



Justus Lipsius and His Silver Pen

Author(s): Marisa Bass

Source: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 70 (2007), pp. 157-194

Published by: [Warburg Institute](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20462762>

Accessed: 14-11-2015 19:59 UTC

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Warburg Institute is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

JUSTUS LIPSIUS AND HIS SILVER PEN*

Marisa Bass

The Basilica of Our Lady in Halle has long ranked among the most popular pilgrimage destinations in the Southern Netherlands. For most of the basilica's history, the locus of this popularity was a small side chapel north of the choir, where Our Lady of Halle, a miraculous statue of the enthroned Virgin nursing the infant Christ, resided in majesty. In Lucas Vorsterman the Younger's 1658 etching of the chapel's interior, the image stands crowned and robed above the altar in the background (Fig. 1).¹ Groups of visitors kneel in prayer before her, asking for divine intercession or offering their thanks for grace received. What seems to attract the attention of several other visitors, however, is not the statue itself but rather the chapel's impressive display of votive gifts which testify to the Virgin's miracles: paintings, costly portrait effigies, military standards captured on the battlefield, oil lamps, and wax or silver legs, eyes and ears.² Meanwhile on the facing wall, just beyond a booth where worshippers are purchasing candles, two men stand contemplating an inscribed plaque and a portrait relief, to which one of them points with his index finger (Fig. 2).³

* In the writing of this article, I am deeply indebted to my advisor, Hugo van der Velden, whose penetrating criticism has been invaluable throughout. I must also thank Zeger Desmet and the other members of the De Halse Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring, who imparted their knowledge of the history of the church. I am also very grateful to Jeanine de Landtsheer, who shared her immense expertise on the subject of Lipsius's treatises on Marian cults and her suggestions for my Latin translations. She has generously provided me with the details of several still unpublished letters that she is currently editing for forthcoming volumes in the complete edition of Lipsius's correspondence (listed below as *ILE*). Finally, I would like to thank Frank Fehrenbach, Jeffrey Hamburger, and the referees and Editors of this *Journal*, particularly Elizabeth McGrath and Jill Kraye, for all their helpful comments.

The following abbreviations are used:

Arch. plant. = Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Officina Plantiniana Archives.

BB = *Bibliotheca Belgica: Bibliographie Générale des Pays-Bas*, ed. F. van der Haeghen and M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols, Brussels 1964–75.

Corpus Rubenianum = Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, London and New York 1968–.

ILE = *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae*, Brussels 1978–. At the time this article was written, all letters written prior to 1602 had been published. Volume numbers for letters which

have yet to be published are given in square brackets.

JLPH = *Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) en het Plantijnse Huis* (exhib. cat., Museum Plantin-Moretus 1997–98), Antwerp 1997.

LL = *Lipsius en Leuven*, ed. G. Tournoy, J. Papy and J. de Landtsheer (exhib. cat., Centrale Bibliotheek 1997), Leuven 1997.

WJL = *The World of Justus Lipsius: A Contribution Towards his Intellectual Biography*, ed. M. Laureys et al., Brussels 1998.

1. *The High Altar of the Church of Our Lady of Halle*, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Prentenkabinet. See *Alexander Voet I to Anthonie de Vos*, ed. D. de Hoop Scheffer (Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts c. 1450–1700, XLII), Roosendaal 1993, pp. 110–11.

2. See H. van der Velden, *The Donor's Image: Gerard Loyet and the Votive Portraits of Charles the Bold*, Turnhout 2000, pp. 166–78, for discussion of specific votive gifts to Our Lady of Halle, with reference to Vorsterman's engraving. In 1453, Philip the Good, having crushed a revolt in Ghent, seized the banners of the city's guilds and presented half of them to Our Lady of Halle, the other half to Notre-Dame de Boulogne. *Ibid.*, pp. 161–62.

3. The text depicted on the plaque in Vorsterman's etching reads: 'Penna / Justi Lipsi / Hallensi / Virgini / Dicata'.



1. Lucas Vorsterman the Younger, *The High Altar of the Church of Our Lady of Halle*, engraving, 1658. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Prentenkabinet

Today's visitor to Halle can still enter the chapel of Our Lady, which is situated on the north side of the church, adjacent to the basilica's lower choir (Fig. 3).⁴ Yet the miraculous image and her once numerous votive gifts, which populated the intimate chapel from the thirteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, are now conspicuously absent.⁵ Our Lady of Halle instead commands a central position on the church's main altar, where

she towers over the choir on a high pedestal. Almost all of the votive offerings displayed in Vorsterman's etching have long since been destroyed. The plaque and portrait relief which intrigued Vorsterman's two spectators, however, still survive, displayed on a wall outside the entrance to the denuded chapel (Fig. 4).

The upper monument is a small bronze plaque surrounded by a frame adorned with six rosettes. The inscription on the plaque is divided into three segments of text, of which the central segment is a poem written in iambic trimetres. The text on the plaque reads:

In / pennam argenteam / D[ivae] Virgini Hallensi / consecratam

Hanc, Diva, Pennam, interpretem mentis meae,
Per alta spatia quae volavit aetheris,
Per ima quae volavit & terrae, & maris:
Scientiae, Prudentiae, Sapientiae,
Operata semper, ausa quae Constantiam
Describere et vulgare; quae Civilia,
Quae Militaria, atque Poliorcetica;⁶
Quae, Roma, Magnitudinem adstruxit tuam;
Variaque luce scripta prisci saeculi
Affecit et perfudit: hanc Pennam tibi
Nunc, Diva, merito consecravi Lipsius.
Nam numine isthaec incohata sunt tuo,
Et numine isthaec absoluta sunt tuo.
Porro o benignitatis aura perpetim
Haec spiret! & famae fugacis in vicem,
Quam Penna peperit, tu perenne gaudium
Vitamque, Diva, Lipsio pares tuo.

Vovit, panxit, posuit / Iustus Lipsius / anno M. DC. II.

(On the Silver Pen consecrated to the Blessed Virgin of Halle

This pen, Blessed Lady, the interpreter of my mind,
Which has soared through the heights of the air,
Which has soared through depths of land and sea,
Which has always laboured for Knowledge, Prudence, and Wisdom,
Which has ventured to define and promote Constancy,
Which has written about civic affairs,
About military matters and the besieging of cities,

4. Construction of the basilica, formerly known as St Martin's Church, began around 1341; the building was consecrated by Pierre d'Ailly, Archbishop of Cambrai, on 24 Feb. 1409. R. Decoster, *Sint-Martinusbasiliek, Halle*, Regensburg 2001; A. Houssiau, *Notre Dame de Hal*, Halle 1971, pp. 1–5; *Halle 700 jaar Mariastad*, Halle 1967; J. Possoz, 'L'Église St. Martin de Hal, ses transformations au cours des siècles, son mobilier, son cimetière', *Gedenkschriften Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Halle*, x, 1934–35, pp. 145–240 (145–55); L. Everaert and J. Bouchery, *Histoire de la ville de Hal*, Leuven 1879, pp. 13–15; A. Louis,

L'Église Notre-Dame de Hal (Saint-Martin), Brussels 1936, pp. 8–11.

5. The statue resided in the chapel until 1866 and was only removed during the celebration of Pentecost and for occasional dedication ceremonies. Possoz (as in n. 4), pp. 204–05.

6. Lines 5–8 of the poem refer to five of Lipsius's works: *De constantia* (1584), *Politicorum sive Civilis doctrinae libri sex* (1589), *De militia Romana* (1595), *Poliorceticon sive de machinis, tormentis, telis* (1596), and *Admiranda sive de magnitudine Romana* (1598).

Which has increased your greatness, Rome,
 And has both brought to light and shed light on various writings
 Of ancient times – this pen, Blessed Lady,
 I, Lipsius, have now duly consecrated to you;
 For under your heavenly guidance these works were begun,
 And with your heavenly support they were completed.
 May your benevolent spirit forever infuse them.
 And in place of the fleeting fame
 Which this pen has earned, may you, Blessed Lady,
 Bring everlasting joy and life to your [devoted] Lipsius.

Vowed, fastened and erected by Justus Lipsius in the year 1602.⁷⁾

The author of this carefully crafted inscription is the great Netherlandish humanist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606). Although it no longer survives today, ‘this ... pen’, to which the opening line of the poem so emphatically refers, was once part of the monument. As Vorsterman’s engraving demonstrates, the small, silver object was once suspended from a thin chain above the upper plaque (Fig. 2).

The marble relief below Lipsius’s bronze plaque also pays tribute to the scholar and his pen. This sculpture, by an anonymous artist, is just under two feet wide and features a small portrait bust of Lipsius surrounded by a schematic representation of doors adorned with animal-head doorknockers. The inscription below identifies the statesman Johannes Woverius (1576–1636) as its commissioner.

Iusti Lipsii / pietati, perenni pennae dedicatione
 caelo inscriptae / sapientiae, ob eruditionis
 gloriam saeculis testatissimae / Ioannes vanden
 Wouwer eques, d[omi]nus Quenastae regi Ca-
 tholi [recte: Catholico] belli et supremi aerarii
 Belgici a consiliis p[onendum] c[uravit].⁸

(To Justus Lipsius’s / piety, and his everlasting wisdom, ascribed to heaven by the dedication of his pen, / because of the glory of his learning, so strongly testified for the ages. / Johannes vanden Wouwer, knight, lord of Quenast, Councillor of War to the Ca/tholic king and Fiscal Councillor of the Southern Netherlands, had this monument erected.)

Woverius was one of Lipsius’s former students and a close friend of the scholar later in life.⁹ Although the inscription does



2. Detail of Fig. 1

7. A previous English translation of this poem may be found in Justus Lipsius, *A Brief Outline of the History of Libraries*, tr. and intr. J. C. Dana, Chicago 1907, pp. 19–20.

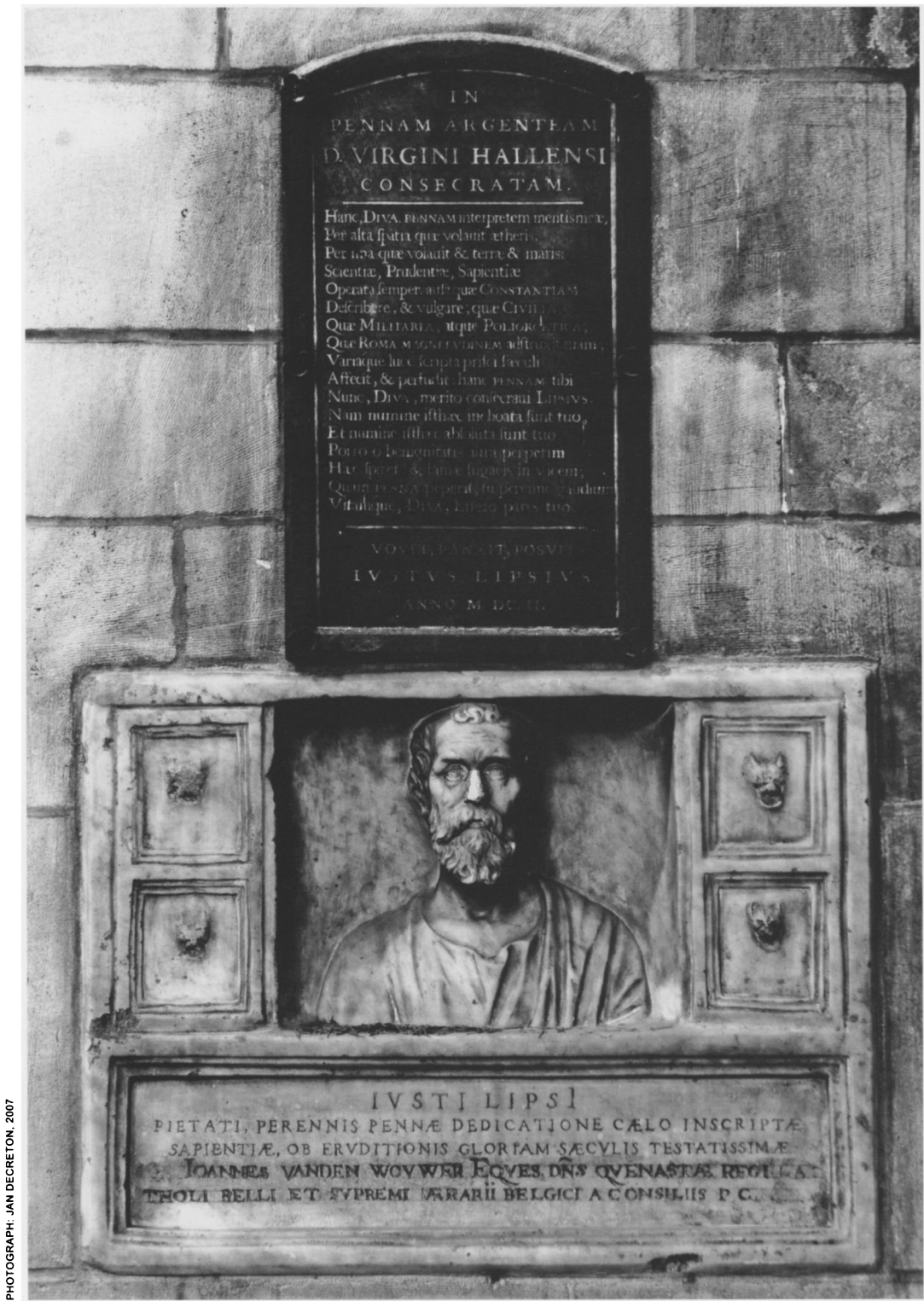
8. *BB*, v, p. 872.

9. Woverius was part of Lipsius’s *contubernium* or circle of students, from sometime in 1594 until the summer of 1595, and again from Easter 1598 until the



© IRPA-KIK, BRUSSELS

3. Chapel of Our Lady in the Basilica of Our Lady, Halle



PHOTOGRAPH: JAN DECRETON, 2007

4. Plaque and portrait relief of Justus Lipsius in the Basilica of Our Lady, Halle

not include a date, his monument was almost certainly erected after Lipsius's death in 1606. Unlike the bronze plaque on the wall above it, the relief serves primarily to honour Lipsius himself; Woverius makes no explicit address to Our Lady of Halle.

Discrepancies between Vorsterman's depiction of the two monuments and their present appearances suggest that they have undergone alterations. Vorsterman not only portrays a far more elaborate frame around the upper plaque but also places both monuments *within* the chapel of Our Lady. A photograph in a 1908 souvenir book confirms that a stone arch formerly framed the upper plaque (Fig. 5).¹⁰ Perhaps this arch once provided the means of hanging Lipsius's silver pen (even if Vorsterman shows it as suspended from the wall above). The souvenir book explicitly names the chapel of Our Lady as the location of the two monuments. It is possible that they were moved soon after the book's publication because the chapel was renovated in 1908, during the last phase of a campaign to restore the entire church.¹¹ The upper plaque may have lost its frame in this process. Inside the chapel, Lipsius's plaque and portrait would have been in much closer dialogue with Our Lady of Halle, a proximity that was surely desired. It thus seems reasonable to take Vorsterman's etching as an accurate reflection of the original display and location.

The plaque and relief in the Halle basilica have been largely ignored in the large body of scholarship on Lipsius's biography, writings and depiction in portraiture.¹² Yet, while neither striking nor especially elegant, they provide a crucial visual counterpart to the textually



ARCHIVE OF OUR LADY'S BASILICA, HALLE

5. Plaque and portrait relief of Justus Lipsius, photograph published in *Souvenir de N. D. de Hal / Gedenkboek van O. L. Vrouw van Halle*, Brussels 1908

summer of 1599. See Lipsius's letter to Woverius, *ILE*, VIII, 95 10 02 W (2 Oct. 1595).

10. *Souvenir de N. D. de Hal / Gedenkboek van O. L. Vrouw van Halle*, ed. Rev. Curé-Doyen, Brussels 1908, p. 28.

