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Note

This article is the second in a set of three articles that form the current issue of JOLCEL. The other contributions are "Nondum satis ἀκριβῶς pertractata: Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Johannes Amos Comenius' Correspondence" by Marcela Slavíková (pp. 5–27) and "Greek and "The Lady of Christ's College": Latin–Greek Code-Switching in John Milton's *Prolusion VI*" by Tomos Evans (pp. 59–81).

Inverting the Hierarchy: Greek and Latin in a sixteenth-century poetical encomium of Antwerp*

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ABSTRACT

In 1565, the Bavarian Georg Schregel published a city encomium of Antwerp, titled *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστικὴ in clarissimam et praestantissimam Belgarum urbem Handoverpiam Georgii Schroegelii Boii,* on the occasion of the inauguration of the Antwerp city hall. The laudatory poem is written in Greek, and preceded by three Latin paratexts: an introductory letter, a poem to the city council, and a laudatory poem by English diplomat Daniel Rogers. This paper investigates the forms of code-switching in this city encomium. I argue that Schregel inverted the usual language hierarchy by writing his main text in Greek, and relegating Latin to the paratexts. An analysis of the three paratexts and the titles of the publication shows that the Latin texts were written to serve the Greek main poem. Next, I analyze examples of linguistic transfer from Latin to Greek in Schregel's Greek poem. These examples of transfer indicate that Latin applied pressure on Schregel's usage of Greek. With his city encomium, Schregel tried to obtain a reward from the members of the city council. By writing in Greek, he tried to surpass earlier authors that had written Latin city encomia of Antwerp and had received rewards.

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1 Introduction

In 1565, the Bavarian poet Georg Schrögel (Georgius Schroegelius) published a lengthy Greek poem praising the city of Antwerp, titled *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστικὴ in clarissimam et praestantissimam Belgarum urbem Handoverpiam Georgii Schroegelii Boii*. He dedicated his composition to the members of the Antwerp city council in a Latin elegy that precedes the city encomium. After concluding his main Greek poem, Schrögel addresses the council members again and modestly justifies his endeavour.

> Γράμματα μὲν τάδε παῦρ' αὐτοσχεδιαστὶ ἔγραψα
> ἀλλ' οὐ τοιαύτης ἄξια τῆς πόλεως.
> Οὔπω γὰρ πίον οἵ σε ἔθρεψαν δῖον Ὅμηρον
> μαζοὺς Καλλιόπης, οὗς τε Μάρων ἔπιε.
> Πολλάκι ἀλλὰ θεοῖς τὰ ἀμαυρά γε δῶρα ἀρέσκει,
> ὡς τῶν ἀγρονόμων αἰξ, τύρος, ἠδὲ γάλα.
> Τοὔνεκ' ἐμὴ σπουδὴ ἀρέσει, βουληφόροι ἄνδρες,
> ὔμμιν ἕως δώσω τῶν ποτε λωίονα. (705–12)[1]

Schrögel then concludes his panegyric by expressing the hope that Zeus and Poseidon will in the meantime favor Antwerp and its river Scheldt. In this statement of modesty, he identifies Homer and Vergil as his literary models. In terms of language, Schrögel aims to "show the beauties of the city according to the godly Homer" rather than Vergil.[2] Indeed, Schrögel wrote his main laudatory elegy in Ancient Greek, placing three Latin paratexts before the Greek main text. This is an unusual configuration for the period, in which Greek paratexts are more typically used to frame a main text in Latin, the common language of learned men.[3] In this paper I will study the relation of both languages as they appear in the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*.

2 Early modern code-switching and language hierarchy

Latin–Greek code-switching in the early modern period has received far less attention from scholars than the occurrence of the same phenomenon in antiquity, two recent monographs apart.[4] In her study of seventeenth-century Humanist Greek composition, Tua Korhonen devotes a chapter to the use of Greek in Latin

1 Fol. D4v, vv. 705–712. "I wrote these few words extemporaneously, / but not worthy of such a city. / For I did not yet drink from the breasts of Calliope, / which fed you, godly Homer, and from which Maro drank. / But often even feeble presents please the gods, / like a goat, cheese or milk of farmers. / Therefore my effort will satisfy you, men of the council, / until at some time I give you something better." All translations in this paper are my own. I have normalized the spelling and punctuation of the Greek passages quoted in this paper.

2 Schrögel, *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, D4r, v. 677: "Κάλλεα τῆς πόλεως φράζω κατὰ θεῖον Ὅμηρον."

3 van Dam, "Poems on the Threshold," 66; Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 55.

4 On code-switching in antiquity, see e.g. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*; Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*; Aubert-Baillot, *Le grec et la philosophie dans la correspondance de Cicéron*.

and vernacular texts.[5] She gives three main reasons why early modern authors code-switched from Latin to Greek, which she illustrates and elaborates with examples from seventeenth-century Finnish and Estonian works. For Korhonen, the three reasons for using Greek are: to emphasize elements in the Latin text, for visual decoration (aesthetics), and to keep information encoded (Greek as a secret language). In his book, Raf Van Rooy treats Latin–Greek code-switching more extensively, focusing on examples from the Low Countries, and identifies many more reasons for its occurrence: for example to show one's membership of a social group of Greek scholars, to showcase one's knowledge of Greek and thus one's cultural capital, or to exploit the reputation of Greek as the language of medicine.[6] Both Korhonen and Van Rooy stress that multiple reasons could coincide in a moment of code-switching.

In the early modern period, code-switching took place on a very broad spectrum. At one end we find small-scale examples of code-switching within words: Korhonen mentions Latin loanwords stemming from Greek that are printed with their endings in Greek characters, or even just one Greek letter printed in the middle of a Latin word.[7] The spectrum develops further from code-switches within sentences, between sentences, between paragraphs and finally to code-switches between entire texts. The book under study in this paper belongs chiefly to the far end of the spectrum: code-switching between entire texts.

From the research by Korhonen and Van Rooy into early modern code-switching practices, a form of code-switching hierarchy can be deduced: in general, early modern authors switch to Greek from Latin texts, and to Latin from vernacular texts.[8] Code-switches from vernacular languages to Greek seem to have been rarer.[9] In some regions, even a distinction between vernaculars can be made, for example in Estonia, where German served as the language of administration and enjoyed higher prestige than Estonian,[10] or in Finland, where for the same reason Swedish was perceived as more prestigious than Finnish.[11] This order of languages in code-switching practices corresponds to the language hierarchy for liminary poems. Generally, Latin books may feature Greek and Latin paratexts, and vernacular books can have liminary poems in Latin and vernaculars.[12] In sum, Greek holds the highest position in the language hierarchy, Latin stands in the middle of the ladder, and vernacular languages are at the bottom.

5 Korhonen, *To the Glory That Was Greece*, 126–40.

6 Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 113–20.

7 Korhonen, *To the Glory That Was Greece*, 131–32.

8 Korhonen, *To the Glory That Was Greece*, 126–28; Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 60–62. In similar contexts as Greek, code-switches to learned languages such as Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic took place, albeit to a lesser extent. For this study, I will not consider code-switches to these languages.

9 Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 60–62. Korhonen says that "In Protestant countries, Greek words and phrases, especially from the New Testament, could be used in the vernacular both in texts and conversation." See Korhonen, *To the Glory That Was Greece*, 127–28. It seems that in Protestant countries, code-switches from vernacular to Greek were more common than in the Low Countries, the region on which Van Rooy's study focusses.

10 Päll, "Humanist Greek in Early Modern Estonia and Livonia," 97.

11 Korhonen, *To the Glory That Was Greece*, 127, n. 40.

12 van Dam, "Poems on the Threshold," 66–67; Päll, "Humanist Greek in Early Modern Estonia and Livonia," 97; Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 58–60.

In this paper, I examine Schrögel's *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* through the prism of code-switching and language hierarchy. I study the positions that Latin and Greek occupy in the book and the code-switching between both languages. Firstly, I will introduce the author and his text, elaborating on the background and circumstances in which Schrögel wrote his city encomium. Secondly, I will argue that his Latin–Greek code-switching occurred principally on the 'macro' level, between (para)texts, and that Schrögel inverted the usual language hierarchy by giving center stage to New Ancient Greek and relegating Latin to the paratexts. Thirdly, I explore the relation between the Latin and Greek names for 'Antwerp' Schrögel uses in his book. Fourthly, I will prove that linguistic transfer took place in the Greek main text and present some cases of Latin influence on Schrögel's Greek. Lastly, I explore the motivations that Schrögel had to invert the language hierarchy. I conclude that Schrögel's choice to make Greek central instead of Latin was unusual, but that Latin still asserted its presence in the main text through its influence on Schrögel's usage of Greek. Schrögel's motivation for using Greek was a pragmatic one: to obtain a reward for his city encomium from the Antwerp city council.

3 A German in awe of Antwerp

3.1 The author

The *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* was written by Georg Erasmus Schrögel (Georgius Schroegelius).[13] As can be deduced from the title of his encomium, Schrögel was a Bavarian (*Boius*). He was born in the town of Nejdek (Neudek) in present-day Czechia.[14] According to his epitaph in the Peterskirche in Heidelberg, Schrögel died in 1602 at the age of 58, which means he must have been born in 1543 or 1544.[15]

At some point before 1565 Schrögel must have moved to Antwerp. In the prefatory elegy to the Antwerp city council, he states that he had been in the city for six months.[16] In Antwerp, Schrögel frequented a protestant milieu: he found himself in the company of Daniel Rogers (Rogerius), an English diplomat who also wrote Neo-Latin poetry. Rogers was born in 1538 in Wittenberg to an English father and a mother from Antwerp.[17] After his father, a Protestant preacher, was executed in England by Queen Mary Tudor, Rogers went to Wittenberg to

[13] His Latinized name is frequently spelled Schroegelius, as it appears throughout the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική,* but sometimes his name is spelled Schregelius, Schrogelius or Schrögelius. His German name is mostly spelled as Schregel or Schrögel. I will refer to him as Schrögel throughout.

