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Lipsius' *Dissertatiuncula apud Principes*

By María Ángeles Robles

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Keywords: justus lipsius, archdukes, paratexts, oratio, literary production, similitudo temporum.

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I. Introduction

The text that will be the subject of commentary is the *oratio* he delivered to the Archdukes Isabel Clara Eugenia and Alberto in 1599. As will be indicated in the section on the biography and editions of the *Dissertatiuncula apud Principes*; there are many editions of this speech, most of which are printed separately, but the volume I am handling for this work is accompanied by the *Panegyricus Traiani*, a speech written by Pliny the Younger in honour of the emperor Trajan, published in 1600 in Antwerp by Christophe Plantin. First of all, I will contextualise the historical moment in which Lipsius' discourse takes place. The humanist in his text brings to mind the situation before the arrival of the archdukes in the Netherlands. Still, implicitly he only alludes to the existence of a war but does not recreate the hostilities under Margarita of Parma, sister of Felipe II, who gave rise by her way of governing to the beginning of the Eighty Years' War. In contrast to the situation described above, the princes were peacemakers. They established close ties with the local authorities, who did not hesitate to express their support for the archducal regime.

Moreover, I will provide some biographical information about Lipsius to indicate the importance of this scholar in Neo-Latin literature. Next, I will focus on the commentary of the two paratexts that precede the main text; one is the preface to the princes, in which he refers to the *Panegyricus Traiani*, written by Pliny the Younger; the other is the preface dedicated to the reader; both paratexts shed light on biographical data of the Spanish archdukes. Finally, I will concentrate on the discourse that concerns us, commenting on the literary clichés used by our author, taking into account his theoretical principle: "*similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum*", understood in a broad sense, while establishing parallels with the rest of the works written by him both before and after.

From my point of view, I consider that there is no veiled message about the consequences of not fulfilling one's princely duties, as Toon Van Houdt (1998, pp. 405-432) and Violet Soen (2011, pp. 207-208) claim. In the whole of my work, I will demonstrate the veracity and truthfulness of Lipsius' words, dedicated to the archdukes. In addition, the scholar was an adviser to the Archdukes and had played a prominent role in the political life of the United Provinces. The erudite had lived at the centre of the public intellectual, political, and political scene.[1]

On the importance of the figure of prince or ruler, Lipsius has already taken it up in his *Politica.*[2] When the Belgian was writing the work above, he had seen the chaos in his country and did not believe that the Netherlands would be able to become strong, being at war with the Spanish crown. As I will display in my work, the scholar always encouraged the prince to use his power fearlessly, but it had to be done effectively and realistically. He was convinced that the prince or ruler's primary mission was the happiness of his subjects, and this could only be achieved by a strong state conducive to peace and security.[3]

II. Biographical Data of Lipsius and Editions of the Speech Dissertaticula Apud Principes

Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) was a Flemish Catholic philologist, philosopher, and humanist. Following in this respect Jan Papy (Lipsius, 2000, p.15), our erudite created the intellectual movement of neo-Stoicism which influenced contemporary scholars. He was able to weave the ideals of ancient Stoicism into a form compatible with Christianity. *De Constantia* is one of the most emblematic, a transmitter of this neo-Stoicism.[4]

According to Jeanine De Landtsheer (2004, pp. 66-69), in March 1591, our scholar left the Calvinist university in Leiden, where he had taught for thirteen

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[1] (Carrasco Martínez, 2021, 35-36).
[2] (López Poza, 2008, 227).
[3] (Lipsius, 1599, p. 43).
[4] (Ramis Barceló, 2021, p. 103), (Sánchez, 2015 p. 51).

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years. Thanks to the intervention of his friends such as Christopher Plantin, the secretary of the archdiocese of Mechelen, Nicolaas Oudaert, and Willem Breugel, a relative of Lipsius, councillor of the Brabant States, he was able to return to the southern Netherlands from 1586. The humanist finally arrived in Louvain on 9 August 1592 and in November, he began teaching ancient history and Latin. However, Lipsius was constantly criticised by foreign colleagues and scholars about the purity of his motives and the soundness of his religious ideas. The scholar declined generous invitations from Italian universities and the King of France; in fact, the Belgian preferred to remain in his own country and join the Confraternity of the Holy Virgin, flourishing in Louvain, as in many other places.

The Belgian took special care in choosing the patrons to whom he dedicated his successive publications, gaining the esteem and trust of the authorities. The humanist devoted his work *De Cruce* (January 1594) to the States of Brabant, *De militia Romana* (June 1595) to the future Felipe III, *Poliorcetica* (August 1596) to the Prince of Liège-Bishop, Ernest of Bavaria, and *Admiranda sive De magnitudine Romana* (March 1598) to the Archduke Alberto of Austria. On 14 December 1595, King Felipe II granted him the title of *historiographicus regius*, which entailed an annuity of 1000 guilders. Felipe II explicitly recommended him to his cousin, Archduke Alberto of Austria, upon the latter's arrival in the southern Netherlands.

On three occasions, Lipsius was asked by leading politicians to give his opinion on the position the Spanish king should adopt in his foreign policy. When the Archdukes arrived in Leuven, they honoured Lipsius with their presence at one of his lectures at the University of Leuven. This important event left its mark on the humanist's biography.

Following the information given by Violet Soen (2011, pp. 207-208), the Archdukes asked the humanist to give them a lecture. In fact, this is the reason why Lipsius gave his speech, based on a text by the philosopher Seneca, specifically from the treatise *De Clementia*, at the beginning of book I, chapter. Subsequently, the erudite ensured this event became part of his public image and biography. Afterwards, not only did he write to his friends about the speech delivered before the princes, but he also permitted for the lecture to be included in the official printed account of Johannes Bochius' Joyous Entry (Soen, 2011, pp. 207-208).

Christophe Plantin printed Lipsius' speech separately in Antwerp. Let us recall that in 1600 about 1500 copies were printed. Due to its success, 1550 copies of a corrected and enlarged version were printed in 1604.[5] Toon Van Houdt (1998, pp. 405–432) explained that this speech was an act in which Lipsius tried to reconcile his public and humanist self-image with his political views on princely duties.

III. The Historical Moment at Which Lipsius Formulates His *Oratio*

On the twelfth of July 1598, Archduke Alberto received the powers to govern as ruler of Flanders. He also accepted the engagement to marry the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, who brought these lands as her wedding dowry. The Archduke convened the States General of the United Provinces in Brussels, informed them of the new situation, and after being read the privileges of the land and taking an oath to respect them, the representatives of the provinces.[6]

Isabel Clara Eugenia was daughter of Felipe II and Isabel de Valois. On the eighteenth April 1599, Isabel married Alberto of Austria in Valencia. The arrival of the princes takes place against the backdrop of the Eighty Years' War, waged against their ruler, Felipe II of Spain. The rebellion against the monarch began in 1568, in the time of Margarita de Parma, sister of Felipe II and ruler of the Netherlands. Margarita's relations with the Protestant Dutch nobility were never entirely smooth. This fact, added to their ineffectiveness and the distance between the two countries, meant that they increasingly distanced themselves from Spanish politics in pursuit of their economic and political interests, which were beginning to take shape in the atmosphere.

