The lure of the dark ages : writing the Middle Ages and political rhetoric in humanist historiography from the low countries

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Chapter Six

Armed Resistance: Scholarly Skirmishes and Struggle for Freedom in the Work of Janus Dousa Sr (1599, 1601)

Janus Dousa Sr, lord of Noordwijk (1545-1604), is not only renowned as a Latin poet, but also enjoys a reputation as a "pathfinder in scholarly historical investigation."[1] Commissioned to do so by the university of Leiden, he described the history of the early counts of Holland in verse and in prose. This striking incursion in the field of medieval history – so important from a patriotic point of view, but perhaps not a humanist's first choice – was richly rewarded by the States of Holland. The resulting works comprise a dazzling fusion of the distanced approach of critical philology and the laudative modes of classical epic and historiography. This chapter aims to unravel the complex intertwining of the classical, the medieval, and the early modern in both works of history: I will pay attention to the way subject matter and humanist prejudices about it amalgamate with literary configurations – the models of Ovid, Vergil, Ennius; Tacitus, Livy, Sallust – and scholarly techniques to form the political rhetoric of Dousa's historiography. In this manner, I will demonstrate how Dousa's encounter with the medieval was a major catalyst for the transformation of historical studies and how the commemoration of the medieval could be relevant for early modern society.

[1] Kampinga 1917, 25: "padvinder voor de wetenschappelijke geschiedvorsching".

But before I start my analysis of Dousa's historiography, something must be said about the historical circumstances of their genesis, for these works came about in a clearly defined institutional context that helps to explain the political orientation of Dousa's work. When the Dutch Revolt formally began in 1572 with the first independent meeting of the States of Holland and West-Friesland, the task of supervising the copying of certain important charters was assigned to Dousa. Like Divaeus, Dousa therefore had direct access to documentary sources. Three years later, Dousa had drawn up a list of documents that "were of use to the freedom or rights of the county of Holland." In 1585, Dousa was commissioned again to investigate the past of this province. The university of Leiden appointed him as librarian with the special assignment of continuing the work of Hadrianus Junius, that is, describing the history of Holland in Latin prose.[2] Although formally in the service of the university of Leiden, Dousa regarded himself as the successor of Junius and the official historian of the States of Holland.[3]

Junius had held this office from 1566 until 1570. When he died in 1575, his work on the geography of Holland was still unpublished. The publication of this work in 1588 was Dousa's first accomplishment in his function of university librarian.[4] By that time, however, his own work of history was well under way. Two letters written by Dousa in 1582 show that at this moment, he had been reading historical sources for five years and was spending much of his time on historical inquiries. One of these letters contains a specimen of his *Annales* written in hexameters, demonstrating that although the process of composition was still at an early stage

Portrait of Janus Dousa Sr (*Icones Leidenses* 36)

[2] Smit 1925/1926, 151-60 about Dousa's involvement in the foundation of a depository of important charters in Holland. The quotation is on p. 155: "tot vrydomme ofte gerechticheyt van den graefschappe van Hollant diende". Dousa's report of this operation is kept in the National Archive in The Hague (inventory nº 3.01.52, record 1). The report is on f. 1^{r}-4^{v}; the list of documents is on f. 5^{r-v}. The documents referred to are letters and charters from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For Dousa's commission to write a history of Holland, see Vermaseren 1955, 58.

[3] This is attested by the fact that Dousa styled himself 'official historian' (*legitimus historicus*) in his work (*ARG* f. *ij^{v}, **iiij^{v}; *BHA* p. 174, 203) and by a public letter expressing his apologies for the delay of the publication of his work of history: Dousa Sr 1593, 3-13. Moreover, Christopher Plantin referred to the work as 'official' in a dedication to the States of Holland and West-Friesland: Heesakkers 2003, 755-6.

[4] For Junius' activity as official historian of Holland, see Vermaseren 1949; for Dousa's edition of Junius' *Batavia*, see Vermaseren 1955, 60-1.

– the definitive version would be written in elegiac distichs – the idea of a verse history had begun to materialize.[5] In 1593, Dousa sent a public letter to the States of Holland, apologizing for the fact that the historical writings he had promised had not appeared in print yet.[6] Finally, the poetic description of the county's past was published in 1599. Two years later, the commissioned prose history followed. After the publication of the latter work, Dousa was rewarded by the States of Holland with a golden chain and a medal worth six hundred pounds. In addition, he was granted exemption from the obligation to appear in Supreme Court (of which he was a member).[7]

In the period between 1572 and 1601, Dousa by no means devoted his time exclusively to historiographical projects. Much of his attention was taken up by political business. In 1574, he was charged with the defence of the city of Leiden against the Spanish troops. When the siege was raised, it was decided that a university would be founded in the city. As a reward for his efforts, Dousa became one of the first curators of the new university. In the years 1572, 1584, and 1585, he was approached to participate in time-consuming embassies to queen Elizabeth. In 1591, he was appointed a member of the Supreme Court.[8]

In this period of pressure, Dousa relied increasingly on his son of the same name, Janus Dousa Jr (1571-1596), for the progress of his historiographical labour.[9] In 1582, Janus Jr, a mere stripling at that moment, was making transcripts of historical texts for his father and translated vernacular works of history into Sallustian Latin. At the age of seventeen, he followed in his father's footsteps as a historian. In 1593, he succeeded him as librarian as well. Despite his early death in 1596, much lamented by his father, Janus Jr made a considerable contribution to the historical works of the latter. He wrote a complete book about the counts Arnulf (988-993) and Dirk III (993-1039) for the metrical history; for the prose history he provided a preface, a monograph on the antique history of Holland, and biographical sketches of the counts

[5] One of these letters can be found in Vermaseren 1955, 82-94 and Gabbema (ed.) 1665, 315-30; for the other, see Heesakkers 2003, 754.

[6] Dousa Sr 1593, 3-13. A letter written by Dousa Jr in 1591 demonstrates that by that time, a few books had already been finished, but the work was laid aside temporarily: Heesakkers 1985b, 45.

[7] Vermaseren 1955, 65-6.

[8] For the bare facts of Dousa's biography, see Van der Aa 1852-1878, vol. 5, 214-9; Regt 1924. Dousa himself describes the main outlines of his political career up to 1593 at Dousa Sr 1593, 3-10. For his own poems on the Dutch Revolt, see Heesakkers 2010.

[9] Unless indicated otherwise, 'Janus Dousa' or 'Dousa' refers to Janus Dousa Sr. When speaking of his son Janus Dousa Jr (1571-1596), I will mention this explicitly (the Younger, Jr, *filius*, as opposed to the Elder, Sr, *pater*).

from Dirk II (ca. 930-988) through Floris II, nicknamed the Fat (1091-1121).[10] After the death of Dousa Jr, the combined work of father and son was completed and prepared for publication by Dousa Sr.

The editorial activity of Dousa *pater* appears most clearly from the marginal notes he added to the text.[11] That such *marginalia* can be very effective to reinforce the rhetoric of a text by manipulating the reader's interpretation, has been shown by Gérard Genette in *Seuils*, his study of paratexts.[12] Dousa himself seems to be aware of the paratext's power too, when he says in his introduction to the metrical *Annales* that his notes "light a bright torch of interpretation (*clara Interpretamenti Fax*) for the reader who is less accustomed to the spirit of poetry."[13] By guiding the process of reading, the extensive *marginalia* in Dousa's works of history therefore supplement the rules of reading proper to the genre of history and provide promising opportunities for a better understanding of the rhetoric at work.

Finally, a remark must be made about my choice to study both the history in prose and the one in poetry (though they are treated in separate sections of this chapter). The existence of two books on medieval history might give the impression that Dousa did double work. Even the setup of the works, however, testifies to noticeable differences between both versions. While the verse history treats the time span from the battle of Fontenoy (841) until the exile and captivity of countess Ada (1203-1207), the prose history begins with Julius Caesar's campaign in Gaul in 55 BC and runs on to count Floris II (1091-1121). As the latter work deals with the period 930-1121 rather cursorily, there is an important divergence in emphasis: the prose history concentrates on the time before the institution of the county of Holland, dated by Dousa in 913, while the metrical history is concerned almost exclusively with the counts of Holland, the incursions of the Normans only providing a convenient

[10] For the help Janus Dousa the Younger offered his father, see Heesakkers 1985a, 396; *BHA* f. *2^{v}. For Dousa's lamentations about the death of his son, see *ARG* f. *ij^{v}-*iiij^{v}; *BHA* f. *2^{r}-*4^{r}, p. 47-8, 391. The contribution of Dousa Jr consists of *ARG* p. 70-90 and *BHA* f. ♣2^{r}-♣4^{v}, p. 1-47, 392-403, 416-481, 495-500. In the case of book four of *ARG*, the authorship of Dousa Jr can be inferred from the book title (*ARG* p. 70) and a marginal note (*ARG* p. 86).

[11] *ARG* f. ****^{r} makes clear that it was Dousa Sr who added the notes, and a marginal note on p. 86 points out that he was responsible at least partly for the notes to the texts by his son. For the *marginalia*, see also Heesakkers 1985b, 43-4.

[12] Genette 1987 = Genette 1997. In Genette's categories, *marginalia* belong to the class of peritext, that is, every addition to the text placed around it, but inside the book, such as the title page and illustrations. Cf. Enenkel 2005, 65-6, 87-91, 100, 104-6 on the function of *marginalia* in early modern antiquarian works.

[13] *ARG* f. ****^{r}: "Lectori, minus ad Poëtices Genium accommodato, claram Interpretamenti Facem praeluceant."

introduction to the installation of the first count.[14] Because of such differences in subject matter, both works will be discussed; because of disparities in the mode of presentation, they will be treated separately.

6.1 A Historical Epic in Distichs

Let me begin with the metrical *Annales* printed by Aelbrecht Hendricksz. in The Hague in 1599. Dousa's history in verse is a monument of immense erudition and scholarly punctiliousness, a bold experiment with literary form, and a highly self-conscious rewriting of the tradition of medievalist historiography. In this section, I will start by analyzing Dousa's conceptualization of the medieval and the function of this notion in the rhetoric of his work, as Dousa is very explicit in his views on the Middle Ages for a humanist historian. Subsequently, I will lay the groundwork for my investigation of Dousa's narrative by retrieving the specific rules of reading prescribed by the work itself. This is necessitated by the experimental nature of the verse *Annales*, which impedes the straightforward application of pre-existing conventions belonging to a single genre. The actual analysis of the poem itself will consist of two parts. First, an inquiry will be made into Dousa's shrewd use of the techniques of contemporary scholarship, which feature rather prominently in the first three books of the poem. Secondly, the narrative devices of the later books will be under discussion, with particular consideration of their dependence on Ovid's *Fasti*. In all these sections, the contribution of particular textual patterns to Dousa's political rhetoric will be at the center of my attention.

6.1.1 Self-Justification and Humanist Stereotypes about the Middle Ages[15]

On the first page of Dousa's dedication of his metrical history of Holland, the medieval past of the county looms large as an age of shadows. "I have eagerly exerted myself in order to display the events that were removed farthest from the memory of our days, and which lay covered in the thickest darkness of forgetfulness and ignorance, trying their patterns by the whetstone of probability, on the basis of historical rather than rhetorical credibility."[16] It strikes me as rather curious that the

[14] Secondary literature has spread some confusing mistakes as regards the subject matter of Dousa's works of history. Vermaseren 1955, 66 says that both works end with the year 1121. Heesakkers 2003, 763 states that the prose *Annales* treat the same subject matter as their poetic counterpiece and therefore made the latter superfluous.

[15] This section has been published in adapted form as Maas 2010a.

[16] *ARG* f. *ij^{r}: "adnisus sum sedulo, quo videlicet res ab aevi nostri memoria remotissimas, ac spississimis Oblivionis pariter atque Ignorantiae tenebris involutas, exacta ad Probabilitatis cotem ratione, Historica potius quam Rhetorica fide repraesentarem". For the metaphor of darkness, also see f. **^{v} ("Orco"),

beginning of a work on medieval history, the most obvious place to recommend its subject, features such an unfavourable description of its subject. Moreover, playing down the subject's significance is evidently not the rhetorical strategy adopted here, because the Middle Ages are not presented as a matter of minor importance. Rather, there appears to be a contradiction between the unfavourable depiction of the book's subject and the painstaking labour required to produce it. Dousa never trivializes the seriousness of his work, but consistently depicts it as the fruit of unremitting diligence: "I left nothing unexamined, nothing unexplored, if it could provide a supplement to history and instruct and educate me with some knowledge of ancient times."[17]


IANI DOVSAE
NORDOVICIS
ANNALES
RERVM A PRISCIS
HOLLANDIAE COMITIBVS PER CCC.
XLVI. Annos gestarum continuatâ serie memoriam complectentes.
NVNC PRIMITVS IN VNVM METRICÆ
Historiæ Corpus redacti; atque in X. Libros tributi ac dispartiti.
AD ILLVSTRES, NOBILES,
PRÆPOTENTES, AC VERE MAGNIFICOS HOLLANDIÆ WESTFRISIÆQVE ORDINES.
HAGÆ-COMITIS,
Ex officinâ Alberti Henrici.
cIↃ. IↃ. Ic.
Cum Privilegio ad sexennium.

Title page of Dousa Sr & Dousa Jr, metrical *Annales*

All in all, the passage raises the question of the connection between early modern conventional thought about the Middle Ages on the one hand and the justification of humanist medievalist practices on the other. Especially the prefatory matter of the verse *Annales*, which consists of a formal dedication and a short treatise about the close ties between poetry and historiography, offers ample opportunity to find out in what ways conventional – and usually derogatory – ideas about the Middle Ages could be incorporated into a defence of medievalism. The main purpose of such an investigation is to try out a fresh approach to humanist conceptualizations of the Middle Ages. Since this issue was broached almost a century ago by the German medievalist Paul Lehmann, two major observations have been made.[18] In the first place, it has become clear that at least until the end of the sixteenth century, there was hardly any consensus about the idea of an intermediate period in history as regards its chronological boundaries, its cultural characteristics,

***ij^{v} ("caliginosa nocte ac spississimis tenebris"), ****iij^{r} ("noctis silentio"), p. 29 ("caligine"), 79 ("obscura nocte"). The most comprehensive study of this imagery is Varga 1932.

[17] *ARG* f. **ij^{v}: "nihil inexcussum, nihil inexploratum reliquimus, quod modo ad Historiae facere supplementum; nosque aliqua Vetustatis notitia instruere atque erudire posset."

[18] Lehmann 1914.

and the terminology used to denote it.[19] Secondly, it has been demonstrated convincingly that medievalist practices such as historiography, text editing, and the formation of collections as well as the analytical categories used in such approaches to the Middle Ages can be situated in and were determined by political and religious contexts such as the patriotism of the Italian city states, the defence of the Reformation, and the conflicts of the French wars of religion.[20]

Most of these studies show a tendency to surpass their respective predecessors by piling up a larger heap of evidence. The culmination of this development is formed by the massive collections of data gathered by Jürgen Voss and Uwe Neddermeyer.[21] What is lost to sight in such huge accumulations of material is the fact that terms and concepts were not only shaped by the broad context of political and religious developments outside the world of books, but they were also subordinated and adjusted to the rhetoric of the specific text of which they are part. I regard periodizations as constructs that divide the past in a convenient manner and that are often tuned to highly individual arguments, especially when there is no general agreement about the application of a specific periodization.[22] Rather than give a static inventory of humanist commonplaces about the Middle Ages found in Dousa's work, I will therefore show how loci communes could be moulded and employed in a particularly versatile and productive manner within the persuasive design of a historical monograph. This will illustrate how the fluidity and political embeddedness of the concept 'Middle Ages' formed the bedrock of medievalist rhetoric and what kind of strategies and topoi could be effective for reconciling the paradoxical combination of contempt and curiosity that was so central to early modern medievalism.

This approach to commonplaces is prompted by the Latin rhetorical tradition, which played a key role in shaping humanist practices of writing. This tradition offers a concept of the *locus communis* as a readily available argument that can be applied to

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[19] This idea was first expressed by Lehmann 1914, 10-1; also see Ferguson 1939, 28; Garin 1973, 208-11; Mertens 1992, 31. Nathan Edelman thinks it is possible to identify a common factor in early modern concepts of the Middle Ages: Edelman 1938, 24-5; id. 1939, 330. However, extensive lists of attestations of the term 'Middle Ages' and its varying uses – even those of Edelman himself – testify to a profound diversity of meanings: Gordon 1925; Edelman 1938; id. 1939; id. 1946, 1-11; Neddermeyer 1988, 245-65. Also see §1.4.

[20] Lehmann 1914, 14-6, 19 does already point to the importance of confessionalization for the rise of medievalist practices; the importance of their political and religious embedment has been worked out in more detail by Edelman 1946, 44-55; Fumaroli 1977; Wolfzettel 1997. For the dependence of conceptualization on political and religious context, see Nordström 1933, 15-21; Falco 1974[2]; Garin 1973; Mertens 1992; the idea is omnipresent in Varga 1932 as well.

[21] Voss 1972; Neddermeyer 1988.

[22] Also see §1.4.

many different cases. Often, this comes down to what we would call a 'cliché.' Put somewhat more technically, a commonplace constitutes a commonly recurring major premise that can be used to construct convincing syllogisms. It follows from this idea that a commonplace is employed inappropriately if it is, in Quintilian's words, "tacked onto rather than interwoven in the texture" of the discourse.[23] In this line of thought, it seems only natural not just to catalogue repeatedly expressed views on the Middle Ages, but to analyze their rhetorical function within particular texts as well.

In order to given an overview of Dousa's ideas about the Middle Ages, I will begin my investigation of how unfavourable commonplaces can be intertwined in a rhetoric of self-justification by clarifying the temporal demarcations of the medieval in the *Annales*. Although Dousa never treats his periodization of history explicitly, it is possible to detect a relatively clear-cut terminology. To denote the Middle Ages, the terms *media aetas* and *medium tempus* are used. As these expressions are used only to classify historians and their work, they seem to principally designate a period in literary history.[24] It thus appears that for Dousa, *media aetas* is first of all a philological category.

Usually, however, Dousa refers both to the writings and to other aspects of the Middle Ages by vaguer phrases such as 'that era' (*illud aevum*). One might suspect that by using periphrases like the one cited and by resorting to terms otherwise used to indicate classical antiquity (*antiquitas, vetustas*), Dousa is deliberately avoiding the term 'Middle Ages' in order to neutralize some of its unfavourable connotations.[25] The predominant habit of referring to the Middle Ages indirectly – *media aetas* and *medium tempus* seem to occur only a few times in Dousa's metrical history – thwarts easy attempts to reconstruct the periodization Dousa had in mind. Consequently, some further analysis of Dousa's terminology is needed in order to retrieve the precise range various expressions cover.

Dousa consistently distinguishes between old and recent writers (*scriptores*). The archetypal representatives of the first class are the annals of the monastery of

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[23] The quotation is from Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 2.4.30: "non tam insertum quam adplicitum". For the commonplace in classical rhetoric, see Leff 1996; Moss 1996, 3-12. For the early modern period, also see T. Fuchs 2001. The reception of classical ideas on commonplaces in early modern treatises on rhetoric can be exemplified by the influential works of Rudolph Agricola and Philipp Melanchthon: Mundt (ed.) 1992, 324; Wels (ed.) 2001, 138-48.

[24] *ARG* f. **ij^{r}, p. 37, 220. There has been some debate about the question whether a literary or a historical orientation characterized the original meaning of the term in humanist discourse: Lehmann 1914, 9-11; Gordon 1925, 14-9; Huizinga 1948-1953, vol. 4, 433-4; Edelman 1938, 11-4, 24-5; Schaeffer 1976, 21-30. A distinction between political and cultural approaches to periodization is made by Ferguson 1939; Rubinstein 1973, 429-33.

[25] For the use of alternative expressions, see Gordon 1925, 15-6; Edelman 1946, 10-2; Wolfzettel 1997, 232.

Egmond (written between 1120 and 1205) and the *Chronographia* of Johannes de Beke (written around 1350); they are supplemented with a number of charters from archives.[26] The material roughly spans the period from the tenth to the fourteenth century. Its age is denoted by such words as *antiquus* ('old, ancient'), *vetustus* ('aged, old'), *priscus* ('belonging to former times, ancient'), or *cascus* ('old, old-fashioned'). The earliest writer of the second, recent (*recens*) category is Johannes a Leydis, a historian who flourished in the second half of the fifteenth century. The other members of this class are spread evenly over the time between the activity of A Leydis and that of Dousa himself.[27] At one point, Dousa suggests that the reign of Charles the Bold (1467-1477) constitutes the turning point between the old and the recent period of historiography.[28] An identification of the class of older writings with Dousa's concept of the Middle Ages is suggested by a passage in which an opposition is created between Reynier Snoy and the ancient charters of the *medium tempus*.[29] The idea that the period explicitly indicated as 'Middle Ages' coincides with the activity of the older generation of historians is confirmed by Dousa's prose history, published in 1601, in which the sources from the category of older writings are explicitly referred to as *mediae aetatis historiographi* several times.[30]

Although Dousa does not deny the trustworthiness of these medieval historians, he does haul them over the coals for being selfish and indolent. He complains bitterly about the lack of material he has to deal with. In his view, the shortage of sources is due to medieval monks' laziness in general and to their inclination to retain only documents which were of interest to their Church in particular.[31] "The spirit of my fatherland will forgive me: for why should I plead in defence of monkish idleness? Or

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[26] Dousa has the habit of referring to medieval sources from the Low Countries in rather vague terms, except for these works. A passage in his verse introduction to Melis Stoke's *Rijmkroniek* leads one to suspect that he used the chronicle of Willem Procurator (written around 1325), that of the 'Clerc uten Lagen Landen' (written around 1350), and the heraldic work of the 'Heraut Beieren' (written around 1405) as well: Dousa Sr 1591, f. (:)iij^{v}. Some information about the manuscripts used by Dousa can be found in Langereis 2001, 165.

[27] *ARG* p. 11, 13, 42, 56, 57, 74, 75. See Edelman 1946, 6-10 for other delimitations of the Middle Ages by humanists.

[28] *ARG* p. 23: "Quae si vera putas, Membranas consule, & ante / Carli aeuum prisca si qua notata manu." In the margins, this Charles is identified as Charles the Bold. The word *membranae* refers to manuscripts on parchment and therefore to old manuscripts, since paper became widely available only in the fifteenth century. In Dousa's verse introduction to Melis Stoke's *Rijmkroniek*, Jacqueline of Bavaria's lifetime (1401-1436) is identified as the turning point: Dousa Sr 1591, f. (:)iij^{v}.

[29] *ARG* p. 37. Snoy is explicitly referred to as a recent historian ("nuperum Patriae nostrae Chronologum") at *ARG* p. 4.

[30] *BHA* p. 57, 92, 141-2, 214, 218, 220, 350-1.

[31] *ARG* f. ****ij^{r-v}, ****iij^{r}, 28-9, 93.

why should the negligence of others be to my detriment, if the sacred order failed in its duty?"[32]

In some passages, however, Dousa does offer medieval historians something of an excuse for their failure to produce satisfactory historiography. He suggests that "among our ancestors, the most vigorous men were inclined to perform praiseworthy deeds rather than to praise the feats of other men. And in this respect at least, nothing but the misfortune of their days can be held against them."[33] To this argument, repeated a few times, Dousa adds the excuse that many sources have been destroyed by flood, fire, and plundering.[34]

Nevertheless, the net result of all these factors was, according to Dousa, a complete lack of knowledge concerning medieval history. He thought that the situation had not exactly improved by the activity of the class of recent historians, to whom he refers as 'storytellers' (*aretalogi*). To his mind, they were just "that lying and fickle host of writers."[35] He was not at all taken with their way of compensating for the lack of historical data: he reprimands them over and over again for adding implausible details to the story as given in the sources or even for making up entire episodes.[36]

Dousa's lucid organization of the history of historiography, his emphasis on the dearth of early sources, and his aggressive attacks on his immediate predecessors are clearly related to a rhetorical attempt at self-justification. The depiction of medieval history as a wasteland covered by a veil of oblivion allows him to present his efforts to assemble the scattered scraps of historical evidence as the illumination of the history

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[32] *ARG* p. 28: "Ignoscet Patriae Genius mihi: pro Monachali / Nam quid opus causam dicere desidia? / Aut mihi cur fuerit aliena incuria fraudi, / Defuit officio si sacer Ordo suo?"

[33] *ARG* f. *iiij^{v}-**^{r}: "apud Majores nostros strennuissimum quemque potius laudanda facere, quam ut ipse aliorum facta laudaret, animatum fuisse. Atque illis quidem, hac in parte utique, nihil praeter temporum suorum infaelicitatem objici potest." The argument and part of its wording are drawn from Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 8. The idea that the past cannot be judged by modern standards has its parallels in other medievalist studies: Edelman 1946, 40-1.

[34] For the argument about the attitude of his predecessors, see, for instance, *ARG* f. ***iiij^{r}, ****iij^{r-v}, 29. For the destruction of sources, see *ARG* f. ****^{v}-****ij^{r}. The same point is brought forward by Divaeus, who attributes the loss of sources to the Norman raids in specific. See SUB Cod. hist. 11, f. 2^{v}: "Constat autem quod Normannica rabies, haud multo post Caroli magni tempora totam infernatem Germaniam ac potissimum Brabantiam pergrassata, ita vetustatis omnia monumenta subuerterit, vt de origine nominis Brabantiae vlterius inuestigare hominis fuerit nimis superstitiose curiosi, et oleum operamque perdentis."

[35] *ARG* p. 74: "Scriptorum mendax illa levisque manus"; a marginal note identifies these writers unmistakably as recent historians ("recentium Aretalogorum"). The word *aretalogus* refers to a 'professional reciter of miraculous stories of the gods, a teller of fairy-tales' (*OLD* s.v. 'aretalogus'). It is used as a term of abuse by Juvenal, *Satires* 15.16. At CBd f.g8^{r}, Barlandus places the performance of *aretalogi* among those of tightrope walkers (*funambuli*) and pantomime performers (*pantomimi*) and dance acts (*saltationes*).

[36] *ARG* f. ****iiij^{r}, p. 11, 13, 16, 19-20, 21, 24, 41-2, 74, 75.

of Holland.[37] More importantly, the repeated demonstrations that the methods of more recent predecessors were positively objectionable vindicate the claim that Dousa's own work is groundbreaking. Thus Dousa considers himself entitled to conclude that "after Willem Heda, a writer of the greatest accuracy and diligence, I am the very first to walk along this path, which has not been seen by others until now, nor has it been trodden or beaten."[38] In this way, Dousa's emphasis on the scarcity of the sources and on the serious flaws in recent historical scholarship offers him the possibility to assert his right to the position of pathfinder in the field of historiography.

Dousa's arrangement of previous historiographers is more than just a vehicle for self-fashioning, though. It also prepared the way for the introduction of a new methodology in the study of the medieval past of Holland. The suggestion that the alleged inferiority of medieval works of history should be imputed to the spirit of the age was important in this respect because this move turned the Middle Ages into a closed period with its own peculiar characteristics and, consequently, its writings into objects of philological scrutiny. Indeed, the main feature of Dousa's revisionary historiography is its abundant use of the procedures of contemporary classical scholarship, such as textual criticism, chronology, and etymology. Since medieval historiography lacked the authority of the classical authors, there were fewer obstacles to a particularly radical philological critique of these writings.