[14] Ridderickhoff, De Ridder-Symoens, and Heesakkers, *Troisième Livre des procurateurs de la nation germanique de l'ancienne Université d'Orléans 1567–1587*, 109.

[15] Adam, *Apographum monumentorum Haidelbergensium*, 34; Neumüllers-Klauser, *Die Inschriften der Stadt und des Landkreises Heidelberg*, 320 (n°535). The inscription does not exist anymore; I owe this information to Katharina Kagerer.

[16] Schrögel, *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, sig. A3r: "Dumque tuos video fines auguste Senatus, / Iam reficit sextam menstrua luna rotam." (vv. 55–56) "While I am looking over your territory, venerable Senate, / the moon already makes its sixth monthly cycle."

[17] Phillips, "Daniel Rogers," 10.

study with his father's friend Philipp Melanchthon.[18] Rogers collaborated with Schrögel on the Antwerp encomium (see below).

After their stay in Antwerp, both Rogers and Schrögel went to France. Rogers went to Paris in 1565.[19] Schrögel went to Orléans, where he was enrolled as a student into the register of the German Nation in the second trimester of 1567.[20] At the time, the university of Orléans was famous for the study of law, and Schrögel's epitaph indeed praises him for his excellent knowledge of law ('ob egregiam iuris scientiam').[21] Schrögel went into service with John Casimir, Count Palatine of Simmern. He represented this Calvinist German ruler as an adviser on several diplomatic missions, such as at the Reichstag of 1582 in Augsburg.[22] Schrögel also worked for John Casimir's successor Elector Palatinate Frederick IV and was present on his behalf at the Reichstag of 1594 in Regensburg.[23]

Rogers and Schrögel remained in contact after their time in Antwerp. Rogers wrote a collection of encomia on English cities, entitled *Urbes* ("Cities"), which remains unedited.[24] Schrögel composed a Greek liminary poem that opens the collection, praising Rogers' effort in composing the city encomia. Some of Rogers' poems are dated between 1574 and 1576, so one may assume that Schrögel's poem was written in the same period.

3.2 The imprint

The *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* was printed in January 1565 in five hundred copies.[25] The last 24 pages (sig. B1r–D4v) of the book contain the main Greek poem, which bears a separate Greek title of its own: Εἰς τὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην, καὶ πάντων τῶν Βελγῶν λαμπροτάτην πόλιν τὴν Ἀνδωβερπαίαν ὕμνος ("Hymn to the most magnificent and brilliant city of all Belgians, Antwerp").[26] As noted above, Schrögel prefaced his Greek poem with three Latin paratexts. Firstly, a prose introductory letter to the reader (fol. A1v), which presents some historical information on Antwerp, and secondly, as mentioned above, an elegiac poem addressed to the Antwerp city council (fols. A2r–A4r) titled "*Augusto senatui clarissimae et*

18 van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors*, 10–11.

19 Phillips, "Daniel Rogers," 11.

20 Ridderickhoff, De Ridder-Symoens, and Heesakkers, *Troisième Livre des procurateurs de la nation germanique de l'ancienne Université d'Orléans 1567–1587*, 109.

21 Adam, *Apographum monumentorum Haidelbergensium*, 34.

22 Lossen, *Der Magdeburger Sessionsstreit auf dem Augsburger Reichstag von 1582*, 35, n. 81.

23 Fleischman, *Kurze und eigentliche Beschreibung*, fol. BBB1r.

24 San Marino (California), Huntington Library, MS Hertford 31188, (saec. XVI) fols. 195r–212r. This manuscript volume consisting of 385 folios was written by Daniel Rogers himself. The full title of Rogers' collection of encomia is *Danielis Rogerii Albimontii Angli Urbes, ad Franciscum Russellium Mecenatem*—I have adapted the transcription of the Latin text to modern customs, as I have also done in the rest of the present paper.

25 Voet, *The Plantin Press*, V: 2065. The book attracted some attention after its publication. The English poet Abraham Hartwell mentions the encomia on Antwerp by Schrögel and Rogers alongside some other contemporary city encomia in the introductory letter to the reader of his poem *Regina Literata,* fol. A1r, printed in 1565.

26 While *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* is in the first place a city encomium, this title marks the main text as a *hymn*. The *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* bears traces of several genres; on this issue, see Demuynck and Van Rooy, "In search of a genre".

nobilissimae Belgarum urbis Handoverpiae perpetuam felicitatem" ("I wish the venerable senate of Antwerp, the most brilliant and most noble city of the Belgians, everlasting happiness!"), in which he wishes Antwerp a bright future.[27] Lastly, a third paratext precedes the Greek poem: a short Latin epigram written by Rogers (fol. A4v) with the title "*In Elegiam Handoverpianam Georgii Schroegelii Boii*", congratulating Schrögel on his achievement in writing the encomium of Antwerp and emphasising that it was written in Greek. The three Latin texts hold functions typical of paratexts: a preface to the reader, a dedication by the author to the patron or patrons (in this case, the Antwerp city council), and praise of the work by a friend.[28]

Rogers himself wrote an ode on Antwerp in sapphic stanzas, which was the main item in his *de Laudibus Antverpiae Oda Sapphica*, also published by Plantin in 1565. Although the *Oda Sapphica* is now listed as a separate publication in bibliographic descriptions and has its own title page, it was intended as a supplement to Schrögel's *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*.[29] A note in the financial register of the Plantin Press contains the printing costs. The costs are written down under the title "Elegia Antverpiae Schroegelii" in two entries: one for quires A–C, another for D–F.[30] The pages of the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* run from A1r to D4v, so this book was printed in two sections. The mentioned quires E–F contained the *Oda Sapphica*, which runs from sig. A1r to B6. Rogers' book was therefore printed as supplement together with the second part (i.e. quire D) of Schrögel's book. To his *Oda Sapphica*, Rogers added nine more Latin poems about Antwerp in elegiac couplets. Among them are poems on the Antwerp city hall (see below), the huge crowds visiting the stock market, and the freezing of the river Scheldt in early 1565. Two short poems are addressed to Schrögel, congratulating him on his description of Antwerp; so, in total Rogers wrote three poems in praise of Schrögel himself.[31] I will take a closer look at these three congratulatory poems below.

3.3 The occasion of writing

The *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* (including the *Oda Sapphica*) was published on the occasion of the inauguration of the Antwerp city hall on 27 February 1565, exactly

[27] In the early modern period, the term 'Belgicus' referred to a larger area than present-day Belgium. It comprises the Low Countries: present day Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, and parts of northern France. See Lamers and Van Rooy, "*Graecia Belgica*," 439–40.

[28] van Dam, "Poems on the Threshold," 65–66, 68; Lewis, "Introduction: The Dedication as Paratext," 2–4.

[29] Voet, *The Plantin Press,* V: 2004, 2065.

[30] Antwerpen, Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Museum Plantin-Moretus, *Grootboek kostenberekening edities 1563–1567*, Arch. 4, tg:mpmre:633:m1, (1563–1567, Antwerpen), fol. 72v; Voet, *The Plantin Press*, V: 2065. The costs for quires A–C were entered on 21 January 1565, the costs for D–F on 27 January.

[31] These three congratulatory poems are also preserved in Huntington Library, MS Hertford 31188, fols. 106r & 109r, the same manuscript that also contains the earlier mentioned collection of *Urbes* by Rogers. Many poems in the manuscript are dated to the period 1574–1576. We may assume that this dating also applies to the versions of these three poems, and that the specimina in the Hertford manuscript are later revisions by Rogers.

four years after the first stone had been laid.[32] This presents us with two intriguing issues – the question of performance, and the question of the description of the city hall façade. After introducing the broader context of the inauguration, I will shortly dwell upon these two issues, before moving to the analysis of Latin–Greek code-switching in this city encomium.

The opening of the city hall was a moment of great pride for the city. Schrögel's and Rogers' city encomia on Antwerp, which paid plenty of attention to the new city hall, will have graced this event. A Greek poem praising Antwerp will have enhanced the prestige of the new building, since "Greek was a more distinctive and more glamorous medium than Latin in which to sing the praises of specific places and communities."[33] At the same time, the publication of the Greek encomium served as cultural capital for the author himself: by writing in Greek, Schrögel showed his classical learning and linguistic abilities, and this provided him with cultural distinction.[34]

Greek compositions regularly featured at important events in the early modern Low Countries. Sixty years before Schrögel, Erasmus had composed a short Homeric cento to add lustre to the return of Philipp the Handsome of Habsburg to the Low Countries.[35] The Greek poem was appended to Erasmus' Latin *Panegyricus*, which was partly recited in Brussels during the festive event. On the occasion of Erasmus' death, seven students of the Leuven university wrote epitaphs in honor of the famous humanist, and three of them also composed Greek poems.[36] Some ten years later, the death of another Louvain humanist, Collegium Trilingue professor Rutger Rescius, prompted the composition of Greek epitaphs.[37] Marriages were also occasions for Greek composition, as shown by a Greek epithalamium written in the circle of the Plantin-Moretus printing house, to celebrate the marriage of Balthasar Moretus and Anna Goos in 1645.[38]

Even within this context, however, Schrögel's encomium occupies an unusual position. As a New Ancient Greek composition, it is relatively long: 714 verses (covering 24 pages). Greek compositions of such length were rare in the Low Countries.[39] The choice of Greek is not typical of the genre of the city encomium: in my research to date I have observed that early modern encomia were usually written in Latin, and only to a lesser extent in the vernaculars. Greek city encomia

32 Maclot and van Ginneken, "De Bouwbiografie van het Antwerpse stadhuis," 98. As seen, the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* was printed in January 1565, one month before the opening of the city hall.