Prince Alberto's stay in the Netherlands between 1599 and 1633, the year of his death, was not easy. Still, Isabel Clara Eugenia's knowledge of the political affairs acquired by Felipe II helped him to overcome the severe problems he had to face during those years. Isabel actively intervened in the decisions taken by her husband, Alberto, who had been the ruler of Portugal. The new sovereigns wished to forge closer ties with the local authorities, who did not hesitate to express their collaboration with the archducal regime.[7]

Werner Thomas (2011, pp. 180-201) presents in detail the different strategies of pacification of the southern territories implemented by the archducal government, deployed in three directions: getting the Flemish provinces to recognise Felipe III as the future sovereign, incorporating the Flemish elites and nobility into the courtly circle, and using Isabell herself as the personification of the transition from the archducal regime to the reincorporation of the provinces into the Spanish monarchy. On the goodwill of the Archdukes towards the States General of the United Provinces, an initial eight-month ceasefire agreement was concluded in The Hague in the spring of 1607:

> *Contentos de trattar con los Estados Generales de las Provincias Unidas en calidad y como teniéndolos por*

[5] (Van Houdt, 1998, p. 409).

[6] (Gallegos, 2014, pp. 234-235).

[7] (Werner, 2011. p. 188).

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payses, provincias y estados libres sobre los quales Sus Altezas no pretenden nada, sea por vía de una paz perpetua, una tregua o suspensión de armas por doze, quinze o veynte años, a escoger de los dichos Estados.[8]

The achievement of the Truce in 1609[9] ushered in an era in which festivals and festive events were used as a propaganda campaign on behalf of the sovereigns.[10] The archdukes promoted the economic prosperity of the Netherlands, thus securing their future as rulers of the country.[11] They promoted the Spanish language and culture. The archdukes also respected and encouraged the production of Belgian literary and philosophical works. It should be noted that they favoured, above all, the scholars of the circle of Lipsius.[12]

IV. The Preface to the Princes

The text refers to the *Panegyricus Traiani*, written by Pliny the Younger. The scholar considers it appropriate to mention Trajan because he comes from Hispania, the name formerly given to Spain, and he also mentions him for his excellent way of governing both his own people and those subjected to the Empire. He indicates this lecture will be published in the same book as the dissertation to Princes Alberto and Isabel Clara Eugenia. Moreover, it should be recalled Trajan is an example of the ideal figure of a just and pious prince, comparable to none other than Augustus. Pliny the Younger's *Panegyricus* will be the political piece of his principality, which inaugurates a new golden age with a just emperor who appears surrounded by exemplary women.[13] All this will produce a tradition in later chroniclers, as is the case of Eutropius in his *Breviarium ab urbe condita* (Eutr. 8, 5, 3), who records the greeting of the emperors by the senate when they were told more than 300 years later: "*Felicior si Augusto et Traiano melior*" as if for them these *Caesares* were their contemporaries. Trajan's reputation as a just man transcended from antiquity to the late modern period. Pliny the Younger, in his *Panegyricus*, presents Trajan as the heavenly, extraordinary prince, very close to the gods.[14]

At quin aliud etiam visum addere, quod non excuso: Plinii, inquam, Panegyricum, *quem Traiano optimo Principi optimum laudatissimumque scripsit. Nec id quidem magnum opus. Tamen ut in exiguam saepe tabulam orbis et regionum magnitudo aut varietas includitur: sic in hunc libellum, quidquid ad munus aut decus veri Principatus. Laudat suum Traianum, non monet, fateor: sed hoc quoque decorum apud Principes, ut sub blando eo titulo, et boni quae faciunt, recognoscant; et alii, quae facere deberent, cognoscant. Quid, quod Traiano dictus dicatusque est, Hispano Principi et qui primus florentis imperii sceptrum transtulit ad externam et suam gentem?* (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *3r).

Once Trajan is praised and indicated this oration will accompany the dissertation in honour of the Princes, the Belgian mentions the Spanish origins of the princes, implicitly linking Trajan to the princes because of their Spanish origins. On the one hand, Alberto has blood ties on his mother's side with María de Austria (daughter of Carlos I of Spain). On the other hand, Isabel was Spanish by birth and by noble lineage, as she was the daughter of Felipe II, King of Spain: "*Et eius gentis tu materna origine, Alberte, et longa etiam in habitatione es: tu Isabella, ortu et stirpe. Accipite ergo, Principes, et munusculum hoc, et munus: quorum illud felicium Auspiciorum vestrorum memoriae aliquid faciat*" (Lipsius, 1600, fols. *3r-*3v).

V. Preface to the Reader

The scholar is very clear in his preface to the reader, stating that he will not elaborate a standard laudatory discourse, impregnated with the usual language of panegyrics. It is, for this reason, he thinks that he would be able to augment and embellish the text with examples from Cicero and Pliny, but Lipsius wants to be truthful in this speech, so the Belgian will avoid rhetoric and will not beat about the bush, he will speak bluntly as one who shouts the arrow and hits the bull's eye because the aim is to show the princes as exemplary people in the historical moment in which they live.

The allusion to the term "*sagitta*" evokes the frequent epithet ἑκάεργος ("*longe iaculans*"), referring to Apollo.[15] Moreover, Homer frequently used this epithet to refer to this god.[16] This Olympian divinity is described as the god of the arts, of the bow and arrow, who threatened or protected from high in the heavens, being identified with the light of truth. It can be concluded, based on the above, the erudite intends to show truthfulness in his assertions:

Nam augere et polire, exemplo veterum, atque adeo Tullii et Plinii, poteram: sed in re que ad Principes, veritatem amaui, et quidquid hoc fuit, damus sine colore aut fuco. Nec tibi tamen, ut aiebam, proprie damus. sed ut qui sagittam mittit, scopum intuetur, non circumstantes: sic mihi nunc Principes in oculis, non siquis alius forte leges. Lege tamen me optante, et hoc saltem disce, magna quaedam exempla cadere etiam in hoc avum. (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *4r).

[8] Papel n.º 9, "Segunda ratificación de S.[=u] M.[=ajestad el Rey] sobre la cessaçãón de armas", Madrid, 18 de septiembre de 1607, Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), manuscript (ms.) 11.187, fols. 17r-19v, fol.17r.
[9] (Gallegos, 2014, p. 241).
[10] (Werner, 2011, pp. 181-182).
[11] (Werner, 2011, pp. 180-185).
[12] (Roersch, 1892, p. 239).
[13] (Hidalgo de la Vega, 2012, pp. 111-121).
[14] (Verdugo Santos, 2018, pp.126, 144, 143).
[15] (Smith, 1867, pp. 230-232), (Ruiz de Elvira, 1982, pp.76-77), (Hamilton (2021, p. 37).
[16] Here are the places in Homer where the expression is used: "ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων" (*Homer. Iliad*. 15, 243; 16, 94; 16, 706; 17, 585; 21, 461; 21, 478; 22, 220).

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It is worth noting the Flemish humanist's praise of Queen Isabel Clara Eugenia as a scholar and lover of letters, who, once she was married and older, learned the Latin language:

> *An aliud illustrius, quam faeminam (Albertum enim nunc omitto) faemina in quam, inter Principes principem, venisse ultro ad has litterarias recitationes, sedisse, audisse? Fecit quid nisi heroinam illam Isabellam, atauiam suam, imitata? quae adeo omnium rerum honestarum, tum etiam artium amore flagrauit, ut iam nupta et grandior Latinas litteras didicerit, cum intelligendi illo fine et fructu. O eat in saecula illud et hoc exemplum, et una cum bona fama, Principes ament Famae et Aeternitatis istas artes! Sed alterum etiam scriptum non ex destinatione tibi damus.* (Lipsius, 1600, fols. *4r-*4v).

