

THEMATIC ELEMENTS IN THIRTY
NEO-LATIN EPITHALAMIA
AND THEIR
CORRESPONDENCES IN THE GERMAN BAROQUE HOCHZEITSGEDICHT

by

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INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL OUTLINE

This study deals with the Neo-Latin epithalamia of the sixteenth century and the German Hochzeitsgedichte of the seventeenth century. It investigates the correspondences of thematic elements in the wedding poems of both centuries, and endeavors to show the extent of the influence of the Neo-Latin poetry upon the German Baroque poetry.¹ The background problem of which this study is a part involves the sources which played a part in shaping the newly-emerging German vernacular literature of the seventeenth century.²

¹The term "theme" refers to the over-all subject matter. Cf. Gero von Wilpert, Sachwörterbuch der Literatur (Stuttgart, 1961), p.634: "Thema: Grund- und Leitgedanke eines Werkes." Cf. also H.L. Yelland, A Handbook of Literary Terms (London, 1953), p.205: "the central thought in a literary work." In accordance with these definitions the "theme" of a wedding poem is of course the wedding and its essential elements such as bride, groom, and ceremony. The expression "thematic elements" as used in this study refers to those elements in a wedding poem which have a bearing on the main theme (the wedding), but which may be employed in the wedding poem or may be omitted, and which may be used in different ways in different wedding poems. Examples of thematic elements are mythological characters and situations, expressions concerning the beauty of the bride, and traditional metaphors, such as the vine and the elm.

²Of course the Baroque poetry draws from other sources in addition to the Neo-Latin. Cf. K.O. Conrady, Lateinische Dichtungstradition und deutsche Lyrik des 17. Jahrhunderts (Bonn, 1962), p.16: "Selbstverständlich wächst die deutschsprachige Lyrik des 17. Jahrhunderts nicht allein aus der (neu)lateinischen Dichtung hervor, sondern nimmt zugleich starke Anregungen aus der volkssprachigen Kunstdichtung der anderen europäischen Nationen auf (Hollands, Italiens, Frankreichs vor allem) und eignet sie sich an."

It is generally known that the Neo-Latin is one of these sources, and that many elements in Baroque literature are derived, at least in part, from the Neo-Latin literature of the preceding century.¹ However, critical works which have examined specific common elements of the two literatures are extremely rare.²

Georg Ellinger, author of a detailed history of Neo-Latin literature, pointed out this glaring research gap

¹Georg Ellinger indicates the connection: "Angesichts der beherrschenden Stellung, die das Latein bisher in der Kunstdichtung behauptet hatte, kann von vornherein angenommen werden, dass der neulateinischen Poesie ein unmittelbarer Anteil an dem Zustandekommen der neuen deutschen Kunstdichtung zufiel." Georg Ellinger, "Grundfragen und Aufgaben der neulateinischen Philologie," GRM, XX(1933), p.11.

The connection between the two literatures is also indicated by Ellinger in Merker-Stammler, Real-Lexikon der deutschen Literatur-Geschichte(Berlin, 1958), p.645: "Die deutsche Sprache rückt im Laufe des 17. Jahrhunderts allmählich in die Stelle ein, die bisher die neulateinische eingenommen hatte. Es konnte daher nicht anders sein, als dass Inhalt und Form der neulateinischen Dichtung des 16. Jahrhunderts die Poesie der Barockzeit vielfach beeinflusst haben."

²Conrady (op.cit., p.1) points out the almost total neglect of this area of research: "Die neulateinische Poesie, obwohl entscheidendes Bindeglied zwischen den antiken und modernen Literaturen, ist nicht erforscht und wird ungebührlich vernachlässigt. Wenn auch auf diesen Mangel oft genug hingewiesen wird, so scheint sie doch in einem toten Winkel der Literaturwissenschaft zu liegen."

A recent work which deals with specific relationships between the two periods is: Heinz Wilms, Das Thema der Freundschaft in der deutschen Barocklyrik und seine Herkunft aus der neulateinischen Dichtung des 16. Jahrhunderts (diss. Kiel, 1962).

and formulated the problem concerning the relationships between the Neo-Latin and the German Baroque literatures.¹ Conrady indicates that the specific tasks suggested by Ellinger more than thirty years ago have been almost completely neglected. Some of these tasks are:

Wie steht es mit dem Fortleben der Grundgedanken der Neulateiner? Wieweit und in welcher Weise sind die für das Neulatein bezeichnenden Gattungen (Ekloge, Heroide, Propemptikon, Hodoeporikon, Preisgedicht usw.) von der späteren deutschsprachigen Dichtung übernommen worden? Wie wirkt sich der Stil der Neulateiner, besonders der Lyrik, auf die nachfolgende Literatur aus?²

This study deals with the last task, that is, with the use of stylistic (thematic) elements as they are found in the epithalamia of the Neo-Latin and Baroque periods.³

¹Ellinger's history is: Die neulateinische Lyrik Deutschlands in der ersten Hälfte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1929). Two other volumes are devoted to the Neo-Latin lyrics of Italy and of the Netherlands.

Ellinger formulates the problem in "Grundfragen und Aufgaben," p.12: "Diese Anlehnung im einzelnen festzustellen und eine sichere Grundlage für die Erkenntnis des Zusammenhanges zwischen der lateinischen Kunstrichtung des 16. Jahrhunderts und der deutschen des 17. zu schaffen, wird eine lohnende Aufgabe sein."

²Conrady, op.cit., p.1. Conrady also urges that attention be directed to the problem: "Die Linie der Lyrik in Deutschland verläuft nicht über Hans Sachs zu Opitz, sondern über Celtis, Eoban Hesse, Petrus Lotichius Secundus, Schede Melissus und Posthius ins 17. Jahrhundert. Es bedürfte gesonderter (dringend erwünschter), umfangreicher Einzeluntersuchungen, auch die thematischen Verflechtungen freizulegen und zu beschreiben." p.267.

³In this study I shall consider the word "style" to include within its extension the concept "thematic elements." This practice is in keeping with S. Barnet, A Dictionary of Literary Terms (Boston, 1960), p.81. Cf. p.1, footnote 1.

Since the Neo-Latin epithalamia are very heavily dependent upon those of antiquity, Chapter I includes a brief history of the genre as it existed in the ancient world. Because they were particularly important as sources for the Neo-Latin, the epithalamia of Catullus, Statius, Claudian, and Paulinus of Nola are treated in detail within the framework of this historical outline.

Chapter II deals with the Neo-Latin epithalamium. Thirty examples were selected largely from the representative anthology: Delitiae Poetarum Germanorum Huius Superiorisque Aevi Illustrium Collectore A(ntwerpianus) F(ilius) G(uillelmi) G(ruteri) (Janus Gruterus) Francofurti 1612 6 Volumes.¹ One of the thirty epithalamia was written for the wedding of Gruterus, the Heidelberg librarian who compiled this immense anthology.²

¹Conrady has this to say of the Delitiae: "Die vielbändigen 'Delitiae' der Poeten verschiedener europäischer Länder, Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts erschienen, stellen immer noch die massgebenden Sammlungen dar." op.cit., p.1.

²Janus Gruterus (1560-1627), a scholar of Dutch parentage by his father's side and English by his mother's was born at Antwerp. After studying at Cambridge and at Leiden, he was appointed professor of history at Rostock in 1586. He taught at Wittenberg from 1589-1592 and then at Heidelberg. In 1602 he was appointed librarian of the university there. He was one of the most productive philologists of the seventeenth century. He edited, among other authors of antiquity, Seneca, Martial, Paternus, Tacitus, and Livy. The Delitiae, which included in its total bulk of fifteen volumes poems from Italy, from France, and from the Netherlands, appeared in Frankfurt from 1608-1614. This collection is much larger than the whole corpus of Roman poets. One of the volumes devoted to the Neo-Latin poets of Germany contains more than seventeen hundred pages. Cf. ADB, Vol. 10, pp.68ff. and F.A. Wright, trans., The Love Poems of Joannes Secundus (New York, 1930), p.6.

The authors of the epithalamia included in this study are: Acontius, Fabricius, Fidlerius, Fincelius, Finkelthusius, Grotius, Haslobius, Heinsius, Hubnerius, Lindebergius, Lotichius, Marquardius, Milesius, Sabinus, J. Secundus, and Stigelius. Chapter II involves an analysis of thematic elements contained in these epithalamia. There are four subdivisions:

I. Mythological Elements:

Venus, Cupid, Hymen, Pallas Athena, Juno, Apollo, Diana, The Muses. (A brief introduction to each of these mythological figures is included).

II. Christian Elements:

Creation, Christ, Pudor. (These three elements, since they are often interwoven, are not dealt with under separate headings).

III. Specifically Marital Elements:

Beauty of the Bride, Advice to the Bride, Advice to the Groom, The Vine and the Elm, The Traditional Good Wishes.

IV. Elements Indicating the Role of the Poet:

The Position of the Poet, The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings and Its Influence Upon the Position of the Poet.

Since the role of the German poet in the seventeenth century grows in part out of social and political factors developing in the sixteenth century, these factors are examined as they appear in the epithalamia.

Chapter III deals with the German Hochzeitgedichte of the seventeenth century and is arranged in the same subdivisions used for the preceding chapter. Authors included in Chapter III are: Besser, Dach, Eltester, Fleming, Gryphius,

Günther, Hofmannswaldau, Kempe, Kongehl, Logau, Lohenstein, Neukirch, Opitz, Peucker, Plavius, Postel, Rist, Titz, Weckherlin, and Zesen. Frequent references and comparisons are made to the Neo-Latin thematic elements.

However, this study does not seek to compare one individual author of the seventeenth century to one individual author of the sixteenth century, but rather to compare the entire complex of thematic elements as they are used in the Latin and German nuptial poems of the two centuries and to show the influence of the one literature upon the other. Thomas M. Greene describes the situation in this type of research: "...the functioning of the influence should be understood in terms of literary convention. As the body of Renaissance epithalamia increased, the influence of any single poem decreased; in place of the poem, the epithalamist drew upon a stockpile of topoi, commonplaces, similies, epithets, traditional good wishes, common strategies and techniques. The epithalamist seems to have been aware of the genre, not so much as a number of individual poems among which he could choose his own 'source,' but rather as a body of poetic material which was itself intricately entangled with borrowings and derivation, a body from which he could draw without necessarily incurring a debt to a given poem."¹ This study therefore does not

¹Thomas M. Greene, "Spenser and the Epithalamic Convention," Comparative Literature, IX(1957), 218-219.

attempt to trace back images and literary formulas to their origin. Neither was this Conrad's task.¹

Chapter IV involves a summary and discussion of thematic elements that run through antiquity, Neo-Latin and Baroque. Conclusions are drawn concerning the extent of the influence of the Neo-Latin upon the Baroque in the genre under consideration, and concerning the manner in which this influence made itself felt.

There are three appendices. Appendix A comprises a complete list of the thirty Neo-Latin epithalamia by title. The source of each epithalamium is given, together with an indication of the length. Where there are several epithalamia by one author, numbers have been assigned. These numbers serve as an easy means of identification for quotations, and they obviate the necessity of giving the whole (sometimes very lengthy) title. Appendix B consists of translations of the Neo-Latin epithalamia quoted in Chapter II. Appendix C involves a reproduction and adjoining translation of five Neo-Latin epithalamia rendered for the first time into English. These translations in appendices B and C follow the Latin texts line by line. The five authors whose epithalamia are reproduced and translated in their entirety are: Acontius, Pincelius, Finkelthusius, Haslobius, and Lotichius.

¹"Man geht fehl, wenn man allein nach direkten Abhängigkeiten und Übernahmen fahndet. Sinnvoll scheint nur zu sein, Parallelerscheinungen aufzudecken, wodurch die Lyrik des 17. Jahrhunderts in dichtungsgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge gerückt wird, die umfassender sind als Einzelabhängigkeiten." op.cit., p.189.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE EPITHALAMIUM
FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE MIDDLE AGES

The purpose of this chapter is to present a brief outline of the epithalamium in Greek antiquity, and a more detailed outline of its development in Roman literature.¹ Particular attention is devoted to the epithalamia of Catullus, Statius, Claudian, and Paulinus of Nola, for all of these exercised a great influence upon the epithalamia

¹In the fourth century B.C. appears the term ἐπιθελάμιον, originally a song at the bridal chamber. We hear also of a διεγερτικόν or ἄρθριον, 'waking' or 'morning song,' a κατακειμητικόν or κατεγναστικόν, 'sleeping song'--probably the same as the ἐπιθελάμιον in its stricter sense." A.J. Wheeler, "Tradition in the Epithalamium," American Journal of Philology, Vol.II(1930), p.207.

A detailed treatment of the lyrical wedding poem in antiquity is provided by E.A. Mangelsdorff, Das lyrische Hochzeitsgedicht bei den Griechen und Römern (diss. Hamburg, 1913). However, Mangelsdorff does not deal with the late Latin writers, but stops with Seneca.

An analysis of the three wedding poems of Catullus is given by A.L.Wheeler in Catullus and the Traditions of Ancient Poetry (Berkeley, 1934).

Zoja Pavlovskis provides a very detailed (and recent) account of Statius and subsequent epithalamia in: "Statius and the Late Latin Epithalamia," Classical Philology, Vol.IX (July, 1965), pp.164-177.

E.F.Wilson gives a good deal of background information in her article: "Pastoral and Epithalamium in Latin Literature," Speculum, Vol.XXIII (Cambridge, 1948), pp.35-57. The same author has also written a dissertation on the epithalamium in the Middle Ages: A Study of the Epithalamium in the Middle Ages: an Introduction to the Epithalamium Beate Marie Virginis of John of Garland (Berkeley, 1930).

of the Neo-Latin period.¹

The term "epithalamium" in this study will be synonymous with "wedding poem." Zoja Pavlovskis makes the following distinction: "The term 'epithalamium' initially was applied to verses sung on the threshold of the marriage chamber. After the time of the Greek lyric poets, however, this word became associated with long compositions, usually in hexameters, dedicated to those about to be married, yet not intended for singing during the wedding."²

It cannot be determined from allusions of Homer and of Hesiod to early popular songs precisely when the

¹"There are thus two streams flowing from the classical period, the more important being that of Statius and Claudian. The second stream, of Catullus, is almost neglected by Latin writers; and only two great poets in the vernacular, Remy Belleau in France, and Edmund Spenser in England, show a distinct structural borrowing. Claudian and Statius inspire the majority." Epithalamion by Edmund Spenser, ed. Cortlandt Van Winkle (New York, 1926), p.19.

Wilms (op.cit., pp.45-46) also affirms the dominant influence of Statius upon the Neo-Latin: "Von besonderer Bedeutung für die Komposition und mythologische Ausschmückung ist das Epithalamion des Statius... In unzähligen Variationen kehren diese (Statius) Gedanken und Bilder in der neulateinischen und deutschen Hochzeitspoesie wieder."

Greene underrates the importance of Statius for the Renaissance epithalamium; however, he is primarily concerned with the sources of Spenser's Epithalamion: "With the Epithalamium in Stellam et Violentillam of Statius (written about A.D.90), the genre entered a new stage which was to influence the Renaissance far less than the Sapphic-Catullan type." op.cit., p.216.

The epithalamium of Paulinus of Nola is the only Christian wedding poem of antiquity which rejects the pagan mythological figures. These figures are also rejected by some of the Neo-Latin and by some of the Baroque writers.

²Pavlovskis, op.cit., p.164.

literary epithalamium originated.¹ The first actual fragments, however, are to be found in the writings of Sappho (ca. 600 B.C.).² Fewer than twenty fragments have been preserved. However, even as late as the Alexandrian Age her wedding poems were extensive enough to form a book which was cited by subsequent writers.³ Sappho's nuptial poems include elements that became traditional: praise of the bride's beauty, praise of the groom, and a description of the role of Aphrodite (Venus) in the wedding. Mangelsdorff maintains that her influence upon subsequent epithalamia of antiquity was very extensive.⁴

¹ Homer describes a wedding procession in Book XVIII of the Iliad: "In the one (city) were espousals and marriage feasts, and beneath the blazing of torches they were leading the brides from their chambers through the city, and loud arose the bridal song. And young men were whiffling in the dance, and among them flutes and viols sounded high; and the women standing each at her door were marvelling." The Iliad of Homer, trans. Andrew Lang (New York, 1950), p. 351. Cf. Hesiod, trans. Richard Lattimore (Ann Arbor, 1961), p. 207.

Van Winkle distinguishes between the folk epithalamium and the literary type: op.cit., p. 6.

² Cf. Wheeler, "Tradition in the Epithalamium," p. 207.

³ Wheeler, Catullus, p. 185.

⁴ Mangelsdorff, p. 51.

The Sapphic strophe appears even in a German Baroque Hochzeitsgedicht:

"Lustige Sappho/lass die sÄiten klingen/
Edele Musen/ fanget an zusingen/
Liebliche nymphen/schicket euch zuspringen/
tantzen und schertzen." Plavius in Danziger Barockdichtung Hrsg. Kindermann (Leipzig, 1939), p. 87.

Greek wedding poems were also composed by the lyric poet Alcman in Sparta and in the Alexandrian Age by Callimachus and Eratosthenes; however, only very brief fragments remain.¹ Apart from wedding poems imbedded in dramas, only one Greek epithalamium survives in its entirety.² It was written by Theocritus and dedicated to Helen and Menelaus. The chief maidens of Sparta, grouping before the bridal chamber, sing to the newly-wedded pair. They mock the sleepy groom and warn him not to forget to get up in the morning:

May Latona, the nurse of youth, grant to you the blessing of children; and Venus, goddess Venus, That ye may be loved alike one by another; and Jove, Jove the son of Saturn, lasting riches; that they may descend from nobly born to nobly born again. Sleep on, breathing into the bosoms each of the other love and desire, and forget not to rise towards morn. We too will return at dawn, as soon as the earliest songster having reared his crested neck, shall have crowed from his roost. Hymen, O Hymenaeus, mayest thou joy over these nuptials.³

The exhortation to consummation coupled with the prayer for numerous and noble posterity recur in subsequent epithalamia.⁴

The only surviving epithalamia from the Golden Age of

¹Cf. Wheeler, Catullus, p.186.

²Epithalamia are imbedded in The Trojan Women and Phaëthon of Euripides and in Birds and Peace of Aristophanes. These are discussed by Van Winkle, pp.10-11.

³The Idylls of Theocritus, trans. J. Banks (London, 1911), p.101.

⁴Two other traditional elements that recur in subsequent epithalamia are the wish for long life and for harmonious love.

Roman literature are those of Catullus.¹ Wheeler believes that these three wedding poems are by far the most beautiful examples of the literary form.² Only one (carmen 61) deals with the marriage of actual persons. It is dedicated to Manlius Torquatus and Vinia Aurunculea. Several elements are present which are to radiate their influence far into the future. The bride is said to be more beautiful than Venus when that goddess appeared before the Phrygian judge. A second element which is to reappear in subsequent wedding poems is the dominant role played by Hymen. This wedding god is described in detail and he performs the important function of giving the bride to the groom.³ Finally, a third element that is to reappear subsequently is the exhortation to unite playfully in love and to bring forth children who will bear the likeness of their parents.

The second epithalamium of Catullus (carmen 62) is not directed to any particular persons.⁴ Maidens and youths

¹The Golden Age is dated from 70 B.C. to 14 A.D. J. Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age (New York, 1931), p.2.

Catullus is credited with introducing the Greek elements of the epithalamium into Roman literature. Cf. R. Reitzenstein, "Die Hochzeit des Peleus und der Thetis," Hermes Zeitschrift für classische Philologie, XXXV(Berlin, 1900), p.96.

²Wheeler, Catullus, p.183.

³Wheeler comments upon the appearance of Hymen in Catullus(61): "He is young, and he possesses certain physical characteristics which seem to be feminine--the snow-white foot(9), the high, clear voice(13). He carries a torch(15) and even wears a veil(8)." "Tradition in the Epithalamium," p.210.

⁴Except for the dos at the end it is entirely devoid of specifically Roman elements. Catullus(62) is discussed in detail by Wheeler, Catullus, pp. 213ff.

argue in alternate choruses. The maidens curse the evening star, for its appearance signifies the end of the bride's virginity.¹ This is, however, a cause for the youths to welcome and bless the star. The two groups then argue in alternate choruses about the value of virginity as opposed to marriage. The youths introduce the important analogy of the vine and the elm as a symbol for the marital union of man and wife.² The arguments of the youths prevail. This is evident from their concluding remarks which they address to the bride:

virginitas non tota tuast, ex parte parentumst;
 tertia pars patrist, pars est data tertia matri,
 tertia sola tuast: noli pugnare duobus,
 qui genero sua iura simul cum dote dederunt.
 Hymen, o Hymenaeae, Hymen ades o Hymenaeae!³

The third epithalamium of Catullus (carmen 64) is by far the longest. It is dedicated to Peleus and Thetis, who are to be the parents of Achilles. The greater part of the poem involves a description of the coverlet on the marriage bed.

¹ Hesperus, the Evening Star, was mentioned as early as Sappho (Wheeler, "Tradition in the Epithalamium," p. 216). It is a recurring image. This is partly because Roman (and Greek) weddings took place in the evening, and partly because this star suggests the consummation.

Hesperus reappears in both the Neo-Latin and the German wedding poems.

² This image is treated in detail by Peter Demetz "The Elm and the Vine: Notes Toward the History of a Marriage Topos" *PMIA*, Vol. LXXIII (Dec, 1958), pp. 521-532. Demetz traces the image back to Cato's De Agri Cultura.

³ The Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus, trans. F.W. Cornish (London, 1935), p. 90, 62-66.

which was embroidered with the deeds of mythological heroes. Then the Parcae sing to the couple of their great progeny Achilles. The recurring refrain refers to the thread of fate and suggests the transitoriness of all human affairs.¹

The only example of a literary epithalamium from the Silver Age of classical Latin literature, apart from one included in Seneca's Medea, is the epithalamium of Statius.² With this wedding poem the genre enters a new stage. It loses its lyrical quality and becomes a species of rhetorical panegyric. This poem together with its embellishment by Claudian is of central significance for the Neo-Latin epithalamium.

After begging his Muse for inspiration, the poet begins his tale. Venus is lying in her bower, far removed from mortal cares. Cupid, one of her winged assistants (Amores), tells her of the great agony of Stella, for that young man is burning with an insatiable desire for Violentilla. She, however, does not share her lover's eagerness. With eloquent pleading Cupid asks help for Stella, particularly

¹"currite, ducentes subtegmina, currite, fusi." This refrain occurs twelve times. The Parcae, as symbols of transitoriness, appear in both Neo-Latin and German wedding poems.

²Duff dates the Silver Age from 14 A.D. to 138 A.D.-- that is, from the beginning of the reign of Tiberius to the end of the reign of Hadrian. (op.cit., p.2).

The epithalamium for Jason and Creusa incorporated into Seneca's Medea is similar to Catullus (carmen 62) in that there is a choral situation in which praise of the bride alternates with that of the groom.

because he is a poet.¹ In addition he is especially dear to Apollo, and has often honored the gods. Venus undertakes the long journey to Rome in a chariot drawn by doves. After locating the magnificent home of Violentilla, she enters the chamber of this bride-to-be and disposes her with moving eloquence. She tells her that marriage is the sole reason for which her beauty has been granted to her.

Statius indicates that this beauty is great indeed, for Paris would have awarded the apple to the bride in preference to any of the goddesses, and Apollo would quickly have forgotten Daphne if he had seen the bride. Her radiance is so great that all the regions of the earth could scarcely produce the rich fabrics and gems needed to set it off.

Other gods who will play roles in the Neo-Latin wedding poems appear in this epithalamium. Hymen and Juno play a brief part, and Diana is invoked as moon-goddess. The traditional good wishes--long life, harmonious love, exhortation to unite in love, and the wish for children--are expressed.

Some of the peculiarly Greek elements, evident in the epithalamia of Catullus, have disappeared. There are no refrains, no Hymen calls, and no choral interchanges.²

¹Cupid's special interest in poets will be evident in both Neo-Latin and German wedding poems.

²"The alternating choruses have been abandoned, but nevertheless traces of them remain in the Cupid and Venus dialogue." Wilson, "Pastoral and Epithalamium...", "p.37.

Between Statius and Claudian, the next major Roman representative of this type of epithalamium, there is a gap of more than 250 years.¹ Claudian has left two epithalamia modelled upon Statius.² The first of these deals with the wedding of the emperor Honorius. Again Venus is resting in her bower before her attention is called by her son Cupid to the raging passion of the prospective groom.

The abode of the bride had been briefly described in the epithalamium of Statius; Claudian, in accordance with the jaded taste of his imperial audience, creates for Venus a much more elaborate palace which was designed by Vulcan, the God of Fire.³ The columns are supported by emerald beams, the walls are of beryl, the thresholds of polished jasper. The floors are of agate, which is trodden underfoot like dirt.

This unbridled extravagance is apparent in other details of the narrative. Venus journeys to the wedding on the back of Triton, a sea god. His back is embedded with scarlet coverlets upon which the goddess rests during the

¹The probable dates of Statius are 45-96 A.D.; those of Claudian are 355-410 A.D.

²A detailed analysis of the relationships between the epithalamia of Statius and Claudian is given by Pavlovskis, pp.166-168.

There are 12 epithalamia extant from the late imperial age. Ausonius, Claudian(2), Paulinus of Nola, Sidonius(2), Apollinaris, Dracontius(2), Ennodius, Luxorius, and Fortunatus wrote wedding-poems that have survived. Cf. The Oxford Classical Dictionary (Oxford, 1950)p.333.

³Cf. Pavlovskis, p.167.

journey, while her snowy feet trail in the sea. The winged Amores who follow Venus, in accordance with the hyperbole everywhere evident in the poem, are exceedingly numerous.¹

Venus enters the bride's chamber and describes her beauty. This beauty is, if possible, even more overwhelming than that described in the wedding poem of Statius.² The beauty of the bride's mother is compared to a rose in full bloom. Claudian's skilfully indirect praise of the bride is very effective: if the mother is so exquisitely beautiful, how lovely must the daughter be!³ Venus describes the bride's radiance:

non labra rosae, non colla pruinae,
non crines aequant violae, non lumina flammae.
quam iuncti leviter sese discrimine confert
umbra supercilii! miscet quam iusta pudorem
temperies nimio nec sanguine candor abundat!
Aurorae vincis digitos umerosque Dianae;
ipsam iam superas matrem.⁴

The position of Venus is even more important than in the poem of Statius.⁵ She dominates the major part of the

¹Cf. Pavlovskis, p.167.

²The bride is, however, not pictured as the desired object of mythological heroes, as was the case in the poem of Statius. The fact that she is to be the wife of the emperor is in itself the supreme indication of her worth.

³Cf. Pavlovskis, p.168.

⁴Claudian, trans. Maurice Platnauer, Vol. I (London, 1922), pp.260-262.

⁵Venus and Cupid continue to hold a dominant position in the epithalamia of late antiquity, including those written by Christian authors. Paulinus of Nola is the one exception. Cf. Wilson, "Pastoral and Epithalamium...", p.38.

epithalamium and makes the actual preparations for the wedding. She orders Hymen to choose the festal torches, the Graces to gather flowers, and Concord to weave the garlands.

The pastoral mood is also carried to extremes, for the soldiers see their standards of war burgeon with myrtle and their spears sprout with living leaves. Finally, they lay aside their weapons and, dressed in white, scatter flowers like rain and drench their leader (the bride's father) in a mist of purple blossoms.

In his second epithalamium Claudian treats the marriage of Palladius and Celerina. Here too Venus has the central role. She is described asleep in her luxurious bower. She is awakened from her slumber by a tumult in the distance. She looks for Hymen, whom she had placed in charge of marital affairs, and asks him the meaning of the great festivities. He tells her that it is the wedding day for Palladius and Celerina and urges her to attend the celebration. She makes the journey in her chariot drawn by doves. She is accompanied by her troop of winged Amores. At the doors of the marriage chamber these little creatures pour out baskets of red spring flowers and then empty heaps of tender violets from their quivers. Venus hastens to the happy pair, joins their hands, and blesses their union. She cautions the groom not to be too impetuous and the bride not to be too fearful. She then calls for two of the Amores

who shoot their honey-tipped arrows into the hearts of both bride and groom.

Paulinus of Nola (353-431 A.D.), a staunchly Christian writer and contemporary of Claudian, rejects the entire pagan machinery in his epithalamium for Iulianus and Ia.¹ He rejects Juno, Cupid, and Venus by name, for he considers them to be expressions of the wantonness of the vulgar crowd, and symbols of pagan prodigality and extravagance.² Paulinus avoids reference to the beauty of the bride, and he rejects gems, beautiful clothing, and unusual hairstyles as unnecessary for a Christian woman.³ "Coeant pax, pudor, et pietas" is his wish for bride and groom.⁴ Their union is to be like the union of Christ and the church. Christian obedience, purity and patience are praised. The poem reads very much like the sermon of an overly-religious moralist.⁵

¹This epithalamium is the only one surviving from antiquity that includes a description of the creation of the world. This is an important element in the Neo-Latin epithalamium. However, the creation was treated in a poetic way by other Christian writers of the fifth century, e.g. Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus. Cf. E.S. Duckett, Latin Writers of the Fifth Century (New York, 1930), p. 65.

²Cf. p. 37, footnote 2.

³Cf. Pavlovskis, p. 165.

⁴Patrologiae Latinae, ed. J.P. Migne, Vol. LXI (Paris, 1862), p. 633, 12.

⁵Cf. Van Winkle, p. 16.

In order to illustrate the sacred character of marriage, Paulinus describes Adam's deep sleep, the taking of the rib, and the forming of Eve:

Ex una fecit carne manere duos.
 Nam sopitus Adam costa privatus adempta est
 Moxque suo factam sumisit ab osse parem:
 Nec lateris damnum, suppleta carne vicissim,
 Sensit, et agnovit quod geminatus erat;
 Seque alium ex sese sociali in corpore cernens,
 Ipse propheta sui mox fuit ore novo.
 Haec, inquit, caro carne mea est: os ab ossibus
 Nosco meum: istaec est costa mei lateris¹

This creation setting appears in extended form in the Neo-Latin epithalamia.²

Although Paulinus consciously rejects pagan elements and substitutes Christ for Venus, he shows his familiarity with the Statius-Claudian tradition.³ His plea that Christ yoke the couple like a pair of doves and make them obey his reins (lines 3-4) resembles Statius' reference to the swan chariot of Venus.

The other Christian writers of epithalamia, Ennodius, Dracontius, Sidonius, and Fortunatus, revert to the pagan tradition. Venus and Cupid play a major role in their wedding poems, and pastoral elements become important. In the epithalamium of Ennodius there is an opening picture of spring in the country. In the wedding poem of Dracontius the country deities Pan, Bacchus, and Silenus are found in the

¹Migne, op.cit., p.633, 18-26.

²Cf. Fidlerius, p.140, Fincelius, p.153, Hubnerius, p.569, and Lotichius(1), p.1486. Cf. also pp.55ff.

³Cf. Pavlovskis, pp.165-166.

retinue of Venus. Fortunatus, a Merovingian, in his pastoral epithalamium to celebrate the marriage of Sigibert and Brunhilda, marks the end of the pagan phase of the epithalamium.¹

In the Middle Ages devotional poems were written under the title epithalamium, but they had almost nothing in common with the classical genre. These devotional poems were based largely upon the cantica canticorum, which describes in great detail the beauty of the bride and the joys of matrimony, and upon the 44th Psalm of the Vulgate.² This psalm is an Hebrew epithalamium which includes descriptions of the bride's beauty, the rejoicings of the bridal procession, and the ceremony in the temple.