11. Possoz (as in n. 4), pp. 196–225.

12. Everaert and Bouchery (as in n. 4), pp. 31–33, transcribe and translate the monuments' inscriptions, and incorrectly describe the bronze plaque as 'black marble' and Woverius's monument as alabaster (a mistake repeated in all subsequent literature). Brief references to the monuments also appear in L. van der

Essen and J. Bouchery, *Waarom Justus Lipsius Gevierd?* (Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, XI.8), Brussels 1949, p. 68 n. 185; F. van der Haeghen, in *Bibliographie Lipsienne*, 2 vols, Ghent 1886–88, I, p. 539; *BB*, III, pp. 974–75; A. M. Berryer, 'Essai d'une iconographie de Juste Lipse', *Annales de la société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles*, XLIII, 1939–40, pp. 5–71 (54, no. 86); and most recently, in the *Catalogus van de tentoonstelling over leven en werk Justus Lipsius, O.-L.-Vrouwecollege, Halle, van 6 tot 15 maart 1998*, p. 34.

dominated story of the scholar's life. I shall seek to show in this article that Lipsius deliberately used his votive gift to make a profound personal statement, not only about his Catholic piety but also about his achievements as a scholar. For his part Woverius designed his marble monument both to represent his close personal bond with Lipsius and to defend his friend and mentor's scholarship and religious belief against the Protestant critics who castigated him during his later life, and continued to do so after his death. The result is a remarkable intersection of the Catholic cult of the Virgin and the humanist cult of the individual.

Lipsius and the Cult of Images

Lipsius, who was born in Overijse, a small town not far from Leuven, was brought up as a Catholic but spent much of his career teaching at Protestant universities. He briefly held a position at the Lutheran University of Jena and then went on to spend thirteen years as a professor at the predominantly Calvinist University of Leiden, where he wrote several of his best-known scholarly works. Most notably, he published *De constantia* (1584), in which he developed his famous doctrine of Neostoicism, and *Politicorum sive Civilis doctrinae libri sex* (1589), which presents his views on politics and good governance.¹³ These treatises, along with three later works, are referred to in Lipsius's dedicatory poem on the bronze plaque in the Basilica of Our Lady.¹⁴

Yet mounting criticism from colleagues in the Northern Netherlands increasingly troubled the scholar in Leiden. Most vehement among these critics was Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert, who attacked Lipsius's *Politica* for its proposed restrictions on religious freedom and for its arguments in favour of a single, statewide religion, proposals which Coornhert saw as inherently biased towards the Catholic church.¹⁵ Lipsius abandoned Leiden in March 1591 and by 1592 had returned to the Southern Netherlands, where he openly reasserted his Catholic faith and accepted a professorship at his *alma mater*, the University of Leuven.¹⁶ At this point he became closely allied with the Jesuits and with the regents Albert and Isabella; both parties soon urged Lipsius to use his literary abilities in the service of the Church.¹⁷

13. On Lipsius's Neostoic thought and its influence see M. Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius*, Princeton 1991; G. Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, ed. B. Oestreich and H. G. Koenigsberger, tr. D. McLintock, Cambridge 1982, pp. 13–75; J. L. Saunders, *Justus Lipsius: The Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism*, New York 1955; A. H. T. Levi, 'The Relationship of Stoicism and Scepticism: Justus Lipsius', in *Humanism and Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. J. Kraye and M. W. F. Stone, London 2000, pp. 91–106; A. McCrea, *Constant Minds: Political Virtue and the Lipsian Paradigm in England, 1584–1650*, Toronto 1997. See also the recent edition and commentary in J. Lipsius, *Politica: Six Books of Politics or Political Instruction*, ed. J. Waszink, Assen 2004.

14. See n. 6.

15. G. Voogt, *Constraint on Trial: Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert and Religious Freedom*, Kirksville 2000, pp.

197–227; F. de Nave, 'De polemiek tussen Justus Lipsius en Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert (1590): hoofdoorzaak van Lipsius' vertrek uit Leiden (1591)', *De Gulden Passer*, XLVIII, 1970, pp. 1–36.

16. On the details of Lipsius's departure from Leiden see J. de Landtsheer, 'From North to South: Some New Documents on Lipsius's Journey from Leiden to Liège', in *Myrica: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Memory of Jozef Ijsewijn*, ed. D. Sacré and G. Tournoy, Leuven 2000, pp. 303–31; eadem, 'Le retour de Juste Lipse de Leyden à Louvain selon sa correspondance (1591–1594)', in *Juste Lipse (1547–1606) en son temps* (colloquium, Strasbourg 1994), ed. C. Mouchel, Paris 1996, pp. 347–68.

17. T. van Houdt, 'Justus Lipsius and the Archdukes Albert and Isabella', in *WJL*, pp. 405–32.

During the final years of his life, Lipsius wrote three treatises on Marian cults in the Southern Netherlands, substantiating the hopes of the regents and his Jesuit colleagues.¹⁸ The first of these treatises, *Diva Virgo Hallensis* (1604), recounts the miraculous history of the statue of Our Lady of Halle (Fig. 6).¹⁹ Lipsius's second treatise *Diva Sichemiensis*, written to honour the cult of Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel and published only one year later,²⁰ as well as his third treatise *Diva Lovaniensis* on the Virgin of Leuven, present similar accounts. The last work, however, remained in manuscript form at Lipsius's death in 1606 and was never published.²¹

Although local Catholic authorities undoubtedly contributed to Lipsius's choice of subject matter, the scholar had his own ties to these sites of worship. The silver pen that he presented to Our Lady of Halle is a significant example of this personal devotion; but Lipsius also made a personal pilgrimage to the recently erected chapel of Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel, some seventeen miles northeast of Leuven, and praised the miraculous image in his correspondence.²² The scholar likewise had a strong connection to Our Lady of Leuven, as the University of Leuven, where he studied and taught, paid special



6. Title-page of Lipsius, *Diva Virgo Hallensis*, 1604

BY PERMISSION OF HOUGHTON LIBRARY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

18. On the use and reception of Lipsius's treatises as pro-Catholic propaganda see D. P. Walker, 'The Cessation of Miracles', in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe*, ed. I. Merkel and A. G. Debus, Washington DC 1988, pp. 111–24, esp. 112–14, 119.

19. Justus Lipsius, *Diva Virgo Hallensis. Beneficia eius & miracula fide atque ordine descripta*, Antwerp 1604. See *JLPH*, pp. 195–96, no. 60; and *LL*, pp. 249–53, no. 77.

20. Justus Lipsius, *Diva Sichemiensis sive Aspricollis: Nova eius beneficia & admiranda*, Antwerp 1605. See *JLPH*, p. 196, no. 61; and *LL*, pp. 256–58, no. 80.

21. Leiden University Library, MS Lips. 12. See J. de Landtsheer, 'Iusti Lipsi Diva Lovaniensis: An Unknown Treatise on Leuven's *Sedes Sapientiae*', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, xcii.1, 1997, pp. 135–42; Justus Lipsius, *Diva Virgo Lovaniensis*, tr. (Dutch) J. de Landtsheer, Wildert 1999; and *LL*, pp. 263–66, no. 84. De Landtsheer is now working on an English translation of the text, to be published by Brepols. I am also particularly indebted to De Landtsheer's article, 'Justus Lipsius's

Treatises on the Holy Virgin', in *The Low Countries as a Crossroads of Religious Beliefs*, ed. A. Gelderblom, J. L. de Jong and M. van Vaeck, Leiden 2004, pp. 65–88, which includes discussion of *Diva Virgo Lovaniensis* (pp. 71–83). See also J. A. F. Kronenburg, *Maria's heerlijkheid in Nederland: geschiedkundige schets van de vereering der H. Maagd in ons vaderland, van de vroegste tijden tot op onze dagen*, vii, Amsterdam 1911, pp. 417–33.

22. See Lipsius, 1605 (as in n. 20), pp. 36–37, for his description of the pilgrimage to Scherpenheuvel, which concludes with yet another supplicatory poem to the Virgin. He also speaks of Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel's 'beaux miracles' in letters to his friend and publisher Jan Moretus. See *La correspondance de Juste Lipse conservée au Musée Plantin-Moretus*, ed. A. Gerlo and H. D. L. Vervliet, Antwerp 1967, pp. 209–10, no. 182 (14 Oct. 1603), Arch. plant. 86, fol. 676 (*ILE*, [xvi], 03 10 14), and p. 211, no. 183 (21 Oct. 1603), Arch. plant. 86, fols 677–80 (*ILE*, [xvi], 03 10 21). On the history of the cult site see also L. Duerloo and M. Wogens, *Scherpenheuvel. Het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen*, Leuven 2002.

devotion to her cult.²³ On his deathbed, Lipsius promised his most prized fur-lined robe as a final gift to her.²⁴

Precedents for Lipsius's treatises include the voluminous *De picturis et imaginibus sacris* (1570) written by one of his predecessors at the University of Leuven, Johannes Molanus.²⁵ Yet while Molanus was largely concerned to defend devotion to images—in the wake of recent iconoclastic attacks—and to offer prescriptions for proper iconographic formulations, Lipsius focuses almost exclusively on recounting the miraculous deeds of the relevant statues. Although each of his treatises opens with a statement on the credibility of miracles and the benefits to be reaped from their publication, Lipsius's overall tone is deliberately non-polemical.²⁶ He uses a simple narrative structure, occasionally enlivened with poetry, to create straightforward yet engaging histories of his subjects.²⁷ The numerous reprints and translations of both *Diva Virgo Hallensis* and *Diva Sichemiensis* attest to the efficacy of this approach.²⁸

Diva Virgo Hallensis provides Lipsius's first published assertion of belief in the power of miraculous images. In the opening and closing chapters, Lipsius evokes his own devotion to the Virgin of Halle as a means of bracketing his account of her miraculous history. The first chapter describes his pilgrimage to the church in 1601, while the last relates to the pilgrimage of 1602, during which he presented his silver pen to the Virgin. 'In pennam argenteam', the poem inscribed on the extant bronze plaque in the Halle basilica, is included at the close of the text.²⁹

Between these two highly personal chapters, Lipsius provides his history of Our Lady of Halle. He starts with the legendary origins of the statue, once supposedly owned by St Elizabeth of Thuringia, and then turns to the miracles which began, and multiplied, soon after she was donated to the church in 1267.³⁰ Lipsius's catalogue of thirty-four

23. L. van der Essen, *Notre-Dame de St. Pierre, Louvain, Siège de la Sagesse, 1129–1927*, Leuven 1927, pp. 125–38.

24. Lipsius's biographer Aubertus Miraeus gives a florid account of the scholar's death and the offering of the fur-lined robe in his *Vita Iusti Lipsi, sapientiae et litterarum antistitis*, Antwerp 1609, pp. 44–52. His account of the episode derives in part from that of Johannes Woverius, whose defence of his mentor's votive offering had been published two years earlier: *Assertio Lipsiani donarii adversus gelastorum suggillationes*, Antwerp 1607. According to Woverius, because Lipsius's robe was of no use to the church, the scholar's close friend Gerard Corselius purchased it and then donated an equivalent sum to the cult of Our Lady of Leuven: 'Toga... quae postmodum, proprio nullo usu, arae aut sacris apta, non magno nimis aere, Cl[ementissim]o Antecessori Gerardo Corselio... emit in amicissimi memoriam; nec sine ea accipit, vel ponit. Pecunia adscripta rationibus arae Divae Virginis Lovaniensis' (pp. 22–23).

25. Johannes Molanus, *De picturis et imaginibus sacris*, tr. (French) F. Boespflug, O. Christin and B. Tassel, 2 vols, Paris 1996. Molanus does not specifically discuss Our Lady of Halle, Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel, or Our Lady of Leuven.

26. In his preface to the reader, Lipsius insists that his treatise is a historical rather than a theological work:

'Quid alienum facio, si non adoro solum Numen, sed adorno?... Nam per Virginem matrem quae Memoranda et Admiranda patrare ei visum, narravi... intra fines meos mansi et ipsum tituli mei atque inscriptionis agrum colui, id est, Historiam scripsi'. Lipsius, 1604 (as in n. 19), 'Lectori'.

27. All the treatises include some poetry, though *Diva Sichemiensis* is especially rich in verse: it includes 15 poems. On Lipsius's poetry see J. Papy, 'La Poésie de Juste Lipse. Esquisse d'une évaluation critique de sa technique poétique', in *Juste Lipse (1547–1606) en son temps: Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 1994*, ed. C. Mouchel, Paris 1996, pp. 163–214, esp. 175, 181–82, 201–04, 210–11; De Landtsheer, 2004 (as in n. 21), pp. 80 and 83.

28. *BB*, III, pp. 974–85 and 1010–14.

29. Lipsius, 1604 (as in n. 19), pp. 1–4 and 79–81. Only the poem is printed in the treatise; the opening and closely lines of the text inscribed on the bronze plaque are excluded. Lipsius made one further documented pilgrimage to the church, in 1604 (see below, n. 53).

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 4–14. The fourth chapter (pp. 13–14) also includes a brief discussion of the town of Halle, its name and history. On the statue itself see Houssiau (as in n. 4), pp. 5–12.

wondrous acts performed through Our Lady of Halle's mediation naturally constitutes the bulk of the treatise.³¹ Finally, he caps off his account by describing Our Lady of Halle's confraternity and the votive gifts presented to her by prominent political figures such as Philip the Good, Emperor Maximilian I, and the Archdukes Albert and Isabella.³² This list of famous offerings directly precedes Lipsius's account of his own votive gift in the closing chapter, an arrangement that posits the silver pen within a continuing historical tradition. Lipsius's privileging of his own gift is noteworthy, particularly considering its diminutive size and splendour compared to the far more elaborate gold and silver votive offerings also present in the chapel of Our Lady. This discrepancy is best explained by the origins of *Divo Virgo Hallensis*, which not only justify Lipsius's personal conclusion to the treatise but also reveal the true significance of his little silver pen.

Lipsius's 1601 Pilgrimage to Halle

Lipsius first visited Our Lady of Halle in the summer of 1601, while on his way to see some friends in Tournai.³³ It was an easy stop to make, as Halle—which is situated some thirty miles southwest of Leuven, where he was living at the time—was directly along his travel route. His account of the pilgrimage in *Diva Virgo Hallensis*, however, makes no mention of Tournai or his friends. Instead, Lipsius claims that Halle was his ultimate and much-anticipated destination:

From my earliest youth, I adopted a love of the Blessed Virgin and her cult, and I chose her as my patron saint and guide through dangers, troubles, and the entire course of my life. Even in my studies and when matters of my fame or memory were involved, I confess that I offered up prayers and devotions to her. I had long been inspired by this same sentiment to visit Halle, and finally I went. When I arrived, however, and immediately went to the church, and there began to pray, I felt simultaneous fear and joy during my veneration. My body and spirit were overthrown, and I sensed that I was in the presence of divinity. I began to look around eagerly at the altar itself, at the relics of the chapel, tablets, votive gifts, and the many other monuments there of divine power or of human piety. Miraculous deeds [were] all around—beyond human comprehension and belief, beyond nature itself—and faced with so many marvels, it occurred to me to marvel that no one had yet committed them to writing and publicised the glory of God and the Virgin.³⁴

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 15–70. In late October or early November 1603, Lipsius received a copy of Our Lady of Halle's miracle register from his biographer and former student Aubertus Miraeus and the wealthy Antwerp citizen Johannes Hovius, whom he thanks in his preface to *Diva Virgo Hallensis* ('Lectori', verso). He then selected 34 miracles from the manuscript for his own publication. See De Landtsheer, 2004 (as in n. 21), pp. 73–74; D. Sacré, 'An Unknown and Unpublished Letter from Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., to Justus Lipsius (1604) (With Some Other Unpublished Letters)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, LI, 2002, pp. 259–72 (p. 260, n. 5); Miraeus himself states that together with his uncle Johannes Miraeus, Bishop of Antwerp, and Franciscus Costerius, he copied and sent the text to Lipsius; see his *Vita Iusti Lipsi* (as in n. 24), pp. 40–41.