In the light of the above, it is clear that the humanist places the erudition of Isabel in a prominent place. It should be remembered that Felipe II, Isabel's father, took a special interest in his daughter's education. She studied Brocense's *Grammar* and received a musical education. She was fond of comedies, poetry competitions and all kinds of dramatic performances, and Isabel used to take an active part in those that she herself organised.[17]

VI. Dissertatiuncula Apud Principes

The Belgian begins his discourse by introducing himself as a 'novice *orator*'. He goes on to praise the presence of the archdukes since the arrival of such holy persons is unusual for him. On the one hand, the scholar refers to the archdukes, identifying them as stars, the archduke as the Sun and the archduchess as the Moon, both symbolising order and harmony, for which he apologises if his wit in expression is slow before them:

> *Etsi fateor haud plane rudem et tironem me esse in dicendo; tamen hic splendor vester, qui oculis meis inopinatus apparuit, et hic insolens confessus, turbat me aliquid (non nego) sed et delectat. Sicut qui e tenebris et longo situ ad solem subito educuntur, caligat iis acies, et oculi praestringuntur: sic mihi evenit, et duo simul maxima sidera cum video, hunc Solem, ut ita dicam, et hanc Lunam, hebescit nonnihil ingenii acies, et linguae haec promptitudo retardatur. Quid tamen est? Sicut idem ille sol excitat mox et recreat, et innata sua vi dat vigorem: sic mihi sentio ab aspectu Ser[issimis] [et Poten]tis[simisq]u[e Princibus] alacritatem infundi, et iisdem, quibus terrebar, excitari.* (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *2r).

In his work *De Constantia*, Lipsius alludes to the Moon and the Sun as stars and their connection with the course of events for humanity. The humanist considers that the evils that occur, such as tyranny and wars, should be regarded something indecipherable coming from divinity. He also gives as an example Euripides, who with the expression "*ξυμφορὰ θεήλατος*" (E. *Or*. 1-3).[18] Is referring to 'the misfortunes' ('calamities') sent by the gods. Then, in the events of life, he assigns to the moon the passing sway of human events, while he attributes to the sun the events that escape human beings, such as the rise and fall of kings:

> *Quod ibi labes terrae opida aliquot absorpsit, a Prouidentia est. quod alibi pestis multa millia hominum demessuit, ab ista. quod caedes, bellum, tyrannis apud Belgas, ab caede ista. Diuinitus Lipsi, diuinitus immissae omnes ista clades: ideoque bene et sapienter Euripidi* ξυμφορὰ θεήλατος [=E. *Or*. 1-3] *dicta. Fluxus, in qua, omnis et refluxus hic rerum humanarum, ab illa Luna dependet: ortus regnorum invecta et occasus, ab illo Sole* (Lipsius, 1586, p. 42).

In the same way, the scholar differentiates between the Moon as the symbol of the human and the Sun as the divine in his *Politica*: "*Luna inquam esto, et gloriae tuae omne lumen refunde illi Soli.* Haec est conditio regum, ut casus tantum aduersos hominibus tribuant, secundos fortunae fuae.[19] [*Aemilius Prob. In Datame*][20] [= Nep. *Dat.* 14, 5]" (Lipsius, 1599, p. 74).

The erudite indicates he will deliver a lecture at the request of the princes. The Flemish humanist then chooses to use an example from Seneca, specifically a passage from his work *De Clementia* (Sen. *Cl.* 1, 3):

> *Itaque parebo libens, Ser[issimi] [et Poten]tis[simiq]u[e Principes], quae me voluit subito et ex tempore pauca dicere: pauca certe erunt, et ideo excusata, quia subita et ex tempore. Non recedam autem longe (nam et sic iussistis) a more lectionis solitae: Annaeum Senecam (aeternum Hispaniae decus) in manus sumam, et pauca eius verba a consessu et tempore hoc non aliena, cum bona venia vestra Principes, cum bona gratia vestra reliqui auditores, explicabo. Ait I. De Clementia. Cap. III* [=.Sen. *Cl*. 1, 3]. Illius demum magnitudo stabilis fundataque est, quem omnes tam supra se esse quam pro se sciunt, cuius curam excubare pro salute singulorum atque universorum cottidie experiuntur, quo procedente non, tamquam malum aliquod aut noxium animal e cubili prosilierit, diffugiunt, sed tamquam ad clarum ac beneficum sidus certatim advolant. Obicere se pro illo mucronibus insidiantium paratissimi et substernere corpora sua, si per stragem illi humanam iter ad salutem struendum sit (Lipsius, 1600, fols. *2r-*2v).

Soen wonders why Lipsius has chosen this example from Seneca. The virtue of compassion was at the centre of Lipsius' humanistic and philological efforts. It is for this reason, says Soen, that he included *De*

[17] On the political and courtly apprenticeship of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia. See: Martínez Hernández (2011, pp. 29, 30-31).

[18] "*Οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν δεινόν, ὦδ' εἰπεῖν ἔπος, οὐδὲ πάθος οὐδὲ ξυμφορὰ θεήλατος, ἧς οὐκ ἂν ἄραιτ' ἄχθος ἀνθρώπου φύσις*". (E. *Or*. 1-3). The text is taken from Euripedes (2002, p. 412).

[19] "*Namque eam esse consuetudinem regiam, ut casus adversos hominibus tribuant, secundos fortunae suae*" (Nep. *Dat.* 14, 5). The text is taken from: Cornelius Nepos (1852, p. 105).

[20] Nepos wrote his best work as a biographer: *De uiris illustribus*, written in 16 books. All that remains of it today is the book *De excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium*. The historian devotes a chapter to Damates, general of the Persian Empire and satrap of Cappadocia under Artaxerxes II between 380 BC and 352 BC.

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Clementia among the works he considered most important by Seneca.[21]

In the same line of thought, it should be noted that the Flanders scholar in his *Politica* shows his preference for the term *clementia*, which he identifies with the Moon, a divinity that is wonderful and gentle, it calms, moderates: "*Praefero nunc Principi lumen alterum, Clementiam: id est, ut ego appello, Imperiorum Lunam. Miris et mollis ea Diua: quae lenit, quae temperat*" (Lipsius, 1599, p. 50). In my view, in choosing Seneca's passage from his work *De Clementia*, Lipsius may have had in mind his treatise *Politica*. The second book deals with the virtues of the prince, the ends of government and its various forms. For the sake of civil concord, all must submit to the will of the prince, and therefore he must have virtue and prudence to achieve this concord. In particular I quote an example from Tacitus' *Historiae*, given in his *Politica*: "*novum imperium inchoantibus, utile esse Clementia famam*". (Tac. *Hist.* 4, 63). Based on the above, Tacitus warns that being clement was beneficial for those initiating a new government. Thus says the humanist in his work *Politica*: "*Fit ideo, quia plurimum simulatae eae virtutes: cum sciant* novum imperium inchoantibus, utile esse Clementia famam. [*IV Histor.*][=Tac. *Hist.* 4, 63]" (Lipsius, 1599, p. 42).

Other reasons that lead Lipsius to choose Seneca's text are stated in the speech; on the one hand, he brings to mind the Hispanic origin of Seneca, as our scholar says: "*aeternum Hispaniae decus*" 'eternal honour for Hispania'; on the other hand, he makes clear the relevance of the subjects dealt with by the Roman philosopher to the present time, in which the archdukes live. His words are as follows: "*Annaeum Senecam (aeternum Hispaniae decus) in manus sumam, et pauca eius verba a consessu et tempore hoc non aliena*" (Lipsius, 1600. fol. *2r).