Knowledge of the Roman rhetorical epithalamium in the Middle Ages eventually was limited almost entirely to the De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii.³ This is an elaborate allegory, written by Martianus Capella and telling of the mythical marriage of Mercury and Philology. The bride, who represents encyclopedic knowledge, is raised to the rank of divinity in an elaborate ceremony.⁴ The seven

¹Cf. Wilson, "Pastoral and Epithalamium...", p.37.

²Ibid, p.40. Cf. also Van Winkle, p.7.

³Cf. Wilson, "Pastoral and Epithalamium...", p.40.

⁴These details of Capella's work are taken from Later Roman Education in Ausonius, Capella and the Theodosian Code, trans. Percival R. Cole (New York, 1909), pp.16ff.

liberal arts form a part of the wedding gifts. The discussion and explanation of the liberal arts dominates the major part of the poem. However, many of the gods who were active in the wedding poems of antiquity appear, including Apollo, Juno, and Pallas.

This work of Capella shows only a faint echo of the influence of the Roman epithalamium. These wedding poems were to lie dormant until the reawakening in the Renaissance.

CHAPTER II

THE NEO-LATIN EPITHALAMIUM

During the first half of the fifteenth century, when the Roman literature of antiquity was recognized as an absolute ideal for imitation, the classical Latin epithalamium experienced a rebirth in Europe.

A distinction can be made, however, between the humanistic Latin of the fifteenth century and the Neo-Latin of the sixteenth century. The fifteenth century poets read their newly-discovered Latin authors and proceed to emulate them, but, because of the thousand-year tradition of Middle Latin, without pristine grammatical accuracy.¹ In the sixteenth century, partly because of the increased importance of the universities, and more particularly because of the influence of Erasmus and Melancthon, the Neo-Latin takes on a more learned and scholarly character.²

However, the Roman models are still held in the highest

¹Cf. Merker-Stammier, "Neulateinische Dichtung," p. 621.

²Ellinger suggests the year 1525 as an arbitrary dividing-line between the humanistic and the Neo-Latin. "Die ganze Bewegung wird in das Bett des Schulmässigen geleitet, und etwas von diesem Charakter haftet auch dem Grössten an, was innerhalb dieses späteren Gelehrtentums geleistet worden ist. Angesichts dieses grundsätzlichen Unterschiedes zwischen der Zeit vor und nach 1525--die Zahl gibt selbstverständlich nur eine allgemeine Bestimmung--erscheint es zweckmässig, die beiden miteinander verbundenen und doch sich deutlich voneinander abhebenden Perioden auch durch die Namen voneinander zu sondern." "Grundfragen und Aufgaben...", p. 2.

esteem and are still followed very closely. Sometimes, to a limited extent, they are even copied word-for-word.

For example, Claudian, in his epithalamium for Honorius writes:

ne cessa, iuvenis, comminus adgredi,
 impacata licet saeviat unguibus.
 non quisquam fruitur veris odoribus
 Hyblaeos latebris nec spoliat favos,
si fronti caveat, si timeat rubos;
armat spina rosas, mella tegunt apes.
 crescunt difficili gaudia iurgio
 accenditque magis, quae refugit Venus.
 quod flenti tuleris, plus sapit osculum.¹

Marquardius, in composing his sixteenth-century epithalamium, obviously borrowed many elements from Claudian:

Sed quis odorarum potietur flore rosarum;
 Carpere de spinis mediis veprium inter acuta
 Si dubitet digitis pungi metuentibus? aut quis
 Hybleos(ue) favos et cerea texta sonoris
 Eripiens turmis succos spoliabit opimos;
Si fronti caveat, minimos formidet et ictus?
Armat spina rosas, et apes sua mella tuentur:
 ...
Quae refugit Venus, haec maiori accenditur igne:
 Quae(ue) feret flenti, nimio quid dulcius illa
 Oscula ei sapient.²

In both passages there are references to Hyblaean honey which is guarded by bees, and to roses which are protected by thorns. In both passages there is the suggestion that kisses snatched through tears are sweeter. Finally, there are three cases of word-for-word correspondence: si fronti caveat, armat spina rosas, and quae refugit Venus.

¹Claudian, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 236, 5-13.

²Marquardius(1), Delitiae, Vol. III, p. 308.

A factor in the sixteenth century which gave considerable impetus to the epithalamium was the Reformation. Luther and Melancthon praised marriage as divinely ordained and as a most sacred vocation.¹ This was in direct opposition to the insistence of the Roman church upon a celibate clergy. Thus was paved the way for the great reverence (and stern moralizing) toward the marital state evident in the Protestant writers of epithalamia.² This reverence and moralizing is evident in Sabinus and Stigelius, two writers who were active at Wittenberg during the early years of the Reformation and

¹"Er (Melancthon) preist den Segen des ehelichen Standes und zieht scharf gegen die zu Felde, die die Hoheit der Ehe anzutasten wagen." Ellinger, Die neulateinische Lyrik Deutschlands, op.cit., p.66.

This attitude is echoed in German wedding poems by Lohenstein and by Günther. For example:

"Schickt sichs/ ein priester seyn/ und gleichwohl
hochzeit machen?"

Ja ja! gar wohl! was Gottes liebes kind/
Was die natur den seelen eingesämet/
Steh't auch für Gott in tempeln unbeschämet."

Lohenstein in Benjamin Neukirchs Anthologie Hrsg. De Capua, I (Tübingen, 1961), p.151, 40-43. Cf. Johann Christian Günthers sämtliche Werke VI Hrsg. Wilhelm Krämer (Leipzig, 1935) p.282, 21-28:

"Wilstu, wenn andere sich freyn und lassen freyen,
Der Sehnsucht und der Lust im Leben gütlich thun,
Den schön-und jungen Leib so scharf und hart casteln
Und ohne Fleischesruh im Klosterwinckel ruhn?
Der Liebe Nuzung ist und bleibt der Schaz des Lebens;
Was nützt der Diamant, ist er in Berg und Nacht?
Des Himmels Vorsicht hat, o Braut, dir nicht vergebens
Dein Herz und was sonst mehr von Fleisch und Blut
gemacht."

²The vast majority of the Neo-Latin poets in sixteenth-century Germany were Protestant. Cf. Merker-Stammler, "Neulateinische Dichtung," p.626.

whose epithalamia have been included in this study.¹

The majority of the Neo-Latin epithalamia included in this study were written for personal friends of the poet or for members of the nobility. A few poems, particularly those of Lindebergius, were produced for members of the middle-class.²

Apparently the Neo-Latin epithalamia were a part of the entertainment accompanying the festivities. They were probably recited and thus served a function comparable to the music, the dancing, and the masques which the more extravagant weddings required.³

The longer poems exert an optative pressure--that is, they try to call into being the ideal way of life that should begin with the wedding.⁴ This is particularly true of the poems with lengthy religious settings(e.g. Fidlerius, Fincelius, Hubnerius), but it is also true of some of those with a predominantly mythological setting(e.g. Acontius [2], Haslobius).⁵

¹"Entscheidender Einfluss jedoch für die neulateinische Poesie ging erst von den Gelehrten um Melanchthon aus. Unter ihnen sind vor allem Georg Sabinus und Johannes Stigel zu nennen." Heinz Wilms, op.cit., p.16.

²Cf. Van Winkle, op.cit., p.18: "Evidently a few writers, such as Bersmannus, Lindebergius, and G. Tilenus, made pin-money at least by dedicating verses to newly-married people."

³Cf. Greene, op.cit., p.219.

⁴Ibid., p.221.

⁵Cf. W. Leonard Grant, Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral (Chapel Hill, 1965), p.54: "German epithalamia are highly moralizing, if not downright priggish..."

Finally, before entering upon the analysis of the epithalamia, something must be said of the difficulty of working in the area of Neo-Latin generally. The field is almost incredibly vast.¹ In addition there is a dearth of standard reference works.² Ellinger's three volume history and articles in Merker-Stammler comprise almost the only overview of the field. Short biographical sketches of many of the Neo-Latin authors are contained in the Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.

The epithalamium of Joannes Secundus is the only one of the thirty included in this study that was available in English.³ However, five of the remaining twenty-nine have been reproduced complete with English translation in Appendix "C".

¹"Thousands of volumes, ranging from duodecimo midgets to folio giants, were devoted to every sort of prose and verse: history, philosophy, theology, biography, the essay, the novel, epic, lyric, satire, elegy, pastoral--all these and many more are represented in staggering profusion." W.L. Grant, *op.cit.*, p.3.

²Cf. Conrady, *op.cit.*, p.1.

³F.A. Wright, The Love Poems of Joannes Secundus (New York, 1930), pp.216-237.

Mythological Elements

Venus

Venus was a Roman goddess early identified with the Greek Aphrodite.¹ She was primarily the goddess of love and the goddess of the productive power of nature. In antiquity she was regarded as the wife of Hephaestus (also known as Vulcan and as Lemnius), and, later, as the mother of Aeneas. Both of these relationships appear in the Neo-Latin epithalamia.²

Venus is the most important single figure in the Neo-Latin poems, for she appears in twenty-three of the thirty under consideration. In some cases she dominates the entire poem, in others she is merely mentioned, sometimes under one of her epithets. The designations "Cyprian" and "Paphian" are almost as common as her own name. She also appears in the epithalamia as the "Idalian," and as "Erycina."³

¹Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft VIII (Stuttgart, 1955), p.828;

"Venus. Italisch-römische Göttin...in der Überlieferung, wahrscheinlich aber schon in vorliterarischer Zeit und von Anfang an mit der griechischen Aphrodite identisch."

²She is regarded as the wife of Vulcan in the epithalamium of Acontius(2), p.356, and as the mother of Aeneas in the epithalamium of Sabinus(1), p.256.

³The designation "Cyprian" comes from the island of Cyprus near which Venus (as Aphrodite) had arisen from the sea. The epithets "Paphian" and "Idalian" stem from Paphos and Idalium, which were chief seats of her worship in Cyprus. Venus is also called "Erycina," from Mount Eryx in Sicily, another place dear to her. Cf. Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities (New York, 1923), p.96 and p. 1642. Cf. Lotichius(1), p.1485: "Tuque O, sive tuam colis Cytheron, / Seu blandum Idalium, sacramque Cyprum, / Et luos Eryois, Paphum calentem..."

In general she appears in three distinct ways within the framework of the Neo-Latin epithalamium:

1. She actively brings about the wedding, usually through the instrumentality of her son Cupid.
2. She is considered an authority on all matters of the heart.
3. She is associated with passion, and with the physical side of marriage.

Each of these aspects will be examined in detail.

1. She brings about the wedding, usually through the instrumentality of her son Cupid.

In three of the epithalamia Venus and Cupid have an elaborate and extended role in bringing about the wedding. They appear in a pastoral setting in the Statius-Claudian tradition.¹ Haslobius' retelling of this tale of antiquity is typical. His narrative opens with a description of the garden of Venus. The garden bears magnificent fruit, foliage, and flowers. Venus herself prepares a garland of exquisite lilies and fragrant roses. She is assisted by Satyrs, nymphs, and by her company of Amores. The chief of these assistants, Cupid, who has been away on a long journey, returns to his mother's garden, beating the air with his vibrating wings. He flies straight to Venus and hangs from her beautiful neck. She is rather annoyed with him, for she is sure that he has been guilty of his usual

¹The three epithalamia are: Acontius(2), p.356, Haslobius, p.516, and Heinsius, p.367. (Page numbers for each author refer to the books listed in Appendix "A"). Cf. p.7.

It is appropriate that Venus be pictured in an elaborate garden, for among her other functions in antiquity she was a goddess of gardens and patroness of gardeners.

wanton behavior. She thinks that he may have attacked Jupiter and again caused his transformation into bull, swan, or shower of gold. She remembers too that her son's arrows had led to the abduction of Helen and to the eventual destruction of Troy. Cupid assures his mother that the situation is not so serious. He has wounded Schosserus (the groom in the epithalamium) with his arrows and that unhappy poet is now burning day and night with an insatiable passion for his beloved Margarin. Cupid urges his mother to make the trip to the city on the Oder where the marriage will take place. They undertake the trip together with Hymen. Wherever they go the way is invested with roses, and whatever fields they traverse seem to be adorned with flowers. When they reach the banks of the Oder, the old river-god himself, sensing the presence of the deities, rises from the water to meet them.¹ Head still dripping with mossy seaweed, he asks them the purpose of their trip. He has seen the Muses pass by shortly before and feels that some event of great importance must be about to take place. Venus tells him of Schosserus' wedding and of the garland that she and Cupid are bringing to show

¹The interlude with the river-god does not appear in the epithalamia of Statius or of Claudian. It does appear, however, in other Neo-Latin epithalamia. In Acontius(2), p. 359, the Elb makes an appearance: "Sensit adessee deos subito pater Albis, et antro/ Extulit os madidum..." In Sabinus(1), p.237, father Vistula makes an appearance. Finally, in Lotichius(3), p.205, the Neckar rises from his waters.

their appreciation of that young man's poetic achievements.

Venus arrives at the scene of the wedding and visits the bride. She urges her to venerate her husband with a chaste love and to allow no strife to enter their marriage. Then she presents the garland to the groom, and detains both bride and groom in pleasant conversation. Meanwhile, her son draws his arrows and fires them into the hearts of both. Hymen, carrying his fiery torches, indicates that this wedding has been approved by God.¹ Venus now bestows great beauty upon the bride.²

In one poem Venus finds it necessary to employ strategy to overcome the resistance of the groom and thus to bring about a wedding.³ Cupid's arrows had been constantly diverted from their target by Pallas Athena, presumably because the groom was a learned man and was especially devoted to her. Venus decides to visit him in a way that will find him more receptive, and thus to achieve her purpose:

non Marte sed arte,
Non vi sed technis, vincendus Westphalus infit.⁴

¹This intermingling of Christian and pagan elements is found on many occasions in both Neo-Latin and German poems. However, sometimes Christian and pagan viewpoints are placed in sharp contrast. Cf. p. 40.

²In Acontius(2), p. 362 Venus bestowed an especial charm upon the bride so that she could be the most beautiful girl in the country on her wedding day. In Lindebergius(6), p. 1188, she gave the girl sterling character as well as beauty.

³Lindebergius(5), p. 1187.

⁴Ibid.

She disguises herself as a student eager for instruction. While the groom is thus occupied, Cupid creeps up on him unawares and fires the powerful arrows into his heart.

2. Venus is considered an authority on all matters of the heart.

In an epithalamium of Lindebergius she debates with Pallas concerning whether it is better for a man to marry a virgin or a widow.¹ Venus believes that marriage with a widow is better, for the widow is more experienced and less temperamental. In addition, the widow's experience has made her mild and capable of sincere love, capable too of sharing in misfortune. The beauty of a young girl does not last anyway, and young girls are often fickle, thoughtless, and quarrelsome. The arguments of Venus are given the greater weight, for the groom does indeed marry a widow.

In another instance Venus is not at all diffident in claiming for herself the first place in matters relating to marriage:

Advocor, et merito, castorum mater amorum,
Hoc duce me sacrum perficietur opus.
Coniugio totum quae tempero nobilis orbem,
Numinis in multis haec quoque cura mei est.²

She even goes so far as to say that it was she who first guided mankind from chaos to civilization and secure social

¹Lindebergius (3), p.1184. Daniel Morhof, Polyhistor (Lübeck, 1732), p.679 suggests that this is a common topic in the epithalamium: "an virgines viduis sint praeferendae."

²Lotichius (1), p.1486.

living.

Since her primacy in matters of love is commonly recognized, she is often invoked for inspiration just as are the Muses. For example:

Alma Venus, si te vatam mortalia tangunt
Carmina, si socii leges et foedera lecti,
Et teneros lusus, et mutua gaudia curas;
Huc ades et cultos mecum spaciare per hortos¹

3. Venus is associated with passion, and with the physical side of marriage.

The connection of Venus with the physical side of marriage appears frequently in the Neo-Latin epithalamia. Indeed, the term "venereal" comes from her name.² The connection between the goddess of love and sensual gratification is evident in the following exhortation:

quid, quid corpus coniungere differs?
Serpente in amplexus intactas solvite zonas
Primitias Veneri³

In other epithalamia it is said that at nightfall she sees the fires that are dear to her and that the delights of the marriage bed are in fact her greatest gift.⁴

It is because of this aspect of her work, and more particularly because of the dangers to infidelity and promiscuity which she represents, that she is sometimes banned from the wedding ceremony. In two instances her

¹Lotichius(3), p.195. She is also invoked by Lindebergius(1), p.1174.

²The Oxford English Dictionary, XII(Oxford, 1933), p.94.

³Lindebergius(6), p.1188.

⁴Marquardius(1), p.307 and J. Secundus, p.216.

name is equated with lust and it is indicated that God created the marriage bond to guard mankind against her wiles.¹ In another case she is denounced violently as an associate of wickedness and crime:

Absint nequitiae, scelerumq(ue) libido creatrix,
Quaeq(ue) solet fines transilisse Venus²

Cupid

Cupid is the Roman form of Eros, the Greek god of love. He was one of the first beings to arise out of chaos. Venus, in describing the beginning of the world, indicates that he was present in the earliest times:

Sub Iove gens hominum desertis ibat in agris,
Ducebat comites gnava iuventa canes.
Cum pharetra solito pendebant regia collo,
Ille mei puri notior arcus erat.³

From earliest Roman times Cupid and Amor are identified.⁴ This love-god is a winged boy with bows and arrows. He is sometimes depicted as blind.⁵ His arrows inflict the wound

¹Fidlerius, p.139 and Fincelius, p.155.

²Acontius(1), p.352. This problem of the blending together of Christian and pagan elements within the confines of a literary work is treated in detail on p.105.

³Lotichius(1), p.1486.

⁴Pauly-Wissowa IV(Stuttgart, 1901), p.1759: "Cupido, wie Amor eine lateinische Benennung des Liebesgottes, in der besonders der Gedanke an die sinnliche Leidenschaft zum Ausdruck kommt. In der Literatur werden beide Namen schon in älterer Zeit ohne erkennbaren Unterschied verwertet."

⁵Lotichius(2), p.98.

of love and their power is formidable to gods and men. He usually operates in concert with Venus, as her assistant. Sometimes he is represented as the chief Amor of the many Amores in her company.

His chief characteristic is his total irresponsibility.¹ Absolutely no one is safe from his wiles. Jupiter himself, whose loves are mentioned in four of the epithalamia, was forced by Cupid to undergo many humiliations in order to obtain the various objects of his desire.² He assumed the form of a bull in order to abduct Europa. He appeared to Leda in the form of a swan. He assumed the form of a shower of gold in order to secure Danae, who had been shut up in an underground vault by her solicitous father.³

¹Ovid credits Cupid with creating the elegaic meter by wantonly stealing a foot from the hexameter. The new meter was not suited to describing deeds of war, but only those of love:

"Arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam
edere, materia conveniente modis.
par erat inferior versus--rissime Cupido
dicitur atque unum surripuisse pedem."

Ovid, Heroides and Amores, trans. Grant Showerman (London, 1958), p. 318, 1-4.

²The four epithalamia are: Acontius (2), p. 357, Grotius, p. 210, Haslobius, p. 515, and Stigelius, p. 375.

"The explanation why such actions were ascribed to the most majestic of the gods is, the scholars say, that the Zeus of song and story has been made by combining many gods." Edith Hamilton, Mythology (Boston, 1942), p. 26.

³Three sons were born to Jupiter by Europa: Rhadamanthys, Minos, and Sarpedon. Helen and Castor were born through his union with Leda. Perseus was born through the union with Danae. Cf. Herbert Hunger, Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie (Wien, 1959), pp. 79, 112, and 200.

Sometimes Cupid's irresponsibility is suggested by his use of traps and snares:

Aspice, pone legit tardo vestigia passu.
cui struis insidias?¹

Venus, who had grown quite accustomed to the escapades of her wanton son, scolds him good-naturedly for the unreflecting use of his great power.² This power is indeed irresistible, for it can subdue even the most hardened of men:

Quem non mille mari non mille pericula terris
Non potuit studium vincere, vicit Amor.³

Cupid's irresistible power is also apparent in his attitude toward poets. He takes special delight in bringing them under his spell, for they consider themselves (and indeed are) above the ordinary run of men. He gleefully exclaims:

Hos ego iam docui qui sint, et qualia iactent.
Nam neque Pierides, neque spiritus ille superbis
Profruit aethera quem sede venire ferebant,
Omnibus ardor inest idem mea castra sequendi.⁴

He even has a special kind of arrow for poets; it penetrates to the very core of their consciousness and leaves in its wake an insistent longing that cannot be denied.⁵

Sometimes Cupid appears in his own right without

¹Idlerius, p.144.

²Haslobius, p.515 and Acontius(2), p.357.

³Finkelthusius, p.158.

⁴Acontius(2), p.358. His joy in subduing a poet is also apparent in Haslobius, p.519.

⁵Heinsius, p.368.

being accompanied by his mother. In two epithalamia he is regarded as an agent of lust and is ordered to stay away from the wedding proceedings. In one instance he is called a shameless boy, about to spread base fire.¹ In another case he is called the profaner of chaste love and is asked to stay away in the name of God:

Et tu foede puer, casti violator amoris,
Hic tua fax aliquid iuris habere potest?
Coniugii Deus auctor adest.²

Hymen

Hymen was originally not a person, but a refrain that occurred in the oldest Greek wedding songs.³ Presumably this refrain was sung while the bridal procession was proceeding from the home of the bride to the place of the ceremony. The origin of the word ἕμην cannot be explained etymologically.⁴ Later, however, Hymen became a divine personage and the presiding deity of the marriage rite.⁵

¹Hubnerius, p.568.

²Fidlerius, p.142. Cupid had also been rejected by name in the epithalamium of Paulinus of Nola. Cf. p.19.

"Absit ab his thalamis vani lascivia vulgi,
Juno, Cupido, Venus, nomina luxuriae."

Patrologiae Latinae, ed. J.P. Migne, Vol. LXI (Paris, 1862), p.633, 9-10.

³The Hymen refrain also plays a role in the epithalamium of Catullus (61), and in the Neo-Latin epithalamia of Lotichius (3), p.214, and Sabinus (1), p.256.

⁴Pauly-Wissowa, IX (Stuttgart, 1914), p.131.

⁵As a presiding deity of the marriage rite he makes his appearance in the Trojan Women of Euripides. Cf. Cortlandt Van Winkle, op.cit., p.11.

In Catullus(61) he is conceived of as a beautiful youth with attributes of the marriage torch, the wreath and the bridal veil. He thus possesses certain characteristics which seem to be feminine.¹ In the Neo-Latin he is represented as a person who is eternally youthful, who has no trace of a beard, and who is not at all susceptible to the ravages of time:

Prima genas signat niveas lanugo, nec illi
Ulla vetustatis tempora longa nocent.
Semper enim iuvenis, sine barba semper.²

One Neo-Latin author represents him as the son of Apollo, another as the son of Jupiter.³

In four of the epithalamia Hymen carries a flaming torch; with this he inflames the hearts of lovers.

For example:

Quare age, cinge comam sertis, cape flammea tecum,
Sume tuas taedas atq(ue) Hymenaeae veni.⁴

Hymen is the only deity in the Neo-Latin epithalamia who accompanies the bride and groom into their chambers on the bridal night and gives them intimate

¹Cf. Arthur L. Wheeler, "Tradition in the Epithalamium," p.210. Cf. also p.12, footnote 3. Hymen's feminine characteristics are also apparent in the epithalamium of Haslobius, p.519:

"Mox Hymenaeus adest, sertis decoratus et auro,
Ore locuturi dulcis abibat odor."

²Acontius(1), p.354.

³Marquardius(1), p.305 and Totichius(2), p.97.

⁴Acontius(1), p.350. Other examples of Hymen's torch are: Acontius(2), p.359, Sabinus(1), p.256, and Heinsius, p.367.

instruction:

Caetera, qui thalamum simul est ingressus, amantes
omnia praesenti voce monebit Hymen.¹

As has been indicated, Hymen sometimes appears in the Neo-Latin epithalamium as an assistant of Venus and as an associate of the Amores.² This is in accordance with the Statius-Claudian tradition. For example:

Medio Cytherea resedit
Gramine. formosus socios Hymenaeus Amores
Claudit, et extinctos paulatim suscitatur ignes,
Auspicium solemne sui.³

However, in two of the epithalamia he clearly overshadows Venus in importance. In one instance he is represented as the deviser of marriage. Before he established the principles of chaste wedlock, the human race was wandering aimlessly and hopelessly through deserted groves and remote caverns. In addition to devising firm principles of monogamous matrimony, Hymen also devised rules for virgins. They were to preserve decorum and not try to attract a man through painted cheeks or sidelong glances or suggestive beckoning.⁴

In another poem Hymen's supremacy in matrimonial

¹Acontius(1), p.355. Other examples of Hymen accompanying bride and groom into their chambers are: Lotichius(3), p.215, and Lotichius(2), p.101.

²Cf. pp.18 and 30.

³Heinsius, p.367.

⁴Lotichius(2), p.96.

matters is succinctly indicated:

Tu feros iuvenes domas,
 Tu vetas coitus vagos,
 Tu pater celebrem sacra
 Lege coniugii modum
 Primus instituisti.¹

Hymen sometimes serves as a bridge between the Christian and pagan worlds. In one instance he is represented as an agent of the Lord, for he relays the divine blessing upon the newly-wedded pair.² In another epithalamium he blesses the wedding which had been raised to a new dignity through the activity of Christ at Cana.³

However, in the poem of Fincelius, a more stringently orthodox writer, Hymen is banished together with Venus and other mythological figures, for he does belong, after all, to the pagan world.⁴

These problems of the intermingling or diametric opposition of Christian and pagan elements (also apparent in the case of Venus and Cupid), are part of a larger complex reaching all the way back to antiquity. The question resolves itself into this: How can deeply-intrenched pagan elements be utilized by Christianity for its own purposes? The following possibilities suggest themselves. The pagan

¹Stigelius, p. 373.

²Haslobius, p. 519.

³Hubnerius, p. 568.

⁴Fincelius, p. 153.

elements could be given a new significance; they could be used allegorically to express Christian principles. They could be treated in a light-hearted and frivolous manner. Finally, they could be rejected entirely. All of these approaches were attempted in the wedding poems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, the allegory, as will become evident, is much more apparent in the German poets than in their Neo-Latin counterparts. Since the discussion of this problem demands an overview of the poems of both centuries, a more lengthy treatment will be reserved for Chapter III.

Pallas Athena

Pallas Athena was the daughter of Zeus alone. She was full-grown and in full armor when she sprang from his head. No mother bore her.¹ Her origin is described in the epithalamium of Johannes Secundus: "Sancto vertice procreata Pallas."² Her virginity is an important aspect of her personality.³ She is also known for her wisdom, which is symbolized by the olive tree, and which is reflected in Neo-Latin epithalamia.⁴ In one poem her name is synonymous with wisdom and learning. The groom asks which should be

¹Edith Hamilton, Mythology, op.cit., p.29.

²Joannes Secundus, p.218.

³"Der jungfrüulichen Athena (Parthenos) war der herrlichste Tempel auf der Akropolis von Athen, der Parthenon, geweiht." H.Hunger, op.cit., p.62.

⁴Haslobius, p.520.

dearer to him--Pallas or his bride. The answer is: show much affection to both of them and both will show much affection in return.¹

Finally, Pallas is patroness of poets. This places her in opposition to Venus and Cupid, for they make poets fall in love; Pallas would preserve them from such a fate.

In a debate with Juno Pallas urges the advantages of single life as opposed to marriage. Her description of the difficulties of marital life is almost overwhelming. She points out that dread disease may lie in wait, or untimely death, or lack of food or clothing. She maintains that marriage makes impossible a life of equanimity, and she advises all of her followers to flee such a harried existence.² However, in another poem she indicates that if marriage must take place, a virgin is a much better choice than a widow:

Iocirco pulcram ducet pro coniuge nympham.
 Nympha placet cunctis, iuvenum(ue) est sola voluptas
 ...
 Quisquis es o viduo noli te credere fulcro,
 Iunge parem, plenaque fatiga corpora messe³

As patroness of virginity, Pallas tries to guard her poets against the designs of Venus and Cupid. However, in two of the epithalamia it is indicated that her help is not

¹Lindebergius(9), pp.1191-1192.

²Lindebergius(2), p.1183.

³Lindebergius(3), p.1185. Cf.p.32.

sufficient protection against their wives. For example, Cupid can gloat in his prowess:

Nonnihil in doctos fraus mea iuris habet.
 Qui licet aeternis venerentur Pallada curis,
 Saepe tamen praebent in mea vincula manus.¹

The warlike qualities of Pallas are suggested in two brief references. For example:

Quam mater monitis imbuit optimis
 Formavitque piis sedula moribus,
 Perfectamque dedit; pectore Pallade,
 Susannae similem fide.²

Juno

Juno was identified by the Romans with the Greek goddess Hera. She was the wife of Jupiter. As Lucina she was the bringer of light and the goddess of birth and as Pronuba she was the goddess of marriage.³

In an epithalamium of Lotichius reference is made to the fact that she suffered because of the infidelities of her wayward husband:

Et tu diva Sami potens marinae,
 Sic nunquam tuus ille sentiat rex,
 Ut quondam pueri trucidis pharetram,
 Terrarum domitor, pater decorum,
 Noluit servitium pati superbum⁴

¹Haslobius, p.516. The other example is Lindebergius(5), p.1187.

²Fabricius, p.106. The other example is Haslobius, p.520 (armigerae...Pallados).

³Howe and Herrer, A Handbook of Classical Mythology (New York, 1931), p.147.

⁴Lotichius(1), pp.1485-1486. Cf. p.35.

She appears in two of the Neo-Latin epithalamia as Lucina, and in three as Pronuba. As goddess of birth she is regarded as a very kindly person:

Quaeque levat gravidas partu Lucina puellas,
Purpureum medio spargit ab orbe jubar.¹

Her important position in marital matters is evident in the epithalamium of Stigelius, where she is invoked as Pronuba:

Huc huc Iuno ades et tuis
Has sancti auspiciis pronuba nuptias.
Serves incolumem precor
Tam dignam placido sidere coniugem,
Ut fulsa auxilio tuo
Assuescat parere, et reddere debitam
Consorti sobolem suo.²

However, important as Juno's position in marital affairs is, she is clearly overshadowed by Venus. In one epithalamium she seems to realize this and she makes a desperate attempt to claim for herself a place in the wedding rites. She refuses to allow Venus to arrogate everything to herself:

Quid te diva potens Cypri,
Solem praecipuis tollis honoribus?
Et me nupta colit nova,
Gratis thuriferi muneribus soli.³

On the occasion of a debate between Venus and Pallas concerning the wisest course of action for the groom, Juno, asserting her interest in marital questions, served as

¹Lotichius(2), p.96. Juno also appears as Lucina in Fidlerius, p.144.

²Stigelius, p.375. She also appears as Pronuba in epithalamia of J. Secundus, p.216 and Lindebergius(4), p.1187.