33 Lamers and Van Rooy, "*Graecia Belgica*," 454.

34 Lamers and Van Rooy, "*Graecia Belgica*," 448–53; Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 5; 122–23.

35 Lamers and Van Rooy, "The Low Countries," 223–25.

36 *D. Erasmi Roterodami epitaphia per eruditiss[imos] aliquot viros Academiae Louanien[sis] edita*, Leuven, Rutger Rescius, 1537. The three students that wrote Greek poems were Thomas Lineus, Diogo Pires and John Helyar. Several Latin poems in the collection exhibit code-switches to Greek, Diogo Pires even wrote a perfectly balanced Latin–Greek bilingual elegiac poem, with Latin hexameters and Greek pentameters. See Demuynck and Van Rooy, "Tussen Neolatijn en Nieuw-Oudgrieks."

37 Feys and Van Rooy, "Louvain Lyrical about Greek."

38 Lamers and Van Rooy, "The Low Countries," 261–64.

39 Greek poems were usually short pieces, featuring alongside longer Latin texts, see Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 55.

are scarce.[40] Because of this peculiar choice by Schrögel for Greek in the main text, both in the context of the Early Modern Low Countries and regarding the genre of the city encomium, I will focus on Latin–Greek code-switching in the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* and the relation of these languages in the imprint in the next chapter.

The occasion for which the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* was written, the solemn inauguration of the Antwerp city hall, raises the question of whether the poem was read aloud in public for this event, or only circulated in print. Certain passages in the Greek poem seem to suggest a performance, for example:

> Εὑρεῖ εἰν ἄστει ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐσόψει
> τῷ ξανθῷ χρυσῷ κτίσματα λαμπόμενα.
> Ἀκροπόλεις ἔνθα κρατεράς, καὶ ἐκεῖ χαρίεντας
> νηοὺς οὓς φήσεις οἷς μακάρεσσι πρέπειν. (131–34)[41]

The adverbs of place *ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν*, *ἔνθα* and *ἐκεῖ* could be traces of a performance, where Schrögel pointed to buildings in different direction during his speech—although it is also possible that Schrögel simply wanted to give the impression of a text that had been performed. If the text was indeed read aloud in public, the question remains how many people would have been able to understand such a reading at all.

Secondly, the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* unveils something about the building process of the Antwerp city hall. Interestingly, the city hall had not yet been completed when the inauguration took place. The central part of the facade was not finished until a year later.[42] Schrögel paid a fair share of attention—a little more than two pages—to the city hall in his Greek poem, including a description of the façade. He reported that three statues adorned the front of the building: Brabo, the symbol of Antwerp, flanked by Justice (*Δίκη*) and Concord (*Ὁμόνοια*):

> Ἐν τοῖς ὁ Βράβων πομπεύει ὑπέρτατος ἄλλων,
> χερσῖν ξὺν σφετέροις χαλκῷ ἐνιστάμενος.
> Ἐν τῇ δεξιτερᾷ ἐν δαιδάλῳ εἰκόνι νηλὴς
> ἵσταται ἥδε Δίκη ἐκγεγαυῖα Διός.
> Ἔκδικον εἰν ἄλλῃ χειρὶ ξίφος ἴφι ἔχουσα,
> εἰν ἄλλῃ τρυτάνην πᾶσι νέμουσαν ἴσα.
> Ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ ἡσυχίη δ' Ὁμόνοια κάθηται,
> ἄμφω ἔχουσα σοφῶς χεῖρε ὁμοπλέκεε. (173–80)[43]

[40] Among the ca. 200 examples I have found at the moment, only this encomium by Schrögel and the encomium on 's-Hertogenbosch by Johannes Vladeraccus (see below) are written in Greek.

[41] Sig. B3r, vv. 131–134. "In the broad city you will behold here and there / buildings that shine with gleaming gold. / Here sturdy citadels, there graceful / churches, about which you will say that they are fitting for the blessed gods."

[42] Maclot and Van Ginneken, "De Bouwbiografie van het Antwerpse stadhuis," 98.

[43] Sig. B4r, vv. 173–180. "There Brabo parades high above the others, / standing upright with bronze hands. / On his right stands in a skilfully wrought image pitiless / Justice, daughter of Zeus. / In one hand she

Figure 1: Façade of the Antwerp city hall. Photograph by G. Lanting, from Wikimedia Commons, accessed 22 July, 2024, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=48274298. License CC-BY-SA-4.0.

This description does not match the arrangement of the statues as it eventually came to be in 1566: Justice (*Justitia*) did flank Brabo on his right hand, but on the other side stood Prudence (*Prudentia*).[44] The statue of Prudence is standing and her hands are not folded, she holds an object in each. The *ecphrasis* of Justice is however correct: she can still be seen today on the left, holding sword and scales (see figure 1). Schrögel probably based his description on provisional building plans. Between 1560, when the construction plans were presented to Philipp II,

stoutly holds an avenging sword, / in the other a pair of scales, that allots to all everything equally. / On his left sits quiet Concord, / wisely keeping both hands folded together."

44 Initially, an image of Brabo stood in the central niche of the façade, as can be seen on the illustration of the city hall in Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i paesi bassi*, 80–81. In 1587, Brabo was replaced in the context of the Counter-Reformation by a statue of Mary, that is still there today.

and the placing of the statues in 1566, the design of the façade was changed.[45] Originally, Affection (*Caritas*) was planned to stand next to Justice. By the time Schrögel wrote his encomium, Affection had been replaced by Concord. During the turbulent year 1566, the year of the Iconoclastic Fury, the relations between Antwerp and Philip II worsened. There was little concord between them anymore, so the figure of Concord was replaced by one of Prudence. Schrögel's description thus represented a temporary design in the continuing development of the city hall façade.

4 The functions of the paratexts in relation to the Greek main text

In this section I explain how the titles and different Latin paratexts of Schrögel's *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* relate to the Greek main text: the titles and the three Latin paratexts. I also reflect on the notable absence of a (Latin) translation.

4.1 Titles

The title of the book *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστικὴ in clarissimam et praestantissimam Belgarum urbem Handoverpiam Georgii Schroegelii Boii* features a significant intrasentential code-switch to Greek. The second word *ἐγκωμιαστική* is unmistakably set in the largest type on the titlepage (see figure 2). Whether Schrögel coined the title himself, or whether it was chosen by someone else involved in the publishing process, such as Rogers, Plantin or someone else from the Officina Plantiniana, the code-switch was obviously deliberate: the poem could have just been titled *Elegia encomiastica* or *laudatoria*. Caspar Brusch did the same for his Latin laudatory poem *Ad divum Ferdinandum Romanorum Regem elegia encomiastica* on later Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand, printed in Nürnberg in 1540.

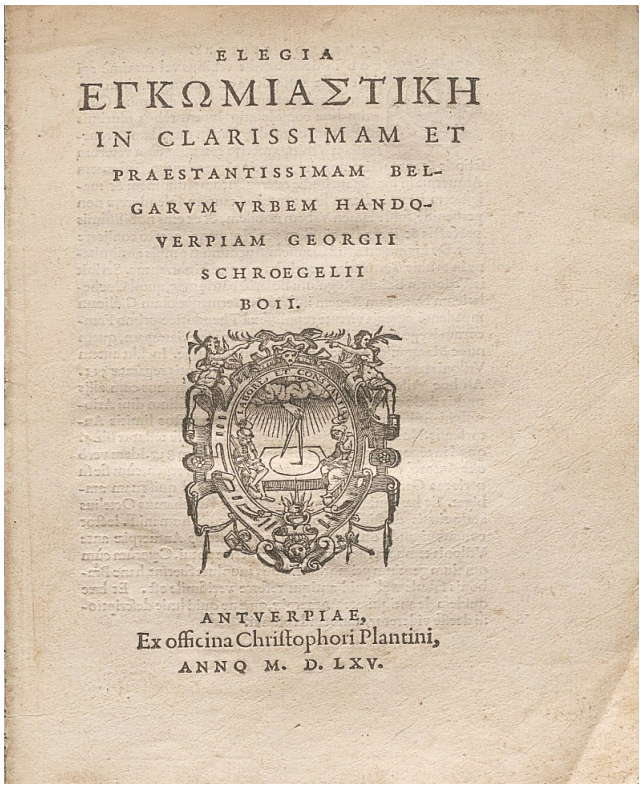
ELEGIA
ΕΓΚΩΜΙΑΣΤΙΚΗ
IN CLARISSIMAM ET
PRAESTANTISSIMAM BEL-
GARVM VRBEM HANDO-
VERPIAM GEORGII
SCHROEGELII
BOII.
ANTVERPIAE,
Ex officina Christophori Plantini,
ANNO M. D. LXV.

Figure 2: Titlepage of Schrögel's *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*. Arnhem, Gelders Archief, 0911-1, Familie van Rhemen; Pamfletten., fol. A1r.

[45] See the summary of a lecture by Michiels, "Diligentia regum capitur industria", https://gvag.be/lezingen/2011/diligentia-regum-capitur-industria-vorstenspiegels-en-andere-boodschappen-aan-vorsten-en-burgers-in-het-antwerps-stadhuis/ (accessed 6 July, 2023).