Based on the contributions of the Flemish erudite, I consider the fact that he has chosen an example from an ancient author to talk about a current situation to be typical of Lipsius' approach ("*similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum*").[22] Lipsius, in the preface to the edition of his *Comentarius ad Annales C. Taciti Liber*, stresses that the ancient sources, from which valuable examples for both private and public life can be drawn, are of great help. However, not all stories are equally applicable; in his opinion, the best kind of story is that which relies on the theoretical principle of "*similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum*", this expression being understood in the sense of 'a rigorous analytical exposition of the parallels existing between nations in their various historical moments'.

> *Notare autem in historia varietates exemplorum, caussas eventorum, et ex iis fontibus praecepta derivare ad vitam privatam communemqueque* […] *Nec utiles omnes nobis pari gradu. Ea, ut censeo, maxime, in qua similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum. Ut in pictura faciem praeuisam facilius agnoscimus: sic in historia noti moris exempla. Cuius generis si ulla est fuitque, inter Graecos aut Latinos: eam esse Cornelii Taciti Historiam adfirmate apud vos dico, Ordines Illustres* (Lipsius, 1581, fols.*2r- *3r).

In the light of the above, it is clear that the sentence: "*similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum"* is used in a broad sense, in other words, Lipsius not only chooses passages from Tacitus but also from other Greek and Roman authors, establishing similarities between ancient times and that of the Archdukes.

Returning to his *Disertatiuncula*, the scholar then adduces an expression of Seneca: "*Illius demum Principis magnitudinem stabilem esse*" (Sen. *Cl.* 1, 3). From expression above, the humanist draws a parallel between the house, which he identifies with the subjects, and the basis of a building with the prince, since the ruler is the bedrock of his subjects as are the foundations of a house. He then adds the following phrase from Seneca's speech *De Clementia*: "*Quem omnes tam supra se esse*" (Sen. *Cl.* 1, 3). The erudite, from this example, intends to magnify the image of the archduke, whom he considers a divine image on earth:

> Pauca verba, ut solet ille scriptor: sed magnae rei inclusae, et a me breuiter educendae. Ait, *Illius demum Principis magnitudinem stabilem esse.*] [=Sen. *Cl.* 1, 3] Cuius? qui haec faciet, quae suggerit. Si quis ergo neglegit? negat, et parum firmae altitudini insistere eum putat. Sicut domus, cui fundamentum non substernitur, caduca est: sic Princeps, cui non ista. Quae iam addit: *Quem omnes tam supra se esse.*] [=Sen. *Cl.* 1, 3]. Dignitas Principis tangitur et eminentia. quis autem eam nescit? Ille est imago et exemplar Dei in terris, rerum moderator arbiter, in cuius manu positae opes, dignitas, vita omnium nostrum. (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *2v).

Later, Lipsius, in one of his commentaries on Seneca's edition, printed in 1605, describes what a prince must rule, specifically in the entry *Excubare pro*]. In his annotation, he gives an example taken from Plutarch's *Moralia*, specifically the discourse is titled: To a ruler lacking instruction (Plu. *Ad Princ*. *ind.* 781C). The humanist adduces a passage from Plutarch, first presenting the text in Greek and then translating it into Latin. The Greek historian's example describes the bold and risky attitude of a ruler in defending his subjects in a situation of danger. He also establishes a simile between the way of guarding and protecting his people and that of dogs guarding sheep. He concludes his commentary by referring to statements he made on this aspect in his speech to the Archdukes:

> *Excubare pro.] Plutarchus, Ad Principem indoctum* [=*Moralia*]: *καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ φόβος τοῦ ἄρχοντος φιλάνθρωπος καὶ οὐκ ἀγεννής, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχομένων δεδιέναι μὴ λάθωσι βλαβέντες, / ὡς δὲ κύνες περὶ μῆλα δυσωρήσονται ἐν αὐλῇ, / θηρὸς ἀκούσαντες κρατερόφρονος. / οὐχ ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν ἀλλ'ὑπὲρ*

[21] (Soen, 2011, pp. 207-231, 208).
[22] (Lipsius, 1581, fol. *3r).

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> *τῶν φυλαττομένων* [=Plu. *Ad Princ. ind.* 781C]. Ille est benignus et generosus Principis metus, timere subditis ne laedantur ignaro ipso. Sicut canes in vestibulo sedulo excubant et laborant, cum feram trucem audierint, non pro se, sed pro ovibus, quas custodiunt. *Plura in hanc sententiam ego, conventu et auditorio procerum hic Lovanii, cum Principes N[omen] N[ominadum] Albertus et Isabella Austriaci imperium auspicarentur; et subito aptassem et dilatassem* (Lipsius, 1605, p. 190).

Also, in his notes to Seneca, Lipsius considers that the people must protect the king. The humanist draws a parallel between the present situation (the protection of the king) and the attitude of bees in a beehive. Vergil's passage is taken from The *Georgics* ("*Rege incolumi mens omnibus una; / amisso rupere fidem"*) (Verg. *G*. 4, 212-213), indicating as long as the king is safe, the agreement is total; when they lose him, they break their word: "*Rege Incol.] E Virgilio sumpta, de apibus* [=*Rege incolumi mens omnibus una; / amisso rupere fidem* […] <Verg. *G*. 4, 212-213>]". (Lipsius, 1605, p. 190).

Let us remember that the Flemish erudite, in an annotation before Seneca's text, quotes directly from his speech *Dissertatiuncula apud Principes*; it is clear that he had in mind the archdukes whom he praises while reminding them of their princely obligations. In this specific case of the entry *Rege Incol.*], the scholar deals with the commitment of the people to their ruler, a loyalty that ends when the king dies; in a veiled way, he makes it clear that his pledge of allegiance is to the archdukes when they die, the oath is no longer valid.

Establishing parallels with the verses of the *Georgics,* it is clear that Lipsius regarded the archdukes as good rulers to whom he offered loyalty for as long as they lived. Following Vergil's example, I'm afraid I have to disagree with Van Houdt's (1998, pp. 405–432) and Violet Soen's statement (2011, pp. 207-208). According to these scholarly contemporaneos, Lipsius uses Seneca's text to warn the archdukes that the Belgians would maintain their enduring loyalty as long as their rulers did not act for their benefit but were concerned with the welfare of their subjects.

Returning to the discourse at hand (*Dissertatiuncula*), Lipsius alludes to the need for a link between the State and the people, comparable to that which exists between the soul and the body; this topic proposed in his oration, is influenced by Tacitus (Tac. *Ann*. 1, 12), an idea also found in Seneca (Sen. *Ep*. 48) (Sen. *Ep*. 95). He exemplifies this idea of the prince's guidance of the crowd with a passage from Homer's *Odyssey* (Hom. *Od*. 9, 375-401), in which Ulisses, a character he identifies with the prince, wounds the Cyclops, who symbolises the people, and the latter moves in a disorderly and violent manner.

The quotation given from Homer's *Odyssey* (Hom. *Od.* 9, 375-401) is further used as an argument to explain Seneca's turn of phrase: "*supra omnes*" (Sen. *Cl*. 1, 3), in other words, the erudite considers the ruler to be above all, but adds the following expression in Seneca's speech: "*Pro se esse*]". (Sen. *Cl*. 1, 3); with the example mentioned above, the Belgian reminds the ruler of the duties that come with being at the head of the state, such as acting for the benefit of his subjects and for their benefit. He pointedly compares the action of the Sun, which not only gives light but also gives life, cares and revitalizes, with the duty of a prince, which is to lead the people, to place himself at their disposal and to help them by his magnificence and greatness:

> *Sicut anima corpori praeest, et animae ratio: sic Princeps hac populum regit, et eadem illa ratio ipsum. Tolle, cadauer ac funus est haec omnis multitudo: et ut Cyclops apud Homerum, amisso unico oculo, huc illuc impingitur, et denique ruit: sic ista moles populi, sine lumine illo Principatus*. *Ergo* supra omnes *cum merito esse sciunt, et fatentur. Quid amplius?* Pro se esse.] *O monitum eximium! O in duobus verbis inclusum finem, munusque Principatum! Non praeesse solum Princeps, sed prodesse debet: nec sibi tantum cives datos, sed se etiam ciuibus arbitrari. Sicut sol ille (ne abeam ad imagine) non lucet modo, sed fovet, vegetat, animat: sic verus ille populum rector, in splendore suo commodat et iuvat* (Lipsius, 1600, fols. *2v- *3r).