³Lotichius(1), p.1487.

moderator. She assigned a different and appropriate jurisdiction to each of them and so brought the debate to an end:

En Juno, qui sic contenditis, inquit,
Sola ego placabo lites, et iurgia demam,
Sit, Cytherea, tuus: tuus, et Tritonia, sponsus,
Altera praesideat menti, altera dexter Amori
Et sic vestra habeat certum contentio finem.¹

Apollo

Apollo had many functions in ancient mythology.² He appears in the Neo-Latin epithalamium primarily as the sun-god and as the patron of poets.³ The god himself tells of these activities in the epithalamium of Stigelius:

Ipse ego sidereas illustro lumine sedes,
Occultant reliquas lumina nostra faces,
Aurea fecerunt quondam mihi saecula nomen,
Tempore quo Delphis cultus Apollo fui.
Ingeniis praesum, facundaque pectora reddo
Omnibus his, pure qui mea sacra colunt.⁴

Apollo appears as sun-god in nine of the thirty Neo-Latin

¹Lindebergius(3),p.1185.

²"Apollo's many functions stem from the fact that he is an amalgamation of many deities."(Es) kann nicht scharf genug hervorgehoben werden, dass Apollon überhaupt gar keine einheitliche Gottheit ist, sondern dass wir sichere Spuren besitzen, die beweisen, dass er eine erst gewordene Gottheit ist, die eine lange Geschichte hinter sich hat, ehe sie uns in der einheitlichen Auffassung entgegentritt, in der sie dem späteren Griechen geläufig war." Pauly-Wissowa II(Stuttgart, 1896),p.3.

³Apollo often appears in the Neo-Latin epithalamium under one of his epithets. He is variously known as Clarius, Cynthus, Delius, and Phoebus. Claros was a town in Ionia, famous for the temple and oracle of Apollo. Cynthus was a mountain in Delos, the birth place of Apollo and Diana. Phoebus means bright and life-giving. Cf. Harper's Classical Dictionary (New York, 1923),p.98 and p.359.

⁴Stigelius,p.366.

epithalamia. In one poem he is described driving his winged horses across the sky. It is suggested that they are spritely, and that he must make an effort to keep them under control.¹

In another poem it is suggested that Apollo's appearance at dawn of the wedding day is an occasion for great rejoicing:

cum primum crastinus ipsum
Cynthia adducet radianti lumine solem,
Associanda tuo tibi deducetur ad aram
Sponsa toro, tua vita, salus, tua sola voluptas.²

In three epithalamia Apollo's westward course suggests the waning of the day, the approach of nightfall, and the consummation of the marriage. For example:

Cynthia Hesperis tectum iubar oculit undis,
Toto pulsa fremunt aera(ue) rauca foro.
Hic igitur clauso mea pagina fine quiescat.³

In another epithalamium the bride-to-be prays that Apollo's horses may be slowed down to a tortoise-like pace; the groom, on the other hand, hopes that they will move more quickly. Apollo, favoring the attitude of the groom, applies his spurs:

¹Acontius(1), p.349.

²Lindebergius(1), p.1181.

³Hubnerius, p.573. The other two examples are: Lindebergius(1), p.1176 and J. Secundus, p.222.

hoc uno variat concordia voto.
 Aequior at iuveni (credo non immemor ipse
 nuper amasse et non desperans rursus amare)
 Accelerare gradum pigrantes increpat acer
 Phoebus equos, stimulisq(ue) aegros mordacibus
 urget.¹

Apollo's other major function in the Neo-Latin epithalamium is to serve as patron of poets and to help them with their poetic achievement. A traditional reward for poetic achievement is the bough of the laurel, Apollo's favorite tree. This situation stems from the god's legendary pursuit of Daphne. He had wooed her and physically pursued her. But she had fled, and in answer to her prayer for escape, was metamorphosed by her father Peneus, a river-god, into a laurel tree.² Thereafter the god adopted the laurel as a sacred memorial of Daphne. Both Apollo's love for Daphne and his laurel bough are mentioned in the Neo-Latin epithalamia.³

¹Marquardius(1),p.307. Other poems in which Apollo appears as sun-god are: Fabricius,p.106, Milesius,p.407, and Lindebergius(1),p.1180.

²The pursuit of Daphne is described at length in Ovid Metamorphoses I 514-524. In the course of the pursuit Apollo explains some of his many functions to Daphne: "Thou knowest not, rash one, thou knowest not whom thou fleest, and for that reason dost thou flee. Mine is the Delian land, and Claros, Tenedos, and the realm of Patara acknowledge me as lord. Jove is my father. By me what shall be, has been, and what is are all revealed; by me the lyre responds in harmony to song. My arrow is sure of aim, but oh, one arrow, surer than my own, has wounded my heart but now so fancy-free." Ovid, Metamorphoses, trans. Frank Justice Miller (Cambridge, 1936), p.38.

³Daphne appears in Acontius(1),p.353 and in Haslobius, p.516. Heinsius,p.369 is also a probable reference to Apollo and Daphne. The laurel appears in Haslobius,p.518 and in Totichius(2),p.98.

In three of the epithalamia, Apollo himself, as patron of poets, strums his lyre and sings a eulogy for the groom and his family. For example:

Delius ipse leves impellens pollice chordas
Sic canit Heruleae referens cunabula stirpis
Primus avis, proavisque¹

This element is very old indeed, for it appears in Homer. In the twenty-fourth book of the Iliad Hera indicates that Apollo with his lyre had been present at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.²

Apollo is associated with the Muses in four epithalamia. In the poem of Stigelius the god sings a lengthy encomium for the groom; each of the Muses then adds additional praises and the traditional good wishes. In the epithalamium of Hubnerius the god and his assistants delight in their opportunity to take part in the festivities:

Quos inter cithara praesignis Apollo canora,
Prae reliquis vati nunc favet ipse suo.
Hunc sacra Pegasidum comitata corona sororum,
Gaudet ad haec etiam gaudia ferre pedem.³

In a poem of Acontius it is indicated that Apollo provides his poet-followers with water from the Castalian fountains (the fountains of the Muses). It is the same water which he

¹Lindebergius(1),p.1176. The other examples are;Haslobius, p.521, and Stigelius,p.366.

²The Iliad of Homer,trans. Andrew Lang(New York,1950), p.443.

³Hubnerius,p.568. Apollo is also associated with the Muses in the epithalamia of Haslobius,p.521 and Marquardius(1),p.314.

formerly gave to Virgil.¹

Finally, in one epithalamium Apollo's own exploits are cited as precedents for his followers. It is pointed out that he himself was seized with love for a woman (presumably Daphne). The marital state is thus clearly permissible, and even advisable for his followers:

Te Phoebi, quod nempe voles, exempla tuentur,
Is quoq(ue) foemineo captus amore fuit.
Quod Phoebus licuit, cui non licet? illius omnis
Pendet ab exemplo docta priore cohors.²

Diana

Diana, an ancient Italian goddess identified with the Greek Artemis, appears in the Neo-Latin epithalamium as the goddess of the moon and as a huntress. "Like a good huntsman, she was careful to preserve the young; she was the 'protectress of dewy youth' everywhere."³ This attribute is suggested in an epithalamium of Acontius: "Sic etiam perhibent (sic) te Phoebe senescere nunquam."⁴ Each of her names suggests her relationship to her brother Apollo. She appears as Cynthia(Cynthius), as Delia(Delius), and as Phoebe(Phoebus).

In two of the epithalamia she is represented as replacing

¹Acontius(1), p.353.

²Hubnerius, p.571.

³Edith Hamilton, op.cit., p.31.

⁴Acontius(1), p.354.

her brother in the sky as night draws near:

Condit Cynthia ora, condit ora,
Seque gurgite perluens Ibero
Cedit noctivagae locum sorori.¹

In antiquity Diana was sometimes identified with Selene, a very early goddess of the moon among the Greeks. Selene had fallen in love with the beautiful young Endymion, a shepherd of Mt. Latmos in Caria. She gave him eternal sleep, so that she might cover him with kisses every evening.²

The story of Selene and Endymion appears in a brief allusion in the epithalamium of Haslobius: "Nec rapido Lunae Latmius igne perit."³

As a huntress Diana appears in the Neo-Latin epithalamia in only two oblique references. For example:

Longa quibus tergo coma dependebat, ut olim
Virginibus Tyriis, quae per nemora alta Dianae
Exagitare feras patrio de more solebant.⁴

The Muses

The nine Muses possess no definite or distinct personalities, as other members of the mythological world.

¹J. Secundus, p.222. The other example is Milesius, p.405. Diana also appears as moon-goddess in Lotichius(2), p.97, and Stigelius, p.366.

²Hamilton, op.cit., p.154 and Howe and Harrer, op.cit., p.91.

³Haslobius, p.516.

⁴Acontius(2), p.360. The other example is Stigelius, p.370.

They embody a purely spiritual principle.¹ Their functions and relationships are different in different writers of antiquity; however, they stand in a firm relationship to Apollo.

Mnemosyne, goddess of memory and mother of the Muses by Zeus, is mentioned in an epithalamium of Lotichius:

Dixit, et ornatum gemmis, auroque volumen,
Cyaneoque nitens Hyacintho, et Jaspide glauca,
Explicuit gremio, matris venerabile donum,
Mnemosynes, cui longa dies et nomina curae.²

The Muses play an important role in the Neo-Latin epithalamia, for they appear in 19 of the 30 included in this study. They appear either under their own names or under the titles "Pierides," "Aonides," "Castalides," "Camoenae," or "sisters of Helicon."³ They are often

¹"Für die antike Anschauung sind sie nicht nur der Dichtung zugeordnet, sondern allen höheren Formen des Geisteslebens. Mit den Musen leben, heisst humanistisch leben, wie Cicero es ausdrückt (cum Mysis, id est, cum humanitate et doctrina; Tusc. V 23, 66). Für uns sind die Musen schemenhafte Gestalten einer längst überlebten Tradition. Aber sie waren einmal Lebensmächte. Sie hatten ihre Priester, ihre Diener, ihre Verheissung--und ihre Gegner. Jedes Blatt in der Geschichte der europäischen Literatur spricht von ihnen." Ernst Robert Curtius, Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter (Bern, 1963), p. 235.

²Lotichius (3), p. 197.

³Pierus and Helicon were two of the Muses' mountains. Aonia was the part of Boetia in which Mount Helicon was located. Castalia was a spring on Mount Parnassus, sacred both to Apollo and the Muses. The Camoenae were Latin goddesses of poetry, in later times identified with the Greek Muses.

invoked for general inspiration:

Sed quid Musa taces? modulos deprome sonanteis
 Quales sollicitus vitae meditatatus Arion
 Delphinus mulcens puppi delectus in undas.¹

Fincelius, who had rejected Venus and Hymen as incompatible with Christian principles, reminds the Muses that they must provide inspiration which will be in accordance with service of God:

Et vos, Aonii fontis fidissima cura,
 Talia Pegasides mente tenere decet,
 Vos uni servire Deo iussasq(ue) ministras,
 Praesentem casta voce sonare Deum.²

The Muses are sometimes associated with a fountain from which they or the poets whom they aid may draw the waters of inspiration. For example:

Vos mihi quae puero Nasonis amabile carmen
 Dulcia Pegasei dictastis numina fontis:
 Nunc sublime mihi carmen concedite vatis³

The source of this fountain of the Muses was Pegasus, a winged horse who struck Mount Helicon with his hoof and thus caused the waters of inspiration to spring from

¹Lindebergius(1),p.1174. There is a similar reference to Arion and a dolphin in a Hochzeitgedicht of Postel: "Kein meerschwein leihet dem Arion seinen rücken/ Das/wie sein gantz geschlecht/ nicht auch zu lieben weiss." Benjamin Neukirchs Anthologie Herrn von Hoffmannswaldau und anderer Deutschen auserlesener und bissher ungedruckter Gedichte,Hrag. de Capua II(Tübingen,1965),p.161,11-12.

Another typical invocation of the Muses is Milesius, p.407.

²Fincelius,p.153. This is part of the problem(indicated on p.40) of integrating Christian and pagan elements.

³Sabinus(1),p.237. Another example of the fountain of the Muses is Acontius(1),p.353.

the rock.¹ Pegasus is mentioned in six of the Neo-Latin epithalamia. For example:

Labere velociper nubila labere cursu
 Pegase, nunc alis promoveare tuis;
 Nunc meminisse velis quo te dignatus honore,
 Sacra tui fontis numina sponsus amet.²

However, in five poems the reference is only indirect, for his name appears in adjectival form to refer to the Muses or their fountain. For example:

Quandoquidem Musas colerent, castosq(ue) liquores
 Pegasei fontis gelida sub valle bibissent.³

In three of the epithalamia the Muses are represented as guests at the wedding or are invited as wedding deities.

For example:

Nostrum Castalides decus sorores,
 Quae sponsas decoratis integellas,
 Quae sponsos canitis nec invenustos,
 Hoc o auspicio bono venite,
 Dum sponsam decoramus, et decentem,
 Dum sponsum canimus, sed expoliturum
 Vita, relligione, moribusq(ue).⁴

In a second poem the Muse-wedding guests sing before the

¹"Later story described Pegasus as the horse of the Muses. When they were contesting in song with the daughters of Pierus, streams stood still and Helicon lifted his height to the heavens. To check the latter's growth Poseidon commanded Pegasus to strike Helicon, and where his hoof struck sprang forth the fountain Hippocrene, source of inspiration to all who drank of its waters." Howe and Herrer, op.cit., p.207.

²Milesius, p.405. Other references to Pegasus (in addition to the three quoted above) are: Fincelius, p.153, Haslobius, p.516, and Lindebergius(1), p.1179.

³Acontius(2), p.357.

⁴Lotichius(1), p.1485.

bridal chamber under the leadership of Calliope.¹ In still another epithalamium they heighten the good looks of the groom, while Venus is conferring beauty on the bride.²

In three epithalamia Muses are invoked individually. Erato, as the Muse of love poetry, is naturally invoked, but so also are Calliope as the Muse of epic poetry and Melpomene as the Muse of tragedy.³ Melpomene, however, is urged to put aside her gloomy aspect, to don a festal garland, and to help in the composition of songs fitting for a new bride and groom.

Apollo, who is often associated with the Muses, sometimes appears to hold them in a subordinate position. For example:

Si bene me quisquam novit, bene novit et illas,
Diversum sexum, numen habemus idem.⁴

¹Lotichius(3), p.212.

²Acontius(2), p.362.

³Erato is invoked by Milesius, p.407; Calliope by Heinsius, p.371; and Melpomene by Acontius(1), p.349.

⁴Stigelius, p.366.

Christian Elements

The story of the creation of the world appears at extended length in five of the 30 Neo-Latin epithalamia.¹ The purpose of these descriptions is to show that marriage is divinely sanctioned and is therefore something very serious, and something most worth-while. For example:

Res sacra coniugium: quid te divina potestas
Sanctius in terris quod statuisset erat?
Quando Deus coelum, stellas, elementa crearat,
Et solidam medio disposuisset humum,
In(ue) globi speciem totum formaverat orbem,
Cunctaq(ue) sub certa condita lege forent²

The idea of the universe expressed in this passage is pre-Copernican.³ God fashioned the world and placed it in the center of the heavens. Then He created Adam from the slime, and Eve from Adam's rib. The forming of Eve is described with great beauty in the epithalamium of Fidlerius:⁴ By stages Adam sank into a deep sleep. His head nodded, his feet no longer supported his weight. His body sank to

¹Fidlerius, p.140, Fincelius, p.153, Hubnerius, p.569, Lotichius(1), p.1486, and Stigelius, p.378. The ultimate source of the story is, of course, Genesis. In antiquity the creation description was used in an epithalamium by Paulinus of Nola. Cf. p.20.

²Fidlerius, p.140.

³The work of Copernicus is almost contemporaneous with these epithalamia. Copernicus(1473-1543) developed his system in his celebrated work De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium, which he completed about 1530, but which was not published until shortly before his death. Cf. The Encyclopedia Americana, VII(New York, 1961), p.649.

⁴Fidlerius, pp.140-141. Since the account is rather lengthy this is a retelling, rather than a translation.

the ground, and his arms were drawn up under his chin. His slumber was so deep that not even cavalry horses or trumpets could rouse him. Then the Lord removed the rib and formed Eve. She was very beautiful with her golden tresses, red cheeks and attractive mouth.¹ There was nothing base in her whole body. Her soul held the very seeds of the divine intent. At the Lord's bidding Adam's slumber slowly receded. He stretched his sluggish arms and slowly became fully awake. At the sight of the new creature he rose to his feet. He was hardly able to keep from embracing the beautiful girl whom he recognized as a part of his own flesh. The Lord then placed His hands on the two creatures and established the matrimonial pact:

Conditor his actis coelesti numine rebus:
 Fertur eis sacras imposuisse manus,
 Et dixisse: novos ut germinat uva racemos,
 Culta(ue) formoso gramine vernat humus:
 Vos ita foecundis implete cubilia natis,
 Duret ad extremos vestra propago dies.²

At this time the seeds of evil had not yet been sown. But even after the Fall, God desired the matrimonial state to remain, for it was best fitted to bind together the human race:

¹These details of Eve's physical beauty are not given in Genesis. Fincelius introduces floral comparisons to describe Eve's beauty:

"Talis erat facie talique in corpore forma,

...
 Laeta comis qualis pulcro rosa vernat in horto,
 Quam decorant largo lilia iuncta solo." (p.154)

²Fidlerius, p.141.

Nam sic visa Deo res est aptissima, cesto
 Legitimo humanum consociare genus.
 Ad certos etenim sanxit connubia fines,
 Quos temere quenquam transilisse vetat.
 Inde homines nasci voluit qui mollia vitae
 Innocuis agerent tempora deliciis.¹

Fidlerius indicates that the Lord's concern for the marriage bond was so great that He bore witness to it many ages later, when, in human form, He entered the city of Cana and changed water to wine.²

Fincelius illustrates the sacredness of marriage in still another way, for he compares the union of Adam and Eve, or in a more general sense, of groom and bride, to the union of Christ and the church. The church is the Protestant faith,³ for there is reference to the specious cult of iniquitous Rome:

Sic quoq(ue) casta fidem servans ecclesia Christo,
 Pectore custodit dogmata vera Dei
 Fiata nec observat specioso numina cultu,
 Qualia suppliciter perdita Roma colit
 Sed culpam agnoscens et veris subdita votis
 Collocat in solo spemq(ue) fidemq(ue) Deo.
 Rursus et ardenti nostri Deus ardet amore,
 Atq(ue) suam sponsam non simulanter amat.
 Tum bona quotquot habet dives communicat illi,
 Nilq(ue) suum esse magis quam cupit esse tuum.
 Ac velut est Adae de corpore nata sopiti
 Heva dicens, pulcro nupta pudica viro;
 Sic de visceribus defuncti ecclesia Christi
 Nascitur, et multa prole beata manet.⁴

In the epithalamium of Hubnerius the Lord introduces

¹Fincelius, p.154.

²Fidlerius, p.141.

³Cf. p.25, footnote 2.

⁴Fincelius, p.156.

Eve to Adam together with some precepts regarding the sacred character of marriage:

Haec tua, dixit, Adam, si cupis, uxor erit:
 Iunctam perpetuo quam complectare favore,
 Et pius ut coniunx, non ut adulter, ames.
 Nec tu nupta recens (fuerat conversus ad Evam)
 Inquit, honorati vincula rumpe tori.
 Sis sed ut una caro cum iuncto coniuge coniunx,
 Et sit consortis pars ut uterq(ue) sui.
 Legitimum thalami reverenter habeto pudorem,
 Coniugio vestrae praesidet ille domus:
 Sic repleas multis foecundia nepotibus orbem,
 Sic in utroq(ue) pius pectore crescat amor.¹

In this epithalamium historical examples are cited to show the terrible retribution that lies in store for those who violate the laws of wedlock. The destruction of Troy is described and the expulsion of the last king of Rome.² In the epithalamium of Fincelius it is indicated that history would show many examples of marital infidelity and its swift and sure punishment: "Millia si numeres, millia multa manent."³ It was because they laughed at the sorrowing Priam and failed to heed his words that the Trojans came to grief. A foul passion shattered the walls of Thebes. Oedipus was condemned to blindness and to an early death because of his foul crime. There was also the infidelity and consequent punishment of David.

In three epithalamia the creation scene involves an intermingling of pagan mythology and Christian theology. For example, in one poem the words "Deus," "Jove," and "Olympus"

¹Hubnerius, p.569.

²Ibid, p.570.

³Fincelius, p.155.

are used to refer to the Creator. Furthermore, the story of the creation, perhaps somewhat inconsistently, is told by Venus. She claims that she was responsible for the eventual institution of matrimony, and that her son was present in the beginning:¹

Hic coelo terras, terris Deus addidit undas,
 Proximus aligeras suscipit aether aves.
 Aëra de summo secreverat aequus Olympo,
 Cinxerat inclusam qua patet aequor humum.
 Sidera fulgebant, campi rude gramen alebant.
 Iamq(ue) ferae sylvas, piscis habebat aquas.
 Sub Iove gens hominum desertis ibat in agris,
 Ducebat comites gnava iuventa canes.
 Cum pharetra solito pendebant retia collo,
 Ille mei puri notior arcus erat.
 Aurea Chaonio peragebant tempora fructu,
 Praebeat medium cespes et herba thorum.
 Moenia tum fossis et cinctas moenibus urbes,
 Me duce mollita composuere manu.
 Regia legitimae venit reverentia taedae,²
 Turba sub officiis hinc agit illa meis.²

The harmonious intermingling of Christian and pagan elements is also evident in the epithalamium of Stigelius, for it is indicated that from the time when God devised matrimony Amor was able to shoot his arrows. In this poem the creation takes place in an elaborate pastoral setting.³

¹Eros (Cupid) was one of the first beings to arise out of chaos, and represented the principle of harmony and union active in forming the world and its creatures." Howe and Harrer, op.cit., p.96.

²Lotichius(1), p.1486. Another example is Fincelius, p.155. In this poem adulterers are represented as being confined by God to Stygian Avernus. The third example is Stigelius, pp.378-379.

³Curtius points out that pastoral landscapes appear in Homer, but that it was Virgil who made them a firm part of the western literary tradition. Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter, p.197.

Stress is placed upon the seriousness of matrimony and upon the unbreakable character of the bond:

Heu nimium facilis qui vincla iugalia tenuis,
 Vincula si nescis, haec iubet esse Deus.
 Quod Deus instituit non est contemnere tutum
 Exitium est huius non timuisse minas.
 Huic, ubi de prima fabricasset origine mundum,
 Hoc opus ut faceret cura secunda fuit.
 Ver erat, et teneri florebat gratia mundi,
 Vernabatq(ue) recens undiq(ue) in orbe decor.
 Tum primum zephyri spirabant mollibus auris,
 Tunc aliquid factum est quod fuit ante nihil
 Aethere ridebat facies nova Solis ab alto,
 Ornabantq(ue) novum sidera clara polum.
 Quae fuerat non ante, suos spirabat odores
 Extendens teneras arbor opaca comas.
 Undique odorato ridebant germine flores,
 Gaudebatq(ue) suis iam Deus ipse bonis,
 In fluviis pisces, volucris ludebat in auris,
 Et pecus in viridi luxuriabat humo.
 Deerat adhuc animal praestantius omnibus illis
 Quod Deus ad faciem condidit ipse suam.
 Natus homo est, sed enim non hic suffecerit orbi
 Solus, ni socio iunctus amore foret,
 Hoc sensit sapiens divini cura parentis,
 Auxiliumq(ue) tibi mox faciemus, ait,
 Exeruitq(ue) viro costam, mirabile dictu,
 Materia illa tui corporis Eva fuit.
 Vivite et unanimi duo sitis corpora mente,
 Perq(ue) suas crescant gaudia vestra vices.
 Dixit, at hinc auxit sobolis generatio mundum,
 Hinc sua nunc passim spicula mittit amor.¹

Finally, Pudor, a pagan personification of modesty, appears in the Neo-Latin epithalamia.² His role was easily

¹Stigelius, p.378.

²"Personifikation der...Schamhaftigkeit. Offenbar unter dem Einfluss der griechischen Aidosverehrung...wird Pudor zuerst in augusteischer Zeit persönlich vorgestellt: Horaz nennt Pudor neben Fides und Veritas (Carm.I 24-6)...bei Verg. Aen.IV 27...wendet sich Dido an Pudor." Pauly-Wissowa XXIII(Stuttgart,1959),p.1947.

Pudor also appears in the epithalamium of Statius (lines 34-36). He is represented as a doorkeeper who can now be ignored by the husband.

adapted to Christianity. According to one account his position as a sort of guardian angel of matrimony had been divinely instituted; his role had been established in the very beginning, at the time of the creation of the world:

Sancte Pudor, divine Pudor, Pudor optime rerum,
Ad sacra coniugii nunquid et ista venis?

...
Te Deus antiqua primi sub origine mundi,
Creditur humano praeposuisse toro.¹

In this role of guardian angel Pudor is placed in opposition to Cupid and Venus in two of the epithalamia. In the following passage he guards the temple against the incursions of Cupid:

Sancte pudor teneras obducte rubedine malas,
Cui premit ornatas candida vitta comas,
Tu vigilans templi custos tu ianitor aulae,
Coniugio sacer est hic locus, esse velis.²

It is apparent that descriptions of the creation and all other religious elements are treated with great reverence in the Neo-Latin epithalamia included in this study.³

¹Hubnerius, p.569.

²Fidlerius, p.144. Another example is J. Secundus, p.230.

³This may be attributable to the influence of Melancthon. Cf. p.25.

Johannes Hoffmeister also indicates that these very reverent attitudes emanate from Melancthon: "Die protestantische Weltverdächtigung wurde unter dem direkten Einfluss von Melancthon und Mycellus für die Schuldichter Sabinus und Stigelius zum Massstab der Liebesdichtung gemacht. Die Forderung von pudor und puditia war die unüberwindliche Hemmung ihrer Liebesdichtung." Kaspar von Barths Leben, Werke und sein Deutscher Phönix (Heidelberg, 1931), p.54. Melancthon is mentioned in the epithalamia of Acontius(1), p.349, Acontius(2), p.358, and Stigelius, p.368. There is also an indirect reference to him in the poem of Fidlerius, p.143: "edocta parente cavebis."

This is true, even though the Neo-Latin authors, in drawing inspiration from antiquity, blend together many pagan elements with Christian principles.

The exhortations to fidelity and the descriptions of the dire consequences of infidelity are embellishments upon the story of the creation as it was told in Genesis. Other embellishments upon Genesis are the descriptions of the beauty of Eve and the pastoral settings.

Specifically Marital Elements

The Beauty of the Bride

The beauty of the bride is an important element in the epithalamium from the time of Sappho.¹ In the Neo-Latin epithalamium there is usually some reference to the bride's pulchritude. Even in the creation scenes, as already indicated, the beauty of Eve was described.²

The paeans of praise in other epithalamia become quite extravagant and show elements of Petrarkismus.³ For example, the bride's beauty is compared to gems: "Luminaque Eois aequale nitentia gemmis."⁴ A more extravagant example is evident in the poem of Finkelthusius:

Quid moror? est nullis facies obnoxia gemmis,
 Qualis Apelleae pingitur arte manus.
 Digna quidem facies, quam non violare senectus
 Debeat, aut rugis carpere tempus edax.
 Digna quidem, pro qua Nereius occubet heros.
 Aut Priami in cineres arx ruat alta senis.
 Quo minus admiror si tantos iniicit ignes
 Sponse tibi, ac lento pectus amore coquit.
 Post Helenam haec nostris visa est pulcerrima
 terris.⁵

¹Wheeler, "Tradition in the Epithalamium," p.212.

²Cf.p.56.

³Cf.pp.141ff. In general the beauty of the beloved was too great for adequate expression. Three general schemes to express the ineffable were in general use: the poet might compare the bride's features to the most costly minerals or gems; he might compare her favorably with mythological characters; he might describe the devastating effects of her beauty.

⁴Grotius, p.209.

⁵Finkelthusius, p.159.

The bride is compared favorably to mythological characters on many occasions in the Neo-Latin poems. For example, in three of the epithalamia she is so beautiful that Paris would have awarded her the prize in preference to any of the three goddesses over whom he sat in judgment.¹ Grotius expresses this comparison in very succinct fashion:

Hanc bene si Phrygia spectasset pastor in Ida,
Jussisset victas tres simul ire Deas.²

Finkelthusius, in light-hearted vein, orders the three goddesses to yield to this new and superior beauty:

Cedite vos, Divae, pastor quas Dardanus olim
Idaeis tunicam ponere vidit agris.³

In another instance the bride is said to be more beautiful than the swan that appeared to Leda.⁴ In another poem it is implied that she is more beautiful than Helen. For if Helen's parents had begotten the bride, the actions of both Paris and Troy would have been fully understandable and justified:

Quin posses Paridi, posses ignoscere Trojae,
Talem Ledaeus si genuisset olor.⁵

¹The story of the judgment of Paris is used to describe the beauty of the bride in Catullus(61); "namque Vinia Manlio/qualis Idalium colens/ venit ad Phrygium Venus/ iudicem, bona cum bona/nubet alite virgo"(16-20).

The story also appears in the epithalamium of Statius: "nec si Dardania pastor temerarius Ida/ sedisses, haec dona forent"(43-44).

²Grotius, p.210. Another example is J. Secundus, p.218.

³Finkelthusius, p.159.

⁴Sabinus(2), p.263. Another example is Acontius(1), p.353. Jupiter appeared to Leda in the form of a swan. Cf. p.35.

⁵Grotius, p.210.

Stigelius even implies that the bride is more beautiful than the goddess of love herself: "cui suum donat Venus alma ceston."¹

Acontius makes her superior to a whole litany of mythological heroines, including Venus, Helen, and Daphne:

Quantus inest membris decor omnibus aut ego fallor,
Aut Venus huic ceston tradidit ipsa suum.
Iuppiter hanc Iedae praeponeret, optima quamvis
Leda puellarum dicta sit esse decus.
Huius in amplexus quam Daphnes mallet Apollo
Ire, licet Daphnes optima forma fuit.
Redderet Atridae, quam sustulit ante, Iacaenam,
Si praesens huius cerneret ora Paris.
Hanc peteret certe per mille pericula Ponti,
Cui toties nandi caussa puella fuit.
O quoties aliquis iuvenum suspiria ducit,
Inscius aspectu cum stupet, Anna tuo.²

The devastating effect of the bride's beauty upon the beholder, indicated in the quotation above, is another element of Petrarkismus. It appears in three additional epithalamia. Marquardius indicates that the beloved's beauty has produced a sort of sickness in her hapless admirer. He has lost interest in his former pursuits and hovers about her in a sort of stupor:

Omnia grata prius nunc sordida respuit; ipsa
Metra, libros veterum, atq(ue) ipsos fastidit
amicos: ...
Saepe dies totos, ceu nervo et compede victus,
Desidet; atq(ue) latus dominae rerum immemor omnium,
Ut lotum gustasse putes, uxorius haeret.³

¹Stigelius, p.370.

²Acontius(1), p.353.

³Marquardius(1), p.306. Cf. Claudian's epithalamium for Honorius: "non illi venator equus, non spicula curae, non iaculum torquere libet; mens omnis aberrat in vulsus, quod fixit Amor(5-7)."

