

Making the Impossible Dream: Latin, Print, and the Marriage of Frederick V and the Princess Elizabeth¹

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ABSTRACT

This article investigates the use of Latin within a northern European, militantly Protestant literary community at a crucial moment in its fortunes: the marriage in 1613 of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of the English king James I, to Frederick V, the Palatine Elector and leader of the Protestant Union of princes in Germany. Using Europe's transnational language, Protestant Latin writers in Britain and continental northern Europe envisioned an international godly community and even the possibility of a common cultural bond that would unite England with German-speaking areas in the Holy Roman Empire. Latin's transnational reach could be powerfully combined with print, sometimes with disastrous results—as in the case of a commemorative anthology assembled by the University of Oxford to celebrate the marriage—but at other times effectively, as by Andrew Willet and Abraham Scultetus who tailored Latin and vernacular texts designed to unify Protestant readers in Britain and continental northern Europe. Frederick's subsequent expulsion from Prague and the

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Palatinate would seem to have ended what Patrick Collinson has described as the “impossible dream” of a military, religious, political, and even a cultural union between England and Protestant northern Europe. But, as historians have been discovering, the vision that these Neo-Latin writers helped to shape is symptomatic of a large, long-term division between southern and northern Europe and formed part of a domestic politico-religious discourse that continued in Britain and continental Protestant countries well into the eighteenth century.

Introduction

Unlike the Latin used by Cicero, Virgil, and Ovid, post-classical Latin was forever destined to be “a language in search of a community.”² In what follows, I want to consider a major chapter in the relation of Neo-Latin literature to one such community that beginning in the sixteenth century brought together Protestants living in Britain and German-speaking northern Europe. By the later sixteenth century this community was sufficiently well defined that Neo-Latin writers like Paulus Melissus, coming from the Reformed court culture of the Palatinate, could rely on it when moving within the English universities and Queen Elizabeth’s court.³ The high point of Neo-Latin literature’s connection with this community came, however, during the reign of James I, when early in 1613 his daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, was wed to Frederick V, the Palatinate’s Protestant Elector. A good deal has been written about the English and German literature occasioned by their wedding.⁴

2. Peter Burke’s words in *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), 44.
3. Lee Piepho, “Paulus Melissus and Jacobus Falckenburgius: Two German Protestant Humanists at the Court of Queen Elizabeth,” *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 38 (2007): 97–110.
4. In addition to Francis Yates’ pioneering *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 1972), 1–23, the growing number of studies of English and German texts associated with the wedding includes but is by no means limited to: Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England’s Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 175–183; David Norbrook, “‘The Masque of Truth’: Court Entertainments and International Protestant Politics in the Early Stuart Period,” *The Seventeenth Century*, I (1986): 81–110; Götz Schmitz, ‘Die Hochzeit von Themse und Rhein: Gelegenheitschriften zur Brautfahrt des Kurfürsten Friedrich V. von der Pfalz,’ *Daphnis*, 22 (1993): 265–309; Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, “The Protestant Union: Festivals, Festival Books, War and Politics,” in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, ed. J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, and Margaret Shewring (London: MHRA/Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), II, 15–34; George Gömöri, “A memorable wedding”: The Literary Reception of the Wedding of the Princess Elizabeth and Frederick

But unlike Latin, German and English were not transnational languages, and an important, largely neglected body of Neo-Latin literature by Protestant writers in Britain and the Holy Roman Empire shows Latin being used as an important medium of communication between English and German-speaking language groups.

This literature could easily cross territorial boundaries not only because it was in Latin but due to the sheer number of printed books and the international focus of much of the printing trade. In this respect the combined force of Latin and printing has been seriously underestimated. In a recent survey of cultural exchange within early modern Europe Judith Pollmann and Mark Greengrass contend that print stimulated the use of vernaculars in written texts and thus the creation of isolated, linguistically based religious communities.⁵ A survey of the Latin literature connected with Frederick and Elizabeth's marriage reveals a quite different picture, showing English and German-speaking writers using the combination of Latin and print to elaborate and strengthen bonds between Protestants living in Britain and the Empire.

The power of the English and German languages did not, of course, go unrecognized. Vernacular versions of works by Protestant Neo-Latin writers in Britain and the German-speaking Empire were printed, at times with their active participation, according to the occasion and the readership to be reached. And conversely passages in Latin could be imbedded within vernacular texts so as to address a transnational audience trained in Latin. The combined force of Latin and printing wasn't always an advantage, however. As the printing history of the Latin commemorative anthologies assembled by the universities at Oxford and Cambridge suggests, publication by manuscript could be seen as a way to control the national and transnational circu-

of Pfalz,' *Journal of European Studies*, 34 (2004): 215–224. A number of the German texts have now been digitalized by the Herzog August Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel as 'Festival Culture Online: Seventeenth-Century German Imprints of Baroque Festival Culture': <http://www.hab.de/bibliothek/wdb/festkultur/index-e.htm> And some of the English and French texts associated with the marriage are now available digitally in a project jointly undertaken by the University of Warwick and the British Library as "Renaissance Festival Books": <http://www.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/homepage.html> References to much of the Latin poetry occasioned by the wedding and printed in Germany can be found in the various appendices in Volume Three of Gerhard Dünnhaupt's *Bibliographisches Handbuch der Barock-Literatur* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1980–1981).