Dousa's opinion about medieval historians was not confined to the observation that the sheer volume of their output was so limited. He also noted their shortcomings in terms of quality: the men who did take the trouble to write works of history usually distinguished themselves by their uncouth style and clumsy composition. Dousa's judgement about the German, French, and British medieval historians reads as follows: "And yet most of them are unskilled and disorderly in their narrations: I do not deny it. But they are of firm intellect, and they are remarkable for their sound judgement and historical reliability rather than for the refinement of splendid

[37] For this metaphor of light, see *ARG* f. *ij^{r} ("Veritatis Lucem"), **^{v} ("lucem"), 62 ("die medio", "lucidiora", "solis radij"); Vermaseren 1955, 86 ("purpurae lumen").

[38] *ARG* f. ****^{v}: "Primi inquam post Guillelmum Hedam, accuratissimae diligentiae Scriptorem, huncce callem insistimus; nec visum quidem aliis hactenus; nedum calcatum, vel tritum". Cf. Vermaseren 1955, 106; *ARG* f. ****iiij^{v}. It has to be noted that Dousa's history of historiography with its disrespect for fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century historians, its adoration of Heda, its rejection of Bockenberg, and its advertising for his own pioneer work, has constituted a canon of early modern historiography which has remained in place until this very day.

language. For the allurement of words and the blossom of sentences may well seem to be absent from their times rather than from themselves."[39]

Even though historical narratives could be rewritten in humanist fashion, medieval history was still notorious for endangering a work of history's level of literary refinement. From Bruni and Valla onwards, it had been frequently discussed whether indigenous names and words of medieval origin should be regarded a threat to an elegant Latin style.[40] In the preface to his history, Dousa seems to humbly acknowledge the problem.[41] Yet, once the first book is underway, this humility proves to be false modesty. Faced with the practical difficulties of avoiding unclassical names and expressions, Dousa assumes a defiant attitude: "For what can hold me back from using barbarous words?"[42]

This point is well illustrated by one of Dousa's warnings against the unpleasant sound of indigenous names. He introduces his discussion of the borders of the early county of Holland, full of native names, as follows: "You ask how far and widely it extended? I would hardly dare to pronounce the names, which are almost to be dreaded because of their very sound (*formidanda ipso nomina paene sono*)."[43] What looks like a hesitation at first sight, turns out to be a boastful remark when examined more closely. These verses allude to a passage from Ovid's *Heroides*, in which a number of place names connected with the city of Troy are said to cause fear: "Ilion, Tenedos, Simois, Xanthus, and Ide: names that are almost to be dreaded because of

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[39] *ARG* f. ****iij^{r-v}: "Rudes tamen plaerique ipsorum in narrationibus atque incompositi: haud nego. at ingenio validi, at judicio sani & Historica fide potius, quam splendidae orationis cultu spectabiles. Etenim verborum lenocinia, ac sententiarum flosculi magis videri possunt temporibus, quam ipsis defuisse." Also see f. ***iij^{v}, p. 29. The prose history speaks explicitly about "rudibus & semilatinis illis mediae Aetatis Historiographis" (*BHA* p. 90). The most detailed instance of a stylistic critique of a medieval writer is the evaluation of the verse chronicle by Melis Stoke (1235-1305): *ARG* f. ***iiij^{r}. Also see Vermaseren 1955, 86 for Dousa's opinion about this chronicle.

[40] Hankins (ed.) 2001-2007, vol. 1, 2; Besomi (ed.) 1973, 10-3; Biondo 1483, f. F^{r}-Fii^{r} (the beginning of the third decade).

[41] *ARG* f. **iij^{r}: "materiae ipsius incredibili obscuritate multisque tricis involutae difficultas, ornatioris Eloquentiae artificium raro & quidem aegre admittens". Dousa goes on to give a number of reasons for this situation, among which "barbarae fere cum locorum, tum personarum appellationes, quarum horror atque asperitas, ipsa paene timenda Sono, fastidioso Poëticarum aurium judicio resultans, immane quantum inter versificandum morae molestiaeque nobis, ac bilis in nasum idemtidem conciverit". The latter quotation contains a reference to Ovid (*Heroides* 13.54: "nomina sunt ipso paene timenda sono") that complicates the message in an interesting way. I will discuss this intertextual effect below on the basis of another quotation referring to the same subtext. Cf. *ARG* p. 43, 55.

[42] *ARG* p. 27: "Barbaricis quid enim prohibet nos vocibus uti?" Cf. p. 15. Dousa's contemporaries Franciscus Dusseldorpius and Ubbo Emmius similarly adopted medieval vocabulary for the sake of clarity: Huizinga 1948-1953, vol. 4, 434-5. At Barlandus 1520, f. Civ^{v}, the use of the word *comes* ('count') is defended as follows: "Comes.) Non sum nescius hoc verbi apud Latinos veteres non vsurpari solitum pro principe, Tamen ita sum vsus, vt vulgo satisfieret, cui magna ex parte haec scribi videbam."

[43] *ARG* p. 16: "Quam longe lateque rogas? vix farier ausim / Formidanda ipso nomina paene sono."

their very sound (*nomina sunt ipso paene timenda sono*)."[44] In a playful manner, this allusion causes the reader to become aware of the twofold meaning of the word *formidanda*, 'to be dreaded.' Like the toponyms referring to the famous city of Troy and its surroundings, the indigenous names of places in Holland are not only offensive to the ear, but inspire awe as well. The pun thus illustrates the paradoxical combination of pride and contempt that lies at the heart of Dousa's approach to the medieval past of his country.

Sure enough, Dousa's views on medieval style were not altogether positive. He was, however, definitely able to see through the surface of the text and pay attention to its contents. We have seen that his dismissive comments about the literary value of medieval historiography did not prevent him from appreciating the 'firm intellect,' 'sound judgement,' and 'historical reliability' displayed by its practitioners. It was perhaps thanks to his acknowledgement of these virtues that Dousa was motivated to study medieval history and historiography as meticulously as he could, as he wrote to fellow historian Lambert van der Burch, "especially if under the tortuousness of the coarse words lurks the wealth of a well-hidden treasure."[45]

This remark points to another element of Dousa's tactics for the defence of medievalism: investigating the Middle Ages is well worth the trouble, because the events brought to light are so outstanding. Thus Dousa moves from a view of the medieval as a literary category to a more broadly defined concept that includes the history of events. The counts of Holland made a remarkable display of martial virtue, shown in "so many battles of uncertain outcome, not only against neighbouring peoples and princes, but also against the most powerful kings of Europe and the mighty men of the Holy Roman Empire – battles announced, fought, and finally brought to an end with equal mental strength."[46]

In this way, the explanation of medieval man's failure to produce satisfying historiography by reason of his inclination to perform praiseworthy deeds rather than to praise the feats of other men provides Dousa with just another argument to justify his own activity. While the counts of Holland performed a number of glorious deeds large enough to fill at least ten *Iliads*, they did not produce a Homer to describe

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[44] Ovid, *Heroides* 13.53-4: "Ilion et Tenedos Simoisque et Xanthus et Ide / nomina sunt ipso paene timenda sono." The allusion was first noticed by Heesakkers 2003, 762. A similar allusion can be detected on *ARG* p. 67, where a reference to the absurdness of vernacular names ("nomina ridebis") is combined with a play on Ovid, *Fasti* 1.129, which refers to the ancient appellations of the venerable god Janus.

[45] Vermaseren 1955, 86: "praesertim si ... sub opicarum vocum stribiligine gazae aliqua abstrusioris lateat copia".

[46] *ARG* f. **v: "spectatum Martiae Virtutis specimen, per tot ancipitium eventorum certamina non modo contra vicinos Populos, sive PRINCIPES, sed vero adversus opulentissimos Europae Reges, ipsosque Romani Imperii potentes, pari animorum robore indicta, gesta, ac patrata denique."

them.[47] In short, to use a metaphor repeatedly employed by Dousa himself, the medieval writers had supplied a marvellous stock of building stones, Dousa was the architect to fashion the solid building these materials deserved.[48]

Once the greatness of medieval history has been demonstrated, only one step in Dousa's rhetoric of self-justification remains. The final move of Dousa's argument is the assertion that the Middle Ages are of paramount importance to the fatherland. With the introduction of this idea, Dousa enters the realm of politics and patriotism.[49] Dousa never tried to conceal his participation in political discourse. After all, he regarded history as a lesson in prudence and called his work "a kind of exercise in citizenship and civil business."[50] For that reason, Dousa says, he has elucidated his text with political notes in the margins.[51] But the knowledge that can be learned from the *Annales* is not only of a moral kind. The daring exploits of the counts of Holland, Dousa argues, are more than just exciting or instructive stories: they constitute the very origins of the fatherland. "But yet above all, we should come to the assistance of antiquity, which has almost been bewailed [that is, been so grossly neglected that knowledge about it had nearly passed away], and at the same time we should direct for a while the keenness of our mental vision towards the original inhabitants of our country, the founders of such a great dominion, from which we have finally arrived at this exceptionally beautiful and strong body of the community that we have today."[52] Thus the medieval history of the *Annales* provides a foundation myth for Holland.

All in all, it seems that curiously enough, the unfavourable humanist commonplaces about medieval darkness and ignorance did not prevent historical investigation into this period. On the contrary, Dousa's work shows how they could be incorporated into a rhetoric of self-justification. Dousa uses the bad reputation of medieval historiography to point out the novelty and necessity of his work; he boldly disregards the classicist dislike of vernacular words, which cannot be avoided in writing medieval history; he contrasts the scorned writings of medieval society with its impressive feats of arms in order to demonstrate the importance of his subject for

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[47] *ARG* f. **^{r}. Homer's role as the protector of historical knowledge is emphasized again at *ARG* p. 14: "O, quantum haec aetas debet (Homere) tibi / Andinaeque tubae; per quos tot stemmata nobis / Abiegni peperit venter apertus Equi!"

[48] The architectural metaphor can be found on *ARG* f. **ij^{r}; Vermaseren 1955, 71, 75, 86, 100.

[49] The importance of political stimuli for early modern investigation of the Middle Ages has been demonstrated by Fumaroli 1977; also see Edelman 1946, 44-55.

[50] *ARG* f. **iiij^{v}: "exercitatio quaedam ad *πολιτείαν* ac res Civiles".

[51] *ARG* f. ****^{r}.

[52] *ARG* f. **^{v}: "Sed enim conclamatae paene Antiquitati ante omnia subveniendum, simul ad Aborigines nostros, tanti PRINCIPATVS Conditores, oculatae mentis acies paulisper reflectenda, unde ad hoc pulcherrimum denique ac validissimum REIPUBLICAE corpus, quod hodie obtinemus, ... perventum."

the glory of his fatherland. Even though the sixteenth-century *res publica litterarum* with its hostile attitude towards the Middle Ages did not offer optimal conditions for medievalist practices, Dousa's clever use of commonplaces thus helped him to present his scholarly programme as invaluable, if not downright groundbreaking.

6.1.2 Changing the Rules of the Game: Poetics and Historiographical Theory

Judging from the presence and subject matter of the second preface, which is appended to the dedication and discusses the relationship between history and poetry (*de poeticae artis cum historia communione & societate*), the poetical form of Dousa's first major work on medieval history was another of its features that required further explanation. In order to come to a good understanding of the political rhetoric of the metrical *Annales*, it is indispensable to take into account the way Dousa defends the idea of a poetic history in this second preface, for this discussion makes explicit some of the basic principles of the poetics informing the poem. In this section, therefore, I will scrutinize this preface and a number of self-reflective passages from the main narrative, thus retrieving the main conventions of reading to be applied to Dousa's poem.

Such a surveillance is by no means a luxury. The metrical *Annales* display a measure of experimentalism that impedes straightforward interpretation.[53] In particular, their avoidance to adhere to the rules of a single literary genre could have been problematic for early modern and modern readers alike. The opening lines of the work hint at the poetry of Vergil and Silius Italicus, while the poet states his intention to write in the Ovidian mode (or metre).[54] The poem itself only increases the reader's bewilderment: Dousa invokes both Clio, the Muse of historiography, and Calliope, the Muse of epic poetry, while availing himself of elegiac distichs.[55] He causes further confusion by filing the heavy claims of historiography, by promising to sing of epic heroes, and by adopting the playful tone of elegy. Such bewilderment is clearly recognizable in Paul Gerhard Schmidt's remark that "the metre prescribed for

[53] The experimental nature of the poetic *Annales* was first noted by Heesakkers 2003, 762.

[54] *ARG* p. 3: the first two distichs contain echoes of Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.1 ("arma virumque cano Troiae qui primus ab oris"); the phrase "genus alto a sanguine Regum" is reminiscent of Vergil, *Aeneid* 4.230, 5.45, and 6.500; the line "Da Famae, da Musa virum; qui barbara princeps" is an unmistakable reference to Silius Italius, *Punica* 7.217 ("da famae, da, Musa, virum, cui vincere bina"); Dousa sets out to sing "Pelignis modis", which refers to the home of Ovid, Sulmo, an important city of the tribe of the Peligni: Ovid, *Amores* 2.1.1, 2.16.1-7, 2.16.37, 3.15.3, *Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.8.42, *Fasti* 4.685-6. P.G. Schmidt 2010, 193 discusses the passage from Dousa but only recognizes the allusion to Ovid.

[55] *ARG* p. 29, 35, 43, 52, 234.

historical epic was the hexameter. Why Dousa decided against it and in favour of the elegiac distich still has to be determined."[56]

It would be short-sighted, however, to conclude that Dousa created a poetical labyrinth in which the reader was bound to get lost. Rather than a confusing chaos, we encounter in the verse *Annales* an intricate genre play, in the course of which the rules of the game are changed rather than abolished: a new set of principles is defined to guide the reader in his search for coherent meaning. Thus, the explicit and intertextual indications about the genre of Dousa's poem are to be interpreted as metanarrative signs, which "can help readers determine which code to apply and what a particular element of the text might mean within that code."[57]

At the center of the definition of the *Annales* stand Ovid's *Fasti*.[58] This work is itself an experimental poem and explores the border area between epic and elegy. At one point in the *Fasti*, Ovid exclaims: "Folly! Why did I want to impose such a heavy burden on elegiac distichs? This was matter for heroic verse."[59] In the metrical *Annales*, the experimental dimension of the *Fasti* is recognized and resumed, as Dousa frankly points out in his first preface. Because of his 'infancy' (*infantia*) as a poet, he chooses for the gentler sound of the humble elegiac distich instead of the epic grandeur of the hexameter, "after the example of Ovid, who was not working on a very dissimilar subject, when he wove most of the deeds of the people of Rome (*Populi Romani Gesta*) into the most exquisite scroll of his *Fasti*."[60]

As regards subject matter, Dousa seems to interpret the *Fasti* as a (historical) epic rather than as a versified calendar. Thus Dousa can circumscribe his topic as "as many counts as my poetry has feet" – a paraphrase which refers both to the epic nature of the material and to the elegiac metre used in versifying it and which at the same time takes up Ovid's description of his prosody in the *Fasti*.[61] This embrace of

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[56] P.G. Schmidt 2010, 193.

[57] Kearns 1999, 71.

[58] The Renaissance reception of Ovid's *Fasti* has not been subject to wide-ranging investigations so far. It should be noted that the existing studies focus on reception of the *Fasti* as a calendar, with particular attention to the question how Ovid's work served as an "ancient lens through which to reflect upon Christian cult" (Miller 2003, 184). A fine survey of the scarce available case studies can be found in Miller 2003.

[59] Ovid, *Fasti* 2.125-6: "quid volui demens elegis imponere tantum / ponderis? heroi res erat ista pedis." Cf. *Epistulae ex Ponto* 3.4.85-6. The literature on the genre experiment carried out in the *Fasti* is rather voluminous; see Hinds 1992a and, most recently and extensively, Merli 2000.

[60] *ARG* f. **ij^{v}-**iij^{r}: "Ad Nasonis exemplum scilicet, qui non nimis absimili argumento plaeraque Populi ROMANI Gesta exquisitissimo Fastorum suorum Volumini intexuit." For the verse *Annales*' ambivalence of literary genre, also see Heesakkers 2003, 760-1.

[61] *ARG* f. [*****]^{v}: "Tot COMITES, quot habent carmina nostra pedes". This alludes to Ovid, *Fasti* 2.568: "quot habent carmina nostra pedes". The hexameter has six feet, the pentameter five; Dousa's poem

heroic subject matter marks a breach in the tradition of love elegy, which habitually resists the idea of writing epic (*recusatio*). Even the *Fasti*, which often cross the border between epic and elegy, position themselves emphatically in opposition to heroic poetry: "Let others sing the wars of Caesar."[62] To the contrary, Dousa's elegy is confident enough to arrogate epic subject matter, even though retaining a certain degree of modesty towards the 'high' genre of epic. In the long-standing tension between both genres, the verse *Annales* thus seem to take the emancipation of elegy to a higher stage.[63]

To make this point clear, it will suffice to examine closely the beginning of a programmatic elegy placed at the end of the second preface.

"Ille ego, qui AVRAICAS acies & SPANICA signa,
Et Patriae cecini Civica Bella meae:
LVGDVNIQUE famem, quaeque ipse miserrima passus
OBSIDIA, & quorum pars quoque magna fui:
Securi intentos jugulis quum sprevimus enses;
Sensimus & versos ad pia Vota Deos:
Majus opus moveo."[64]

"I am the one who sung the battle arrays of William of Orange, the Spanish banners, and the civil wars of my fatherland, the hunger and the terrible siege of Leiden, from which I suffered myself, and in which I played a major role too, when we fearlessly spurned the swords aimed at our throats and we experienced that the gods turned towards our pious prayers. Now I take on a greater task."

In these lines, the poet refers to an earlier work, the *Nova poemata*, first printed in 1575 and containing some odes on the 1574 siege of Leiden, and claims the position of both the bard and the epic hero. The subtext of the lines underscores this self-presentation and provides it with epic flavour. *Ille ego qui* conjures up the poet of the *Aeneid*, while the phrases *quaeque ipse miserrima passus* and *quorum pars quoque magna fui* recall the tale-telling protagonist of that poem, recounting his story of woe to the queen of Carthage.[65] Subsequently, the present poem is said to be a 'greater

describes eleven counts: Dirk I, Dirk II, Arnulf, Dirk III, Dirk IV, Floris I, Dirk V, Floris II, Dirk VI, Floris III, and Dirk VII. Regents and usurpers are apparently not taken into account.

[62] Ovid, *Fasti* 1.13: "Caesaris arma canant alii".

[63] The emancipation of elegy is reinforced by the fact that Dousa pushes the origins of the genre back from Greek literature to the Bible, the songs of Moses and Miriam in particular: *ARG* f. ***r.

[64] *ARG* f. ****iiijr.

[65] Servius, *Commentarii in Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 1.1 gives four verses which might have formed the original opening of the *Aeneid*, the first of them being "ille ego qui quondam gracili modulatus avena." The other two phrases refer to the beginning of Aeneas' narration in book two: Vergil, *Aeneid* 2.5-6 ("quaeque ipse miserrima vidi / et quorum pars magna fui"). Note that it is possible that in writing "Ille ego qui" Dousa plays simultaneously on Ovid's use of the phrase, particularly in *Tristia* 4.10.1. Furthermore, it is well conceivable that the combination of the verb *cecini* with the object of war also

task' than the previous one. So when the *Nova poemata*, despite their lyric form, could already aspire to the aura of the most prestigious genre, this is *a fortiori* true of the verse *Annales*. And again the message is brought home by allusion: *maius opus moveo* is the expression Vergil used to denote his transition from the travel stories of the first half of his *Aeneid* to the battle scenes of the second half.[66] Moreover, the shadow of Ennius, the 'second Homer,' looms behind the figure of Vergil here: *versos ad pia vota deos* is an item from Propertius' description of Ennius' epic.[67] But unlike Propertius, Dousa does seize the subjects furnished by the archaic bard of Rome. By becoming Ennius – notice the shared title the poets from Rudiae and Noordwijk chose for their works: *Annales* – Dousa's elegiac poetry self-consciously enters the domain of epic.

So the poet of elegiac verse turns to the treatment of epic subject matter. But what attitude does he assume towards this material? We have already seen that Dousa's rhetoric of self-justification involved a concept of the writer as a new Homer who guarantees the glory of his subject. This thought is taken up again by Janus Dousa Jr in his praise of count Arnulf. Among other flattering observations, Dousa *filius* remarks that Egmond – Arnulf's place of burial – will commemorate him among later generations. While the wording of this compliment is parallel to Propertius' boast that Rome will praise him "among later generations" (*inter seros nepotes*), the difference on the level of meaning – not the poet will become famous, but the object of his poetry – points out that the idea of the relation between poet and subject matter as it is found in the verse *Annales* is different from the way Propertius imagined this connection.[68] Since the specific poem by Propertius hinted at by Dousa Jr reacts

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forms an allusion to the famous epitaph of Vergil that is mentioned in Donatus' *Vita Vergilii* ("Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc / Parthenope. Cecini pascua, rura, duces."), as was suggested to me by Gary Vos. P.G. Schmidt 2010, 193 discusses the passage from Dousa but only recognizes the first allusion.

[66] Vergil, *Aeneid* 7.45. The reference is especially apt in view of the fact that the passage from Vergil also contains a tension between epic and elegy: it contains an invocation of the Muse of love poetry, Erato (v. 37), which can be understood in the light of Lavinia's betrothal to Aeneas, which is described in *Aeneid* 7.249-85. This point was brought to my attention by Gary Vos. Again, play on Ovid's work might be seen at work in the background as well. In *Amores* 3.1.24, the personified Tragedy exhorts Ovid to move on to weightier genres than elegy ("incipe maius opus"). In some respect, the *Fasti* seem to answer this call: Ovid's elegiac couplets have to sail "velis maioribus" (*Fasti* 2.3) and the goddess Venus asks the poet sarcastically: "certe maiora canebas?" (*Fasti* 4.3). About this issue, see Miller 1991, 21-34.

[67] Propertius 3.3.10. Ennius is also mentioned in Dousa's survey of historical epic (*ARG* f. ***ij^{r}), and Dousa quotes fr. 307 Skutsch ("Qui tum vivebant homines atque aevum agitabant") in his discussion of the poetry of Melis Stoke (*ARG* f. ***iiij^{r}). Ennius is called an *alter Homerus* by Horace, *Epistles* 2.1.50.

[68] *ARG* p. 73: "Teque inter seros memorans Haecmunda nepotes". This refers to Propertius 3.1.35: "meque inter seros laudabit Roma nepotes". A few lines before, Dousa Jr alluded to the same poem in a similar way: "Westfrisones vivo quem detraxere Triumphum, / Post obitum duplici faenore reddet Honos" which alludes to Propertius 3.1.21-2: "at mihi quod vivo detraxerit invida turba, / post obitum

against epic, the continuation of Arnulf's praise is even more striking as an acceptance of the epic model of the poet as the herald of heroes: "For if Smyrna or Mantua would have given you its poet, blameless count, the virtue of Achilles, undefeated in single combat, would give ground, and so would the piety of Dardanian Aeneas."[69]

Similarly, when Dousa Sr laments the lack of sources about the deeds of Dirk IV (1039-1048) and consoles the city of Vlaardingen that he will secure its fame, he recalls the immortalization of Venus by the painter Apelles.[70] Moreover, the passage drives home a point about the relation between the poet and addressee. Dousa's elegiac persona humbly expresses his awareness of the thin sound of his voice by quoting in slightly adapted form an entire line from the fourth book of Propertius' elegies. But the evocation of this passage is not just there for the sake of false modesty, given the fact that Dousa extends the allusion and says: "But whatever skill and talent might be in me, all of it will serve the count and my fatherland."[71]

This remark brings me to the issue of the relation between poet and patron. The most important model for the way to relate to a mighty dedicatee was furnished by Ovid's *Fasti*. Although it is far from impossible to discover criticism and subversion in Ovid's poem, one will have to read between the lines to find it: the ostensible purpose of the text is to praise the house and regime of Augustus and his religious policies in particular.[72] In shaping his attitude towards the dedicatees of his work, Dousa invokes

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duplici faenore reddet Honos". The *topos* of the fame brought to the poet himself by his work is downplayed: *ARG* f. ***iij^{v}.

[69] *ARG* p. 73: "Quod tibi si Vatem, (COMES inculpate,) dedisset / Siue suum Smyrne, Mantua siue suum; / Cederet Aeacidae Virtus invicta duëllo; / Cederet Aeneae Dardanij Pietas." These lines evoke the model of Ausonius as the Moselle's eulogist: Ausonius, *Mosella* 374-7 ("quod si tibi, dia Mosella, / Smyrna suum vatem vel Mantua clara dedisset, / cederet Iliacis Simois memoratus in oris, / nec praeferre suos auderet Thybris honores."). Because of the encomiastic elements of Dousa's poetic programme, Heesakkers calls the poem a "national epic": Heesakkers 1985a, 399; Heesakkers 1985b, 41; Heesakkers 2003, 761, 762.

[70] *ARG* p. 93: "Me sine jamque foret, tua, Flardingae aequa ruinis, / Gloria sub patrijs mersa jaceret aquis." This refers to Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 3.401-2: "si Venerem Cous nusquam posuisset Apelles, / mersa sub aequoreis illa lateret aquis." Dousa emulates Ovid, however, by claiming the credits for immortalizing his subject rather than attributing them to someone else.

[71] *ARG* p. 93: "Hei mihi, quod nostro est tenuis in ore sonus! / Sed quodcumque in me tamen artis & ingenij sit, / Id Comiti & Patriae serviat omne meae." The first verse is a slightly adapted quotation of Propertius 4.1.58 ("ei mihi, quod nostro est parvus in ore sonus"), the last two verses are reminiscent of Propertius 4.1.59-60 ("sed tamen exiguo quodcumque e pectore rivi / fluxerit, hoc patriae serviet omne meae").

[72] Some of the more obvious laudative passages are: *Fasti* 1.1-26, 529-36, 587-616, 709-22, 2.9-18, 127-44, 3.415-28, 697-712, 5.561-98. The issue of the political orientation of the *Fasti* has received much attention in recent years. Scholars have been interested particularly in implicit challenges of the Augustan order: see, for instance, Feeney 1992; Hinds 1992b; Newlands 1995; Barchiesi 1997. This tendency has been criticized by Fantham 1996, who argues that "[l]ike the proverbial Frenchmen whom everything reminded of sex, there are many critics now to whom everything suggests subversion and dissent" (p. 50) and that these critics, as a result of their bias, gravely underestimate the courtly aspects of the *Fasti*. A

the mould of the *Fasti* only in its submissive praise of its patrons, without taking up subversive elements. Dousa sets straight, so to speak, Ovid's elusive frivolity by means of selection; subversion is absent from Dousa's matrix of imitation, in Genette's terms. In the programmatic elegy that is placed after Dousa's second preface, for instance, Dousa takes up verbally a metaphor from Ovid's dedicatory proem for Germanicus, while submitting an urgent request for guidance to his dedicatees: "Please do not champion the labour of your poet any less; go on to steer the course of my restless ship."[73] In the main narrative, too, it is hard to find signs of dissidence: as a loyal subject of the authorities, the poet sings the praises of his fatherland.[74]

Typically, this is not the only relationship between a classical poet and his patron invoked by Dousa in this particular passage.[75] I cannot discuss all the references in detail, but for my purposes it suffices to identify a common factor. The poems referred to presuppose a relationship of mutual dependence between poet and dedicatee, be it a deity or a human being: the poet glorifies his dedicatee, who provides information, inspiration, and protection in return. Thus, when in his second preface, Dousa dwells on his concern for the common weal and the fatherland and on the examples of princes who patronize poets that work on their past, this should be regarded as an exhortation to the States of Holland and West-Friesland to fulfil their duty as patrons – something they finally did, as has been demonstrated above.[76]

In paying attention to metre, subject matter, encomiastic tendencies, and the relation between poet and patron, I have been discussing the extent to which Dousa's poetic program incorporates generic characteristics of epic and elegy only. But as I indicated in the beginning of this section, the conventions of reading proposed by the verse *Annales* themselves include elements from the genre of historiography too.