Heinsius indicates that the eyes of the bride are beautiful enough to cause paleness and fever in the anxious groom:

At vero ut vidit speratae lumina Divae,
Speratos orbes oculorum et virginis ora,
Haesit, et infelix incerto palluit aestu.¹

Finally, the bride's beauty is described in still another way which is related to Petrarkismus. In three of the epithalamia she is pictured as rivaling the beauty of the rising sun.² For example:

Et velut Aemonio sol mane exortus Olympo,
Condecorans terram nitido splendore coruscat:
Sic modo sponsa nitet, sic sic tua sponsa coruscat.³

Other passages which emphasize the brilliant floral colors of the bride's beauty, are not necessarily related to Petrarkismus. For example:

Tale micat: non labra rosae, violaeve capillos
Aequarint, nec colla nives, aut sidera ocellos.⁴

In three of the epithalamia the juxtaposition of roses and lilies is used to describe the bride's beauty. For example:

Sic tenerae vernans iucundo flore inventae
Sponsa nitet, mollesque rosas, et lilia vincit.⁵

¹Heinsius, p.370. The other example of the devastating effect of the bride's beauty is Grotius, p.209.

²Cf. Hans Pyritz, Paul Flemings Liebeslyrik zur Geschichte des Petrarkismus, Palaestra 234 (Göttingen, 1963), p.165: "Der Glanz der Frau macht den Tag heller..."

³Lindebergius(1), p.1181. Other examples are: Lotichius(2), p.99 and Sabinus(2), p.263.

⁴Marquardius(1), p.306.

⁵Lotichius(3), p.211. Other examples are: Sabinus(2), p.263 and Fincelius, p.154. The juxtaposition of roses and lilies appears also in the epithalamium of Statius: "tu modo fronte rosas, violis modo lilia mixta excipis"(22).

Advice to the Bride

A recurring element in the epithalamia, although not of major structural significance, is the advice to the bride and to the groom.¹ The bride is urged to respect the institution of matrimony, for nothing is more sacred than legal wedlock. She is to do her best to avoid dissention and strife.² In several poems she is reminded that the husband should be head of the house. For example:

Consortem reverenter habe, caput ille maritae
Dicitur, et iusto debet honore coli.³

The same thought is expressed even more unequivocally by Hubnerius:

Et submissa tui verbis subscribe mariti,
Communis dominus debet is esse domus.⁴

In still another poem Venus herself urges the bride to accede to the wishes of her husband.⁵

Finally, the bride is repeatedly urged to put away virginal modesty and to enter into the full and uninhibited joys of wedlock. This point is argued most

¹One bit of advice frequently given in the epithalamia is pointed out by Greene: "...the bride must not be too fearful nor the groom too impetuous." Thomas M. Greene, *op.cit.*, p.220. Such advice, of course, is proper to weddings generally, and could appear in any epithalamium in any age.

²Fidlerius, p.142.

³Ibid. Fidlerius (p.143) must caution this particular bride all the more, for the reputation of her famous father (Melanchthon) may prove to be a source of envy on the part of acquaintances.

⁴Hubnerius, p.573.

⁵Acontius (2), p.362.

persuasively.¹ For example:

Tu(ue) adeo obniti placido, pulcherrima, vati
 Desine, nec blande tentantem dura repelle
 Non absurda petit, constant sacra talia quid quod
 Quae refugit Venus, haec maiori accenditur igne:
 Quaeq(ue) feret flenti, nimio quid dulcius illa
 Oscula ei sapient. maior fit causa triumpho
 Conserta vicisse manu, ac quod deditur ultro.²

In another epithalamium the poet pleads with the bride in a very tender way, reminding her that the delights of the wedding night are in accordance with the will of God:

Non opus est lacrimis, Ah parce tenerrima parce
 Pulcra quid effusis fletibus ora rigas?
 Et trepidas, veluti conspecto territa quondam
 Agna lupo, matri quando relicta suae est.
 Quid subito aversans speratae gaudia noctis,
 Iam sterili malles virginitate frui?
 Ne tener ah tanti tibi sit pudor,¹ p̄te lectum,
 Quo Deus et mater nomina fida vocant.³

In still another poem the bride is urged to give the first fruits to Venus, so that she may soon know the fulfillment of motherhood:

Quid cessas bone sponsa tuis invadere flammis
 Sponsam concessis? quid quid nova gaudia differs?
 Quid cessas bona sponsa tuum recreare maritum
 Basiolis? quid, quid corpus coniungere differs?
 Serpente in amplexus intactas solvite zonas
 Primitias Veneri, ut post ter tria cornua lunae,
 Is pater, et genitrix possis tu nupta vocari.⁴

Finally, in one case the poet is quite severe with the

¹Catullus(62) had also gently urged the bride to yield to her husband: "Virginitas non tota tuast, ex parte parentumst; tertia pars patrist pars est data tertia matri, tertia sola tuast; noli pugnare duobus, qui genero sua iura simul cum dote dederunt"(62-66).

²Marquardius(1), p.308.

³Acontius(1), p.355.

⁴Lindebergius(6), p.1188. Lindebergius(5), p.1188 expresses the same idea in a similar way.

bride because of her unyielding attitudes. He would even have her lose her beauty if she persists in her harsh sentiments.¹

Advice to the Groom

The chief counsel to the groom is that he love the bride with great tenderness. The rib was taken from Adam's side, not from his foot. This apparently signifies that woman is to be loved and cherished rather than dominated. Oppression is, after all, more fitting for a cruel tyrant than for a groom:

Huius eris dominus, non ut muliebria tentes
 Corpora sub pedibus pressa ferire tuis.
 Haec decet immites vis imperiosa tyrannos,
 Quos iuvat in proprium bella movere latus.
 Illa tui pars est: potes hanc odisse figuram?
 Hanc quoq(ue) servari vult in honore Deus.
 Forsan ob id costam medio de corpore sumpsit,
 Ne sit in abiecto foemina spreta loco.²

In his more intimate dealings with the bride, the groom is always to use his persuasive powers in preference to brute force.³ In one case, since the groom is both poet and lawyer, it is suggested that this should be easy for him:

Ante tamen quam vim, quam seria proelia tentes,
 Flexanimas adhibere preces et mellea verba,
 Sermonesq(ue) catos et non sine pondere dicta
 (Namq[ue] potes vates pariter legumq[ue] peritus)
 Suasero, conari et prius omnia quam solida vi.⁴

¹Heinsius, p.369.

²Fidlerius, p.143.

³One exception is J. Secundus: "Tunc arma expedienda, tunc ad arma Et Venus vocat et vocat Cupido"(p.234). However, this poem is, as Greene points out(op.cit., p.216), atypical.

⁴Marquardius(1), p.308.

In at least two of the epithalamia it is evident that the bride is much younger than the groom. This situation is described as very desirable. In one poem it is even suggested that the bride may rejuvenate the aging groom:

Sed nunc en niveis iterum juvenescit in ulnis,
Praeteritosque dies non putat isse sibi.¹

In another epithalamium the advantages of a youthful (fifteen-year-old) bride are compellingly set forth:²

Ah furor ah certe furor est, sibi iungere nuptam,
Et tenero iunctam posse fovere sinu,
Quae iam depulsis marceat melioribus annis,
Frigore quae torpet pigra, nec ore iuvat.
Quae non illa viro fastidia praebet amanti,
Moribus ingratis horrida, cassa iocis!
Imperium(ue) sui detrectans torva mariti,
Non raro dominum se facit ipsa domus.
Sponse, tuam melior traxit sententia mentem,
Cui placet aetatis flore puella vicens.³

The Vine and the Elm

The vine and the elm as a poetic image of the union between husband and wife first appears in a wedding poem in Catullus(62).⁴ Maidens and youths argue in alternate choruses about the value of virginity as opposed to

¹Grotius, p.210.

²Finkelthusius, p.160 indicates that Hesiod had suggested fifteen years as the ideal age for the bride. It may be noted that Petrarch, and later, Sir Philip Sydney devoted themselves to fifteen-year-old sweethearts.

³Finkelthusius, p.160.

⁴Cf. p.13. Peter Demetz, "The Elm and the Vine..."op.cit., treats this image in detail.

marriage. The youths introduce the image of the vine and the elm to show that the maiden (the vine) while unwedded can never raise herself from her humble station and can never bring forth fruit:

ut vidua in nudo vitis quae nascitur arvo
 numquam se extollit, numquam mitem educat uvam,
 sed tenerum prono deflectens pondere corpus
 iam iam contingit summum radice flagellum;
 hanc nulli agricolae, nulli coluere iuveni.
 at si forte eademst ulmo coniuncta marito,
 multi illam agricolae, multi coluere iuveni;
 sic virgo dum intacta manet, dum inculta senescit;
 cum par conubium maturo tempore adeptast,
 cara viro magis et minus est invisā parenti.¹

This image of elm and vine was popular in antiquity, for it is found in Horace (Ode II XV.4-5), Virgil Georgics (I,2), and Quintilian (Institutio Oratoria VIII iii,8). However, as a nuptial image the vine and the elm loses its vitality between the final centuries of antiquity and the Renaissance.²

In the Renaissance and in the Neo-Latin period, however, the image reappears.³ It occurs in three of the 30 Neo-Latin epithalamia included in this

¹The Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus, trans. F.W. Cornish (Cambridge, 1935), p.88.

²Cf. Demetz, op.cit., p.526.

³The image also found its way into the vernacular literatures (probably through the Neo-Latin). It is present, for example, in Canto V of Milton's Paradise Lost: "they led the Vine/To wed her Elm; she spous'd about him twines/ Her marriageable arms..." (215-217). Cf. Demetz, op.cit., p.527.

study.¹ In one poem the image suggests the submissive and obedient attitude of the wife:

Ut viridi sese vitis nova subijcit ulmo,
Et quo se teneat, quodq(ue) sequatur habet,
Sic pia dilectum consuescet amare maritum
Uxor, et illius iussa benigna sequi.²

The second poem suggests that the vine is both a burden and an adornment, and that both man and wife become finer persons through their union than either could be alone:

Ergo velut patula vitis se tollit in ulmo:
Vitis et impositum sustinet ulmus onus:
Sic pius uxori vir adhaereat, uxor amati
Sedula procuret remque domumque viri.³

The third epithalamium suggests that both the vine and the elm, when standing alone, are quite barren and fruitless. It also suggests children for the marital union and fulfillment, particularly for the wife:

Qualiter igne Iovis si tacta exaruit ulmus
Nuda, carens foliis, culti jam dedecus horti,
Non teneras ultra vites, non amplius uvas
Educat: at, rapidi nisi fulminis ira fuisset,
Curvaret gravidos autumnum munere ramos:
Innuba sic, vita dum coelibe Virgo senescit,
Aetatis roseum videt emarcescere florem:
At caro desponsa viro, sua pignora mater
Spectat, et optato genitricis nomine gaudet,
Et thalami cunctos solatur honore labores.⁴

¹The image also appears in Basium II of J. Secundus. It is symbolic of the consummation. Cf. F.A.Wright, op.cit., p.40. Cf. also Demetz, op.cit., p.527.

²Acontius(1), p.350.

³Lotichius(2), p.100.

⁴Lotichius(3), p.213.

The Traditional Good Wishes

Four standard exhortations appear in the Neo-Latin epithalamium. The poet (or his spokesman) wishes the bridal pair a very long life, often that they may live as long as Nestor and Sibylla.¹ He urges them to live together in harmony and to avoid dissension. He encourages them to unite in love, and expresses the wish that their union may be blessed by many offspring.

References to Nestor in connection with the wish for longevity appear in six of the epithalamia. Stigelius combines the wish for long life with a hope for many children:

Sera sic vobis veniat senectus
Nestoris qualis fuit aut Sibyllae,
Multa quae vobis numeret beati
pignora lecti.²

Lindebergius combines the wishes for long life and for an harmonious relationship:

Unanimesque diu Nelidae vivite vitam,
Noctes lucidulas et sine nube dies.³

In the epithalamium of Finocelius the harmonious common

¹Nestor was the oldest and most experienced of the Greek heroes before Troy. Sibylla was a daughter of Dardanus and Neso. She had prophetic powers. Later the name was used generically for many old women who could foretell the future. Cf. Howe and Harrer, op.cit., pp.178 and 254.

²Stigelius, p.370.

³Lindebergius(7), p.1189. Other epithalamia in which Nestor appears are: Acontius(1), p.356, Haslobius, p.520, Hubnerius, p.573, and Lindebergius(1), p.1175.

life is especially emphasized.¹ Conjugal loyalty is expressed through a mythological example:

Ergo liget vestras concordia mutua mentes,
Blanda(ue) pax vestrum cingat amica torum.
Sint sine lite dies, redamet te Sponsa maritum,
Ceyca Halcyone sicut amare solet.²

Sometimes the exhortation to unite in love receives the greatest emphasis. This exhortation is usually couched in very delicate terms. This is in accordance with the fact that the Neo-Latin epithalamia are permeated(with the exception of the poem of J. Secundus) with pious and religious ideals.³ The following description of Lotichius

¹These elements were so common that they could be satirized by Erasmus: "Muses: We are going to sing him an Epithalamium. Alpius: What, and will the Graces dance too? Muses: They will not only dance, but they will also unite those two true Lovers, with the indissoluble Ties of mutual Affection, that no Difference or Jarring shall ever happen between 'em. She shall never hear any Thing from him but my Life; nor he from her, but my Soul:...Alpius: But I have known a great many, to whom these kind Words have been chang'd into the quite contrary, in less than three Months Time; and instead of pleasant Jests at Table, Dishes and Trenchers have flown about. The Husband, instead of my dear Soul, has been call'd Blockhead, Toss-Pot, Swill-Tub; and the Wife, Sow, Fool, dirty Drab. Muses: You say very true; but these Marriages were made when the Graces were out of Humour." The Colloquies of Erasmus, trans. N. Bailey I(London, 1878), p.387. Cf. Greene, op.cit., p.216.

²Fincelius, p.157. Cf. H. Hunger, op.cit.: "Als Keyx von einer Seereise nicht mehr zurückkehrt, stürzt sich Halcyone ins Meer. Zeus verwandelt die beiden aus Mitleid in Eißvögel(griech.halkyones)."

³Cf. pp.25 and 61. The poem of J. Secundus appears on pages 216-237 in F.A.Wright, The Love Poems of Joannes Secundus(New York, 1930). The overt sensuality expressed here is unique in the Neo-Latin poems included in this study.

could hardly be more circuitous:

Somniaque humanas solantur inania curas.
 Ipsa sibi cultis nova Nupta videtur in hortis,
 Mollibus aut pratis, aut in convalle virenti,
 Narcissum thymbramq(ue) rosasq(ue) et molle
 ligustrum,
 Et mites uvas, et suave rubentia mala
 Carpere, dilecto jucundum munus amanti,
 Candidaque aureolae contexere lilia calthae¹

The exhortation of Finkelthusius is also phrased in very delicate terms:

Atque optata diu carpite dona tori,
 Pampineae velut nectunt sua brachia vites,
 Choanae ut consors basia iungit avi:
 Serpente in amplexus ita vos, et colla ligate,
 Mellea libantes suavia suaviolis.
 Ludite: nam lusu gaudet torus, ipse procaces
 Delicias quaerit pacis alumnus Amor.
 Ludite, primitiasque toro persolvite gratas.²

However, in the epithalamium of J. Secundus the exhortation to unite in love is given in extremely direct and sensuous terms.³ Moreover it dominates the entire epithalamium. J. Secundus describes the consummation in terms of a military encounter. He gives the groom continuous and explicit instructions. This epithalamium, which finds imitators among the German poets of the following century,⁴

¹ Lotichius (3), p. 215.

² Finkelthusius, p. 163. "Ludite" suggests Catullus (61), 207. Finkelthusius goes on to suggest that the son to be born to the pair will bear the image of his father. This thought is also expressed in Catullus (61).

³ J. Secundus, p. 226.

⁴ Cf. pp. 158-159.

is filled with passages such as this:

Mox te blandidicis parare rixis,
 Mox te molliculae parare pugnae
 Motus occipies calore iusto,
 Belli prospera signa non cruenti
 Figens mille protervus hic et illic,
 Collo basia multa, multa malis,
 Labris basia plura, plura ocellis.¹

In four of the Neo-Latin epithalamia the exhortation to unite in love is associated with Hesperus, the evening star.² These words of Heinsius are typical:

Felices animae, vobis nunc Hesperus Oetam
 Deserit, et faustam promittunt sidera noctem.³

In several of the epithalamia all of the traditional good wishes appear in close juxtaposition at the end of the poem:

Dii crebras gazas, natumque crepundia multa,
 Et plures tandem facient vos condere soles:
 Si comes ad fuerit pax vera, eademque voluntas.
 Et corpus complexu unum, et duo pectora in una
 Consolidata fide.⁴

¹J. Secundus, p. 226. Cf. pp. 158-159. See also Peter Demetz, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

²Hesperus plays a role in Catullus (62), 20. Cf. p. 13, footnote 1.

³Heinsius, p. 371. The other examples are: Acontius (1), p. 350, Haslobius, p. 521, and J. Secundus, p. 222.

⁴Lindebergius (6), p. 1189. A similar marshalling of good wishes is found at the conclusion of the epithalamium of Fidlerius (p. 144).

Elements Indicating the Role of the Poet
The Position of the Poet in the Sixteenth Century

The position of the poet in the sixteenth-century Neo-Latin epithalamium is paramount. He is regarded as the finest flower of cultured society. His is undoubtedly the loftiest of vocations. Hubnerius assures the bride that her husband's poetic powers raise him far above men who pursue more prosaic and mercenary occupations:

Nescia sis, cui sis nupta futura viro.
Non est qui peragret longinquum mercibus orbem,
Aut vetitas turpi foenore quaerat opes.
Non est, cauidicos quos educat aula frequentes,
Qui sua prostituat sontibus ora reis.
Aut insana ferox qui miles castra sequatur,
Praedo vel externos qui populetur agros.
Sed qui sit doctos inter mea gaudia vates.
Praecipuum summo nactus honore locum.
Dic mihi, quem poteras tali praeferre marito?¹

Haslobius warns the poet that he must expect envy and even slander because of the eminence of his position. True appreciation may come to him only after his death. That is, after all, the lot of all great men:

Nam veluti solem sequitur comes umbra nitentem,
Sic sequitur magnos invida lingua viros.
Sicut et est fumus flammato proximus igni,
Sic etiam vates aemula turba notat.
Morsibus invidiae sic est obnoxia virtus,
Ipsa sibi precium quae tamen esse solet.
In vivis Livor vires acquirit acerbus,
Impigro comitans ardua facta gradu.
Post obitum vati continget gloria maior,
Si qua venit sero laus, satis ampla venit.
Is nimis infelix, quem nulla calumnia laedit,
Non solet obscuris Livor obesse viris.²

¹Hubnerius, p.572.

²Haslobius, pp.521-522.

Heinsius is so impressed with the high position of poets that he is rather severe with the bride for failing to appreciate her poet-husband.¹

The Neo-Latin poets are academically oriented and are often associated with universities.² They often refer to one another in the epithalamia, and they seem to comprise a small intellectual elite, convinced of its undoubted superiority.³ Cupid describes their attitude in an epithalamium of Acontius:

Scis puto quale sit hoc hominum genus,
 aethera iactant
 Ingeniis servire suis, innataq(ue) sese
 Semina nescio quae divinae mentis habere.
 Et quia Musarum pulcris operentur in hortis
 Meq(ue) meosq(ue) arcus et tela potentia spernunt.⁴

Their self-confidence is so great that they do not consider themselves inferior to the writers of antiquity, but place

¹Heinsius, p.370.

²Acontius, Sabinus, Stigelius, and Lotichius were associated with Wittenberg. The first three were members of the so-called Elterer Wittenberger Dichterkreis. Cf. Merker-Stammler, pp.623-624.

³For example, Acontius(2) refers to Hesus(p.358) and to Stigelius(p.362). In many cases one poet writes an epithalamium for the wedding of another poet. For example, Acontius, Fidlerius, and Stigelius write for the wedding of Sabinus; Fincelius writes for Chytraeus, Finkelthusius for Bersmannus, and Haslobius and Hubnerius for Schosserus. All of these grooms are poets in their own right.

⁴Acontius(2), p.357.

themselves on an equal footing with them.¹

The Neo-Latin poets sometimes speak from the heart, that is, they sometimes express their innermost feelings. The distance between poet and poem, in sharp contrast to the situation in the seventeenth century, is sometimes quite short.² For example, Finkelthusius tells how the groom adopted him, cherished him, and set his feet on the path of poetic achievement:

¹Acontius(1), p.354 speaks of Ovid and Eoban Hesus as equals. In the same poem (p.353) Apollo is said to give the same inspiration to his present friends that he formerly gave to Virgil. Hubnerius, p.571 points out that Ovid, Propertius, and Tibullius were once affected by fires similar to those now consuming the groom.

The confidence of the Neo-Latin writers may be explained by the fact that they are writing in a language, which, in comparison to the vernacular, is highly refined and is capable of expressing the most delicate shades of meaning. The fact that they have mastered this difficult medium sets them apart from common humanity.

Of the Neo-Latin writers included in this study only Lindebergius seems to have sold his talent to make pin money. Cf. Cortlandt Van Winkle, Epithalamion by Edmund Spenser, op.cit., p.18.

²Ellinger sees in this Neo-Latin poetry the dim beginnings of the Erlebnis-Lyrik of the eighteenth century. "Grundfragen und Aufgaben...." op.cit., p.5. Conrady, however, disputes this: "Eine solche Betrachtungsweise stammt aus der Begegnung mit der goethischen und nachgoethischen Dichtung... Wird sie auf eine Literatur angewandt, die nach ganz anderen Gesetzen lebt, so muss sie notwendigerweise die historischen Sachverhalte verschleiern." lateinische Dichtungstradition...., op.cit., p.4.

As Conrady indicates the expression Erlebnis-Lyrik immediately brings to mind Goethe's lyrics and may not properly be used to refer to poetry of earlier ages.

Et merito: quoniam iam frugibus area trita
 Est quater, et fugiens quarta recurrit hyems:
Bersmanus cum me tenerum suscepit alumnum,
 Sicca Medusaeo labra liquore rigans.
 Eloquar, an taceam, quantum sudaverit ille,
 Aonii collis dum mihi pandit iter?
 Saxa per, et sentes et devia rura vagantem,
 Dum certo decuit tramite ferre pedes.
 Eloquar, et quante puerum complexus amore
 Foverit, ut sobolem cura paterna suam?¹

Lotichius describes his friendship with the groom and reminisces about the many adventures that they had shared in their younger days. He indicates that he hopes soon to follow his friend into wedlock:

Nos simul Hadriacas puppi sulcavimus undas,
 Aequora qua Venetus prospicit alta Leo.
 Nec pater Eridanus, nec amoris nescia nostri
 Felsina, quae lauro cinxit utriusque comam.

 I prior, exemplo mox sequar ipse tuo.²

The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings and Its Influence Upon the Position of the Poet

The belief in the divine right of kings, which is clearly reflected in the Neo-Latin epithalamia, assumes major importance in the seventeenth

¹Finkelthusius, p.162.

²Lotichius(2), p.100.

Ellinger indicates that the expressing of inmost feelings was done most capably by Lotichius, the greatest of the Neo-Latin poets in Germany. Die neulateinische Lyrik Deutschlands..., p.340.

century.¹ It is one of the factors that causes the distance between poet and poem to become very wide. That is, it is one of the factors that causes poetry to become impersonal.²

Marquardius clearly indicates that the king rules under divine guidance:

Rege me Domine secundum verbum tuum.
Regier mich Herr nach deinem Wort.
 Euge pio dignum, dignum te principe votum,
Ut regat arbitrio te Deus ipse suo.
 Qui populos patrio constanter iure gubernet,
 Nutibus aetheriis ipse regendus erit.
 Tu Friderice ille es, coeli iustissima cura;
 ...
 Qui possis aliter? tu quem divina voluntas
 Ad nutusque suos et tua vota regit.³

¹"The idea of kingship as a theocratic function which played so great a part in the political controversies of the 17th century, is due ultimately to Oriental influences brought to bear through Christianity. The crowning and anointing of the emperors, borrowed from Byzantium and traceable to the influence of the Old Testament, was imitated by lesser potentates; and this 'sacring' by ecclesiastical authority gave to the king a character of special sanctity... Before the Reformation the anointed king was, within his realm, the accredited vicar of God for secular purposes; after the Reformation he became this in Protestant states for religious purposes also." Encyclopaedia Britannica, eleventh edition, Vol.XV(Cambridge, 1911), p.806.

²Fritz Strich points out that absolutism gained strength through Machiavelli's The Prince: "Ja, eines der gewichtigsten Werke der italienischen Renaissance, Machiavelli's "Der Fürst", das schon 1515 erschienen war, vertritt eine Idee, die eigentlich bereits den Keim zum Untergang der Renaissance in sich trägt, und es ist gewiss kein Zufall, dass dieses Werk seine europäische Wirksamkeit erst im Zeitalter des Barock entfaltete. Denn die Idee der unbedingten, im Fürsten verkörperten Autorität des Staates bereitete dem Ideal der Renaissance, der aus allen mittelalterlichen Gemeinschaftsbindungen gelösten Souveränität der menschlichen Persönlichkeit ein Ende. Der Staat ist absolut und souverän und nicht der Mensch." Der Dichter und die Zeit (Bern, 1947), p.79.

³Marquardius (2), pp.315-316.

The theory of the divine right of kings had as a consequence the predominance of the court in cultural affairs and the economic dependence of poets.¹ This in turn sometimes led to an almost unabashed flattery of the prince, and as time went on, to an ever greater effacing of the poet's own personality.

Marquardius indicates, for example, that he is in doubt whether the prince's wedding day is not a happier occasion for him than his own birthday. This indicates that his own feelings are being submerged--that they are being sacrificed for the service of the state:

Disperesam nisi momento mihi gratior omni est,
Natali proprio ni mihi cara magis;
Si bene perpendo, quam provida cura Tonantis
Tantum exoptato miserit ecce bonum.²

In another passage he represents the years as vying with each other to give good gifts to the prince:

¹"Mit der Verwirklichung des absolutistischen Machtstaates, der die Tendenz zur unendlichen Ausdehnung in sich trug, war die Zeit des geschlossenen, bürgerlichen Stadtstaates vorüber. Ein neuer Kulturträger entstand... Denn wo der Staat identisch mit dem Fürsten ist (l' état c'est moi), da ist die Gesellschaft: der Hof." Fritz Strich, op.cit., p.79.

"Ökonomisch gerieten die Dichter, soweit sie von ihrem Talent Nutzen zu ziehen suchten, völlig in Abhängigkeit von den Auftraggebern vor allem von den Höfen und dem grossen Adel. Carl Enders, "Deutsche Gelegenheitsdichtung bis zu Goethe," GRM I (1909), p.294.

²Marquardius(2), p.314.

Proximus ille virum, Princeps, te reddidit annus,
 Iura(ue) iam officii non dubitanda tui.
 Annus at hic(et vix scio num non gratior illo)
 Virginis herosae iura marita dedit.
 Sic bini certant donis ingentibus anni.
 Qui sequitur, faciet te Friderice patrem:
 Et facient reliqui numerosa prole parentem.¹

The flattery employed by Lindebergius is also extreme. He indicates that it is almost impossible to make a choice from the immense number of virtues that are evident in the family of the regal groom:

In densa veluti dubius subsistere sylva
 Lignator solet, inspiciens hinc inde virentis
 Ramos, ex aequo casum minitante securi.
 Copia sic ingens, Dux illustrissime, laudum,
 Incluta progenies atavum, tua vivida virtus.²

The poet's own personality has receded into the background.

¹Marquardius(2), p.314.

²Lindebergius(1), p.1174.

CHAPTER III

THE BAROQUE HOCHZEITSGEDICHT

A total of 409 German wedding poems have been used in this study.¹ They are broken down according to author as follows: Besser 1, Daeh 261, Eltester 1, Fleming 31, Gryphius 12, Günther 32, Hofmannswaldau 4, Kempe 1, Kongehl 1, Logau 1, Lohenstein 1, Neukirch 4, Opitz 7, Peucker 1, Plavius 42, Postel 2, Rist 1, Titz 2, Weckherlin 3, and Zesen 1.²

Undoubtedly many more wedding poems exist from the Baroque Age,³ but they are not readily accessible, for they have not entered the editions which are mainly selections. Comprehensive editions are available only

¹A few additional poems by anonymous authors have been included.

²Three of the poems of Hofmannswaldau are not addressed to a specific bride and groom, but have all of the elements of the Hochzeitsgedicht. The poems are: "Der aus dem Himmel verbante Cupido," "Die versöhnte Venus," and "Die verliebte Vereinigung der Schwänen und Rosen." Opitz's opera Dafne, which was presented for the celebration of a wedding, has also been included as a wedding poem.

It must be noted that the orthography in the seventeenth century is highly irregular, even within the works of a given author. The quotations given in this chapter reflect this wide variance.

³I shall use the term "Baroque" as a general designation to include the period from 1620-1720. The term, as used in this study, does not refer to stylistic qualities. Cf. Richard Alewyn, Hrsg., Deutsche Barockforschung (Köln, 1965), p.11: "Bewahrt blieb der Begriff Barock dagegen als Bezeichnung einer Epoche, und es ist vielleicht sein bedeutendstes Verdienst, dass er zur Anerkennung der Autonomie und zur Erkenntnis des Wesens dieses Zeitalters verholfen hat. Es ist das Zeitalter zwischen Renaissance und Aufklärung..."

for Dach and for Günther.¹ The editions that exist for other authors are selective; they include only limited quantities of the Gelegenheitsdichtung.²

Far more wedding poems are available from Dach than

¹Simon Dach, Gedichte, Hrsg. Walther Zieseemer, 4 Vols. (Halle, 1936).

Johann Christian Günthers sämtliche Werke, Hrsg. Wilhelm Krämer, Vols. 5 and 6 (Leipzig, 1935 and 1937). These two volumes represent Günther's Gelegenheitsdichtung.

A new Gryphius edition entitled Andreas Gryphius Gesamtausgabe der deutschsprachigen Werke is being published at Tübingen by Marian Szyrocki and Hugh Powell. Five volumes have appeared to date.

²Poems by Dach and by Günther are from the collections indicated in the footnote above. Other poems quoted on subsequent pages are taken from the following collections: Paul Flemings deutsche Gedichte, Hrsg. J.M. Leppenberg (Darmstadt, 1965).

Andreas Gryphius, Vermischte Gedichte, Hrsg. Marian Szyrocki (Tübingen, 1964).

C. Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Felix Bobertag (Stuttgart, 1890).

Christian Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau, Gedichte, Hrsg. Hübner (Berlin, 1962).

The poem of Martin Kempe is included in: Vor- und Frühbarock, Hrsg. Cysarz (Leipzig, 1937).

Martin Opitz, Weltliche und geistliche Dichtung, Hrsg. Desterley (Stuttgart, n.d.).

The poem of Nicolaus Peucker is included in: Schwund- und Kirchenbarock, Hrsg. Cysarz (Leipzig, 1937).

The poems of Plavius are included in: Danziger Barockdichtung, Hrsg. Heinz Kindermann (Leipzig, 1939).

Johann Rist, Dichtungen von Johann Rist, Hrsg. Karl Goedeke (Leipzig, 1885).

The poems of Titz are included in: Deutsche Lyrik des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, Hrsg. P. Merker (Bonn, 1913).

Georg Rodolf Weckherlin, Gedichte, Hrsg. Karl Goedeke (Leipzig, 1873).

The poems of Besser, Lohenstein, and Neukirch are taken from Benjamin Neukirchs Anthologie Herrn von Hoffmannswaldau und anderer Deutschen auserlesener und bisher ungedruckter Gedichte, Hrsg. de Capua I (Tübingen, 1961). The poems of Elteter and Postel are taken from Benjamin Neukirchs Anthologie, Hrsg. de Capua II (Tübingen, 1965).

