liège.⁸⁹ These close contacts induced him to find accommodation in Liège from July onwards, to study quietly until his patrons in Brabant had reached an agreement about a safe return and possibly also about a chair at Leuven University. One of the first requisites for reconciliation with the authorities in the South, which would also allow him to take possession of his estates again, was taken care of by the Jesuits of Liège. On 9 July Rector Johannes a Campis wrote him a certificate of orthodoxy: Lipsius had, indeed, lectured at Leiden University for some years and had published a number of books in the city, but he had never become involved in military matters or politics. He had always been a loyal Catholic without ever attending dissident worship or propagating Catholic ideas and his only fault consisted of having lived amidst rebels and heretics. A previous attempt to break away had failed, but now, using a visit to the Frankfurt book fair and his poor health as a pretext, he had left the North. After a long journey full of hazards he had reconciled with the Church of Rome again and confessed his sins, as a number of Jesuits in Mainz, Cologne, Trier, and finally also in Liège were willing to testify. Hence Lipsius deserved to be accepted in their midst with due respect and benevolence, in particular since he could still make himself useful for the true faith.⁹⁰ His aforementioned confrater, Johannes Oranus, defended the humanist along similar lines in a letter dated 7 July to a prominent politician of the South (probably Charles Philip of Croÿ, Marquis of Havré and president of the Council

⁸⁹ On Ernest of Bavaria and his role as protector of Roman Catholicism in north-western Germany, cf. *Neue deutsche Biographie* (Berlin 1953-) 4, 614–615; J. De Landsheer, 'Laevinus Torrentius, vicaris van het bisdom Luik, en de pauselijke nuntiatuur', in *Trajecta* 4 (1995), 300–315.

⁹⁰ The document is published in appendix to *ILE* [4,] 91 05 07 C.

of Finance).⁹¹ Delrio advised Lipsius to check his works carefully and correct, remove, or elucidate passages that might raise questions in Catholic circles. He probably proposed to assist him with this task, since the scholar thanked him for sending a list of remarks.⁹² Soon after his arrival Lipsius joined the Confraternity of the Holy Virgin;⁹³ the oration he held for its members in the middle of September stirred commotion in the North,⁹⁴ where the rumour was circulated that he had referred to his former homeland with scorn and scathing criticism.⁹⁵

Lipsius truly enjoyed the tranquillity of Liège and eagerly kept up a lively correspondence with friends and acquaintances in both the North and the South. Yet when his return to Brabant seemed to be at a standstill in the spring of 1592, he contacted Nicolaas Oudaert, the vicar of the archbishopric of Mechelen, pointing out that in the meantime he had received honourable invitations from abroad, which he had temporarily declined since he preferred to live in his home-country, a none too subtle hint that it was about time to make headway. Delrio urged Leonardus Lessius, a brother at the Leuven College, to discuss Lipsius's interests with Henricus Cuyckius, vice-chancellor of Leuven University.⁹⁶ In the course of June Oudaert, with the support of other patrons of Lipsius, addressed an urgent appeal to the States of Brabant. It was finally agreed that the scholar should be given a chair at the University of Leuven.⁹⁷

⁹¹ Cf. *ILE* [4,] 91 07 07, appendix.

⁹² Cf. *ILE* [4,] 91 07 07.

⁹³ Wherever the Jesuits established a college they organised a confraternity of St Mary, consisting of a group of lay people, usually from the higher bourgeoisie and the secular clergy, whose duty was to encourage personal devotion by praying and frequent use of sacraments. The members were also expected to perform pious works, propagate the faith among the commoners, and correct apostates. See, for instance for Antwerp, A.K.L. Thijs, 'De Contrareformatie en het economisch transformatieproces te Antwerpen na 1585', in *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 70 (1987), 97–124 (esp. 107–108).

⁹⁴ Cf. *ILE* [4,] [ca. 91 08 30]; 91 09 [27].

⁹⁵ Cf. *ILE* [4,] 91 11 18; 5, 92 02 01; 92 09 00. Despite suggestions to publish his text, Lipsius never did so. Three years later the question was still being raised, cf. *ILE* 7, 94 03 15, 28–33. Nevertheless, I do not believe that Lipsius lashed out at the North, since he always stressed the good contacts he had with its inhabitants.