In part, this becomes manifest by Dousa's participation in what one might call the 'lifestyle debate'. Certain classical genres carry convictions about the ideal way of

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similar discussion exists in the case of Vergil's *Aeneid*, which is another important subtext for Dousa's verse *Annales*.

[73] *ARG* f. [*****]^{r}: "Nec minus, o, Vatis vestri aspirate labori; / Dirigere & trepidae pergite navis iter." Both the metaphor and its wording can be found in Ovid, *Fasti* 1.3-4: "excipe pacato, Caesar Germanice, voltu / hoc opus et timidae derige navis iter".

[74] For some evident examples of praise, see *ARG* p. 14-5, 72-3, 75, 90, 111, 212. Some instances of encomium are explicitly identified as such (*elogium*, *laudatio*) in the *marginalia*: *ARG* p. 47, 73, 129. That the political aspects of Ovid's *Fasti* could also be appropriated in different ways is demonstrated by Newlands 2004/2005, who argues that John Gower's English translation of the work negotiates with and questions autocratic rule.

[75] Some relevant allusions on *ARG* f. [*****]^{r} are (in order of appearance) Propertius 3.4.10; Vergil, *Aeneid* 12.778; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.3-4; Martial 5.3.2; Claudian, *Carmina maiora* 7.98.

[76] For the passage from the preface, see *ARG* f. ***ij^{v}-***iiij^{r}. In 1603, Dousa reinforced this relationship of patronage in a short poem on the chain and laurels he received from the States of Holland and West-Friesland as a reward: Dousa Sr 1603, f. 49^{v}.

life. To put it in a simplified manner, epic celebrates warfare, elegy favours love affairs and dislikes the life of soldiers and merchants, bucolic poetry abhors war and delineates an ideal image of a herdsman piping under a tree. Dousa involves himself in this discussion in a dedicatory epigram to the French ambassador in The Hague, Paul Choart de Buzanval (ca. 1550-1607). His verses did not come about in the shadow, like Vergil's *Eclogues*. Instead, they were "born under heavy air" – a proverbial expression indicating lack of favourable circumstances, especially for intellectual pursuits. Dousa explains that he worked on his poem in the midst of hostilities and under the pressure of official obligations, a situation that might lead to the military and political experience necessary for historians, but that could not be expected to give rise to anything more than prose.[77]

A short poetical digression at the end of book eight of the metrical *Annales* elaborates on this idea. The poet begins with a confession: "it pleases me to travel long ways."[78] In contrast to Ovid who claims in his autobiographical elegy in the *Tristia* that he is physically unable to live the life of a senator (*nec patiens corpus*), Dousa claims to be unaffected by the hardships of travelling (*Corpus adhuc patiens*).[79] In addition, becoming acquainted with far-away worlds by using maps – like Propertius' character Arethusa does – is not enough for Dousa: only the real thing will suffice.[80] The reason why Dousa goes beyond the elegiac distaste for travelling is closely connected with his poetical programme: "Let the masses pursue leisure; I am interested in learning. Let the gods make that the goal of my endeavours!"[81]

In the metrical *Annales*, Dousa's professed eagerness for learning primarily takes the shape of historical scholarship. The relation between poetry and history is the main issue addressed in the second preface, and the main position taken is summarized in Quintilian's maxim that history "has a certain affinity to poetry (*proxima poetis*) and may be regarded as a kind of prose poem (*carmen solutum*)."[82]

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[77] *ARG* f. [*****]^{v}. Dousa did not write his poetry *lentus in umbra*, in the words of Vergil, *Eclogues* 1.4. Instead, it was *crasso sub aëre nata*; for this notion, see Cicero, *De fato* 4.7; Horace, *Epistles* 2.1.244; Juvenal 10.50. For the importance of experience for historians, see Landfester 1972, 96-104.

[78] *ARG* p. 215: "mihi, longinquas cui placet ire vias". For a more extensive analysis of this digression and the preceding episode about Sophia of Rheineck, see Maas 2010b.

[79] *ARG* p. 215: "Corpus adhuc patiens, nec mens aliena labori", which refers to Ovid, *Tristia* 4.10.37: "nec patiens corpus, nec mens fuit apta labori".

[80] *ARG* p. 215: "Nec satis, in Tabula pictos ediscere Mundos". This refers to Propertius 4.3.37: "cogor et e tabula pictos ediscere mundos".

[81] *ARG* p. 216: "Otia sectetur vulgus, mihi discere cordi. / Di faciant studiis meta sit ista meis." Again Dousa reacts against the amorous lifestyle of Ovid's elegy: Ovid, *Amores* 2.10.30: "di faciant, leti causa sit ista mei".

[82] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 10.1.31: "Est enim proxima poetis et quodammodo carmen solutum" (transl. H.E. Butler), quoted on *ARG* f. **iiij^{r}. Dousa also cites Julius Caesar Scaliger: "Historiam nihil a

Common ground can be shown, for instance, in the aim of providing instruction and pleasure that is shared by both genres.[83] More importantly, Dousa addresses the issue of the different rhetorical means permitted in poetical and historiographical discourse. Historiography achieves grandeur by using many of the strategies associated most closely with poetry, such as pathos (*affectus*, *τὰ πάθη*), ethos (*persona*), lofty style (*sublimitas*), and appropriateness of expression (*τὸ πρέπον*). Specific techniques such as a varied use of tropes (*varietas figurarum*), description (*descriptio*), comparison (*similitudo*), amplification (*amplificatio*), moral examples (*exemplum*), and praise (*elogium*) help to keep off boredom and weariness.[84]

For present purposes, however, it is more interesting what devices are specific to poetical discourse. Dousa identifies a few points of difference between prose and poetry. Firstly, poetry is allowed to use "a less restricted vocabulary and freer ways of story-telling." Secondly, the techniques of speech (*oratio*) and apostrophe (*apostrophe*) are set apart for verse composition as means of mitigating the horror of the battles described.[85] All of these elements are important to understand the craft of Dousa's metrical *Annales*, but the reservation of speech to poetic discourse deserves special attention, for this move stands in marked contrast with the idea, so viable in historiographical theory, that historians should employ speech in order to enliven their narrative and make it more verisimilar. The most probable explanation for Dousa's choice is that he is taking position in a contemporary debate on historical theory. Francesco Patrizi had "put the methodological cat among the rhetorical pigeons," as Anthony Grafton put it, by criticizing the insertion of speeches in works of history, because he thought that the process of their invention was irreconcilable with the historian's striving for truth. An avalanche of reactions followed the publication of Patrizi's dialogues in 1560, but a *communis opinio* on this issue never returned in humanist theoretical discourse about historiography.[86] It seems, then, that in the divided world of historical scholarship, Dousa endorses Patrizi's position on the topic of orations.

It is far from unlikely that Dousa was susceptible to arguments like Patrizi's, considering the strong emphasis he places on his concern for truthfulness, "which is by

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Poësi, nisi versu ac dictionis genere, distare". This is a quotation from Scaliger's *Contra Poëtices calumniatores declamatio*: Scaliger 1600, 409-13 (the quotation is on p. 411).

[83] *ARG* f. **iiij^{v}.

[84] *ARG* f. **iiij^{r}, ***iiij^{v}.

[85] *ARG* f. **iiij^{r}: "verbis liberioribus & remotioribus figuris narrandi"; ***iiij^{v}.

[86] For the theoretical discussion about the insertion of speeches, see Grafton 2007, 34-49. The quotation is on p. 39.

itself the soul, life, and spirit of history's body."[87] Of course, the claim on truth strengthens the rhetoric of the narrative considerably by increasing the poet's authority. Therefore, it is an important addition to the set of rules to be applied in reading the metrical *Annales*: leaving aside short pieces of dialogue, the reader may expect the lord of Noordwijk to be speaking the plain truth.[88]

The veracity of poetic discourse was by no means self-evident, however. "Poets tell many a lie," the early Greek philosopher Solon observed, and his remark had become proverbial.[89] In his *Oratio de laude historiae* (1541), Petrus Nannius defined the difference between poetry and history as follows: "in the former, the poet has very ample opportunities to lie (*mentiri*); in the latter, the historian is enclosed within the narrow bounds of the truth (*veritas*)." Dousa Jr also employs this stereotype in the prose *Annales*, when he speaks about "Bato and Hessus, and other 'shows' invented by storytellers (*ludicra fingentium*), which are not becoming even to poetic fiction (*Poëticae fabulae*)."[90] It is hardly surprising that early modern treatises on poetics take issue with the view that poets are purveyors of falsehoods, but even these writings usually do not attempt to exclude fiction altogether from the domain of poetry. Thus, in his treatise *Veritas fucata* (1514, 1523), Juan Luis Vives stated that poets must tell the truth, but also enumerated ten exceptions to this rule. Similarly, the *Poetices libri septem* by Julius Caesar Scaliger (first printed in 1561) prescribed that poetry should keep as near as possible to the truth, but refrained from a wholesale rejection of fictional elements.[91]

This accounts for the fact that in his second preface, Dousa took such pains to show his venerable ancestry as a truth-loving poet. He emphasizes there is no less reliability in poetic narrations like those of Lucan and Silius Italicus than in prose histories like those of Sallust, Livy, and Caesar.[92] The intensity of Dousa's truth

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[87] Dousa Sr 1591, f. (:)iiij^{r}: "De wairheit, welc alleen vant lichaem der Historie / Siel, leven is en geest." For Dousa's truth claims, also see Heesakkers 2003, 760; Waterbolk 1957/1958, 26-8.

[88] *ARG* f. ****$^{r\text{-}v}$.

[89] Solon's remark ("*πολλὰ ψεύδονται ἀοιδοί*") is quoted by Aristotle, *Metaphysica* 1.2 (983a) and Plutarch, *Moralia* 16a. Cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 27. Of course, Plato's *Politeia* made a very important contribution to this discussion as well.

[90] Nannius 1541, f. Gi^{r}: "illic poeta liberrima spacia habet mentiendi. hic historicus inter angustos fines veritatis circumscriptus est." Dousa Jr's use of the stereotype can be found on *BHA* p. 8: "Bato, & Hessus, aliaque fingentium ludicra, ne Poëticis quidem decora fabulis". Bato and Hessus were legendary kings of the Batavians. The phrase "ne Poëticis quidem decora fabulis" is taken from Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, preface, 6. For the stereotype of the lying poet, see Plett (ed.) 1994, 15-6, 32, 79, 86-7, 90.

[91] For Vives, see Plett (ed.) 1994, 83-7; for Scaliger, see Deitz 1995, 11. Also see the discussion of the issue of truth in Renaissance poetics in Hathaway 1962, 159-66. Moss 2003, 191-223 discusses humanist truth conditions for fictional narrative in both prose and poetry, touching obliquely upon those for historical narrative.

[92] *ARG* f. ***ij^{r}. Cf. *BHA* p. 13 about Lucan.

claims comes to a climax in the elegy following the second preface, in which he takes a stand explicitly against the lies and partiality of previous historians, and implicitly against the lack of interest in the truth on the part of classical elegiac poetry, by means of contrastive allusions.[93] "I am not that frivolous: Dousa's proven results (*comperta*) will be sung here, and there will be no deceit (*fucus*) whatsoever in my poetry."[94]

But while Dousa's refusal to admit speech in prose historiography and his repeated truth claims seem to suit contemporary ideas in historical theory exceptionally well, there is no positive evidence, curiously enough, that he was acquainted with the discussion in historiographical theory. Instead, further musings on the theory of history are mostly of a conventional kind. A few times, for instance, he invokes the commonplace that history is a teacher of prudence.[95] In addition, the relation between poetry and history was an issue which had been debated time and again since it was introduced by Aristotle.[96]

More than the theorists, the practicians of historiography seem to have been a source of inspiration for Dousa. His knowledge of the historiographical tradition of antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance was formidable and surfaces on every page of his work. Dousa explicitly associates his method with that of Willem Heda, although this connection is only convincing as regards the procedures of documentation. Heda was not nearly as scrupulous as Dousa in his discussion of the material. Rather, the idea of applying philological and rhetorical techniques to history and turning narrative history into a meticulous discussion of sources might have been given to Dousa by the work of François Hotman, Papire Masson, and Pierre Pithou, knowledge of whom is testified by the verse *Annales*.[97]

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[93] *ARG* f. ****iiij^{r-v}. Verses like "Ah pereant, Famae quos dare verba juvat" or "Mendaces odi: Procul hinc, procul ANNIVS esto" show an uncompromising love of truth, while referring to verses which express an interest in love affairs or morality, thus bringing out clearly the contrast between Dousa's veracious poetry and the classical elegists who did not share this concern for truth: Propertius 2.23.12 ("a pereant, si quos ianua clausa iuvat"); Ovid, *Fasti* 2.623 ("innocui veniant: procul hinc, procul impius esto").

[94] *ARG* f. ****iiij^{r}: "Haud ego tam nugax: DOVSAE comperta canentur, / Inque meo nullus Carmine fucus erit." *Carmine* might also constitute a wordplay on the medieval word *carminium* ('crimson'), which would make sense in combination with *fucus*, which often refers to dye. I owe this idea to Joan Booth. Yet another contrast with the concerns of Ovid's poems is evoked here: Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 1.25 ("inque meo nullum carmine crimen erit"), *Tristia* 2.250 ("inque meo nullum carmine crimen erit").

[95] *ARG* f. *ij^{v}, *iiij^{v}, **iiij^{v}, ***iiij^{v}.

[96] Aristotle, *Poetics* 9 (1451a-b); also see Cicero, *De legibus* 1.1.4-5; Petronius, *Satyricon* 118; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 10.1.31; Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* 5.8.4; Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina* 20.29; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 8.7.10; Besomi (ed.) 1973, 5-6; Kiefer (ed.) 1984, 422-4. For the discussion in antiquity, see Woodman 1988, 98-101.

[97] *ARG* p. 3, 4, 24, 27, 57, 58, 144, 197. For the innovative work of these scholars, see Fumaroli 1977, 13-5, 19-24; Kelley 1970, 106-12, 122-8, 240-11, 241-70.

6.1.3 The Scholar's Weapons and the Liberation of History

By blending the methodological principles of historiography into his poetics, Dousa paved the way for a rather aggressive intervention in the historiographical tradition of Holland, if not a wholesale revision of it. In particular, the demand of truthfulness is seized as a means for attacks on previous historians. Dousa vows that "in his writings nothing is more important than trustworthiness."[98] The continuous repetition of such truth claims lends a polemical aspect to Dousa's approach – a polemic that is directed primarily at the reliability of predecessors such as Johannes a Leydis, Reynier Snoy, and Petrus Bockenberg. Dousa's critique of their account of the inauguration of the first count of Holland is a case in point. "This is what I would wish, since Snoy and others intended to interweave falsehoods with truth: that at least they would have set their mind on lying fitly and on finding some framework for their fabrications; that is, on pleasing the reader with the appearance of truth and on disguising their deceit."[99]

The polemic against the historians of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century is at least partly motivated by political reasons, since Dousa fiercely criticizes their bias in favour of the high nobility, and in particular the counts of Egmont and Wassenaer.[100] In the case of the genealogy of Adolph of Borsele (1489-1540), lord of Veere, and patron of Reynier Snoy, Dousa suggests that it was made up in order to please members of the nobility: "Do these fabrications seem to be dedicated to the honour of [Jacqueline of Bavaria], or rather to be offered to your ears, Adolph? In whose veins runs Burgundian blood and whose mother is Anna of Borsele; you, who are wealthy and govern more than one dominion – which is the most important reason for the crowd of flatterers to trace back the family tree of Borsele to the dukes of Swabia?"[101] Dousa's loyalty, on the contrary, is supposed to be with the fatherland, and the States of Holland in particular.[102]

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[98] *ARG* f. ****iiij^{v}: "Inque meis Scriptis nil prius esse Fide"; for other examples, see *ARG* f. *ij^{r}, *ij^{v}, ****^{r}.

[99] *ARG* p. 21: "Hoc tamen optarim, falsa intertexere veris / Propositum quoniam Snoio alijsque fuit, / Saltem uti concinne mentiri animum induxissent, / Figmentisque aliquod quaerere schema suis: / Scilicet & Veri specie oblectare legentem, / Et fraudes fuco dissimulare suas."

[100] *ARG* f. ****iiij^{v}, 8, 9, 25.

[101] *ARG* p. 25: "Figmenta haec cujus largita videntur honori: / Auribus an potius haec data (ADOLPHE) tuis; / BVRGVNDVS sanguis, genetrix cui BORSELIS Anna; / Diues opum; & cui plus quam Ditio una foret. / Assentatrici quae causa potissima turbae, / BORSELIVM ad Suevos stemma referre Duces." For Snoy's attitude towards the nobility, see §3.3.

[102] *ARG* f. *ij^{v}, *iiij^{v}, ***ij^{v}, ****^{r}, p. 7. Dousa proclaims his love of his country and provides extensive proof of it at Dousa Sr 1593, 3-10.

Dousa's deconstruction of recent historiography, which in his opinion featured a partisan attitude towards the high nobility, is clearly rooted in the contemporary balance of power and Dousa's own position in this field of forces. In the first years of the Dutch Revolt, the initiative was taken by noblemen, and the *grands seigneurs* in particular. In 1566, a petition to suspend persecution of heretics was offered to Margaret of Parma by two hundred noblemen, who were led by Henry of Brederode and Louis of Nassau. One of the first measures taken by the duke of Alba in order to repress the revolt was the execution of Lamoraal I, count of Egmont and Philip de Montmorency, count of Horne in 1568. However, the great noblemen gradually lost their enthusiasm for the Revolt and the most important blue-blooded families did not provide much leading figures anymore for the rebellious provinces. Egmont's sons sided with the Spaniards: Philip of Egmont was a commander in Alba's army, Lamoraal II of Egmont had a difficult relationship with the authorities in the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands and even plotted against William the Silent's life, and Charles of Egmont worked as an ambassador for the King of Spain and became stadtholder of Namur in 1599. The main branch of the Wassenaer family had become extinct after John II of Wassenaer's death in 1523, and their possessions had passed into the De Ligne family that was based in the Spanish Netherlands. The Brederodes remained loyal to the Republic, but did not hold any exceptionally important offices after the (natural) death of Henry of Brederode in 1568. After the so-called Malcontents of the late 1580's, the high nobility had become largely loyal to the King.[103]

The power over the Republic came to rest with a class of regents. Dousa himself was a member of this regency and held many important offices. Nevertheless, he was and did so as a nobleman: he held a seat on the States of Holland and the States-General as a representative of the *ridderschap* ('knighthood,' that is, the estate of the nobility). Moreover, his network included many noblemen.[104] Thus, there might seem to be a certain discrepancy between Dousa's attacks on the nobility and his own social position. At least two explanations can be given. Firstly, whereas the high nobility lost much of its influence, the lesser nobility ran the government of the Dutch Republic in concord with the bourgeoisie.[105] Secondly, by adopting a humanist doctrine of true nobility, Dousa puts into perspective the idea underlying the significance of genealogy, namely that nobility depends on pedigree: "[Willem Heda]

[103] Van Nierop 1984, 47-50; id. 1999; id. 2001.
[104] See for instance, the numerous poems in Dousa Sr 1603 that are addressed to members of the nobility or the many inscriptions of noblemen in Dousa's *album amicorum*: Heesakkers (ed.) 2000.
[105] Van Nierop 1984, 235-41.

does not deny, however, that it is possible that our prince [Dirk I] descended from an Aquitanian duke, but he thinks that it is needless to decorate the Batavian counts with forged ancestral images, so that those whose virtue elevates them to the skies, who overcome their descent by the nobility of their spirit, become the makers of their own name and have no need at all to get their titles from somewhere else."[106] In other words, his identity as a nobleman does not seem very significant to Dousa here.

Dousa's project of revision went beyond the rejection of genteel Burgundian and Habsburg representations of history, however. Like these recent versions of the past, Dousa's earlier sources were not at all exempt from criticism. The suggestion that the alleged inferiority of medieval works of history should be imputed to the spirit of the age was important in this respect, because this move turned the Middle Ages into a closed period with its own peculiar characteristics and, consequently, its writings into objects of philological scrutiny. In fact, it was possible to apply the techniques of contemporary philological criticism to medieval historiography in a particularly radical manner, for this class of writings lacked the authority of the classical authors.[107] Dousa himself was an accomplished philologist and moved in the circles of famous humanist scholars such as Joseph Scaliger and Justus Lipsius.[108] Not quite unexpectedly, his historical writings are rife with the procedures of classical scholarship, which are employed to bring about a thorough revision of history.

The presence of such meticulous assessment of evidence is particularly pervasive in the first three books of the verse *Annales*, because the documentation for the period described there (841-988) is scant. The methods of contemporary scholarship serve a threefold purpose here: deconstruction, construction, and persuasion. In the first place, Dousa uses the techniques developed by contemporaneous scholars to point out the misunderstandings and inconsistencies in previous historiography, thus clearing the way for an alternative interpretation of the past.[109] Furthermore, these procedures

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[106] *ARG* p. 65-6: "Nec tamen ipse negat, fieri potuisse, uti Princeps / Noster Aquitano de Duce Stemma trahat: / Sed commentitijs Comites ornare Batavos / Esse supervacuum censet Imaginibus. / Vt sua quos tantum subvexit ad aethera Virtus, / Vincentes animi Nobilitate genus, / Nominis ut sibi quisque faber; Titulosque petitum / Ire, necesse habeant nil, aliunde sibi." For the debate about true nobility among humanist scholars, see Rabil Jr 1991; Tateo 1967, 355-421. The most famous contribution to this debate was Poggio Bracciolini's *De vera nobilitate*, written around 1440.

[107] Cf. Huppert 1966, 54: "Here, in this uncharted territory, free from the oppressive authority of the classical historians, a man could turn to the sources of history and listen to their halting, rudimentary voices."

[108] Dousa made editions, commentaries, and collections of text-critical remarks for Sallust, Horace, Catullus, Tibullus, Petronius, and Sulpicia and cooperated in the philological work of his sons on Plautus and Lucilius: see the list of Dousa's publications at Heesakkers 1976, 181-5.

[109] The idea that Dousa's critique served to clean up the historical domain in order to make room for his own work is related to Brassica's suggestion in the *Pemmata* that this critique should be explained as the result of jealousy on Dousa's part and of reluctance to admit his dependence on Snoy's work. See Brassica

may contribute to a conjectural reconstruction of the past. Finally, the explicit presence of the modes of state-of-the-art scholarship conveys a solid impression of well-foundedness that supports Dousa's frequent claims to truthfulness.

Dousa's reconsideration of the sources could only take place by grace of his command of the medieval historiographical tradition. In order to acquire this knowledge, to make possible this typically humanist project of a return *ad fontes*, Dousa instigated a search for medieval sources, like the one that had been initiated in France and the German empire decades before.[110] As has been shown in §6.1.1, Dousa made painstaking efforts to recover ancient chronicles and charters. The presentation of or even only reference to the material ferreted out during this quest was of course in itself a way of pleading one's case that carried substantial weight.[111] But in some cases, the argument was enhanced by the application of textual criticism. Dousa tried to make better use of the works of Johannes de Beke and Reynier Snoy, for instance, by purging the manuscripts containing these writings from scribal errors.[112] In fact, one of Dousa's most famous critical interventions, a new dating of the charter by which the county of Holland was conferred on its first count, Dirk I, was the product of conjectural emendation: the Roman numeral 863 could easily be a corrupt variant of 913, that is, a letter C had been taken for an L.[113]

Dousa's argument for this conjecture was provided by another scholarly technique, namely, chronology, a discipline that had risen to great heights by the efforts of Joseph Scaliger.[114] Chronology is used to bring to light numerous historical inconsistencies that prove that the creation of the county of Holland could not have happened in the year 863.[115] It should be noted that the placement of this discussion at the beginning of book two, that is, when Dirk I's death has already been treated

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1603, 16: "Quis enim iracundiam & inuidiam Dousae ferat noctu atque interdiu se conficientis, quod prior Snoïus res Batavas est stylo complexus!"; 18-9: "Sed illum [viz. Snoy] volentem defendere, hoc pacto antevertit [viz. Dousa], callidissime, quo plus sibi venerationis acquirat, conspici enim vult. Multa habet ipse, quae & in Snoïo invenias, imo accuratius, meo quidem iudicio, & priores quatuor libros suos, ad huius ordinem & materiem fere componit. Deprehensu id facile est, ex Snoï manuscripto. Quamquam inficias ibit, Snoïus, magnus ipsi est adiutor."

[110] Edelman 1946, 45; Fumaroli 1977, 19-22; D'Amico 1988, 179-80; Varga 1932, 66-7; P.G. Schmidt 1991, 141, 143. Dousa might well have been inspired by the activity of Pierre Pithou (1539-1596) to whom he refers many times: for instance, *ARG* p. 3, 4, 24, 57, 58.

[111] This happens, for instance, on *ARG* p. 29, 30, 42, 54.

[112] Vermaseren 1955, 91, 97; *ARG* p. 29-30.

[113] *ARG* p. 61. The idea of the emendation was suggested to Dousa by his friend Jan van Hout; it was based on a similar error in a codex containing the astronomical work of the Roman poet Manilius: *BHA* p. 199. Also see Heesakkers & Reinders 1993, 72-4 on the passage in the metrical *Annales*.

[114] For Scaliger's merits in this field, see Grafton 1983-1993, vol. 2. Scaliger's most important work on chronology, *De emendatione temporum*, first appeared in 1583.