In the following, I will show the traces of the topics that appear in his *Dissertatiuncula* in the rest of Lipsius' works. I begin with his *Politica*, the humanist takes Tacitus as an example (Tac. Ann. 1, 12) and starts precisely from this idea of the image of the state as a body, while using the nautical metaphor of the state: "*Idem secundum rationem maxime.* Unum *enim* imperii corpus unius animo regendum[23] [Tacit.1] [=Tac. *Ann.* 1, 12] *videtur: sicuti ab uno gubernatore una navis* [=*Politica,* 2, 2]" (Lipsius,1599, p. 38).

On the cliché of the state as the image of the ship, in the preface to his *Comentarius ad Annales C. Taciti Liber*, the scholar, referring to the Roman historian, says: "*Utilem magnumque scriptorem, deus bone!*" and the humanist recommends to those who govern the ship of state not to let go of the Roman historian's hands: "*et quem in manibus eorum esse expediat, in quorum manu gubernaculum et reipublicae clavus*" (Lipsius, 1581, fol. *3v).

Later in his edition of Seneca, the scholar also quotes the metaphor of the human body and the government of a nation: *Unius animae.*] Lucanus, de Caesare: "*Cum tot in hac anima populorum vita salusque / Pendeat* [=Luc. 5, 685-686]. *Tacitus: unum esse reip. Corpus, atque unius animo regendum* [=Tac. *Ann.* 1, 12, 3]" (Lipsius, 1605, p. 190).

It should be noted that Lipsius also addressed in his *Politica* the question of the need to govern the multitude that acts in a violent and disorderly manner. The scholar argued that there is no animal like man, for prudence, wisdom, discretion and sagacity are needed

[23] (Lipsius, 1600, p. 6).

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to rule him; moreover, the prince can achieve virtue in his subjects by laws and example:[24]

> *Et certe in gubernatione palam potior: quia sola lene illud fraenum est, quo voluntarii rediguntur in obedientiae gyrum. Ecce, ne animalia quidem cetera domueris sine tractatione quadam et arte: tu speres hominem ? quo* nullum animal morosius est, nullum maiori arte tractandum[=Sen. *Cl.* 1, 17]. *Natura nos feroces, indomiti, aequi impatientes, nedum servitutis* (Lipsius, 1599, p. 61).

On the duties of a prince, in his *Politica*, the Belgian considers that the Prince must be at the service of his subjects; he must put the public good before the private good, and his aim must be like any athlete who wants to reach his goal:

> *Quis finis, quo actiones omnes Princeps dirigat? Bonum publicum id esse, et seponenda priuata. Denique in extremo posui parentium bono: in iis verbis Finem ipsum veri Principatus complexus, et candidam illam metam, ad quam currat Regius hic athleta. Quae non aliud, quam subditorum commodum, securitas, salus* (Lipsius, 1599, p. 43).

The erudite differentiates in his *Politica* between the tyrant and the king, using an example from Aristotle; however, the humanist makes a mistake in citing the source, attributing the Greek text to Aristotle's *Politica*, but the passage belongs to his *Ethica Nicomachea* ("*ὁ μὲν γὰρ τύραννος τὸ αὑτῷ συμφέρον σκοπεῖ, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων*") (Arist. *EN* 8, 10, 1160b):

> *Hac una in re maxime abit ille a Tyranno. Quod* ὁ μὲν γὰρ τύραννος τὸ αὑτῷ συμφέρον σκοπεῖ, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων [Arist. *Polit*. VIII cap. X] [= Arist. *EN* 8, 10, 1160b] *Tyrannus suum ipsius commodum spectat et quaerit at rex subditorum. Qui vere est Homericus illeπ οιμὴν λαῶν: pastor populorum. Scias igitur quisquis hoc nomine*, civium non servitutem tibi traditam, sed tutelam [Senec. *De Clem.*] [=tibi non servitus tradita sit, sed tutela[25] <Sen. *Cl.* 1, 18>] (Lipsius, 1599, p. 43).

Aristotle distinguishes between the tyrant who looks to his private good and the king who looks to the good of his subjects. The function of the king appears in Homer as indicated by Lipsius in the expression "*ποιμὴν λαῶν*" ("*Pastor Populorum"*) and refers to Agamemnon,[26] on the other hand, Eustathius[27] (*Il*. 2, 243) depicted Agamemnon as the 'shepherd of the people' ("*ποιμὴν λαῶν*").[28] In particular, Hornsby (1967-68, p. 149) points out that when the expression shepherd is applied to Aeneas (Verg. *A*. 4, 68-73; 7, 359-64), especially after his descent into hell and Anchises' instruction to him about his destiny, can only have the symbolic meaning of 'shepherd of his people', he now recognises and understands his mission, which is to be "*Pastor Populorum*".

The scholar continues his discourse *Dissertatiuncula* with examples from various authors, first Cicero (Cic. *Rep*. 5, 8), then Aelius Spartianus from the writer of *Historia Augusta* (Ael. *Hist. Aug.* 8, 3), and ends with two from Seneca, one from his discourse *De Clementia* (Sen. *Cl*. 1, 3), and the other from his work *De Consolatione ad Polybium* (Sen. *Dial*. 11, 6, 4); they all converge in considering good government of a country consists in putting the public good before the private good, and the concern of a good ruler is to be a servant to his subjects:

> *Moderatori Reip. (ait Cicero)* beata civium vita proposita est, ut ea sit opibus ampla, copiis locuples, virtute instructa.[=Cic. *Rep.* 5, 8]. *Et Hadriani Principis laudata illa vox est:* Ita se rempublicam gesturum, ut sciret rem populi, non suam[29] esse.[=Ael. *Hist. Aug.* 8, 3] *Sed quomodo hoc faciet, et eo veniet? addit noster:* Curam eius excubare pro salute etiam singulorum] [=Sen. *Cl.* 1, 3]. *Itane excubare? Et nec noctes vacuae exceptaeque sint? nec noctes*. Magna fortuna, magna seruitus est[30] [=Sen. *Dial*. 11, 6, 4], *ait quispiam: et maximo cuique imperio maximam curam, atque adeo assiduam inesse, vos et animos vestros Serenissimi testor* (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *3r).

His eagerness to contrast the current situation with other examples from antiquity, according to his theoretical principle: "*similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum*" (Lipsius, 1581, fol.*3r). Now he compares the situation described with a nautical example, showing Palinurus as the pilot of Aeneas' ship from his departure from Troy after city's destruction. Lipsius presents him as a hero who never rested day or night at the helm of the ship: "*Ut Palinurus ille in mari, non de die solum gubernabat, sed ipsa nocte* […] *clauumque affixus et haerens / Nusquam amittebat, oculosque sub astra tenebat* [=Verg. *A.* 5, 852-853]" (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *3r). This aspect of the state as a ship will be developed later in his praise of the princes Isabel Clara Eugenia and Alberto.