⁹⁶ Cf. a short letter from Delrio to Lessius written only a few weeks before Lipsius's farewell from Liège in J. Machielsen and J. De Landtsheer, 'Recommending Justus Lipsius: A letter from Martinus Antonius Delrio to Leonardus Lessius', in *Lias* 34 (2007), 272–282.

⁹⁷ Cf. *ILE* 5, 92 06 23 O; apparently Oudaert added a copy of his petition, but it is not preserved.

RETURN TO LEUVEN⁹⁸

Lipsius returned to Leuven on 9 August 1592. Except for a few short journeys to Spa and Tournai and an occasional visit to Brussels or Antwerp, he would never leave the city again. In a short letter Melchior Moretus informed Abraham Ortelius about the warm welcome that awaited the scholar upon his arrival, also adding that Lipsius, after reading the appropriate formula, had been accepted as a member of the Sodality of the Holy Virgin of the Leuven Jesuits immediately after the Feast of the Assumption (15 August).⁹⁹ On 12 September he was appointed to the chair of Ancient History, and on 24 November he also became Professor of Latin. Just before his friend left Liège, Delrio had pointed out the necessity of contacting Cuyckius once again to urge him to have the theologians, who had a copy of the index of forbidden books published by Plantin, inspect his library in case it contained some unsuitable books.¹⁰⁰ Delrio was obviously right with his caution, for numerous small details in the letters of Lipsius's first years in Leuven suggest, indeed, that a number of his correspondents could not understand how he had been able to live for such a long period among heretics and were even convinced that he must have been corrupted in one way or another. Apparently, Lipsius was often regarded with a certain mistrust and had to make sure that he kept strictly to what was expected of a pious Catholic. By way of *captatio benevolentiae*, he postponed his plans to publish a large selection of ancient historiographers with annotations, the *Fax historica*, and focused instead on a treatise about crucifixion as a punishment in Antiquity. The subject was adroitly chosen, for as its title, *De Cruce libri tres*, was easily associated with the symbol of Christian salvation, it was generally assumed that Lipsius had written a pious treatise on the passion of the Lord as evidence of his devotion to the true Faith. In fact, he had no theological pretensions whatsoever and steered safely

⁹⁸ On Lipsius in Leuven, see more extensively *Lieveling van de Latijnse taal*, 138–200. The letters from this period will be published as *ILE* 5, 92 08 13 G—[19,] 06 04 18.

⁹⁹ Cf. J.H. Hessels, *Abraham Ortelii et virorum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colium Ortelianum epistulae*, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum* 1 (Cambridge 1887 [= Osnabrück, 1969; Torhout 1988]), *Ep.* 219.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *ILE* 5, [92] 07/08 00, 22–25: 'Necesse erit cum Lovanium veneris, D[omi]-num Vicarium adeas et postules visitent bibliothecam, numquid in ea quod corrigendum. Habent enim quendam Indicem, olim a Plantino excusum, ad quem libros nonnullos recensent.'

and prudently away from any controversial issue among theologians, as he time and again strongly asserted in his covering letters. He solely intended his treatise to be a continuation of the series of antiquarian works he had written from the 1580s onwards, hence its subtitle *Ad sacram profanamque historiam utiles* (Useful for history both sacred and wordly). Obviously, the manuscript was ready for the press by November 1592, since the dedicatory letter is dated 4 November 1592, whereas Cuyckius, as book censor of Leuven, dated his *approbatio* 20 November. Undoubtedly Moretus would have had the book available at the Frankfurt spring book fair had Lipsius not kept equivocating (one of the excuses was that he wanted illustrations being added). Probably the continuous suspicion and criticism he had to cope with made him apprehensive of publishing on a theme that might easily become the subject of controversy.¹⁰¹ It was the first treatise he published after his return to the Southern Low Countries and it was appropriately dedicated to the members of the States of Brabant as a token of thanks for their willingness to accept him and grant him a position at the University.¹⁰²

Without a doubt, his caution was reinforced when shortly after New Year 1593 friends in Rome warned him that his *Politica* risked being placed on the new index of forbidden books.¹⁰³ Lipsius wrote a frantic reaction to his Jesuit friend in Rome, Francesco Benci:¹⁰⁴

Cogitare per te potes grave id nobis esse, qui tot improborum et acres inimicitias suscepimus ut bonis nos redderemus, a quibus non nisi corpore fuimus avulsi. Haec praemia mihi apud ipsos bonos? Atquin impia in iis libris, et damnanda. Si palam talia, non recuso; et si tamen sunt, testor

¹⁰¹ In the course of 1593 some correspondents, whom he had consulted about his treatise, sent him further information: quotations, philological details, or information about the practice itself, material that was partly incorporated in a quire of *Notae*. De *Cruce* was available by the end of January 1594, cf. its first covering letters *ILE* 7, 94 01 30 L to Johannes Livineius and 94 01 30 T to Laevinus Torrentius.