5. "Introduction to Part IV: Religious Communication: Print and Beyond," in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe. Volume I: Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006), 224.

lation of a controversial Latin text. Like texts in German and English, much of the Latin literature occasioned by the marriage of Frederick and Elizabeth traded on an anti-papalism that loosely united Protestants throughout Europe. Some of the Latin texts looked, however, to a transnational godly community within which international Protestantism encouraged Englishmen to see themselves. And a few Neo-Latin writers deployed Biblical and other images to envision a religious and even a cultural union between Britain and German-speaking areas within the Holy Roman Empire.

Historical Background

In the development of England's foreign policy, specifically its relations with Germany's princes, Princess Elizabeth's wedding marked a peak in the hopes of many Protestants in Britain and northern Europe. When Elizabeth I intervened in 1585 to support the Dutch rebels in their resistance to Catholic Spain, it briefly seemed that England would be drawn into continental Europe's religious conflicts and become a militantly confessional state. A reaction against radical Protestantism set in at her court, however, and never again during the Queen's reign would England be so closely allied with militant Protestants on the Continent.⁶ The situation showed few signs of change when on James's accession in 1603 he turned down an offer to head an international Protestant alliance. But beginning in 1610 a series of events changed his mind. In that year Henry IV of France was assassinated, and events following his death, especially a Franco-Spanish marriage treaty settled in March 1611, led James to worry seriously enough about an international Catholic conspiracy to resolve to take action against it. In 1608 the Protestant Union, an alliance of German princes, had been founded with the encouragement of activists at the Palatine court, and in 1610 its presidency was offered to James. As earlier, he refused it, but in the autumn of 1611 he entered into a six-year defensive alliance with the Union. More important for our purposes he entered into an Anglo-German marriage alliance, agreeing to wed his daughter to the young Palatine leader of the Union. Historians today remember his scheme to use his children's marriages to build bridges between Protestant and Catholic states, balancing Elizabeth's marriage with a projected match of his son Charles with the Catholic daughter of the king of Spain.⁷ Moreover, the death in late 1612 of his elder son, Prince Henry,

6. *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996), 16–17.

7. For this view of James's foreign policy, see, e.g., Roger Lockyer, *James VI & I* (London:

tempered Protestant hopes by removing from the English court the most vociferous advocate of militant international Protestantism. James's willingness in 1614 to mediate rather than use military force in a crisis of succession involving the Duchy of Jülich-Cleves decisively revealed his long-term ambition to serve as a mediator between Catholics and Protestants, and not to enter into, much less lead a confession-based religious war on the Continent.⁸ And his unwillingness to support his son-in-law when Frederick, having accepted the kingship of Bohemia, was driven out of Prague and subsequently the Palatinate,⁹ effectively marked the end of international Protestant hopes for a strong military, religious, and political alliance between Britain and German-speaking areas within the Empire. Nonetheless, "the importance, even the negative importance, of this impossible dream," Patrick Collinson has pointed out, "can scarcely be exaggerated."¹⁰ In what follows, I want to look in detail at what Neo-Latin writers in Britain and the German-speaking Holy Roman Empire contributed to elaborating it.

Latin Texts by German and British Writers Published in the Palatinate

When they entered Frederick's territories, ceremonies and triumphal arches with Latin mottoes greeted Elizabeth and the young Protestant elector as they passed through Oppenheim and other towns in the Palatinate.¹¹ But

Longman, 1998), 140–141. For James' peace policies, see also *W. B. Patterson, King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997), 294–295, 306, 314–318 and Pauline Croft, *King James* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), 115–116, 173–175.

8. Simon Adams, "Spain or the Netherlands? The Dilemmas of Early Stuart Foreign Policy," *Before the English Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Politics and Government*, ed. Howard Tomlinson (London: Macmillan, 1983), 95.
9. For a good account of Frederick's deliberations on whether to accept the Bohemian crown, see Brennan C. Pursell, *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years' War* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 77–79, 86. In addition to Pursell's study, there are two recent exhibition catalogues on Frederick's brief reign: Peter Wolf, et al., eds., *Der Winterkönig Friedrich V. Der letzte Kurfürst aus der Obern Pfalz Amberg, Heidelberg, Prag, Den Haag* (Augsburg: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 2003) and S. Groenveld, *De winterkoning: balling aan het Haagse hof* (Den Haag: Haags Historisch Museum, 2003).
10. "England and International Calvinism, 1558-1640," in *International Calvinism 1541–1715*, ed. Menna Prestwich (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 203.
11. In the Low Countries they had already been regaled with ceremonies and poems that celebrated in Latin the promise of their marriage. In Amsterdam a triumphal arch represented Elizabeth as Thetis, the mother of Achilles, with a Latin stanza beneath the figure stressing similarities between the Greek warrior and her hoped-for progeny: Mary