On the maritime topic, Curtius (1989, p. 189) evokes the tradition of nautical metaphors in Vergil (Verg. *A.* 81-123) and Horace (Hor. *Carm.* 1, 14). The *Aeneid* (Verg. *A.* 81-123) recounts the destructive effects of a storm on the ships and the fear that spreads among the crew.[31]

Next, Lipsius, continuing in this same line of unity and mutual service of ruler and subjects, mentions again the expression: "*pro salute etiam singulorum*" (Sen. *Cl.* 1, 3), taken from Seneca's discourse *De Clementia* (Sen. *Cl.* 1, 3). The erudite considers the Roman philosopher compares the government of a nation to a family, where each of them has a place. With

[24] (López Poza, 2008, pp. 227 -228).
[25] (Lipsius, 1605, p. 201).
[26] See: Hom. *Il*. 2, 85; 243; 254; 772; 4, 413; 7, 230; 11, 187 y 202; 14, 22; 19, 35 y 251; 24, 654; *Od*. 3, 156; 4, 532; 14, 497.
[27] (Van der Valk, 1971, p. 323).
[28] Other Homeric heroes are also similarly named as "*ποιμὴν λαῶν*". See: Paola Tempone (2010, p. 217).

[29] *"Ita se rempublicam gesturum ut sciret populi rem esse, non propriam"* (Spart. *Hist. Aug.* 8, 3). The text is taken from Hadrian et al. (1921, p. 24).
[30] *"Magna servitus est magna fortuna"* (Sen. *Dial*. 11, 6, 4). The source is Seneca (1932, p. 372).
[31] (Gómez Solís, 1998, p. 156).

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the expression "*magna familia*", the humanist refers to the citizens and with the term "*universus*", he indicates the universal character of his statements: "*Tale in Principe, cuius* curam excubare[=Sen. *Cl.* 1, 3) *Seneca*[32] *vult* pro salute etiam singulorum.] *Quid tu ais? Nec satis* universorum? *Aio, inquit, et ut pater aliquis in magna familia, ad singulos animum atque oculos adiicit; ita verus Princeps*" (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *3r). In other words, the scholar describes the functioning of a government from a cosmopolitan to an inclusive point of view.

On how a prince should rule, the scholar mentions an event that happened to Philip of Macedon with a woman who wanted to approach the emperor but was rejected by him; after the woman's response: "*noli ergo mandare*", the emperor recognised his mistake and changed his attitude because of the woman's warning:

> *Philippus Macedo, inter laudatos olim reges, admonitus huius muneris sui a foemina etiam fuit. quae ipsum adiens , desiderium aliquod expositura, cum reiiceretur et negaret sibi vacare: animose subiecit*, Noli ergo imperare [=Plu. *Regum* 179c; D.C. 69, 6, 3]. *Animose, inquam, sed vere: et rex agnouit, sed monitus a foemina* (Lipsius, 1600, fols.*3r- *3v).

The Belgian attributed to Philip of Macedon the expression "*noli ergo mandare*" [=Plu. *Regum* 179c; D.C. 69, 6, 3].[33] In apothegm 18, Erasmus of Rotterdam relates the same event of the woman rebuking the attitude of the emperor with the phrase "*Noli ergo imperare*", which caused a change of mentality in Philip of Macedon. Erasmus (1606, pp. 608-609) considers what has been said and done by Philip of Macedon to be attributable to many other rulers:

> *Transeuntem mulier quaedam appellavit*: Audi me, Caesar. *Is quum respondisset,* Non est otium: *Illa clamavit,* Noli ergo imperare [=Plu. *Regum* 179c; D.C. 69, 6, 3]. *Ad hanc vocem restitit, et audivit mulierem. Hoc et Philippo Macedoni tribuitur: neque quicquam vetat, idem a pluribus vel dici vel fieri* (Erasmus, 1606, pp. 608-609).

Likewise, Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla[34] (1508-1556) refers to the sentence quoted above: "*Nolite ergo imperare*" in his *Comentarios al Libro de los Reyes y Sermones de tiempo.* The purpose of this expression, used by Mendoza, is to teach about the commitments that a good king must make, such as attending at all times to his subjects and the needs of his subordinates. In 1596, Mendoza, Admiral of Aragon, headed for the court of the Holy Roman Empire, then based in Prague. He did so on the instructions of King Felipe II and Archduke Alberto, the new governor of Flanders. His task was to present himself to Emperor Rudolf II and other prominent personalities to formally inform them of the Archduke's takeover of these territories. He was closely linked to the court and was one of the most notable figures of aristocratic humanism. A cultured man, he gave a considerable number of books to Felipe II for the library at El Escorial; the reason for citing this author and the possibility that Lipsio knew his work is that Mendoza was chief steward of Felipe II and Archduke Alberto. It might be seen as a wink from Lipsius to the Archdukes and the scholar-reader. The text is as follows:

> *Illa celeberrima ac simillima, quae de Adriano Dionysius, de Demetrio* [=*Philippo Macedonio*][=Plu. *Regum* 179c; D.C. 69, 6, 3] *Plutrachus, in eorum vitis retulerunt. Nam, cum utrumlibet in itinere transeuntem ad audientiam foemina interpellaret; et uterque negaret, otium sibi esse ad audiendium, libere foemina respondit:* Noli ergo imperare. *Significans, indignum esse imperio, qui ad audiendos subditos otium non haberet, qui non posset supplices audire. Quo responsio adeo neuter offensus est: ut potius ad eam audiendam aures statim admoveret. Propium igitur Regum est, suorum causas subditorum recognoscere ac desinere.* (De Mendoça, 1634, p. 619).

Now, Lipsius mentions as Prince Albert's ancestor Rudolf I of Habsburg. He was the first Austrian emperor in the line of descent, King of the Romans from 1273 until his death. He was the first member of the House of Habsburg to accede to the German throne and is considered the founder of the dynasty's power. During his reign, he extended the Habsburg possessions to Austria and its dependencies.[35] The humanist praises Rudolph I as a great ruler and brings to mind some words he uttered when some soldiers tried, in very horrible manners, to push away some poor men who wanted to approach him. Here is what he had to say: "*Per Deum sinite homines ad me venire. Neque enim ad imperium me vocavit summus ille imperator, ut arcula includar*" (Lipsius, 1600, fol. 3v). This event contrasts with the attitude adopted by Philip of Macedonia because, unlike the Macedonian monarch, Lipsius presents him as a close person:

> *Ab ipso autem se Imp. Rodolfus. Ille dico, primus auctor et fons magnitudinis vestrae, a quo inclita gens austriaca per annos iam plus trecentos in hoc aeuum floret, et in omne (ita voueo) florebit. Is cum tenuiores aliquot homines aditum ad eum captarent, et satellites aspernati hoc genus, reiicerent: animaduertit, et,* Per Deum*, inquit (ipsa Annalium verba ponam)* Sinite homines ad me venire. Neque enim ad imperium me vocavit summus ille imperator, ut arcula includar. *Vocem inclitam, vocem auream, vocem vere Austriam! et in qua hoc de cura (quid enim melius addam?) concludam* (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *3v).

[32] *Curam eius excubare pro salute etiam singulorum Curam eius excubare pro salute etiam singulorum* (Sen. *Cl.* 1, 3).