One could explain Schrögel's code-switch as decorative.[46] The same aesthetic purpose underpinned another city encomium on the East-Frisian city of Emden by Willem de Volder [Gnapheus], published in 1557 and entitled *Aembdanae civitatis ἐγκώμιον*. This title appeared at the top of the titlepage of the book (see figure 3) and was followed by a second, more elaborate Latin title: *In Aembdanae civitatis atque adeo totius Ultramasanae Frisiae laudem carmen panegyricum [...]*. The same layout with a code-switch and double title is used again at the start of the main text (fol. A4r). Here, the second title elucidates the first title, and the words *In [...] laudem carmen panegyricum* explain the Greek word *ἐγκώμιον*.[47] Although the Greek word *ἐγκώμιον* was not printed prominently on the title page of the book, but in a much smaller font than the preceding and following lines, the code-switch still catches the eye of the reader. The Greek characters on the title page were visually appealing to the reader, while their meaning is explained in the elaborate second Latin title. The title page even shows the explanatory function of Latin 'in action': a reader has added a marginal note glossing the eye-catching Greek with its Latin equivalent "encomium".

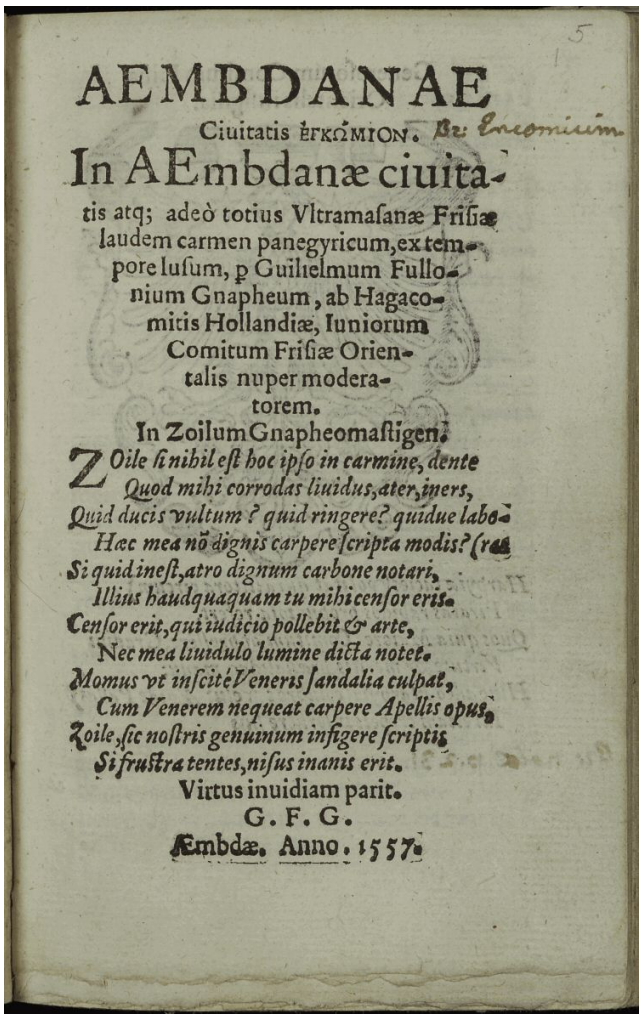
AEMBDANAE
Ciuitatis ἐγκώμιον. Bz Encomium
In AEmbdanæ ciuita-
tis atq; adeò totius Vltramaſanæ Friſiæ
laudem carmen panegyricum, ex tem-
pore luſum, p Guilielmum Fullo-
nium Gnapheum, ab Hagaco-
mitis Hollandiæ, Iuniorum
Comitum Friſiæ Orien-
talis nuper modera-
torem.
In Zoilum Gnapheomaſtigem.
Zoile ſi nihil eſt hoc ipſo in carmine, dente
Quod mihi corrodas liuidus, ater, iners,
Quid ducis vultum? quid ringere? quidue labo-
Hæc mea nõ dignis carpere ſcripta modis? (ra
Si quid ineſt, atro dignum carbone notari,
Illius haudquaquam tu mihi cenſor eris.
Cenſor erit, qui iudicio pollebit & arte,
Nec mea liuidulo lumine dicta notet.
Momus vt inſcitè Veneris ſandalia culpat,
Cum Venerem nequeat carpere Apellis opus,
Zoile, ſic noſtris genuinum infigere ſcriptis
Si fruſtra tentes, niſus inanis erit.
Virtus inuidiam parit.
G. F. G.
Embdæ. Anno. 1557.

Figure 3: Titlepage of Willem de Volder's *Aembdanae civitatis ἐγκώμιον*. Emden, Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek, Theol. 8° 0265 H, p. 261.

The code-switch in the title of the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* is however not merely decorative, but also functional. In this way, Schrögel emphasized the genre of the text, specifying the broad designation of 'elegy' as a laudatory text, and more specifically a city encomium. Next, the prominent Greek word in the title indicated the language of the main poem of the publication. The appearance of Greek words in titles often indicated the presence of Greek in a text. The title of Erasmus' *Μωρίας ἐγκώμιον id est Stultitiae Laus*—in the first place a pun on the name of his friend and addressee Thomas

[46] Korhonen, *To the Glory That Was Greece*, 133–34; Lamers and Van Rooy, "*Graecia Belgica*," 457.

[47] It is curious that de Volder uses both a Latin term (*In laudem*) and a Greek term (*panegyricum*) in his clarification of the Greek word *ἐγκώμιον*.

More[48]—prepared the reader for the many code-switches from Latin to Greek in Erasmus' work. This title of course indicates a different level of Greek presence in the text: whereas Erasmus' title merely announces code-switches to Greek in a Latin text, the main text of the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* is written entirely in Greek.

A Greek code-switch in title does not, however, guarantee the presence of Greek in the volume: de Volder's encomium on Emden for example doesn't contain any Greek word, so the code-switch in the title is purely decorative. Schrögel's title contains no Latin counterpart that explains the Greek word, contrary to de Volder's second Latin title or Erasmus' double Greek-Latin title *Μωρίας ἐγκώμιον id est Stultitiae Laus*. The reader of the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* is supposed to understand the Greek code-switch in the title, and so the reader can expect this imprint to contain Greek text. The presence of Greek in the book is confirmed to the reader by the separate, Greek title of the main poem: *Εἰς τὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην, καὶ πάντων τῶν Βελγῶν λαμπροτάτην πόλιν τὴν Ἀνδωβερπαίαν ὕμνος* (fol. B1r; "Hymn to the most magnificent and brilliant city of all Belgians, Antwerp"). This Greek title signals to the reader that the Latin, introductory part of the book is finished and the Greek main text now begins. This solely Greek title for the Greek main poem is very uncommon since in the Low Countries the usual practice seems to have been to attach Latin titles even to Greek poems.[49] There are exceptions, especially for longer texts, notably Nicolaes van Wassenaer's epic poem *Harlemiad* (1605) about the siege of Haarlem in 1572, that had a Greek title: "*Ἁρλεμιὰς ἢ Ἐξήγησις τῆς πολιορκίας τῆς πόλεως Ἁρλεμίης, γενομένης τῷ ἔτει αφοβ*" and a corresponding Latin one for its translation: "*Harlemias sive Enarratio obsidionis urbis Harlemi, quae accidit anno 1572*."

4.2 Introductory letter

The first text in the book is a Latin prose letter to the reader, titled "*Candido lectori*". This letter does not reflect on Schrögel's choice of language explicitly, but the letter complements the information provided in the main Greek poem and prepares the reader for it.

In this opening letter, Schrögel provides the necessary historical background on the city of Antwerp "as is customary in descriptions of cities."[50] For "an inquiry into the history of a city lends it dignity and respect," which is of course the purpose of the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*.[51] By his own acknowledgement, his source was the magnum opus *Annales ducum Boiariae* of the Renaissance historian

48 Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 119.

49 Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 52–55.

50 Schrögel, *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, sig. A1v. "Quod in describendis urbibus vel maxime agi solet ut de antiquitate earundem primo inquiratur, id nobis etiam faciendum duximus." (ll. 1–3) "What is usually done in descriptions of cities, to inquire at first into their ancient history, we reckon we ought to do ourselves as well."

51 Sig. A1v. "Cum enim haec consideratio lucem rebus plurimis afferat, tum etiam dignitatem quandam et reverentiam Urbibus merito conciliat, cum veterum scriptis et ante acti temporis memoria commendantur." (ll. 3–7) "Because this reflection sheds light on several things, it even deservedly acquires some dignity and respect for cities, when they are recommended by the writings of ancient authors and the memory of an earlier time."

Johannes Aventinus, which was printed in 1554, but written 30 years earlier. Schrögel's letter reports some real historical events that shaped the city of Antwerp to the reader: the appointment of Schrögel's countryman Odilo of Bavaria as governor of Antwerp in 511, and the pillaging of the city by Vikings in 837. Aventinus did not discuss Antwerp's legendary past, and Schrögel "could not find anywhere what the status of Antwerp was before the era of Odilo".[52] Schrögel covered the factual information, derived from printed books which the reader could also consult, in the introductory letter, but left out information for which he could not find a source, namely the mythical origin story of Antwerp, the legend of Brabo. This lack of information left room for literary imagination, so Schrögel saved this story for the main poem. He only mentions it at the end of the letter, whetting the reader's appetite. This way, the Latin letter serves the Greek main text and complements the poem by presenting the key background factual information about the city.