the climactic welcome awaited them in Heidelberg. At the entrance to the town what greeted them first was a triumphal arch with a Latin inscription in a roundel over the portal: “*Dominus custodiat introitum tuum* (May God protect your coming in)”.¹² The most conspicuous Latin literary community in Heidelberg was its university, which entertained Frederick and Elizabeth immediately after they entered the town. Here they were greeted with four triumphal arches erected by the faculties of philosophy, medicine, law, and theology, each elaborately adorned with pictures and Latin inscriptions. Of particular interest was the last arch, erected by the University’s militantly Protestant theological faculty. Its front bore an inscription with two verses from Psalm 45. The first verse—“forget...thine owne people and thy fathers house (*obliviscere populitui et domus patris tui*)” (45:10)—seems to suggest that in marrying Frederick Elizabeth should give up her British identity and take a German one. But the second verse specifies what is meant: “In steade of thy fathers shal thy children be : thou shalt make them princes through all the earth (*pro patribus tuis erunt filii tui. constitues eos principes in universa terra*)” (45:16). The Geneva Bible (from which the English versions of these verses have been taken) interprets this passage allegorically, understanding the children as “the wonderful majestie & increase of the kingdom of Christ and the Church his spouse.” But given Frederick’s militancy within the Protestant Union the promise also admits of political undertones.¹³ And it was perhaps

Anne Everett Green, *Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia* rev. ed. (London: Methuen, 1909), 71. A poem addressed to them by Gisbertus Elburgius, a local magistrate and occasional poet at Utrecht, envisions the marriage as forming the basis for an alliance between Britain and the Palatinate, imagining Elizabeth bringing forth heirs to govern the German people and maintain their bond with the British (the poem appears in *Beschreibung der Reiß...* [Heidelberg: Gotthard Vögelin, 1613], 83–84; available on the Herzog August Bibliothek digitalization project at <http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=drucke/197-15-hist>). Even before the couple left England Hugo Grotius, the famous Dutch jurist and humanist who was in London soon after the wedding, composed a Latin poem commemorating their departure. A strong advocate of religious and political ties between the Dutch and English, Grotius seized the occasion to expand his vision of northern Protestant unity by reminding Elizabeth that by her marriage she will be bringing forth the descendants of emperors (*Cesarum nepotes*): *Poemata* (London: Richard Hodgkinson, 1639), 162.

12. *Beschreibung Der Reiß*, 136.
13. Regarding Frederick’s militancy, Mary Anne Everett Green notes that “the young Elector’s hope of mounting the throne of Bohemia was openly boasted of” by his entourage when they were in London, and that even James, rebutting the Spanish ambassador’s reflection on the inferior rank of the Palatine prince, asserted at the time “that he doubted not but that his son-in-law should have the title of a King within a few years”: *Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia*, 35.

to avert the dangers of such a course of action that a commemorative tablet hung within the arch. The German account of the couple's visit to the university concludes by recording the prayer on the tablet, a prayer that ends by asking God "for a rule that brings peace," not war, "for an age of gold (*pro pacifica gubernatione, hoc est, pro aureo seculo*)."¹⁴

To celebrate the marriage and the promise of Frederick's rule—he had become Elector less than three years before—printing presses in the Palatinate poured forth items in Latin as well as German and French. Soon after the couple returned to Heidelberg Heinrich Alting—a professor in the theological faculty and originally Frederick's tutor—published in Europe's transnational language an oration praising his pupil. Other rulers, Alting announces, imitate man's law (bad men look to Cesare Borgia; Augustus looked to Scipio, Pompey, and Julius Caesar); Frederick in contrast looks to the laws of God to govern him. Foremost among these is the admonition not to lead one's people back into Egypt. Using The Book of Revelation, Alting interprets the papacy as Europe's spiritual Egypt, the clear implication being that Frederick is implacably committed to resisting all Counter-Reformation attempts to win back the Palatinate.¹⁵

In his preface Alting says that Frederick asked him to bring together in print remarks originally made at a university convocation. In contrast to this officially endorsed publication stands an interesting body of texts generated within a circle of students that surrounded David Pareus at the University. Pareus had an ecumenical program aimed at uniting the Protestant churches in Europe, and the marriage of the leader of Germany's Protestant Union to the daughter of the ruler of two leading Protestant nations seems to have stimulated immense enthusiasm among his students. George Gömöri discovered a twelve-page nuptial hymn, *Solemnitas hymenaea nuptiis*, by Paulus Orvos Surius, a Hungarian studying under Pareus at the time of the wedding.¹⁶ The most interesting British link with this circle is the future Scottish theologian John Forbes, of Corse, who, as part of a continental European program of study, worked under Pareus between 1612 and 1615. Forbes wrote a Latin epithalamium to celebrate Frederick and Elizabeth's marriage and a year later composed a collection of poems to celebrate the birth of their

14. *Beschreibung Der Reiß*, 149.

15. *Oratio votiva pro auspicali gubernatione ... Dn. Friderici V. Palatini Rheni ...* (Heidelberg: Gotthard Vögelin, 1614), 17, 21.