[33] "Πρεσβύτιδος δὲ πενιχρᾶς ἀξιούσης ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κριθῆναι καὶ πολλάκις ἐνοχλούσης, ἔφη ῾μὴ σχολάξειν᾽ ἡ δὲ πρεσβῦτις ἐκκραγοῦσα ῾καὶ μὴ βασίλευε᾽". (Plu. *Regum* 179c). See: Plutarch (1931, p. 52); "*ἔφερε γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ οὐκ ἠγανάκτει εἴ τι καὶ παρὰ γνώμην καὶ πρὸς τῶν τυχόντων ὠφελοῖτο. ἀμέλει γυναικὸς παριόντος αὐτοῦ ὁδῷ τινι δεομένης, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὅτι "οὐ σχολάζω, ἔπειτα ὡς ἐκείνη ἀνακραγοῦσα ἔφη "καὶ μὴ βασίλευε, ἐπεστράφη τε καὶ λόγον αὐτῇ ἔδωκεν*". (D.C. 69, 6, 3). See: Dion Cassius (1863, pp. 154-155).

[34] (Gallegos, 2014, p. 235); (Rodríguez Villa, 1899, pp. 511-515 and 603-604); (García África, 2020).

[35] (Vacha, 1996, p. 16).

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It is important to note that in this part of the discourse the literary principle "*similitudo et imago temporum*" is present, as already indicated in other parts of this work, the mentioned expression is to be understood in a broad sense not limited to the historian Tacitus. In this context, he compares the Macedonian King Philip of Macedon's way of ruling with that of his ancestor Rudolf I. On the reception of this expression, formulated by Rudolf I, Laurentius Olai Wallius[36] (1588-1638) and later Phosphorus Austriacus[37] (Pseud.) take up in their writings the words pronounced by the monarch.

In the next part of his oration, Lipsius uses the locution: "*quo Procedente*" taken from Seneca's treatise *De Clementia* (1, 3); the Roman philosopher wants to suggest in the face of difficulty, the prince's reward for his service and concern is the affection and fidelity of his subjects. Then, the humanist contextualizes the expression "*quo procedente*" (Sen. *Cl*. 1, 3) and adds the following words from Seneca's speech: "*non tanquam malum aut noxium animal e cubili prosilierit, diffugiunt*" (Sen. *Cl*. 1, 3); the intention of Lipsius is to point out when adversity appears, the subjects of the prince do not escape disorderly, as if a destructive or harmful animal came out of its lair as could be observed in times of Caligula, Nero and Domitianus, let us remember they were the most hated emperors for their authoritarian attitude. In this context, the humanist mentions the previous emperors as a counterexample to indicate what a good ruler should never become; as a counterpoint to the situation just shown, the erudite mentions the following sentence of Seneca: "*tanquam ad clarum et beneficum sidus certatim advolant*" (Sen. *Cl*. 1, 3). In short, the purpose of the alluded expression used by Lipsius is to make it known the Belgic people are ready to fight for the prince without thinking about it, with haste, as if it were a luminous and benign star, totally prepared to throw themselves in his place over the daggers of the conspirators:

> *Pergit noster:* Quo procedente.] [=Sen. *Cl.* 1, 3] *Fructus est, qui Principes manet, ex hoc munere suo et cura. Quis ille? duplex, Beneuolentiae et Fidei, quam utramque subditi praestant. De illa,* Quo procedente, inquit, non tanquam malum aut noxium animal (tigris, lupus, serpens) e cubili prosilierit, diffugiunt [=Sen. *Cl.* 1, 3]: *quod in Caligula, Nerone, Domitiano aliquo observare licuit, qui nunquam e cubiculo, et ex illa solitudine sua in publicum prodibant, nisi ut solicitudinem, imo et solitudinem, facerent: sed tanquam ad clarum et beneficum sidus certatim advolant*. [=Sen. *Cl.* 1, 3]. *Ita sane, aduolant, non accurrunt, certatim, non lente aut timide* (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *3v).

I now turn to the passage in which the erudite addresses the archdukes as the protectors of Belgium and identifies them with Castor and Pollux, protectors of the sea and war. The scholar used a nautical metaphor when describing the many conflicts in which his country was involved. He identifies the Netherlands as a storm-tossed ship (the conflicts of war) and depicts the archdukes as their saviours, who bring the ship (the Netherlands) to a safe harbour, because they bring harmony and peace. He also reworks some verses by Vergil ("*tumida aequora placant, / collectasque fugant nubes, Solemque reducunt*") (Verg. *A*. 1, 142-143), establishing a parallel between the actions of these archdukes and those of Neptune, who calmed the sea for Aeneas:

> *Videtisne o nostri Principes tanquam ad clara et benefica duo sidera concurrimus: tanquam ad gemellos illos Castores respicimus, in diuturna hac Belgica tempestate. Illi conspecti, nautas recreant; illi, cum nauibus insederunt*, […] tumida aequora placant, / collectasque fugant nubes, Solemque reducunt [=Verg. *A*. 1, 142-143]: *ita vos, qui insedistis, et corpore pressisitis iam Belgicae hanc nauim, e bellorum fluctibus, ex insidiarum procellis, subducetis eam in portum* (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *4r).

Regarding the nautical metaphor, it is worth mentioning a passage by Aristophanes from his play The *Wasps* where it is said poets always compare cities to ships: "*ἀεὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰς πόλεις τοῖς πλοίοις παραβάλλουσι.*"[38] (Ar. *V.* 29). The origin of the theme of the ship of state is to be found, according to Rodríguez Adrados[39], in a fragment of Archilochus, the 105 W [= <fr. 105West / 56 Diehl> <Heraclit. *All.* 5[40]>]; the author as mentioned earlier would be the model for the Alcaeus fragment itself[41] (Heraclit. *All.* 5[42]).

Text by Archilochus:[43]

> *Γλαῦχ', ὅρα ·βαθὺς γὰρ ἤδη κύμασιν ταράσσεται πόντος, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄκρα Γυρέων ὀρθὸν ἵσταται νέφος, σῆμα χειμῶνος, κιχάνει δ' ἐξ ἀελπτίης φόβος.*[44]
>
> (fr. 105West / 56 (Diehl) (Heraclit. *All.* 5).

Text by Alcaeus:[45]

> *τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται, τὸ δ΄ ἔνθεν, ἄμμες δ΄ ὂν τὸ μέσσον νᾶϊ φορήμμεθα σὺν μελαίναι χείμωνι μόχθεντες μεγάλωι μάλα.*[46] (Heraclit. *All*. 5) (fr. 326 L-P).

[36] "*Memoria XXXXI. Rudolphus 1. imp. tenuiores ad se affectantes submoventibus cum stomacho et exclamatione dixit: Per Deum*, sinite homines ad me venire. Neque enim ad imperium me vocavit summus ille imperator, ut arcula includar. *Elaboratio pedestris*" (Olai Wallius, 1634, fols. 291v-292v).

[37] "*De Rudolpho I, Imperator: Atque ut ab Authore familiae huius ordiamur nemo unquam Rudolphum I. Imper. aliqua crudelitatis labe aspergere est ausus, qui tota vita humanissimus et affabilis maxime fuit, adeo ut fatellicibus suis ubique praeciperet ne quenquam, etiam pauperem , ab accessu et colloquio suo arcerent.* Sinite, inquiebat, homines ad me venire. Neque enim ad imperium me vocavit summus ille imperator, ut arcula includar" (Phosphorus Austriacus, 1665, p. 297).

[38] (Aristophanes, 1829, p. 133).

[39] (Rodríguez Adrados, 1955, pp. 206-210).

[40] (Heraclides, 1782, p. 12).

[41] (Berruecos Frank, B., 2018, p. 253).

[42] (Heraclides, 1782, p. 13).