[115] *ARG* p. 58-61. For other examples of Dousa's use of chronology, see *ARG* p. 12, 18, 42, 46.

and the reign of his successor has been announced, adds to the experimental character of Dousa's poem: in a virtuoso manner, it disrupts the chronological progress of the story, retracts the account given before, and construes the events anew.[116]

Dousa's careful attention for the charter is not only a feat of historical understanding, paleography, and bold story-telling, but also makes a modest contribution to his interpretation of the history of Holland.[117] The dating of the charter in 913 and the concomitant identification of the generous donor as Charles the Simple instead of Charles the Bald confirm on more convincing grounds than before the idea that the origins of Holland lay in the kingdom of the Western Franks. The theme of the relationship between Holland and the Frankish kings is of some significance in the metrical *Annales*. Apart from short recapitulations of the history of Holland,[118] it appears in the designation of the family of the counts of Holland as the Aquitanian house (*domus Aquitana* or *stirps Aquitana*).[119] Dousa's endeavour to connect Holland and Francia appears most clearly from the presence of the dedicatory epigram to Paul Choart de Buzanval, in which the Frankish origin of the counts of Holland is emphasized again.[120]

It hardly seems far-fetched to connect this 'francophile' tendency to the French-Dutch relations around the Peace of Vervins. In 1596, the Republic had signed a treaty against Spain with England and France. The wars waged by this alliance were not very successful, however. Therefore, the French concluded a peace treaty with Spain in Vervins in 1598. This course of events was potentially dangerous for the Republic, for it meant that the Spaniards would be able to direct their full attention and force towards the suppression of the Revolt. In order to minimize the harm caused by the peace treaty, a diplomatic attempt was made to secure as much secret support from France as possible. Dousa's verse history, then, published in 1599, seems to back this undertaking by emphasizing the historical bonds with France.

As regards the use of scholarly techniques, there is more to be observed about Dousa's treatment of count Dirk than the link that is established between the counts of Holland and the kings of the Franks. As I have shown in Chapter Two, Dousa's prose history censures Snoy for telling an implausible story about a revolt of the inhabitants of Holland against count Dirk. This critique had been prefigured two

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[116] For the death of Dirk I and announcement of Dirk II, see *ARG* p. 29-31. Similar instances of daring narrative technique, based on source criticism can be found on *ARG* p. 9-11, 18-23, 101-3, 121-5.
[117] For paleography, see Kampinga 1917, 141.
[118] *ARG* p. 23, 67-8.
[119] For instance, *ARG* f. ****iiij^{r}, p. 13, 14, 15, 22, 64, 103, 115, 120. The appellation is used despite Dousa's strong doubts whether the counts of Holland actually descended from the dukes of Aquitaine: *ARG* p. 15, 65-6.
[120] *ARG* f. [*****]^{v}.

years earlier in the verse *Annales*. It is a good example of Dousa's assessment of his sources as regards their content, that is, the determination of their reliability (*fides*).

Since the rise of historical pyrrhonism in the works of Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim and especially Francesco Patrizi da Cherso, who formulated severe doubts about the possibility of undistorted historical knowledge, the issues of objectivity and reliability had become very urgent in historical theory. Theorists such as Melchior Cano, François Baudouin, and Jean Bodin reflected on the conditions under which historical data could still be trusted.[121] Dousa struggles with the same sceptical spectre and comes up with a similar solution. Basically, he thinks about historical truth in terminology drawn from the sphere of the court room. "I could adduce them for you as my sureties (*sponsores*), if either of them would have been worth it." "[Willem Heda] saw this, and left the unresolved lawsuit (*lis*) with the judge (*iudex*); it has now been finally decided by my judgement (*arbitrium*)." "Do you want more? It will be allowed to consult the archives of Sigebert [of Gembloux], so that the trustworthiness (*fides*) of Thietmar [of Merseburg] will also increase through the agency of this witness (*testis*). The votes (*suffragia*) of our Beka and the many monuments of the ancient fathers of Egmond agree with them too." [122]

It is not very surprising, therefore, that the criteria for truthfulness Dousa adopts are strongly dependent on the way classical rhetoric deals with the probability of narratives and testimonies.[123] Basically, his judgement about the trustworthiness of a source depends on two factors: its age and plausibility. As to the age of sources, Dousa's guideline is that older sources are better sources. In addition, he has a strong preference for eye-witnesses over oral traditions.[124] The plausibility of a source is judged on the basis of the rules given by classical rhetoric for the invention and disposition of a probable judicial narrative.[125] Thus, Dousa's work features a lot of

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[121] For historical pyrrhonism, see Franklin 1963, 89-102; for the response of Cano, Baudouin, and Bodin, see Franklin 1963, 103-54. Also see Grafton 2007, 94-105 for this discussion and its precedents.

[122] *ARG* p. 56: "Sponsores pro me tibi quos adducere possim, / Si tanti nobis ille, vel ille foret."; 65: "Vidit, & ambiguam liquit sub Iudice Litem: / Arbitrio quae nunc denique secta meo."; 75: "Plura cupis? Sigeberti adeas Archiva licebit; / Ditmaro ut gliscat hoc quoque Teste Fides. / Queis etiam BEKAE accedunt Suffragia nostri, / Et veterum Egmundae tot Monimenta Patrum." Also see *ARG* f. *ijr ("IVDICES"), 54 ("testes"), 56 ("sub Iudice Lis").

[123] Dousa highlights his techniques of historical criticism in his marginal notes, referring to different types of arguments (*argumentum*, see *ARG* p. 11, 22, 64), inference (*coniectura*, see *ARG* p. 16, 45, 63), possible objections (*obiectio*, see *ARG* p. 99), and disagreement among historians (*dissensus historicorum*, see *ARG* p. 115).

[124] For judgement of sources based on their age, see *ARG* p. 11, 13, 23, 29, 37, 41-2, 56, 57, 74, 75. For the importance attached to eye-witness accounts, see *ARG* p. 44, 75, 215.

[125] See, for instance, Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 4.2.52-60. Thus, when Dousa claims he represents the medieval past "Historica potius quam Rhetorica fide", this is not entirely convincing (*ARG* f. *ij^{r}).

probability reasoning. He demands from his sources consistency of act, motives, and external circumstances, and rejects them when they do not meet these standards.[126]

On the basis of these criteria Dousa rejects the stories about revolts against Dirk I as told by Leydis, Snoy, and Barlandus. In the state of events *anno* 863, it was unlikely that the inhabitants of Holland and Frisia would fight out a civil war against their legitimate prince rather than chase away the Normans in concord. In brief, "I do not believe a word of it, for it was not fabricated in a likely way." In Dousa's alternative version, the natives were pleased with Dirk's arrival, because he liberated them from Norman slavery. Dirk's rule could hardly have been a reason for rebellion, especially since they had been accustomed to Frankish rulers for centuries. The crowning touch of Dousa's argument against the tale of uprisings is the silence of the older sources, such as Johannes de Beke, Melis Stoke (1235-1305), and the annals of Egmond.[127]

The theme of rebellion was of course highly topical at the moment Dousa wrote his historical works. The resemblance of the aristocratic revolt against Dirk to the Dutch Revolt, which started with the formation of a league of noblemen too ('Compromis der Edelen,' 1565), must have been uncomfortable, and unnecessary at that, since there was no hard evidence of tyranny on Dirk's part. In contrast to previous versions, Dousa's rewriting of the story offered an inspiring parallel to the sixteenth-century situation: the expulsion of despotic oppressors under the guidance of a charismatic leader.

A similar desire for both scholarly and political correctness may well have been behind Dousa's explanations of vernacular names. In classical rhetoric, etymology had been defined as a means to fashion arguments to support a cause. Etymologizing etymology itself, Cicero noted that the Greek term ἐτυμολογία signified 'truth-telling' (*veriloquium*). Classical historians now and then used the technique for historical reconstruction.[128] Dousa's explanation of specifically vernacular etymologies took place in the context of a contemporary rise of interest in the Dutch language. Cornelis Kiliaan published a dictionary, Hendrik Laurensz Spiegel a grammar. Dousa himself

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[126] For the demand of consistency, see most explicitly *BHA* p. 207; for concrete instances of the application of criteria of consistency and probability reasoning, see *ARG* p. 10, 11, 21-3, 25, 45, 54, 58, 59-60.

[127] *ARG* p. 21-3; the quotation is on p. 22: "Nil credo; neque enim ficta probabiliter." The use of probability reasoning in order to introduce a more plausible reconstruction of the past is called *coniectura* ('inference') by Dousa: *ARG* f. ****v, p. 16, 45, 46, 63.

[128] For etymology in classical rhetoric, see Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.6.1, 1.6.28-31, 5.10.55, 7.3.25. Cicero's remark can be found in *Topica* 35. For a discussion of etymology in classical historiography, see Desbordes 1998. Passages in historiography featuring etymology: Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum* 18, 78; Livy 1.44, 21.38; Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 6, *Divus Augustus* 43, *Caligula* 8, *Galba* 3.

contributed to this development by his cooperation in Spiegel's edition of Melis Stoke "in honour of our language" and by his Dutch translation of poems by Janus Secundus (1511-1536). In the metrical *Annales*, the identification and explanation of place names found in charters is rather frequent.[129]

The etymologies in the metrical *Annales* do not only serve to create the scene of the epic narrative by introducing geographical landmarks such as the Rhine and the monastery of Egmond, but also to make political statements about the past. As Françoise Desbordes observed about the use of etymology in classical historiography, "by explaining this word rather than another, and by explaining it in this way rather than in another, one creates for oneself a past to one's liking."[130] Moreover, Dousa's acceptance of medieval words and names constitutes a step towards a redefinition of Latin elegance. Because a strict Ciceronianist ideal of Latinity would preclude the use of unclassical vocabulary, Dousa's explicit discussion and sometimes even adoption of vernacular terms – like his preference for archaic words and spellings[131] – could easily be interpreted as a self-conscious attempt to form an innovative poetical style that reacts against rigid classicism.

Most importantly, Dousa pays attention to the name 'Holland.' He mocks Snoy's explanation that it was given to the inhabitants of the region by Charles the Bald on the occasion of their revolt against him, because of their penchant for quick flight (from the Dutch *hollen*, that is, 'to bolt'). Other etymologies explained the word as referring to a wooded 'forest-land' (*holt-land*), a lush 'hay-land' (*hooi-land*), or a squelchy 'hollow land' (*hol-land*). Finally, there was the possibility, embraced by Dousa, that the name had been given by the Normans, in imitation of the Swedish toponyms 'Halland' and 'Oeland'.[132]

Dousa's rejection of the first explanation and his espousal of the last one betrays the political interests underlying his representation of the early history of Holland. As etymology was supposed to 'speak the truth', that is, to reveal something about the nature of the matter designated by the name, it is rather obvious that Dousa was reluctant to adopt an etymology that would portray his fellow-countrymen as faint-

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[129] *ARG* p. 16, 18, 19, 21, 24, 26, 64, 68. The quotation is from Dousa Sr 1591, f. (:)iij^{r}: "onse Tael ter eeren".

[130] Desbordes 1998, 77: "En expliquant tel mot plutôt que tel autre et en l'expliquant de telle façon plutôt que de telle autre, on se forge un passé à sa convenance."

[131] The archaic words used by Dousa often stem from the lexicon of Festus, *De significatione verborum*, which had first been edited by Joseph Scaliger in 1574-1575 (see, for instance, *ARG* p. 5, 41, 214). In addition, Dousa likes archaic spellings such as *aquai* for *aquae* (*ARG* p. 10) or *alid* instead of *aliud* (*ARG* p. 42).

[132] *ARG* p. 21, 68, 94. For Snoy's etymology, also see §§3.2 and 3.7. For the etymology of Holland in Dutch historiography, see Kampinga 1917, 100-2.

hearted rebels. On this point, he seems to stay close to his predecessor and friend Hadrianus Junius, who had keenly discerned the political implication of Snoy's etymology in the political context of the Dutch Revolt. Junius discussed the etymology in a rather apologetic fashion, echoing the argument that the Dutch Revolt had nothing to do with disobedience: "But if [Snoy] brought to light for us the very truth, which had been deeply hidden, what should be more important or venerable than this name, given to us by a most powerful king? To us, I say, to whom glory is due for obedience, as much as it would be a monstrous and inexpiable disgrace for us to evade royal authority."[133] Dousa's choice for the 'Danish' etymology, on the other hand, demonstrates once again his desire to emphasize Nordic tyranny as the cradle of Holland.

There remains one type of scholarly technique to be discussed. Dousa's concern with the legitimacy of the expulsion of the Normans is often enhanced by juridical reasoning. Since Dousa studied law in Louvain and Douai between 1561 and 1564, and also because of his membership of Supreme Court since 1591, he was well acquainted with legal thought.[134] This probably enabled him to resort effortlessly to the authorative arguments and vocabulary of both the law of nations (*ius gentium*) and positive law. Dousa offers a detailed description of the genesis of the county of Holland in terms of positive law. On the basis of charters, he gives a minute overview of the geographic limits of the jurisdiction of its counts (*dicio*).[135] Moreover, he pays attention to the precise status of these counts in relation to the kings and emperors of Europe: the counts did not retain their lands only for their own use (*usus*), but held it as a hereditary possession (*mancipium*) for an unlimited time (*perpetuo iure*) since emperor Otto III made count Dirk II *sui juris* (985).[136] Dousa derived the knowledge of feudal law that was indispensable for his accounts of the modalitaties of ownership from a study on this subject published by François Hotman in 1573.[137]

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[133] Junius 1588, 176: "Quod si ipsam veritatem alte abstrusam nobis iste in lucem protulit, quid prius quidve antiquius hoc nomine a Rege potentissimo indito nobis esse debuerit? Nobis inquam, quibus ut obsequii gloria debetur, ita auctoritatem regiam defugere immane flagitium et inexpiabile fuerit." For a study and Dutch translation of the *Batavia*, see De Glas (ed.) 2011.

[134] Heesakkers 1976, 14-5 for Dousa's study of law. Also see *BHA* p. 368-9 for Dousa's emphasis on the importance of laws and decretes as historical sources.

[135] *ARG* p. 14-8, 23-4, 55.

[136] *ARG* f. ****v, p. 17, 24, 55, 67-8, 72. The position of Holland in the feudal system of medieval Europe was subject to debate in early modern historiography: Kampinga 1917, 108-20; Waterbolk 1957/1958, 37.

[137] Hotman's *De feudis commentatio tripartita*. References to this work can be found on *ARG* p. 27, 144, 197. Dousa had been in contact with Hotman in 1578, when he tried to persuade the Huguenot scholar to become professor at the newly founded university of Leiden – without success. In the prose *Annales*, Dousa also refers to the 1557 edition of ancient German laws by Johannes Basilius Herold: *BHA* p. 217. For the study of feudalism by humanists, see Kelley 1964 and Davis 2006.

Such discussions of positive law were helpful in providing a solid framework within which the acts of the protagonists could be judged, but they were not serviceable for a direct intervention in the present, however, because the most important privileges used for the justification of the Dutch Revolt were issued in 1356, 1477, and 1488, that is, after the period covered by Dousa's works of history.[138] The indirect political significance of the juridical arguments is considerable, however. In the medieval tradition of political thought in the Low Countries, the freedom of cities and provinces was rooted in the privileges, rights, and customs that had accumulated over the centuries. This body of customary and codified regulations was regarded as the constitutional guarantee of the liberty a community could claim by force of natural law. This is the reason why the apologists of the Dutch Revolt consulted medieval privileges for their legimation of political resistance.[139] By treating positive law as a justification for political action and a foundation for maintaining the independence of a community, Dousa therefore activates a highly topical and politically coloured mode of thought.

Dousa's use of the *ius gentium* carries similar political weight. In Roman law, this notion encompassed the juridical principles that were supposed to be shared by all peoples, on account of the fact that they were self-evident.[140] It provided Dousa with the arguments to justify the liberation of Holland from the Norman yoke. The people of Holland and their count were entitled to file claims to power (*vindiciae*) and to defend freedom (*libertas*) by force of arms, because it was threatened by force of arms. This is the principle of *vim vi repellere licere*: it is permitted to meet force with force.[141]

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[138] For the political use of the charter of Wenceslaus and Joanna of Brabant known as the 'Joyous Entry' (1356), of the Great Privilege of duchess Mary of Burgundy (1477), and of a third charter issued by Maximilian I, King of the Romans (1488), see De Vrankrijker 1936 and Geurts 1958. Also see Dousa's own list of privileges referred to in footnote 2.

[139] For the importance of local privileges, rights, and customs in the political thought of the medieval Low Countries, see Blockmans & Van Gelderen 1999, 21-5; Blockmans 1983. For the importance of positive law in the justification of the Dutch Revolt, see Van Gelderen 1999, 28-39; De Vrankrijker 1936.

[140] Zwalve 2004, 41-2; Kaser 1993; Wagner 1978; Lombardi 1947. A good expression of its essence is given in Justinian, *Digesta* 1.1.5: "Ex hoc iure gentium introducta bella, discretae gentes, regna condita, dominia distincta, agris termini positi, aedificia collocata, commercium, emptiones venditiones, locationes conductiones, obligationes institutae: exceptis quibusdam quae iure civili introductae sunt."

[141] *ARG* p. 7: "vim vi nec prohibere nefas". There are similar ideas on f. ****v, p. 8-9, 14-5, 60. The importance of the *ius gentium* for Baldus' juridical justification of independent communities, see Blockmans & Van Gelderen 1999, 20-1. The principle of *vim vi repellere* was first codified as such by Justinian, *Digesta* 43.16.1.27 ("vim vi repellere licere"); its first expression seems to be Cicero, *Pro Sestio* 39 ("non verebar, ne quis aut vim vi depulsam reprehenderet ..."). Isidorus, *Etymologiae* 18.2.1 states that "hoc est enim ius gentium, vim vi expellere". For the language of freedom and slavery, protection and oppression, restraint and tyranny, justice and injustice, violence and peace, see *ARG* p. 4-9, 14-5, 22, 26.

This line of thought runs almost completely parallel to the justification of the Dutch Revolt on the basis of natural law, which complemented the defence of resistance based on positive law. In the views propagated by the Republic, princes were obliged to treat their subjects like a father; if he should start to oppress them, they would be allowed to remove him from office. Thus the armed revolt begun with the Battle of Heiligerlee in 1568 and the *ipso jure* deposition of King Philip II of Spain in 1581 were presented as the logical result of Philip's tyrannical rule over the possessions and conscience of the population of the Low Countries.[142] The point of this parallellism was expressed in a very succinct and explicit manner by Dousa in a brief epigram published four years after the verse *Annales*: "William of Orange is a match for Dirk: the latter was the founder (*conditor*) of the county, the former of your freedom (*Libertas*), my Batavian country."[143]

Adriaen Thomasz. Key, Portrait of William the Silent

6.1.4 An Ovidian Narrative

When from book four onwards the dominant mode of presentation shifts from argument to narrative, the use of etymology, law, source criticism, and philology remains an important constituent of Dousa's rhetoric, albeit in a less pervasive manner. The careful reconstruction of the earliest history of the county of Holland in the first three books of the verse *Annales* thus laid a foundation to build on in the later books: guidelines for an approach of the sources, a geographical setting, and a juridical frame of reference. But although in both the argumentative and narrative parts of the metrical *Annales*, the technical methods and terminologies of contemporary scholarship offer strong possibilities for the construction of authoritative historical representations, as I have shown in the previous section, their rhetorical effectiveness partly depends on their embedment in literary models as well, Ovid's *Fasti* in particular. In this section,

[142] For the text of the act of abjuration, which is an interesting specimen of the political thought in the Republic in the last decades of the sixteenth century, see Mout (ed.) 2006; for the political thought of this time in general, see Mout 1986; Van Gelderen 1992. Dousa himself speaks of the Dutch Revolt as the defence of liberty and as a justified claim to power on *ARG* f. **r and Dousa Sr 1593, 3. I will explore such parallels between the vocabulary of Dousa's historiography and that of contemporary political discourse at greater length in the second part of this chapter.

[143] Dousa Sr 1603, f. 31v: "Par Didrico Aurasius; Comitatus conditor ille, / Hic Libertatis (terra Batava) tuae." In the title of the epigram, Dousa characterizes the poem as a *collatio* between Dirk I and William of Orange.

therefore, attention will be paid to the contribution of literary media to the force of Dousa's political argument.

In order to be as concrete as possible, I will center my attention on Dousa's treatment of the reign of count Dirk IV in book five.[144] The book opens with a long passage about the village of Vlaardingen (*Fladirtinga*), the centre of Dirk's county and the origin of the title 'margrave of Vlaardingen,' by which the eleventh-century chronicler Hermann of Reichenau refers to the count of Holland. Dirk's first feat of arms is his war against Henry III, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Henry conquers Vlaardingen, but the terrain and the climate force him to retreat at great losses. The next scene described by Dousa is a tournament at Liège, during which Dirk kills the brother of a bishop by accident. Though chased by a mob of angry knights, he manages to escape to his county. By way of revenge, Dirk decides to burn the German merchant vessels in Holland and forbids any further commercial activity on their part. This is the occasion for the siege of Dordrecht by the armies of three bishops. The city is taken insidiously, but immediately recaptured by Dirk. When Dirk strolls through the captured city, he is shot by a poisoned arrow and dies.

Dirk IV, engraving from Michael Vosmerus, *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae*, Antwerp 1578

The explanation of the title 'margrave of Vlaardingen' placed at the beginning of the account of Dirk's life may well serve to illustrate how the Ovidian subtext of the verse *Annales* increases the efficiency of Dousa's investigation of word origins. As we saw in the previous section, etymological inquiry may facilitate historical reconstruction. At the same time, however, the display of etymological knowledge contributes to the realization of a specific poetical programme: the fashioning of the metrical *Annales* on the model of the *Fasti* and, along this line of thought, Dousa's self-presentation as a new Ovid. Because the *Fasti* with their etiological focus contain

[144] *ARG* p. 92-103. In all likelihood, Dirk IV died in 1049, but Dousa dates his death in 1048.

so much explanation of names, the presence of etymology in Dousa's poem supports the impression of similarity between both works.[145]

In the case of the opening lines of book five, the connection between the poems can be proved beyond the shadow of a doubt on the basis of verbal parallels. In an apostrophe to the village of Vlaardingen, Dousa says: "You ask: 'What do you have to do with me?' Stop wondering: our margrave takes his name from you, whose praises will be sung." The precise wording is important here, for these verses echo a specific phrase from Ovid's *Fasti* (*a te qui canitur nomina habet*).[146] A similar link is forged when Dousa points to a street name in Dordrecht derived from Dirk's death: "The trustworthiness of this event is beyond doubt: a street was named after the count, and the deed is stamped with an eternal mark." Again, Dousa is calling to mind the attention paid to the explanation of nomenclature in the *Fasti* by means of an unmistakable allusion to this poem.[147] Thus, not only does the etymogical argument itself lend authority to the author who masters it, but its presence and wording are part of the game of literary imitation too, which constitutes an important factor in the rhetoric of Dousa's poem.

More generally, it can be said that the combination of scholarship and poetry in Dousa's metrical *Annales* is firmly rooted in the classical ideal of the *poeta doctus*, the 'learned poet.' Learning is also an important constituent of the poetic programme of the *Fasti*, brought forward most explicitly in its dedication to the 'learned prince' (*doctus princeps*) Germanicus.[148] This valorization of erudition does not only extend to the literary tradition, for instance in the form of the allusive techniques used so extensively by Dousa too, but also encompasses the field of scholarly knowledge. I

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[145] To give a few examples: *Fasti* 1.235-8, 319-36, 619-20, 630-6, 467, 611-2, 4.78-80, 631-2, 6.1, 25-6, 39-40, 299-302. This interest in the origin of names is one of the ingredients of the Hellenistic ideal of poetry, which had taken root so deeply in Rome by the time Ovid wrote his poetry. Cf. for instance Propertius 4.1.69: "cognomina prisca locorum".

[146] *ARG* p. 92: "Quid tibi (ais) mecum? mirari desine: noster / A te (qui canitur) MARCHIO nomen habet." The reference is to *Fasti* 3.3-4: "forsitan ipse roges quid sit cum Marte poetae: / a te qui canitur nomina mensis habet." A few lines further on the same page, the relation between the poet and his subject matter is presented again in terms strongly reminiscent of Ovid: "Quo non Livor adit? tam Cascae Aetatis honorem, / Sunt, qui detrectent invideantque tibi." The verses refer to *Fasti* 4.85-6: "quo non livor adit? sunt qui tibi mensis honorem / eripuisse velint invideantque, Venus."

[147] ARG p. 101: "Certa fides facti: Comitis de nomine dictus / Vicus, & aeterna res ea pressa nota." The passage alluded to is *Fasti* 6.609-10: "certa fides facti: dictus Sceleratus ab illa / vicus, et aeterna res ea pressa nota." Similar allusions are found on *ARG* p. 14: "Perdidit hinc priscum syllaba prima sonum"; 24: "An, quod habet similem syllaba prima sonum?". They refer to *Fasti* 5.536: "perdidit antiquum littera prima sonum". Also see *ARG* p. 21: "Vis ea nam Verbi est, Voxque illa RVENTIBUS apta, / Panicus attonitos quum furor egit Equos." This refers to *Fasti* 3.447-8: "vis ea si verbi est, cur non ego Veiovis aedem / aedem non magni suspicer esse Iovis?"

[148] *Fasti* 1.19-20. This qualification is definitely appropriate, since Germanicus wrote a translation in Latin verse of Aratus' highly technical poem about astronomy.

have worked out in some detail the case of etymology, but a similar argument can be developed for Dousa's use of juridical reasoning: Ovid prefigures Dousa in being unafraid of discussing the details of law and the language used for such discussions can be "agressively technical," as Ted Kenney put it.[149]

The attention Dousa pays to the legal side of the conflict between Dirk and the German bishops is striking. He exerts himself to show whether or not the actions of the protagonists have a legal basis, writing history as a narrative enquiry into the lawfulness of protagonists' deeds. For example, the harm (*damna*, *noxa*) inflicted on the merchants is interpreted as an undeserved (*immeritus*) punishment (*supplicium*). In a distich full of juridical terms, Dousa notes that Dirk's further behaviour towards the merchants violated their rights: "Next, it was prohibited (*vetare*) by decree (*edictum*) to engage in trade and to observe the rights (*iura*) and usages (*usus*) of hospitality between both peoples."[150] An even stronger technicality marks the expressions by which the bishops legitimize their countermeasures: *res repetere* ('to reclaim one's property before a court') and *ex iure manum conserere* ('to make a joint seizure'). In the end, Dirk's actions are presented as justified. While the bishops are right to protest against Dirk's behaviour, their military attack constitutes an infringement on Dirk's jurisdiction. Therefore, when Dirk recaptures the city of Dordrecht, Dousa summarizes in the margin: "Dordrecht is retaken by the same means by which it was captured before and returns to the authority (*arbitrium*) and power (*potestas*) of its prince."[151] There can be no doubt who is the lawful lord of Dordrecht.

Likewise, the generic characteristics of historiography present in Dousa's poem have a parallel in the antiquarianism of the *Fasti*. As regards the sources of poetic production, Ovid seems to build up a tension between the vatic ideal of divine inspiration, the Hellenistic liking for bookish learning, and the antiquarian's relish for research. The poet of the *Fasti* is a *vates* when he interviews the gods, but a scholar when he refers to "ancient rituals, culled from the annals," inscriptions, or

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[149] Although his biographical interpretation of the material is not entirely convincing, Kenney 1969, 250-63 provides a fine overview of technical juridical language in Ovid's early love poetry; the quotation is on p. 250. A survey of Ovidius' entire oeuvre can be found in Van Iddekinge 1811. For some passages from the *Fasti* featuring legal vocabulary (many of them discussed by Van Iddekinge), see *Fasti* 1.207-8, 249-52, 481-6, 625-8, 2.159-62, 807-9, 841-3, 3.485-8, 845-6, 4.85-94, 321-6, 580-90, 709-12, 899-900, 5.65-6, 282-90, 303-4, 701-4, 6.451-2, 511-2. Also see Fantham (ed.) 1998, 107-8, 201-2, 204.