16. Gömöri, "A memorable wedding," 222. Pareus' son, Johann Philipp (Johannes Philip-pus), also wrote a work celebrating the marriage and the return of Frederick and Elizabeth to Heidelberg: *Vota Epithalamia...* (Heidelberg: Johannes Lancellotus, 1613).

first son. The language of this latter work is relentlessly aggressive in its anti-papalism. James is bidden to delight in his new grandson while the Pope, that wolf from Rome's seven hills, groans (*septicollis gemit lupa*). And in another poem in the collection Forbes foresees the child as a future Achilles who will storm the new Troy of papal Rome.¹⁷

Finally, there is the instance of a Latin work printed in the Palatinate by a writer born and living in England. This is *Tractatus De Salomonis Nuptiis* by Andrew Willet, a well-known English Calvinist clergyman and writer, printed at Oppenheim the year of the wedding. Willet was an aggressive opponent of the papacy, but, in contrast to Alting and Forbes, his *Tractatus* goes beyond simple antipapalism to set forth the vision of a possible union between Britain and Protestant northern Europe. In a dedicatory epistle addressed to Frederick, Willet begins by observing that while English monarchs made bad marriages in France and Spain, marriages between English kings and northern Europeans have been successful. Here his examples extend well beyond the conventional boundaries of Germany. He adduces James' wife, Anne, as coming from Denmark, which (he contends) "is part also of Germanie." But he also cites, somewhat ominously, the marriage of Richard II to the sister of Wenceslaus of Bohemia. Then Willet opens out with two powerful Biblical images. Marriages between British and French or Spanish royalty are like the toes of iron and potter's clay in the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Daniel 2:41–42): divided kingdoms whose rulers, although they married, brought their kingdoms continual discord. Marriages between British and German rulers are in contrast like the uniting of the two sticks in Ezekiel's oracle (Ezekiel 37:15–28), in Willet's understanding, a union in which Britain and Germany, like Israel and Judah, should grow over the course of time "into one people (*in unum populum coituros*)."¹⁸

Fundamentally this union is spiritual. As the text for his *tractatus* Willet took the same psalm, the forty-fifth, which supplied the verses adorning the theology faculty's arch at Heidelberg. And as with their arch his basic under-

17. *Genethliaca Friderici V. Et Dn. Elizabethæ* (Heidelberg: Johannes Lantellotus, 1614), 4, 10–11. All copies of Forbes' epithalamium are thought by J. F. K. Johnstone (*Bibliographia Aberdonensis* [Aberdeen: Third Spalding Club, 1929–1930], I, 157) to have disappeared, but copies survive in Germany at Dresden and Zwickau (VD17 125.046125C). Another epithalamium perhaps connected with Pareus' circle is Joannes Gellius' *Epithalamium et gratulatio*, like Forbes' poems printed at Heidelberg and composed by a shadowy figure described on the title page as a student of medicine and philosophy from Edinburgh.

18. *Tractatus De Salomonis Nuptiis...* (Oppenheim: Levinus Hulsius, 1613), sig. A1^v. Quotes come from the Latin version and the English edition discussed below.

standing of the sixteenth verse—"In steade of thy fathers shal thy children be : thou shalt make them princes through all the earth (*pro patribus tuis erunt filii tui. constitues eos principes in universa terra*)"—is that these princes will be "all the faithful people and beleevers."¹⁹ More explicitly than the inscription on the arch, however, Willet's understanding is also secular and magisterial. Against the Catholic interpretation in the Douai-Reims Bible of the princes as bishops and priests, he asserts that the verse refers to "such Kings and Princes, which through the world should professe the faith of Christ" and goes on to refute the Catholic apologist Cardinal Bellarmine, asserting in a marginal note that "the chiefe regiment of the Church belongeth to secular Princes" not to the bishops (52). Ultimately, however, the conjunction of this passage with Willet's prefatory epistle suggests a northern European international Protestantism. The opposition in the epistle of "German" (broadly understood) to French and Spanish spouses is decisive. In contradistinction to all the texts thus far considered, Willet has in mind a union within a single church and polity of Britain and German-speaking areas of the Empire.

Uses of Latin and Vernacular Languages in Disseminating Texts

Although Alting's *Oratio* and Willet's *Tractatus* are in Latin, English versions of these works also exist. We need to ask now about the relation of the English to the Latin texts. Under what circumstances were they produced? To what audience were they directed? Whose interests did they serve? In answering these questions dedicatory epistles can be good guides. Alting's *Oratio* was translated by William Walker, who dedicates his version to Francis Russell, son of the First Lord Baron of Thornhaugh. Influenced at Oxford by Laurence Humphrey, the First Baron's will echoes Calvinist beliefs he acquired as a young man. And in dedicating the *Oratio* to Francis Russell, Walker seems to have thought that he saw similar beliefs in his son.²⁰ Walker was on more certain ground in his second source of support, Stephen Lesieur, who he says encouraged him to make the translation. A professional diplomat, Lesieur was in Germany at the time of the marriage mediating between rival parties among the various Protestant princes. His mission failed, in part after he was discovered to have donated 7,000 florins towards the building of a Calvinist

19. Like the gloss in the King James Bible Willet refers for his spiritual understanding of this verse to Revelation 1:6.
20. At the time Lord Baron of Thornhaugh. As the fourth earl of Bedford, Russell was to become notorious for his balance in dealing with various religious factions in the early days of the civil wars.

church there,²¹ a move that enraged the Holy Roman Emperor but would have encouraged the translator of a panegyric on Germany's foremost Reformed Protestant military and political leader.