¹⁰² Antwerp: Widow Plantin and J. Moretus, 1593–1594. See my analysis in ‘Justus Lipsius’s *De Cruce* and the Reception of the Fathers’, *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 2 (2000), 97–122.

¹⁰³ This matter is extensively discussed in Waszink, *Justus Lipsius. Politica*, 173–190, who also compared the 1589 and the 1596 version. On the index proposed by Pope Sixtus V, which was to be revised in the coming years before it was finally published in 1596, the *Politica* had been marked *donec corrigatur*, hence not all hope was lost. Cf. F.H. Reusch, *Der Index der Verbotenen Bücher. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Literaturgeschichte*, 2 vols (Bonn, 1883–1885), 501–538.

¹⁰⁴ On Francesco Benci, cf. De Landtsheer, Sacré, and Coppens, *Justus Lipsius (1547–1606). Een geleerde en zijn Europese netwerk*, 471–478.

supremum numen inscio atque invito me esse. Hoc fateor, esse quaedam sive pro temporibus, sive pro locis scripta in quibus fuimus, minus liquide ac clare. Parati ergo sumus (imo hoc iam agimus) deputare, diducere et in oculis auribusque omnium defigere nos esse qui sumus, id est Catholicos et supremo Ecclesiae capiti, Romano Pontifici, adhaerentes. [...] Ad summam, peto ut, qua potes, me iuves, et aut impendas, aut differas ne quid in famam meam tam insigniter committatur. Si tamen fiet, feram conscientiae meae securus et firmus nihilo minus in veritate et via, quam institi et quam in animo semper agnovi. Nulla res me labefaciet per Dei quidem opem, quam imploro et ut tu pro me, mi frater, rogo. Deus bone, quam undique quatuor valetudine, calumniis, infamia!

You can make out for yourself how hard this is for me, I who have endured all that bitter enmity of malevolent men, to return to the true Catholics, from whom I was but physically separated. Is this the reward awaiting me with these honourable men? 'But these books contain godless and outrageous thoughts.' If that is overtly the case, I will not protest, and even if it is true, I swear by God almighty that it was written unconsciously and unwillingly. I admit that some parts are less neatly and clearly written because of the circumstances or the place I was living. Hence I am willing—and in fact, I am already doing it—to reconsider, to adjust, and to make it obvious to everyone's ears and eyes that I am who I am, that is a Catholic and a faithful follower of the supreme authority of the Church, the Pope of Rome. [...] In short, I beg you to help me in whatever way you can; that you either prevent or delay my reputation being so seriously besmirched. Yet should it happen, I will endure it with a good conscience and nonetheless follow with constancy the path and the truth I have chosen and which I have also accepted in my heart. Nothing will make me falter, at least with God's help, which I implore and I beg you, my brother, to pray for on my account as well. Good heavens, how much I am afflicted from all sides: by health, by calumnies, by ignominy!

Benci called upon the support of two other influential colleagues in Rome, the Church historian Cesare Baronio, Rector of the Oratorians, and another Jesuit, Robert Bellarmine, Rector of the *Collegium Romanum*, who were both closely involved in the revision of the index proposed by Sixtus V.¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile, Lipsius had already set out to alter parts of his *Politica* with the help and advice of the aforementioned Leuven theologian Henricus Cuyckius, who on his turn contacted Bellarmine. By the end of May the reworked manuscript was

¹⁰⁵ Both wrote encouraging letters to revise his *Politica*; apparently, Bellarmine sent a number of remarks as well. Cf. Lipsius's grateful letters *ILE* 6, 93 05 30 BAR, BEL and BEN.

sent to Rome.¹⁰⁶ Two months later his patrons returned it with letters of approval, although Benci still added a list of trivial remarks and suggestions for changes.¹⁰⁷ Cuyckius, who was book censor of Leuven University, dated his official *approbatio* on 20 September 1593, yet Lipsius shelved his manuscript for two more years.¹⁰⁸