Das Zeitalter des Barock Texte und Zeugnisse, Hrsg. Albrecht Schöne (München, 1963).

from other authors. It must be noted that Königsberg was spared the horrors of the Thirty Years War and that social conditions were thus more stable than in most other parts of Germany. This factor may account at least in part for Daach's immense production of Hochzeitsgedichte.¹

Since this study compares the wedding poem of the German Baroque period with its Neo-Latin counterpart and does not deal primarily with individual borrowings by individual authors, the identity of the particular Baroque authors treated is relatively unimportant.²

The functioning of the influence of the Neo-Latin epithalamia upon the wedding poems of the German vernacular must be understood in terms of literary convention. As the number of the Latin epithalamia increased, the influence of any single poem decreased. The writer of German wedding poems drew upon a stockpile of thematic elements and traditional usages. Greene pointed out that the epithalamist was aware of the genre, not so much as a number of individual poems among which he could choose his own 'source,' but rather as a body of poetic material which was itself intricately entangled with borrowings and derivation. The epithalamist thus felt that he could draw from this body of poetic material without necessarily incurring a debt to a given

¹Cf. Gedichte von Simon Daach, Hrsg. Zieseemer (Halle, 1938), p.vii.

²This was Conrady's conviction as well. Cf. p.7, footnote 1.

poem.¹

Epithalamia of any age have certain elements in common. Something needs to be said about the bride, about the groom, about the ceremony, about the nature of matrimony, or about the social or political consequences of a particular union. However, wedding poems can certainly be conceived of without specific mythological, religious, or sociological elements. They could be written without reference to Venus or Cupid or to the loves of Jupiter. It is therefore quite remarkable that specific mythological allusions and other specific thematic elements do occur in the wedding poems of the Neo-Latin and of the Baroque periods and that they correspond in a great number of instances even in minor details.

In general the German writers treat the elements derived from antiquity more freely than do the Neo-Latin writers. The great differences between the two languages is an important

¹Thomas M. Greene, "Spenser and the Epithalamic Convention," op.cit., p. 218. Cf. Conrad, Lateinische Dichtungstradition, op.cit., p. 190: "Viele Lyrikübertragungen der deutschen Literaten des 17. Jahrhunderts tendieren auf eine Neuschöpfung in der eigenen Sprache. Das Vorgegebene soll umgesetzt werden in ein Gebilde deutscher Zunge, das jene Kunstform trägt, die man an der vorbildlichen, in unserem Fall lateinischen, Dichtung beobachtet und gelernt hat. Der Dichter wird, je nach Thema, Veranlagung, Lust des Augenblickes, Formen anwenden, die ihm den künstlerischen Forderungen angemessen zu sein scheinen. Und dafür hat er mehr und jeweils auch andere Formen als die Vorlage zur Verfügung. Er kennt den Gesamtvorrat lateinischer Aussageformen aus theoretischen Schriften und aus den Gedichten selbst...Für den Betrachter ergibt sich daraus die Notwendigkeit, bei vergleichenden historischen Stilbetrachtungen den Blick weit genug spielen zu lassen: Die Dichter haben sich aus der als vorbildlich angesehenen Poesie mehr angeeignet, als die fremdsprachige Vorlage im Einzelfall anbietet."

factor. It is not possible to adapt poems from Latin to German with real grammatical or rhetorical precision.

Word order in Latin, within rather broad limits, is free.¹ Since this is not the case in German the possibilities, for example, for hyperbaton are diminished. Furthermore, there is no construction in German comparable to the ablative absolute, which helps the Latin to express ideas with utmost brevity. This ability of the Latin to say much in few words is simply not transferable to the German. Thus the exigencies of the language almost compel the German poets who are using the classical and Neo-Latin models to treat the material more freely.

As has been noted, the Neo-Latin epithalamia are almost uniformly religious and reverent in nature. They never (with the exception of J. Secundus) tend toward suggestive or obscene descriptions.² However, some of the German poems do show marked tendencies in that direction. For example, Hofmannswaldau describes Venus in this way in one of his

¹These points concerning the difference between the two languages are taken from Conrady, op.cit., p.191. Conrady also quotes (pp.190-191) pertinent remarks made by Opitz in the introduction to his translation of the Trojanerinnen: "So hat auch die Lateinische Sprache viel Eysenschaften/ derer unsere/und unsere viel/ derer jene nicht fähig ist/ wie ich dann verhoffe/ dass zum wenigsten auss etlichen Orthen dieser Verdolmetschung in Gegenhaltung wird zu spüren seyn."

²Cf. p.61.

wedding poems:

Das reichgerollte Haar schwamm auf den vollen
Brüsten,
Die zwar als Nachbarin einander freundlich
grüssten,
Doch voneinander nicht berührtet wollten sein.¹

However, in other instances the German poems are extremely religious in tone and flee every appearance of sensuality.

For example, Günther's attitude in the following poem is

Memento Mori:

Die Hoffart setzt die Last gleich mit dem
Brautkranz auf,
Der Wollust folgt die Reu, die Hessellichkeit
den Jahren,
Und endlich kommt der Wurm in Mammons schlechte
Wahren.
Bey dir, mein Bräutigam, trifft recht das
Sprichwort ein:
Wer um das Glücke buhlt, der muss der Tugend
freyn.²

This sharp antithesis between the religious and the sensual points the way to a central problem in the German literature of the seventeenth century; for the poetry of the Baroque century is oriented both to "Diesseits" and to "Jenseits." It exhibits extremely religious and extremely sensual elements. Numerous other antitheses flow from this basic conflict.³

Strich, Hübscher, and Schöne indicate that a deep feeling

¹Hofmannswaldau, Gedichte, Hrsg. Hübner, p.11.

²Johann Christian Günthers sämtliche Werke VI, p.208, 22-26. Both of these examples could be multiplied many times.

³Cf. A Hübscher, "Barock als Gestaltung antithetischen Lebensgefühls," Euphorion XXIV (Leipzig und Wien 1922), p.531

of Vergänglichkeit, that is, of the transitoriness of all things human is the basic factor which is at the root of the great antitheses evident in Baroque poetry.¹ Two basic reactions to the universal fact of transitoriness are memento mori and carpe diem. That is, one may either flee life and think only of religious values, or one may indulge oneself to the fullest measure. Both of these diametrically opposed reactions appear repeatedly in the German wedding poems.

Strich sees a model example for the experience of Vergänglichkeit and its pervasive influence in the Baroque period in Du Bellay's journey (1553-1557) to

¹"Der Sensualismus des Barock aber steht nicht etwa ohne inneren Zusammenhang mit seinem Spiritualismus da... Das Erlebnis des Vanitas also führt nicht nur zur Weltflucht und in die Einsamkeit, sondern weckt auch die Forderung, den flüchtigen Augenblick eben seiner Vergänglichkeit wegen zu genießen. Nicht nur das "memento mori", sondern auch das "carpe diem" ist ein Leitmotiv barocker Dichtung" Fritz Strich, op.cit., pp.116-117.

"Und dies auch ist das Leitmotiv der ganzen barocken Lyrik: dass alles auf Erden eitel ist, gleitender Schatten, ein Fetzen Rauch, verwehender Klang, von Staub eine Wolke, entweichende Welle...RHümlich, untilgbar im Wandel der Zeit, hatte der Mensch der Renaissance sein Dasein erfasst, im ewigen Fliehen und Stürzen das Gleichbleibende und Dauernde lebend. Nun verstürzt das Erlebnis des Raums in Unendlichkeit, einzigem Wogen, und im Gegensatze zum Ewigen erlebt man den Gedanken der zeitlichen Vergänglichkeit." Hübscher, op.cit., p.529.

"Dieser Offenbarung entsprang der tiefste der Gegensätze, die Grundspannung, welcher alle anderen Antithesen folgen. Denn das Erlebnis der Vergänglichkeit setzte den Dualismus von Diesseits und Jenseits, der das Kriegs- und Pestjahrhundert regierte." Albrecht Schöne, Hrsg., Das Zeitalter des Barock (München, 1963), p.ix.

Rome.¹ This member of the Plejade, expecting to see traces of the glory of ancient Rome, saw only crumbling ruins which bore eloquent testimony to the perishability of all things human. This impression, according to Strich, marks the beginning of Baroque poetry. Strich uses the Du Bellay episode in support of his transfer of the concept "Baroque" from architecture and art history to literature.²

Strich points out also that the Counter Reformation strengthened the atmosphere of Vergänglichkeit and reopened the medieval antitheses between God and the world, between time and eternity, and between soul and body.³ These antitheses had been largely resolved during the Renaissance.

So far as the form is concerned, the vast majority of the Neo-Latin epithalamia were written in the elegaic couplet⁴

¹"Es ist die grosse Tat Du Bellays gewesen, dass er in seinen 'Antiquitez de Rome'(1558) diesem Erlebnis Ausdruck gab." Strich, op.cit., p.78.

²Strich first applied the term "Baroque" to literature of the seventeenth century in: "Der lyrische Stil des 17. Jahrhunderts," (1916) wiederabgedruckt in Deutsche Barockforschung, Hrsg. Richard Alewyn (Köln, 1965), p.229.

³Fritz Strich, Der Dichter und die Zeit, op.cit., p.80.

⁴Grant, op.cit., p.29. Cupid was credited with creating the elegaic couplet by stealing one of the feet from the hexameter and thus rendering it unfit for heroic tales. Cf. Ovid, Amores I:3-4.

This meter is of course not well suited to the German language, which favors accentual patterns because of the prevailing stress accent.¹ The German wedding poems, in accordance with Opitz's reforms, abandon the qualitative meters in favor of the quantitative iambic or trochaic.²

¹"Opitz hat mit seinem umwälzenden Gesetze, dass ein gleichmässiger Rhythmus die natürliche Betonung der deutschen Sprache zu wahren habe, dem deutschen Geiste eine Wiedergeburt bereitet..." Strich, "Der lyrische Stil des 17. Jahrhunderts," p.229.

²"Nachmals ist auch jeder vers entweder ein iambicus oder trochaicus; nicht zwar das wir auff art der griechen unnd lateiner eine gewisse grösse der sylben können in acht nemen; sondern das wir aus den accenten unnd dem thone erkennen/ welche sylbe hoch und welche niedrig gesetzt soll werden." Martin Opitz, Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey, Hrsg. Richard Alewyn (Tübingen, 1963), p.37.

Mythological Elements

Venus

Venus is the most important mythological figure in the German wedding poems as she is in the Neo-Latin epithalamia. She appears in almost half of the poems included in this study, sometimes in an extended narrative passage, but more frequently in a brief reference. "Cyprian" and "Paphian," two of the epithets that are common in the Neo-Latin, are also of common occurrence in the German.

Four of the German poems contain references to Venus's origin (as Aphrodite) from the waters near Cyprus.¹ Postel's description, which is typical of these, also mentions her garden:

Die göttin/ aus dem schaum der saltzen-fluth
 geboren/
 Der eine muschel war zu wiegen auserkohren/
 Als sie zu allererst an Cyprus ufern schwam/
 Der auch die mächtigsten sich unterthan erkanten/
 Der alle sterblichen ein grosses opffer branten/
 So bald ihr heller glantz nur aus den wellen kam/
 Liess neulich einen thron in ihren garten setzen/²

References to the origin of Venus do not appear in the Neo-Latin epithalamia included in this study.

Venus was related to Vulcan in antiquity as in the epithalamium of Acontius.³ She is related to this God of

¹Cf. Pauly-Wissowa VIII (Stuttgart, 1955), p. 828.

²Benjamin Neukirchs Anthologie II, p. 154, 1-7. Other references are: Postel, *op. cit.*, p. 161, 4-5, Hofmannswaldau, Hrg. Bobertag, p. 93, 64, and Hofmannswaldau, Hrg. Hübner, p. 10, 1-3.

³Cf. Edith Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 34. Acontius (2), p. 356.

Fire in three of the German poems. For example:

Und Venus lahmer Mannf Er hält die Frewden-Fewer
Allein in guter Acht¹

1. Venus actively brings about the wedding, usually through the instrumentality of her son Cupid.²

The elements of the Venus-Cupid narrative originated by Statius and refined by Claudian were taken up in the Neo-Latin by three authors; the most detailed treatment of the narrative is that of Haslobius.³ The basic elements of this tale include a description of Venus in her garden with the Amores and Hymen, the journey to the wedding festivities, and the blessing of the union. Two of the Neo-Latin epithalamia also include a conversation between Venus and a river-god.

This entire narrative as it existed in antiquity is related by only one German author, who consciously imitates Claudian. He indicates his source in the title of his poem: "Die schlaffende Venus nach des Claudiani lateinischen."⁴ However, individual elements of the story appear more than a dozen times in the German poems.

¹Dach II, p.190. Other examples of her relationship to Vulcan are: Fleming, p.61, 99, and Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Bobertag, p.99, 76.

²The functions and activities of Venus in the Hochzeitgedicht are grouped under the same three subdivisions that were used for the Neo-Latin epithalamia.

³Cf. pp.29-30. The entire epithalamium of Haslobius has been reproduced complete with translation in Appendix C.

⁴Benjamin Neukirchs Anthologie II, p.140. The author's name is not given.

For example, the garden of Venus is described in three of the Hochzeitsgedichte:

Sie(Venus) nimmt mich auff und führt mich über
 Wald und Hügel
 Und lässt zuletzt mit mir sich in ein grünes Thal,
 Da war ein steter Lentz, da ist die Nachtigal
 Zu Haus' und Bürgerin, da fließen kühle Brunnen¹

Both the valley(Tempe) and the fountain are mentioned in the epithalamium of Haslobius.

The journey of Venus and her Amores to the wedding festivities, an important element in the Statius-Claudian narrative and in the Neo-Latin, is described in six of the German poems. For example:

hiess sie den Schwanenzeug alsbalde tragen für,
 der stracks ward angeschirrt. Kom, sprach sie,
 Kind, mit mir,
 und wer mir folgen will! Als bald ward ein Getümmel
 von ihrer kleinen Schar durch den saphirnen Himmel.
 Voraus ihr Ältster Sohn nahm umb sich seinen Rock²

The Neo-Latin writers do not mention the mode of transportation employed by Venus, although she was represented by both Statius and Claudian as travelling in a chariot conveyed by doves. This method of the goddess's transportation appears in at least three German wedding poems. For example:

¹Dach I, p.260. Other descriptions of the garden are given by Postel, Neukirchs Anthologie II, p.154, 6ff., and by Günther V, p.25, 32ff.

²Fleming, p.94, 15-19. Other examples are Postel, Neukirchs Anthologie II, p.155, 22-24 and an anonymous author in the same anthology, p.142, 70ff. The remaining three examples are indicated in footnote 1 on page 96.

mein Sohn, du solst mit mir! Lauf, spanne vor
 die Tauben!
 Ihr andern bringt mir Schmuck, Geschmeide,
 Röcke, Schauben
 und was mein Schönstes ist! Die Göttin setzt
 sich auf
 und fährt also davon: die helle Zunft folgt
 drauf.¹

In the Neo-Latin poems of Haslobius and Acontius the river-god was described as a tottering old man arising from the waters with his head enveloped in seaweed.² There is a particularly close correspondence in a wedding poem of Fleming:

Er, der König unserer Flüsse
 hebt sein schilficht Haupt empor,
 tut für Freuden stärkere Güsse,
 als er nie getan zuvor.³

Sabinus had personified the Vistula.⁴ Dach depicts this river as conferring a blessing on the newly-wedded pair:

Begehet wol die Hochzeit-Frewde,
 Die Weichsel schrey euch: Segen! zu⁵

The inexorable will of Venus to bring about marriages sometimes causes her to employ strategems. In the Neo-Latin she had disguised herself as a student in order to gain close access to a learned but reluctant groom.⁶ In the German

¹Fleming, p.69, 33-36. Other examples are: Dach I, p.260, and Hofmannswaldau, Hrsq. Hübner, p.11.

²Cf. p.30. The poem of Haslobius is described in the text; that of Acontius is indicated in the footnote.

³Fleming, p.313, 25-28.

⁴Sabinus(1), p.237. Cf. p.30, footnote 1.

⁵Dach II, p.63.

⁶Lindebergius(5), p.1187. Cf. pp.31-32.

poems she employs two more elaborate plans. On one occasion she orders Cupid to disguise himself as the prospective (widowed) bride's small son. This will enable him to get close to her, to infect her with the power of love, and thus to overcome her great resistance.¹

Lass/wenn sie dich/ für ihn/ wird in die arme
 schliessen/
 Den unvermerckten giff, ihr in die adern fliessen.
 Vertilge/ wie du kanst/ durch neu-erregte glut/
 Des todten Fürstens bild/ der uns noch schaden
 thut²

An even more imaginative strategem is perpetrated by Venus and Cupid in a poem by Gryphius. After Cupid (as Eros) has tried unsuccessfully to infect the bride by a gift of flowers and by a direct attack, he and Venus assume the form of fish and frolic about in the icy waters of a lake until they are caught in a net. Because of the great beauty of these strange fish they are taken to the bride. The young lady is thus caught wholly unaware and Cupid is able to inject the dosage of passionate love. The bride is then in terrible agony, but Venus explains to her that the pain can be alleviated by applying three equal fish to it. This is a poetic way of suggesting marriage, for the three equal

¹This strategem is the same as that employed by Venus in the Aeneid I, 657-660:

"At Cytheraea novas artes, nova pectore versat
 consilia, ut faciem mutatus et ora Cupido
 pro dulci Ascanio veniat, donisque furentem
 incendat reginam, atque ossibus implicet ignem."

²Besser, Benjamin Neukirchs Anthologie I, p.136, 69-72.

fish are a symbol upon the coat of arms of the groom's family.¹

The will of Venus to bring about a wedding at any cost is even more apparent in the German than in the Neo-Latin. In a poem of Hofmannswaldau she is absolutely ruthless in demanding results from Cupid. After upbraiding him for his incompetence, she punishes him savagely. She seizes him by the hair and whips him until his body appears to be as red as her lips:

Sie grieff mit einer Hand ihm in das schöne Haar,
Und peitschte, biss sein Leib wie ihre Lippen war.
Biss Rosen um den Schnee der zarten Lenden stunden²

In the same poem she is represented as wearing a coat embroidered with pictures of heroes who were strong physically but whose strength could not keep them from falling victim to her wiles.³ Two of these heroes--Achilles and Hercules--are mentioned in both Neo-Latin(Grotius) and German as examples of great men who have succumbed to the overwhelming power of love.⁴

¹Gryphius, p.149, 137ff. Hermann Palm explains that the fish are symbolic of the groom's coat of arms: "Die Seidlitzze führen drei fische im wappen." Andreas Gryphius Lyrische Gedichte, Hrsg. Palm(Tübingen, 1884), p.541.

²Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Bobertag, p.99, 80-82. "An Hofmannswaldaus erotische Lyrik schliesst sich die folgende Generation(1680-1710)an." Merker-Stammler, "Schlesische Schulen," p.178.

³Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Bobertag, p.97, 11ff.

⁴Achilles and Hercules are mentioned in this connection by Plavius, p.51, 6-8, and by Dach II, p.130.

2. Venus is considered an authority on all matters of the heart.

In one Neo-Latin poem Venus had participated in the virgin-widow debate and had recommended the widow as the better choice. That the virgin-widow debate was a common topic in Neo-Latin wedding poems is evident from Morhof's reference to the problem.¹

In one German wedding poem Venus reassures the prospective bride about the advantages that she as a widow will bring to the marriage. Her prince can see a living proof of her fidelity through her sorrow, and her children are an undeniable proof of her fertility:

Was man von andern wünscht/ ist schon von dir
bekandt;
Wie glücklich dient dazu dein erster ehestand.²

An anonymous author in a poem entitled lob der Wittwen also rules in favor of the widow, for she is more experienced and industrious than a younger woman:

So sind die wittwen schon die strassen durchgegangen/
Sie wissen was zu thun und was zu lassen sey.
Wenn junge frauen oft bey chart- und bret-spiel
bleiben/
So suchen sie die zeit mit arbeit zu vertreiben.³

Günther devotes an entire Hochzeitsgedicht to the virgin-widow question and sets forth the advantages of each

¹Cf. p. 32, footnote 1.

²Besser, Neukirchs Anthologie I, p. 138, 143-144.

³Das Zeitalter des Barock, Hrsg. Schöne, p. 830, 27-30.

in a compelling way. It is argued that the widow is more stable than a younger woman. Her value is illustrated by parallel phenomena in nature. The travelled path can be negotiated with surer step. Fruit is best when it has had time to ripen. The older wine has the greater power. The rose is not nearly so beautiful in its bud as it becomes later when it blossoms in full splendor. However, the arguments in favor of marrying a virgin are also compelling. A virgin is like a new letter freshly dated and containing good tidings. Who wants to dine with a person who serves re-warmed left-overs? Who wants to drink from water which others have defiled? The virgin is certainly endowed with fresher colors and she rises every morning with new splendor. Günther does not, however, resolve the question at the end of the wedding poem:

Geht, Schönen, zancket euch mit gleichen Waf-
und Pfeilen;
Wem Venus und ihr Sohn wird wollen Recht erteilen,
Der trägt den Sieg davon.¹

The arguments in the virgin-widow debate are neatly summarized by Gryphius in a sharp, staccato-like interchange:

¹Günther VI, p.254, 209-211.

Cf. Ovid, Artis Amatoriae III, 3-4:

"Ite in bella pares; vincant, quibus alma Dione
Faverit et toto qui volat orbe puer."

Thyrsis: Bey Wittben findet man bestellte Küch'
und Keller.

Dametas: Man freyt die Wittben wol/ man freyt
auch ihre Heller.

T. Wird iemand drum verdacht? Sie sitzen warm
und fest.

D. Zu fest auch wol für mich/ die erste Treu
die best.

T. Sie leben bey Verstand/ und haben was erfahren.

D. Gott woll' uns für und für vor dem Verstand
bewahren.

T. So taugt dir keine nicht die ihren Mann beklagt?

D. Sie ehr' ich, Doch ich lieb' ein unbefleckte
Magd.¹

In several passages in the Neo-Latin epithalamia Venus claims for herself or is conceded absolute primacy in matters of the heart.² The same direct claim to absolute primacy occurs in three of the German poems. For example:

Aber wer von Liebe schreibt,
Venus ist es, die ihn treibt.
Naso singt durch meine Gunst,
Mars, der Poeten Seele,

...

Wo bleibt gantz mein Werck, Catull,
Dem an Schalkheit nichts geglichen?
Wo Propert, wo mein Tibull?
Wo die grosse Schaar der Griechen?
Wo Secund, mein Eigenthumb?³

This passage shows a direct connection between the German and the Neo-Latin poems, for Dach indicates that he especially admires Johannes Secundus. Günther also mentions

¹Gryphius, p.153, 89-96.

²Examples are: Lotichius(1), p.1486 and Lindebergius(1), p.1174. Cf. pp.32-33.

³Dach I, p.260. Ovid, Propertius, and Tibullus are also mentioned as models by Hubnerius, p.571. Other examples of the primacy of Venus are: Postel in Neukirchs Anthologie II, p.154, 4-5, and Hofmannswaldau, Hrsrg. Bobertag, p.97, iff.

this Dutch Neo-Latinist, together with Pontanus, one of the major Neo-Latin writers of Italy:¹

Corinna fesselte dem Naso Herz und Sinn,
Pontanus sehnet sich nach seiner Schäferin,
Und ein Petrarchoa will mit seiner Laura sterben,
Secundus leget selbst der Liebe Kleider an²

In still another wedding poem Dach praises the groom for his ability as a composer of Neo-Latin verses. It must be remembered that the Neo-Latin continued to exist side by side with the German on into the eighteenth century:³

Diess was meine Musa singt
Ist nur Deutsch, er aber bringt
Durch ein zierliches Latein
Ewre Glut den Sternen ein.⁴

Finally, in connection with the primacy of Venus, it must be noted that the love that she and Cupid inspire is sometimes regarded as a kind of sickness. In one poem Venus gives her son an earthenware jar in which she had placed the irresistibly attractive power of love. He is to break the jar upon the earth and thus release the love which will be operative in all creatures from the lowliest

¹Cf. Grant, op.cit., p.4.

²Günther V, p.21, 181-184.

³Fleming and Gryphius in particular wrote many poems in Latin. Günther also composed Latin poems, including epithalamia. Cf. Günther V, p.64.

Hans Pyritz includes an investigation of Fleming's Latin poetry in: Paul Flemings Liebeslyrik Zur Geschichte des Petrarkismus: Palaestra, Band 234 (Göttingen, 1963). F.W. Wentzlaff-Eggebert deals with the Latin tradition of Gryphius in: Dichtung und Sprache des jungen Gryphius (Berlin, 1936, 1966).

⁴Dach II, p.119.

to the highest. The overwhelming force of this love is evident from its designation: "die Kranckheit ohne Rath."¹

3. Venus is associated with passion and with the physical side of marriage.

Venus appears under this aspect very frequently in the Hochzeitsgedicht. As in the Neo-Latin her connection with passion and the physical side of marriage is regarded by most writers as good, but by a few, particularly those who are religiously inclined, as evil. The following exhortation of Fleming is typical of the favorable treatment of the goddess in this area. This example could be multiplied many times:

Geht Liebte, geht nur fort
und gebet gute Nacht! Die Venus steht von ferne,
lacht eurer Wegerung. Cupido sähe gerne,
dass ihr nur machtet fort.²

In a poem of Dach Venus whispers the suggestion into the ear of the bride and causes her face to grow red with a deep blush.³

Zesen describes the planet Venus, which, arising in splendor, creates an atmosphere conducive to love-making.⁴

¹Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Bobertag, p.94,99. This is an element of Petrarkismus, which is treated in detail on p.141ff. Cf. also pp.63-65.

²Fleming, p.66,304-307. "Liebte" is a shortened form for "Verliebte." Cf. Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch, Sechster Band, p.979. Grimm quotes the word from Fleming. The word "Wegerung" is not listed in Grimm; however, "wegern" is given as "weigern" (Dreizehnter Band, p.3108). "Wegerung" would therefore be equivalent to "Weigerung."

³Dach I, p.37.

⁴Das Zeitalter des Barock, Hrsg. Schöne, p.824, 2-11.

Finally, the suggestion is made in still another way by an anonymous author in the Neukirch anthology:

Oder/ wo nooh kalt der stand/
 Hastu Venus an der hand
 Neben ihrem süssen kinde/
 Wo dieselben kehren ein/
 Kan es schwerlich frostig seyn.¹

However, Venus as a purveyor of passion is violently rejected by a few Baroque writers on religious grounds. For example, Lohenstein spurns her at the beginning of a wedding poem and then goes on to a long account of the tremendously destructive power of passionate love.² He cites historical and biblical examples including Troy, Tyre, Sodom, Sampson, and David. There is a particularly close parallel to the epithalamium of Fincelius, for the Neo-Latin writer cites some of the same examples in a similar context.³

Lohenstein finds no way to reconcile Venus and (in a larger sense) pagan mythology with Christianity. For him they are in direct and violent opposition:

¹Neukirchs Anthologie II, p.146, 100-104.

²However, Lohenstein's attitude in this poem is diametrically opposed to that expressed in other poems of his, for example, "Venus." The following passage appears in this poem: "Denn Lieben ist nichts mehr als eine Schiffererei!" Here we read: "Der Port, wohin man denkt, ist eine schöne Frau. Die Ufer sind die Brüste. Die Anfahrt ist ein Kuss. Der Zielzweck süsse Lüste." Barocklyrik II, Hreg. Cysarz (Hildesheim, 1964), p.225. It is apparent that the sharply antithetical elements which are characteristic of much of Baroque poetry (cf. p.89) may appear within the works of a single author.

³Fincelius (p.156) mentions Troy, Oedipus, and David.

Der weyrauch/ der in Venus tempel brennt/
 Reucht Gott nicht wohl/ die engel/ die uns dienen/
 Entfernen sich/ wie für dem rauche bienen.
 Die opffer/ die auch Paphos heilig nennt/
 Sind zu Jerusalem ein stinkend Gottesdienst.¹

This points the way to a larger problem reaching all the way back to antiquity: namely how to reconcile Christian and pagan elements within the confines of a literary work. Paulinus of Nola was the first Christian writer of an epithalamium to reject the pagan mythological figures. During the Middle Ages the problem resolved itself, for the Christian forms predominated unchallenged. The mythological figures, if they were used at all, were used in an allegorical way to exemplify Christian principles.² However, with the Renaissance and the rebirth of classical forms and thematic elements, the problem comes into focus again. While the majority of the Neo-Latin writers have no difficulty in reconciling Venus and other mythological elements with Christ and Christian precepts, a few (e.g. Fincelius) reject the entire mythological complex.³

¹Neukirchs Anthologie I, p.151, 29-33.

²Walter Benjamin points out three things that the Baroque religious writers have in common with medieval Christendom: "Dreifach ist zwischen der barocken und mittelalterlichen Christlichkeit die sachliche Verwandtschaft. Der Kampf gegen die Heidengötter, der Triumph der Allegorie, das Martyrium der Leiblichkeit, gilt ihnen gleichermassen notwendig. Diese Motive hängen aufs engste zusammen. Sie sind--wie sich ergibt--unter dem religionsgeschichtlichen Aspekt ein und dasselbe." "Allegorie und Emblem," Deutsche Barockforschung, Hrsg. Richard Alewyn (Köln, 1965), p.406.

³"And you, O wanton Venus, go away with your torch
 For we offer no honors at your altars." Fincelius, p.153.

In the Baroque poems the vast majority of the writers also blend the Christian and pagan elements together in an harmonious way. But there are a few cases in which these elements are placed in violent contrast, as in the poem of Lohenstein. Günther also equates Venus with base passion and places her in direct opposition to Christian tenets. He indicates that whoever yields to her does not follow God's plan:¹

Der Christen Lieb und Herz muss ohne Flecken seyn;
Und zu der keuschen Glut der Venus Kohlen tragen,
Heist sich mit fremdem Feur vor Gottes Antlitz wagen.²

One notable difference between the appearance of Venus in the German wedding poems and in the Neo-Latin epithalamia is that in the German she is sometimes treated with less reverence and respect. The German writers are becoming more and more conscious of their own emerging national culture.³ They look forward to the time when foreign influences will begin to wane and when the German culture will compete with the others on equal terms:

¹However, Günther's wedding poems show elements of extreme sensuality as well. Cf. V, p. 28, 135-136: "Aus ihrem Schoosse stieg ein dicker Blumenbusch. Ein dünner Carmesin umflog die zarten Lenden, In derer Marmor sich verdecktes Feuer regt." It is the same antithesis noted in the work of Lohenstein (Cf. p. 104) and discussed in the introduction to this chapter (Cf. pp. 89-90).

²Günther VI, p. 209, 62-64.

³In several wedding poems the German poets point to the achievements of Opitz with pride. For example: "Die schönen Pierinnen, die nun durch Opitzs Gunst auch hochdeutsch reden können." Fleming, p. 60, 57-58. Cf. Dach I, p. 238.