4.3 Elegy to the city council

The second Latin prefatory text is a 90 line poem in elegiacs, covering five pages (fols. A2r–A4r). The title clarifies that this elegy was addressed to the city council, or as Schrögel tended to call them, the 'Senate': "*Augusto senatui clarissimae et nobilissimae Belgarum urbis Handoverpiae perpetuam felicitatem*" ("I wish the venerable senate of Antwerp, the most brilliant and most noble city of the Belgians, everlasting happiness!"). In this preliminary poem, Schrögel explained his motivations in writing the encomium: he was hoping for a reward and appealing to possible sponsors. This elegy also sought to bolster the author's credibility, and further prepare the reader for the Greek poem.

After greeting the members of the Antwerp city council, Schrögel praised the city for its staunch walls, declaring that its reputation as an economic center stretched to all corners of the world. Yet it was not the abundance of commodities available in Antwerp that enticed Schrögel to leave his native Bavaria: he was pursuing glory as a poet, and desired to get to know other nations, especially the Belgians and the renowned city Antwerp. He praised the *homo viator*, referring to two examples of ancient travelling scholars, Plato and Herodotus:

> Quid precor assiduus patriae conspectus inerti
> proderit et semper delituisse domi?
> Dii melius, non sic divini Musa Platonis
> censuit, aut Samii mens generosa senis. (37–40)[53]

Praising the *homo viator*, Schrögel emphasized his trustworthiness as an encomiast of Antwerp, having himself travelled a long distance to visit the city and seen

[52] Sig. A1v. "Quis vero status Antverpiae ante Utilonis tempora fuerit, nusquam reperire potui" (ll. 39–40).

[53] Sig. A2v–A3r, vv. 37–40. "I ask you, what good will be looking always on an indolent homeland / and constantly lurking at home? / Dear gods! The Muse of the divine Plato did not / think that way, nor the generous mind of the old man of Samos."

many other places on his way.[54] As he pointed out to the reader, he was in a position to compare several cities. This lends credence to his conclusion that Antwerp was truly the greatest city of all.

Further on in the Latin poem Schrögel draws attention to the main text again: "Protinus in tantas se coepit solvere laudes / Musa vocans Graias in sua vota Deas."[55] This distich announces the commencement of the main poem and raises expectations among the readers, mentioning briefly that the poem is written in Greek.[56] But before we reach the Greek poem itself, Schrögel first resorts to the modesty topos: the phrase "His licet exiguis elegis" (fol. A3v, v. 75; "In these elegiac verses, albeit scanty") trivialize the number of verses he wrote.[57] He also minimizes the quality of his verses: "Quicquid id est capias placida peto fronte, bonique / consule non aequis carmina scripta modis."[58] In the pentameter, Schrögel employs an allusion to Ovid to refer once more to the metre of the poem, elegiac distichs.[59] Rogers made use of the same allusion to Ovid in his liminary poem (see below).[60]

Schrögel's expression of modesty then turns into a plea to the city council. In quite evasive wording, Schrögel asks the senate to show its favor to poets, so they will write poems about the city.[61] This way, he indicates that he is seeking remuneration from the city council or one of its members. This function of the paratext, requesting sponsors, is not unique to the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*. For example, the Latin poem *Stheno Sture* (1557) by the German author Henricus Mollerus was supplemented with two Greek poems, exhorting noblemen to sponsor poets in return for praise.[62] Mollerus' poem was a panegyric biography of Sten Sture, a relative of the Swedish king Gustav I and former ruler of Sweden. Mollerus dedicated the poem to the Swedish crown prince Erik, explaining that the praise of his forefather also pertained to him.[63] In the second Greek poem, Mollerus asks

54 E.g. "Sed pia cura fuit semotas visere terras, / ruraque; spectatis concelebrata viris." (sig. A2v; vv. 25–26) "But it was an honest concern to behold distant lands / and fields, celebrated by esteemed men". "Non mihi tam longas est dolor isse vias." (sig. A3r; v. 58) "It doesn't bother me to have come such a long way."

55 Sig. A3v, vv. 67–68; "Forthwith the Muse starts to give flow to many words of praise, / invoking Greek goddesses in her prayers".

56 The Greek poem indeed starts with an invocation of the Muses; Schrögel prays they may come to him, so he can sing the praise of Antwerp.

57 This topos is typical for dedications, see Lewis, "Introduction: The Dedication as Paratext," 6.

58 Sig. A3v, vv. 77–78; "Whatever this is, I ask you to accept it with gentle face and be / pleased with these poems written in unequal metres."

59 Ovid, *Tristia* II, 220: "imparibus legeres carmina facta modis?" "Should you read my songs, made in unequal measures?"

60 Some of the examples quoted in this paragraph correspond to elements in the statement of modesty at the end of the Greek poem, cited at the opening of this paper. The words "His licet exiguis elegis" corresponds to his Greek words Γ*ράμματα μὲν τάδε παῦρ*' (sig. D4v, v. 705; "these few words"), both downplaying the number of verse Schrögel had written. Schrögel expands upon the dismissive phrase "Quicquid id est" in the Greek text when he states that he lacks the poetic talent of Homer or Vergil.

61 "Et sacra Pieridum sectantes numina Vates / quaeso tuo dignos esse favore velis. / Sic tibi de lauri connectent fronde corollas, / vestraque victuro carmine gesta vehent." (sig. A3v, vv. 79–82) "Please, esteem the poets who pursue the holy powers of the Muses / worthy of your favour. / This way, they will weave you wreaths of laurel / and they will carry your deeds in a song of victory."

62 Akujärvi, "Neo-Latin Texts and Humanist Greek Paratexts," 84–88.

63 Akujärvi, "Neo-Latin Texts and Humanist Greek Paratexts," 82–83.

Erik personally to be generous to poets. This address apparently proved successful, as Mollerus was subsequently employed by the Swedish royal family.[64] In comparison to Schrögel's book, the language roles are inverted: Mollerus wrote a Latin poem and adressed sponsors in two Greek paratexts; Schrögel had a Greek main text and used a Latin paratext to appeal to sponsors for a reward.

4.4 Congratulations by Rogers

The last paratext preceding the city encomium is a laudatory epigram by Daniel Rogers on the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* (fol. A4v). To praise the author of a text is a typical function of liminary poems.[65] This specimen reveals Rogers' opinion on the choice of language.

> In Elegiam Handoverpianam Georgii Schroegelii Boii.[66]
>
> Docta tuas laudes facundi Musa Graphaei
> ante dedit Latiis urbs generosa notis:
> nunc tibi Schrogelii laudes decantat easdem
> Pieris, imparibus vecta Pelasga rotis.
> Scilicet Aonio celebrandis carmine divis
> laudibus et meritis nata Thalia fuit.
> Dummodo tu facias dignum Respublicae laude,
> Pierii deerit non tibi turba chori.
>
> DANIEL ROGERIUS.[67]

In this short liminary poem Rogers addresses the personified city. He compares Schrögel's Greek encomium to the Latin one that Cornelis De Schrijver [Grapheus] had composed earlier. De Schrijver had been secretary to the city of Antwerp between 1520 and 1522 and again from 1540 until his death in 1558.[68] His first term as secretary ended because he was accused of heresy and interrogated by the Inquisition. After a recantation he was set free, but he lost his position. In 1540 he was rehabilitated and reinstated as secretary. De Schrijver wrote several Latin texts that in some way praised the city he worked for.[69] The one referenced

64 Akujärvi, "Neo-Latin Texts and Humanist Greek Paratexts," 88.

65 van Dam, "Poems on the Threshold," 51.

66 Schrögel, *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, sig. A4v. Rogers included a revised version of this poem in MS Hertford 31188, fol. 106r. The revision is entitled "Ad Andoverpiam, de enkomiastica (sic) Elegia Georgii Schroegelii" and three of its eight verses are significantly revised.

67 "On the Elegiac Poem on Antwerp by Georg Schrögel of Bavaria // Earlier the learned Muse sung your praise / through the Latin characters of the eloquent Graphaeus, eminent city. / Now the Pierian goddess sings through Schrögel praise for you, again, / but this time it is a Greek muse, carried on unequal wheels. / Certainly, Thalia was born to celebrate gods / with Aonian poetry and deserved praise. / As long as you do what is worthy of praise, dear Republic, / you will not lack a Pierian choir. // Daniel Rogers."

68 Zilverberg, "Grapheus, Cornelis," 148–49.

69 During his first term, he organised the entry of Emperor Charles V in Antwerp in 1520, and described all festivities in his *De magnificentissimis urbis Antverpiae spectaculis, Carolo dudum imperatore designato, aeditis*, published in Antwerp by Michael Hillenius in 1519. In 1549, he orchestrated the arrival of Philips II, son

by Rogers is probably his *Urbis Antverpiae Preconium* ("Laudation of the city Antwerp"), a short panegyric of Antwerp in iambic trimeters.[70]
Rogers states in this celebratory poem that it is the duty of the Muses to sing praise in Greek verse. By implying that Schrögel brought the Muses back to their original task, i.e. making *Greek* poetry, he emphasizes that Schrögel's effort is impressive and that his Greek encomium is more exceptional than De Schrijver's earlier Latin laudation.