Finally, Lipsius's return to the Southern Netherlands had its consequences for his correspondence as well, in particular for that with friends and colleagues in the North. As long as he was still living in the neutral principality of Liège not much was altered in his contacts, although there seem to have been no more letters exchanged between him and Leeuwius, who had been among the regular correspondents; nor is there any trace of any further contact with Philip van Marnix, Lord of St Aldegonde. Once Lipsius had established himself in Leuven, however, his correspondence underwent substantial changes.¹⁰⁹ Although the *Officina Plantiniana*, with its sister-houses Antwerp and Leiden, and the semi-annual bookfair in Frankfurt made informal contacts easy, the doubt and suspicion Lipsius was confronted with led him to cut off his correspondence with those friends who had been dearest to him, but who also had responsible tasks: Janus Dousa, curator and one of the founding fathers of Leiden University,¹¹⁰ Jan van Hout, secretary of the city of Leiden and of its University Board, Cornelis Aerssens, secretary to the States General in The Hague, and Theodorus Canterus, one of the leading citizens of Utrecht. This was much to his regret, for in one of the rare letters sent to his Leiden friends from that period, he complained:

In eo ipso discessu si quid triste, fuit avelli a vobis, Hauteno et paucis, quos serio habui amicos. Sed numen ita voluit καί τις θεός ἡγεμόνευε, ut ait vates. Raro ad amicos aut non scribo; quis miretur aut culpet? Res et aevum vetant.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *ILE* 6, 93 05 13.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. especially *ILE* 6, 93 07 31 BAR and BEN. Some years after Lipsius's death the orthodoxy of the *Politica* would on two more occasions be questioned in Rome, but twice Bellarmine successfully defended the work. The reports have been published as appendix 1 in Waszink, *Justus Lipsius. Politica*, 711–720.

¹⁰⁸ The only extant covering letter, to lawyer Martin Roeland, is dated 12 February 1596 (*ILE* [9], 96 02 12).

¹⁰⁹ Of course, once the news of his return to Leuven was spread in humanist circles, his correspondence with acquaintances in Italy and Spain, which had been interrupted during his stay in Leiden, was gradually reestablished and in the course of the years he acquired many new contacts, especially among Spanish scholars.

¹¹⁰ Shortly after Lipsius left Leiden he had also been appointed member of the Hoge Raad (an Assize Court).

If there was anything sad in my departure from Leiden, it was to be torn away from you, Van Hout and a few others, whom I counted among my true friends. But it was the will of God, *et Dieu m'accompagne*, as the poet says. That I write seldom or not at all to my friends, who will wonder or reprove me? For neither events nor time are allowing me to do so.¹¹¹

Half a year later a brief sojourn with Johannes Moretus in Antwerp offered him the occasion to apologize to Theodorus Canterus:

Aderat mihi communis hic amicus, nec potui quin per eum testimonium aliquod ad te mitterem prisci affectus. Etsi, quid opus? Si bene me nosti, mi Cantere, sum qui fui, nec mutor aut mutari possum in eos, ad quos iudicium et vera ratio me traxit. Amo te et quae in te sunt recta et proba, nec tempora haec absterrent, duntaxat a scribendo. Dare nos in suspiciones aut discrimina non debemus. Tu tamen tuto potes et semper id mihi gratum.

A mutual friend was here, and through him I simply had to send you some testimony of our friendship in the good old days. Though, what need was there? If you know me well, my dear Canterus, I am the one I was; I did not change and nor could be changed in my opinion of people to whom conviction and true reason are attracting me. I sincerely appreciate you and everything that is right and honest in you; the times will not hinder that, even if they keep me from writing. You, however, can safely do so and it will always be welcome to me.¹¹²

The correspondence with Raphelengius the Elder, official printer of Leiden University, had also reached a standstill. On 27 April 1594, when announcing the death of his wife Margareta Plantin to Abraham Ortelius, a deeply distressed Raphelengius complained that Lipsius had written him barely a few lines since leaving Liège for Leuven and, he continued,

Saepius compellarem eum litteris, sed scio rem esse suspectam et gravem, illi praesertim qui se totum adduxit Jesuitis qui eius confessionem audiunt. Si scriberem ei de obitu carissimae meae uxoris, gratum esset, scio, sed equidem vix possum ducere calamum sine lacrymis.