32. Lipsius, 1604 (as in n. 19), pp. 70–79. The texts of two papal bulls relating to the statue, one from

Nicholas V (4 Sep. 1451) and another from Clement VIII (5 Nov. 1599), along with two letters of approbation from Guillaume de Berghes, Archbishop of Cambrai, and the book censor Guilielmus Fabricius Noviomagus, are inserted on unnumbered folios at the very end of Lipsius's treatise, to preclude any possible objections by the church authorities to his choice of miracles. See also De Landtsheer, 2004 (as in n. 21), pp. 74–75.

33. See Lipsius's letter (11 April 1601) regarding the visit with Dionysius Villerius (*ILE*, xiv, 01 04 11 V).

34. 'A prima adolescentia Divae Virginis amorem & cultum indui, eamque patronam mihi & ducem in periculis, in molestiis, in omni vitae cursu, elegi. Etiam in studiis et... ubi Famae vel Memoriae res agebatur, precibus & votes ad eam ivisse me fateor... Ab eodem deinde isto affectu Hallas diu adspiravi, tandem ivi... Sed cum veni, et calide templum adii, ac preces coepi fundere, sensi trepido quodam gaudio, et mixta

In this passage, Lipsius presents himself and his treatise in a particular light. By locating his inspiration for writing the text in this first experience before Our Lady of Halle's altar, he suggests that the work was created directly under divine auspices. At the same time, he emphasises the protective role that the Virgin has long played in his intellectual pursuits and in relation to his worldly reputation (*Fama*). Both themes are also present in Lipsius's poem *In pennam argenteam*, particularly in the closing lines, when he gratefully offers the Virgin of Halle his 'fleeting fame' and hopes, as it were, in return, for 'everlasting joy and life'. His link between scholarly achievement and his 'love of the Blessed Virgin and her cult' also underlies Lipsius's choice of a pen as a votive gift.³⁵

The final key element of Lipsius's opening description is his amazement at the votive gifts and numerous monuments 'of divine power or of human piety' surrounding Our Lady of Halle. This impressive display is documented in Cornelis Galle's engraving of the chapel, which served as an illustration for the treatise (Fig. 7),³⁶ as also by Vorsterman's print of some fifty years later (Fig. 1), which portrays a fuller range of votive objects.³⁷ As Lipsius explains, each gift testifies to the receipt of divine aid by a human supplicant.³⁸ These are the stories he recounts in his treatise, and which also must have inspired him, one year after his visit of 1601, to seek the aid of the Virgin of Halle on his own behalf.

Lipsius's 1602 Pilgrimage to Halle and its Aftermath

In the spring of 1602, Lipsius fell ill. As he wrote to his friend and publisher Jan Moretus on the 9 April, 'I am continually sluggish, though I do not have a definite illness. Yet my strength is declining.'³⁹ A few days later he wrote again, complaining of prolonged languor and catarrh.⁴⁰ After reading these reports, Jan was doubtless relieved when Lipsius wrote to him with better news on 13 June: 'I have been to Our Lady of Halle, and

vereneratione, corpus animumque percelli: & palam in loco Numen esse...coepi oculos avide circumferre ad aram ipsam, ad sacelli reliqua, tabulas, donaria, & plurima ibi divinae potentiae, aut humanae pietatis, monumenta. Ubique Facta Miranda, supra captum aut fidem hominum, supra ipsam naturam: et inter tot miranda, subiit illud mirari, nondum fuisse, qui ea scripto complecteretur, & Dei ac Virginis gloriae divulgaret.' Lipsius, 1604 (as in n. 19), pp. 1–2. Portions of this text were previously translated into English by De Landtsheer, 2004 (as in n. 21), pp. 71–72.

35. Lipsius also discusses the relationship between his humanist identity and worship of images in his preface to the reader (see n. 26).

36. On the illustrations for *Diva Virgo Hallensis* see D. Imhof, 'The Illustration of Works by Justus Lipsius Published by the Plantin Press', in *Iustus Lipsius Europae lumen et columen* (colloquium, Leuven 1997), ed. G. Tournoy, J. De Landtsheer and J. Papy, Leuven 1999, pp. 67–81 (68–69, 72–73). Although Galle shows only a few votive gifts, there were certainly many more, as documented in a gift register of the church, discussed below.

37. See Van der Velden (as in n. 2), pp. 169–78, for an extensive discussion of Lipsius's account of the votive

gifts in relation to the prints by Galle and Vorsterman. The two statues labelled 'Philippus Boni' and 'Elisabeta Portugalia Philippi Boni Uxor' in Vorsterman's image have no equivalent in Lipsius's text; they may be misidentified. Other gifts, such as the kneeling statue of Maximilian I in full armour, appear in Lipsius's text and also on the right wall in Galle's and Vorsterman's prints.

38. Lipsius, 1604 (as in n. 19), p. 72: 'Iam adeos venio, qui Donis etiam et Muneribus varie testati sunt affectum.'

39. '...ie suis tousiours en languueur, sans avoir aultre formelle maladie. Mais mes forces déclinent'. This letter is published by Gerlo and Vervliet (as in n. 22), p. 154, no. 126 (9 Apr. 1602), Arch. plant. 86, fols 531–34 (*ILE*, [xv], 02 04 09). Jan Moretus was in charge the Plantin-Moretus press in Antwerp at the time. On his close relationship and long publication history with Lipsius see J. De Landtsheer, 'Justus Lipsius en zijn relatie met Johannes I Moretus', in *JLPH*, pp. 82–108.

40. '...ie suis tousiours le mesme, languissant, et oultre cela travaillé astheur des catharres'. See Gerlo and Vervliet (as in n. 22), p. 155, no. 127 (15 Apr. 1602), Arch. plant. 86, fols 535–38 (*ILE*, [xv], 02 04 15).



7. Cornelis Galle, *Our Lady's Chapel*, engraving from Justus Lipsius, *Diva Virgo Hallensis*, 1604

... I am feeling better, and thanks be to God, I have the strength to read and to give classes.⁴¹ More interesting still is a letter sent by Lipsius to his friend Dionysius Villerius a few days later. 'I visited Antwerp and now am in Brussels', Lipsius writes, 'but I also went to Halle and there fulfilled my vow to the Blessed Virgin (learn about it from the poem)'.⁴² His biographer Aubertus Miraeus recounts these same events:

... [Lipsius] fell gravely ill, made a vow, and went to Halle. The Divine Lady healed the supplicant and gradually restored his strength. He then hung a silver pen in the church before the altar of the Virgin (the most precious gift possible), and below it he attached these pious verses.⁴³

The poem *In pennam argenteam* follows.

Every votive gift, Lipsius's silver pen included, is an offering to a saint in reciprocity for grace received.⁴⁴ When Lipsius realised that his illness was growing more severe, he called upon Our Lady of Halle to cure him and vowed that, in return, he would make a pilgrimage to her chapel and present her with a reciprocal offering. As he relates in his correspondence, his prayers were answered and his sickness cured. After regaining his former strength, Lipsius fulfilled his initial promise: he commissioned the silver pen and its accompanying bronze plaque, journeyed to Halle sometime between 3 and 9 June, and presented his gift to the Virgin.⁴⁵

Lipsius's silver pen thus joined the numerous votive offerings already on view in the chapel of Our Lady, which the scholar had so admired on his pilgrimage of 1601. Like many of these objects, his gift could be melted down for reuse or sold for its monetary value, which almost certainly explains why it does not survive today.⁴⁶ In this respect, his

41. 'Je suis esté a Nostre Dame de Hault, et...ne me trouve pas mal, et Dieu mercij, iaij forces pour lire et faire les lecons'. Gerlo and Vervliet (as in n. 22), p. 157, no. 130 (16 June 1602), Arch. plant. 86, fols 545–48 (*ILE*, [xv], 02 06 16 M). Lipsius had already written to Jan on 21 May, suggesting that, 'Dieu soit loué', his health was starting to improve. *Ibid.*, p. 156, no. 129, Arch. plant. 86, fols 541–44 (*ILE*, [xv], 02 05 21).

42. 'Antverpia me vidit, nunc Bruxella, sed et Hallae, ac votum hic Divae Virgini (disce e Carmine) persolvi'. See Justus Lipsius, *Epistolarum selectarum centuria quarta: Miscellanea posthuma*, Antwerp 1611, p. 9, no. 10 (*ILE*, [xv], 02 06 13 V). This letter to Villerius (13 June 1602) survives only in this later printing and not in manuscript, but the instructions in parentheses suggest that Lipsius enclosed a copy of his poem *In pennam argenteam* along with the letter. Lipsius is known to have sent the poem to other acquaintances, among them François de Montmorency, chief financial officer to the Archdukes Albert and Isabella and eventual dean of Liège Cathedral, who responded with a commendatory poem imitating Catullus's famous 'Phaselus ille' (*Carmina*, IV), in the same metre as Lipsius's original. Lipsius also sent a version of the poem to Joannes Meursius in an undated letter, presumably from 1602, Copenhagen Royal Library, MS Thott 1057 2° (*ILE*, [xv], 02 00 00), which includes the full text almost exactly as it appears on the plaque in Halle (including the title and the concluding 'vovit, panxit, posuit...') but excludes the line

'Nam numine isthaec incohata sunt tuo'. See J. Papy, 'Une imitation de Catulle 4: la *Dedicatio pennae Iusti Lipsi* de François de Montmorency', *Les Études classiques*, LX.3, 1992, pp. 253–61.

43. '...noster in gravissimam aegritudinem incidit, votum fecit, Hallas se contulit: clientem sibi supplicem Diva recreavit, ac valetudini paulatim restituit. Ipse Pennam argenteam (nec potuit pretiosius quidpiam) in templo, ante aram Virginis suspendit, et pios hosce versus subscripsit'. Miraeus (as in n. 24), p. 39. It is evident from the similarities between this and Lipsius's description in *Divia Virgo Hallensis* (cited below, n. 49) that Miraeus's account is directly dependent on Lipsius's own words.

44. For extensive discussion of votive gifts see Van der Velden (as in n. 2), esp. pp. 191–222. See also pp. 223–33 for critical discussion of prior literature on the subject, such as D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago 1989; and L. Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Ex Voto: Zeichen Bild und Abbild im christlichen Votivbrauchum*, Zurich 1972.

45. Lipsius adds a postscript to *ILE*, [xv], 02 06 10 (a letter to Balthasar Moretus in Antwerp): 'Hallis fui, here sub noctem redii, hoc mane scripsi, IIII Idus Iunias MDCII'. Since there is also a letter in Lipsius's hand written from Leuven on 2 June (*ILE*, [xv], 02 06 02 B), he probably left on 3 June at the earliest.

46. See Van der Velden (as in n. 2), pp. 213–22, where he distinguishes 'consumptive' from 'honorary' and

choice of gift was utterly traditional. Rather than offering Our Lady of Halle one of the actual pens with which he composed his works, Lipsius chose to give her a costly representation of the writer's instrument.

His donation is corroborated by an important source, which provides further detail about the silver pen itself. The gift register from the treasury of the basilica lists the offerings presented to Our Lady of Halle between 1587 and 1624 (excluding the years 1597–1601). It also lists the gold and silver gifts which were melted down in times of need, demonstrating once again the consumptive nature of these precious objects.⁴⁷ Each gift is named and briefly described; the entries sometimes refer to a specific date and almost always conclude with the object's precise weight, the piece of information most crucial to determining its value. Common gifts in the register from 1602, the year of Lipsius's pilgrimage, are silver babies ('une petit enfant d'argent'), presumably given on the occasion of childbirth, silver and gold body parts ('une petite jambe d'or'), rosaries ('une chappollet de Cristal'), chalices ('une Calix d'argent'), and crowns for adorning the Virgin's statue ('une Couronne d'argent'). One entry is unusual: a silver pen weighing two ounces and eight estrelins ('Une plume d'argent pesant II onces, VIII estrelins').⁴⁸ The position of this gift within the chronological register accords with the dates of Lipsius's letters to Jan Moretus and Dionysius Villerius and, consequently, with his pilgrimage to Halle. The item occurs immediately following the description of 'deux petits pottobint d'argent', presented on an uncertain date in May 1602; as we have already determined, Lipsius delivered his votive offering at the start of June 1602. Therefore, the entry clearly refers to the silver pen of Lipsius; even the weight corresponds to the small size of the pen depicted in Vorsterman's engraving.

In *Diva Virgo Hallensis*, Lipsius introduces his gift by renewing his promise to the Virgin:

I give, I profess, I vow myself again, and this work, whatever style or talent it possesses, to you. Two years ago, I already had intended to make this offering to you, when I suspended a silver pen before your altar in the chapel and attached these verses below it.⁴⁹

This statement is followed by the poem *In pennam argenteam*. Lipsius's reference to an offering made two years before agrees with the dates provided by the Moretus and

'oblatory' gifts, and discusses the kinds of votive offerings that can be classified as consumable. Many votive gifts were lost during the attack on the basilica of Our Lady of Halle during the French Revolution, though when precisely Lipsius's pen disappeared is uncertain. Regardless, there is little reason to doubt that Lipsius's pen was ultimately sent to the furnace. Even famous gifts by powerful rulers such as Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, were melted down within a century of their donation to the Virgin of Halle, as Lipsius himself attests in *Diva Virgo Hallensis* (as in n. 19), pp. 72–73.

47. Leuven, Rijksarchief, Parochiale archieven Sint-Martinus en O.-L. Vrouw, MS KA 33.218, *Livre contenant les joyaulx d'or et d'argent, aussy les ornemens, robbes, et generalmente toutes aultres bagues, donnez a l'église Notre Dame de Hal*. Previously cited by Van der Velden (as in n. 2), p. 167 n. 49. The list of gifts which were melted down appears on fols 61^r–89^v.

48. Halle register (as in n. 47), fol. 16^v. The only other example of a silver pen listed in the gift register was offered to Our Lady of Halle in September or October 1603 (ibid., fol. 20^r). The entry for this second pen, '... une plume d'argent pesant VIII estrelins', is similar to its counterpart, except that the weight is significantly less. There is no evidence to link Lipsius to this second pen; it was probably offered by an imitator, perhaps by an admiring student such as Woverius. Van der Velden (as in n. 2), pp. 166–67, has mistakenly identified this second pen as the gift Lipsius offered during his 1602 pilgrimage.

49. 'Ipsium ... me, et hoc quidquid ingenii ac stili est, iterum tibi do, dico, consecro: quod ex animo feci ante biennium, Penna argentea in templo, ante Aram tuam suspensam, cui hos versus subscripsi.' Lipsius, 1604 (as in n. 19), p. 80.

Villerius letters, since the first copies of *Diva Virgo Hallensis* were distributed in August 1604.⁵⁰ Moreover, these few lines not only provide a direct description of the monument, but also confirm that Lipsius himself was responsible for its installation. He suspended the pen and attached the accompanying poem with his own hands.