Like Schrögel in his elegy to the city council, Rogers cites Ovid to denote the elegiac metre of Schrögel's verse (v.4; "imparibus vecta Pelasga rotis", "a Greek muse, carried on unequal wheels"). Rogers quotes Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* I, 264: "praecipit imparibus vecta Thalea rotis", adding here that the Muse Thalia is Greek (*Pelasga*), to refer to Schrögel's Greek poem.[71] This image of the Greek Muse carried by unequal wheels returns in a second poem addressed to Schrögel, which was published in Roger's *Oda Sapphica*:[72]

> Cum caneret digna Belgarum laude puellas,
> Schroegelius, Graiis has veheretque rotis:
> dicitur ornata Venus arrisisse caterva
> laudibus, et tantis succinuisse modis:
> Phoebus, ait, donet Lauri tua tempora fronde,
> ipsa dabo capiti myrtea serta tuo.[73]

The Ovidian image used in Rogers' poem in the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* was adapted in this poem in the *Oda Sapphica*: whereas in the earlier poem a Muse, the goddess that *initiated* the poem, was carried, now the Belgian girls, the *subject* of the poem, are carried on wheels. The qualification of the wheels as 'unequal' from Ovid's quote was altered, and the wheels are now 'Greek', again referring to the Greek main poem.[74] Rogers applauds Schrögel's description of the young women of

of Charles V. Again he published a description of all the spectacles accompanying this event: Grapheus, *Spectaculorum in susceptione Philippi Hispaniae principis, divi Caroli V caesaris F. anno M.D.XLIX. Antverpiae aeditorum, mirificus apparatus*, Antwerp, Gillis Coppens & Pieter Coecke, 1550.

70 This poem is included as a liminary poem in Grapheus, *De nomine florentissimae civitatis Antverpiensis*, Antwerp, Joannes Grapheus, 1527, sig. A3v–4r.

71 "Thalea, carried on unequal wheels, teaches [...]" Corresponding to this citation of Ovid, Rogers also uses Thalia as metonymy for the Muses in v. 6.

72 Rogerius, *Oda Sapphica*, sig. B4r–B4v. This poem is preceded in the book by the poem I discuss hereafter, and is titled "eidem", i.e. "Georgio Schroegelio suo." Again, a (strongly) revised version by Rogers of this poem is preserved in MS Hertford 31188, fol. 106r. There the poem is entitled "De eadem elegia" and follows the revised version of Rogers' celebratory poem discussed just before this, mentioned in p. 14, n. 63.

73 "When Schrögel sang of the Belgian girls with appropriate praise / and carried them on Greek wheels, / Venus is said to have smiled, together with her embellished company, / because of the praises and to have accorded them in so many ways. / "Phoebus", she says, "shall crown your temples with laurel branches, / I will myself adorn your head with garlands of myrtle.""

74 Because this poem was part of the *Oda Sapphica*, intended as a supplementary part of the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, the reader had already read the first instance of the image in Rogers' first laudatory poem and understood that the wheels signified the (elegiac) verses.

Antwerp.[75] According to the Englishman, the description was approved by the goddess of beauty and the god of poetry, so both the content of the encomium as well as the poetic technique itself deserve laudation. A particular aspect of the praise for Schrögel's verses was the fact that they were written in Greek (v.2; "Graiis rotis"), an aspect that Rogers also highlighted in the poem dealt with above.[76] These verses again congratulate Schrögel and focus on the language situation, but now also put the spotlight on an important subject of the city encomium.

The poem on Belgian girls is preceded in the *Oda Sapphica* by another celebratory poem by Rogers for Schrögel, which does not reflect upon Schrögel's choice of language. The description of the feminine beauty of Antwerp in the Greek poem holds the limelight in these verses as well.

GEORGIO SCHROEGELIO SUO.

Belgica tam cupida decantas corpora laude,
grande puellarum sic celebrasque decus,
ut tibi praesentem Paphiam fulsisse Dionem,
et tua sub pedibus colla habuisse putem.
Torserat haec veteres aliquando cura poëtas,
te quoque si torsit quo tuearis habes.[77]

Rogers once more lauds Schrögel's description of the girls of Antwerp by writing that the goddess Venus herself must have helped him in his effort.

The three Latin odes to Schrögel exist to support the Greek main text. They praise the author for his accomplishment, by stressing the fact that he wrote in Greek and that he surpassed an earlier encomiast of Antwerp, reinforcing Schrögel's case to secure a reward from the Antwerp city council. They also alert the reader to an important theme of the city encomium: the praise of the girls of Antwerp, preparing them to appreciate the Greek poem fully.

4.5 An absent paratext

The Greek encomium is not accompanied by a Latin translation. This presents us with an unusual situation. Nicolaes van Wassenaer's *Harlemias*, one of the few other extant long Greek poems from the Low Countries, is accompanied by a verbatim Latin translation to help his students understand the text.[78] Another

[75] Schrögel devoted a fair share of the attention in the Greek encomium to the 'feminine beauty' of Antwerp. Their description and praise spans across 64 verses (vv. 277–340, sigs. C1v–C2v).

[76] See p. 44. To indicate that Schrögel's poem was written in Greek, Rogers firstly called the Muse Greek, and in the second poem he called the wheels Greek.

[77] Rogerius, *Oda Sapphica*, sig. B4r. "To his Georg Schrögel // You extol Belgian bodies in song with such fond praise, / and you celebrate the grand grace of the girls in such a manner, / that I would think that Aphrodite of Paphos has supported you in person, / and has put her neck under your feet. / This pain of love has formerly tormented ancient poets, / if it also has tormented you, then you have something to protect yourself with."

[78] Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 57.

example of a Greek poem published alongside a Latin version is Johannes Vladeraccus' laudatory elegy on the city of 's-Hertogenbosch, published in 1582.[79] Although this is also a city encomium, Vladeraccus' ode differs greatly from Schrögel's: the Greek and Latin versions are much shorter, each running to only eighteen verses (in elegiac couplets). Furthermore they were not the main texts of the publication, but paratexts to a core Latin text, *Dialogus poeticus Calvinus inscriptus*, a polemic text against Calvinists.[80] In his encomium, Vladeraccus praises his hometown 's-Hertogenbosch for remaining a Catholic city and being loyal to Philipp II.[81] The evidence suggests Vladeraccus first made the Latin version of the encomium, and then translated it into Greek: the Greek version closely follows the Latin text, but the Latin text contains some allusions to classical literature that were omitted in the Greek version. The last three couplets, for example, contain allusions to Vergil and Ovid:

> Hi te defendent: tamquam Marpesia cautes
> stabis ad insultus fortiter usque truces.
> Qualis frugifero dum Chaonis arbor in agro,
> stat contra ventos sola inimica graves,
> talis Silva Dei valido stas robore nixa,
> vertice frondoso sic redimita caput. (13–18)[82]

> οἵ σ' ἀναθαλπούσι στήσας μαρπήσσιος ὥσπερ
> πρὸς τ' ἐπιπηδήσεις πύματα πάντα φέρων.
> Οἷος δρῦς χλοερὸς ἀλδαίνων χάονος ἀγρῷ
> ἀντέχει ἀνέμοις μοῦν' ἀπόστοργος ἐών:
> τοῖος δρυμὲ θεοῦ στιβαρᾷ στήσεις ἀρετῇφι,
> ἐυπετάλῃ κορυφῇ στέμματα καλλᾶ στέγων. (13–18)[83]

The Latin words *Marpesia cautes* (l. 13) references Vergil's *Aeneid* VI. 471, but in the Greek version this becomes simply *μαρπήσσιος*.[84] Similarly, the phrase

[79] Vladeraccus, *Dialogus poeticus Calvinus*, sig. C1v–2r.

[80] Verweij, *Vladeracci tres*, 20–21. This text first appeared in 1580 in a Dutch version under the title *Eenen poeetschen dialogus genaempt Calvinus*. This Dutch text was published under the pseudonym *Coppen Gielis van Utopia*. It is possible that the fervent catholic Vladeraccus wrote this Dutch text, but he certainly wrote the Latin translation, which was published two years later and featured his Latin and Greek encomium on 's-Hertogenbosch.

[81] Verweij, *Vladeracci tres*, 69.

[82] Vladeraccus, *Dialogus poeticus Calvinus*, sig. C1v, ll. 13–18. "They defend you: like the Marpesian rock / you will bravely withstand insults, even harsh ones. / Just as a Chaonion tree stand in a fertile field / as sole enemy against the winds, / so do you stand, Wood of God, relying on a robust strength / with your head girded by a leafy crown."

[83] Vladeraccus, *Dialogus poeticus Calvinus*, sig. C2r, ll. 13–18. "They protect you, who stands like the Marpessus / against the assaults and bears all the worst things. / Just as a green, growing Chaonian oak in a field / withstands the winds, as only one untouched, / so you will stand, thicket of God, with strong power, / holding beautiful garlands on the leafy top of your head."

[84] Virgil's Aeneid VI. 471: "quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes." "[she changed no more] than if she stood in hard flint or Marpesian rock.". The word *μαρπήσσιος* only appears in the geographic dictionary Ἐθνικά of Stephanus of Byzantium (6th-century), this work was not known to Vladeraccus.

"Chaonis arbor" (i.e. an oak; l. 15) is borrowed from Ovid, *Metamorphoses* X. 90. Vladeraccus had difficulties trying to reproduce this in Greek. Instead of a literal translation ("Chaonian tree"), he used the term δρῦς ("oak") and added the unattested word χάονος to translate "Chaonian", instead of the attested terms Χαόνιος or Χαονικός. These examples demonstrate that Vladeraccus composed the Latin poem first, using tags and phrases known from classical Latin literature, and then produced a Greek translation, which is printed after the Latin poem. He expected the readers to read to Latin version first. As such, Vladeraccus respected the common language hierarchy: his Greek encomium supplements the Latin.