If Walker's dedication indicates Calvinist sympathies with Frederick's cause, it likewise suggests the readership to which his translation was directed. He wants, he says, to tell "my Countreymen" of the Elector's governance. But more importantly he wants to congratulate "our Country," which has had so large a part in supporting his rule, and to praise James I, "truly the true Defendour of the Faith," for marrying his daughter to Frederick. From what he says here, Walker's translation was intended to support James' decision and people at the English Court like Lesieur who sympathized with the institutionalized spread of Reformed Protestantism. Exactly who his "countreymen" are is more difficult to determine. Potentially they would have included yeomen and readers of the middling sort. The encouragement of Lesieur suggests, however, that he thought an English version of Alting's panegyric would be effective even among better educated groups in English society: members of the gentry less comfortable with Latin than English and perhaps even some members of the nobility.²²

Although *A Treatise on Salomon's Marriage*, the English version of Andrew Willet's *Tractatus*, was directed towards a similar readership, the probable genesis of his two versions suggests that his overall intentions differed from Walker's. Willet's two works continue his concern for members of the British royal family sympathetic to continental Protestantism. He had been in service to James' son Henry before the young prince died, and he published a Latin text, *De Davidis fletu*, of two sermons lamenting Henry's death that was, like the *Tractatus*, printed in Oppenheim. According to the title page²³

21. B. C. Pursell, "Lesieur, Sir Stephen (d. 1630–38)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
22. Discussions of Latin literacy within various social groups in early modern Europe tend to be vague or inapplicable. The range and number of Latin texts inventoried in the Private Libraries in Renaissance England project as well as the sales catalogues for the libraries of British nobles and aristocrats (e.g., *A Catalogue of... Books of... the Library of the late Lord Dirltoun...* (Edinburgh: George Mosman, 1690); *Bibliotheca Scarburghiana; or, A Catalogue of the... Library of Sir Charles Scarburgh, Knight, MD...* (London?: n.p., 1695?) suggest, however, that Latin literacy was high among men in these social groups during the seventeenth century.
23. *De Davidis fletu pro Ægrotante Filio, et Fletus Intermissione eodem mortuo Conciones Duæ: Londini habitæ in Ecclesia intrea [sic] ambitum Turris ac D. Bartholomei Majoris die Dominico 6. Decembr. pridie Illustrissimi Principis Henrici, Potentissimi Invictissimique Jacobi I. Magnæ Britannia, Francia, Hibernia, &c. Regis Filii. / Primo Anglicè pronun-*

the texts were Latin versions of English sermons preached in London soon after the Prince's death. The compilers of the *Short-Title Catalogue* suggest that *Salomon's Marriage* was made from the Latin *Tractatus*.²⁴ It seems more likely, however, that, as with the sermons on Henry's death, the *Tractatus* was translated from the original English text. The title page of *De Davidis fletu* announces that Willet had himself translated the work, and it seems likely that he also made the Latin version of *Salomon's Marriage* from his English text. This suggests that he had a sufficient commitment to Henry, Elizabeth, and Frederick to shepherd through the press Latin versions of works memorializing them.²⁵ The *Tractatus* had an English printing and was intended to complement the vernacular text in England. The German printings indicate, however, that Willet also set out to attract a transnational continental readership to persons and values associated with the northern European Protestant alliance he so clearly wished to advance.

Given that Willet's Latin and English versions were crafted for different readers, Abraham Scultetus' publications show how sophisticated and precise this process could become. Scultetus was chaplain and advisor to Frederick at the Palatine court and from the time of the Elector's marriage to his brief reign as Bohemia's king preached a series of sermons that in Latin and English translations were carefully tailored to different readerships and occasions. The day after Elizabeth and Frederick entered Heidelberg, Scultetus delivered a sermon in German to celebrate their marriage. An English version was made at once and printed in London, but no Latin translation exists. The reason is that Scultetus was aiming his work at a specifically British and German-speaking audience. The German version was printed in the large German language account, *Beschreibung Der Reiß*, in which all the Latin texts are translated and which was crafted for a broadly based readership within the Empire. So too, the English version, conspicuously dedicated to James' daughter, includes an account of the royal couple's journey back to Heidel-

ciate, nunc plurimis in locis auctæ & Latine factæ in gratiam Illustrissimi Principis Comitum Palatini Per Andream Willet S. Theologiæ Professore. In Nobili Oppenheimio Ex Officina Chalcographica Hieronymi Galleri, M DC XIII.

24. *A Short-Title Catalogue...*, comps. A.W. Pollard, G.R. Redgrave, et al., 2nd ed. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91), II, 465. *ESTC*, the digitalized version, is more conservative, stating that of the two versions, "it is unknown which is the original and which the translation."
25. Of the four works by Willet with Latin versions, only his sermons on Henry's death and the marriage of Frederick and Elizabeth were personally translated by him. The other two works—*Papa Purus putus Antichristus* and *Synopseos Papismi Controversia Tertia Generalis*—were translated by Thomas Draxe.

berg and was intended to convey immediately to a potentially skeptical Anglophone readership the impression of how well received the British princess had been within Protestant Germany.

In contrast, a sermon Scultetus preached in 1617 to celebrate the centenary of the Protestant Reformation is a more general work and translations of it have a wider readership in mind. A Latin translation of the German text was first made to be circulated broadly within Europe's *res publica litterarum*.²⁶ The sermon's conclusion specifically beseeches God's blessings on Frederick and Elizabeth, however, in resisting "the most savage cruelty of the Pope [and] his adhærents." Like many of the German Protestant princes Frederick looked to Elizabeth's father for support, and accordingly an English translation was made²⁷ from the international Latin version so as to expose a broader range of Anglophone readers to Scultetus' representation of James' daughter's place within the historical sweep of what the English title describes as God's restoration of "the Doctrine of the Gospell ... in the fifteenth age from the birth of our Lord Iesus Christ."