Lipsius describes his votive gift as a *penna*, which literally means feather and can refer by extension to a quill, a pen made from a feather.⁵¹ In the plural, the word can also refer synecdochically to wings. In the opening lines of his poem, Lipsius deliberately teases out the pen's feathery associations. When describing how the pen 'has soared (*volavit*) through the wide expanse of the sky, through the depths of earth and sea', he employs the verb *volare* (to fly, to soar) to emphasise the quill's avian origins. It is possible that the display of the pen as suspended in mid-air was intended to complement the poem inscribed below it; the object is presented as if it were light as a feather. Probably the 'plume d'argent' had the shape of a feather pen (as opposed to a reed) in order to make this association all the more resonant. Lipsius's silver pen may also resonate with the silver wings of the dove ('*pennae columbae deargentatae*') in Psalm 67 (68). The medieval exegesis on this Psalm, together with Psalm 54 (55), evokes the silver wings in order to describe the spiritual flight to heaven—an association that aptly complements Lipsius's devotional plaint to the Virgin.⁵²

Finally, Lipsius's brief description of his gift in *Diva Virgo Hallensis* is informative about the function of the treatise itself. Not only does Lipsius explain the vow behind his silver pen and accompanying poem, he also claims that, already during his 1602 pilgrimage, he had the intention of presenting 'this work', that is, *Diva Virgo Hallensis*, as an 'offering' to the Virgin. On concluding the last chapter, Lipsius has thus completed two tasks simultaneously. He has written the much-needed history of the Virgin of Halle's miracles, the aim set forth in the opening chapter, and he has furthered his private, devotional bond to her, by offering her another gift. It follows that Lipsius would have physically presented a copy of *Diva Virgo Hallensis* at the Virgin's altar. He reports making one more pilgrimage to Halle in mid-September 1604—only a month after the first copies of the treatise had been distributed—in order to thank the Virgin for his recovery from another bout of illness.⁵³ This third pilgrimage was the ideal opportunity to offer the Virgin a copy of the treatise he had composed in her honour, which he had

50. See De Landtsheer, 2004 (as in n. 21), pp. 74–75. A letter of 9 July 1604, from Jan Moretus to Lipsius (*ILE*, [xvii], 04 07 09), indicates that Jan is waiting for the prefaces to the work. Lipsius dedicated the book to Guillaume de Berghes, Archbishop of Cambrai, in a letter dated 15 July (*ILE*, [xvii], 04 07 15). In a letter of 30 July to Eustachius Wolowicz (*ILE*, [xvii], 04 07 30 WO), Lipsius promised to send his correspondent a copy of *Diva Hallensis* as a token of friendship ('*amicitiae tesseram*'). He wrote to Woverius two weeks later on 13 August (*ILE*, [xvii], 04 08 13), asking him to take care of the books and covering letters, and promising him his own copy: '*Tibi unum habebis a Moreto, et sic mandavi: non est magnum, sed sacrum tamen munus*'. The following day a covering letter and a copy of the book were sent to Oliverius Manaraeus, provincial of the Jesuits, in Brussels (*ILE*, [xvii], 04 08 14 M).

51. Cf. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, vi.14 (3): '*Instrumenta scribae calamus et penna. Ex his enim verba paginis infiguntur, sed calamus arboris est, penna avis*'.

52. Psalms, 67.13, 54.6 (Vulgate). See, e.g., Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Adventu Domini in Sermones pour l'année*, tr. M.-I. Huille, i.1, Paris 2004, pp. 160–61 (sermon IV.4–5). In his biography of Lipsius, Miraeus (as in n. 24), p. 38, mentions that Lipsius was fond of Bernard's writing. It is interesting to note that the ancient Muses were often depicted wearing feathers in classical sculpture, a motif which persisted in mythographic literature and was employed some years later by Peter Paul Rubens, an artist with close connections to Lipsius. See E. McGrath, 'Rubens's Musathena', this *Journal*, 1, 1987, pp. 233–45 (233–38).

53. This pilgrimage is mentioned in Lipsius's letter to Jan Moretus, written on 18 September 1604 (*ILE*,



8. Arm reliquary of St Luke c. 1337–38. Paris, Louvre

written (miraculously) in just ten days. As Lipsius writes in the preface: ‘Doubtless it is easy to add glory with gold or ivory, since the material glistens of its own accord; but to give such thanks to them [i.e., God and the Virgin] with a pen is to give freely for its own sake’.⁵⁴

The Metonymic Pen and the Dedicatory Poem

When Lipsius writes that he will glorify Our Lady of Halle ‘with a pen,’ he is drawing on a trope which is rooted in classical antiquity and which resurfaces in the writings of Renaissance humanists. Within this tradition, the pen of a writer comes to bear the weight of his unique literary identity, even of his emotional state. Examples range from Cicero’s exclamation that ‘the pen makes the author’,⁵⁵ to Petrarch’s lament in the *Canzoniere* over his inability to describe his beloved Laura’s beauty: ‘Now more than once I started writing verse / but then the pen, the hand, the intellect / were conquered at the opening of the battle.’⁵⁶ And of course the word ‘style’ derives from the Latin *stilus* (a writing tool). Lipsius himself evokes this second meaning of *stilus* in the final chapter of *Diva Virgo Hallensis*, when he writes to Our Lady of Halle: ‘I give, I profess, I vow myself again, and this work, whatever style (*stili*) or talent it possesses to you’.

[xvii], 04 09 18, 2), cited by De Landtsheer, 2004 (as in n. 21), p. 72, n. 30.

54. ‘... ex facili mihi et iucunda opera faec fluxit: & testificor, non decem totos dies illi impensos. Nimirum ut auro aut ebori facile est decus addere, cum materies per se niteat: tale istis gratiam a stilo dare, per se gratis. Fruere bone Lector... ut tuto & feliciter scandas: quod voveo, et Deus et Diva tibi mecum donent’. Lipsius, 1604 (as in n. 19), ‘Lectori’.

55. ‘Urge igitur nec transversum unguem, quod aiunt, a stilo; is enim est dicendi opifex’: Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares*, vii.25 (letter to M. Fabius Gallus).

Cf. *ibid.*, vi.7; Horace, *Sermones*, 1.10 (72–74) and 11.1 (39–41); Seneca the Elder, *Controversiae*, 1.18; Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae morales*, LXXXIV.3.

56. ‘Più volte incominciai di scriver versi, / ma la penna et la mano et l’intelletto / rimaser vinti nel primier assalto.’ Petrarch, *The Canzoniere or Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, tr. M. Musa, Bloomington 1996, pp. 20–21, Canzone 20. Petrarch was particularly fond of invoking the metonymic pen. His Canzone 73 and his letter to Lapo da Castiglionchio (*Le Familiari*, xviii.12) are just two additional examples.

The silver pen thus functions not only as a votive offering but also as a metonym for Lipsius's work and identity as a writer. In this regard, the pen has an interesting counterpart in an early fourteenth-century reliquary now at the Louvre, purporting to have once contained an arm bone of St Luke (it is inscribed: 'hic est os brachii sancti Luce Evangeliste') (Fig. 8).⁵⁷ The reliquary consists of an ornamented crystal and gold receptacle resembling a garment sleeve, surmounted by a gilded hand, delicately holding a pen. The addition of the last attribute is very unusual, as the hands of arm reliquaries almost always make a gesture of blessing. The gilded pen has been added in this case to emphasise St Luke's role as a Gospel writer, as in traditional images of the Evangelists at their desks or images of saints and humanists in their studies.⁵⁸ Like Lipsius's votive gift, the gilded pen of the reliquary operates simultaneously in the realms of scholarship and spirituality.

Lipsius's evocation of the metonymic pen also has a precedent in the work of Jean Lemaire de Belges, a prominent humanist attached to the court of Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands, in the early sixteenth century. Lemaire's *La Couronne Margarithique* (1505), composed shortly after the death of Margaret's husband Duke Philibert II of Savoy, opens with a sympathetic account of the recent tragedy and then develops into a complex allegory of wisdom and virtue.⁵⁹ The 'Prologue', however, is a hyperbolic poem in which Lemaire addresses his own pen and laments that he must revisit the sad story of Philibert's demise. The poem begins:

Plume infelice oustil calamiteux,
Matiere obscure, obiect poure et piteux,
Dites pourquoy mon engine peu fertile
Vous retirez de son emprise utile
Pour le tourner en ce present traueil?⁶⁰

(Unfortunate pen, calamitous instrument,
gloomy subject, wretched and piteous purpose,
explain why my wit, which is hardly capable,
draws you away from its useful undertaking
in order to turn itself to this present task?)

The pen takes on Lemaire's grief over the task at hand, becoming a mournful participant in the very tragedy that it records. This idea is reinforced in an accompanying miniature from a presentation copy of *La Couronne Margarithique*, which depicts Lemaire at the moment of the text's inception (Fig. 9).⁶¹ Portrayed in the act of writing with his pen, Lemaire looks up, open-mouthed, as Duke Philibert rides past on horseback in the back-

57. D. Gaborit-Chopin, 'Les bras-reliquaire de saint Luc au Musée du Louvre', *Antologia di Belle Arti*, xxvii–xxviii, 1985, pp. 4–18; and Musée du Louvre, *Nouvelles acquisitions du Département des objets d'art, 1980–1984*, Paris 1985, pp. 44–47, no. 11.

58. For a discussion of the scholar's study and its many accoutrements see D. Thornton, *The Scholar in his Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven 1997, esp. pp. 127–74.

59. Jean Lemaire de Belges, *Oeuvres*, ed. J. Stecher, iv, Leuven 1891; P. Jodogne, *Jean Lemaire de Belges:*

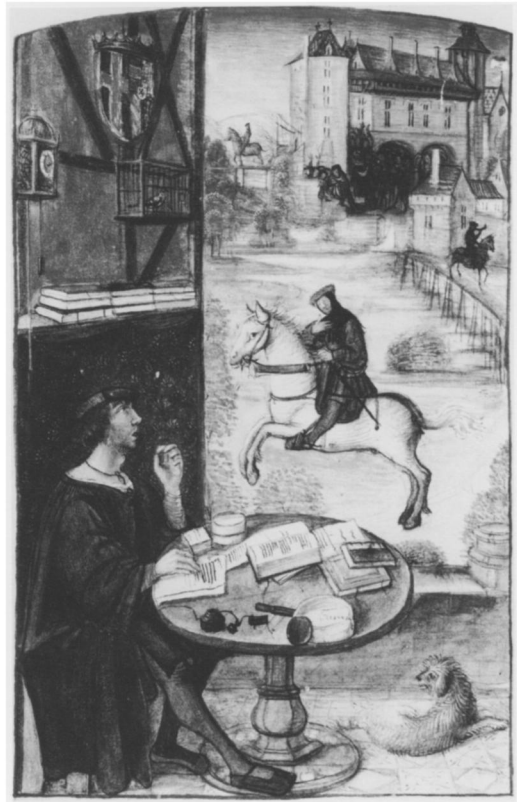
écrivain franco-bourguignon, Brussels 1971, pp. 215–54; M. Randall, *Building Resemblance: Analogical Imagery in the Early French Renaissance*, Baltimore 1996, pp. 72–102.

60. Lemaire (as in n. 59), pp. 15–16. I am very grateful to Tom Conley for his assistance with the translation.

61. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 3441, fol. 2^v. See M. Debae, *La bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche: essai de reconstitution d'après l'inventaire de 1523–24*, Leuven 1995, pp. 504–07; M. Debae, *La Librairie de Marguerite d'Autriche*, Brussels 1987, pp. 49–53, no.

ground. Philibert died from pneumonia contracted after a vigorous hunt, when he drank too liberally from the frigid waters of a forest spring.⁶² Lemaire's outstretched leg, inclining neck and gesturing hand seem to mirror the rider's posture, subtly linking the author to his subject. Lemaire's pen, like Lipsius's silver gift, is the 'interpreter of his mind', the vehicle through which he registers his memory of Philibert's grievous fate.⁶³

Finally, because Lipsius's pen embodies his personal legacy, it is interesting to contrast his words on the fame the instrument has earned for him, with a contemporary emblem that links an author's renown to his writing tool (Fig. 10).⁶⁴ 'The Everlasting Glory of the Pen' ('Pennae gloria perennis'), published by Geoffrey Whitney in his *Choice of Emblemes and other Devises* (Leiden 1586), has an image of Fame as a winged, naked figure ascending into the heavens with a pen hanging at her waist, blowing on her trumpet all the while. Whitney's personi-fication of Fame parallels the flight of Lipsius's feather pen through the skies in the opening lines of *In pennam*



© ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK

9. Jean Lemaire Composing a Text in his Study, miniature from Jean Lemaire de Belges, *La Couronne Margarithique*, 1504–05. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 3441, fol. 2^v

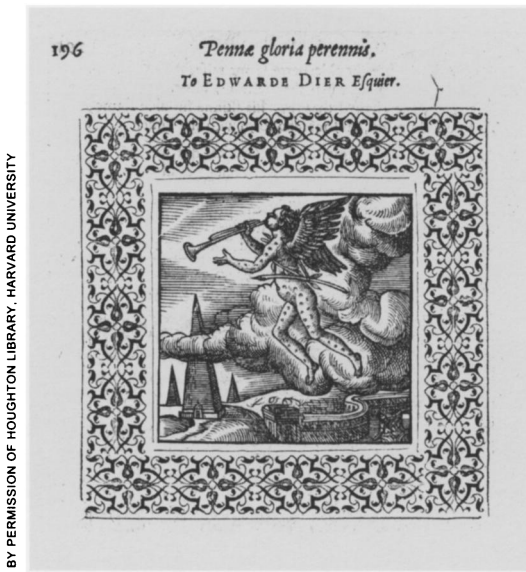
14; *Thesaurus Austriacus: Europas Glanz im Spiegel der Buchkunst Handschriften und Kunstablen von 800 bis 1600*, ed. E. Irlich, Vienna 1996, pp. 171–75, no. 37; *Women of Distinction: Margaret of York, Margaret of Austria*, ed. D. Eichberger, Leuven 2005, pp. 246–47, no. 85, and p. 220.

62. Lemaire (as in n. 59), pp. 19–30; see also pp. 27–28, where Lemaire describes Philibert remounting his horse after the fatal drink; overcome with pain, the duke places a hand to his chest and bows his head, much as the rider does in the image.

63. Another example of the metonymic pen used in art is Maarten van Heemskerck's self-conceived coat of arms, which includes a winged arm holding a pen (or perhaps a brush) and resting on a tortoise, in this case symbolising the moderation required in the act of creation (a variation on the theme of *festina lente*). See I. M. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century*, tr. M. Hoyle, Maarssen 1977, pp. 144–51. For the motif in art and art theory see also A. Nagel and C. Wood, 'Interventions: Toward a New Model of Renaissance Anachronism',

Art Bulletin, LXXXVII.3, 2005, pp. 403–415 (404); and esp. W. Melion, 'Memory and Kinship of Writing and Picturing in the Early Seventeenth-Century Netherlands', *Word & Images*, VIII.1, 1992, pp. 48–70 (51–56), who discusses the artist's pen in relation to the calligraphic arts and to Netherlandish handwriting competitions in which the winner was awarded a golden quill as first prize.

64. Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes and other Devises, for the moste parte gathered out of sundrie writers, Englished and Moralized and divers newly devised by Geoffrey Whitney*, Leiden 1586, pp. 196–97; *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, ed. A. Henkel and A. Schöne, Stuttgart 1976, cols 1536–37. On this emblem see also R. J. Clements, 'The Cult of the Poet in Renaissance Emblem Literature', *PMLA*, LIX, 1944, pp. 672–85 (680–81); he relates it to one published by Hadrianus Junius in the 1565 edition of his *Emblemata*, entitled 'Pennae gloria immortalis' (and repeated in the 1575 edition, with some modifications).



10. *Pennae gloria perennis*, emblem from Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes and other Devises*, 1586

accompanying poem declare that Lipsius is at the same time a devout Catholic and an accomplished humanist scholar, despite the incompatibility of those two stances in the eyes of his critics.⁶⁸ It can be argued that Lipsius employed the pen as a vehicle for self-publicity, both within the chapel of Our Lady of Halle and in the final chapter of *Diva Virgo Hallensis*. This published reference to the votive gift prompted immediate responses from both sides of the religious debate, as we shall see next.

The Pen in Public

Six months after the publication of *Diva Virgo Hallensis*, three epigrams reached Lipsius's desk. The verses had been circulating in intellectual circles and had found their way to his former student Balthasar Moretus, who sent them to Lipsius with due outrage over their content. One of these reads:

65. Whitney (as in n. 64) p. 197: 'Wherefore, lo, fame with trompe, that mountes upon the skye: / And, fare above the highest spire, from pole, to pole dothe flye. / Heere hovereth at your will, with pen adorn'd with baies: / Which for you bothe, shee hath prepar'd unto your endlesse praise.'