Ja, Herr Opitz, ewrer Kunst
 Mag es Deutschland einig dancken,
 Das der frembden Sprachen Gunst
 Mercklich schon beginnt zu wancken,
 Und man numehr ins gemein
 Lieber Deutsch begehrt zu sein.¹

This attitude sometimes causes them to regard the mythological figures as mere conventions which can be exploited for purposes of humor or entertainment. For example, Fleming describes a situation in which Venus locks her spouse into a room and lets him work on his armor while she searches for more potent lovers:

Sie hält ihn auch nicht gross,
 im Fall' sie liegen kan in eines Andern Schoss,
 und der es besser kan.²

In another Hochzeitgedicht of Fleming, after participating wholeheartedly in a wild drinking bout that accompanies the wedding festivities, she arranges for each of the guests to choose a partner and to spend the night exchanging affections:

Ein Jeder schmiegte sich an seinen Nachbar an,
 die Türe ward gesperrt, die Liechter ausgetan.
 Da ging es recht bunt zu...
 Die er sonst in der Stadt nicht kühnlich sprechen
 darf,
 die legt er neben sich...
 Das Schlechteste, das er tut, ist, dass er herzt
 und küsst.³

The goddess of love is not treated in such a light-hearted and familiar way in any of the Neo-Latin

¹Dach I, p. 52.

²Fleming, p. 69, 27-29.

³Fleming, p. 98, 171ff.

epithalamia included in this study. This less reverent treatment is evident in the case of other mythological characters as well.¹

Cupid

The names "Cupid" and "Amor" are used interchangeably in the German wedding poems as in the Neo-Latin epithalamia. Cupid appears in the Hochzeitgedichte with the same attributes that he had in the Neo-Latin. He is represented as a blind winged boy with potent bow and arrow.

His blindness plays a greater role in the German than in the Neo-Latin, for this attribute is mentioned in eight of the poems. In several of these the little god's blindness suggests that love is blind and that this is a desirable situation. For example:

Seind ihm doch kein' augen nütze/
Seine pfeile treffen wol/
Siht er schon nicht wie er soll.
Wer scharff siehet/ wil scharff wehlen
Wer viel wehlet/ dem muss's fehlen.²

In the Neo-Latin poems one of Cupid's chief characteristics was his irresponsibility. In two of the epithalamia he had attacked Jupiter himself and caused his transformation into swan, steer, and shower of

¹For example, Cupid(Cf.p.115) and Hymen(Cf.p.118).

²Plavius, p.73, 65-69. Other examples of Cupid's blindness are: Dach I, p.36, Opitz, p.64, 202, Fleming, p.61, 101, Günther VI, p.267, 23, Plavius, p.46, 36, and p.62, 9, and Postel in Neukirchs Anthologie II, p.155, 38.

gold.¹ These transformations are mentioned in seven of the German poems. For example:

Diss ist die süsse Lust, die aus dem Himmel brachte
den heissen Jupiter, die ihn zum Stiere machte.
Der Hochverliebte Gott liess seinen Donner stehen,
im Fall' er muste fort nach andrer Weide gehn.²

Cupid's irresponsibility had also been indicated in the Neo-Latin (Acontius [2] and Haslobius) through his mother's good-natured scoldings.³ In two of the German poems Venus scolds her son savagely, upbraiding him for his incompetence, rather than (as in the Neo-Latin) for his overly-zealous activity.⁴

In other German poems his irresponsibility is suggested through his use of traps and snares.⁵ It is apparent that he intends to capture lovers by any means whatsoever:

Jetzt wirfft er angeln aus. Hier legt er netz und
strick;
Dort aber sucht er euch verschmitzt ins garn zu
bringen.⁶

¹Cf. p. 35. In addition the transformations are mentioned without reference to Cupid by Grotius and by Stigelius.

²Fleming, p. 62, 153-156. Other examples of Jupiter's transformations are: Dach I, p. 82 and II, p. 89. Günther V, p. 19, 91ff., Neukirch in Neukirchs Anthologie I, p. 155, 53-54, Postel in Neukirchs Anthologie II, p. 161, 29-30, and Opitz, p. 59, 29-32.

³Cf. p. 36, footnote 2. These passages have been translated in Appendix C.

⁴Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Bobertag, p. 98, 68ff.
Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Hübner, p. 11

⁵Cf. p. 36, footnote 1.

⁶Eitertter, Neukirchs Anthologie II, p. 147, 21-22. Another example is Dach I, p. 242.

In the Neo-Latin poems it had been indicated that the poets' trust in their privileged position could not save them from Cupid and Venus.¹ Similarly, in two German wedding poems it is indicated that Cupid's power prevails over poets also, however much they seek refuge in their books. For example:

Aber als Cupido kam
 Und in seinen Dienst ihn nam
 Auch mit einer Philosetten:
 Da entfiel ihm Vaterland,
 Bücher und der Musen-Stand²

The irresponsibility of the little love-god is indicated in many other ways in the German poems.³ For example, in a poem of Hofmannswaldau, he threatens to destroy the entire order of heaven by his unremitting pranks upon the goddesses. Among other things he damages the equipment of the Parcae and drips wax upon the best mirror of Juno. Jupiter is finally compelled to banish him from the heavenly company.⁴ Another example of Cupid's wanton irresponsibility occurs in a wedding poem of Fleming. The new bride and groom tip-toe away from the assembly and retire to the bathroom where they

¹Cf. p. 36.

²Dach II, p. 120. Another example is Fleming, p. 310, 1-9.

³As has been indicated (cf. pp. 106-107) the German poets, eager to exercise their inventive powers in their native tongue, use the mythological material much more freely than their Neo-Latin counterparts.

⁴Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Bobertag, pp. 92-93.

hope they can be alone together. Cupid seizes them there and drags them back to the assembled guests. He then scolds them until they are red with shame and embarrassment.¹

In the German poems, unlike the Neo-Latin, Cupid's great power is indicated in several lengthy allegories. The extended use of the allegory originates with the problem of resolving the conflict between mythological figures and Christian principles.² In a wedding poem of Plavius there is a lengthy description of Cupid's "liebe-schiff":

Das förderschiff ist lust/ und unlust ist der
 spiegel/
 Die jugend ist d'mast/ die tugend; fahn und
 fliegel/
 Das segel; lieblichkeit/ die augen; der compass/
 Die hoffnung und geduld; der anker und das glass.
 Der schiffer ist er(Cupido) selbst und hat die
 oberstelle/
 Der stewart ohne stewart ist Hymen sein geselle/
 ...
 Der wind ist trew und ernst/ und treibet's schifflein
 fort
 Bis an die eh' hinnan/ die ist der rechte port.³

¹Fleming, p.98, 141-153.

²Cf. Conrady: "(Die Kirche) bestimmt den geistigen Horizont des Mittelalters. Aber wenn auch keineswegs der gesamte Inhalt der antiken Kultur für das Christentum akzeptabel ist, wird erstaunlich viel bewahrt, gepflegt und weitergegeben. Zur Ausdeutung der heidnischen Autoren wird die allegorische Auslegung zu Hilfe genommen, so dass dann die Antike wie eine Präfiguration des Christentums zu erscheinen vermag." Lateinische Dichtungstradition, op.cit., p.20.

³Plavius, p.79, 14ff.

This is a favorite image in Baroque poetry.¹ It appears in several additional wedding poems. In each of the poems it is suggested that marriage is a secure haven toward which restless love is driving the young man and his beloved. In this haven they may ride out all the storms and difficulties of life. This basic image is used and developed in various ways. For example, Günther mentions "winds" and "guiding-star":

Lust und Vergnügung baut den Hafen deiner Ruh;
 Auf diesen streicht das Schiff der keuschen Liebe zu,
 Des Glückes guter Wind befördert dein Verlangen.
 Dein Leitstern hat dich nun durch Einsamkeit und
 Nacht
 In das gelobte Land bis an die Flüsse bracht,
 Die von des Himmels Thau mit Milch und Honig
 schwellen;
 Ihr Lustfeld biethet dir die fetten Ufer dar.²

In another poem Günther uses the image to express his best wishes for the newly-wedded pair:

auf eurer Liebessee
 Sey immer Perlenfang, und landet mit Vergnügen,
 Wo Glückesinsula seyn; speist täglich Zuckerbrödt,
 Und wenn euch Sturm und Wind mit schwarzen Wolcken
 droht,
 Las euch der Himmel doch getrost vor Anker liegen.³

In another lengthy allegory Cupid is regarded as a

¹Lohenstein's allegory (in the poem "Venus") is very similar to that of Plavius: "Denn Lieben ist nichts mehr als eine Schiffferei! Das Schiff ist unser Herz... Cf. p. 104, footnote 2.

²Günther V, p. 31, 242-248.

³Günther V, p. 8, 100-104. The image also appears in a poem by Titz entitled "Auff Herrn Johann Seylers Hochzeit."

goldsmith:

Sein amboss ist ein hertze/
 Das sehr verhärtet ist/ der hammer; seine kertze/
 Der er sich sonst gebraucht/ sein ess' ist die
 welt/
 Der blasbalg alles das/ was junger welt gefällt.
 Sein fewel ist die lieb'/ und lüste seyn die
 kohlen/
 Die dieser kleine schalck/ dem Mulciber gestolen/
 Die zang' ist lieblichkeit/ die feile liebes
 pein/
 Sein stempel ist bestandt. Das mag ein goldschmid
 seyn!¹

In still another allegory Cupid is regarded as an
 apothecary:

Kan gute Brust-und Hertzen-Küchlein machen/
 und weiss in alle Sachen
 Den Zucker einzustreuen.
 Weil aber alzu süss ist ungesund;
 Bedient er sich der Pillen/
 und streicht sie gülden an/
 Die Bitterkeit bequemer zu verhüllen/²

The concept that love is a sickness which may require
 physicians or medicine is common in the German poems. For
 example:

Da mischet die natur/wie Amor/schnee und flammen/
 Da fügt sie blass und roth/ artzney und gift
 zusammen/³

Günther, in one of his wedding poems, asks:

Wo ist der Arzt zu finden,
 Der diese Kranckheit hebt? Die Lust wächst von
 der Last⁴

¹Plavius, p.63, 28-35.

²Kempe, p.264, 20ff.

³Postel, Neukirchs Anthologie II, p.162, 40-41.
 Cf. Hofmannswaldau, Hrsrg. Bobertag, p.94, 91.

⁴Günther V, p.18, 56-57. The concept of love as a sickness
 and the antithetical expressions are characteristic of
Petrarkismus. Cf. p.147.

Finally, the universality of Cupid's power is repeatedly indicated in the German. This element was not present in the Neo-Latin poems, which, as indicated, were more uniformly permeated with religious and spiritual ideals than the German poems. Fleming represents Cupid's power as so all-pervasive that it affects all creatures in nature--animals, plants, and even inanimate objects. The fishes in the brook pair off. The trees in the forest fall in love, for one branch intertwines with another. Even the stones become enamored one with another.¹ A further example of the universal power of love is apparent in Opitz's Dafne:

Kein schnelles Wild, das in den Püschchen lebt
 Dem Grass die Nahrung giebt,
 Kein Vogel auch, der umb die Wolcken schwebt,
 Kein Fisch bleibt unverliebt;
 Nichts ist, was wohnt auff Erden,
 Wo Lufft und See durchstreicht,
 Was ist und noch soll werden,
 Das nicht der Liebe weicht.
 Die Kräuter selbst, so ohne Geist auffgehn,
 Sind Freund doch unter sich,
 Kein Element kan bey dem andern stehn,
 O Amor, als durch dich.²

Dach expresses this universality in a succinct way:

Mächtig trifft sein Bogen ein,
 ...
 Darumb liegen krank und wund

¹Fleming, p.61, 106ff. There are further examples of the universal power of love in Postel, Neukirchs Anthologie II, p.161, 1ff, and Rist, p.174, 8ff.

²Opitz, p.71, 419ff.

Dieser Erden grosses Rund,
 Bäche, Felder, Wald und Stein
 Und die süßen Vögelein.¹

As is apparent from many of the poems quoted in this chapter, the German poets use Cupid as a rhetorical convention. They feel free to change or to enlarge upon his traditional activities. They do not feel themselves bound to the traditions of antiquity to the same degree that was true of the Neo-Latin authors. Postel, in enlarging the traditional scope of Cupid's activity, makes of him a ruler of the world:

Zu ihren füssen sass der kleine welt-regierer/
 Das weit-berühmte kind/ der blinde seelen-führer/
 Der in entzückungs-krafft der schönen mutter
 gleicht.²

The same expression appears in a poem of Dach:

Was ist dir nicht untergeben?
 Du bist aller Dinge Leben
 Und mit Recht ein Herr der Welt.³

Fleming, in a spirit of good-natured bantering, remarks that Cupid is not only not blind, he is nothing but eye:

Ist dennoch Amor blind? Es will mir schwerlich ein,
 er mag wol sonsten Nichts als lauter Auge sein.
 Vorgestern sah' ich ihn von hinten zu spazieren,
 ich schlich ihm leise nach, vermeint', er merk'
 es nicht,
 dass Iemand wär' umb ihn, da zog der Busewicht
 den Bogen über Haupt und töt mein Herze rühren.⁴

¹Dach II, p. 108.

²Postel, Neukirchs Anthologie II, p. 155, 37-39.

³Dach I, p. 247.

⁴Fleming, p. 67, 365ff. Opitz treats Cupid's blindness in a similar light-hearted vein: Ausgewählte Dichtungen, Hrag. Tittmann (Leipzig, 1869), p. 22, 1ff.

Fleming, again in a light-hearted way, even goes so far as to doubt Cupid's existence, asserting that he is a mere poetic phantasy:

Man hat ihm Pfeile zwar und Bogen angedicht't,
jedoch nur angedicht't, Er selbst ist ein
Gedichte
und blinde Fantasei. Die gläubliche Geschichte
von diesem Wundergott' ist der Poeten Spiel,
die minstes gläuben selbst, von dem sie melden
viel.¹

Hymen

Although Hymen is frequently mentioned in the German poems, he very rarely appears in an extended role. His youthful appearance and feminine characteristics, first evident in Catullus(61) and mentioned in the Neo-Latin (Acontius [1]), are described in one of the German poems:

die scham mahlt seine wangen/
Gleichwie die morgenröth in purpur kommt gegangen.
Die augen schimmern hell/ das nie beschnittne haar
Schien ohne zierrath schön.²

The Hymen refrain, which originated in antiquity and is still very much in evidence in the epithalamia of Lotichius and Sabinus, disappears entirely in the German poems. This may be in accordance with the generally smaller role that Hymen plays in the German

¹Fleming, p.61, 88-92.

²Anonymous author in
Neukirchs Anthologie II, p.141,
53-56.

poems.¹

A traditional attribute of Hymen that consistently appears in the Hochzeitgedichte is his torch:

und Hymen seine Kertz!
In stetem Brande hält²

In the Neo-Latin epithalamia Hymen had sometimes accompanied the newly-wed pair into the bridal chamber and given them instruction.³ He is associated with the consummation very frequently in the German poems; this is, in fact, his most important function. The following example is typical:

Ich weiss, der Hymen wird euch alles dieses lehren,
Was die verliebte Lust geschickt ist zu vermehren⁴

In other instances Hymen's connection with the consummation is expressed very delicately. For example:

¹It should be remembered that the Hymen refrain was originally (in Greek antiquity) sung as the bride was conveyed from the home of her parents to that of the groom. The Neo-Latin poets, because of their great respect for the models of antiquity, incorporate the refrain. The German poets, however, are one step further removed from antiquity and see no need to include the refrain in their wedding poems. In addition, the refrain, as formulated in the Latin elegaic couplet, is not suited to the German language. Cf. p. 37, footnote 3, and pp. 91-92. See also the quotation from Fleming on p. 121.

²Dach II, p. 197. Other examples of Hymen and his torch are: Dach I, p. 56, Fleming, p. 73, 10, and Günther V, p. 22, 211. The latter three examples use the word "Fackel." The word "Kertze" was sometimes used figuratively by seventeenth century writers to mean "flame." Cf. Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch V (Leipzig, 1873), p. 616.

³Cf. p. 39, footnote 1.

⁴Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Bobertag, p. 96, 181-182.

So thut der Hymen auch/ ihr spiegel vieler
 tugend/
 An euch/ o jungfraw braut/ in ewrer grünen
 jugend/
 In ewrer besten blüth'/ er pflicht die blum'
 herab/
 Die euch die tugend selbst zu grosser zierde gab.¹

In the Neo-Latin poems Hymen had been frequently associated with Cupid and Venus, usually in a subordinate position. He is associated with them in four of the German poems, although not within the framework of the Statius-Claudian narrative. For example:

Der Hymen müste seyn der stücke Corporal
 Cupido feldmarschall/ und Venus General.²

It is apparent that Hymen plays no major role in the German wedding poems. He has come to be regarded as a conventional figure who is traditionally associated with marriage, and who must therefore sometimes be mentioned.³

Pallas Athena

Pallas (Roman name Minerva), whose origin was described in the Neo-Latin, sprang full-grown and in full armor from

¹Plavius, p.68, 27-30. Another example of Hymen's connection with the consummation is: Günther V, p.31, 272.

²Plavius, p.65, 9-10. Other examples are: Dach II, p.18, Fleming, p.66, 303-306, and Plavius, p.63, 36.

³It is indicated by Merker-Stammli that Hymen has become a mere rhetorical convention: "In den Hochzeitsgedichten bildet sich bei einzelnen Lyrikern (Simon Dach u.a.) geradezu ein festes Schema der stofflichen Gliederung heraus... Die Einarbeitung von Anspielungen auf die antike Mythologie (Amor, Hymen) erweist sich hier als fast unerlässlich." "Gelegenheitsdichtung," p.548.

the head of Jupiter.¹ Her origin is described in one of the German poems: "Aus Jupiters Gehirn kommt nur Minerva her."²

Three of the goddess's attributes that were apparent in the Neo-Latin epithalamia--her wisdom, her interest in poets, and her warlike qualities, are also evident in the German poems.³

In four of the Hochzeitgedichte she is regarded as patroness of learning and special protectress of poets. She desires to protect them from marriage, presumably so that they may pursue their work without disturbance.⁴ This is similar to her function in the epithalamia as described by Haslobius, and Lindebergius(5). In the four German poems, however, as in the Neo-Latin, her power is not sufficient to save the groom from the plotting of Venus and Cupid, and thus from matrimony. For example:

hilfft denn nun kein Latein
Für herbe süßigkeit/ für süsse liebes-pein?
Herr bräutigam ist dis das eifrige studieren?
Ist dis der lorbeerkrantz/ mit dem euch wolte zieren
Minerva?⁵

¹Edith Hamilton.op.cit.,p.29.

²Günther V,p.7,60. The origin of the goddess is described in a similar way by J. Secundus,p.218:"Sancto vertice procreata Pallas" Cf.p.41.

³Cf.pp.41-42.

⁴This is also in accordance with her prejudice toward virginity.

⁵Plavius,p.57,38-42. The other examples are: Daoh I,p. 18, Daoh II,p.120, and Plavius,p.51,14ff.(quoted on the following page).

In another of these poems the groom is cautioned that he cannot rely on the help of Pallas, for even her armor cannot withstand the power of Venus:

Ich weiss/ was ihr gedenckt die Pallas werd' euch
 leyen:
 (Weill ihr sie jederzeit bedient mit allen trewen)

 Ey/ ey/ wie weit gefehlt/ ihr habt ja wol vernommen/
 Dass Pallas seit der zeit nie sey zu felde kommen/
 Nach dem die Venus sie bezwungen gantz und gar/
 Da sie doch wohl gerüst und Venus nacket war.¹

In still another German poem Pallas's opposition to Cupid is strikingly indicated, for when first meeting the tiny love-god she remarks: "Mein gröster Feind ist hier."²

The wisdom of Pallas, indicated in the Neo-Latin poems, plays an important role in the German, for it is emphasized on many occasions. For example, Neukirch restructures the story of the judgment of Paris and gives primary importance to Pallas as the patroness of wisdom. The groom chooses the girl recommended by Pallas and therefore makes the wisest choice.³

Gryphius speaks of the wisdom of Pallas in connection with the emerging German culture. In a dream he had mockingly suggested to the groom that the goddess's wisdom, symbolized (in both German and Latin poems) by the olive tree, could

¹Plavius, p. 51, 14ff.

²Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Bobertag, p. 92, 12.

³Neukirchs Anthologie I, p. 163, 1-8. Cf. also Dach II, p. 65, and Plavius, p. 57, 38ff. and p. 86, 28ff.

flourish only in Italy and in other southern climates.¹
 The groom was sure that it could flourish in Germany as well, and that Pallas was giving her full and unbridled blessing to the German lands. Indeed, she is honored more in Germany than in her own Athens:

Es hat Minerva sich so hoch in uns verliebet/
 Dass sie auf jene Reich anietzt so viel nicht
 giebet.
 Und dünckt dich dieses frembd' / als wenn es
 unerhört
 Dass man in Pallas Stadt nicht mehr die Pallas
 ehrt.
 Meinst du / das sie anietzt noch in Athen sich
 finde/
 Dass sie in Westen nur zu wohnen sich verbinde/
 Nein warlich!²

This attitude is in accordance with the pride in the emerging of a specifically German culture which is evident in several of the wedding poems.³ Fleming expresses the new feeling of independence very clearly:

Wir sein die Römer nicht, dass wir diss solten
 halten.
 Wir richten uns nach uns. Was schaffen uns die
 Alten?⁴

The warlike qualities of Pallas which receive brief mention in the Neo-Latin epithalamia (e.g. Fabricius) are mentioned in an indirect way in three of the German poems.

¹Haslobius, p. 520: "Nam velut armigeræ nitissimæ Palladæ arbor, E(g) regio pulchras ornet honore domos." Gryphius, p. 139, 32-33: "Und wo der Tyber Flut durch Berg und Thal geschossen; Da setzt man Pallas Baum."

²Gryphius, p. 139, 39-45.

³Cf. pp. 106-107.

⁴Fleming, p. 65, 253-254.

For example, Neukirch, in speaking of radical transformation, says:

Zu zeigen/
Dass auch Mars zum engel an geberden/
Aus priester-wittben gar kan eine Pallas werden.¹

Juno

Juno plays a smaller role in the German wedding poems than in the Neo-Latin epithalamia, although she is mentioned briefly on 12 occasions.

In three poems she is mentioned as Jupiter's wife. In one of these cases, as in the epithalamium of Lotichius(1), it is indicated that she suffers because of the infidelities of her wayward husband:

Die eyfersucht hat in Junonens brust erwecket/
Als um Europeen sich ihr mann zum stier gemacht.²

In only five of the German poems does Juno have a specific connection with the wedding. In one of these poems she helps other goddesses adorn the bride.³ In another she counsels the groom to select a rich wife.⁴ In a third she prepares the bed for the bride and groom.⁵

¹Neukirchs Anthologie I, p.156, 103-104. Other examples of the warlike qualities of Pallas are found in poems of Plavius, p.51, 14ff., and Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Bobertag, p.95, 136-138. The description of Plavius has been quoted on p.120.

²Postel in Neukirchs Anthologie II, p.161, 29-30. Other examples of Juno as Jupiter's wife are: *ibid* (anonymous author), p.159, 30, and Fleming, p.73, 9. Cf. p.35 and pp.108-109.

³Dach II, p.227.

⁴Neukirch in Neukirchs Anthologie I, p.163, 3.

⁵Dach I, p.56.

Finally, in one poem she serves as patroness of childbirth; this parallels closely her function in antiquity and in the Neo-Latin:

Schwester Braut, tut, wie ihr wisst,
Dass sichs auf das Beste küsst!
Juno schwerts euch zu bei Treuen:
euch soll der getröst'ten Not,
die euch macht bald blass bald rot,
nun und nimmermehr gereuen.¹

Juno appears in four German poems as queen of heaven; in these she has no direct connection with the wedding.

For example:

Sie(Venus and Cupid) nahmen ihren Weg durch
Junons weite Klüfte
und durch das leere Feld der ausgespannten Lüfte.²

Apollo

Apollo appears in more than 35 of the wedding poems included in this study, although rarely in an extended role. His numerous functions in antiquity, arising from the fact that he was a composite of many deities, are mentioned in Ovid's Metamorphoses.³ A multiplicity of functions is also described in one of the German poems:

¹Fleming, p.317, 49-54. "As Juno Lucina she was... the goddess of birth." Howe and Harrer, op.cit., p.147. She appears as the goddess of childbirth (and as queen of heaven) in an epithalamium of Lotichius(2). Cf. p.44, footnote 1.

²Fleming, p.94, 21-22. Other examples of Juno as queen of heaven are: Fleming, p.58, 1-3, Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Bobertag, p.104, 256-257, and Plavius, p.64, 38-39.

³Cf. p.45 and p.47.

Du Künste-Gott, du Artzt, du Traumaussleger,
 Du Senger-Fürst, du Krausspenhaar,
 Du Immer-jung, du Meister aller Jäger,
 Von dir kömpt alles gantz und gar;
 Doch dein Pfeil und schneller Bogen,
 Deines güldnen Köchers Pracht,
 Wird dem allen für gezogen,
 Was dich sonst berühmet macht.¹

Apollo appears in the German poems as in the Neo-Latin primarily as sun-god and as patron of poets. He is mentioned as sun-god in more than thirteen poems.² In three of these instances, as, for example, in the poem of Acontius(1), he is represented as driving his fiery horses across the sky:

Indessen steigen auf des myntern Phöbus Pferde,
 die nichts als Feuer sein.³

In three of the German poems as well as in three of the Neo-Latin epithalamia the rapid course of Apollo to the west suggests nightfall and the consummation of the marriage.⁴

¹Opitz, (Dafne), p.62, 129-136. Opitz's Dafne is not a Hochzeitgedicht, but it was written for the occasion of a wedding: "Um die Vermählung seiner Tochter Sophie Eleonore mit dem Landgrafen Georg von Hessen-Darmstadt besonders festlich zu begehen, verschaffte sich Kurfürst Georg von Sachsen Rinuccinis Text...und beauftragte seinen Kapellmeister Heinrich Schütz mit den Vorbereitungen zu einer deutschen Aufführung. Dieser wendete sich an Opitz mit der Bitte, den deutschen Text nach dem italienischen Original zu verfassen." Richard Newald, Die Deutsche Literatur vom Späthumanismus zur Empfindsamkeit 1570-1750 (München, 1963), pp.164-165.

²For example, Dach I, p.37, Fleming, p.63, 161-162, and p.315, 7-8, Günther V, p.6, 21, Opitz, p.70, 396-397, Postel in Neukirchs Anthologie II, p.158, 138 and p.161, 21. Six additional examples are given in the following footnotes.

³Fleming, p.59, 41-42. Other passages which mention Apollo's horses are: Dach II, p.69, and Fleming, p.94, 2-3. The horses of the sun-god are mentioned in the epithalamium of Acontius(1), p.349.

⁴Cf. p.46.

The following example closely parallels a passage in the epithalamium of J. Secundus:¹

Der Phoebus eilt bereits und jagt nach Westen zu,
 Er ruft den Hesperus, den Herold eurer Ruh,
 Dass er an seiner statt euch in die Kammer
 scheine.
 Mein Bräutigam, schüme nicht, die Sterne wincken
 dir²

Apollo's other major function in the German wedding poems, as in the Neo-Latin, is to serve as patron of poets. His pursuit of Daphne is mentioned in several German poems. The laurel wreath (which represents the transformed Daphne) is also mentioned on several occasions.³ In a poem of Dach, for example, Daphne tells how she became a tree and explains the noble purpose that her leaves are to serve:

Ich bin Dafne, die vorweilen
 Dir genommen Krafft und Kunst,
 alss dich nur die schwere Brunst
 Trieb am Peneus nachzueilen,
 Alss ich die gestalt bekommen,
 Dass ich ietzt ein Bawm muss sein,
 alss mein Fleisch und mein Gebein

¹"Condit Cynthia ora, condit ora, / Seque gurgite
 perluens Iberi / Cedit noctivagae sorori. / Et quo gratior
 haud relucet ignis / Coniunctis animis amore dulci /
 Producit caput emicatque caelo / Ductor Hesperus aureae
 catervae." J. Secundus, p. 222.

²Günther V, p. 47, 57-60. Another German wedding poem which includes a description of Apollo's westward course is: Fleming in Das Zeitalter des Barock, Hrsg. Schöne (München, 1963), p. 825, 13-16. This description is also very similar to that of J. Secundus. Still another similar passage appears in Plavius, p. 74, 50-52.

³Daphne appears in wedding poems of Günther V, p. 26, 65, Fleming, p. 63, 162, and Postel, Neukirchs Anthologie II, p. 161, 23. Apollo's laurel wreath is mentioned in Dach II, p. 195. Cf. p. 47.

Rind' und Laub hat angenommen

 So vergönne mir, mein Leben,
 Dass mein Laub undt meine Zier
 mag auss Liebe für und für
 ein gelehrtes Haupt umgeben.¹

The transformed maiden and her laurels receive major emphasis in Opitz's opera. It is indicated that those who pay homage to Daphne and her laurel wreath receive a gift that is far superior to anything that princes can bestow, namely the gift of poetic immortality.²

Apollo, as patron of poets, sings for the wedding in three of the German poems, as he had done in three of the Neo-Latin epithalamia. For example:

Glück zu, ihr Liebten zwei!
 Glück zu, ihr Liebten zwei! schreit auch mein
 Phoebus mitte
 und stellt sich bei euch ein. Er hat auf meine
 Bitte
 diss Brautlied euch gemacht. Ietzt stimmts der
 werthe Man
 mit seiner Schwestern Schar für eurer Tafel an³

As inspirer of poets Apollo was associated with the Muses in three of the Neo-Latin epithalamia. He is associated with them in a similar way in seven of the German poems.

For example:

¹Dach I, p. 39.

²Opitz, p. 58,
 9ff.

³Fleming, p. 65, 268-272. Other examples are:
 Dach I, p. 37, and II, p. 197.

Apollo selber lehret/
 Moratae lieben sohn/ und den dem alle neun
 Pieriden gewest ihr Griechisch und Latein/
 Beneben vieler kunst¹

In another German poem Apollo apparently holds the Muses in a subordinate position. After he begins a song in praise of the groom, each of the nine Muses adds additional praises and the traditional good wishes.² The epithalamium of Stigelius is structured along similar lines.³

Apollo appears in his traditional role as friend and patron of poets in at least ten additional German poems. For example, Fleming indicates that his help makes failure impossible:

wen, du Phöbus, liebtest,
 der lernet, was du lehrst, wird deiner Künste
 voll.
 Unähnlich ist ihm nichts, als dass er fehlen
 soll.⁴

However, in three of the Hochzeitgedichte it is indicated that Apollo's inspiration is not always forthcoming. Sometimes the production of a rime demands the utmost in struggle and effort:

¹Plavius, p.57, 25-28. Other poems in which Apollo is associated with the Muses are: Dach I, p.55 and II, p.197, Günther V, p.6, 8-9, and VI, p.23, 13-20, and Plavius, p.52, 16. The following footnote represents still another instance.

²Dach I, p.239.

³Cf. p.48. See also Stigelius, pp.367ff.

⁴Fleming, p.71, 58-60.

Mein Apollo giebt mir nicht
Allzeit gleiche Lust zu singen

...
Oftmals fühl' ich gar kein Blut
Und zu reimen keinen Muht.¹

As was the case with other major mythological figures in the German wedding poems, Apollo is sometimes treated in an irreverent manner.² For example, Günther's flippant attitude (he urges the guests not to throw Apollo out) cannot be found in any of the Neo-Latin epithalamia included in this study:³

So darf auch, da du mir die Freude kund gethan,
Mein Phoebus ungerufen zu deinem Feste springen.
Nur bitte ich, sieh nicht scheel und stoss ihn
nicht hinaus.⁴

Finally, as is the case with other mythological figures in both Neo-Latin and German poems, there are instances of the harmonious intermingling of Christian and pagan elements. For example:⁵

Gott, der wird das Seine tun,
dass euch Phöbus balde schau'
immer fruchtbar, langsam grau!⁶

¹Dach II, p.104. Other examples are: Günther VI, p.23, 13-22 and p.202, 23.