By contrast, by not including a Latin translation at all, Schrögel lays the emphasis on his Greek encomium: the reader is supposed to understand the city encomium from the Greek text alone. This way, Schrögel stresses his impressive effort of writing a 24-page long Greek poem. But another element may have been a lack of time. The *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* was printed only one month before the inauguration of the city hall, and Schrögel had only been in Antwerp for six months. Writing a 24-page Greek poem must have consumed a lot of time.[85] If Schrögel was already short on time to finish the Greek poem, he could have decided to drop a Latin translation.

In the preceding paragraphs, I have shown that the Latin paratexts of the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* were written to support the main Greek text and that in this way the traditional language roles were inverted. The remaining oeuvres of Rogers and Schrögel showcase, however, an example of the more common situation of a Latin main text with a Greek paratext.[86] Rogers' *Urbes* collection, mentioned above, contains 32 Latin encomia on English cities. Rogers' Latin poems were introduced by a Greek laudatory poem by Schrögel, and two Latin dedicatory poems by Rogers to other friends. Compared to the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, the authorship roles here are reversed: Rogers as main author and Schrögel as 'laudator'. In this instance, composed some ten years after the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, Schrögel adhered to the common practice. The emphasis Rogers laid on Schrögel's language choice in the laudatory poems of the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, combined with his own more typical choice in the later *Urbes*, indicate that Schrögel and Rogers were well aware of the inversion of the language hierarchy in the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*.

4.6 The choice of a name for Antwerp

Schrögel uses a grammatical feature typical of Greek, the *spiritus asper* or rough breathing, to make the Latin name for Antwerp better resemble a folk etymology for the name of the city. The most common name for the city in Latin is *Antverpia*, but there is a second name: *Handoverpia*. Schrögel uses two names for Antwerp in Greek as well: Ἀνδβέρπη and Ἀνδωβερπαία.[87] The latter reflects a popular folk etymology of the city's name, which derived "Antwerpen" from the Dutch

[85] For the importance of delivering encomiastic poetry on time, and strategies of authors to achieve this, see: e.g. Schirg and Gwynne. "The 'Economics of Poetry'".

[86] van Dam, "Poems on the Threshold," 66; Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 55.

[87] The renderings Ἀνδβερπία (– – υ –) or Ἀνδωβερπία (– – – υ –), which would be closer renderings of the Greek names, would not fit in an elegiac distich, because of the metrical quantities of the suffix -ία (υ –).

words "hand" ("hand") and "werpen" ("to throw"). This folk etymology refers to the founding legend of the city, in which the giant Antigoon blocked ships on the river Scheldt, cut off the hands of sailors, and threw them in the river if they did not pay him. The Roman soldier Brabo rescued the city from this tyranny by cutting off Antigoon's hand and throwing it into the river in turn. Schrögel tells this story in an unusual way, in which Brabo becomes the giant and no saviour is mentioned.[88] At the beginning of the encomium, Schrögel explains that Antwerp was named after the throwing of the hands:

> Ἀνδβέρπῃ ἣ οὔνομ' ἔχει παρὰ αἰνοτυράννου,
> τοὔνομα ἐξ ἔργων ὅστις ἔδωκε πόλει.
> Τῶν γὰρ ἁλισκομένων ἐν Σκάλδῃ ἔνθα πλεόντων,
> χεῖρας τετμηκὼς, Σκάλδιν ἔσω ἔβαλε.
> Ἐκ τοῦ βεβλῆσθαι τὰς χεῖρας γοῦν ὀνομάσθη
> Ἀνδωβερπαία εὐρυάνασσα πόλις· (33–38)[89]

At the start of this passage, Schrögel uses the word Ἀνδβέρπῃ (33), without aspiration, reflecting the Latin name. At the end, after explaining the etymology, he uses Ἀνδωβερπαία (38), with an aspiration and inserted omega, to better express the Dutch word 'hand'.[90] Since Greek is able to add aspiration at the beginning of words, it serves as an intermediary between the two Latin versions of the name, better reflecting the Dutch folk etymology for the name of the city. Schrögel continues on the same lines when using a Latin name for Antwerp. He uses *Handoverpia* in the title of the imprint and in the titles of two Latin paratexts: the elegy to the city council and Rogers' celebratory poem.[91] In the first of these, he also refers to the citizens as *Handoverpaei* (sig. A2r, l. 8). He uses the name *Antverpia* only in the introductory letter, focusing on factual information. Outside of this letter, where there was more room for imagination, Schrögel uses the Latin name that reflected the folk etymology, based on a fantastic story told in the Greek poem.

88 It is an interesting question why Schrögel changed the story in this way, a question upon which I cannot elaborate further in this paper. I presume he, being a stranger, misunderstood the local legend. Could it be that his altered version was not corrected, because nobody controlled the content of the poem, since it was written in Greek?

89 Sig. B1v; ll. 33–38 "Antwerp got its name from a terrible tyrant, / that gave her the name through his deeds. / For there on the river Scheldt, he arrested sailors, / cut of their hands, and threw the into the river Scheldt. / So after the throwing of the hands, / the wide-ruling city Antwerp was named."

90 In the Greek text, the spiritus is not printed in capital letters. My reconstruction of the names for Antwerp is based on the latin(ized) names as they appear in the book: there is *Antverpia* and *Handoverpia*, but never *Hantverpia* or *Andoverpia*. Further on in the Greek poem, Schrögel uses both Greek names for Antwerp.

91 Schrögel, *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, sig. A2r; A4v. In his revised manuscript version of this congratulatory poem, Rogers changed the title from 'In Elegiam Handoverpianam Georgii Schroegelii Boii' to 'Ad Andoverpiam, de enkomiastica (sic) Elegia Georgii Schroegelii', not maintaining the aspiration. See p. 15, n. 66.

5 Latin–Greek transfer in Schrögel's *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*

Whereas the majority of the surviving evidence for ancient Latin–Greek code-switching is from authors who had Latin as their mother tongue, this is obviously not true of any of the early modern examples. For them, Latin was a second language, which they as native speakers of a vernacular had to acquire, and Greek a third language. Furthermore, they learned Greek through the paradigm of Latin.[92] As a result, linguistic features of Latin crept into the Greek usage of early modern authors. Linguistic transfer occurred on many levels including prosody, morphology and syntax. Schrögel's poem includes some instances of this kind of Latin influence on Greek.

Firstly, there are a few lexical transfers. One case occurs when Schrögel, illustrating how Antwerp surpasses all other cities, compares the city to amaranths blooming in gardens.[93] The name of the flower is derived from the Greek adjective *ἀμάραντος*, 'unfading' or 'not decaying'. The word normally takes the neuter form *τὸ ἀμάραντον* (sc. *ἄνθος*) when made into a noun.[94] In Latin, however, this flower takes a masculine form: *amarantus* (sc. *flos*).[95] Schrögel projected the gender of the Latin noun onto the Greek one, calling the flowers *ἀμάραντοι* (v. 396).[96] Further Latin influence at the lexical level can be found in the expression *τάφρους αἰπεινοὺς* ("deep trenches"):[97] the adjective *αἰπεινός* means "high" or "lofty" and is used to describe mountains or cities.[98] Schrögel uses it here in the sense of "deep", probably as a semantic loan from Latin *altus*, which can signify both "high" and "deep".

Schrögel's Greek poem also features several examples of syntactical transfer from Latin. A recurring example is the use of dative in Greek where we would expect the ablative in Latin, a case that does not exist in Greek.[99] In the expression *Ἐκ χαλκῷ* [.] *τειχεσιπλήττῃ*, for instance, Schrögel uses the dative, which is very uncommon with *ἐκ* in classical Greek.[100] He was probably thinking of the Latin use of the preposition "ex" with the ablative case to indicate the material

92 Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 109–10.

93 Schrögel, *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, sig. C3v. *Ἠὺτ' ἐνὶ χλοεροῖς ἀμάραντοι τηλεθόωσι / χόρτοις ἀμβρόσιοι κρᾶς ὄν ἀειρόμενοι* (vv. 393–394) "Just as immortal amaranths in green pastures bloom, / lifting their heads ..."

94 E.g. Dioscorides, *De materia medica* IV, 57; Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon* I, 229.

95 E.g. Tibullus III, 4, 33; Ovid, *Fasti* IV, 439. Sometimes *amaranthus* in early modern Latin.

96 See note 93 above for the full line. There is only one attested ancient instance of the masculine *ὁ ἀμάραντος*, by Artemidorus in his *Oneirocritica* (1.77).

97 Schrögel, *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, sig. B2r. "*Τάφρους αἰπεινοὺς ἑκατὸν πόδας ἠδέ τι πλεῖον, / καὶ πλατέας τόσσους πλείονας ἠδὲ πόδας.*" (ll. 57–58) "[Antwerp] has trenches a hundred feet deep or more, / and even more feet in width."

98 Liddel and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon,* 41.

99 See the discussion of this problem in the introduction to the special issue on code-switching of this journal (issue 9) in Barton and Van Rooy, "Introduction," 16–17.

100 Liddel and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon,* 498: ἐκ is only used with the dative in Arcado-Cypriot inscriptions. Schrögel, *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, sig. B2v: "*Ἐκ χαλκῷ βαλάνους τειχεσιπλήττῃ*," (l. 94) "Bullets made of wall-hitting bronze". Schrögel once uses ὑπό with the uncommon dative on sig. B1v. "*Η πασῶν πόλεων περίεστιν ὑπ' οὐρανῷ ἄλλων*," (l. 27) "She surpasses all other cities under the sky", though here he has an Homeric precedent. This passage alludes to Homer, *Iliad* IV, 44 ("*αἳ γὰρ ὑπ' ἠελίῳ τε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι*;" "The [cities] under the sun and starry heaven"), but Schrögel might also have been thinking of the Latin phrase "sub caelo".

something is made out of. Secondly, Schrögel uses the dative for a direct object, recalling a Latin verb that has an object in the ablative.