When Frederick accepted the Bohemian crown and Scultetus became spokesman for the purging of sculpture from the cathedral of St Vitus in Prague, circumstances were much more pressing. In December 1619 Scultetus preached a sermon justifying the iconoclasm, the German text being published at Heidelberg and Prague the following year.²⁸ From this text came at once a Latin version²⁹ and an English translation,³⁰ both also published

26. *Concio Secularis*... (Frankfurt/Heidelberg: Jonas Rosa/Johannes Lancelotus, 1618). This Latin version was reprinted in a compilation of works made the same year by the University of Heidelberg to celebrate the centenary: *Iubilaeus academicus*... (Heidelberg: Johannes Lancelottus, 1618), 81–132.
27. From which the English quote has been taken: *A Secular Sermon Concerning the Doctrine of the Gospell by the goodnes and power of God restored in the fifteenth age from the birth of our Lord Iesus Christ. Made by the Reverend and Worthy Preacher Mr. Abraham Scultetus, in the High-dutch tongue. After by another translated into Latin, and now out of Latin into English* (London: William Jones, 1618), 42. This English version was entered in Stationers' Register on 6 February 1618/19.
28. *Kurtzer, aber Schrifftmäßiger Bericht von den Götzen-Bildern*... (Heidelberg: Gotthard Vögelin / Prague: Daniel Karel z Karlsperka, 1620).
29. *A. Sculteti brevis ... de imaginibus idololatricis Sermo ad Christianum cœtum Pragensem, cum ex ... regia Majestatis mandato, arcis templum ab ... idololatrâ feditate perpuratum reddentur, institutus ... die 12/22 Decembr. ... 1619 ... In Latinum idioma conversus a C. Kyferto* (Frankfurt: Jonas Rose's widow, 1620).
30. *A Short Information, but agreeable vnto Scripture: of Idol-Images. Made unto the Christian Congregation at Prague, when as, by his Royal Maiesties most gracious Command, the Castle-Church there, was clensed from all Images, on Sonday the twelfth of December, in the*

in 1620. Scultetus and Frederick's other supporters wanted to put his case before a wide readership as quickly as possible. Thus, there was no question of first making a Latin and then an English translation. Quite the contrary, the title page of the London edition proclaims that it contains a version made directly from the Heidelberg printing. As with Scultetus' 1617 sermon the Latin version of this one was aimed at interested readers within Europe's *res public litterarum*. In the coming showdown with the Emperor's forces, Frederick was specifically relying on the support of his wife's father, however, and the English version of Scultetus' sermon was in the haste of its publication meant to broaden the base of readers familiar with the reasons for his actions in Prague.

The same year a Latin oration supporting Frederick by the famous German poet Martin Opitz mysteriously appeared in an English translation.³¹ More strikingly than Scultetus' sermon the English version of Opitz's oration was tailored to an English readership so as to give the most sympathetic presentation possible of Frederick's case. The controversial status in James' court of his son-in-law's decision to accept the Bohemian crown is especially evident in the fact that neither Opitz's oration nor Scultetus' sermon bears any indication on their title pages of their English publishers.

Latin in an English Court Context

Texts didn't necessarily have to exist in separate Latin and vernacular versions. Thomas Campion in his masque written to celebrate Frederick and Elizabeth's wedding shows how a Latin passage embedded in an English work could be used within a carefully focused environment to advance a militant pan-European Protestantism that is thought to have been discouraged during this time at James' court.

Prince Henry, James' older son, had favored such a stance in advocating an European alliance against Rome and the Habsburgs, but with his death the preceding November Roy Strong and others have claimed that his militancy gave way to a spirit of conciliation and reconciliation evident in the wedding entertainments.³² A passage in Campion's *The Lord's Masque* suggests a more complicated picture of the situation. Commissioned by James for the

yeare 1619. Faithfully translated according to the high Dutch Copie printed at Heidelberge, by Gotthard Vægeliu [sic], 1620 (n.p.: n.p., 1620).

31. *An Oration to the...Prince Frederick King of Bohemia* (n.p.: n.p., 1620).

32. *Henry Prince of Wales*, 177; Norbrook, "The Masque of Truth," 95; David Lindley, *Thomas Campion* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 207.

wedding night festivities,³³ *Campion's* is an extraordinarily ambitious work with a double masque, an antimasque at the beginning, and an elaborate spectacle in place of the usual brief coda following the revels. The spectacle is especially striking. In it a figure named "Sybilla" appears, drawing (according to *Campion's* description) an obelisk symbolic of fame and golden statues of the bride and bridegroom. A song describing how she anticipates fame and keeps "the secret key of fate" introduces Sybilla's own words, which are in verse and in Latin:

Debetur alto iure Principium Iovi,
 Votis det ipse vim meis, dictis fidem.
 Utrinque decoris splendet egregium Iubar;
 Medio triumphus mole stat dignus sua,
 Caelumque summo Capite dilectum petit.
 Quam pulchra pulchro sponsa respondet viro!
 Quam plena numinis! Patrem vultu exprimit,
 Parens futura masculae prolis, Parens
 Regum, imperatorum. Additur Germaniae
 Robur Britannicum: ecquid esse par potest?
 Utramque iunget una mens gentem, fides
 Deique Cultus unus, et simplex amor.
 Idem erit utrique hostis, sodalis idem, idem
 Votum periclitantium, atque eadem manus.
 Favebit illis Pax, favebit bellica
 Fortuna, semper aderit Adiutor Deus.
 Sic, sic Sibilla; vocibus nec his deest
 Pondus, nec hoc inane monumentum trahit.
 Et aureum est, et quale nec flammis timet,
 Nec fulgura, ipsi quippe sacratur Jovi.³⁴

33. I. A. Shapiro, "Introduction," in *A Book of Masques*, eds. T. J. B. Spencer and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 97.