[150] *ARG* p. 98: "Dein vetita Edicto commercia, Iuraque & vsus / Hospitij Populos inter vtrosque coli."

[151] *ARG* p. 100: "Durdrechtum ijsdem artibus quibus antea capta recipitur, reditque in Principis sui arbitrium & potestatem."

conversations with aged informants.[152] Dousa carries through the ideal of a well-founded narrative to a much greater extent, however. Although he does call himself *vates*, his supply of material never stems from a divine source: as we have seen, he relies exclusively on written documents and rejects oral tradition.[153]

By imparting the flavour of etymological, legal, and antiquarian learning to his story-telling, the narrator of Dousa's poem styles himself both as a knowledgeable speaker and as an *Ovidius redivivus*. The latter qualification forces itself upon the reader by two further aspects of the narrator's attitude: his self-conscious style of narrating and his emotional commitment to his story.

The narrators staged by Ovid and Dousa both make their presence felt by means of "alienating references to the author's own time and process of writing."[154] This type of utterance often takes the shape of the then-now *topos*, which highlights the temporally external position of the narrator: "Hardly a shadow of such a great name [that is, of Vlaardingen] is left now."[155] As regards the narrator's references to his own activity, I have already mentioned Dousa's programmatical statements at the beginning of book five about his role in making Dirk's deeds more widely known and famous. Another example occurs just before this passage, when Dousa abruptly discontinues his discussion of the name 'Vlaardingen': "Let there be space for these matters elsewhere: for now the margrave of Vlaardingen plucks both my ears. For what reason, if not in order to continue weaving the web commenced?"[156] Finally, the presence of the narrator and his connection to the historical author is featured by the use of the latter's proper name.[157]

It has often been observed that the elegiac narrative of the *Fasti* distinguishes itself from epic story-telling by the narrator's subjective involvement in the story.[158] The most frequent technique used to achieve this effect is apostrophe, one of the

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[152] For the tension between antiquarianism, Hellenistic ideals, and vatic poetics in the *Fasti*, see Pasco-Pranger 2000. Ovid calls himself *vates*, for instance, in programmatic passages such as *Fasti* 1.25, 4.2, and 6.8. The quote is from *Fasti* 1.7: "sacra recognosces annalibus eruta priscis". Cf. *Fasti* 4.11: "tempora cum causis, annalibus eruta priscis". He refers to an inscription in *Fasti* 3.844 and to informants in *Fasti* 2.571-82, 584, 4.377-8, 683-90, 6.395-416.

[153] Dousa as *vates*: for instance, *ARG* f. [*****r], p. 23, 36, 45, 73, 217.

[154] Fantham (ed.) 1998, 48. For examples, she refers to *Fasti* 4.507, 535, 573-4.

[155] *ARG* p. 92: "nunc tanti reliqua est vix nominis vmbra".

[156] *ARG* p. 93: "Porro alias locus his fuerit: nunc scilicet aurem / Marchio Flardingae vellit vtrimque mihi. / Quo? nisi vt exorsam pergam detexere telam?"

[157] In Dousa's case, we find 'Dousa' and 'Dousicus': for instance, *ARG* f. ****iiijr, ****iiijv, [*****]r, p. 31, 64, 92, 211; Ovid uses his *cognomen* ('Naso') for this purpose: in the *Fasti* this happens only once (*Fasti* 5.377), but it is very frequent in the *Epistulae ex Ponto* and *Tristia*.

[158] Most famously, Heinze 1960³, 353-5; additionally, Littlewood (ed.) 2006, lxviii; F. Bömer (ed.) 1957-1958, 47.

privileged devices of poetic discourse for Dousa.[159] It would be pointless to give references for the use of this device in the metrical *Annales*, because it occurs on virtually every page. A good example is the address to Dirk just after the recapture of Dordrecht has been recounted. In this case, the sympathy of the poet with Dirk's future fate is expressed by a combination of apostrophe and foreshadowing: "A part [of the enemy soldiers] hided in dark inner places, so that there would be someone to cause your destruction, count."[160] Related techniques frequently used by Dousa and his cherished predecessor to decrease the emotional distance between the narrator and his actors are questions and imperatives addressed to the characters and exclamations about the course of events.

The distance of the narrator to his story is closely connected with the involvement of the audience as well. Again, it is hard not to see the aesthetical and rhetorical model of the *Fasti* behind almost every technique to arrive at this aim. The elegiac narrative of the poet from Sulmo is marked by a focus on short episodes of human proportions, told with compassion rather than epic pathos. The episodic organization of the material is a key feature of the verse *Annales* too. This way of structuring the work must have been convenient for Dousa, since he had at his disposal only scraps of evidence recounting isolated events in the lifes of the early counts. At least two more of Ovid's characteristic ways of telling a story are taken up by Dousa: visuality suggested by a number of well-chosen details (*evidentia*) and liveliness resulting from the insertion of "snatches of dialogue."[161]

Dousa's account of the life of Dirk IV contain scenic elements like detailed descriptions and speeches in every part. However, two episodes stand out among the others: the tournament in Liège and the recapture of Dordrecht. Dousa seems fascinated by the phenomenon of the tournament. Drawing on information provided by Georg Rüxner, he gives three evocative descriptions of such events, which are full of details such as blood spilt in the sand, hair defiled in the dust, blaring trumpets, and the roaring crowd. When describing the nocturnal struggle at Dordrecht, Dousa

[159] Described as such on *ARG* f. ***iiij^{v}. See §6.1.2 for this passage. Dousa often identifies instances of apostrophe explicitly in the marginalia: *ARG* p. 15, 39, 52, 129.

[160] *ARG* p. 100: "Pars latebris sese penetralibus abdit, vt esset, / Exitio posset qui, (Comes) esse tibi." A similar apostrophe occurs at *ARG* p. 101 just before Dirk's death is described: "Quid facis infelix? perdis bona vota tuorum". The connection with the Ovidian persona is particularly clear here, because of the reference to Ovid, *Amores* 3.2.71: "quid facis, infelix? perdis bona vota puellae".

[161] Scenes of human proportion: Littlewood (ed.) 2006, lxviii; compassion: Heinze 1960^{3}, 322-38; visuality: Murgatroyd 2005, 3-6, 14-8; short dialogues: Heinze 1960^{3}, 356; Fantham (ed.) 1998, 42-3 (quotation on p. 48); F. Bömer (ed.) 1957-1958, 46; episodic structure: Miller 1991, 17.

pays ample attention to fight, fire, and fear.[162] The descriptions highlight Dirk's virtue and victory. Moreover, Dousa's care for visual and auditive detail decreases the distance between reader and text to a minimum, thus strengthening the story's persuasive force.

Reader involvement is further facilitated by brief and quick conversations between the characters. While in book four Dousa Jr did not hesitate about inserting long speeches that would have been more at home in an epic poem,[163] Dousa Sr stays closer to the Ovidian model. He opts for short exchanges of words, which motivate – or even legitimize – the actions of the protagonists and contribute to an attractive variety of means to achieve narrative progress. For instance, when the city of Dordrecht has been taken by the German bishops, the reader witnesses the following scene: "When these events came to the attention of the count, he said: 'The wrong should be righted for the injured, and the enemy must be fought by his own means.' A knight from Putten had approved by nodding, and did not linger long: 'Let me make sure that the Merwede will flow under your jurisdiction again.' He had spoken: the warlike young men clap their hands in approbation of their leader, and no one refuses to be the companion of such a commander."[164]

All in all, the contribution of Ovid to the rhetoric of Dousa's poem is far from negligible. From the perspective of production, the *Fasti* offer an exemplary poetic programme and a prefabricated format for effective authorization of the story, self-fashioning, and reader involvement. As regards the reception of the poetic *Annales*, the association with the highly estimated Roman poet also enhances Dousa's own personality as a poet. In addition, the choice for the *Fasti* as the model for Dousa's poem conveys a poetical message: it constitutes a clearly marked divergence from the standard of Latin heroic verse, that is, Vergil's *Aeneid*. Thus regarded, it underscores the innovative character of Dousa's poetry.

Finally, there is a political dimension to the link between the *Fasti* and the verse *Annales*. Generally speaking, the *Fasti* fashion a model relationship between the poet and the authorities, as has been shown above. But the relevance of the Ovidian subtext can also be pinned down more specifically. The political significance of the *Fasti* is closely bound up with the central position assigned to the cycle of legends

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[162] Tournament scenes: ARG p. 33-7, 89, 96-7. Dousa used Rüxner's *Anfang, Ursprung und Herkommen des Thurnirs in Teutscher Nation* (1530) and Franciscus Modius' *Pandectae Triumphales* (1586): *ARG* p. 31, 33, 35, 37, 89. Battle at Dordrecht: *ARG* p. 99-101.

[163] For the 'speech battle' between count Dirk III of Holland (993-1039) and bishop Adelbold II of Utrecht (1010-1026) in book four, see *ARG* p. 80-7.

[164] *ARG* p. 99: "Cognita quae vt Comiti; Soluenda iniuria laesis, / Tractandusque suis artibus hostis; ait. / Annuerat Puteanus Eques; nec multa moratus; / Merua iterum, faxo, sub tua Iura fluat; / Dixerat: applaudit praeeunti Martia pubes; / Et socium tali se Duce nemo negat."

about Romulus.[165] Just as Ovid could be said to have glorified the Roman empire by commemorating its founder (*conditor Urbis*), Dousa extols the county of Holland by praising its counts, "the founders of such a great dominion (*tanti PRINCIPATUS Conditores*) ... from which we have arrived at this exceptionally beautiful and strong body of the state that we have today."[166]

In the description of Dirk IV's life, the parallellism between the founding fathers of Holland and those of the Roman empire takes shape as a result of verbal allusions. The legendary founders of Rome, Romulus and Aeneas, or rather the literary representations of these figures in Ovid's *Fasti* and Vergil's *Aeneid*, stand at the center of this intertextual web. In their periphery, we come across the men who made Rome into a powerful empire – king Servius Tullius, the three hundred Fabii, and Augustus – and their enemies – Sextus Tarquinius and Pyrrhus.[167] A similar effect is realized by recalling fragments from Ennius' work: they are bereft of context, but still associate Dousa's poem with the famous epic on the glorious events of early Roman history.[168] In the experience of the reader versed in classical poetry, therefore, the glorification of the Roman past by poets such as Ovid and Vergil keeps resounding in the background of Dousa's poetry, which brings about a strong sense of analogy between the respective subjects and objects of eulogy.[169]

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[165] The stories about Romulus, which occupy such a central place in the *Fasti*, are conveniently discussed together by Heinze 1960³, 325-38.

[166] *ARG* f. **v: "tanti PRINCIPATVS Conditores ... unde ad hoc pulcherrimum denique ac validissimum REIPUBLICAE corpus, quod hodie obtinemus, ... perventum." This passage has been discussed in §6.1.1. Cf. p. 26: "Hollandi conditor Imperij"; 68: "tantae / HOLLANDAM gentem condere molis erat". Evidently, the latter phrase connects the foundation of Holland to that of Rome by means of an allusion to Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.33: "tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem". It is significant that Dousa calls Dirk I "PATRIAE nostrae ROMVLVM" on *BHA* p. 172.

[167] A list enumerating relevant allusions can be found in Appendix F. The idea to draw a parallel between the history of Holland and that of the Roman empire is already present in the hexametric fragment of the *Annales* preserved in a letter to Lambert van der Burch written in 1582, in which Dousa speaks about "Romano Batavas legiones ore loquentes" and says that they are "Sallusti antiquis insignibus exornatas": Vermaseren 1955, 94.

[168] *ARG* p. 94 ("Res repetitum igitur solida vi vadit, vt armis") refers to Ennius fr. 253 Skutsch ("rem repetunt regnumque petunt, vadunt solida vi"); p. 100 ("Tum vero horribili sonitu Taratantara raucum") alludes to Ennius fr. 451 Skutsch ("at tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit"). In addition, Dousa quotes Ennius *in margine* on *ARG* p. 99: "Non ex Iure manu consertum, sed mage ferro Rem repetunt, &c" (fr. 252-3 Skutsch). The fragments of Ennius were first collected by Robert and Henri Estienne in their *Fragmenta poetarum veterum Latinorum*, printed in 1564. The next edition was made by Girolamo Colonna and appeared in 1590. A separate collection of the fragments of Ennius' *Annales* was published in Leiden by Paulus Merula in 1595: *Annalium librorum XIIX quae apud varios auctores superant fragmenta*. Since Merula is notorious for having fabricated numerous fragments, there is room for suspicion that Dousa's verse *Annales* contain many allusions that could not be traced via modern editions such as the one by Skutsch.

[169] It is hard to understand, therefore, how P.G. Schmidt 2010, 194 could have observed that "[t]rotz der Beschwörung großer Dichternamen weisen Dousas Versannalen einen nur geringen Einfluß Vergils oder

6.1.5 Political Rhetoric in the Verse *Annales*

It seems justified, then, to conclude that Dousa's metrical *Annales* are well equipped for a rhetoric aiming at the legitimation of the Dutch Revolt. The verse *Annales* provide Holland with an august foundation myth, and the liberation in the 'myth' runs parallel to the 'mythology' of the Revolt: repression justifies armed resistance, a people has the right to defend itself against agression. As Edzo Waterbolk put it, "struck by that miracle of their own free state, the historians of Holland projected this situation onto the past."[170]

To place such high stakes on medieval matter was not without risks, however, considering the negative associations humanists attached to it. But by adopting them, dexterously shifting the blame, and drawing inferences from them, Dousa succeeded in integrating these negative stereotypes into the justification of his scholarly approach, his alternative ideal of Latinity, and his participation in political discourse.

Dousa was wise enough to take precautions in this precarious matter. First of all, he evoked the shadow of Ovid's *Fasti* by approaching it as a stock of narrative techniques and a fund of intertextual references. The presence of the *Fasti* secures the authority of the poet and provides a distinguished parallel for the foundation of Holland. Moreover, the poetic *Annales* feature a large number of truth claims and intricate strategies to support the message. The interest in truth and learning featuring prominently in Dousa's poetical programme and the model function fulfilled by the *Fasti* – with their interest in antiquarianism, etymology, and law – allow the reader to fully appreciate the scholarly techniques used to produce a convincing representation of history in the verse *Annales*.

Such an understanding depends on the recognition of the conventions of reading proposed by the work itself. These conventions are closely connected with Dousa's imitation of the *Fasti*, his genre play, and his explicit statement of principles, which bring to the fore his eclectic and experimental approach to genre. As a result, the fusion of elegiac modes of presentation, epic subject matter, and historiographical guarantees of truthfulness in the metrical *Annales* can be acknowledged as a coherent set of rules guiding the process of reading.

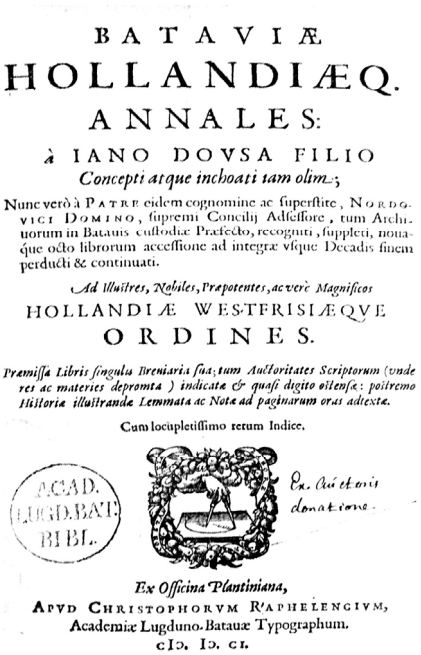
Ovids auf. Wörtliche Entlehnungen aus ihnen sind selten. Ja, man hat den Eindruck, als sei Dousa bemüht gewesen, eigene Formulierungen zu finden und den Eindruck zu vermeiden, als wolle er einen Cento verfassen." I hope to have sufficiently demonstrated the absurdity of this view in the first part of this chapter.

[170] Waterbolk 1957/1958, 37: "Bevangen door dat wonder van een eigen vrije staat, projecteerden de Hollandse geschiedschrijvers deze situatie naar het verleden". Likewise, Tuynman 1977, 7 places the Leiden circle of humanists' predilection for national historiography in the context of the young Republic's desire for historical legitimation and identity.

By taking up the arms of learned Latin discourse, therefore, Dousa was able to cast the history of his country in an aesthetically satisfying form, which at the same time served to promote the political interests of Holland. There could be no clearer demonstration that the commemoration of the medieval past in humanist writing could be highly topical and fully tailored to the needs of early modern society.

6.2 THE PROSE PREQUEL

Two years after the appearance of Dousa's metrical history of Holland, his prose *Bataviae Hollandiaeque Annales* were printed in Leiden by Raphelengius. It was received rather favourably in the centuries after its publication. Herman Kampinga, for instance, was very much impressed by the 'progress' made by Dousa in this work. "His work, the *Annales*, distinguishes itself so markedly from what was achieved before in this domain by his fellow-countrymen, that we can safely state that with Dousa, a new period in the history of historiography in Holland begins."[171]


BATAVIÆ
HOLLANDIÆQ.
ANNALES:
à IANO DOVSA FILIO
Concepti atque inchoati iam olim;
Nunc verò à PATRE eidem cognomine ac superstite, NORDOVICI DOMINO, supremi Concilij Adsessore, tum Archiuorum in Batauis custodiæ Præfecto, recogniti, suppleti, nouaque octo librorum accessione ad integræ vsque Decadis finem perducti & continuati.
Ad Illustres, Nobiles, Præpotentes, ac verè Magnificos
HOLLANDIÆ WESTFRISIÆQVE
ORDINES.
Præmissa Libris singulis Breuiaria sua; tum Auctoritates Scriptorum (vnde res ac materies depromta) indicata & quasi digito ostensa: postremo Historiæ illustrandæ Lemmata ac Notæ ad paginarum oras adiectæ.
Cum locupletissimo rerum Indice.
ACAD. LUGD. BAT. BIBL.
Ex Auctoris donatione.
Ex Officina Plantiniana,
APVD CHRISTOPHORVM RAPHELENGIVM,
Academiæ Lugduno-Batauæ Typographum.
cIↃ. IↃ. cI.

Dousa Sr & Dousa Jr, title page of the prose *Annales*

Scholars have been puzzled, however, by the question why Dousa wrote both a prose and a poetic version of the history of Holland. Chris Heesakkers has suggested that the prose history was mainly the result of the commission by the university of Leiden, whereas the representation of the medieval past in verses was nearer to Dousa's poetic heart and more suitable, in his eyes, for the aggrandizement of Holland.[172] This argument is plausible, especially in establishing a relation between epic poetry and glorification,

[171] Kampinga 1917, 25: "Zijn werk, de Annales, onderscheidt zich zóózeer van wat er vroeger op dit gebied ten onzent gepraesteerd is, dat we met hem gerust het begin eener nieuwe periode in de geschiedenis der hollandsche historiographie kunnen stellen." Kampinga consulted both the prose and the verse work, but his citations are almost completely confined to the prose *Annales* and the preliminary matter of the verse *Annales*: cf. Kampinga 1917, 26 n. 1, 27 n. 3.

[172] Heesakkers 1985a, 395, 400; Heesakkers 2003, 757. P.G. Schmidt 2010, 194-5 interestingly suggests that in writing a prose and poetic history on roughly the same subject, Dousa falls back on the medieval idea of the *opus geminum*. Dousa might well have known this tradition, since he refers to the thirteenth-century epic *Philippis* by Guilielmus Brito at *ARG* f. ***iij^{v}. This work also has a contemporary prose counterpart.

but much more can be said about the ways in which both works of history differ from and complement each other as regards both their political message and the means by which it is conveyed. This is what I will explore in the second part of this chapter.

A number of themes relevant for both the poetic and the prose *Annales* has been treated sufficiently in my discussion of the former work. I will not repeat, therefore, my expositions on the States of Holland and West-Friesland as Dousa's patrons, his expressions of loyalty to the fatherland, his use of contemporary scholarly writings from the fields of geography, etymology,[173] law, and philology, his conceptualization of the Middle Ages,[174] and his presentation of Dirk I as the founder of Holland.

Instead, I will focus on issues particular to the prose *Annales*. First, the set of conventions guiding the process of reading will be identified. Like that of the poetic *Annales*, this body of rules is experimental, but unlike that of the verse history, it remains mostly implicit. Next, I will pay attention to the political message of the *Batavia*, a separate writing from the pen of Janus Dousa Jr, and its relation to the medieval past described in the rest of the work. My analysis of the main part of this work, the ten books of *Hollandiae Annales*, consists of two parts: on the one hand, an investigation into the vocabulary used in describing the events up to the institution of the county of Holland and its embedment in sixteenth-century political discourse; on the other, an evaluation of the role of classical subtexts – viz. Tacitus and Sallust – in conveying political ideas. I will round off this part of my chapter with a discussion of Dousa Jr's biographical sketches of the counts of Holland from Dirk II (ca. 930-988) to Floris II (1091-1121).

6.2.1 Rules of Reading: Argumentation and Documentation

In comparison to the extensive double introduction to the metrical *Annales*, the prefatory matter in the prose *Annales* is rather scant. The preliminary sections in both works have in common that both contain a deploration of Dousa Jr's premature death and a delineation of the relationship between the author and his dedicatee, the States of Holland and West-Friesland. But whereas the prolegomena to the metrical history supplement the dedication with an elaborate poetical programme and a historical overview of verse historiography, the prose *Annales* only add Dousa Jr's praise of

[173] For discussions of etymology, see for instance *BHA* p. 2-3, 245-9, 282-9, 378-81, 385-9.

[174] In the prose *Annales*, the definition of the Middle Ages is somewhat refined by means of lists of medieval authors explicitly characterized as such ("mediae aetatis historiographi"): *BHA* p. 57, 92, 141-2, 167, 214, 218, 220, 350-1. On *BHA* p. 384 the invention of the printing press is described as the end of the Middle Ages. This idea would become common in the historiography of Holland in the seventeenth century: Kampinga 1917, 185 (Grotius), 192-3 (De la Court, De Mist).

writing as a means to preserve knowledge.[175] Therefore, the determination of the appropriate rules of reading is hardly guided by explicit signals. The reader has to take his departure from the generally available set of assumptions about humanist historiography outlined in Chapter Two and adjust his expectations while reading.

There is one noticeable exception to this rule: aggressive truth claims. The emphatic espousal of veracity is at the core of the rhetoric of the prose *Annales* and many of its strategies depend on it. Dousa Sr vows "not to stray even an inch ... from the straight path of the uncorrupted truth."[176] At the end of the dedication, Dousa assures his dedicatees that he is inflamed by love of his country (*Patriae amor*) and of the truth (*φιλαλήθεια*). Therefore, he announces that the will censure bitterly the ignorance and sluggishness of his predecessors. "If perhaps at some point I will seem to have attacked and lashed these vices a little too harshly – because of the clearly demonstrable falseness of their views and their disgraceful flattery – you should consider that the vanity and inexperience of such frauds cannot easily be countered with any other kind of remedy."[177]

Even though the lord of Noordwijk could be very insistent, an emphasis on truthfulness is of course not particularly striking in historiography: it is part and parcel of the humanist historian's stock in trade and the main foundation of his authority. The pugnacious mode of presentation, however, does constitute a deviation from the standard. To Dousa, distorting the truth is breaking the rules of the game: Johannes Gerbrandsz. a Leydis, for instance, "has utterly ruined the game and rigged it by so many pot shots."[178] Violations of the rules should be dealt with, and Dousa did not pull the wool over the reader's eyes. Previous and competing historians like Leydis, Snoy, and Bockenberg are frauds (*tenebriones*), storytellers (*aretalogi*), possessed (*lucumones*); they are dishing up their feverish dreams (*somnia febricitantium*) or staging their fictitious plays (*fabula*, *acroama*) only in order to please their audience; they have to be stripped of their farcical masks (*mimicis personis exuere*) or cut away

[175] *BHA* f. ♣2r-♣4v. The contribution of this preface to the construction of a set of rules for reading depends primarily on its reception of Sallustian themes. This will be discussed in §6.2.4.

[176] *BHA* p. 391: "a recta incorruptae VERITATIS via ... ne transuersum quidem vnguem vspiam discessuri". For other examples of extensive truth claims, see *BHA* p. 7-8, 173, 204, 224-5.

[177] *BHA* f. *4r-*5v; the quotation is on f. *5r: "Quae duo vitia ego, ob compertissima eorumdem mendacia ac foedas adulationes, sicubi paullo fortasse amarulentius incessisse ac flagellasse visus fuero; cogitare debetis, istiusmodi Tenebrionum vanitati atque imperitiae alio Medicinae genere haud facile succurri potuisse."

[178] Dousa Sr 1591, f. (:)iijv: "IAN GERBRANTSEN segg' ic, die tspel heeft teenenmael / Verwert, verlorrendraeyt mit zo veel blinde schoten."

from the body of history just like a rotting member (*membrum putridum*) or an ulcer branded into the flesh (*ulcus inustum*).[179]

The brutal destruction of rival authority provides a firm basis for the rhetoric of the prose *Annales*. As we have seen, Dousa attempts to give this strategy the air of factual criticism by presenting his verbal violence as a necessary evil done for the sake of truth. But it is not far-fetched to see the same underlying political conflict here as in the metrical *Annales*, that is, a tension between Dousa's commitment to the governing circles of the Dutch Republic and the attachment of previous historians to the Burgundian and Habsburg nobility. The antagonism surfaces in passages like this one: recent historians have told barefaced lies, "firstly, out of ignorance of earlier times, and further out of a desire to flatter, and in order to find favour with a small number of noblemen, who did not seem to be distinguished enough if the origins of their family were not entered upon with men like Midas or Falco and with fantastic pictures of obscure family trees; this happened not without ridiculous approval in the vernacular and the approbation of men, who think that lying for a remuneration is not unuseful for themselves and matters little or nothing at all to the country."[180]

Polemics tend to go from bad to worse and Dousa's hostility is no exception. For Petrus Bockenberg, who had often been the object of Dousa's aggression, the increased aggressiveness of the prose *Annales* was the straw to break the camel's back. In 1601, he published an 'extemporaneous response' (*extemporalis responsio*) to Dousa's 'harsh writings' (*aspera scripta*). His kinsman Jacobus Brassica wrote a similar pamphlet in the same year. Some adepts of Dousa – Daniel Heinsius, Petrus Scriverius, Hugo Grotius, and probably Dominicus Baudius as well – struck back twice as hard with a collection of scurrilous epigrams. In the years up to 1603, the stream of libels intensified, when each party hauled the other over the coals, usually for writing poor Latin.[181]

In Arthur Eyffinger's view, the polemic, which was dominated by under-the-belt invectives and highlighted rather unedifying issues such as Bockenberg's marriage to a much younger girl, his (alleged) impotence, a (pretended) *liaison* with

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[179] For instance, *BHA* p. 76-7, 173, 187, 189, 207, 224-5.