> Νόσφι φόρου καρποῦσθαι ἐᾷ καρποῖσι Λυαίου·
> καὶ δώροις γλυκεροῖς καρποτόκου Ἀμαίας· (611–12)[101]

Normally, *καρπόω* would have a direct object in the accusative.[102] Here, there are two objects in the dative. This is a transfer from Latin: *utor* and *fruor* both have an object in the ablative. With no ablative available in Greek, Schrögel uses a dative. Thirdly, Schrögel uses a dative to express a specification, mirroring the use of the ablative in Latin.

> Μηδὲ ἀφαυροτέρους τοῦ τειχολέτου Ἀχιλῆος
> τυτθὸν τῷ κάρτει, ἢ κρατερῇ κραδίᾳ. (511–12)[103]

In Greek, the accusative is most common to express a specification, but the use of the dative does also occur. Schrögel uses the dative *τῷ κάρτει, ἢ κρατερῇ κραδίᾳ*. This example of transfer of Latin to Greek is particularly striking, since the Greek accusative of specification (or respect) was often used in classical Latin poetry, as a marker of high style. Schrögel disregarded this well-known transfer of Greek to Latin, and chose the less common construction of the dative of specification over the accusative in his Greek text, inspired by the Latin usage of the ablative, which in Greek usually gets replaced by the dative.

Lastly, some examples of Latin-to-Greek transfer occur in the formation of verbs. Schrögel makes a mistake in choosing the voice of the verb in the phrase *ἀποσχήσουσίν* [...] *κλείειν*.[104] In Greek, *ἀπέχω* should be in the middle rather than active voice in order to have the meaning of "desisting from".[105] An explanation for this error could be that Schrögel thought of the Latin verb *abstineo*, but because Latin lacks the middle voice, he might not have realised he should use the middle voice for *ἀπέχω*.

Schrögel sometimes puts verbs in the wrong mood. In a passage where he talks about the lawyers of Antwerp, Schrögel praises them for their excellent knowledge of law. Several indirect questions are dependent upon the verb *ἴσασιν* ("they know"). Three couplets further on, he uses both the indicative and subjunctive mood in one couplet.

> Οἵτινες ἴσασιν τοῦ Παπινιανοῦ ἀρίστου
> Βαρτόλου, ἠδ' ἄλλων βιβλία τῶν νομικῶν.

[101] Sig. D3r, ll. 611–612. "She allows them to profit tax-free from the fruits of Lyaeus [Dionysus], and of the sweet presents of fruit-bearing Amaea [Demeter]." These verses mean that the foreign merchants in Antwerp are exempt from taxes on wine and grain.

[102] Liddel and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon,* 880.

[103] Sig. D1v, ll. 511–512. "They are not weaker than Achilles, destroyer of walls, not even a little, in strength or in their strong hearts."

[104] Sig. D4r, l. 673. "They will stop singing."

[105] Liddel and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 188.

[...]
Καὶ πότ' ἐλευθέριος παῖς αὐτεξούσιός ἐστιν,
ἢ πότ' ἀπαλλαχθῇ κηδεμόνων φυλακῆς. (525–26; 533–34)[106]

In the hexameter, Schrögel correctly uses the indicative mood *ἐστιν* in the indirect question, but in the pentameter we find *ἀπαλλαχθῇ* in the subjunctive mood. The use of a subjunctive verb in an indirect question is a transfer from Latin. The series of indirect questions depending on *ἴσασιν* continues for six more verses, and Schrögel keeps on writing the verbs in the subjunctive mood.[107]

Although Schrögel inverted the contemporary language hierarchy by centring Greek rather than Latin verse, Latin still asserts its presence in some aspects of the main Greek text. It is clear that Schrögel learnt Greek through Latin, and this order of language acquisition is reflected in the transfer of certain Latin elements into his usage of Greek. Latin, because of its central status among learned men, applies pressure onto Schrögel's Greek text.

6 Schrögel's motivation for writing in Greek

After analyzing how the Latin–Greek code-switching occurred in the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, I shall consider briefly the reasons why Schrögel code-switched this way in his book. The choice for Greek was fitting for the inauguration of Antwerp city hall. As mentioned, Rogers praised Schrögel in his liminary poems for surpassing Cornelis De Schrijver. De Schrijver was an official of the city, so his laudatory texts were perhaps commissioned directly by his employer. Schrögel's poem was certainly not commissioned. However, he was clearly hoping to secure a reward from the city for his composition. Alongside his elegy addressed to the city council, he praised the councilors of Antwerp several times in the Greek encomium, for example:

Ναὶ πόλι εὔποτμος καὶ πάντῃ ὀλβίη ἐσσί,
εἵνεκα τοιούτων εὐσεβέων ἀνέρων.
Οἵτινες οὔ σε φυλάττουσιν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα
κάλλη ἐγείρουσιν φαίδιμα καὶ ζάθεα. (195–98)[108]

Ἄνδρες βουλευταὶ ὑμεῖς εὐδαίμονες ἐστέ,
εἵνεκα τοῦ σκήπτρου τοσσατίης πόλεως. (587–88)[109]

At the end of the Greek poem, quoted at the start of this paper, Schrögel justified his effort to the council members, while humbly minimizing his achievement.

[106] Sig. D1v; ll. 525–526, 533–534; "They know the books of the best Papinianus, of Bartolus and other jurists. [...] And [they know] when a freeborn child is in their own power, or when it is freed from the custody of its guardians."

[107] *ἰσχύῃ* (536); *λάβῃ* (538); *βεβαιώσῃ* (539); *δηλήσῃ* (540).

[108] Sig. B4r, ll. 195–198. "Verily, city, you are prosperous and in every way blessed / because of these dutiful men. / For they not only protect you, but they also / erect other glistering and sacred beautiful buildings."

[109] Sig. D2v, ll. 587–588. "Dear councillors, you are fortunate / because of the scepter of such a great city."

Considering Schrögel's goal of obtaining remuneration, it is surprising that Rogers mentioned only De Schrijver and not also Melchior Barlaeus. Just three years earlier, in 1562, that Antwerp-born poet published his *De vetustissima Brabanticae gentis origine, sive Brabantiados libri V*, which had a Latin hexameter poem in praise of Antwerp ('Urbis Antverpiae encomium') annexed to it.[110] Just like Schrögel, Barlaeus also placed a Latin elegiac poem addressed to the 'senators' before his encomium. As a reward for this and other compositions, Barlaeus received a stipend from the city council for the advancement of his talent.[111] It would seem that Barlaeus offered a better example of the goals Schrögel had in mind while writing his *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* than De Schrijver.

In comparison, Schrögel had several disadvantages: he was neither a native of Antwerp like Barlaeus, nor an official like De Schrijver, and moreover he had only been in Antwerp for six months at the time of publication. In order to secure a reward, it was thus necessary to make himself remarkable. In addition to the fact that his encomium appeared as a publication in its own right, and not—as was the case for De Schrijver and Barlaeus—as an appendix or addendum to another text, Schrögel's poem was also written in the less common and more prestigious classical language, Greek. Writing his encomium in Greek served in this way as cultural capital for the author, distinguishing himself, as a recent migrant, from these local authors in his quest for a reward by the Antwerp city council.

7 Conclusion

In this paper, I have analyzed the Latin–Greek code-switching and language hierarchy in Georg Schrögel's *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*. The titles and paratexts show that the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* occupies a particular position in the production of occasional poetry in the Low Countries, since Greek is its main language with Latin used chiefly for paratextual material. In Schrögel's work, the placing, style and content of the Latin texts all serve to support the central Greek poem, inverting the usual language hierarchy found in similar publications. The paratexts complement the information of the main poem, prepare the reader for its content and steer their attention, and praise Schrögel's accomplishment and language choice. In the Greek poem, he gave an etymology for the name of the city of Antwerp, and in the Latin titles he used the name that corresponds best to this etymology.

Latin however asserts its presence in the main text through pressure on Schrögel's usage of Greek. Linguistic transfer from Latin into Greek is visible on many levels: in Schrögel's lexicon, syntax and phraseology. The code-switching chiefly takes place on a large level, between entire texts, but the intrasentential code-switch in the title of the publication and the linguistic transfer from Latin to Greek indicate that it also functions on a more local level.

In writing his city encomium, Schrögel hoped to obtain some remuneration from the Antwerp city council members. For this, Schrögel had to compete with

110 Barlaeus, *Brabantiados libri V*, K8r–L7v.

111 Katona, *Melchioris Barlaei de raptu Ganymedis liber*, 13.

earlier, better-connected poets who had written similar praises of the city and had been rewarded for their poems. He tried to surpass these poets by choosing to write in Greek, and in this way inverting the language hierarchy.

List of figures

Figure 1. Façade of the Antwerp city hall. Photograph by G. Lanting, from Wikimedia Commons, accessed 22 July, 2024, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=48274298. License CC-BY-SA-4.0.

Figure 2. Titlepage of Schrögel's *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*. Arnhem, Gelders Archief, 0911-1, Familie van Rhemen; Pamfletten., fol. A1r. Reproduced with permission of the Gelders Archief.

Figure 3. Titlepage of Willem de Volder's *Aembdanae civitatis ἐγκώμιον*. Emden, Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek, Theol. 8° 0265 H, p. 261. Reproduced with permission of the Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek.

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