I would write to him more often, but I realise that this would be suspect and serious, especially for someone who has brought himself head over heels into the camp of the Jesuits, who have heard his confession. If I informed him about the death of my dearest wife, he should welcome

¹¹¹ ILE 6, 93 06 14 DO to Janus Dousa the Younger, with a quotation of Hom. *Od.* 9, 142 (see also Erasmus, *Adagia*, 2, 2, 38).

¹¹² ILE 6, 93 10 04.

it, that I know, but I can hardly even hold my quill without being in tears.¹¹³

The letter of consolation Lipsius sent to his son and namesake some three years later, after his father's death, shows clearly that the Leuven professor was still hankering for his friends from the good old Leiden times:

O ambulationes, o sermones, o conviviola etiam crebra! Fuistis, et reperi-
tere ea negatum, quod frustra spes et desiderium promittebant. [...] Pessimae turbae et dissidia, quae disiungitis et in exiguis provinciarum finibus claustra et limites ponitis, non temere transiliendos!

O all those walks and conversations and countless parties! All over now; resuming them was not allowed, and they were vainly promised by our hope and longing. [...] O cursed commotions and discord, what did you not tear asunder, what barriers and boundaries, not to be crossed heedlessly, did you not set up within the restricted borders of those provinces!¹¹⁴

With regard to the Dousa family, Lipsius broke his silence on the sad occasion of the untimely death of Janus Junior on 26 December 1596, although it took him half a year to do so. After reproving Dousa for not having informed him about his son's illness he suggests that they might even resume their correspondence:

Amor hanc culpam facit; idem diluat, sed tuus, et pro utroque iam scribe. Habes exemplum. Reges sua sibi habeant, de nostris scriptio esto, et in primis de filio, ecquid dixerit, scripserit, reliquerit quod memoriae eius faciat et solatio nostro.

It is love that is at fault, let it now redeem, but your love and so write for both of you. You have an example. Kings may keep their concerns to themselves, but let us write about ours, and first of all about your son: what he said or wrote or left that might be a reminder and a consolation.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Cf. Hessels, *Abraham Ortelii...epistulae*, Ep. 244. Next Raphelengius quoted *ILE* 6, 93 06 14, a letter of a few lines only and commented: Hoc unum monumentum accepi et servo atque subinde exosculor. Scripsi ad eum de Scaligero polixas litteras, sed nihil respondit (This is the only token that I have received, and I preserve it and even kiss it from time to time. I have written an elaborate letter on Scaliger to him, but he did not reply). The letter about Scaliger's arrival in Leiden and Raphelengius's first impressions of him is *ILE* 6, 93 08 31.

¹¹⁴ *ILE* [10,] 97 09 01 R.

¹¹⁵ *ILE* [10,] 97 06 26 DO.

As Dousa, who was riven by sorrow after his son's decease, did not react, Lipsius made a new attempt about a month later: 'Rupi nuper repagula et scribere coepi; perseverabo si tu voles. Quaeso te, simus qui esse debemus litterarum morumque veterum, sed et fidei ac probitatis' (Quite recently I unbolted the door and took up writing you again; I will carry on if you wish. I beg you, let us be the ones we should be, partners in the literature and customs of Antiquity, but also examples of loyalty and honesty).¹¹⁶ But once again Dousa did not answer.

CONCLUSIONS

Lipsius's correspondence makes it clear that his sojourn at Jena University was purely accidental: he had fled his native country seeking for peace and quiet. Frustrated in his hopes for a position at the Imperial court that would allow him to devote himself to his studies, his need for an income made him apply for a chair at Jena University without too much concern about the conditions it implied, that is that the candidate was expected to be a Lutheran and submit an attestation proving that he had obtained the degree of *Magister artium*. His being acquainted with the Rector, Tilemann Heshuss, probably guaranteed that no further questions were asked about his religious persuasion. There are no indications that he did (or did not) partake in Lutheran worship, but on two occasions he definitely expressed Lutheran or anti-Catholic ideas in two public orations. In a third, he vented his abhorrence of the cruelty and the violence inflicted upon the Netherlands by the Spanish Duke Alva. Lipsius was, however, well aware that such texts would render his return to Catholic areas or regions under Spanish rule more difficult, not to say impossible, and since it was not his intention to spend the rest of his days in Jena, he refused to make these orations available in print. When they were sent to the press without his knowledge several years later, after his return to Leuven, he categorically denied authorship and insisted on having the copies confiscated throughout Germany.