[180] *BHA* p. 77: "primum Vetustatis inscitia, mox libidine assentandi, atque in gratiam paucorum Nobilium, qui non satis Illustres fore videbantur, nisi a Midis & Falconibus, per fabulosas vmbraticorum Stemmatum Imagines, generis sui primordia auspicarentur non sine ridiculo Idiotismi nostri plausu, & approbatione eorum, quibus cum pretio mentiri, priuatim non inutile, Reipublicae parum vel nihil interesse existimatur." Dousa takes up phraseology here from Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.1: "Primum inscitia rei publicae ut alienae, mox libidine adsentandi aut rursus odio adversus dominantes." For attacks on genteel representations of medieval history, also see *BHA* p. 187, 207, 229-30.

[181] For the polemic, see Eyffinger 1988; Tuynman 1977, 7-9, 28-9; Kuiper 1963; Vermaseren 1955, 66-7; Vermaseren 1956, 32-9; Maas 2011b.

his maid, and his short-lived priesthood, was motivated by professional jealousy, love of fun-poking, and indignation at Bockenberg's inferior sense of style and historical criticism.[182] The ideological side of the conflict should not be trivialized, however. Edzo Waterbolk has demonstrated convincingly that the feuds originated from differences of principle: he identified a fabric of factors that laid behind the controversy, the most important of which are the strength of ties to the nobility and conflicting views among Catholics and Protestants on the importance of (oral) tradition.[183]

In addition to taking up as a task of the historian the abuse of unreliable colleagues, Dousa applied another transformation to the genre of history. While the aesthetic conventions of classical historiography precluded meticulous documentation, the prose *Annales* support their arguments by means of extensive quotations and numerous marginal source references. Dousa cites the integral text of important charters, despite their unclassical Latin, and discusses the views of medieval and humanist historiographers on the basis of excerpts from their work.[184] Similarly, the margins of the prose *Annales* are strewn with exact source references, "wholly against the custom, or rather misunderstanding, of many people," precisely as Dousa had promised in his introduction to the vernacular verse chronicle by Melis Stoke: "When you read them [that is, Dousa's works of history], this poem will often come to mind, or even tickle your ears, particularly when I have led my argument to a testimony, by which we prove the truth on the basis of authentic records."[185] Just like many other medievalist works of history that were engaged in political polemic, the prose *Annales* thus embrace a "method that aims at crushing the opponent under the weight of the incontestable document."[186]

Dousa's claim to truthfulness and his critical attention to documentary material and existing historiography force him to develop clear-cut criteria to judge his sources. It has been shown above that such yardsticks are present already in the verse *Annales* and that they contribute to the rhetoric of this work by substantiating claims to

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[182] Eyffinger 1988, 244-5.

[183] Waterbolk 1957/1958, 31-3. There also exists an interesting, but implausible anecdote that count Lamoraal of Egmont the Younger (†1617) stepped into the breach for Bockenberg and treated Dousa so roughly that he quietly fled to Frisia: Walvis 1714, vol. 1, 84-5.

[184] I can only give a few examples here. Quotation of charters: *BHA* p. 178-80, 226-7, 370-2. Quotations from works of history: *BHA* p. 198-9 (Paulus Aemilius), 208 (Johannes de Beke), 218 (Aimoin of Fleury, Otto of Freising), 264 (Jacobus Meyerus), 380-1 (Petrus Nannius, Annals of Egmond), 385-6 (Hadrianus Junius). Also see Kampinga 1917, 26-7 about Dousa's use of documents.

[185] Dousa Sr 1591, f. (:)iij^{v}: "Welck als ghy lesen sult, zult dicwijl u te voren / Doen comen dit gedicht: jae kittelen in d'ooren. / Bysonder, als ick deez tot oircond' heb beleydt, / Int gunt wy maiken wair deur autentijk bescheydt. ... Recht jegens het gebruyc, of misverstandt van veelen".

[186] Fumaroli 1977, 9: "cette méthode qui vise à écraser l'adversaire sous le poids du document indéniable".

objectivity and by resisting historical pyrrhonism, but for their explicit formulation Dousa's reader had to wait for the history in prose. Of Dousa's two critical touchstones – age and plausibility –, the first is put into words as "the further they [that is, the sources] are removed from the memory of that era, the more confidently they move away from the truth as well."[187] A clear principle follows from this idea: "Therefore, I will follow here and in my entire work the consensus of the most ancient writers."[188] The benchmark of credibility is expressed most clearly in Dousa's critique of the traditional story about Dirk I's punishment of the rebellious noblemen, based on rhetorical rules requiring consistency of act, motives, and external circumstances: "they never learned to distinguish between different places and times, nor to take the character of the actors into account."[189]

The polemics, documentation, and thorough discussion of sources that support Dousa's truth claims lend the prose *Annales* an appearance that differs from the majority of previous humanist historiography. The dominant mode of discourse in Dousa's prose history is argumentation (*arguere*, *ostendere*, *explicare*, *discutere*) instead of narrative (*enarrare*).[190] The most important unit of organization is not the episode, but the *quaestio*, an investigation of a particular issue such as the date of the 863 charter or the correct etymology of the name Dirk.[191] Although the format of the

[187] *BHA* p. 205: "quanto longius ab illius saeculi memoria, tanto confidentius a Veritate recesserunt". Baudouin's *De institutione historiae universae* contains a rather similar expression. See Baudouin 1561, 55: "Sed iterum dico, quo posterior & magis noua est rei antiquae narratio, tanto mendosiorem eam esse solere." Could this be an indication that Dousa read Baudouin? For Dousa's preference for eyewitnesses, see *BHA* p. 112.

[188] *BHA* p. 224: "Itaque & hic & in vniuerso opere consensum Vetustissimorum sequuturus".

[189] *BHA* p. 207: "nec locorum vspiam, nec temporum discrimen facere; neque personarum rationem habere vnquam didicere". Cf. *BHA* p. 441, where Dousa Sr remarks that the speeches inserted by his son are consistent (*congruens*) with the situation of the speech as regards time, matter, and characteristics of speaker and addressee. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 4.2.52-60 advises to pay attention to the logical coherence of the events on the one hand and the characters' motives, dispositions, and previous deeds on the other; 2.4.18-9 turns this idea into a tool for deconstructing (*refutatio*, *ἀνασκευή*) someone else's narration. See Borchardt 1966 for the use of this strategy in humanist historiography.

[190] Marc Fumaroli gives more examples of this change in sixteenth-century historiography: Fumaroli 1977, 8-9, 21, 26. Dousa Jr laid his finger precisely on the spot by characterizing his presentation style in the *Batavia* as "a narration, or rather an enumeration, of events." See *BHA* p. 9: "Rerum gestarum enarrationem, vel potius enumerationem".

[191] See for instance *BHA* p. 3 ("coniectura quaesitum"), 61 ("Super eadem re paullo curiosius inquisitum"), 174 ("Criticarum quaestionum frigus anxie exercere"), 230 ("primum super eo Quaestiones agitandae"), 382 ("Quaestio instituitur"), 391 ("nihil in quaestione exsculpere potuimus"). A quick search in library catalogues showed that in the second half of the sixteenth century, the word *quaestio* became increasingly popular as an indication of a scholarly work in which many separate technical issues from such fields as philosophy, theology, philology, grammar, medicine or law were discussed, probably after the model of Seneca the Younger's *Naturales quaestiones* or Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes*, which were known as *Tusculanae quaestiones*. Two arbitrary examples of such works are François Hotman's *Quaestionum illustrium liber* and Justus Lipsius' *Epistolicarum quaestionum libri V*. Dousa's work might

prose *Annales* is mainly that of a collection of historiographical essays, they are not simply a ragbag of curious disquisitions. Unity is guaranteed by the geographical demarcation of the topics and the chronological framework, as Dousa Jr points out: "Allurement is not what I pursue in my work, when I scrutinize everything that is connected to our past, but not those issues which are merely contiguous to it; but I have arranged what is most necessary in chronological order and in such a way that – as far as possible – the entire body of our country's history stands firm and coheres."[192] At the same time, this passage testifies to a partial switch from properly historiographical to argumentative discourse, because it undeniably picks up phraseology from the preface to the fifth book of Seneca the Younger's philosophical dialogue *De beneficiis*.[193]

6.2.2 Prelude to the Prequel: Batavian History

Generally, Dousa Jr's contributions to the prose *Annales* are less radical in their claims to truth, attacks on fellow historians, explicit discussion of sources, and espousal of argumentative discourse. Compared to his father, he is more inclined to tell events instead of reconstructing them and, though referring expressly to the writers he used, he is less disposed to quote, discuss, or even vilify them. This tendency is perhaps most apparent in the last books of the prose *Annales*, but the *Batavia* too shows unambiguous signs of it. In this section, it will be attempted to grasp the political significance of the *Batavia*, an antiquarian account of the origin, dwellings, customs, rulers, and deeds of the Batavian people in the classical era, reserving my treatment of *filius*' contribution to the *Annales* proper for a later moment.

Within the overall structure of the *Bataviae Hollandiaeque Annales*, Dousa Sr conceived of his son's *Batavia* as a 'separate work'. It stands outside the arrangement

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well be regarded as part of this development. In addition, the juridical meaning of the word *quaestio* (*OLD* s.v. 'quaestio', meaning 3: 'a judicial investigation, inquiry') reinforces Dousa's parallel between the judge and the historian.

[192] *BHA* p. 2: "Nec quaesitum a me operi lenocinium, scrutando omnia quae connexa nostris rebus, verum non cohaerentia: sed quidquid maxime necessarium, seruato temporum ordine ita digessi, vt quantum quidem fieri posset, constaret ac cohaereret totum corpus nostratis Historiae". These ideas are repeated on *BHA* p. 9-10, 28, 75.

[193] Seneca the Younger, *De beneficiis* 5.1: "scrutari etiam ea, quae, si vis verum, connexa sunt, non cohaerentia". Cf. *BHA* p. 1: "Ita vt non tam circumspiciendum mihi fuerit, quid illi non dixerunt, quam videndum quid dici posset in tam sterili quidem, sed nondum exhausta materia". This passage draws on Seneca the Younger, *De beneficiis* 7.1: "reliqua hic liber cogit, et, exhausta materia, circumspicio, non quid dicam, sed quid non dixerim". The latter section from Seneca also contains phrases and ideas that can be found in my quotation from *BHA* p. 2: "si voluissem lenocinari mihi" and "sed quidquid maxime necessarium erat, in primum congessi."

in books, so that he can describe the book he offers to the States of Holland and West-Friesland as "this next decade of my *Annales* together with the *Batavia*."[194] Dousa *filius* characterized the subject of his work as "the preludes, as it were, to the virtue that did not deteriorate in later generations."[195]

Although the term 'prelude' might seem to suggest a certain triviality, that impression is not justified here. The timespan of Roman presence in the Low Countries was undoubtedly the favourite subject of humanist historiography in the province. In the course of heated debates between scholars from Holland and Guelders, it had gained political weight. In the work of Erasmus and some Italian humanists, Holland had come to be identified with ancient Batavia. The historians Cornelius Aurelius, Reynier Snoy, and Gerard Geldenhouwer recognized the possibilities these identification offered for the writing of local history and worked simultaneously on the Batavian past around 1515.

The difference between their works centered on one issue in particular: the geographical demarcation of Batavia. Aurelius and Snoy were convinced that it more or less coincided with the province of Holland, while Geldenhouwer broke a lance for his view that Nijmegen was the center of Batavia, which covered the land between the large rivers from Nijmegen to the North Sea. The discussion was fully determined by patriotism, as Aurelius and Snoy were from Holland, Geldenhouwer from Guelders, and all of them tried to appropriate the glory of the Batavians for their own province. The debate drew its particular topicality from the longstanding rivalry between both provinces, which had culminated in a war in the years 1507-1508.

After the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt, the stories about the Batavians attracted renewed interest. Writers like Hadrianus Junius, Petrus Bockenberg, Johannes Isacius Pontanus, and especially Hugo Grotius stressed the Batavians' freedom from external domination and their willingness to defend it by force of arms.[196] These scholars were particularly interested in Tacitus' description of the

[194] *BHA* p. 51: "singulari opere"; f. *2r: "vna cum BATAVIA Succidaneam hancce ANNALIVM nostrorum DECADEM".

[195] *BHA* p. 2: "velut praeludia non degenerantis in posteritate Virtutis".

[196] For sixteenth-century discussions about the Batavian past, see Kampinga 1917, 56-86; Schöffer 1975; Tilmans 1988, 121-66 = Tilmans 1992, 199-287; Mout 1993; Bejczy 1996; Haitsma Mulier 1996; Duval 2001. It has to be noted that some of these publications are marred by a kind of favouritism: while Tilmans fights for recognition of her favourite Aurelius as the initiator of the entire discussion, Bejczy tries to steal a march on Tilmans by presenting the work of Aurelius as overrated, clumsy, and exclusivist, in contrast to the writings of his own darling, Gerard Geldenhouwer, whom he characterizes as tolerant and scholarly, and who is supposed to have played a role in the constitution of Dutch national identity.

Batavian revolt of the year 69 AD, during which Julius Civilis rallied his people to throw off the Roman yoke.[197]

Dousa Jr does not exaggerate, therefore, when he says that his theme is hackneyed and that it is hard to say something new about it. His solution for this problem is to focus on evidence that has not been part of the discussion so far and to refer the reader to other authors when they can provide a satisfying treatment of a particular issue. Janus Jr provides a systematic overview of the extant sources and a critical review and synthesis of previous historiography.[198] The usefulness of the *Batavia* as a work of reference is enhanced by the numerous and precise source references in the *marginalia*. The significance of the *Batavia* is therefore primarily of a scholarly kind. But as the subject of Batavian history was so politically charged, almost every statement about it would have political implications. Therefore, I will examine more closely Dousa Jr's position on the two key issues of the debate: the geographical boundaries of Batavia and the ideology of freedom connected to the Batavian Revolt.

The younger Dousa is explicit enough about the Batavian borders. The *insula Batavorum*, that is, the 'island' Betuwe between the rivers Rhine and Waal is regarded as the core area of the Batavian territory. In its peripheral zones, it extends southwards to the river Maas, including the Bommelerwaard; Katwijk in Brabant, a village in the present municipality of Cuijk, is their eastern border post; on the west side, they are confined by the North Sea, and the coastal towns Katwijk aan den Rijn and Katwijk aan Zee in particular. The northern border is not defined. Dousa Jr leaves open the option that the inhabitants of ancient Zeeland are to be numbered among the Batavians.[199] Thus he endorses a variant of Geldenhouwer's thesis that Batavia included large parts of Guelders, Utrecht, and Holland.

Unless a connection between ancient Batavia and the Dutch Republic is implied – which is not very likely, since Dousa Jr's Batavia seems to cover only three or four of the seven provinces of the Republic – it is hard to see a political statement in this geography. The conflict between Habsburg Holland and independent Guelders had lost much of its topicality by 1601, when both provinces were cooperating under the banner of the Republic. Moreover, what should have been the message of the choice for Geldenhouwer's thesis? It seems highly improbable that in a work about Holland and dedicated to its government, the central position of the Betuwe in ancient

[197] Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.12-37, 54-79, 5.14-26.
[198] *BHA* p. 1-2. For instance, Janus *filius* criticizes Gerard Geldenhouwer (*BHA* p. 7) and refers to Hadrianus Junius for further information (*BHA* p. 16, 26, 39).
[199] *BHA* p. 4-6.

Batavia should be read as, for instance, a demonstration of the importance of Guelders within the Republic. For a defence of the dominant position of Holland in the Republic, on the other hand, Dousa Jr's position could be of little avail: an identification of Holland with Batavia would have been much more helpful for this cause.

More surprisingly, it is almost just as difficult to draw conclusions about Dousa Jr's view on Batavian liberty. At the beginning of his account he mentions the Batavians' abhorrence of slavery and their love of freedom, but the rest of it focuses exclusively on feats of military prowess as such, referring to the Romans only as 'brothers and friends,' not as oppressors: he recounts "how [the Batavian people] was accepted into alliance and brotherhood with the Roman Empire, how it established a excellent reputation and extraordinary glory for itself by military means."[200] The language of servitude and liberation is most conspicuously absent in Dousa Jr's compendious retelling (*compendio edisseram*) of the Batavian Revolt. Although the wording of this short passage – four pages – draws heavily on Tacitus' original account, the Roman historian's representation of Civilis' ideology of liberty is altogether omitted.[201] The only trace of it is Dousa Jr's remark that the Gauls were willing to pay the price of servitude for peace, but of course this reflects on the Batavians only indirectly.[202]

Dousa Jr thus seems to depoliticize the Batavian past of his country. A possible explanation for this strategy is that the portrayal of the people of Holland as ever rebellious might have weakened the justification of the Dutch Revolt as the outcome of an extreme situation, the last resort against a persevering tyrant. Although it remains speculative, this suggestion is supported by the fact that both Dousa Sr and

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[200] Reference to liberty and servitude: *BHA* p. 2. The quotation is on *BHA* p. 1: "quomodo in Romani Imperij societatem fraternitatemque accepta, militaribus artibus egregium nomen summamque sibi gloriam compararit". The Romans as *fratres et amici*: *BHA* p. 1, 26-7, 50.

[201] *BHA* p. 22-5. I will give two examples of phrases drawn from Tacitus. "Iulius Paulus, & Claudius Ciuilis fratres, Regia stirpe ceteris illustriores erant. Paulus falso rebellionis crimine a Fonteio Capitone cirucumuentus, & interfectus; Ciuilis oneratus catenis, missusque ad Neronem; & a Galba absolutus; sub Vitellio rursus ab exercitu ad supplicium flagitatus" (p. 22) rephrases *Historiae* 4.13: "Iulius Paulus et Iulius Civilis regia stirpe multo ceteros anteibant. Paulum Fonteius Capito falso rebellionis crimine interfecit; iniectae Civili catenae, missusque ad Neronem et a Galba absolutus sub Vitellio rursus discrimen adiit, flagitante supplicium eius exercitu". Another example: "Interea Ciuilis successu rerum ferocior obsidium Legionum vrgebat" (p. 24) is taken from *Historiae* 4.28: "successu rerum ferocior Civilis obsidium legionum urgebat".

[202] Some obvious passages in Tacitus' description of the revolt featuring a heavy emphasis on freedom and servitude are: *Historiae* 4.17, 25, 32, 54, 64-5, 73, 5.25. The Gauls' choice for peace is mentioned on *BHA* p. 25; it goes back to Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.69, but the words "cum servitute pax placuit" do not stem from there.

Jr underscore the Batavians' loyalty (*fides*) towards their leaders.[203] The unlinking of the (discomforting?) Batavian past from the political situation in Holland at the turn of the seventeenth century is completed by the ideas of the Dousas about the fate of the Batavians after the fall of the Roman Empire. They point out that during the migration of the Germanic peoples, the Batavian tribe merged into the people of the Franks and fanned out throughout Europe. Dousa *pater* finally broke every connection between Holland and Batavia by observing that the Norman invasions confined both the power and the name of the Batavians to the Betuwe.[204]

6.2.3 The Language of Resistance: Political Vocabulary

While the *Batavia* attempts to strip off the political connotations of the Batavian past, the reverse is true of Dousa Sr's account of the Norman raids and the institution of the county of Holland in book one to eight of the prose *Annales*. Dousa's portrayal of the early medieval history of Holland is coloured by a palette of contrasting pairs of terms that lend it a distinct political meaning. In this section, I will identify these terminological antitheses and demonstrate their embedment in contemporary political discourse.

In Dousa's account, the deeds of the count of Holland and his subjects are consistently set in opposition to the rule of the Normans and the Frankish kings. This can be conveniently illustrated on the basis of three texts.

I. After the death of bishop Ludger (809) the Normans' rage in Frisia aggravates. "After the death of bishop Ludger ... the Normans practiced their tyranny in the inner parts of Frisia even more violently than they were used to do, with beastly rather than barbarous rage; everywhere, towns and municipalities were plundered or razed to the ground, the inhabitants carried away in slavery; there was no respect for either sex or any sacred order, age was by no means taken into account; pastors, priests, monks were stripped off their ornaments and killed, mostly out of hatred for Christianity and religion, which in particular they wanted to be abolished and eradicated in absolutely every way, viz. so that no further place whatsoever would be left for a renewed sprouting out of twigs."[205]

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[203] *BHA* p. 2, 19, 43, 50. Another reason could be that in course of time, the story of the Batavian revolt also began to be used to argue in favour for the return of the rebellious provinces to the Spanish kingdom: Morford 2000. A third reason will be discussed in §6.2.4.

[204] Dissolution into the Frankish people: *BHA* p. 27-8, 87, 242-4. Confinement of Batavia to the Betuwe: *BHA* p. 67. Cf. *ARG* p. 23, 67-8 for similar ideas. Also see Kampinga 1917, 95-100, 108 on this issue.

[205] *BHA* p. 157: "Post Lutgeri scilicet Praesulis decessum ... Normannos tyrannidem suam solito etiam violentius, in ipsis Frisiae visceribus belluina potius quam barbarica rabie exercuisse: direptis passim, vel excisis penitus oppidis ac municipiis, incolis in seruitutem abductis: nulla cuiusquam aut sexus aut

II. The Normans frighten the Franks and the attitude of the Frankish emperor Lothair I (817-855) only worsens the situation. "And is it surprising ... that [the Normans] caused fear among the Franks themselves too, if a multitude of so many assembled people came together, poured over the entire world like a deluge, and committed rape, robbery, murder, and arson openly and without punishment? And that especially at a time, when the border zones of the Empire were treated carelessly, because the rulers as much as their subjects set their minds to civil war; consequently, these areas lay exposed to plundering and vengeance. Lest anything should be absent from the misery, the emperor Lothair himself hit the peak of greediness, so that as the defection of allies and the frequent desertion of his subjects made him despair of his own power, he turned from a Christian prince almost into a semipagan and a sham defender of the common weal, and he thought it would be more desirable for himself and more conducive to his good fortune if the power of any foreign people against his brothers' authority would increase rather than if he would be less influential himself."[206]

Dirk I, engraving from Michael Vosmerus, *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae*, Antwerp 1578

III. Dirk I is praised. "So when by the

Sacrati Ordinis reuerentia, nulla aetatis habita ratione. ... Parochi, Sacerdotes, Monachi non ornamentis suis modo, sed & vita pariter exuti: Christiani nominis odio ac Religionis maxime, quam imprimis exstinctam ac modis prorsus omnibus eradicatam cupiebant, videlicet, ne restibili stolonum fruticationi vlterius porro locus aliquis relinqueretur."

[206] *BHA* p. 117-8: "Et mirum ... si, in vnum aggregata tot conuenarum gentium multitudine, vniuerso terrarum orbi veluti diluuio quodam superfusi, stupra, rapinas, caedes atque incendia palam atque impune exercuerint, ipsis etiam Francis formidabiles? hoc praesertim tempore; quo, conuersis ad ciuile bellum Principum iuxta ac prouincialium animis, Imperij extrema sine cura habebantur: praedae pariter ac poenae exposita: cupientissimo (ne quid malis deesset) ipso Imperatore Lothario: vt qui, rebus suis defectiones sociorum ac crebra subditorum transfugia diffisus, de Christiano Principe tantum non semipaganus, ac publicae causae Praeuaricator factus; aduersus fratrum suorum potentiam cuiusuis exotici populi vires crescere, quam ipse minus valere, optatius sibique ac fortunae suae conducibilius existimaret."

intervention of count Hagano in particular, Dirk had been endowed and honoured with the territory of the church of Egmond, which had been possessed or, what is closer to the truth, usurped by the Danes and Normans by force of arms under the law of war up to that moment, he set his mind – which was capable of ruling and able to bear such a heavy burden – to expel the fiercest enemies of our faith: not only to defend the borders of the Christian world, but also to extend them and push them further. ... In fact, from boyhood on an ardent desire for true virtue and an insatiable longing for glory had filled his mind. For our Dirk never ventured to abuse impudently or wantonly – in the manner of those who turn military service into licentiousness and the licence to do whatever one likes with impunity – the gifts of favourable fortune out of ambition, nor to undermine himself and his hope in the future; he did not set his mind on assessing the growth of his new power by his possibilities for idleness or by his bodily pleasures, but rather he was bent upon knowing the limits of his territory and being known by his subjects; and he frequently inspected the banners and diligently prepared for war, recruited soldiers, built fortifications on suitable places, he was always anxious to hasten, to bustle about, to anticipate the enemies' plans and ambushes; in a word, he did not allow any slackness on his own side, and no security on that of the enemy."[207]

The antithesis created in these texts between count Dirk I on the one hand, and the Frankish emperor Lothair I and the Normans on the other, can be differentiated along several axes. The most important of these polarities is the contrast between liberty and servitude. Dirk emerges from the last text as a freedom fighter; elsewhere, he is explicitly called the *Liberator* of Holland and Frisia.[208] The liberty ensured by Dirk is in the first place international autonomy, the freedom of a community from external control. Dirk's aim stands in contrast to the behaviour of the Normans, who

[207] *BHA* p. 377-8: "DIEDERICVS igitur ... ECCLESIAE EGMVNDANAE Territorio ... (ab DANIS NORMANNISQVE per arma hactenus belli Lege possessis, seu verius vsurpatis) HAGANONIS potissimum COMITIS intercessione auctus ac cohonestatus, capacem Imperij animum tantaeque moli sustinendae parem ad immanissimos Religionis nostrae hostes profligandos attulit: nec ad CHRISTIANI Limitis Pomaeria tuenda modo, verum etiam ad dilitanda eadem atque vlterius insuper proferenda. ... quippe cuius animum iam inde a puero verae Virtutis ardor atque inexplebilis gloriae cupido intrauerat. Neque enim DIEDERICVS noster ex ambitione sua procaciter aut petulanter (more eorum qui militiam in lasciuiam atque impune quiduis faciundi licentiam vertunt) Fortunae blandientis muneribus abuti vnquam, seque ac spes suas corrumpere in futurum sustinuit: neque nouae potentiae accessionem ad desidiae instrumenta aut voluptates corporis referre animum induxit: sed vero noscere Territorij sui Limites, nosci subditis, frequens ad signa & instruendo bello intentus, delectus habere, praesidia opportunis locis disponere, simulque anxius nunquam non festinare, satagere, consilia atque insidias hostium antecapere: denique nihil apud se remissum, neque apud illos tutum pati."

[208] *BHA* p. 192.

infringe on the rights of the indigenous people of Holland (*usurpare*) and even take them off in slavery (*servitus*).[209]

But freedom also means that a prince refrains from oppressing his own subjects. Having appropriated power by force of arms, the Normans treat their victims with utmost cruelty, showing no regard for the property (*rapina*) or even the life (*caedes*) of individuals. Such despotism is called tyranny (*tyrannis*).[210] In their greed, the Frankish authorities are hardly better than the Normans. They turn out to be the enemies of their own people; in a passage I did not quote here Dousa even notices that the inhabitants of Aquitaine complained they have been afflicted more grievously by the faithlessness (*perfidia*) and savageness (*saevitia*) of their own king, Charles the Bald (838-877), than by the violence of the pagans.[211] This stands in clear opposition to the way Dirk treats his subjects. The common weal (*publica causa*), so grossly neglected by Lothair, is much better served by the efforts of the count of Holland. Dirk is not led by his own ambition or desires, but exerts himself for the safety (*tutum*) of his dominions. This virtuous, exemplary conduct earns him the love of his subjects in return.[212]

Religion is a third respect in which Dirk distinguishes himself from Frankish and Normannic rulers. Evidently, the latter were heathen and no respect for Christianity could be expected from them. Quite to the contrary, in their hate of anything Christian (*Christiani nominis odium et religionis*) they were after the rigorous destruction of it.[213] It is much more surprising to see that the Frankish rulers too do not care very much about their faith, and Dousa even goes so far as to call Lothair 'almost a semipagan' (*tantum non semipaganus*).[214] Again, Dirk shows his ability to walk the straight and narrow path: he dispels "the fiercest enemies of our faith" and after the war, Dousa adds later on, he centered his attention on the worship of God and the practice of piety.[215]

These three lines along which Dousa creates an opposition between Holland and other nations bear a striking resemblance to a cluster of terms that featured very

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[209] For the concept of freedom (*libertas*), also see *BHA* p. 191, 216, 230; for slavery (*servitus*), see *BHA* p. 54, 157, 341.