66. Papy, 1996 (as in n. 27), pp. 175, 181, suggests that Lipsius's choice of the words 'perenne gaudium' recalls a passage from Seneca's *Epistulae Morales* (LXXXI.24), a crucial source text for Lipsius's interest in Stoicism. The phrase is, however, too common to justify this conclusion. According to the Stoics, *gaudium* (χαρά) is one of the good emotions (εὐπαθείαι) felt by the wise man (*sapiens*). The second line of Lipsius's *In pennam argenteam*, however, seems a more plausible Senecan allusion. Compare *Medea* (1026) and *Hercules Furens* (958).

argenteam. Yet Whitney's accompanying text asserts that Fame herself can grant 'endlesse praise' to its dedicatee, a writer named Edward Dier (as also to Sir Philip Sidney),⁶⁵ whereas Lipsius describes fame as only a fleeting phenomenon ('fama fugax'). It is not Fame but rather Our Lady of Halle alone who can ensure his everlasting joy and life ('perenne gaudium vitamque').⁶⁶ Lipsius thus relinquishes the embodiment of his earthly fame to the Virgin, and places his legacy in her hands.⁶⁷

Lipsius's pen participates in a rich and longstanding tradition of ancient, humanist and even divine conceptions of literary fame and authorial identity. As such, the scholar's choice of votive gift is as much a reflection of his public identity as of his personal devotion. The silver pen and its

67. Lipsius's relinquishing of his pen to the Virgin is in marked contrast to a poem that Erasmus wrote about his own beloved pen, a Nile reed given to him by Johannes Reuchlin and that he gave in turn to his friend Wilhelm Nesen. In the poem entitled 'Erasmus Roterdamus Guilielmo Neseno calamum dono dedit cum hoc epigrammate', which appears in the *Epigrammata* of 1518, the pen speaks, asking Wilhelm to ensure that it never perishes in obscurity ('me Guilielmus habet... ne peream obscurus'). See Erasmus, *Collected Works*, vol. LXXXV, *Poems*, ed. H. Vredevelde, tr. C. H. Miller, Toronto 1993, pp. 134–35, no. 61. I am very grateful to Odilia Bonebakker for bringing this poem to my attention.

68. See above, n. 26, for Lipsius's pre-emptive defence against such critiques in the preface to *Diva Virgo Hallensis*.

Post opus explicitum quod tot miracula narrat,
pennam Lipsiades hanc tibi, Diva, dicat.
Nil potuit levius penna tibi, Virgo, dicare,
Ni forte est levius quod tibi scripsit opus.⁶⁹

(After having finished the work which tells of so many miracles,
Lipsius dedicates this pen to you, Divine Lady.
Nothing could have been lighter than the pen he offered you, Virgin,
Unless perhaps the work which he wrote for you is lighter.)

Lipsius's response to the verses, in his reply to Balthasar, was less angry than dismissive: 'The epigrams are not lighter (*leviora*) than my pen (*penna*), which they mock, but lighter than a feather; and what is more, they are clumsy and lacking in both wit and charm.'⁷⁰ He also expressed his suspicion that Joseph Scaliger was behind them ('Scaligerum dico'). The Huguenot scholar had taken over Lipsius's former post at Leiden University and was highly critical of his predecessor's return to the Catholic fold.⁷¹

The poem 'Post opus ...', printed here, mocks the silver pen and *Diva Virgo Hallensis* in a single stroke, playing on the double meaning of *penna* to insinuate their lack of gravity and worth.⁷² In its derisive tone and blatant dismissal of the miraculous, the epigram encapsulates the nature of Protestant attacks on *Diva Virgo Hallensis*. This criticism had two dimensions. On the one hand, it engaged with the heated contemporary debate over the Catholic cult of the saints, condemning Lipsius's work for its promulgation of a contentious religious practice. On the other hand, intellectuals like Scaliger who had corresponded with Lipsius during his years at Leiden or who otherwise admired his scholarship, expressed personal reactions of shock and betrayal at his abrupt return to the Catholic fold.⁷³

69. Arch. plant. 1150a, fol. 71^r [undated]; see Papy, 1992 (as in n. 42), p. 257; and D. Sacré, 'Balthasar I Moretus en Justus Lipsius', in *JLPH*, pp. 109–28 (114–15). Balthasar was the son of Jan Moretus, who took over the Plantin press from his father. In the same document, Balthasar includes a poetic defence of Lipsius, using the original form of the epigram but steeped in praise for his mentor: 'Post opus explicitum, quod tot miracula narrat, / pennam Lipsiades hanc tibi, Diva, dicat. / Nil potuit penna maius tibi, Virgo, dicare. / Fallor: et est maius quod tibi scripsit opus, / Illa equidem antiquas rudibus monstraverat artes, / at liber hic priscae dat pietatis opes' (Arch. plant. 1150a, fol. 71^r; Sacré, 'Balthasar I Moretus', as in n. 69, p. 115).

70. 'Sunt epigrammata, leviora non penna mea, quam carpunt, sed pluma: et addo, sunt inscita, sine sale aut Venere; ac meum nomen tolle, nemo leget. O digna, quibus ille auctor inscribatur! quem hactenus amicum meum habui; sed hominem scio, et posse mutari.' Gerlo and Vervliet (as in n. 22), p. 226, no. 200 (5 Feb. 1605), Arch. plant. 86, fols 723–24 (*ILE*, [xviii], 05 02 05). Lipsius attacks the satire for lacking the positive poetic qualities ('sal' and 'Venus') championed by satirical poets such as Catullus, Horace, and Martial. See, e.g., Catullus, *Carmina*, XIII.

71. Scaliger and Lipsius corresponded amiably in earlier years and remained in contact even after Lipsius's

departure from Leiden. On their relationship see A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols, Oxford 1983–93, II, pp. 372–73 and 494–507; Morford (as in n. 13) p. 83–85; P. Nelles, 'Lipsius, Scaliger, and the Historians', in *WJL*, pp. 233–54; J. de Landtsheer, 'Justus Lipsius en Josephus Justus Scaliger', in *Adelaar in de wolken: De leidse jaren van Josephus Justus Scaliger*, ed. P. G. Hoftijzer, Leiden 2005, pp. 58–92, esp. 87–90. In a letter to the publisher Franciscus Raphelengius, Balthasar Moretus accused him of writing one of the epigrams, and Joseph Scaliger of writing the other two (Arch. plant. 12, fol. 272, 8 Feb. 1605; repr. in *BB*, III, p. 975).

72. A somewhat baser poem written in a similar vein appeared in the 1605 Dutch translation of Lipsius's *Diva Virgo Hallensis*, published by Albert van Oosterwijck in Delft. The translation was clearly the work of a Protestant, who rails against Lipsius's conversion in the introduction. The poem's author had similar leanings; he mocks Lipsius's Catholic piety by suggesting that the scholar should have offered the Virgin not only his pen, but his wife as well. See *BB*, III, pp. 981–82.

73. More than a century later, the Protestant Leiden professor Peter Burman, who published an edition of Lipsius's letters, remained baffled over his seeming desertion. In his *Sylloges epistolarum a viris illustribus*, I, Leiden 1727, p. 11, Burman describes Lipsius's depar-

One of the most polemical critiques of Lipsius's treatise was written by Peter Denaisius, a lawyer and civic official in Spiers, near Heidelberg, and was published anonymously in 1605 as 'A Dissertation on the Idol of Halle'.⁷⁴ Employing the language of litigation, the treatise presents an imagined debate between a ('true') Christian and a papist, which the latter is destined to lose.⁷⁵ The Christian barrages his opponent with theological condemnations of idolatry, likening the cult of Our Lady of Halle to those of the pagan gods. Denaisius's work—popular enough to warrant a Dutch translation—did not go unchallenged by the Catholic side. An extensive line-by-line rebuttal was published in Antwerp in 1607 by Anastasius Cochelet, a Parisian Carmelite theologian,⁷⁶ and translated into Dutch, French and German.⁷⁷

After his death in March 1606, Lipsius was also criticised for his final devotional offering—the promise of his fur-lined robe to Our Lady of Leuven.⁷⁸ Isaac Casaubon, the celebrated Protestant scholar and former correspondent of Lipsius, wrote to Scaliger from Paris at the end of May:

Have you seen the accounts of his death? I was astonished when I read that in his death-agony he dedicated his fur cloak to the Blessed Virgin and ordered it to be conveyed immediately. God immortal, what old woman's superstition is this? I confess to you, great Scaliger, I am frightened by these examples of men who later set out to attack the truth that they once accepted.⁷⁹

It was bad enough that Lipsius had switched sides and rejoined the Catholic fold, but to learn that he had embraced his conversion so wholeheartedly was simply too much to bear. Nor did it help matters that one year earlier the Antwerp Jesuit Carolus Scribani had published an anti-Calvinist work which not only defended Lipsius against the Protestant critics of *Diva Virgo Hallensis* but also pilloried Casaubon and Scaliger individually.⁸⁰ Yet Scribani was just one among Lipsius's many Catholic admirers who was unwilling to tolerate the allegations of superstition and inconstancy which had been levied

ture from the Protestant North as a flight from freedom into bondage: 'Libertate, qua per Batavos fortiter et feliciter asserta, summa cum tranquillitate frui potuisset, ita excidisse miraberis, ut calamum suum, postea Idolo Hallensi conscratum, et os et mentem omnem, dominis impotentibus in perpetuam servitutem addiceret'. (The Roman legal term 'assertor libertatis' means the protector and defender of a slave who is being freed; see W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery: The Condition of the Slave in Private Law from Augustus to Justinian*, Cambridge 1970, pp. 442, 655–57.) On Burman see Morford (as in n. 13), pp. 78–85, esp. 79; and *LL*, pp. 290–91, no. 93. Later scholars perpetuated the notion that Lipsius's pen became wholly subservient to the Jesuits; see, e.g., C. Nisard, *Le triumpvirat littéraire au XVI siècle: Juste Lipse, Joseph Scaliger, et Isaac Casaubon*, Paris 1852, pp. 107–09.

74. Peter Denaisius, *Dissertatio de idolo Hallensi, Iusti Lipsi mangonio et phaleris exornato atque producto*, [Heidelberg] 1605; See *LL*, pp. 254–55, no. 78.

75. For an early 18th-century print depicting Lipsius as a papist, with an accompanying derogatory poem, see K. van Ommen, 'Lipsius in beeld', in J. de Landtsheer et al., *Lieveeling van de Latijnse taal: Justus Lipsius te*

Leiden herdacht bij zijn vierhonderdste sterfdag, Leiden 2006, pp. 246–55 (252–53, 271, no. 13.2, fig. 39); and *LL*, pp. 365–67, no. 122.

76. Anastasius Cochelet, *Palaestrita honoris D. Hallensis. Pro Iusto Lipsio adversus dissertationem mentiti idoli Hallensis anonymi cuiusdam haeretici*, Antwerp 1607.

77. *LL*, pp. 255–56, no. 79.

78. See above, n. 24.

79. 'Vidisti quae scripta sunt de illius obitu? equidem obstupui cum legerem in ipso agone mortis vestem pelliceam B. Virgini dicasse, & statim jussisse afferri. Deum immortalem quae haec anilis superstitio? ... Fateor tibi, magne Scaliger, terrent me haec exempla eorum qui veritatem semel agnitam postea oppugnatum iverunt.' I. Casaubon, *Epistolae*, The Hague 1638, p. 615, no. 513 (30 May 1606). Translation from Morford (as in n. 13), p. 132). On the relationship between Casaubon and Lipsius see G. Tournoy, 'Ad ultimas inscitiae lineas imus: Justus Lipsius and Isaac Casaubon in the Changing World of Classical Scholarship', in *WJL*, pp. 191–204. Casaubon may be referring here to the eyewitness account (dated 9 May 1606) of Franciscus van den Broecke, a Franciscan friar, or to the account published by the Jesuit College in Leuven. See Gerlo

against the scholar. None of them was more devoted than Johannes Woverius who—even prior to his commission of the monument in the basilica of Our Lady of Halle—had already established himself as the foremost priest and guardian of Lipsius's legacy.

Woverius and the Construction of Lipsius's Afterlife

Woverius began producing literary and visual commemorations of Lipsius during the final years of the scholar's life. In autumn 1603, he published his first work in honour of his former teacher, 'A Written Thanks to the Most Brilliant and Incomparable Man Justus Lipsius'.⁸¹ Two years later, he commissioned an engraved portrait from Pieter de Jode the Younger, which he presented to Lipsius as a gift (below, Fig. 13).⁸² In the meantime, Lipsius had designated Woverius as the executor of his will, the future overseer of his library, and his official biographer, although it was ultimately Aubertus Miraeus who performed this last task.⁸³

Following Lipsius's death, Woverius proved not only a faithful executor but also a persistent advocate for the scholar. During the subsequent ten years, he edited several of his mentor's letters;⁸⁴ he also oversaw two augmented editions of Lipsius's Tacitus and Seneca and was instrumental in the design of new illustrations for these works.⁸⁵ His first undertaking, however, was the treatise 'A Defence of Lipsius's Votive Offering against the Rebukes of Ignorant Philosophers', written when the recent Protestant backlash was

and Vervliet (as in n. 22), pp. 256–61; D. Sacré, 'Mortis Lipsianae relatio inedita', and 'Mortis Lipsianae: relatio critice edita', *Melissa*, LXXVIII, 1997, pp. 6–9.

80. Carolus Scribani, *Amphitheatri honoris ... brevisima descriptio*, Heidelberg 1605; D. Sacré and J. de Landtsheer, 'Schrijvers, drukkers, en hun deadlines: een nieuwe brief van Balthasar Moretus aan Justus Lipsius (1605)', *De Gulden Passer*, LXXXIII, 2005, pp. 157–73 (161–63).

81. Johannes Woverius, *Eucharisticum clarissimo et incomparabili viro Iusto Lipsio scriptum*, Antwerp 1603.

82. The engraving was made after a painting by Abraham Janssens the Younger which no longer survives. It was later published, on Woverius's initiative, in the 1607 edition of Lipsius's Tacitus, *Opera quae exstant*, Antwerp 1607. Rubens also seems to have used Janssens's painting as a model for his posthumous portraits of Lipsius; see J. Vander Auwera, 'The Artistic Relationship between Abraham Janssens and Peter Paul Rubens: Some Contextual Evidence', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, LV, 1994, pp. 227–38; J. Ruyschaert, 'Les éditions de 1605 et de 1615 du *Sénèque* lipsien et le tableau dit des *Quatre Philosophes* de Rubens', in *Rubens e Firenze*, ed. M. Gregori, Florence 1983, pp. 195–215 (200–01); J. R. Judson and C. van de Velde, *Book Illustrations and Title-Pages* (Corpus Rubenianum, XXI.1–2), London 1978, pp. 156–59, no. 30 (1), fig. 104 (2); H. F. Bouchery and F. van den Wijngaert, *P. P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*, Antwerp 1941, pp. 23–24; Berryer (as in n. 12), pp. 28–9, no. 40; *LL*, pp. 358–60, no. 119; *JLPH*, pp. 222–23, no. 102. For Woverius's letter to Lipsius of 30 Oct. 1605,

accompanying the engraving, see H. Peeters, 'De Briefwisseling van Justus Lipsius met Joannes Woverius', MA thesis, Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven 1971, pp. 182–83, no. 28 (*ILE*, [xviii], 05 10 30 W).