²Cf. p.106 and 115.

³It should be noted however, that "Mein Phoebus" refers to the poem, the product of the poet's devotion to Phoebus. Thus the god is not referred to in a personal way. Günther mentions Phoebus in a similar way in two other poems: VI, p.23, 13ff., and p.123, 81ff.

⁴Günther VI, p.42, 3-5.

⁵Cf. pp.40-41 and p.105.

⁶Fleming, p.66, 294-296.

Diana

In the German wedding poems Diana appears primarily as the goddess of the moon, and secondarily as a huntress. These were also her functions in the Neo-Latin epithalamia. She appears in the German poems under the names Cynthia, Delia, and Phoebe, the same names that are used in the Neo-Latin. Each of these names suggests her relationship to her brother Apollo, who is also known as Cynthia, Delius, and Phoebus.

On one occasion, as moon goddess, she replaces her brother in the sky:

Den Nächten gieng das Licht der halben Phöben
auf,
ihr Bruder hatte gleich im Stiere seinen Lauf.¹

This relationship is shown in a similar way in the epithalamia of J. Secundus and Milesius.²

In one of the German wedding poems Diana is identified with Selene, who fell in love with the shepherd Endymion and gave him eternal sleep so that she might cover him with kisses every evening: "Und auch Dianens Mund küßt den berühmten Schläfer."³ This story is mentioned in the

¹Fleming, p.73, 15-16.

²Cf. p.50, footnote 1.

³Günther V, p.19, 100. Endymion also appears in Postel, Neukirchs Anthologie II, p.161, 23. There is an additional reference to Selene in Fleming, p.62, 139-141.

epithalamium of Haslobius.¹

Diana appears in five other German wedding poems as goddess of the moon. In one of these her appearance suggests the passing of time which will bring offspring:

und, als oft Phöbe ihren glanz
macht zwölfmal halb und zwölfmal ganz,
die welt durch eure frucht vermehren.²

There is a similar passage in an epithalamium of Lindebergius(6).³

Diana appears as a huntress in four of the German wedding poems. The following example is typical:

Diana stellt die Netze,
dass sie den langen Tag mit Hetzen sich ergetze.⁴

The Muses

In addition to appearing under their own names, the Muses, as in the Neo-Latin poems, often appear under the title "Pierides."⁵

Mnemosyne, the goddess of memory, who was the mother

¹Cf. p. 51.

²Weckherlin, p. 116, 136-138. Diana as moon-goddess also appears in: Fleming, p. 59, 18, Fleming, Hrsg. Schöne, p. 825, 19, Gryphius, p. 165, 10-12, and Günther V, p. 31, 271.

³"ut post ter tria cornua lunae,
Is pater, et genitrix possis tu nupta vocari."
Lindebergius(6), p. 1188.

⁴Fleming, p. 60, 53-54. Other examples of Diana as huntress are: Dach II, p. 191, Günther V, p. 26, 85-87, and Flavius, p. 55, 19.

⁵"Pierides. A collective name of the Muses...so called from Pieria, the seat of their worship." Howe and Barrer, op. cit., p. 222.

of the nine Muses by Zeus, appeared in the epithalamium of Lotichius(3).¹ She was described as the source of all knowledge that was worth perpetuating. She appears in a similar way in two of the German wedding poems. For example:

Das, Mnemosyne, bist du,
Du der Musen Seele,
Alles wird durch dich entdeckt,
Was die lange Nacht versteckt
In des Alters Hölle.²

The fountain of the Muses, from which they drew the waters of inspiration, is a recurring image in both Latin and German poems. The name of the fountain was Hippocrene. This name appears in three German wedding poems, although it was not mentioned in the Neo-Latin epithalamia included in this study. For example:

Ich hatte kurtze zeit die fremde lufft gefühlet/
Und bey der musen-schaar mich kaum bekant gemacht;
Bey Hippocrenens quell mich wenig abgekühlt/³

Pegasus, the winged horse who caused the fountain to come into existence when he struck Mount Helicon with his hoof, was himself in antiquity regarded as a source of inspiration.⁴ This winged horse, who was mentioned in six of the Neo-Latin poems, appears in three of the Hochzeitsgedichte, in each case associated in some way with

¹Mnemosyne also appears in the epithalamium of Claudian which was written for the emperor Honorius: "Mnemosyne docili tradit praecepta Thaliae" (line 237).

²Dach II, p. 229. Mnemosyne appears in another poem of Dach (I, p. 240).

³Anonymous author in Neukirchs Anthologie II, p. 169, 25-27. Other examples are: Dach I, p. 44 and p. 97.

⁴Howe and Harrer, op. cit., p. 207.

poetic inspiration. For example:

wenn nur der Phoebus wollte,
Dass mir sein Pegasus zu Hofe gehen sollte.¹

In a few poems, as in the epithalamia of Acontius(2) and Lotichius(3), the Muses are regarded as wedding guests and are asked to attend to the bride:²

Ihr Pierinnen kompt! kompt nehmt der Braut doch
war!
Sie sagt euch mächtig zu in Zucht und andern
Gaben.³

Günther coyly asks these Muse-wedding guests to conduct themselves with discretion, for evening is drawing near:

Es wird der Braut zu lang; drum schlies ich. Denn
die Nacht
Begehrt von ihr--genug! Ihr Musen seyd verschwiegen⁴

The Muses were often invoked individually in the Neo-Latin poems; for example, Acontius(1) invokes Melpomene, Lotichius(3) Calliope, and Milesius Erato.

Similar invocations take place in more than a half-dozen of the German poems. For example, Fleming invokes Clio:

Klio, Klio, lass erbitten,
lass erbitten dich doch itzt,
zeige dich einmal in Gütten,
Mache mir den Kopf erhitzt,
dass ich nur auf Lustgedichte
meine Faust und Feder richte!⁵

¹Günther VI, p.267, 7-8. Pegasus also appears in Günther V, p.22, 221-222, and in Dsch I, p.227.

²Cf. pp.53-54.

³Dsch I, p.96.

⁴Günther VI, p.25, 75-76.

⁵Fleming, p.306, 13-18. Clio was the Muse of history.

Dach begs help of Erato:

Erato für allen Dingen
Suchet mit mir einzusingen.¹

Plavius expresses his gratitude to Euterpe:

Euterpe habe danck
Dictierst du mir noch mehr/ so wird es gar zu lang.²

Two of the German poets express their joy that the Muses are now able to speak German. This is in accordance with their pride in the newly developing German culture.³ Fleming indicates that the vernacular is especially pleasing to the goddesses:

Die schönen Pierinnen,
die nun auch durch Opitzs Gunst auch hochdeutsch
reden können
und lieber sein als vor, die sagten mir auch für
bei früher Tageszeit diss, was ich schreibe hier.⁴

Plavius also indicates that the Muses especially love German:

Konst-geübte Pierinnen/
Die ihr liebet deutsche tracht/
Und der edlen sprachen pracht⁵

The Muses are not explicitly associated with Christian precepts as was the case in at least one of the Neo-Latin epithalamia.⁶

¹Dach I, p.102. Erato was the Muse of love poetry.

²Plavius, p.51, 36-37. Euterpe was the Muse of lyric poetry.

³Cf. pp.106-107 and p.121.

⁴Fleming, p.60, 57-60.

⁵Plavius, p.89, 25-27.

⁶Cf. p.52.

Christian Elements

Extended descriptions of the beginning of the world appear in three of the German wedding poems.¹ In addition there are numerous brief allusions to the Garden of Eden and to Adam and Eve. The purpose of the majority of these references, as in the Neo-Latin, is to show that marriage is a divinely sanctioned institution and is therefore most worth-while.

In the description in the Book of Genesis and in the epithalamium of Paulinus of Nola no reference is made to the physical beauty of Eve. In the Neo-Latin epithalamia however, details of Eve's beauty begin to appear. Fincelius introduced floral descriptions to describe her radiance:

There was such beauty in the features and in the
body
(If I may be permitted to compare her to a bright
parasol)
As is seen in a joyful and friendly rose blossoming
in a beautiful garden,
A rose set off by lilies, which were also furnished
by the abundant earth.²

In a wedding poem of Postel there is a similar but more extensive (and more sensual) floral description of the bride's beauty. This description is related to Eve and to Eden:

Die brüste/ die die welt mit wollust-milch
liebosen/
Sind blumen-töpfe die gefüllt mit tuberosen/

¹Dauch II, p.321, Günther V, p.16, 18ff., and Neukirch in Neukirchs Anthologie I, p.157, 1-67.

²Fincelius, p.154. Cf. p.56, footnote 1.

Sind betten die besät mit tausend-schön;
Sind gärten/ darinn blüt der pomerantzen blühet/

Und was in Eden sonst an Even war zu preisen/
Das will an blumen sich in unsern gärten weisen/
Dar Ev'-und Edens-bild man täglich schauen kan.

Der himmel will ihn heut in solchen garten setzen/
An dessen blumen er sich täglich kan ergetzen¹

Dach, after a lengthy description of Adam's sleep and the forming of Eve, also describes her floral beauty:

Biss der Schlaff muss von ihm gehn
Und er sie sieht vor sich stehn.
Wie der Mohn, der reichlich trincket,
Wie der weissen Liljen pracht
Und die Morgenröhte blinket,
Wie die Tulp' und Rose lacht,
Also wird die schöne Braut
Von dem Breutgam angeschawt.²

These German passages show a close correspondence to the Song of Songs. The Old Testament account also describes the bride's beauty in terms of floral splendor, and describes her body as a garden filled to overflowing with most attractive flowers and fruits which will be at the disposal of the groom:

My bride, my true love, a close garden; hedged all about, a spring shut in and sealed! What wealth of grace is here! Well-ordered rows of pomegranates, tree of cypress and tuft of nard; no lack there whether of spikenard or saffron, of calamus, cinnamon, or incense tree, of myrrh, aloe or any rarest perfume...Into his garden, then, let my true love come, and taste his fruit.³

¹Postel, Neukirchs Anthologie II, p.164, 127ff.

²Dach II, p.321.

³The Holy Bible, trans. Knox (New York, 1954), p.571. Israel Baroway, "The Imagery of Spenser and the 'Song of Songs'," JEGP XXXIII(1934), 32ff. shows that Spenser borrowed a number of images from the 'Song of Songs' for use in his Epithalamion.

Günther, after describing the creation, associates Venus with the beginning of human love.¹ This is similar to the situation in the epithalamium of Lotichius(1), in which Venus herself had told the story of the creation and of her own part in the development of matrimony. In the same poem Günther introduces several antithetical expressions to describe human love. Such expressions are not found in the Neo-Latin epithalamia, but are very common in the German poems:

Dies angenehme Weh, so alle Menschen quält,
Macht, dass sich Schmerz und Herz in einer Brust
vermehrt
Und oft Verdruss und Kuss zusammen sich verbinden.²

These antithetical expressions are an element of Petrarkismus.³ Other unmistakable elements of this erotic system are evident in a wedding poem of Neukirch. In describing the beauty of Eve he speaks of her swan breast, marble limbs, ivory neck, and red coral mouth.⁴ These mineral elements used as expressions of rare beauty become conventional in Baroque poetry. They are used to describe feminine beauty in countless poems.

Neukirch's treatment of the story of Adam and Eve,

¹Günther V, p.17, 28-35.

²Günther V, p.17, 51-53.

³Petrarkismus is treated in detail in the section entitled "The Beauty of the Bride," pp. 141ff. Cf. also pp.63-65.

⁴Neukirchs Anthologie I, p.158, 39-41. Cf. Pyritz, op.cit., p.168.

however, in sharp contrast to the Neo-Latin, is completely irreverent. He devotes a great deal of attention to the physical differences between Adam and Eve and to Eve's curiosity which led eventually to the consummation. His treatment of this story is far more sensual than any of the Neo-Latin accounts:

Sie forschte weiter nach/ und blösste seinen
 schoos/
 Ihr finger rührte sich um seine weiche lenden;
 Da war sie völlig nun der alten sorgen loss/
 Und schaute den betrug in ihren liljen-händen.
 Ja/ sprach sie/ voller scham/ das hab ich wohl
 gedacht/
 Dass Adam nicht umsonst die blätter vorgekommen;
 Wer aber hat ihm nur den plunder angemacht/
 Und wo ist Adam doch zu diesem schaden kommen?
 Doch/was bedenck ich mich? die brust ist ja zu
 klein;
 Vielleicht hat die natur mir meinen mann betrogen/
 Und hat/ was sonst soll am busen oben seyn/
 Durch ihre wunder-kunst biss unten hin gezogen.¹

The same concern with the nakedness of the first parents is evident in another of Neukirch's wedding poems. There is no similar reference to Adam in any of the Neo-Latin epithalamia included in this study:

Die erste wanderung/ die Adam vor sich nahm/
 Gesah durch seinen fall/ in einen solchen pfauen:
 Drum kont er/ da der Herr in garten wieder kam/
 Auch mehr nicht ohne scham auff seine füsse
 schauen.²

It is apparent that Neukirch, as a transitional figure between Baroque and Aufklärung, does not feel bound by the

¹Neukirchs Anthologie I, p.158, 44-55.

²Ibid, p.154, 25-28.

religious tradition.¹

Hubnerius had described paradise, God's continuing interest in marriage, and Christ's activity at Cana.² All of these elements appear in a wedding poem of Dach:

Gott, der erst im Paradiss
Mann und Weib ein Fleisch seyn hiess,
Hält noch ietzt auff solchen Knochten,
Füget selbst durch festen Schluss
Was sich fügen sol und Muss.

Hie wird Regen Sonnen-Schein
Und das Wasser edler Wein.³

The transformation of the water to wine at Cana (John 2,9) which was described in the epithalamium of Fidlerius, is mentioned in several of the German poems, as a proof of the Lord's continuing interest in the marital pact.⁴ For example:

Wo reine liebe glimmt/ zeucht Gottes Geist selbst
ein.
Des Heylands grosse wunderwercke
Entwerffen selbst des liebens stärke:
Indem zu Cana quillt aus wasser-krügen wein.⁵

As in the epithalamium of Fincelius the union of bride

¹Neukirch is mentioned as a transitional figure by Merker-Stammler: "Friedrich Ludwig von Canitz, der schüchterne Anfänger, hält mit seinem Tadel des Alten noch zurück, fordert aber für die neue Richtung Gleichberechtigung. Benjamin Neukirch, der scharfe Kritiker, erhebt sie zu einer Schule." Merker-Stammler, "Barockliteratur," p.137.

²Hubnerius, pp.568ff.

³Dach I, p.100.

⁴Cf. p.57.

⁵Lohenstein, Neukirchs Anthologie I, p.152, 81-84. Another example is: Dach I, p.128.

and groom is compared to the union of Christ and the church in at least one German poem.¹ This element is ultimately based upon Ep. 5, 23:²

Wenn uns Gottes Sohn erklärt
 Seiner Liebe Feuer,
 Die er seiner Braut gewehrt,
 Hält er nichts so thewer
 Wodurch er sie macht bekant
 Als den keuschen Liebes-Standt.³

Pudor is not mentioned by name in the German wedding poems included in this study. This is consonant with the fact that the creation scene and Christian elements play a far smaller role in the German poems than in the Neo-Latin. With the exception of one poem of Dach,⁴ there are no lengthy and reverent descriptions of the creation comparable to Fidlerius, Hubnerius, or Stigelius.⁵

It is apparent that sensual elements play a much larger role in the German poems than in the Neo-Latin, and that they sometimes appear in close connection with religious elements. The basic antithesis between sensual and religious in the Baroque poems stems from the pervasive feeling of vanitas, and the two extreme--and contradictory

¹Cf. p. 57.

²"The man is the head to which the woman's body is united, just as Christ is the head of the Church."

³Dach II, p. 39.

⁴Dach II, p. 321.

⁵Cf. pp. 55-60.

reactions to it.¹ These two reactions could be epitomized in the Latin dicta: carpe diem and memento mori.² Both attitudes can be illustrated in different poems of Günther. The following poem suggests that the gifts of love must be enjoyed at the proper time or the opportunity will be gone forever:

Was hilft sie überdies...Sparsamkeit?
 Das Alter reisst sie fort, und ihre beste Zeit
 Schiest wie ein schneller Strom nach Lethens
 bleichen Flüssen,
 Die Perlen dauern nicht, der Augen Zauberspiel
 Wird endlich blind und schwach
 ...
 Wer nicht zu rechter Zeit die Liebesblumen
 pflückt
 Dem werden sie gar bald von Nas und Hand
 gerückt³

However, in another wedding poem Günther's attitude is memento mori. All human beauty fades, and the ravages of time are inexorable. The poet's conclusion is that one must not be too vain:

das Auf-und Niederwallen
 Der halberhabnen Brust, wo Schnee und Rosen fallen,
 Sind freylich allerseits kein gar verächtlich Gut.
 Allein sie nähren nicht die Dauer süsser Glut
 Und zeigen offermahls mehr Eckel als Vergnügen.
 Die Farben schiessen ab, und aus den schönsten
 Zügen
 Macht Zeit und Alter nichts als Runzeln und Verdruss,
 Wenn Lais vor sich selbst mit Scham erschrecken muss
 Und Spiegel und Gestalt bethörte Buhler lehren,
 Auf was vor Nachren sie die Eitelkeit verehren.⁴

¹Cf. pp. 89-91.

²The expression carpe diem stems from Horace, Ode XI, Book I: "Dum loquimur, fugerit invida/aetas: carpe diem,..."

Günther V, p. 77, 19-23, 25-26.

⁴Günther VI, p. 139, 71-80.

Specifically Marital Elements

The Beauty of the Bride

Petrarkismus, "the second erotic system of international significance after the Minnesang,"¹ plays a major role in the love poetry of the Baroque period.² Of primary importance in the system are descriptions of the beloved's beauty. In general this beauty is so great that words are wholly inadequate to express it. Pyritz distinguishes three schemes that were primarily used to attempt such expression:

1. The poet may describe the beauty through the media of precious gems or other costly materials such as ivory.

¹Cf. Hans Pyritz, Paul Flemings Liebeslyrik, Palaestra 234 (Göttingen, 1963), p. 147.

²This discussion of Petrarkismus is based upon Hans Pyritz, op.cit., pp. 124ff. Pyritz maintains that the Neo-Latin as a whole was of major importance in introducing Petrarkismus into the vernacular literatures of Europe: "Einen Wirkungsbereich des Petrarkismus gibt es, den man bisher (auch für Ellinger gilt das) als solchen so gut wie gar nicht beachtet hat, der aber schlechterdings der wichtigste ist und darum etwas eingehender beleuchtet werden soll: es ist das Neulateinertum (p. 150. Cf. also p. 156, footnote 66). Pyritz maintains, however, that this erotic system permeated the Neo-Latin literature only to a lesser extent: "Am wenigsten hat zunächst die Liebesdichtung, also auch der Stil des Petrarkismus, in der neulateinischen Lyrik Deutschlands Wurzel gefasst. Andere Themen waren dem Humanismus und seinen Folgern dringlicher und verwandter. Wo dennoch die Erotik eine Rolle spielt, da findet wohl die Formelsprache des Petrarkismus Eingang, wie überall; aber die tiefere Durchdringung fehlt. Weder Celtes noch Lotichius sind echte Petrarkisten, wiewohl sie in Motiv und Ausdruck sich der Mode keineswegs entziehen. Erst im späten 16. und dann im 17. Jahrhundert, von Schede an und dann bei Barth, gewinnt auch hier die fremde Zauberweise einen vollen Ton und sichere Herrschaft auch über den Geist des dichterischen Werks." (p. 156).

coral, or alabaster. By thus transforming the girl's body into a treasure house of precious materials the poet is able to describe the beauty in detail without stimulating erotic emotions.¹ 2. The poet may express his beloved's beauty through mythological circumlocution-- that is, by comparing her favorably to Helen of Troy or to Venus or to other mythological examples of ultimate beauty. 3. The poet may describe her beauty through its effects upon himself or upon the beholder. It may deprive him of his senses or induce a sickness for which there is no cure.²

Another important element of Petrarkismus is the antithetical expression.³ The poet, in reaching for the boldest metaphor and the most stunning comparison may resort to expressions such as "sweet pain" or "living death."

All of these elements of Petrarkismus (with the exception of antithetical expression) are present in the Neo-Latin.

¹Cf. Israel Baroway, "The Imagery of Spenser and the Song of Songs," JEGP, XXXIII (1934), p. 23.

²These three schemes are discussed by Pyritz, op.cit., pp. 164ff. Pyritz has this to say of the third scheme: "In der deutschen Lyrik gewinnt das dritte Schema besondere Beliebtheit." (p. 165).

³A basic antithesis lay at the very center of Petrarch's attitude toward his beloved: "Seine Liebe ist nicht mehr Werbung um Hingabe, doch auch nicht bloss anbetende Verehrung; ihr Kennzeichnendes ist ein ewiges Schwanken zwischen beidem, verhüllter Sinnenglut und selig-resigniertem Preis der keuschen Hoheit und herben Reine, die kein Wunsch befleckt." Pyritz, p. 135.

However, the comparison of the bride's beauty to gems and to other costly materials is much rarer in the Latin than in the German, although it is present, for example, in the epithalamia of Fincelius and Finkelthusius.

Finkelthusius writes that the bride's beauty rivals that of gems and would be an apt subject for the skill of Apelles.¹

There is a particularly close correspondence in a poem of Plavius:

Rosemund mein liebelein
 Wenn es könnte möglich seyn
 Unnd mein wünsch nicht wär umbsonst
 Wünscht' ich mir Apellis konst.
 Dass ich euch/ihr engel-zier/
 Könt' abmahlen nach gebür/
 ...
 Ewre perrel-zänelein/
 Ewre stirn/ als helffenbein/²

Dach also believes that the greatest painters would not have sufficient skill to do justice to the bride:

Dürers, Kranachs, Rubens Kunst
 Hat noch nie gemahlt dergleichen,
 Schöner ist auch nie geschawt
 Menelaen grosse Braut.³

Descriptions of the bride which include gem and mineral elements such as alabaster, pearl, coral, diamond, sapphire, ivory, rubies, and gold are extremely common in the German

¹Finkelthusius, p.159. Cf. p.63.

²Plavius, p.70, 15ff.

³Dach II, p.185.

poems and appear in almost every one of the Baroque writers included in this study.¹ The following example is typical:

Die Wangen sind Beryll, die Lippen ein Rubin,
die ihn zu ihrer Gunst auch wider Willen ziehn.
Das Kinn ist Perlen voll, der Hals von Alabaster,
die Kehle Chrysolith, der Brust erhabnes Pflaster
der reinste Marmorstein, die Arme Helffenbein,
die Finger pures Gold, und was sonst mehr mag
sein.²

Similar elements appear in a poem of Dach:

Dieser Halss von Alabaster, dieser weissen Stirne
Schein,
Diese Rosen-rothe Wangen, dieser Hände Helffenbein
Werden dir den Sinn berauben...³

Plavius also makes use of the gem and mineral elements:

Nu mögen wol für allen
Nepenth und edelstein
Die rohten mund-coralen
Für trawren kräfttig seyn?
Das hab' ich schon gespüret/
Und an euch wol probieret
Coralen-mündelein.⁴

¹Strich points out that the aristocratic society of the seventeenth century sought distinction in those physical objects (and in physical characteristics) that were unusual, that did not correspond to the norm: "Man vergleicht, was man in Dichtung feiern will, nur mit den kostbarsten und seltensten Dingen, nicht wie im Volkslied mit Wald- und Wiesenblumen, Vergissmeinnicht und Veilchen, sondern mit gezüchteten Tuberosen und Hyazinthen, nicht mit Rosenduft, sondern mit erlesenen Parfums, mit Diamanten, Perlen und Korallen, mit kandierten Früchten und Marzipan. Man besang nicht nur die Schönheit des geliebten Antlitzes und Leibes, sondern auch seltsame Abweichungen..." op.cit., p.119.

²Fleming, p.63, 187-192.

³Dach I, p.58.

⁴Plavius, p.84, 40-46. Other examples are: Dach II, p.89 and Neukirch in Neukirchs Anthologie I, p.158, 40-42.

The second common means of expressing the ultimate beauty of the bride in Petrarkismus is to compare her favorably with mythological characters. This was done many times in the Neo-Latin. Acontius(1) indicated that Jupiter would have been smitten by the bride's charms, and that Apollo would have preferred her to Daphne. Grotius maintained that Achilles would gladly have relinquished Briseis for the bride.¹ In a similar way Dach indicates the devastating effect the bride's beauty would have upon mythological figures:

Kindisch würd Alcides hier,
Jupiter zu einem Stier
Oder auch in Gold gewandt,
Wär' es nicht ein Tichter-tand.²

Several Neo-Latin authors(Finkelthusius, Grotius, and J. Secundus) indicate that Paris would have preferred the bride by far to any of the three goddesses over whom he sat in judgment.³ This story of the judgment of Paris appears in a similar way in several of the German poems. For example:

Ach hätte Paris so/wie du anitzt/gedacht/
So wäre Troja nicht in feur und blut vergangen!⁴

¹Grotius, p.210. Cf. p.65.

²Dach II, p.89. The expression "Tichter-tand" indicates that the author does not take the mythological figures seriously. ("Es" refers to the mythological tales). Cf. pp.106-107 and p.115.

³Cf. p.64, footnotes 2 and 3.

⁴Neukirch in Neukirchs Anthologie I, p.163, 9-10. Another reference to the judgment of Paris is: Günther V, p.28, 141-142.

In the Neo-Latin(Acontius [1] and Sabinus [2]) it was indicated that the bride was more beautiful than the swan that appeared to Leda, and even as beautiful as Helen herself.¹ Dach goes so far as to say that Leda's daughter (Helen) would be ugly if she could be seen next to the bride:

Leden Kind würd hesslich seyn
Neben deiner Augen Schein.²

In another poem he indicates that Helen would appear as an aged woman in comparison to the bride:

Leden schönes Kind ist alt
Gegen dieser Braut gewesen.³

Plavius indicates that Helen would turn pale if confronted with the bride:

vor welcher muss erbleichen
Die Griechische Helena: die führt ihr itzt an dantz⁴

Acontius(1) and Stigelius even delighted in suggesting that the bride was as beautiful as Venus herself.⁵ This is also a favorite comparison in the German poems. For example:

Ob sie mit der Schönheit nicht
Auch die Venus selbst hinsticht.⁶

¹Cf. p. 64, footnote 4.

²Dach I, p. 256.

³Dach II, p. 205.

⁴Plavius, p. 76, 8-9.

⁵Cf. p. 65.

⁶Dach I, p. 37.

Another poem is even more emphatic:

Ja selbst Venus würde gar
Ungestalt hie sein zu spüren
Ob die Alten gleich die Pracht
Aller Zier in sie gebracht.¹

Fleming's rapturous account includes elements of the preceding descriptions and surpasses them all:

Halbgöttinne, Fräulein Braut,
der Cassandra müste weichen,
Helena nicht könnte gleichen,
Rom noch Schöners nie geschaut,
zehnte bei der Musen Schar,
vierte Charis dieser Jahr',
Andre Venus!²

The third element of Petrarchian expression, that is, that the girl's beauty produces sickness in her hapless lover, appeared in the epithalamia of Marquardius, Grotius, and Heinsius.³ This element appears many times in the German poems.

For example:

Kein gesunder weiss so wol
Eine Kranckheit zu erzehlen,
Als die selbst mit ihr sich quelen,
Und sind selbst der Schmerzen vol.
Sein es nicht die süssen gaben

¹Dach II, p.128.

²Fleming, p.66, 273-279.

³Cf. pp.65-66.

Heinsius was a major representative of Petrarkismus in the Netherlands. Cf. Pyritz:

"In England hat der neulateinische Petrarkismus an dem Schotten Buchanan, in Holland an Heinsius seinen Hauptvertreter."
op.cit., p.155.

Ewrer Liebsten?¹

A more detailed example appears in a poem of Flavius:

Dann gieng die marter an/ man lag in grossen
schmerzen/
Man lag in grosser hitz' es griff frey nach dem
hertzen.
Man fragte was es wär' und-suchte rath und that/
-Versucht auch artzeney/ fandt aber keinen rath.
Der hiess es tolle seyn/ ein ander hiess's ein
fieber/
Der dritte hertzen-angst/ der vierte wolte lieber
Er wäre lange tod/ der fünffte nennt' es tandt/
Und nur Melancholey; der sechste kalten brand.
Man brauchte mancherley/ der liess sein wasser
sehen/
Der bandt was auff den puls und liess die ader
gehen
Der dritte schmierte sich den magen und die stirn/²

Hofmannswaldau refers to love as: "die Kranckheit ohne Rath."³

Finally, the antithetical expressions which are an important element in Petrarkismus are not apparent in the Neo-Latin. These expressions are, however, very frequent in the German poems. For example:

so muss man liebe nennen:
Ein wässeriges fewr/ ein wasser-kühles brennen/
Ein stetig-heisses kalt/ ein wiederkühles-heiss/
Ein fewer-drocknes nass/ ein kalt-doch brennend-
eiss.⁴

¹Dach I, p.26. Pyritz indicates that the love-as-sickness concept goes back ultimately to Sappho and was popularized by Ovid: "Die Liebe als zehrende Glut, als unheilbare Krankheit, sinnverwirrend und schlafraubend, Anlass vieler Seufzer, ein Zustand voller Qual, deren Schilderung bereits Ansätze antithetischer Schwellung und Schärfung zeigt: das sind Elemente ovidischer Tradition..." op.cit., pp.126-127.

²Flavius, p.71, 36-46.

³Hofmannswaldau, Hrsrg. Bobertag, p.94, 99. Cf. p.113.

⁴Flavius, p.48, 1-4.

A second example is:

Wie sie uns habe selbst das Hertz genommen ein,
Das bey uns nichts mehr ist als bitter süsse
Pein¹

On the basis of the evidence examined in this study, it is apparent that elements of Petrarkismus are present in the Neo-Latin literature of Germany, but to a much lesser extent than in the German poems of the seventeenth century.² This is substantiated by Pyritz, who indicates that although strong traces are present in the Neo-Latin poems of the sixteenth century, Petrarkismus found its way into the German Baroque literature in great part through the efforts of Opitz.³ Petrarch is subsequently mentioned in a wedding poem by Günther: "Und ein Petrarcha will mit seiner Laura sterben."⁴

¹Dach I, p.4.

²Cf. p.141, footnote 2.

³"Das Tor, durch das der Petrarkismus in die deutsche Kunstlyrik entscheidend einbricht, ist das Werk von Martin Opitz...Vor allem sind es freilich Übersetzungen und Bearbeitungen, durch die er diesem Geist ein neues Feld der Wirkung öffnet. Aber auch seine Hochzeitscarmina verstaten petrarkistischer Motivik grössten Raum."
Hans Pyritz, op.cit., p.158. Cf. p.141, footnote 2.

Opitz was also instrumental in establishing the use of the word 'Petrarkismus', as Pyritz maintains (p.146), by stating in his Buch von der deutschen Poeterey:

"Als Ronsardt brauchet in einer Elegie an die Cassandra/
das wort Petrarquiser, das ist/ wie Petrarcha
buhlerische reden brauchen;

Apprendre l'art de bien Petrarquiser."
ed. Wilhelm Braun (Tübingen, 1963), p.27.