[210] For the tyranny (*tyrannis, dominatio*) of the Normans, also see *BHA* p. 102, 119, 142, 145, 150, 151, 157, 341.

[211] *BHA* p. 143. The Normans, too, are greedy (*cupiditas*: *BHA* p. 52, 54, 102, 117, 142, 151, 158, 185, 314) and savage (*saevitia*: *BHA* p. 52, 102, 143, 150, 157, 158, 185, 378); they treat their subjects as enemies (*BHA* p. 151).

[212] For exemplary behaviour on Dirk's part, also see *BHA* p. 185, 238; for the favour of his subjects, see *BHA* p. 177, 192, 474.

[213] Also see *BHA* p. 52, 54, 102-3, 119, 150, 157, 169, 341.

[214] Something similar could be said about Charles the Bald: *BHA* p. 143.

[215] *BHA* p. 378.

prominently in the political debates of the last decades of the sixteenth century. Dousa himself had described the project of the Revolt as "throwing off the yoke of Alva's despotism (*ALBANAE Dominationis iugum*) from our necks and taking up arms against the Spaniards for the sake of public liberty (*publica Libertas*)."[216] In order to give a more concise demonstration of this embeddedness in political discourse, I will compare Dousa's vocabulary to that of one specific document, namely, the so-called *Plakkaat van Verlatinge* of 1581, the official deposition of king Philip II, which has often been described as the Dutch counterpart (and predecessor) of the American Declaration of Independence.[217]

After a short exposition about the ideal prince as a good shepherd who guards his sheep, the central argument of the *Plakkaat* to justify the unusually bold move of deposing a lawful ruler is expressed as follows: "If he does not act in this way, but instead of protecting his subjects, tries to oppress them, to burden them excessively, to take away their ancient freedom, privileges, and customary rights, and to command and use them like slaves, he should not be regarded as a prince, but as a tyrant. Then his subjects have every right and reason not to acknowledge him as their prince anymore – especially when the States of the country have deliberated about it – but to leave him and legally choose someone else as sovereign in his place for their protection."[218] Some important oppositions encountered in the prose *Annales* will be recognized immediately: freedom vs. slavery, the good prince who protects his subjects vs. the tyrant whose rule consists of abuse and oppression.

The main part of the *Plakkaat* consists of a list enumerating the wrongdoings of Philip and his henchmen. Evidently, this catalogue is supposed to prove that Philip is indeed a tyrant. In the details of the list we come across all of the issues raised by Dousa in his account of the medieval past. The Spaniards oppress their subjects and treat them "as if they were their enemies." They take away the freedom of the inhabitants and turn them into slaves. The Spanish inquisition, for instance, is

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[216] Dousa Sr 1593, 3: "ALBANAE Dominationis iugum ceruicibus nostris depulsum, proque publica Libertate arma in Hispanos sumpta". Cf. *ARG* f. **r: "REIPVBLICAE nostrae Vindicias, ac Libertatem adversus intolerabilem HISPANAE gentis superbiam armorum virtute asserere fortissimeque propugnare".

[217] *Plakkaat* 1581. For a facsimile of this document with an extensive introduction, see Mout (ed.) 2006. For the wider context of political discourse in the Low Countries at the end of the sixteenth century, see Van Gelderen 1992, 146-60. For the concept of liberty in popular propaganda, see Van der Lem 2006.

[218] *Plakkaat* 1581, f. Aijr-v: "Ende so wanneer hy sulcks niet en doet, maer in stede van sijne ondersaten te beschermen, de selve soect te verdrucken, t'ouerlasten, heure oude vrijheit, priuilegien, ende oude hercomen te benemen, ende heur te gebieden ende gebruycken als slaven, moet ghehouden worden niet als Prince, maer als een Tyran ende voor sulcks nae recht ende redene mach ten minsten van sijne ondersaten, besondere by deliberatie vande Staten vanden Lande, voor egeen Prince meer bekent, maer verlaten, ende een ander in sijn stede tot beschermenisse van henlieden, voor ouerhooft, sonder misbruycken, gecosen werden."

designated as "the utmost slavery itself." The Spaniards infringe on laws and privileges. The duke of Alva is characterized as "famous for his severity and cruelty." The Spanish authorities show no respect for property: they are said to have engaged in "plundering and spoiling." Moreover, the document refers to their dissimulation. Of course, the religious element is prominent as well: Philip is not willing to recognize that religion is a matter of individual conscience, which should not be enforced by means of severe placards and inquisition.[219] Vis-à-vis the behaviour of the Spaniards, the *Plakkaat* delineates an ideal image of a prince who protects his subjects and their property, who endeavours to "preserve and protect their innate freedom," who endears himself to his people, and who realizes peace.[220]

The similarity of Dousa's political vocabulary to the wording of the *Plakkaat* is an indicator of both the specific mode of thought underlying the representation of history in the prose *Annales* and of its political significance. The central concept in both the *Plakkaat* and the prose *Annales* is liberty, which includes both the community's self-government and the individual's freedom from oppression. A point of special attention is freedom of religion. The two writings share the idea that this liberty of the state and the citizens ought to be protected by the government. Its opposite is tyranny or slavery, a situation occurring when rulers indulge in their own desires and violate the common weal and the law. It is allowed, both texts assume, to resist tyranny by force of arms.[221]

The correspondence of political thought in the prose *Annales* to that of contemporary political discourse conveys a clear message about the cultural relevance of Dousa's representation of the medieval past of his country. By using the terminology shown above, Dousa imposes a contemporary frame of reference on the early history of Holland. This lends a special significance to Dousa's account: a parallel is drawn between that first expulsion of godless tyrants by force of arms and the recurrence of this event in Dousa's own time. In this way, Dousa's prose *Annales* become – at least partly – a proclamation of the political thought of the Dutch Revolt.

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[219] Complaints about oppression and infringement of laws and privileges can be found throughout *Plakkaat* 1581, f. Aii^{r}-Ci^{r} (the quotation is on f. Bii^{v}: "dan oftse heur selfs vyanden waren geweest", cf. f. Biv^{v}); the same goes for the language of freedom and slavery (the quotation is on f. Aiii^{v}: "de wterste slauernije selve"). For the quote about Alva, see *Plakkaat* 1581, f. Bi^{r}: "vermaert van strafheyt ende crudeliteyt"; for complaints about plundering: *Plakkaat* 1581, f. Bi^{v}, Bii^{v}-Biii^{r} ("saccageren ende bederuen"); dissimulation: *Plakkaat* 1581, f. Aiii^{r}, Bi^{v}, Bii^{v}, Biv^{r}, Biv^{v}; religion as a matter of individual conscience: *Plakkaat* 1581, f. Aiv^{r}.

[220] *Plakkaat* 1581, f. Aii^{r}; Aii^{v}: "aengeboren vrijheyt ... te bewaren ende beschermen".

[221] For concepts of liberty in the Dutch Revolt, see Van Gelderen 1999.

6.2.4 Classical Models: Sallustianism and Tacitism?[222]

In order to arrive at a satisfying understanding of Dousa's political language, it is not enough, however, to observe that his representation of medieval history relies heavily on the vocabulary of contemporaneous political thought. Such language consists of, as John Pocock defined it, "idioms, rhetorics, ways of talking about politics, distinguishable language games of which each may have its own vocabulary, rules, preconditions and implications, tone and style."[223] For a full comprehension of political language games in the prose *Annales*, the recognition of their roots in classical historiography is indispensable.

First of all, it should be noted that the presence of Cornelius Tacitus in the prose *Annales* is overwhelming. In text II cited above, for instance, at least one sentence testifies to Dousa's heavy indebtedness to Tacitus. In expressing his critique of Lothair, Dousa borrows a large phrase from the first book of the *Historiae* (*conuersis ad ciuile bellum animis externa sine cura habebantur*).[224] Probably the most obvious interpretation of such a dependence would be that Dousa was just another exponent of the well-known Tacitist fashion that made its presence felt in the second half of the sixteenth century. Although such a view would be far from spectacular, it would have some relevance for my book, because in the slipstream of Giuseppe Toffanin the mainstream of scholars in the fields of Neo-Latin literature and the history of political thought regards the reception of Tacitus primarily as the appropriation of a philosophical system of ideas about politics that can be deduced from the work of the great Roman historian.

In this section, I wish to exemplify an alternative to such an approach within the domain of Renaissance historiography, and to provide it with some theoretical underpinning. Taking a cue from an article by Mark Morford about Justus Lipsius' *Politica*, it will be attempted to show that the way humanist historians dealt with their classical predecessors is certainly conditioned by political factors, but often in a fundamentally eclectic and rhetorical, rather than synthesizing and dialectical manner. In order to make a case for this thesis, I will first focus on the well-known concept of 'Tacitism,' and point out why it does not suffice for an explanation of Dousa's reception practices. Subsequently, an alternative approach will be proposed that takes the use of classical texts as selective and subservient to the work's political rhetoric.

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[222] An adapted version of this section will be published in a collection of articles edited by C.H. Pieper, K.A.E. Enenkel, and M. Laureys under the title 'Was Janus Dousa a Tacitist? Rhetorical and Conceptual Approaches to the Reception of Classical Historiography and Its Political Significance'.

[223] Pocock 1987, 21.

[224] Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.79.

Finally, it will be argued that these procedures are best understood against the cultural background of early modern practices of reading history.

As point of departure for my argument I will take the scholarly notion of Tacitism, because this is the dominant conceptual frame to think about the political significance of classical historiography in the early modern period, and because Tacitus is among the authors Dousa most intensively engaged with in his prose historiography. The term Tacitism began to enjoy currency after the publication of Giuseppe Toffanin's classic study *Machiavelli e il "Tacitismo"* in 1921, and started to gain strong momentum in the 1960s.[225] Despite a lot of criticism, Toffanin's concept of Tacitism is still the prevailing instrument to describe Tacitus' role in early modern debates about politics. For instance, it was largely maintained in the important studies of Peter Burke, Else-Lilly Etter, and Kenneth C. Schellhase.[226] It can be characterized as follows. To start with, it denotes a mode of processing the reading of the Tacitean corpus in which the reader abstracts a philosophical system from large parts of, or even the entire, narrative. This synthesis belongs to the domain of political thought. The number of such systems, or ideologies, is represented as limited: Toffanin distinguishes between disguised Machiavellianism, or Black Tacitism, disguised republicanism, or Red Tacitism, and anti-Machiavellianism expressed as anti-Tacitism, or Critical Tacitism.

Within this frame of thought, it is difficult for a number of reasons to call Dousa a Tacitist. In the first place this is so because Dousa's reception of Tacitus is heavily contaminated. This can be shown by a small inventory of allusions in four passages from the prose *Annales* about the deeds of the Normans (I-III) and Dirk I (IV). Examples II and IV have been translated in the previous section as texts II and III.

	Dousa's Comments	**Models of Expression**
I.	*BHA* p. 51-3: "Quod genus hominum inquies atque indomitum, coeloque ac salo suo acrius animatum, quam caeterae subiectiores Austro nationes ... Neque illos procellosi Oceani vastitas ab incepto deterruit: per inuia, per incognita versauit se piratica desperatio. Auaritiae luxuriaeque materia per bella & raptus quaerebatur; odium Christiani nominis	Sallust, *Historiae* fr. 1.7 Maurenbrecher: "inquies atque indomitum"; Tacitus, *Germania* 14: "materia munificentiae per bella et raptus ... pigrum quin immo et iners videtur sudore adquirere quod possis sanguine parare"; 29: "ipso adhuc terrae suae solo et caelo acrius animantur"; *Historiae* 1.88: "levissimus quisque ... turbatis rebus

[225] Toffanin 1972[2]. For some important later studies, see the next footnote.
[226] Etter 1966; Burke 1969b; Schellhase 1976.

obtentui erat ... neque deerant incentores, turbatis rebus alacres et per incerta tutissimi; levissimus quisque Danorum ... extremae prorsus ignauiae arbitrati, sudore acquirere quod sanguine parari posset ... [periculum intendere] iis praesertim, penes quos aurum & opes; praecipuae bellorum causae."[227]

alacres et per incerta tutissimi"; 3.45: "super insitam ferociam et Romani nominis odium"; 4.74: "penes quos aurum et opes, praecipuae bellorum causae"; Seneca the Younger, *Consolatio ad Helviam matrem* 7: "per invia, per incognita versavit se humana levitas"

II. *BHA* p. 117-8: "hoc praesertim tempore; quo, conuersis ad ciuile bellum Principum iuxta ac prouincialium animis, Imperij extrema sine cura habebantur: praedae pariter ac poenae exposita: cupientissimo (ne quid malis deesset) ipso Imperatore Lothario: vt qui, rebus suis defectiones sociorum ac crebra subditorum transfugia diffisus, de Christiano Principe tantum non semipaganus, ac publicae causae Praeuaricator factus; aduersus fratrum suorum potentiam cuiusuis exotici populi vires crescere, quam ipse minus valere, optatius sibique ac fortunae suae conducibilius existimaret."

Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.79: "conversis ad civile bellum animis externa sine cura habebantur"; Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 17: "cuiusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere"; Cicero, *Epistulae familiares* 8.11.1: "publicae causae praevaricator"; Florus, *Epitoma* 3.19.6 [2.7]: "ne quid malis deesset"

III. *BHA* p. 215-6: "ipsi gloriae cupidine (quae mediocris etiam fortunae hominibus nouissima exuitur) accensi stimulatique, maximum decus in maximo imperio putantes ... [PRINCIPVM suorum affectus] vti vehementes fere, ita mobiles, saepe sibi ipsis

Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.6: "etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur"; Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 2: "maxumam gloriam in maxumo imperio putare"; *Bellum Iugurthinum* 113: "sed plerumque regiae voluntates ut vehementes sic mobiles, saepe

[227] "This race of men [that is, the Normans] was restless and untamed, of a more violent disposition than other peoples living further to the south, as a result of the climate and the sea ... Nor did the desolation of the stormy Ocean deter them from their enterprise: their piratical despair moved through inaccessible and unknown places. Means to satisfy their avarice and extravagance were sought by war and rapine; hate of Christianity was the pretext ... inciters were not absent, men who were cheerful amidst the confusions and found optimal safety in uncertainties; the most inconstant men among the Danes ... it was regarded a sign of utmost cowardice to gain by sweat what could have been won by blood ... [they waged war] on those in particular, who had gold and wealth, the main causes of wars."

	aduersi."[228]	ipsae sibi adversae"
IV.	*BHA* p. 377-8: "Addiderant alacritatis stimulos viro militari EQVESTRIS ORDINIS decora ... quippe cuius animam iam inde a puero verae Virtutis ardor atque inexplebilis gloriae cupido intrauerat ... Neque enim DIEDERICVS noster ex ambitione sua procaciter aut petulanter (more eorum qui militiam in lasciuiam atque impune quiduis faciundi licentiam vertunt) ... sed vero noscere Territorij sui Limites, nosci subditis, frequens ad signa & instruendo bello intentus, delectus habere, praesidia opportunis locis disponere, simulque anxius nunquam non festinare, satagere, consilia atque insidias hostium antecapere: denique nihil apud se remissum, neque apud illos tutum pati."	Tacitus, *Agricola* 5: "nec Agricola licenter, more iuvenum qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt ... sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui ... artem et usum et stimulos addidere iuveni, intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupido"; *Historiae* 4.69: "instruendo bello intentus"; Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum* 88: "consilia et insidias eorum antevenire, nihil apud se remissum neque apud illos tutum pati"

This enumeration demonstrates that Dousa did not only weave Tacitean phraseology into his text, but he also borrowed extensively from the work of Sallust, an author Dousa knew very well, because he had edited the fragments of Sallust's *Historiae* in 1580.[229] In addition, it is possible to detect smaller fragments deriving from many other authors – Seneca, Cicero, and Florus in this case. The fact that not only the work of Tacitus, but also that of Sallust plays a key role in the prose *Annales* can also be deduced from the overall setup of the work, which contains some markers of imitation that should alert the reader. Firstly, the title points towards Tacitus' *Annales ab excessu divi Augusti*. The alternative self-referential signifier used in the dedication, *Historiae*, suggests a similarity to both Tacitus' history of the same name and Sallust's eponymous work, the fragments of which had been collected and edited by Dousa.[230] Another indication is the division of the work in a separate monograph

[228] "They were incited and stimulated by a desire for glory – which is the last thing to be cast off even by men of ordinary fortune – and they thought the greatest honour to be in the largest dominion ... [the affects of their rulers were] about as violent as they were fickle, and often at variance with themselves."
[229] Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 17.
[230] For the term *Historiae*, see *BHA* f. *3r, *5v. The edition of Sallust's *Historiae* is Dousa Sr (ed.) 1580. The definition of the theme of the prose *Annales* in the first sentence of Dousa Jr's *Batavia* seems to take up a phrase from the opening of the *Historiae*: *BHA* p. 1: "maiorum nostrorum res domi bellique gestas

on a geographically defined subject (*Batavia*) and ten books of *Annales*, which reminds one of Tacitus' work again, whose monograph on the peoples of Germany (*Germania*) was often regarded as a kind of prolegomena to his *Historiae*.[231]

The general *Praefatio* by Dousa Jr on the role of writing in the preservation of knowledge forms another signal of intertextual presence and one which has some consequences for the political rhetoric of the prose *Annales*.[232] A separate preface might be reminiscent of Livy,[233] but the specific theme chosen by Dousa Jr brings to mind rather more powerfully the work of Sallust. The idea that the practice of remembering deeds in historiography ensures a just and enduring distribution of glory (*honor*, *gloria*, *immortalitas*) and disgrace and consequently encourages virtuous behaviour (*virtus*) and discourages vicious acts, seems to be inspired by the introductory chapters of Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* and *Bellum Iugurthinum*.[234] Like the Roman historian, Dousa Jr thus fashions a moral framework for the interpretation of the prose *Annales*.

There inheres a problem in this practice of multiple reception, viz. that it is unlikely that one and the same ideology is extracted from such widely different authors as Tacitus, Sallust, and Livy – all of whom are often implicitly quoted in Dousa's prose *Annales*. Even if reception of classical historiography would be primarily about concepts, therefore, Dousa's case precludes the supposition of a writer abstracting one philosophy from one historian; the equally pervasive presence of several, differing models necessitates at least the hypothesis of an eclectic process of selection and harmonization.

Another reason for the limited usefulness of the concept Tacitism for my present purposes is that it does not seem possible to assign one of the ideological categories constructed by Toffanin to Dousa's reception of Tacitus in a plausible way.[235] Quite clearly, Dousa is not an opponent of monarchy. This has been pointed out in the previous section, where it was demonstrated how Dousa praises the single-headed rule

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dicere". This is reminiscent of Sallust, *Historiae* fr. 1.1 Maurenbrecher: "res populi Romani M. Lepido Q. Catulo consulibus ac deinde militiae et domi gestas composui".

[231] See Junius 1588, f. **r for Junius' views on the relation between the *Germania* and the *Historiae*.

[232] *BHA* f. ♣2r-♣4v.

[233] There are other traces of Livy too, such as the idea of arranging books in decades (*decas*: *BHA* f. *2r) and the use of sentences from his famous preface. See, for instance, *BHA* p. 1: "si ab ... primordiis ... perscripsero", 7: "Danda enim haec venia ... Antiquitati, vt ... primordia faciat augustiora", 8: "Poëticis ... decora fabulis", 51: "documenta in illustri posita intueri". However, the presence of Livy in the *Batavia* and Dousa Sr's contributions to the *Annales* is low if not zero.

[234] Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum* 1-4, *Bellum Catilinae* 1-4; the themes are taken up again in the excursus on Roman history, *Bellum Catilinae* 6-13.

[235] The problems that occur when one tries to apply Toffanin's categories were noticed before by Enenkel & Novikova 2001, 45-7, who suggested to do away with them altogether.

of the first count of Holland, Dirk I. On the other hand, the quotations about Lothair I and the Normans clearly show that Dousa certainly did use Tacitus and Sallust to censure princes; however, this is not because they had failed to act in an opportunistic manner or in accordance with *virtù*, but because they did not fulfill their moral duty of protecting their subjects. It would be senseless, therefore, to attribute to Dousa Machiavellianism or reason of state. In fact, an epigram written by Dousa about an unspecified booklet (*quidam libellus*) well reflects his attitude towards the philosophy of the Florentine: "You, who favour tyrants, members of Machiavelli's school; you will also favour this booklet, which trains tyrants."[236]

Even if Dousa censures Machiavelli, Critical Tacitism is probably the least suitable label for the prose *Annales*. Dousa never says anything unfavourable about Tacitus. On the contrary, the Roman historian is one of the main authorities on which the argumentation of the *Annales* is built, in the first place as a mine of information about the Batavian past, but also as a source of political understanding. For example, Dousa highlights one of his Tacitus quotations by the following marginal note: "As has been observed rightly and with political insight (*politice*) by Tacitus."[237]

Instead of all these possible Tacitean ideologies, Dousa's work features a conceptual framework to describe politics that owes more to sixteenth-century political discussions than to any classical author. As has been demonstrated in the previous section, the central concept in the prose *Annales* is liberty, which includes both a community's freedom from external constraints and the absence of oppression.

It seems, therefore, that Dousa's engagement with classical historiography and Tacitus in particular cannot be adequately described with a notion like Tacitism, which supposes a systematic synthesis and borrowing of political thought, and only allows for a limited number of ideologies that can be drawn from an author. Such a notion works for genres like the commentary and the political treatise, since a philosophical understanding of classical authors, Tacitus in particular, was often precisely their aim. It is no surprise, therefore, that studies on Tacitism have thus far often focused on texts like Giovanni Botero's treatise *Della ragion di stato* (1589) and Carlo Pasquale's commentary on Tacitus (1581). If we turn to other genres with different objectives, such as historiography or the oration, it could indeed be expected that the modalities of reception would be different. This does not at all mean, however, that Dousa's reception of classical historiography is politically insignificant. On the

[236] Dousa Sr 1603, f. 27r: "Vos, Tyrannis qui favetis, Machiavelli e Schola; / Huic favebitis Libello, qui Tyrannos instruit." For the very limited reception of and the general aversion to Machiavelli's work in the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands at this time, see Haitsma Mulier 1989.

[237] *BHA* p. 253: "Vti rite ac politice a Tacito obseruatum". Similar remarks about Tacitus are found at *BHA* p. 87, 243, 368.

contrary, the writings of Tacitus and Sallust in particular are clearly entangled in the political texture of the prose *Annales*, though on different rhetorical levels than the purely conceptual.

In order to support this hypothesis, I will demonstrate the two principal ways in which such classical presences contribute to Dousa's political rhetoric. Within the rhetorical design of the prose *Annales*, the borrowed phraseology seems to fulfill at least two functions. First of all, Dousa plunders authors like Tacitus and Sallust especially because of those sneering phrases that he can use to voice evaluation of the historical protagonists, as long as they can be fitted into his political frame of reference. It is on this point that I might easily transfer Mark Morford's analysis of Lipsius' *Politica* (1589) to the work of Dousa, which is certainly a good match for "the sustained thoroughness with which Lipsius subordinated the words of Tacitus to his own designs."[238] In other words, Dousa carefully selects and transforms a large number of phrases from classical historiography in order to make possible a seamless integration of this material into his narrative, thus forging a fluent and intellectually coherent account of his country's past that is both strongly rooted in the classical tradition and expressive of contemporary political thought.

Let me give a few examples. In the passage about emperor Lothair I, it can be seen how Dousa employs Sallust's and Tacitus' cynical psychological observations about selfishness and make-believe to underscore his point that Lothair was a tyrant. The same technique is used for a critique of the Normans in some passages enumerated above. Perhaps more surprisingly, Dousa even succeeds in casting his description of the counterpart to Viking vices – the brave protection of one's subjects – in a Sallustian-Tacitean mould. This can be seen in the passage about count Dirk I. In this way, classical historiography fashions an authoritative idiom to express judgements about historical characters that are informed by a contemporary frame of thought.

In the matrix of imitation applied in the prose *Annales*, a critique of tyranny is an important hallmark of Sallust's writings in particular. It has been shown that Dousa Jr adopts Sallust's moral framework, which shows how glory and shame depend on historiography. In particular, the presence of historical writings is presented as a condition for clean government. Unlike animals, man has an inborn desire for glory, but, Dousa Jr observes, some people follow this impulse, trying to become a source of the bright light of virtue, while others try to bury it. "Therefore, the former, who set before their eyes the eternity of fame, seek for their renown a certain splendour ensured by the light of literature; the latter, however, as they fear

[238] Morford 1993, 144.

posterity's knowledge of their deeds, wish that together with the extinction of the virtues themselves, the monuments of virtue and the memory of a later age will be extinguished as well. It is generally known that this is the intention of all tyrants living at any time." [239] Thus, in Dousa Jr's Sallustian conceptualization of historiography, the very act of memorizing the past – as performed by father and son Dousa – thwarts the evil designs of despots and honours good princes with a perennial embellishment.

Secondly, I wish to propose to take into account the original context of the quotations, because a clear pattern can be discerned in the particular contexts that are evoked. Emperor Lothair and his brothers, who allow their own interests and desires to prevail over the well-being of their subjects, even if this results in civil war, are associated with the ruthless Roman generals of the Year of the Four Emperors. The Normans, who tyrannized over the Low Countries "with beastly rather than barbarous rage", as Dousa put it, are associated with the savage peoples of Germany, Britain, and Africa. The characterization of Dirk as the redeemer of his subjects, on the other hand, is closely modelled on the defenders of Roman civilization against these brutes: Gaius Marius and Gnaeus Julius Agricola. The Tacitean and Sallustian idioms are thus reinforced by the evocation of powerful figures that might well be capable of affecting the reader's emotions.

Admittedly, imitative practices do have some relevance for the conceptual level of rhetoric as well: Dousa certainly avails himself of strong notions from Roman politics like the rightful conquest of the barbarian and the horrors of civil war by evoking archetypal characters who embody these concepts. On the whole, however, the important point is that even if the intertextual presence of characters who incarnate such ideas can be detected, its effect is usually made subservient to the specific rhetorical design of the text in which it can be found.[240]

Finally, I would like to posit that the particular shape this process of transformation takes – the way Dousa selects subtexts and twists them into a new argument – is to a great extent conditioned by contemporary practices of reading. In Chapter Two it has been shown that Renaissance reading was often eclectic and goal-oriented, and typically involved an active reinterpretation of the text in order to render it useful for the present. The use of commonplace books was an important

[239] *BHA* f. ♣4r-v; the quotation is on the last page: "Itaque illi famae aeternitatem sibi ante oculos proponentes a literarum luce splendorem quendam claritudini suae quaerunt: hi vero quoniam conscientiam posteritatis reformidant, exstinctis virtutibus exstingui etiam monimenta virtutum & sequentis aeui memoriam volunt. Id quod Tyrannis omnibus ab omni aeuo propositum fuisse nemo ignorat."