83. On 1 Oct. 1600, Lipsius sent Woverius a letter to use as the basis for the biography (*ILE*, xiii, 00 10 01). This was one of Miraeus's main sources. The letter was published (and translated) by P. Bergmans, 'L'Autobiographie de Juste Lipse', *Messenger des Sciences Historiques*, 1889, pp. 133–57. See also K. Enenkel, 'Lipsius als Modellgelehrter: Die Lipsius-Biographie des Miraeus', in *Iustus Lipsius lumen* (as in n. 36), pp. 47–66; and 'Humanismus, Primat des Privaten, Patriotismus und Niederländische Aufstand: Selbstbildformung in Lipsius' Autobiographie', in *Lipsius in Leiden: Studies in the Life and Works of a Great Humanist on the Occasion of his 450th Anniversary*, ed. K. Enenkel and C. Heesakkers, Voorthuizen 1997, pp. 13–45. On the history of Lipsius's library see *LL*, pp. 313–15, nos 105–06; and for Woverius's role as executor see *BB*, v, pp. 872–74; Morford (as in n. 13), pp. 41–51, 96–101, 136–38.

84. As the closing text for one of these compendia, Woverius chose Lipsius's *Oratio de Calumnia*, for which he composed a preface; see Justus Lipsius, *Epistolarum selectarum centuria quinta: Miscellanea posthuma*, Antwerp 1611, pp. 101–12; he clearly had his mentor's critics in mind.

85. These editions are Tacitus (as in n. 82); and Seneca, *Quae extant omnia*, Antwerp 1615. For Woverius's involvement in the illustrations for them see Ruyschaert (as in n. 82), pp. 203–13.

fresh in his mind.⁸⁶ This work confronts the charges brought against Lipsius's *Diva Virgo Hallensis* and *Diva Sichemiensis*,⁸⁷ as well as his votive gifts, and singles out those who mocked his intense deathbed piety. It was published in 1607, in tandem with the *Fama Posthuma*, a volume of epideictic poetry and prose dedicated to Lipsius and compiled by his most loyal admirers, which became a best-seller.⁸⁸ Among the numerous verses is another poem on the subject of Lipsius's silver pen, which goes so far as to assert that the precious implement (along with the scholarly fame it embodies) will endure forever:

In pennam LIPSI ad aram DIVAE HALLENSIS

VIRGO, parens Hallis celebris, donaria templi
Multa tholo pendent & pretiosi tui.
Penna locum at LIPSI tenet inter ea inclyta primum,
Cui conferri aurum, gemma nec ulla queat.
Gemmae aevo pereunt, aevo consumitur aurum,
Penna viri docti semper honora manet.⁸⁹

(On Lipsius's pen, at the altar of Our Lady of Halle

Virgin, celebrated mother of Halle, in the chapel of the church
Hang many votive gifts and precious objects which belong to you.
But the pen of Lipsius holds first place among those celebrated items,
The pen to which neither gold, nor any gem can be compared:
In time, gems will perish; in time, gold is consumed,
But the honorific pen of this learned man remains for all time.)

In his own treatise, Woverius employs a large dose of hyperbole and rhetoric to bemoan the persistence of Lipsius's critics:

Fortunate Lipsius, snatched away from such a host of calumniators and such dark depths of envy! Serenely laid to rest, he can now look down with tranquillity on these human affairs (not that he ever paid attention to them while he was alive!). Yet still the insults fly at him, along with the most ridiculous poems as well as impious little epigrams. Even his fur-lined robe is not free from attack! This robe which the dying Lipsius ordered to be brought to the altar of the Virgin Mother was offered as a token of veneration, a monument to his piety.⁹⁰

In addition to defending Lipsius's final offering to the Virgin of Leuven, the treatise reaffirms the validity of miracles and the worth of the scholar's controversial publications on the subject, *Diva Virgo Hallensis* and *Diva Sichemiensis*. Woverius also includes what

86. For the *Assertio* see above, n. 24; *JLPH*, pp. 207–08, no. 76; and *LL*, pp. 301–03, no. 99.

87. For the response to *Diva Sichemiensis*, from both sides of the debate, see *LL*, pp. 258–61, nos 81–82.

88. *Iusti Lipsi sapientiae et litterarum antistitis: Fama posthuma*, Antwerp 1607. See *JLPH*, pp. 205–06, no. 73, and *LL*, pp. 297–300, no. 97. Additional posthumous works were composed in Lipsius's honour by Carolus Scribani, Gaugericus Rivius and Erycius Puteanus; see *JLPH*, pp. 206–09, nos 74, 75 and 77; and *LL*, pp. 266–69, no. 85. On the epideictic genre see O. B. Hardison, Jr, *The Enduring Monument: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice*, Westport 1973, esp. pp. 24–42. See also S. Zurawski, 'Reflections

on the Pitti Friendship Portrait of Rubens: In Praise of Lipsius and in Remembrance of Erasmus', *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, xxiii.4, 1992, pp. 727–53 (738).

89. *Fama posthuma* (as in n. 88), p. 64. The poem is anonymous.

90. 'O felicem Lipsium! Tot calumniantium turbis, tam profundis invidiae tenebris ereptum; sereno conditum, unde tranquille iam despicere haec humana potest, quae nec vivus unquam suspexit. Sed in hunc ... iam convitia quoque stultissimis intexta poematis, & impiissima epigrammata volant?... non deesse argumentum pelliceae vestis? Talem enim moriens Lipsius ad aram Virginis Matris deferri iussit, venerationis suae donarium, pietatis monumentum'. Woverius, 1607 (as in n. 86), p. 9.

may be an apocryphal episode, but one which nonetheless encapsulates the treatise's core message. As the story goes, when a companion at his deathbed urged him to remember the comforting teachings of the Stoics, Lipsius responded, 'Those things are vain', then pointed his finger at the crucifix nearby and declared, 'This is true *patientia*'.⁹¹ This anecdote is echoed in a drawing of the dying scholar by Joachim Junius, a canon and the eventual chaplain of St Peter's Church in Leuven (Fig. 11).⁹² Junius sent the image to Balthasar Moretus on 31 March 1606, just a week after Lipsius's death on 23 March, with an accompanying explanation of its iconography.⁹³ The sketch, entitled *Coenotaphium Iusti Lipsii Catholici Regis Historiographi*, depicts Lipsius encircled by mourners: former students, the Muses, personifications related to his works, and even the Spanish king. Lipsius leans on an awkward lectern and reaches up to touch a crucifix, held aloft by Faith and supported by Constancy. In the foreground stands a youth holding a shovel, identified in the captions below as 'Labor, Justus Lipsius's assiduous companion'.⁹⁴ Together with Constancy, this figure makes a sly allusion to the emblem of the Plantin-Moretus press ('Labore et Constantia') and as such, a subtle appeal to Balthasar, the potential publisher of the image. Meanwhile, Lipsius is shown clutching a copy of *Diva Sichemiensis* in his left hand and with *Diva Virgo Hallensis* resting on his lap, as if these were two texts that he held most dear. The Catholic bias and almost cultic adulation behind Junius's drawing are all the more apparent when placed alongside the image that evidently served as its model, an engraving by Peeter van der Borcht representing the death of Prince Karl Friedrich van Cleve (Fig. 12). Designed by the humanist Stephanus Pighius and published in his *Hercules prodicius* (Antwerp 1587),⁹⁵ the print's representa-

91. 'Imo cum solaminis a Stoicis magnam illi materiam superesse quispiam diceret, Illa sunt vana, respondit, digitoque in Christi crucifixi proper adstantem imaginem intento: haec est vera patientia'. Ibid., p. 25. The anecdote is also recounted by Miraeus (as in n. 24), p. 46 [misprinted as p. 49], but does not appear in the eyewitness account of Franciscus van den Broecke, or in that of the Jesuit College in Leuven. See above, n. 79. The discrepancy suggests that the episode may well have been invented by Woverius and Miraeus.

92. Arch. plant. 1150A, fol. 35^f.

93. Junius's explanation of the drawing is as follows: 'Habes in imagine Iustum Lipsium in gremio Constantiae prostratum, quae innititur Fidei quae post tergum stat, tenens crucem una manu cum D[omino] Lipsio et altera candelam ardentem. Habet Constantia librum in brachio suo, cui inscriptum nomen *Constantia*. Insidet illa vastissimae columnae; Lipsius uno brachio in cuius manu h[abe]t libellum *Aspericollis* notatum innititur pulpitho inverso; h[abe]t in gremio alium libellum dictum *Hallensis*, penes corpus iacet Fax inversa. Sedent Musae apud tumbam tenentes *Politica* Lipsii tristes; cohors studiosa Lipsii gnaviter indagat statum sui praeceptoris, cui a Fide de qua supra feci mentionem, a viro timorato, sacerdote Societatis Iesu —sine toga, ut tali conventi, pingendus est Sacerdos— et a Labore fit responsum. Stat Lovanium et luget, apud quam notabilis turris impensae perditae ex libro Iusti Lipsii de Lovanio perspicatius cognovistis. Stat

Rex Catholicus medius, apud quem ultra montes eminentes cernuntur turres celeberrimi Monasterii dicti *Escoriael* in Hispaniis, S[ancto] Laurentio sacri. Venit ab alia parte Roma, tenens librum Iusti Lipsii piae memoriae de amplitudine Romanae urbis'. The numbered items on the drawing are explained in similar terms in Junius's letter to Balthasar and on the sheet. See J. de Landtsheer, 'Voor Vorst en Vaderland: Justus Lipsius op zijn sterfbed', *De Gulden Passer*, LXXXI, 2003, pp. 183–200, esp. 194. See also LL, pp. 293–96, no. 95; J. Papy, 'Lipsius and his Dogs: Humanist Tradition, Iconography and Rubens's Four Philosophers', this *Journal*, LXII, 1999, pp. 167–98, esp. 182–85 (ill. p. 183); and Everaert and Bouchery, 1949 (as in n. 12), p. 70, fig. 3.

94. Labor, Iusti Lipsii assiduus comes, bonum ex nomine praestat omen'. See De Landtsheer, 2003 (as in n. 91), pp. 188–89.

95. Stephanus Pighius, *Hercules prodicius seu principis iuventutis vita et peregrinatio*, Antwerp 1587, fold-out between pp. 30–31. See H. Mielke and U. Mielke, *Peeter van der Borcht. Book Illustrations. Part V*, ed. G. Luijten, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel 2007, pp. 270–71, no. 2364; W. Diederhoben, 'Der Tod in Rom: Die italienische Reise des Prinzen Karl Friedrich von Jülich-Kleve-Berg', in *Land im Mittelpunkt der Mächte: Die Herzogtümer Jülich-Kleve-Berg*, Kleve 1985, pp. 159–66, esp. 163, and nos F54 and F59 in the catalogue. I am most grateful to Elizabeth McGrath for sharing this discovery with me.



11. Joachim Junius, *Coenotaphium Iusti Lipsii Catholici Regis Historiographi*, ink drawing. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Arch. plant. 1150A, fol. 35^r



12. Peeter van der Borch, *Coenotaphium Caruli principis iuuentutis*, engraving from Stephanus Pighius, *Hercules prodicius seu principis iuventutis vita et peregrinatio*, 1587, fold-out between pp. 32–33

tion of the young prince's erudition and political power—even its very title—have been blatantly and rather clumsily adapted by Junius. The mourning Mother Church is replaced by a Muse holding Lipsius's *Politica sive civilis doctrina*, who is so preoccupied by grief that she ignores Lipsius's querying students, who are to be consoled by a Jesuit priest.⁹⁶ Only the helmeted Rome on the far left keeps her original identity in Junius's sketch; the monuments of the background cityscape, however, are nearly unrecognisable. No wonder that Balthasar Moretus declined to use this amateurish portrayal of Lipsius as an illustration for *Fama Posthuma*, despite Junius's best efforts.⁹⁷

Lipsius's funerary monument provides a more dignified memorial to his scholarly legacy, and another example of Woverius's role in the glorification of his mentor (Fig. 15).⁹⁸ The plaque and portrait bust were originally erected in Leuven's Church of the Recollects before an altar dedicated to the Virgin, where Lipsius instructed that he

96. For this description see Junius's text above, n. 93.

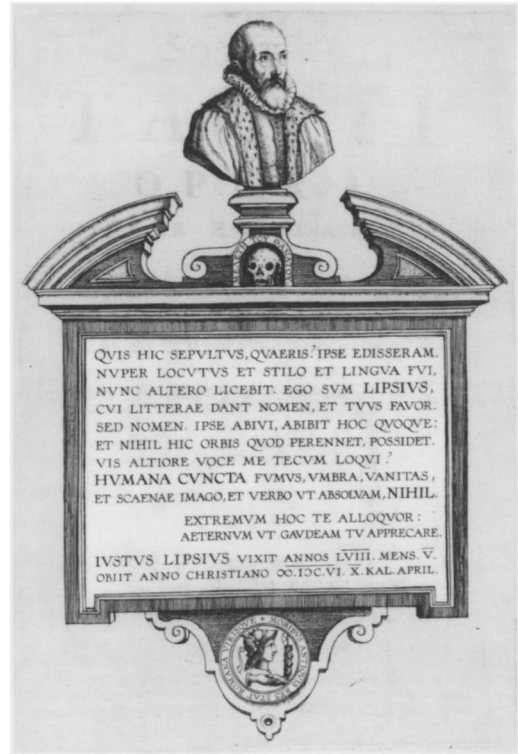
97. Junius even proposed revising it, with this purpose in mind, in a letter to Balthasar of 29 Apr. 1606. See De Landtsheer, 2003 (as in n. 93), pp. 197–99.

98. The plaque and the portrait bust are now in the collection of Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, Brussels, but are on long-term loan to the Justus Lipsius College at the Catholic University in

Leuven, where they are displayed in the college refectory. See Berryer (as in n. 12), p. 53, no. 84, and pp. 55–57; Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, *De beeldhouwkunst in de eeuw van Rubens in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden en het prinsbisdom Luik*, intr. E. Dhanens, Brussels 1977, p. 297, no. 270; Museum Vander Kelen-Mertens, *550 jaar Universiteit Leuven*, Leuven 1976, p. 227, no. 317; *LL*, pp. 331–34, no. 110.