34. "The beginning is owing rightly to lofty Jove; let him give force to my prayers, truth to my words. The excelling light of glory shines out on both sides. In the midst of the structure, the trophy worthy of its glory stands and seeks delightful heaven with its summit. How the beautiful bride responds to the handsome husband! How full of divine majesty! She expresses her father in her face, the future mother of male progeny, the mother of kings, of emperors. Let British strength be added to German—surely, can anything equal it? One mind, one faith will join both peoples, one form of worship and pure love. Both will have the same enemy, the same comrade in arms, the same prayer for those in danger and the same hand in battle. Peace will favor them, the fortune of war will favor them; always God will be at their side as their support. Thus, thus speaks Sybilla; nor is weight lacking to these words, nor empty this monument she draws. It is of gold, and such as fears no flames, nor thunderbolts: for it is consecrated to Jove

For our purposes the most immediately interesting feature of Sybilla's speech is the conspicuous presence of Prince Henry's militant pan-European Protestantism, explicitly connected with Frederick's Protestant Union. Peace may favor the couple (Roy Strong's point), but the fortunes of war will also favor them, with God at their side. And in contrast to the generalized pan-Protestantism in another entertainment staged for the wedding (George Chapman's *Memorable Masque*) in which James is envisioned as extending Protestantism to the New World, Campion specifically associates pan-European Protestantism's strength with the alliance of Britain and the German Protestant princes. A second important feature in Sybilla's speech, allied with the first, is that it is in Latin, not English. In all three of the extant masques written for the marriage, this is the only such speech. Why? The beginning of an answer lies in Orpheus' succeeding invitation for Sybilla to bless the newly-wed couple "in her native tongue, / Wherein old prophetes [you] sung, / Which time to light hath brought" (261). Campion's words make it clear that this is the Sibyl of Cumae whose oracles were enshrined in ancient Rome and, more important, who in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* foretold the trials that would face Aeneas in Latium. Something of the same authority is being granted to her words in his masque, framed by a recognition that they are spoken with the authority of "lofty Jove"—here as often in Campion's entertainment a figure for King James.

For at this moment James seems to have been content not to be presented as the peace-seeking, politically balanced monarch modern historians think that he sought to become. And he was willing to have his faith in the power of the Protestant Union proclaimed to continental Europe by putting it in Latin. Besides the lords and ladies who had been present at the marriage, those who saw Campion's masque and heard Sybilla's words included Frederick's attendants from the Palatinate, Count Henry of Nassau, and the ambassadors of the States-General, France, and Venice—all of whom would have been fluent in the language. It did not, significantly, include the ambassador of Habsburg Spain. The wedding dinner that preceded Campion's *Lord's Masque* was served in a dining room whose walls, we are told, were adorned with a tapestry of Elizabeth defeating the Spanish Armada.³⁵ And if only perhaps for this one evening, Britain was represented at the English court as

himself." The Latin text is taken from Walter R. Davis' edition of *The Works of Thomas Campion* (New York: Norton, 1970), 260. The English translation, based on Davis' version, is my own.

35. Everett-Green, *Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia*, 52. *Ad Thamesin*, one of Campion's earliest Latin poems, likewise celebrates the defeat of the Armada.

belonging to an anti-Habsburg, militantly Protestant alliance endorsed by James and openly articulated in Europe's transnational language.³⁶

Latin and Print Versus Manuscript Circulation

Campion's masque shows how because of its cosmopolitanism Latin could be used strategically within vernacular works to address an educated audience. But its ability to cross territorial boundaries was sometimes feared when it was conjoined with printed publication, and alternative means were available to control the circulation of a potentially controversial text. This seems to have been the case with the commemorative anthologies assembled by the universities at Oxford and Cambridge to celebrate the marriage. Their publication history is a conundrum. The Oxford collection, *Lusus Palatini*, received printed publication; the Cambridge anthology, *Carmen gratulans* (to give it a short title), remained in manuscript. Its twentieth-century editor thought that the contents of the Cambridge collection restricted it to manuscript publication, some of the poems in it telling James things he didn't want discussed.³⁷ But which poems might these be? *Carmen gratulans* opens with two poems that typify the tone of the collection as a whole. An epithalamium in Greek by John Duport, Prefect of Jesus College, concludes with the wish (in Philip Dust's English translation) that God "grant that this marriage of peace be a faithful bond of scepters and minds, and of piety" (II, 299). Duport's emphasis on the piety underlying the marriage and on its unification of the two realms points to the transnational military, political, and religious alliance many Protestants hoped for in the wedding. But his description of it as being a "marriage of peace" underlines the concern Roy Strong found in the literature produced after Prince Henry's death. Two poems by Andrew Downes, Regius Professor of Greek, go further than Duport in stressing the Palatine Elector's aggressiveness and ambition, praising Frederick as "a vigor-