⁴Günther V, p.21, 183.

He is also mentioned by Hofmannswaldau: "Wie der Petrarca schwur die Lauren stets zu lieben."¹

Finally, there are other elements of the bride's beauty which are common to both Neo-Latin and German and which are not necessarily related to Petrarkismus. The brilliant floral colors of her beauty have been shown to be common to both the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.²

The juxtaposition of roses and lilies to describe the bride's beauty was evident in the epithalamium of Statius. These two flowers appear together in the epithalamia of Pincelius, Lotichius(3), and Sabinus(2).³ They also appear in juxtaposition in three of the German wedding poems. For example:

Die Rosen schönster Wangen/
und Liljen des Gesichts sind nicht nur aufgegangen
zu Zier der schnellen Zeit/⁴

Advice to the Bride

In the Neo-Latin epithalamia, in accordance with the prevailing religious spirit, the bride had been given advice about the permanence of marriage, about the avoidance of

¹Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Bobertag, p.102,198.

²Cf. pp.134-135.

³Cf. p.66, footnote 5.

⁴Gryphius, p.143, 5-7. Other examples are: Gryphius, p. 146, 28, and Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Hübner, p.15.

strife, and about putting away false modesty and entering without inhibition into the delights of matrimony.¹

This latter element is by far the most important in the German poems. This is in accordance with the generally greater emphasis on the physical aspects of marriage.² Hofmannswaldau points out to the bride that delay is now inimical to virtue, for virtue demands that she hurry to the fulfillment which heaven itself has prepared for her.³ Similarly, in other German poems the bride is urged to realize that the delights of wedlock are divinely ordained and are therefore to be embraced without trepidation or shame:

Doch lass dich scham und furcht nur länger nicht
verweilen:
Es ist ein himmlisch werck: die matten seelen
heilen.⁴

In still other German poems it is indicated that the bride should not be fearful, because the state that she is entering upon is the way of nature itself, and although it may involve temporary suffering and pain, the final result will be joy. For example:

¹Cf. pp. 67-68.

²Cf. pp. 88-89, p. 137, and p. 158.

³Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Bobertag, p. 96, 157-164.

⁴Anonymous author, Neukirchs Anthologie II, p. 153, 5-6.
Cf. Daeh I, p. 211.

Nicht traure, zarte Braut, es sagt die gantze
Welt,
Man samlet keine Frucht, wann nicht die Blüthe
fällt.¹

Some writers, in allaying the fears of the bride, give her more positive encouragement:

Braut, schaw deine Schönheit an,
Alles ist für deinen Mann,
Reitz ihn im Behagen,
Diesen Zweck hat deine Zier,
Winckt Er etwan heimlich dir,
Hüt dich nein zu sagen.²

Advice to the Groom

The chief counsel to the groom, as in the Neo-Latin, is that he show tenderness and consideration in dealing with the bride.³ For example:

Bräutigam, lehr was Sie nicht kan,
Fleuch hie etwas auffzuschieben,
Aber halt auch Meas dabey⁴

Gryphius also suggests that the golden mean is best in all relationships, but particularly in one so tender:

Doch! Nachbar, mit bedacht.
Nicht hitzig/ nicht zu lind'. Und also wirds
gelingen/
Das Mittel ist doch stets das Best in allen Dingen/
Und hiermit: Gute Nacht.⁵

¹Hofmannswaldau, Hrsrg. Bobertag, p.105, 312-313.

²Dach I, p.230. A very similar passage appears in a poem of Opitz, p.36, 49-54.

³Cf. p.69.

⁴Dach I, p.184.

⁵Gryphius, p.143, 54-57.

Hofmannswaldau, in encouraging the groom, gives him a lesson in feminine psychology. He points out that the bride may be as eager as he for the joys of wedlock, but that she is too chaste to break silence in this matter and that her sense of shame seals her lips. But if the groom observes her carefully, particularly her eyes, he will receive a communication as unmistakable as any that the tongue could give. Furthermore, her words are not to be taken at face value:

Das Frauenzimmer steht den Parthen an der Seiten,
 Sie zeigen durch die Flucht oft ihre Lust zu
 streiten,
 Und ein erzürntes Nein, ist oft ein süßes Ja.¹

In several German poems, as in the Neo-Latin,² it is suggested that a youthful bride is most desirable, for she will be able to rejuvenate an aging groom. For example:

Ein alter Vater wird erquicket/
 wenn ihn ein junges Mädchen küsst³

Another poet expresses the same thought in a more picturesque way:

(Wenn sie) ihren lebens-rest an junge mädgen
 hängen.
 Ihr gantzes wesen stirbt. Die füsse kriegen
 krafft/
 Die peltze werden fort/ die krücken abgeschafft⁴

¹Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Bobertag, p.95, 136-138.

²Cf. p.70.

³Michael Kongehl in Das Zeitalter des Barock, Hrsg. Schöne, p.828, 49-50.

⁴Neukirch in Neukirchs Anthologie I, p.155, 76-78.
 Cf. also Dach I, p.58.

However, still another German author violently disagrees, saying that a new house is better than one that is tumbling down with age, and that rotting old wood is fit only for the fire.¹

The Vine and the Elm

The image of the vine and the elm,² which originated in antiquity and made its reappearance in European literature in the Neo-Latin epithalamia, appears in nine of the German wedding poems. In one poem of Dach it is apparent that the image was taken directly from Catullus(62), for the German poem is almost a translation of the Catullan epithalamium. As in the poem of Catullus there are alternate choruses of virgins and of youths who in turn condemn and praise the evening star. The appearance of the star, of course, is symbolic of the end of the bride's virginity. The maidens urge the advantage of virginity, claiming, as in the poem of Catullus, that a virgin is as desirable as an unplucked flower. The youths counter this argument with the analogy of the vine and the elm:

¹Tscherning, Vor- und Frühbarock, Hrsg. Cysarz, p.199.

²Cf. p.70, footnote 4. Peter Demetz, "The Elm and the Vine: Notes Toward the History of a Marriage Topos." PMIA, LXXIII(1958), 521-532, treats this element comprehensively and traces it back to antiquity.

Stehen verwittibte Weinstöck allein,
 Warlich sie tragen nicht Trauben noch Wein,
 Werden sie aber an Ulmen geführt,
 Eilands dann werden sie trüchtig gespürt,
 Ehlohse Jungfern verlieren Gestalt,
 Werden gantz unbeliebt, hesslich und alt,
 Eine bemannte verjüngt sich allzeit,
 Welche mit Kindern die Ihren erfrewt,
 Darzu erlanget sie überal Ehr,
 Ehmann und Eltern belieben sie mehr.¹

The image of vine and elm, although always retaining the basic idea of marital union, comes to have different connotations in different authors, as was the case in the Neo-Latin epithalamia. Lotichius(3) emphasized that the union of elm and vine(man and wife) produced children.² Dach expresses a similar idea:

Seine Kinder sind den Reben,
 So die Ulm' umarmet, gleich,
 Werden bald von Früchten reich
 Und verdoppeln ihm sein Leben,
 Die durch manches Kindes-Kind
 Ihm ein' Ewigkeit schier sind.³

The idea of fulfillment, especially for the woman, was apparent in Catullus and also in the epithalamium of Acontius(1).⁴ This idea is stressed in one of the German poems also:

¹Dach I, p.262. Other poems in which the image appears are: Dach I, pp.40 and 57, and Fleming, p.62, 145. The other five instances are indicated in subsequent footnotes.

²Cf. p.72, footnote 4.

³Dach I, p.264.

⁴Cf. p.72, footnote 2. Catullus expresses the woman's fulfillment in the following way: "cum par conubium maturo tempore adeptast, cara viro magis et minus est invisa parenti." (62), 57-58.

Schöne Braut, lass dir nicht grawen,
 Reben tragen keinen Wein,
 Wird man sie nicht erstlich schawen
 Freundlich umb die Ulmen seyn.
 Diess bleibt deiner Schönheit Ziel,
 Sorge wenig oder viel.¹

Both Günther and Rist mention the image in conjunction with Bacchus:

Hier schnitzte Bacchus Hand an weichen Ulmenpfählen,
 Sich mit der Cybele von neuem zu vermehren.²

In another poem Günther uses the image as a symbol of the consummation:

Umarmt euch wie der Wein, der Uim und Pfahl
 umschlingt,
 Küst, jauchzet, lacht und spielt, verkriecht
 euch, hüpfet und springt³

The Traditional Good Wishes

The traditional wishes that are prevalent in the Neo-Latin epithalamium appear also in the German wedding poems. These wishes are: harmonious love, long life (even as long as Nestor) the exhortation to unite in love, and the wish for children.

That the newly-wedded pair live as long as Nestor was a wish that appeared often in the epithalamia, for example, in the poems of Acontius(1), Haslobius, Lindebergius(1).

¹Dach I, p.156.

²Günther V, p.26,69-70. Another example is Rist, p.174,10.

³Günther VI, p.53,5-6.

and Stigelius.¹ This wish also appears in three of the German poems. For example: "Es müssen ihre jahr an Nestors alter reichen."² Dach expresses this wish in even shorter form: "Der Himmel geb ihm Nestors Zeit."³

Sometimes, as in the poems of Fidlerius and Lindebergius(6),⁴ these traditional wishes appear in close juxtaposition at the end of the poem. For example:

Der himmel weist sich selbst geneigt/
Und regnet freud und lust auff die verknüpfften
hertzen,
Denn wo sich Gottes anblick zeig't/
Bekröntzet eitel heil die frohen hochzeit-
kertzen.
Und seegen folgt den reiffen jahren nach.
Mich dünckt/ ich sehe schon in einer wiegen
Die frucht der eh' und Gottes gabe liegen;
Hingegen fleucht verdrüsslich ungemach.⁵

However, in the German poems the most important element by far is the exhortation to unite in love. Some of these exhortations are couched in more sensuous terms than any found in the Neo-Latin (with the exception of J. Secundus). For example:

Geh hin/ ich folge dir aus deinem Hochzeit saale/
Es wünscht mein treuer geist/ was du im sinne
trägst:

¹Cf. p.73, footnotes 2 and 3.

²Postel in Neukirchs Anthologie II, p.158, 133.

³Dach I, p.62. Another example is Dach I, p.97.

⁴Cf. p.76.

⁵Lohenstein in Neukirchs Anthologie I, p.153, 97-104.

Er rüffet dir glück zu! wenn du im liljen-thale
Dir einen festen grund zu deinem glücke legst.¹

This marked tendency toward sensuality in the German poems has been noted in other instances.²

In the epithalamium of J. Secundus, the consummation, described in detail, is compared to a military encounter. In five of the German poems a similar comparison is made. For example, in a poem of Fleming the lovers are encouraged to begin the battle without which they can know no tranquility. The bride is advised that her opponent has skin as thin and flesh as weak as her own. The groom is assured that in the course of the battle he will find his beloved's mouth ten times sweeter than any confection.³

Weckherlin describes the battle in greater detail:

hör doch nicht auf, mit vollem lust
ihr aug stirn, mund, hals, wangen, brust
mit tausend küssen anzurennen.
Sie mag lang sagen: "Es ist gnug!
es ist gnug! seid ein wenig klug!"

...
heng du gleichwol stets nach dem sig
durch welchen sich die lieb muss nehren.
Also in disem heissen streit,
begirig nach der süssen beut,
kanst du den sturm widrum erneuen,
und lass von ihrer brust und schoss,

¹Neukirchs Anthologie II, p.153, 85ff.
Other examples are: Plavius, p.72, 18-21, and Günther V,
p.23, 234-240.

²Cf. pp. 88-89 and p.137.

³Fleming, p.100, 227ff.

weiss, rund, steif, glat und mangellos
nichts deine geile hand abscheuen.¹

These lines show a very close correspondence to the
epithalamium of J. Secundus.²

In two of the German poems, as in Catullus(62) and
in the epithalamia of Acontius(1), Heinsius, Haslobius,
and J. Secundus, the exhortation to unite in love, expressed
in more delicate terms, is accompanied by a reference to
Hesperus, the evening star.³ For example:

Es kam nun unvermerckt der Hesperus gegangen,
Der Reisenden Verdruss, der Liebenden Verlangen.
Er sprach durch seinen Schein: Geht zu der neuen
Ruh,
Und schlüset nicht die Lust mit euer Kammer zu.⁴

The exhortation to unite in love is couched in delicate
terms in many other wedding poems. Opitz, for example,
expresses it in a light-hearted and humorous way:

¹Weckherlin, p.114, 76ff. Other examples of the
consummation as a military encounter are: Plavius, p.52, 1-10;
Fleming, p.58, 2, and an anonymous author in Das Zeitalter
des Barock, Hrsg. Schöne, p.830, 31-34.

²"Tunc per candida colla, tunc per illud
Quod certat ebori nitore pectus,
Nunc per crura tenella perque ventrem
Et quae proxima sunt et huic et illis,
Saltu volve agili manum salacem;
Et tot milia iunge basiorum
Quot caelum rutilos tenebit ignes."
J. Secundus, p.228.

³Cf. p.76, footnotes 2 and 3.

⁴Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Bobertag, p.105, 306-309.
Another reference to the evening star is: Günther VI,
p.67, 57-60.

Ruhet dann, jedoch erweget,
 Liebes Par, es sey die Nacht
 Eh es morgen sieben schläget
 Nicht zum Schnarchen nur gemacht.
 Zwey die müssen Wache seyn;
 Schlaffen kan man wol allein.¹

Fleming, in another poem, is similarly light-hearted and discreet:²

Freit, tanzet, schlafet wol!
 Der Schluss der Götter steht; was drauf geschehen
 soll,
 das ist des Vatern Lust, der jungen Mutter Lachen.³

In the following poem the description is allegorical. The word "Stern" is a play upon "Güldenstern," the family name of the groom:

Stern, du wirst wachsen machen
 Die Blume recht und wol,
 Dein Stern muss dich bewachen,
 O Blume, wie er sol,
 Wann dieser Stern so stehet,
 Und Than das Feld durchgeheth,
 So wird die Rose voll.⁴

Such reshaping of groom's or bride's name is extremely common in the German poems. For example, in a poem of Günther the groom's name is Täuber: "Hält diese Täubchen wohl und trag mit ihm zu Neste."⁵ Dach writes for a groom named Samen:

¹Opitz, p.36, 55-60.

²The German poems thus show two extremes in describing physical love: extreme delicacy and extreme coarseness. Cf. pp.88ff.

³Fleming, p.73, 12-14.

⁴Opitz, p.35, 57-63.

⁵Günther V, p.76, 97.

Braut, du nimmst dir einen Samen,
 Darumb wirst du, wie ich mein',
 Allzeit reich von Samen seyn.¹

Opitz builds a benediction upon Sänffteleben, the name of the bride:

Der Name Sänffteleben,
 Den eure Liebste hat,
 Wil mir die Hoffnung geben
 Der Sanfftmüt in der That,
 Und solcher schönen Gaben,
 Nechst Gottes Gunst, darzu,
 Dadurch zwey Herzen haben
 Dess sanfften Lebens Ruh.²

Opitz also plays upon the name of Wasserführer, Daeh those of Meyenreis and Kalkstein-Brand, Gryphius that of Pein, Plavius those of Euphrosynen and Kohl.³ This playing upon names ties in with the fact that the German poets enjoy flexing their muscles in their newly-developing vernacular tongue.⁴

The Phoenix symbol, a favorite image in the Baroque, does not appear in the Neo-Latin poems included in this study.⁵ It does appear, however, in four of the German wedding

¹Dach II, p.137.

²Opitz, p.37, 25ff.

³Opitz, Das Zeitalter des Barock, Hrsg. Schöne (München, 1963), p.822, 34-39, Dach II, p.134 and I p.197, Gryphius, p.150, 165, Plavius, p.50, 29, and p.62, 65ff.

⁴Cf. pp.106-107 and p.121.

⁵"Phoenix, a marvelous eagle-like bird with red and golden plumage, sacred to the sun-god in Egypt. It would appear to mortals once every five hundred years...(then it) burned itself on the pyre and from the ashes rose again rejuvenated to live another period."
 Howe and Harrer, op.cit., p.220.

poems, and in three cases is used in reference to the consummation. For example:

Und euer Garthen sey ein Sammelplatz der Rosen,
 Wo der vergnügte Fuss auf keinen Dornen geht,
 Damit ihr ohngestört den Zoll der Liebe gebet
 Und wie der Phoenix selbst in euren Flammen
 lebet.¹

In another poem the author encourages the bride, saying that when her virginity is gone it will be born again (like the Phoenix) as something better:

Kurz, liebste Schwester Braut, du hast die Zeit
 erwehlet,
 In der der Februar uns warme Stuben gönnt,
 Dich aber recht ergötzt und mit nichts anders
 quület,
 Als dass dir seine Lust den Kranz vom Haupte
 brennt.
 O las ihn freudig gehn, er kan ein Phoenix werden,
 Der, wird er gleich entseelt, doch stets was
 Junges heckt²

Similarly, in another poem, the Phoenix represents the birth of full womanhood from the ashes of sterile virginity:

Es wird dir/ liebster schatz/ die süsse frauen-
 haube
 Mehr als du selber denkst/ gesichert/ artig stehn;
 Drum schau nur getrost die zarten blumen beugen/
 Weil doch ein Phönix soll aus ihrer asche steigen.
 Verwirff das rauhe pfand der unerfahrenen sitten/
 Und lerne was die glut der warmen adern will.³

¹Günther V, p.8, 95-98.

²Günther VI, p.212, 45-50. Another reference to the Phoenix is: Hofmannswaldau, Hrsg. Bobertag, p.105, 297. In this poem the Phoenix is used in reference to the banquet in which some of the food is buried (for example in sauces) only to reappear.

³Neukirchs Anthologie II, p.153, 15-20.

Elements Indicating the Role of the Poet

The Position of the Poet in the Seventeenth Century

Although the position of the poet in the seventeenth century is still one of eminence, poets and poetry are under attack from several quarters. First, there is the problem of the gradual establishment of the German vernacular. At the beginning of the century the Neo-Latin poetry, from a technical standpoint, was superior to the German. Several of the writers of German wedding poems express pride that this situation is being rectified and that the Muses are now able to speak German.¹ Secondly, the large number of indiscriminate versifiers who are able to profit from writing in their native tongue, obscure, at least in part, the more talented writers.² Thirdly, the devastating war makes poetry appear less valuable in a world necessarily concerned with mere survival.

In one wedding poem Neukirch disassociates himself from the poetic hacks who have become very numerous:

¹Cf. pp. 106-107 and p. 121.

²Cf. Merker-Stammler, "Gelegenheitsdichtung,": "Wenn auch häufig Kritik und Spott an der Gelegenheitsdichtung geübt wird, so bezieht sich das nicht auf den Brauch als solchen, sondern auf die Gesinnungslosigkeit mancher Lobdichter und auf diejenigen Auftraggeber, welche allzu lächerliche Vorkommnisse feiern lassen. Schon Opitz hatte sich beklagt, dass die Würde der Dichtkunst unter solchen Zumutungen leide (Poeterey B 3b)." (p. 548).

It should be noted that most of the poets belonged to the Bürger class and that relatively few of them were associated with universities. On the other hand many of the Neo-Latin poets were associated with universities. Cf. p. 26, footnote 1.

So kan ich mich auch nicht in diesen orden zehlen
 Der mit der schnellen post zum Musen-berge reist/
 Der versse/ wie ein brunn das wasser/ von sich
 geusst/
 Und zehen bogen kunst aus einem ermel schüttelt.¹

Günther indicates that he is almost reluctant to praise the bride and the groom, because of his fear of being charged with flattery. He maintains that the fear is not unfounded, for there are plenty of poets who would sing themselves hoarse for a loaf of bread.²

Joachim Rachel, a satirist, eloquently laments the fact that the number of genuine poets has become so few:

Geh' wie Diogenes des Tages bey den Flammen,
 Und bringe diese Arth, so viel du kanst, zusammen,
 Setz gute Brillen auf für eine zweimahl drey,
 Komm dann und sage mir, wie theuer das hundert
 sey?
 Es werden kaum so viel sich finden aller Orthen,
 Als Nilus Thüren hat, und Thebe schöne Pforten,
 So viel du Finger hast, die Daumen ohngezehlt,
 Im fall dir einer noch von ganzten Hauffen fehlt.³

The terribly devastating war also dealt a blow to the prestige of poets and made culture seem to be a luxury that could no longer be afforded. The problems of war and

¹Neukirch in Neukirchs Anthologie I, p.162, 68-71.

²Günther V, p.47, 32ff.

³Joachim Rachels satyrische Gedichte, Hrsg. Drescher (Halle, 1903), p.109, 101-108.

Opitz, who desired to rectify the situation, also lamented the sad state into which poetry had fallen: "Ja wenn sie einen gar verächtlich halten wollen/ so nennen sie ihn einen Poeten... Sie wissen ferner viel von ihren lügen/ Ergerlichen schrifften und leben zue sagen/ und vermeinen/ es sey keiner ein gutter Poete/ er müsse dann zu gleich ein böser Mensch sein." Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey, op.cit., p.9.

survival caused cultural values to seem of secondary importance. In several of the wedding poems the poets lament the fact that their calling no longer receives the recognition due to it:

Nun die Trompetten klingen,
 Das wilde Feldgeschrey
 Die Ross' und Kugeln singen,
 Melpomene verzeih:
 Was heissest du mich geigen?
 Wer hört mein schwaches Lied?
 Was nützt auch mein Geticht?
 Es dienet nicht zu essen,
 Es dienet zu trincken nicht;
 Es taug nicht für Soldaten.¹

Another poet, while lamenting the sad situation, longs for the day when he may again be able to devote time to writing poetry:

Man fragt mich oft: warum ich nicht/
 Als wie vor diesem Verse schreibe?
 Ich gebe/ Leser/ zum Bericht:
 Mit Versen schaf ich meinem Weibe/
 (Die Kinder kommen auch dazu/)
 Mit Gunst zu melden keine Schuh/
 Geschweige dann ein gantzes Kleid:
 Verss- schreiben bringt nichts in die Küche/

 Nun/ gute Nacht! Poeterey/
 Mit dir kan ich kein Brod erwerben/

 Ich folge nicht mehr/ als ich pflag:
 Zwar wil ich dich nicht gantz verschencken/
 Es kömmt bissweilen noch ein Tag/
 Da man an Freude muss gedencken/
 Dann Freunden/ Zeit und Vaterland
 Geht man ja billig noch zur Hand²

Finally, the attacks upon poetry lead to a forceful

¹Dach II, p.97. Another example is Gryphius, p.157, lff.

²Nicolaus Peucker, p.32.

reassertion of its value.¹ This is evident in several of the wedding poems. For example, Dach points out that poetry, although it cannot satisfy physical needs, can provide food for the heart and the soul:

Zwar für Durst und Hunger dienen
Die berühmten Lieder nicht,
Nicht für Hitz und Kältt', ob ihnen
Darumb aller Nutz gebricht?
Kan an ihren schönen Weisen
Sich nicht Hertz und Seele speisen?

...
Sie verweisen aus der Seelen
Die verfluchte Sorgen-Rott',
Heben, noch in diesen Hölen,
Gott in uns und uns in Gott,
Dass wir dort der Himmels-Gaben
Hie schon einen Vorschmack haben.
Was kan mehr das Hertz erquicken?²

In another poem it is pointed out that poets do lend permanency to otherwise ephemeral events. Only a poet can prevent human activity from being forgotten:

Alles was ich iletzund mache
Hie auf diesem Lust-Gelache,
Essen, Tranck und Pracht vergeht,
Zeit und Fall reisst alles nieder,
Nur was der Poeten Lieder
Davon singen, das besteht.³

In still another poem Venus deplores the lack of poetic activity in Prussia and begs the author to preserve the details of the wedding for

¹Opitz (cf. p. 164, footnote 3) and the Sprachgesellschaften undertook this defense.

²Dach I, p. 103.

³Dach I, p. 237.

posterity:

Ist denn hier in Preussen-Landen
Von Poeten nichts vorhanden?

...
Auff, entreisset ihr Poeten,
Was ihr könnt, den Sterbens-Nöhten,
Schärfitt die Feder und die Hand:
Heist diess Edle Par bekleiben,
Wisst, dass euer Fleiss im Schreiben
Nie sey besser angewand.¹

In a passage that is almost a translation of a section from Cicero's Pro Archia (which is itself a defense of poetry), Dach points out the curious fact that poets are often appreciated in every country but their own. Homer, for example, received little attention during his life, but after his death numerous cities, including Colophon, Salamis, and Smyrna, claimed him as their own.²

In the Neo-Latin epithalamia the poets had often referred to each other and seemed to be aware of the fact that they comprised a small intellectual elite.³ This attitude also appears in the German poems, in spite of the fact that the number of poets in the seventeenth century is much larger:

¹Dach I, p. 237.

²Dach I, p. 130. "Homerum Colophonii civem esse dicunt suum, Chii suum vindicant, Salaminii repetunt, Smyrnaei vero suum esse confirmant, itaque etiam delubrum eius in oppido dedicaverunt; permulti alii praeterea pugnant inter se atque contendunt." Orations of Cicero, ed. Frank G. Moore (Boston, 1929), p. 107.

³Cf. p. 78, footnote 3.

Soll Caniz und sein Buch hier excerpiret stehn?
Soll ich dem Gryphius in seine Wälder gehn
Und als Blumendieb den Lohenstein bestehlen?¹

Gryphius refers to Hofmannswaldau: "Biss Hoffmannswaldaus
Mund die Sinnen mir entzückt/"²

Dach refers to Tscherning:

So ist es nicht mit denen Sachen
Die Tscherning oder Thamnitz singt.³

The concept of the divine right of kings, which reaches full fruition in the seventeenth century, brings about the predominance of the court in cultural affairs. This ultimately causes the poet's personality to recede into the background and opens a wide gulf between poet and poem.⁴

For the most part the German writers of wedding poems do not express their innermost feelings. They write the conventional poetry that seems to be expected of them. Not until we come to Günther in the eighteenth century do we notice a re-emergence of poetry written against a background of personal experience.⁵

¹Günther V, p.46, 18-20.

²Gryphius, p.141, 25.

³Dach II, p.65.

⁴Poets became economically dependent on the court.
Cf. p.82, footnote 1.

⁵"In der Lyrik Johann Christian Günthers sehen wir, wie der oben gekennzeichnete Unterschied zwischen Zweckgedichten zu einer bestimmten Gelegenheit und Erlebnisgedichten aus einer solchen verschimmt. Den Gedichtüberschriften nach sind zwar beide Gruppen bei Günther vertreten, aber seine Lyrik erwächst in jedem Fall aus persönlichem Empfinden und Schicksal." Merker-Stammler, "Gelegenheitsdichtung," p.548.

The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings and Its Influence
Upon the Position of the Poet

Many of the sovereigns on the continent believed that their power was unlimited, or limitable only by their own free act. They felt that they were accountable only to God. There are clear references in the Hochzeitsgedichte to these attitudes.¹ For example:

Unser Schutzherr Bistu ja,
Grosser Gott, in noth und kriegem,
Lass doch König Wladisla
Unter dir noch ferner siegen.²

Another example is:

Der Höchste lasse Dich, du wehrtes Haupt, bekleiben,
Und noch viel hundert Jahr auff deinem Hause
bleiben³

In another wedding poem it is suggested that the king's choice of a spouse is very important for the royal line of descent and therefore for the welfare of the people:

Er erkennt, was Angst und Leiden
Seinem Hause würd' entstehen,
Wie es uns auch würd' ergehn,

¹Cf. p. 81, footnote 3.

Fritz Strich comments upon the situation in the Baroque Century: "Die Kunst des Barock ist eine dienende Kunst. Sie dient der Kirche oder auch dem Staat, jenen Mächten also, welche auch den Menschen damals seiner absoluten Souveränität beraubten, weil nur die Kirche und der im Fürsten sich repräsentierende Staat absolut sein sollte." op.cit., p. 105.

²Dach I, p. 29.

³Dach II, p. 189. Still another example is p. 212.

Sollt' Er länger Heyraht meiden,

...
Nun, der Höchste wird Ihn lencken
Zu gewünschter Liebes-pflicht.¹

The primacy of the court in cultural life and the consequent economic dependence of poets lead to unabashed flattery of the Prince.² This was also beginning to be evident in the Neo-Latin (Lindebergius [1] and Marquardius).³ The following example is, if anything, even more extravagant:

Mit kurtzem; die natur hat/ da sie dich gemacht/
Mehr auff ein wunderwerck als einen mensch gedacht;
Und hat/ was sieben sonst besonders haben sollen/
Der welt in dir allein beysammen zeugen wollen.

...
Die Könige suchen dich auff mehr als hundert
meilen
Und liesse sich dein leib/ wie dein verstand/
zertheilen/
So würdest du bereits in halb Europa seyn.⁴

¹Dach II, p.206.

The sacrosanct character held by the king was not conferred by coronation, but was his by hereditary right. It was therefore especially important that he choose a worthy spouse. Cf. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Eleventh Edition (Cambridge, 1911), Vol. XV, p.806.

²It is possible that Opitz is lamenting this situation in one of his wedding poems when he writes:

"Mein Geist wil nimmer brennen,
Noch steigen wie vorhin;
Diss thut für allen sachen
Der Hass der Dienstbarkeit,
Was Freund und Feinde machen,
Die Last der bösen Zeit.
Opitz, p.37, 11-16.

³Cf. p.82, footnote 2 and p.83, footnote 2.

⁴Neukirch in Neukirchs Anthologie I, p.160, 21ff.

Dach, in writing a wedding poem for a duchess lapses into flattery in the following passage:

Hertzoginn, wie soll ich Dich
Fürstinn oder Göttinn heissen?
Weil umb deinen Nahmen sich
Beydes Erd' und Himmel reissen¹

However, a new element appears in the German wedding poems. That is the hint of mutual dependence between king and people.² It is indicated that the people support and guide their sovereigns:

Nun, der Höchste wirdt, o Held,
Dich in diesem Vorsatz stercken,
Und es wirdt an dir die Welt
Wahrer Trew ein Beyspiel mercken
...
Denn Gott selber wirdt den Schutz
Seiner Flügel umb dich legen.
Ja er giebet dir geleit
Durch die Aufsicht deiner Scharen,
Welche dich zu allerzeit
Heben, tragen und bewahren.³

In addition to this hint of mutual dependence it must be noted that the words "Vernunft" and "Verstand" appear very often in the wedding poems of the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth

¹Dach II, p. 251.

²This is indicative of the more critical attitudes (nurtured by the Enlightenment) toward aristocracy. In England these attitudes lead ultimately to the success of the parliamentarians and on the continent they point the way to the French Revolution.

³Dach I, p. 163.

centuries.¹ It should be noted that by the time of Günther (1695-1723) the influence of Decartes(1596-1650), Leibniz (1646-1716), Thomasius(1655-1728) and other proponents of rationalism had begun to permeate German literature. It is apparent that the time is drawing near in which absolute despotism will no longer be acceptable to men who place a high premium on reason.

¹The following two examples are taken from the wedding poems of Günther:

Soll nicht das Glück der Eh auf schwachen Säulen stehn,
So muss Vernunft und Rath nach Ziel und Neigung streben.
VI, p.107, 7-8.

Die Einsicht der Vernunft ist freylich eingeschräncket
Und durch der Eltern Fall mit Finsternüss umhüllt,
Jedoch nicht gar erstickt.
VI, p.137, 8-10.