13. Pieter de Jode the Younger, *Portrait of Justus Lipsius*, engraving, 1605. From Tacitus, *Opera quae exstant*, ed. Justus Lipsius, Antwerp 1607, fol. 1^v



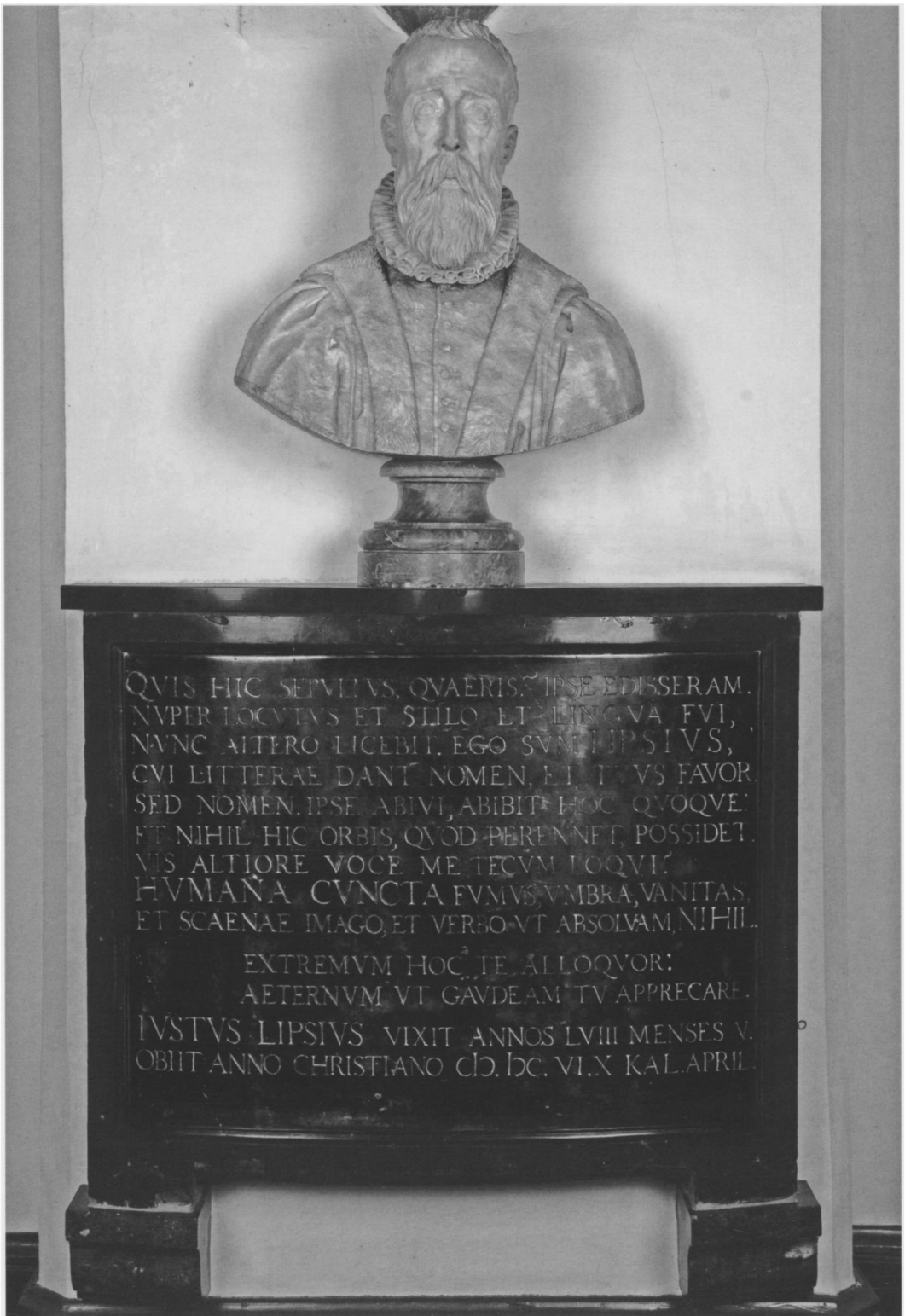
14. Tomb monument of Justus Lipsius, engraving after a design by Johannes Woverius, in Tacitus, *Opera quae exstant*, ed. Justus Lipsius, Antwerp 1607, fol. 3^v

should be buried and where Miraeus reports that ‘he normally prayed every day’.⁹⁹ The monument was commissioned by Lipsius’s widow Anna vanden Calstere but followed a design of Woverius’s conception, which an engraving preserves (Fig. 14).¹⁰⁰ It is uncertain who sculpted the striking alabaster bust, which portrays Lipsius wearing his notorious fur-lined robe, but the author of the inscription was certainly Lipsius himself. He had sent the text to Woverius in a letter dated 11 February 1604, with specifications for the execution of the epitaph.¹⁰¹ In the epitaph Lipsius evokes his metonymic pen but then dismisses the worldly fame it embodies as ephemeral and meaningless, as he had done in his poem *In pennam argenteam*.

99. Miraeus (as in n. 24), p. 49: ‘Conditus iacet, ut testamenti tabulis mandaratur, in aede sacra Franciscanorum sodalium, ante Virginis Deiparae aram, ad quam preces quotidie fundere solitus erat. Voluit nimium & a funere istud sui in Virginem cultus sempiternum apud posteros exstare monumentum’. In 1753, the monument is recorded on the north side of the nave in the Church of the Recollects, but its configuration within the church is otherwise unknown. E. Masoin, ‘Les reliques de Juste Lipse. Etude Historique et Médicale’, *La Belgique artistique et littéraire*, VI, 1906, pp. 844–68, esp. 848.

100. This print appears as the fourth folio of a four-page insert at the front of some copies of Lipsius’s Tacitus, in the 1607 edition brought out by Woverius (see n. 82); one of these is Arch. plant. A 1159. See *LL*, pp. 72–6, no. 15, and p. 331.

101. *ILE*, [xvii], 04 02 11: ‘Quis hic sepultus quaeris? Ipse edisseram. / nuper locutus & stilo & lingua fui. / nunc altero licebit. ego sum Lipsius, / cui literae dant nomen, & tuus favor, / sed nomen, ipse abivi, abibit hoc quoque, / et nihil hic orbis, quod perennet, possidet. / vis altiore voce me tecum loqui? / humana cuncta fumus, umbra, vanitas, / et scenae imago, & verbo ut absolvam,



15. Anonymous, bust of Justus Lipsius above his own epitaph, c. 1606, after a design by Johannes Woverius.
 Leuven, Justus Lipsius College, at the Catholic University

A second monument was uncovered in the ruins of the Church of the Recollects, in 1868: a bluish-gray stone slab inscribed ‘Here lies Justus Lipsius. Johannes Woverius, out of eternal affection for him, even now that he lies below the earth, erected this monument in 1606.’¹⁰² The slab is thought to have been positioned inside Lipsius’s tomb, below the floor of the chapel and very close to his remains. While Lipsius’s place of burial presented him as a perpetual devotee before the Virgin’s altar, Woverius’s slab—by means of its physical proximity to the scholar’s interred body—situated its commissioner as a perpetual admirer of Lipsius. His fond addition to his mentor’s tomb was followed, of course, by the monument he would later erect in the basilica of Our Lady in Halle: a far more complex and public memorial than its modest Leuven counterpart.

Woverius’s Monument and its Models

In featuring a portrait bust of Lipsius, Woverius’s monument in Halle bears relation to the votive portraits of prominent individuals which once lined the walls of the chapel.¹⁰³ These images of the Dukes of Burgundy and Holy Roman Emperors not only fulfilled particular vows to the Virgin but also played a memorial role: they directed a message to the incoming worshippers about the powerful political ties between the individual ruler and this particular *locus* of Catholic worship. Though most of the votive portraits depicted in Vorsterman’s engraving (Fig. 2) are full-length *priant* figures, two busts appear on the right wall, at the centre of the uppermost ledge. Surviving accounts also indicate that portrait busts were commissioned as votive offerings.¹⁰⁴ Woverius’s relief, however, was never intended to serve this function. Rather than reciprocating the Virgin’s aid, the monument addresses Lipsius’s piety, and his wisdom, reaffirming the statement of humanist identity already made by the scholar’s own verse and his silver pen. It marks the site of Lipsius’s most public act of religious devotion, physically linking his likeness to his belief in the miracles of the Virgin of Halle.

In the opening lines of the monument’s inscription, Woverius clearly aims to affirm the silver pen as the symbolic vehicle of his mentor’s virtues, and to assert that Lipsius’s humanist and devotional activities are indeed complementary. The last two lines honour

Nihil. / extremum hoc te alloquor: / aeternum ut gaudeam, tu apprecare.’ For a translation see Morford (as in n. 13), pp. 137–38. Like Lipsius’s *In pennam argenteam*, the epitaph enjoyed great popularity but also prompted Protestant criticism, including a collection of satirical poems *Iusti Lipsii Epitaphium, Manes, Symbolum*, published soon after the scholar’s death. See J. Papy, ‘The ‘Neerduydse’ Translation by Adriaan Marselaer (c. 1540–1617) of Lipsius’s Epitaph’, *Lias*, xxii.2, 1995, pp. 157–62; *BB*, iii, p. 1111.

102. ‘J. Lipsius H. S. E. / Jo. Woverius / Etiam Sub Terra / Aeter : Affectus Sui Mon. P. / M. DC. VI’. The church was torn down around 1800; subsequent digging for the foundations of a new house on the site occasioned the discovery of Woverius’s slab, which no longer survives; see Berryer (as in n. 12), pp. 56–57; and Masoin (as in n. 99), pp. 847–54. On the confusion over the identification of Lipsius’s remains see also G. van der

Schueren, ‘Les restes de Juste Lipse’, *Le Scalpel. Journal belge de sciences médicales*, 1951, pp. 1–4.

103. On the votive portrait see Van der Velden (as in n. 2), pp. 107–88; A. Warburg, ‘The Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoisie: Domenico Ghirlandaio in Santa Trinita: The Portraits of Lorenzo de’ Medici and His Household’, in his *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity*, Los Angeles 1999, pp. 184–221; and, for critical discussion of Warburg, H. van der Velden, ‘Medici Votive Images and the Scope and Limits of Likeness’, in *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance*, ed. N. Mann and L. Syson, London 1998, pp. 126–37.

104. Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, commissioned two silver portrait busts from the goldsmith Gerard Loyet, as votive offerings for religious sites in the Southern Netherlands. See Van der Velden (as in n. 2), pp. 61, 178–83, 323–24 (appx I, doc. 75).

the *auctor intellectualis* of the memorial,¹⁰⁵ introducing him in the vernacular as ‘Ioannes vanden Wouwer’ and enumerating his personal achievements.¹⁰⁶ The list of his titles indicates that the monument must at least postdate the winter of 1624, since Woverius was knighted by King Philip IV in Spain in February 1624; he had been appointed as a councillor by the Archdukes Albert and Isabella in March 1620.¹⁰⁷ Yet a closer look at the inscription precludes such a definitive conclusion. The third and fourth lines are carved more crudely than the lines above, an indication that they may have been added later or inscribed over a previous text. No hint of an alternate text is visible underneath the extant lines, but the surface of the monument is notably rougher in this area.¹⁰⁸ It is possible that the marble relief was actually created shortly after Lipsius’s death and that Woverius, proud of his newly-acquired laurels, decided to have the final lines of the inscription revised after 1624. Alternatively, the list of titles could have been added at someone else’s instigation, after Woverius died c. 1636.¹⁰⁹

Woverius’s memorial to his mentor (above, Fig. 4) is best classified as a cenotaph, a monument to a dead individual whose corpse is elsewhere.¹¹⁰ The design and manner of execution are indicative of its intended message. As a whole, the relief is visually unimposing. Only the portrait bust, as if to defy its modest stature, boldly extends out from the otherwise almost flat relief. The two doors on either side, which turn inwards

105. For Woverius’s role as an *auctor intellectualis* see the references cited in n. 82, esp. Vander Auwera, pp. 227–29, who elaborates on prior discussion by J. Müller-Hofstede, ‘Peter Paul Rubens 1577–1640: Selbstbildnis und Selbstverständnis’, in *Von Bruegel bis Rubens: Das goldene Jahrhundert der flämischen Malerei*, ed. E. Mai and H. Vlieghe, Vienna 1993, pp. 103–20 (106–08).

106. See above, p. 160

107. *BB*, v, pp. 872–74; Pierre François Sweerts, *Athenae Belgicae*, Antwerp 1628, pp. 487–88 [printed as 484]; *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres*, ed. M. Rooses and C. H. Ruelens, 6 vols, Antwerp 1887–1909, I, p. 58; J. Lefèvre, in *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, Bruxelles, xxvii, 1938, pp. 408–09. No sources indicate exactly when Woverius was named Lord of Quenast, the small town where he was eventually buried. On the three governing councils which were established in the Netherlands during the 16th century see G. Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, Ithaca 1977, p. 32, discussed by Morford (as in n. 13), pp. 42–43 n. 106. A similar list of Woverius’s titles appears in the inscription accompanying Anthony van Dyck’s engraved 1634 portrait of Woverius at age 58, which includes the phrase: ‘Eq[ues] Toparcha Quenastae Regi Catholico Belli, et / Supremi Aerarii in Belgio a Consiliis’. (Cf. the nearly identical phrase in the Halle inscription, cited above, p. 160.) See A. van Dyck, *Icones principum vivorum doctorum*, Antwerp 1660, no. 37; and *LL*, pp. 148–50, no. 41. A stained-glass window (no longer extant) in the Franciscan monastery in Antwerp, commissioned by Woverius and his wife Maria Clarisse, is documented to have had the inscription: ‘Ioannes Van Den Wouwer Eq. Dns de Quenaste / Regi Catholico Belli Eques, Supremi Aerarii in / Belgio a Consiliis, et

Maria Claris coniuges / pio affectu Posuerunt anno M.DC.XVIII’. The date of 1618 must not be recorded correctly, however, as Woverius was not yet a councillor or a knight at that time. See J. E. Buschmann, *Verzameling der Graf- en Gedenkschriften van de Provincie Antwerpen*, vi, Antwerp 1871, p. 179. A final source for Woverius’s titles is a group of three medals, two of which have been dated to 1629 and were executed by Adrien Waterloos; see A. Pinchart, ‘Adrien Waterloos’, *Revue de la numismatique Belge*, 2nd ser., v, 1855, pp. 253–54. These medals are inscribed ‘Joannes Waverius, Antverpiensis; Eques’; and ‘[Joannes] Waverius, Antverp[ien]sis; Eques; Reg[i] a Belli et Aerarii Belg[ic]i Consil[iis]’. The third medal seems to be a copy after the latter, and is inscribed in French ‘Mess[ire] J[ean] van den Waver[e], Chev[alier]; S[eigneur] de Quenaste; Des Conseils du Roia[ume]’; the date of this last medal is uncertain. See Gerard van Loon, *Histoire métallique des XVII provinces des Pays-Bas depuis l’abdication de Charles-Quint, jusqu’à la paix de Bade en MDCCXVI*, II, The Hague 1732, pp. 209–11.

108. The erroneous form of ‘Catholi’ and its awkward division between the third and fourth lines also points to a later alteration.

109. Biographers have proposed alternate dates for Woverius’s death but 1636 is the most generally accepted; Morford (as in n. 13), p. 41 n. 102.

110. In the ancient world, cenotaphs were erected as honorary tombs for those whose bodies could not be recovered for burial; see J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, Baltimore 1971, p. 54. As Lipsius’s monument in Leuven already stood at the site of his interred remains, however, Woverius’s relief in Halle was clearly not erected for this reason.

at a very slight angle, frame the scholar's figure. Lipsius wears a simple tunic, which forms a pleat at his chest and hangs down in folds from his uneven shoulders. His face is frontal, and he stares distantly past the viewer. His full beard, furrowed brow and the creases around his eyes suggest the wisdom acquired with advanced age.

From the chosen material to the specific iconography, the relief is based on the prototypes of ancient Roman funerary sculpture. A second-century cinerary urn, displayed today in the cloister of S. Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome, illustrates the similarities (Fig. 16).¹¹¹ The frontal bust of a young man on the Roman urn, and the open doors with animal-head doorknockers on either side, have direct parallels in the Halle monument. Lipsius's attire in Woverius's marble relief also has close affinity to this antique example. Only a few other surviving Roman urns show a portrait bust between open doors;¹¹² but the motif—a visualisation of the threshold

between life and death—was common in ancient funerary sculpture. The double doors are often thought to represent the gates of the Underworld or the entrance to a temple or shrine.¹¹³ More specifically, examples like the S. Paolo urn, in which busts are situated between the open doors, may refer to *armaria*, the cabinets used to display portraits of ancestors in the atriums of Roman homes.¹¹⁴ Through this last allusion, the door motif recalls the permanent place of honour afforded to the deceased among the living.

Woverius's posthumous monument to Lipsius functions within the chapel of Our Lady much like the ancestral portraits of ancient Rome, which were both memorials to the deceased and the *loci* of religious practice. Cinerary urns, like the S. Paolo example, served as altars where family members would make memorial offerings.¹¹⁵ Similarly,



16. Roman cinerary urn, 2nd century AD. Rome, S. Paolo fuori le Mura

111. G. Davies, 'The Door Motif in Roman Funerary Sculpture', *Papers in Italian Archaeology*, 1: *The Lancaster Seminar*, ed. H. McK. Blake, T. W. Potter and D. B. Whitehouse, 2 vols, Oxford 1978, I, pp. 203–26 (205, no. 68, pl. 16.IX); D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Imperial Funerary Altars with Portraits*, Rome 1987, pp. 192–94, no. 66, pl. XXXIX.I; B. Haarlov, *The Half-Open Door: A Common Symbolic Motif within Roman Sepulchral Sculpture*, Odense 1977, pp. 118–19, no. III.8, fig. 25; M. Waelkens, review of Haarlov's book in *Gnomon*, LI, 1979, pp. 682–92; Toynbee (as in n. 110), pp. 48, 245–46. I am grateful to Rabun Taylor for sharing with me his expertise on Roman cinerary urns.