[43] (Heraclides, 1782, p. 12).

[44] (Archilochus, 1999, p. 144).

[45] (Heraclides, 1782, p. 13).

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Heraclides Ponticus, in his *Homeric Allegories*, chapter 5, is the source for the passages of Archilochus and Alceo. Archilochus[47] relates war to a raging sea, and Alcaeus[48] (fr. 326 L-P) compares an authoritarian state to a raging sea.

The humanist links back to Seneca's example from his discourse *De Clementia* 1, 3, specifically he brings to mind the text where Seneca alludes to the loyalty of the subjects to the prince, who are capable of dying to save the life of their prince: "*Obiicere se pro illo mucronibus parati*" (Sen. *Cl*. 1, 3). In this context, he draws a parallel between the good disposition and attitude of the Belgians, shown towards the Archdukes, with the praise for the Belgians given by Julius Caesar in his work *The Gallic War*: "*Fortissimos Gallorum Belgas*"; also mentions Plutarch's eulogies of them. In his *Parallel Lives,* in the book dedicated to Marcellus, in chapters VI and VII, Plutarch narrates the actions of the Gauls against Marcellus. In his descriptions, he presents the Gauls as fierce fighters who defended their King Virdomarus:

> *Atque haec igitur Beneuolentia est. de Fide sequitur*: Obiicere se pro illo mucronibus parati.][=Sen. *Cl.* 1, 3] *Quidni faciant? in vobis, ut dixi, vivimus: animam et spiritum hunc in anima Principum ducimus: et merito ergo pro iis obiecturi ea, imo proiecturi. Ego Serenissimi Principes, publica Belgarum voce et sensu, utraque haec offero: Beneuolentiam, inquam, et Fidem. Et simul sine iactantia addo, duas in nobis notas siue insignia ab antiquo esse: Fortitudinem, ac Fidem.* Fortissimos Gallorum Belgas[49] [=Caes. *Gal.* 1], *Iulius Caesar iam olim dixit: de Fide, idem et Plutarchus, devovere Gallos (qui mos et Hispanis) corpora vitamque suam Principibus solere: id est, ita consecrare, ut cum vivis viuerent, pro iis periclitarentur, morerentur, atque adeo cum iis*. Lipsius (1600) *4r.

The Belgian ends his speech by praising the Archdukes' respect for culture; our humanist brings to mind the names of some Roman emperors, who are also considered to be cultured people. The scholar again compares situations of the present with those of the past, according to his theoretical principle "*similtudo et imago temporum*".

First, Lipsius alludes to Pompey's stay in Rhodes when he defeated Mithridates, implicitly pointing out his relationship with Posidonius. According to Strabo (Str. 9, 1, 6), Pompey was assembling his fleet in Rhodes and happened to attend a talk by Posidonius, a prominent philosopher of the time (Sarton, 1936, p. 430); when the Greek philosopher had finished, the Roman general asked him for a few words and the philosopher replied that he should always be the bravest and stand above the others. Plutarch (Plu. *Pomp*. 1), in his biography of the commander, said that no Roman, except Pompey, had ever been so beloved by the people. About Tiberius, the humanist uses a few sentences from Suetonius to indicate his desire to be educated and his respect for culture "*circa scholas et auditoria Professorum assiduus fuit*" (Suet. *Tib.* 11, 3):

> *In eo quoque imitati magnos illos Principes: ut Cn. Pompeium, qui e bello Mithridatico victor, Rhodum veniens singillatim omnium Professorum aedes circumivit, inivit, et fasces illos laureatos priuatorum ianuis submisit. Quid Tiberius Imperator in eadem urbe?* circa scholas et auditoria Professorum (Suetonii verba sunt) assiduus fuit [=Suet. *Tib.* 11, 3] (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *4v).

Finally, he dedicates the last words of the speech, drawing a parallel between the behaviour of the princes, who appeared unexpectedly at the University of Louvain, and that of Claudius who unexpectedly took part in *recitationes*. This emperor had a very hard upbringing, in his youth, he had devoted himself to literature and on the advice of Titus Livius he wrote a history of Carthage.[50]

On Claudius' capacity for dissertation, Augustus himself remains in admiration:"*Tiberium nepotem tuum placere mihi declamantem potuisse, peream nisi, mea Livia, admiror. Nam qui tam ἀσαφῶς loquatur, qui possit cum declamat σαφῶς dicere quae dicenda sunt, non video"* (Suet. *Claud*. 4):[51]

> *Quid Claudius Imperator? ille vero inopinatus saepe recitantibus interveniebat: quod vos Serenissimi nunc fecistis. Gratias igitur agimus, et voto eas claudimus: ut felicibus auspiciis coeptum hoc imperium diuturnum ac stabile vobis et stirpi vestrae (o Deus eam donet!) sit, cum Dei ipsius, cum vestra gloria, et publica Belgarum salute. DIXI.* (Lipsius, 1600, fol.*4v).

In short, the Belgian wishes the princes a long and unbreakable reign; he is already at the end of his speech and uses a play on words, for he uses the term Claudius and a few lines further on, he uses the verb "*claudimus*", etymologically both come from the verb "*claudere*" 'to close'. Lipsius pretends to end his speech alluding to the emperor Claudius, but in reality he does not mention any speech of this Roman emperor; it is worth recalling one of his speeches: *Oratio Claudii Caesaris de iure honorum Gallis dando*, the text appears in the *Tabula Claudiana*, discovered by chance in the year 1528, in Lyon (France), in a country house, owned by Roland Gribaud, according to Tapia Zúñiga (2008, p. 177). The Lyons Tablet contains a speech in which Claudius discusses the entry of Gallic citizens into the magistracies and the Senate. While it is possible to affirm that Claudius aimed to strengthen the senate by assimilating the provincial element, it is also clear that this inclusion could not be indiscriminate but valid and lasting only for those who were willing to act

[46] (Sappho & Alcaeus, 1982, p. 320).
[47] (Heraclides, 1782, p. 12).
[48] (Heraclides, 1782, p. 13).
[49] *Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae* (Caes. *Gal.*1). See: Caesar (1917, p. 2).
[50] (Martínez del Romero & Campuzano, 1842, p. 141).
[51] (Suetonius, 1914, p. 12).

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unconditionally in favour of the authority of the princeps. It is possible that Lipsius knew of the *Tabula Claudiana*,[52] either because he was aware of the discovery of this *Oratio Claudii*, or because Tacitus, much earlier, had collected the aforementioned discourse of Claudius in his work *Annales* (*Ann*. XI, 24).

VII. Conclusions

The Belgian humanist writes his speech to the archdukes with great erudition, always seeking to extol the figure of the archdukes. The humanist's way of proceeding in the elaboration of his discourse is to compare the present situation with other examples taken from antiquity, in accordance with his theoretical principle which he sets out in the preface to his *Comentarius ad Annales C. Taciti Liber*: "*similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum*", but he employs the Latin expression "*similitudo temporum*" in a broad sense, not only limited to Tacitus. In this speech, our scholar leaves traces of his other works, such as *De Constantia*, *Ad Annales Cornelii Taciti Liber Comentarius* and *Politica*. He uses several clichés such as the idea of service on the part of the ruler, the loyalty of his subjects, the nautical metaphor of the ship, which he alludes to in several parts of the speech, the idea of the organisation of a government as if it were a human body and as if it were a family. In conclusion, Lipsius proposes the foundations of cosmopolitanism as an ideology that postulates that all human beings from different places belong to the same community, forming relationships of mutual respect based on a shared morality.

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[52] (Tapia Zúñiga, 2008, p. 179).

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