Obviously, his Jena experience made him more cautious during his thirteen-year stay in Leiden. Once again he had chosen to settle in this town because he wanted to avoid the continuous religious and

¹¹⁶ *ILE* [10,] 97 08 07 D.

political turmoil in his native country. The tolerant city offered him the serene atmosphere he was looking for. He eagerly accepted the challenge of teaching and using his administrative skills to improve the still very young University, was grateful for the opportunity to study and publish, and enjoyed the warm friendship of some of its prominent citizens. Yet from the very beginning he made it clear to friends in both the Northern and the Southern Netherlands that his stay in Leiden was only temporary and that he intended to return to his homeland and enjoy his estates in Brabant. The correspondence from these years, which is gradually better preserved, clearly proves that Lipsius took his task to heart, but refused to be involved in political or religious matters. There is no trace whatsoever that Lipsius ever renounced the Catholic creed and converted to Calvinism; it is also seriously doubtful whether he was indeed involved in the House of Love, as is often suggested.

A close examination of the letters also reveals his increasing apprehensiveness concerning the growing tensions between religious factions within the Northern Provinces. The murder of William of Orange (1584) and the Fall of Antwerp (1585) became a turning point: he did not believe in the new political regime's placing of power in the hands of the States General and the Provinces, nor did he approve of the close co-operation with the English queen. The appointment of Leicester, who was a very strict Protestant, together with the arrival of hundreds of thousands of Protestant refugees from the South marked the end of the highly praised tolerance. A first attempt to return in the autumn of 1586 was thwarted only by a military expedition in the neighbourhood of Oldenburg. Already on that occasion his friends and colleagues had become suspicious of what was theoretically a journey to restore his health. Hence they should have been forewarned when the scenario was repeated some four years later, after Lipsius had consciously completed two extra years of rectorship. He had no qualms about pledging his return in a few months' time, once he had recovered his health, because it was the only way to get the permission to leave. During the two months he sojourned through Germany he was extremely careful about what he wrote in his letters, in order not to give away his true intentions. Only a very few people—and then only the ones needed to make his departure succeed—were informed of his whereabouts or future plans, and they were always urgently requested to maintain strict secrecy until he was certain of his welcome in the South and had informed the Board and his colleagues in Leiden.

In his letters concerning his request for discharge he keeps emphasizing that he has done his utmost for Leiden University and its students, that he has always been treated in a very friendly, courteous and benevolent way, but that for considerations of health he is no longer able to deal with the exigencies of academic life. In their reactions, both official and private, Lipsius's former colleagues were mostly offended because he had deceived them and not kept his promise. They also expressed their sincere concern that his absence might cause the downfall of the institution; they acknowledged his merits and were willing to release him from his teaching. Religion is never mentioned, at least not in the correspondence with Lipsius. It was only some months later, when discussing his departure with other correspondents, that occasionally the Jesuits were blamed for having wiled him away. In his letters to friends and acquaintances in Liège or in the South, Lipsius is more open about his reasons for leaving the North, never missing an occasion to stress his orthodoxy or his loyalty towards King Philip. But here, too, he keeps emphasizing that he really enjoyed the years spent in Holland.

In the South, Lipsius could count on friends and acquaintances, secular priests or members of religious orders, who were quite willing to stress their conviction that he never foreswore the faith of his ancestors and to support him in his wish to obtain a chair at Leuven University. Nevertheless, he surely underestimated the fact that others were not so ready to accept him and kept regarding him with suspicion. Hence the occasional complaint about slander and backbiting, the delay in the publication of his *De cruce* or the reworked version of the *Politica*, and the hesitation (for almost ten years!) to have his letters re-issued or compose new *Centuriae* of letters.¹¹⁷ The most serious consequences, however, of his return to the Spanish Netherlands can be seen in the correspondence itself. Once Lipsius had returned to Leuven, his acquaintances in Spain and Italy soon resumed their epistolary contacts, encouraging others to do so as well. Conversely, regular contacts with the Leiden trio Van Hout, Dousa the Elder and Raphelengius the Elder, with Canterus in Utrecht or Leeuwius and Aerssens in The Hague became very restricted or even ceased to exist at all. This occurred certainly not out of indifference, but it is a testimony of the sad impact of irreconcilable political and religious rifts on every person's life.

¹¹⁷ The first re-issue of the existing two *Centuriae*, to which a third *Centuria* of new letters was added, came from the press in 1601.