112. For comparable examples see A. N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, *Ancestral Portraiture in Rome and the Art of the Last Century of the Republic*, Amsterdam 1932, pp. 25–26, pl. IV; Toynbee (as in n. 110), pp. 47–48, 245–46.

113. Davies (as in n. 111), pp. 203–04; E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, New York 1964, pp. 35–38; W. Altmann, *Die Römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, Berlin 1905, pp. 14–21; F. Sinn, *Stadrömische Marmorurnen*, Mainz am Rhein 1987, pp. 63–65.

114. Davies (as in n. 111), p. 205; Toynbee (as in n. 110), pp. 48, 245–46; Kleiner (as in n. 111), p. 193.

Woverius's monument situates a sort of humanist-inspired shrine to Lipsius within the sanctum of Catholic worship. His careful appropriation of Roman funerary imagery invests the object with the authority and longevity of the ancient past, and even extends to the memorial's inscription, where the abbreviation P. C. ('ponendum curavit') recalls an epigraphical formula often found on classical tombs.¹¹⁶ Indeed, the monument almost seems to masquerade as an antiquity itself.¹¹⁷ The portrait of Lipsius omits any clear indices of contemporary dress, unlike the bust made for his tomb in Leuven (Fig. 15). The choice of marble further associates the relief with ancient sculpture, and its physical permanence ensures the long-term preservation of Lipsius's memory.¹¹⁸ Unlike the silver pen which once hung above it or the wax votives that surrounded it, the stone memorial has not been installed in the church as a pious, consumable offering. Instead, in the aftermath of the attacks on Lipsius's Catholic faith, Woverius has employed the solidity of marble and the power of ancient reference, for one last (and lasting) defence against Lipsius's critics.

Woverius in Rubens's Milieu

Even if the precise ancient model which Woverius used in designing his cenotaph remains unknown,¹¹⁹ the milieu from which the monument originated is clear. The invocation of classical motifs in Southern Netherlandish art of the early seventeenth century is predominant in the work of Peter Paul Rubens, who had personal ties to both Lipsius and Woverius. The artist expressed his friendship with the two men in a famous painting, the *Four Philosophers* (Fig. 17), executed after the death of his brother Philip in 1611.¹²⁰ He painted the work, at least in part, as a posthumous memorial to his brother and to Lipsius, his brother's former teacher.¹²¹ Like Woverius, Philip had been an intimate

115. Kleiner (as in n. 111), pp. 19–30.

116. E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine*, v.1, Paris 1913, p. 407, no. 4328. Espérandieu cites a Roman monument discovered in Metz and later housed in the Jesuit College in Luxembourg, which employed the same phrase. The abbreviation also appears in the epitaph for Philip Rubens, the brother of Peter Paul Rubens, which Woverius helped to compose. See *Correspondance de Rubens* (as in n. 107), vi, pp. 332–34; and Morford (as in n. 13), pp. 46–48.

117. See Nagel and Wood (as in n. 63), pp. 403–15, esp. 408; T. M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry*, New Haven 1982.

118. The dialogue between the permanence of stone and the impermanence of the dead body is central to the understanding of funerary sculpture and by extension, to memorial images. The need to assert Lipsius's permanence necessarily implies the possibility of his impermanence. Hans Belting discusses this tension in 'Repräsentation und Anti-Repräsentation: Grab und Porträt in der frühen Neuzeit', in *Quel corps? Eine Frage der Repräsentation*, ed. H. Belting, D. Kamper and M. Schulz, Munich 2002, pp. 29–52, esp. 46–47.

119. The 'Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance' currently possesses

no relevant information on the S. Paolo cinerary urn or on the other examples of the motif mentioned by Jitta and Toynbee (see n. 112).

120. Florence, Pitti Palace. See H. Vlieghe, *Rubens: Portraits of Identified Sitters Painted in Antwerp* (Corpus Rubenianum, xix.2), London 1987, pp. 128–32, no. 117, fig. 140, with extensive bibliography; W. Prinz, 'The *Four Philosophers* by Rubens and the Pseudo-Seneca in Seventeenth-Century Painting', *Art Bulletin*, LV.3, 1973, pp. 410–28; Zurawski (as in n. 88), pp. 727–53; Papy, 1999 (as in n. 93), pp. 190–98; Morford (as in n. 13), pp. 3–13, 181–210; idem, 'Towards an Intellectual Biography of Justus Lipsius: Pieter Paul Rubens', in *WJL*, pp. 387–403; Müller-Hofstede, 1993 (as in n. 105), pp. 104–08; idem, 'Rubens und das Constantia-Ideal: Das Selbstbildnis von 1623', in *Der Künstler über sich in seinem Werk: Internationales Symposium der Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rom 1989*, Weinheim 1992, pp. 365–405, esp. 380–84; H. Keller, 'Entstehung und Blütezeit des Freundschaftsbildes', in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London 1967, pp. 161–73.

121. Zurawski (as in n. 88), pp. 729–44, has compared the *Four Philosophers* to publications like *Fama Posthuma* and suggested that Rubens was a contributor to the Catholic 'apologetic movement' on Lipsius's behalf. See also Papy, 1999 (as in n. 93), pp. 194–97, who char-

member of Lipsius's circle and one of his favourite pupils. From left to right, the image presents Rubens himself, Philip, Lipsius and Woverius, in an imagined scholarly study, with a view outside onto a hilly landscape of ancient Roman ruins. The prominent antique bust of 'Seneca', displayed on the wall, alludes to Lipsius's revival of ancient Stoic philosophy.¹²²

The bust itself, which was owned by Rubens and identified during his lifetime as an image of Seneca,¹²³ offers a reference point for the model behind Woverius's monument in Halle. Rubens purchased the ancient sculpture during his eight-year sojourn in Italy and brought it home to Antwerp in 1608. In the years that followed, he complemented the bust with the acquisition of many more antique objects, which he grandly displayed within his home.¹²⁴ Rubens's collection of gems, coins and sculpture was essentially the first of its kind in the Southern Netherlands and surely influenced Woverius, who is also documented as a purchaser of antiquities. He bought four marble inscriptions in 1625 from the Antwerp merchant Bodewijn Breydel, and gave additional epigraphic material to his brother-in-law Lodewijk Clarysse and to his co-magistrate and fellow collector Nicolaas Rockox.¹²⁵ Yet neither Rubens nor Woverius seem to have owned any antiquities which resemble the monument in the Halle basilica. Outside of Rubens's collection, there would have been few ancient monuments available in the Southern Netherlands during the early seventeenth century. It is far more likely that the sculptor of Woverius's monument used a drawing made in Italy by one of the numerous Netherlandish artists and humanists who travelled there.¹²⁶ Lipsius lived there himself between 1568 and 1570, during which time he hastily sketched a few antiquities in his personal notebooks,¹²⁷ and Woverius visited Italy between 1599 and 1602. Drawings and designs by Rubens after Roman antiquities, however, may best illustrate the appropriation of classical models which lies behind the creation of Woverius's cenotaph.¹²⁸ His study for the tomb

acterises the painting as a more intimate and erudite reflection on Lipsius's legacy.

122. For Neostoic interpretations of the painting see Prinz (as in n. 120), pp. 410–28; and Morford (as in n. 13), pp. 3–13, 181–210.

123. On the ancient bust and its (mis-)identification as Seneca see most recently F. Healy in '*A House of Art: Rubens as Collector*', ed. K. L. Belkin and F. Healy, exhib. cat. (Rubenshuis, Antwerp), Schoten 2004, pp. 268–69, no. 65, with earlier literature.

124. See J. M. Muller, 'Rubens's Collection in History', in '*A House of Art*' (as in n. 123), pp. 18–56 and 260–63. See also M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, Ithaca 1977, pp. 79–84.

125. Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, *Da Pompei a Roma: De oudheid herontdekt*, exhib. cat., Brussels 2003, pp. 24–25, 57, nos 34–36. Three of Woverius's inscriptions are preserved in Brussels, Koninklijke Musea, inv. nos A 935, A 188 and A 182; for the fourth, now in Leiden, Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden, inv. no. Pb 20, see H. Schuermans, 'Inscriptions romaines provenant de l'étranger et recueillies en Belgique', *Bulletin des Commissions royales d'Art et d'Archéologie*, VIII, 1869, pp. 342–45. On Rockox's collection see R. W. Scheller, *Nicolaas Rockox als Oud-*

heidkundige, Brussels 1978. I am very grateful to Cécile Evers for helping me to track down the details of the Leiden inscription.

126. This is also the opinion of Ruurd B. Halbertsma, Curator of Greek and Roman Art at the Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden in Leiden, who generously shared it with me during our conversation on 29 August 2005.

127. J. de Landtsheer, 'Inscriptions and Coins in Lipsius's Works, 1588–1603', *Lias*, xxxi, 2004, pp. 119–39, esp. 127, 134–36. On Lipsius's use of illustrations after antiquities in his works see J. Papy, 'An Antiquarian Scholar between Text and Image? Justus Lipsius, Humanist Education, and the Visualization of Ancient Rome', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, xxxv.1, 2004, pp. 97–131; and T. L. Meganck, 'Erudite Eyes: Artists and Antiquarians in the Circle of Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598)', Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University 2003, pp. 107–17.

128. On the Italian collections of antiquities that Rubens probably visited see M. van der Meulen, *Rubens: Copies after the Antique* (Corpus Rubenianum, xxiii.1–3), London 1994, esp. pp. 41–68; also M. van der Meulen, 'Rubens and the Antique Sculpture Collections in Rome', *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis*, xxiv, 1976–78, pp. 147–58.



© POLO MUSEALE FIORENTINO

17. Peter Paul Rubens, *Four Philosophers*, c. 1611–14. Florence, Pitti Palace



18. Peter Paul Rubens, drawing for the tomb monument of Jean Richarddot, c. 1609. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Prentenkabinet



19. Cinerary urn of Clodius Apollinaris, 1st century AD. Rome, Vatican Museum, Belvedere Collection

monument of Jean Richarddot (c. 1609) is based on an ancient cinerary urn in the Vatican's Belvedere collection, which also includes the door motif (Figs 18–19).¹²⁹ The imagery of the Halle memorial is surely far too specific to have been adapted from this sketch, but the process behind its creation was doubtless of a similar nature.

The artist responsible for the monument in Halle may well have worked within Rubens's radius. A remarkable feature of his Antwerp workshop was its inclusion of apprentices in both painting and sculpture.¹³⁰ Lucas Faydherbe and Georg Petel, both of whom were attached to the painter's atelier, adopted and adapted Rubens's classical

129. J. S. Held, *Rubens: Selected Drawings*, Mt Kisco 1986, pp. 88–89, no. 50, pl. 54; idem, 'Rubens' Designs for Sepulchral Monuments', *Art Quarterly*, xxiii.3, 1960, pp. 247–70. Richarddot's tomb was never executed, but Rubens later used the door motif in his funerary triptych for Jan Moretus; see D. Freedberg, *Rubens: The Life of Christ after the Passion* (Corpus Rubenianum, vii), London 1984, pp. 37–38, no. 4, fig. 1. The appropriation of the door motif in Renaissance funerary sculpture occurs earlier on in Italy, notably in Donatello's equestrian monument to Gattamelata in Padua and in

Michelangelo's designs for the tomb of Pope Julius II. Its popularity continued into the 17th century; see Panofsky (as in n. 113), pp. 85–89; J. Bialostocki, 'The Door of Death: Survival of a Classical Motif in Sepulchral Art', *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen*, xviii, 1973, pp. 7–32. In the Netherlands, the inclination towards classicising motifs was most prominent in 17th-century funerary art, in Rubens's circle and beyond. For northern Netherlandish examples see also F. Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Tomb Sculpture*, Zwolle 2003, pp. 122–41.

motifs in their work; and other sculptors from the Southern Netherlands, among them François du Quesnoy and Artus Quellinus, likewise drew inspiration from his oeuvre.¹³¹ Yet neither the known works of these sculptors nor their periods of artistic activity are easily matched to Woverius's monument. Comparison with the other two extant busts of Lipsius also yields no positive results. The one for Lipsius's tomb is rather similar in its manner of execution but is also anonymous, while Hans van Mildert's bust of Lipsius for the courtyard of the Plantin-Moretus press, executed in 1622 and commissioned by Balthasar Moretus, differs sharply in style from the Halle portrait.¹³² More plausible candidates include the Antwerp sculptors Robrecht and Andries De Nole.¹³³ Andries travelled to Rome early in his career but was back in the Netherlands by 1622; both he and his nephew Robrecht produced works of a simple, classicising style, including commissions for Scherpenheuvel and other cult sites. Both are also known to have sculpted in marble. Even so, an attribution to the De Noles or any other contemporary sculptor, in the absence of documentary evidence, would be merely speculative at this point.

Woverius's monument itself, in any case, displays no ostensible interest in revealing the identity of its creator. Through an insistence on the absolute imitation of classical precedent, the memorial deliberately frustrates association with contemporary production and, in doing so, disavows its own authorship, even to the point of obscurity. Situated between the doors that divide this life from the next, the classicising bust of Lipsius emerges from its niche as an assertion that the scholar's legacy will endure the vicissitudes of time.

The Silver Pen in Absentia

For all its richness of meaning, Lipsius's silver pen has not survived. Yet it may have had a longer life than most votive offerings of equally inconsequential size, as Vorsterman's 1658 etching already documents that the object was preserved in the church for at least half a century after Lipsius's pilgrimage. Even as late as January 1741, a group of Jesuits in Ingolstadt performed a play entitled 'The Pen of Justus Lipsius, Sacred to Our Lady of Halle', an indication that Lipsius's gift continued to serve as inspiration for subsequent generations.¹³⁴

From its role in Lipsius's own assertion of his identity to its prominence in the debate over his religious affiliations, the silver pen enjoyed both fame and infamy throughout its lifetime. Now that the pen is gone, only the signs of its former prominence

130. F. Scholten, 'Rubens' werkplaats-academie of de ghemeynschap die onse Consten van Schildry ende Belthouvery t'samen hebben', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, LV, 2004, pp. 35–53. See also Lucas Faydherbe 1617–1697. *Mechels Beeldhouwer & Architect*, ed. H. De Nijin, H. Vlieghe and H. Devisscher, Stedelijk Museum Hof van Busleyden, Mechelen 1997.

131. See Koninklijke Musea, 1977 (as in n. 98).

132. M. Rooses, *Catalogue du musée Plantin-Moretus*, Antwerp 1928, pp. 54–56, 94; Berryer (as in n. 12), p. 53, no. 85.

133. Koninklijke Musea, 1977 (as in n. 98), pp. 61–64; M. Casteels, *De beeldhouwers de Nole te Kamerijk, te*

Utrecht en te Antwerpen, Brussels 1961, esp. pp. 36–56, and pp. 101–04, 122–25, 178–79 on the De Nole brothers' ties to Rubens.

134. 'Justi Lipsii Calamus Divae Hallensis Sacer'. See J.-M. Valentin, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites dans les Pays de Langue Allemande: Répertoire chronologique des pièces représentées et des documents conservés (1555–1773)*, II, Stuttgart 1983, p. 705, no. 5458. This evocation of Lipsius's pen does not necessarily indicate that the object itself was still in the church in 1741; the numerous textual references to the pen may well have served as the source for the play. See also n. 46.

linger on: the praise and polemic which it prompted; a bronze plaque; a marble monument. Woverius, whose legacy is far eclipsed by that of his distinguished mentor, has rightfully earned his laurels as Lipsius's most ardent disciple. His stone memorial, a testament for all posterity, continues to mark the site and significance of Justus Lipsius's silver pen.

Harvard University