[240] For the notion of intertextuality that underlies this approach, see §2.2.2.

means to achieve these ideals, since it made possible the extraction of the most memorable phrases and *exempla* from works of history so that they were always available for utilization.

Such an approach must have seemed particularly suitable for the works of Tacitus in view of his frequent use of maxims. Thus Johannes Bernartius, a historian from Mechelen who published a manual on reading history in 1593, recommended Tacitus among other things because "he does not write all this in an unadorned series of words, but in a style that is full of golden maxims (*sententiae*) that guide one's life and deeds."[241] In a cultural environment so prone to excerption and quotation, an author who was thought of in such a way was of course very likely to be reduced to anthologies of aphorisms. In turn, such collections of phrases could be used as a resource of phraseology to be incorporated in new compositions, a technique that is well described with the classic metaphor of imitation as culling honey from various flowers.[242]

By sheer luck, we possess data proving that this was precisely the way Dousa collected his Tacitean and Sallustian phraseology. In a letter from 1582, Dousa writes to Lambert van der Burch about the progress of his eleven year old son at university. "He causes me wonderful convenience, not only by copying manuscripts or taking dictations (which he regards as entertainment), but also by heaping together historiographical phrases peculiar to Tacitus and Livy, with whom he has already been made familiar by his frequent attendance of Lipsius' courses. In addition, I have enlarged this illustrious committee with Gaius Sallustius."[243] In the same letter, Dousa refers to his son's work as translations of Middle Dutch historiography into Latin, which supply him with words "cursorily drawn from Sallustian or Tacitean sources, at any rate, and arranged, as it were, under some commonplace headings (*locos quosdam communes*) as an exercise for children."[244] Most probably, then, a more or less systematic plundering of classical historiography according to the method of the

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[241] Bernartius 1593, 48: "nec nudo haec omnia verborum contextu, sed dictione plena aureis, actiones, vitamque dirigentibus sententiis". For the attention of sixteenth-century scholars for Tacitus' *sententiae*, see Waszink 2008, 86-91; Burke 1966, 149. Needless to say that modern scholars also recognize Tacitus' strong predilection for maxims: see for instance, Sinclair 1995; Kirchner 2001; Stegner 2004; Keitel 2006.

[242] See §2.2.2 for these metaphors.

[243] Vermaseren 1955, 85: "Is mirabiles mihi commoditates praebet, non in apographis conficiundis solum aut excipiendis dictatis (quae quidem ille pro ludo habet), verum adeo in phrasibus quoque historicis coacervandis, Tacito utique ac Livio peculiaribus; quos auctores familiares jam illi assidua Lipsianarum lectionum frequentatio fecit. Ego duumviris istis C. insuper Sallustium adstruxi".

[244] Vermaseren 1955, 85: "ut verba solum ac voces in partem suppeditet mihi, a Sallustianis aut Cornelianis certe fontibus saltuatim petitas, velutque in locos quosdam communes puerili meditatione digestas."

commonplace book was at the basis of Dousa's rich use of phraseology from this corpus of texts.

Another early modern habit of reading that should be taken into account as a background to Dousa's political use of classical historians is the practice of associating literary characters with historical persons, of searching for a similitude between past and present (*similitudo temporum*). There is probably no literary genre in which this procedure is more prominently visible than encomiastic rhetoric, which prescribes a *comparatio* of the person praised with famous people, preferably those who figure in classical literature. Nevertheless, it is also a main ingredient of narrative interpretation. A good example is Lipsius' 1572 Jena oration on Tacitus: "How much is to be found in him, which is relevant to civil matters, public affairs, jurisprudence? How many parallels to our time, like in the similarity of a similar tyranny? Well then, call to mind his Tiberius, whose entire life was cunning, ambiguous, deceitful, and dripping with continual murders and the blood of innocent citizens. That looks like a clear image of that bloodstained and raging tyrant, the duke of Alba, doesn't it?"[245]

There is one important difference, however, between Lipsius' and Dousa's use of Tacitus for a conceptualization of the past. Lipsius identifies the cruel oppression by the Spanish government with the ruthless tyranny of the Roman emperors. This was also a standard procedure of the Batavian myth. Hadrianus Junius, for instance, described Julius Civilis as a freedom fighter who defended his country against "the intolerable and impious cruelty, the tyrannical violence, and the insatiable greed" of the Romans. Dousa had also compared the siege of Leiden in 1574 to the Batavian struggle for freedom at some length in his *Nova poemata* (1575), and called Julius Civilis a 'defender of liberty' (*vindex libertatis*).[246] By the year 1601, however, Dousa's ideas about history seemed to have changed. In the universe of the prose *Annales*, as we have seen, the behaviour of Roman heroes as opposed to that of the barbarians furnishes the frame to understand the glorious deeds of the people of Holland.[247] It is quite conceivable that this way of conceptualizing the history of Holland is partly

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[245] Kromayer (ed.) 1726, 35: "Iam vero quam multa in eo, ad res civiles, ad motus communes, ad iurisprudentiam pertinentia, ut in similitudine similis Tyrannidis, quam multa exempla temporum nostrorum? Age vel Tyberium eius tibi propone, cuius omnis vita astuta, anceps, fallax, continuis caedibus, & sanguine innocentium civium madens, nonne expressa imago sanguinolenti illius, & furiosi Tyranni, Ducis Albani?" For Lipsius' ideas about the Dutch Revolt at this time, see Mout 1985.

[246] Junius 1588, 140: "intolerabilis ac nefaria crudelitas, tyrannica violentia, & auaritia insatiabilis"; Dousa Sr & Junius 1575, f. Ciiij^{r}-Eiiij^{r} (the quotation is on f. Ciiij^{r}).

[247] The attractiveness of this frame also appears from a poetic contest organized by the Chambers of Rhetoric of Holland in 1598, in which poets were invited to write verses on the theme 'in what respects our deeds are to be praised more highly than those of the Romans': Bax 1940, 155; cf. Van de Waal 1952, vol. 1, 100-1 for this and other examples of comparisons between Romans and Batavians around 1600.

responsible for Dousa's reluctance to link up Batavia and Holland too emphatically. The Batavians, after all, were a barbarous tribe, unfaithful to their oaths and fond of drinking-bouts in sacred groves; their one-eyed leader Civilis took the common barbarian vow of letting his hair grow long until victory and set up some of his prisoners as living targets for his son to practice archery.[248]

Instead, the Batavian past has been replaced by the institution of the county of Holland (913) as the reference point of the prose *Annales*. This appears most patently from the metaphors of travel expressing the goal-oriented nature of Dousa's work. The treatment of the stories about the inauguration of Dirk I at the beginning of book five is introduced as follows: "having struggled out of so many of the Ocean's hidden shoals, having passed on our way through such severe hardships, we have finally arrived at the turning point of this route, towards which we had set out our course from the very beginning."[249] This illustrates the changed focus of the prose *Annales*. Whereas the poetic *Annales* construct a foundation myth that serves as a point of departure for a praise of the counts of Holland, the prose *Annales* approach the institution of the county as a point of arrival. The latter work is a prequel to the former: it pays extensive attention to the natives' wailing and gnashing of teeth under Norman oppression, "so that we will be better equipped and, as it were, prepared, when we will move on – chronologically and step by step – to the cradle (*incunabula*) of Holland, the inhabitants' service as recruits and their progress, and the deeds of our rulers in war and peace."[250] The change in subject could be translated into the terminology of sixteenth-century political debates as a shift from a preoccupation with celebrating freedom to a dominant interest in unmasking tyranny. This is where the Sallustian-Tacitean model of historiography fits in, providing a moral framework for historical writing and a language of political evaluation, both of them eminently

[248] Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.14, 60-1. Moreover, the Batavians consult the prophetess Veleda (*Historiae* 4.61, 65, 5.24) and on the battlefield, they attempt to terrify their opponents by means of war-songs and the wailing of their wives (*Historiae* 4.18). A similar uneasiness about the barbarian aspects of the Batavians seems to be implied by the avoidance of barbarian elements in visual representations of the oath of Civilis prior to Rembrandt: Carroll 1986, 16-21. Dousa's favourite predecessor Willem Heda made no bones about the low cultural level of the Low Countries before the arrival of Christianity: Petri & Furmerius (edd.) 1612, 194-5.

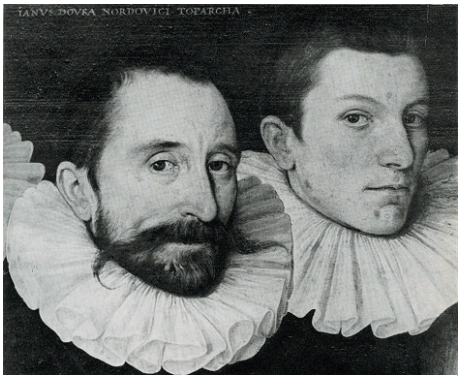
[249] *BHA* p. 172: "PERVENIMVS aliquando, tot caeca Oceani vada eluctati, tantas viarum asperitates emensi, ad eius Curriculi flexum, quo iam inde ab initio cursum instituerimus." For more metaphors of travel, see *BHA* p. 173, 174, 204, 225, 230, 235, 335, 379, 391.

[250] *BHA* p. 153: "quo videlicet instructiores & quasi preparati ad prima illa HOLLANDICI Nominis incunabula, Prouincialium Tirocinia ac progressus, tum Principum nostrorum domi bellique res gestas ordine ac pedetentim gradum promoueremus." The term *incunabula* is used for the institution of the county of Holland on *BHA* p. 172, 204, 217 as well. On *BHA* p. 170, 201, 202, 204 Dousa uses the term *Natalis* ('birthday').

suitable to provide a matrix of imitation that allowed for a critique of despotism as well as a praise of good monarchs.

6.2.5 Junior's Biographical Sketches

At least one question remains. In view of the fact that Dousa Jr's biographical sketches of the counts of Holland from Dirk II until Floris II have nothing to do with a critique of Norman tyranny, what could be their function within the framework of the prose *Annales*? This question is made even more urgent by the fact that the period of history covered by these biographies had been discussed by the Dousa's before and at greater length in the poetic *Annales*.



Roeloff Willemsz. van Culemborg, detail from a family portrait depicting Dousa Sr and Jr, ca. 1590-1592

The problem cannot be given a completely satisfactory solution. The interpretations of history given in both works are like peas in a pod. This appears most clearly from Dousa Sr's addition of identical *marginalia* guiding the reader's understanding of both texts.[251] The main difference seems to be that *filius*' prose accounts are slightly less lavish (*profusus*) than their poetic counterparts by his father. In three cases, the marginal notes even refer to the verse *Annales* for further information.[252]

Like his father, Dousa Jr applies to the past a juridical frame of reference and a political vocabulary of freedom and slavery. The juridical side of the biographical sketches involves reasoning based on positive law. The lawfulness of the protagonists' deeds is estimated in terms of their respect for the body of rights and charters granted in the past (*iura*, *diplomata*, *donationes*). Like the defence of the Dutch Revolt on the basis of existing privileges, this system of evaluation links up seamlessly with the language of liberty and oppression, for the latter gives expression to ideas about justice in domains of more or less uncodified law such as the law of nations (*ius gentium*) or the law of war (*belli lex*).[253]

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[251] See, for instance, the marginal notes to the accounts of Dirk IV's rule in *ARG* p. 92-103 and *BHA* p. 455-61.

[252] *BHA* p. 399, 421, 451.

[253] For arguments based on positive law, see *BHA* p. 422-3, 442-3, 471-2. For *ius gentium* and *belli lex*, see *BHA* p. 423, 465, 478. Freedom and slavery: *BHA* p. 392, 440, 441 (*libertas*), 435, 472 (*tyrannis*), 434, 441 (*dominatio*).

This type of evaluation leaps to the eye especially in *filius*' relatively elaborate account of Dirk III's rule (993-1039), which he also described in verse in book three of the poetic *Annales*. The conflict between Dirk and bishop Adelbold II of Utrecht (1010-1026) is worked out as a debate in which both men justify their claims in a series of speeches. Alluding to Pepin of Herstal's assignation of 'all of Frisia' (*Frisia vniuersa*) – that is, including the provinces of Holland and Utrecht – to bishop Willibrord (695-739), Adelbold asserts that he is the first "after a long time of neglect by previous bishops, to dare to bring back the fugitive rights of the Church (*fugitiua Ecclesiae iura*) and to defend them by force of arms and at the risk of his own life." He presents his cause in strongly political terms: "Those who will revenge the injustice done to us in the past and who will not abandon their concern to restore freedom (*libertas*) before you will have abandoned yours to maintain oppression (*dominatio*), are still hidden in their mothers' wombs."[254]

Dirk criticizes Adelbold's idea of continuing hostilities in later generations instead of seeking peace. More importantly, he censures the bishop's remarks about rights as use of pretentious language: "However, the ancient rights of the Church and the specious name of 'legal claims' are assigned as a pretext; no one pursues the seizure of another's dominion without using the very same words."[255] Subsequently, the count of Holland turns down Adelbold's appeal to ancient rights by calling to mind Dirk I's enfeoffment (913) with the Frankish land he recovered from the Normans and the charter granted to Dirk II by emperor Otto III (985), which turned the fief into a hereditary possession. An authorial and authoritative preference for this point of view is established by the fact that both transactions have been discussed and the accompanying documents quoted *in extenso* in earlier books of the prose *Annales*. This effect is reinforced by the marginal reference to the treatment of the charter granted by Otto III in book eight.[256]

The argumentation used in speeches and the establishment of a hierarchy of speakers is an effective instrument to control the interpretation of the narrative.

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[254] *BHA* p. 438: "primum extitisse Adelboldum, qui post tantam superiorum Praesulum incuriam fugitiua Ecclesiae iura retrahere, & armata manu asserere vel capitis sui periculo ausus fuerit"; 440-1: "Latent adhuc in maternis vteris qui nostras olim iniurias persequantur; neque ante repetendae libertatis, quam vos dominationis retinendae, curam dimittant."

[255] *BHA* p. 442: "Sed vero antiqua Ecclesiae Iura & speciosa Vindiciarum nomina praetexuntur; neque quisquam alieni regni spolium affectauit, vt non eadem ista vocabula vsurparet." The wording is borrowed from Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.73: "ceterum libertas et speciosa nomina praetexuntur; nec quisquam alienum servitium et dominationem sibi concupivit, ut non eadem ista vocabula usurparet". Interestingly, Dirk assumes the intertextual role here of the Roman commander Cerialis who criticizes the rebelling Batavians. Again, the Batavian past is refused as a frame of reference for the history of Holland.

[256] The legal argumentation can be found on *BHA* p. 442-3. The first charter is quoted on *BHA* p. 178-80, the second on *BHA* p. 412-4.

Kampinga rightly observed that "in this way, one was able to represent different opinions under the cloak of objectivity."[257] It must be noted, however, that Dousa Jr's employment of this technique constitutes a marked divergence from the historiographical practice of his father, who took the view that speech and apostrophe were inappropriate to prose works of history. In fact, this is true for almost all specific rules of reading, most of them innovative, introduced by *pater*: in the biographical sketches by Dousa Jr, argumentation reverts to narrative and the space reserved for scholarly polemic and discussion of sources is reduced drastically.

The return to a more conformist – 'default' – set of generic conventions is accompanied by a change in literary subtext. Whereas Dousa Sr's language games involve the incorporation of phrases from Sallust and Tacitus, political evaluation in *filius*' account of medieval history is dependent primarily on expressions taken from Livy and Sallust.[258] I will give a few examples from Dousa Jr's account of Dirk III's rule (993-1039).

	Phrases Used by Dousa Jr	**Models of Expression**
I.	*BHA* p. 421-2: "Itaque sponte, an de communi propinquorum ac Nobilitatis sententia de haereditario suo iure cesserit, neque traditum extat, neque facilis est interpretatio ... Quae quidem res postea Hollandos ac Flandros in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit"[259]	Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 2.8: "nec traditur certum, nec interpretatio est facilis"; Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum* 79: "quae res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit"
II.	*BHA* p. 423: "At postquam alieni appetentes, sui profusos; neque vltra Concionis locum memores Sanctitatis; nihil pensi neque moderati habere, & omnia proferendae Iurisdictionis honesta aestimare lubido	Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 5: "alieni adpetens, sui profusus"; 7: "sed civitas incredibile memoratu est adepta libertate quantum brevi creverit; tanta cupido gloriae incesserat"; 12: "nihil pensi neque

[257] Kampinga 1917, 94: "Men kon zoodoende de verschillende meeningen weergeven onder den schijn van objectiviteit."

[258] Kampinga 1917, 23 acknowledges the presence of the Livian model of historiography in the contributions of Dousa Jr, but fails to notice the Sallustian subtext.

[259] "Thus it has not been handed down nor can it be easily explained whether [Siegfried, the younger brother of count Dirk III, †1030] gave up his hereditary right of his own accord or in accordance with the common opinion of his relatives and the nobility ... This matter [viz. the enfeoffment of count Baldwin IV of Flanders by emperor Henry II with the island of Walcheren in 1012] involved the inhabitants of Holland and Flanders in a severe and protracted war."

	ipsorum animos inuasit ... incredibile memoratu est quanta in quam breui tempore commutatio incesserit."[260]	moderati habere"
III.	*BHA* p. 431-2: "signum pugnae proposuit, paucis suos adhortatus. Ne nouum genus belli eos, nouusque maxima ex parte hostis terreret"[261]	Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 7.32: "signum pugnae proposuit, paucis suos adhortatus ne novum bellum eos novusque hostis terreret"
IV.	*BHA* p. 434-5: "Nec mediocrem Adelboldi animum accendebat Bauo, inserendo querelas ... Dominationem Diederici iniustam, intolerandam, cui nec humana nec diuina obstarent, quin lubidine pro ratione, licentia pro legibus vteretur ... Ita inuidiae flammam atque materiam criminationibus suis suggerendo ..."[262]	Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum* 8: "qui Iugurthae non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant"; Sallust, *Historiae* fr. 4.69.17 Maurenbrecher: "quibus non humana ulla neque divina obstant, quin"; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 3.11: "accusator pati reum ruere invidiaeque flammam ac materiam criminibus suis suggerere"

The intertextual strategy behind this pattern of references is similar to that in the earlier parts of the prose *Annales*. The counts of Holland are associated with some of the heroes of Roman history – Aulus Verginius, M. Valerius Corvus –, their opponents with the villains – Catiline, Iugurtha, Mithridates, Quinctius Caeso, the Samnites. The main difference is the shift from the model of Tacitus to that of Livy. This coincides with Dousa Jr's move from an argumentative to a narrative mode of presentation, but this parallellism seems hardly significant: both Tacitus and Livy employ a narrative model of historiography including the use of *orationes*.

Instead, an explanation might be found in the political dimensions of both parts of the prose *Annales*. We have seen that Dousa Sr's representation of the Norman

[260] "But later [the bishops of Utrecht] were covetous of others' property, prodigal with their own; outside the space of the church, they were unmindful of sanctity; and a desire entered their minds not to practice any modesty or continence and to regard as honorable everything that would extend their jurisdiction ... it is incredible to mention what a great change occurred in a short timespan."
[261] "[Count Dirk III] gave the sign of battle, after he had encouraged his men in a few words, so that the new kind of war and the enemy, which was largely unknown, would not frighten them."
[262] "Bavo [one of Adelbold's vassals] inflamed the mind of Adelbold, which was itself sufficiently aspiring, by voicing complaints ... The rule of Dirk was unreasonable, intolerable, and neither human nor divine laws deterred him from following desire rather than reason, licence rather than laws ... by fanning the flame of envy in this way and by supplying material for his accusations ..."

raids in Holland and of the measures taken against them by Dirk I performs a critique of tyranny relying on the political expressions of Tacitus and Sallust. Like that of the verse *Annales*, however, the mood of Dousa Jr's biographical sketches is celebrative rather than critical: it glorifies the early history of his country, presenting the counts of Holland as the protectors of their subjects. It is not hard to imagine that Livy's aggrandizement of the Roman republic is more suitable for this purpose than Tacitus' cynical analysis of the imperial era.[263]

6.2.6 Political Rhetoric in the Prose *Annales* as Compared to the Poetic *Annales*

While the last books of the prose *Annales* perform the same strategy as the metrical *Annales* though on a more modest scale, the main part of the book functions as a complement to the latter work as regards both matter and message. The division of material is organized around the inauguration of count Dirk I by Charles the Simple (913), the prose *Annales* treating the 'prehistory' of this event. The different political aspects highlighted in both works are a logical extension of this organization: the age of the Norman raids is particularly suitable for the exposal and critique of tyranny, while the deeds of the counts of Holland lends itself better to a celebration of liberty. This frame of reference is imposed by means of the political vocabulary of contemporary anti-Spanish discourse: freedom vs. slavery, care vs. oppression, true religion vs. godless wickedness.

Dousa's attack on despotism in the prose *Annales* is facilitated by the subtext of Tacitus' and Sallust's writings, called to mind by the regular occurrance of quotations in the main text and the marginal notes. Their historiographical model of narrative prose, however, is adapted to suit the needs of Dousa's rhetoric. Truth claims are at the center of this attempt at persuasion, and they are supported by polemical refutations of previous historians, meticulous documentation of historical reconstructions, and careful discussions of sources on the basis of clear criteria. Consequently, the dominant mode of presentation is argumentation rather than narrative.

Thus far, the strategy of the prose *Annales* is clear-cut. However, Dousa's respectful adoption of his deceased son's contributions complicates the outlook of the work in some ways. I have just recapitulated how the short biographies of the counts

[263] In addition, there might have been a more practical aspect to this choice of models: as Heesakkers 2003, 763 suggests, the biographical sketches might have originated from Dousa Jr's study of Latin under his father and Justus Lipsius. A letter from Dousa Sr to Lambert van der Burch written in 1582 demonstrates that at that time, *filius* was studying Livy and Tacitus under the supervision of Lipsius and translated Middle Dutch historical sources into Sallustian Latin: Vermaseren 1955, 84-5. Of course, this makes no difference for the political appeal the work made to its original readership.

of Holland distinguish themselves from the rest of the *Annales* by their celebrative mood, narrative model, and allusions to Livy. Moreover, it is hard to give a clear explanation of the function of the separate treatise on Batavia, which takes on the most famous topic of humanist historiography in Holland. But while one would expect that this subject would be seized for a celebration of the famous Batavian freedom, Dousa Jr merely enumerates the events succinctly in a colourless overview. The Batavian past is eased away from the medieval history of Holland on the level of both content and structure; it remains connected only loosely to the main message of the book. Perhaps the easiest way to explain this choice is to postulate a degree of uneasiness about Tacitus' depiction of the Batavians as barbarians and rebellious by nature – a characterization which might not fit the overall message of the prose *Annales* very well.

6.3 POSTSCRIPT: POLITICS AND PROGRESS

The analysis of Dousa's historiography performed in this chapter might seem to testify to profound cynicism: Dousa's work, previously hailed as an important step forward in the project of describing objectively the historical truth about the Middle Ages, is now characterized as a rhetorical construct bent to the will of the powers that be; love of truth is shown up as a 'specious name,' a pretence aimed at persuasion. This would be too gloomy an interpretation of my argument, however, and it would erroneously present the difference between both views on the development of historiography as irreconcilable.

In Herman Kampinga's seminal study of early modern historiography in Holland, Dousa is regarded as a successful pioneer in search of modern methodology, as we have seen. Kampinga regards Dousa's historical method as "still very elementary, compared for instance to the philological-critical one of our own days. But if we work out what his predecessors had achieved in this field, it is a major step forward."[264] In Kampinga's view, this stands in some contrast to the methods of other official historians such as Hugo Grotius or Matthaeus Vossius, who "straitjacketed national history."[265]

This approach to the history of historiography is problematic in at least two respects. Firstly, the practice of historical investigation is always embedded in the present. A complete disentanglement from the outside world in a quarantine of

[264] Kampinga 1917, 34: "Ze is nog zeer eenvoudig, vergeleken b.v. met de philologisch-kritische van onzen tijd. Maar indien we nagaan, wat zijn voorgangers op dit gebied hadden geleverd, dan is het een groote stap voorwaarts." Kampinga's view has been very influential: see, for instance, Waterbolk 1952, 193-4; 201; Heesakkers 1985a, 397; Heesakkers 1985b, 45; De Schryver 1990, 241-2.

[265] Kampinga 1917, 122: "Zoo werd de vaderlandsche geschiedschrijving in een dwangbuis gestoken".

impartial enquiry is unthinkable. The historian cannot fully transcend his own subjectivity and this will show through, for instance, in the selection of subject matter. Secondly, historical writing is always a form of literary representation: a linguistic construct bound to simplify reality. Therefore, historiography cannot offer an objective reproduction of the past (truth), but at best a plausible model to comprehend one of its domains.

Janus Dousa cannot be exempted from this rule. His representation of medieval history clearly testifies to his position in the world, for it is imbued with the vocabulary of contemporary political self-justification. Therefore, what Donald R. Kelley said about historiography in general, can be repeated about Dousa's work: "History has not been simply the product of a relentless progression toward truth, objectivity, and a critical attitude, but the passionate and often partisan assault upon an alien and refractory past."[266]

This is not as bad as it might seem. The presence of political stakes – and particularly of political conflicts – makes up a good incentive for historiographical innovation, for it forces the historian to use all his creativity in order to find out how a plausible representation of history suitable for political legimation could be constructed. To quote Kelley again, "[i]t is true that partisanship often distorted historical perspective and protected certain legends, but it served also to give impetus, organization, and direction to historical investigation and to discredit various errors."[267] This is precisely what happens in the work of Janus Dousa: there is a dynamic interaction between, on the one hand, political interests and, on the other, the discovery of new source material and the development of innovative literary and scholarly techniques of historical representation.

This means that the idea of scholarly advancement can be retained, if in a somewhat refined form, in which 'progress' means movement towards a richer stock of documentation and a wider spectrum of scholarly methods available rather than the attainment of a larger degree of historical truth. "Every era writes its own history, which is not a haphazard process of erasing and rewriting, but of understanding more deeply, a gradual enrichment."[268] Such progress does not occur in a vacuum, however.

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[266] Kelley 1970, 9.

[267] Kelley 1970, 11. Also see Fumaroli 1977 about the development of documentation strategies and presentation modes for the sake of political causes. Cf. Falco 1974², 381: "Nuova, grande visione non nasce se non da nuovi, grandi problemi, da una salda fede politica e religiosa, che germinata su da tutto il passato, cerca in esso – dentro di sé – le sue ragioni, e vi scopre nell'atto stesso aspetti ignorati, significati non prima intesi." Smith 1987, 2: "Indeed, in both Church and State controversy was the goad that drove forward historical scholarship."

[268] Falco 1974², 381: "Ogni età si compone la sua storia, che non è un saltuario cancellare e riscrivere, ma un penetrare piú addentro, un progressivo arricchire".

As we have seen in the relation between Dousa's works of history and their political context, the social environment is a major determinant and stimulant in this process.