36. Campion seems to have been less eager to have this message openly displayed in print. The sheer bulk of publications on the wedding indicates an active English market for the subject. But in the printed edition Campion's *Lord's Masque* is inconspicuously placed after a relatively innocuous masque written to entertain Queen Anne on a progress after the wedding, the title page modestly noting that his masque has been "annexed" to the entertainment for the Queen. Campion's enduring loyalty to the Princess Elizabeth after her marriage is evident in a flattering allusion to her in the version of *Umbra* printed in the 1619 edition of his Latin poetry: *Epigrammatum libri II...* (London: E. Griffin, 1619), sig. F4r.

37. Philip C. Dust, trans. and ed., *The CARMEN GRATULANS Adventu SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS FREDERICKERICI Comitis Palatini AD ACADEMIAM CANTABRIGIENSEM...* (Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, 1975), I, xxxix, xxiii.

ous ruler" (II, 299) and envisioning figuratively that, having made such a powerful marriage, his Rhine will rule over all other rivers (I, 4). But even here Downes is guarded in his claims, his Greek poem concluding with the wish that God bless the course of action Frederick has supported but that "it is not necessary, in foolish excitement, to say more with foolish wit" (II, 300). A number of poems in *Carmen gratulans* are more specific in praising the marriage as a union of two realms under one religious faith. Francis Nethersole is even bolder, envisioning Frederick in one poem as a vigorous and active young man who will undertake a military campaign in which he will be supported by *viribus justis* (I, 76).³⁸ But the overall tone of the volume is cautious. George Herbert's contribution (one of his first published poems) is in this sense typical (I, 85–86). In contrasting Frederick's bellicose look when he calls his people to war with the gaze he must now direct to his new bride Herbert's words towards the end of his poem extend—superficially at least—no further than the traditional contrast between warfare and love.

In contrast, in both its extent and tone *Lusus Palatini*, the Oxford anthology, is more openly and aggressively Protestant. In one of the opening poems Robert Abbot claims that the Pope will fear the marriage of Elizabeth and Frederick and concludes by prophesying that through her brother Charles Rome will be ruined.³⁹ William Godwin extends the theme, wishing that through the conjoined forces of Charles and this Rheno-British marriage bed the Pope will grumble and Christ's church (*sponsa*) prevail (sig. A4r). Hopes for a transnational political and military alliance between England and Protestant Germany commonly recur. John English sees in the marriage a *Anglo-Rhenensis concordia* out of which will come *Rheno-Britannus amor* extended politically as a long-range alliance between the British and Protestant Germans (sig. L3v). And Henry Seller, portraying it in terms of the widely used image of a union of the Thames and Rhine, expresses the wish that both personally and politically what God has joined no man will put asunder (*Hos nemo dirimet quos Deus ipse ligat*) (sig. O2r). Even Robert Burton contributes to the collection's aggressive spirit, declaring (in contrast to George Herbert's guarded tone) that a line of kings will be born out of the marriage of Frederick and Elizabeth that will rule all the world (sig. D2r).

Strident antipapal rhetoric is so common in the literature we have been ex-

38. In 1619 Nethersole was appointed English agent to the princes of the Protestant Union and secretary to Elizabeth, thus beginning a difficult career which Thomas Fuller thought remarkable for "his suffering in her behalf": see B. C. Pursell's article on Nethersole in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

39. *Epithalamia. Sive Lusus Palatini...* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1613), sigs. A1v–2r.

amining that it is difficult to imagine that the antipapal poems in the Oxford collection would have gotten it in trouble. In the changing political atmosphere following Prince Henry's death poems attacking Habsburg Spain were another matter. And in contrast to the Cambridge anthology these are numerous in *Lusus Palatini*. Some of the poems seem relatively innocuous. Philip Mychell brackets Spain with the Pope and the Jesuits, all of whom rage at the wedding and scheme against it (sig. O3v). And William Crosse praises Frederick for having made a marriage that Spanish and French contenders for the hand of Elizabeth both missed (sig. P1v).⁴⁰ But much lay beneath the surface. In the case of Crosse's poem, an offer by the widowed Philip III to marry James' daughter did in fact come to nothing in circumstances that annoyed the Spanish.⁴¹ Indeed, the ambassador's absence from the audience for Campion's masque was officially explained by what he understood as the snub that arose from these negotiations,⁴² and he certainly would have disliked being reminded of it by a mere Oxford scholar.

One poem in the collection, by Richard Randes, clearly crossed over the line. The context in which it is set gives the impression that Randes' poem is spoken by James' daughter, Elizabeth. And it is strong words that she speaks. The poem begins by bidding the Spanish to send another legation seeking marriage to James' court, thinking too late that deceit or a few miserly coins will be of use. Then the speaker taunts the Spanish with the defeat of the Armada. Send a new fleet, he tells them; along with its gunpowder, the papal curia will help you out since it has new devices from Hell. Go to Rome for your wiles and your marriages. Rome, the speaker concludes, will give you a suitable consort productive of shapes which, if you find them unsuitable (*minus*), just ask the Pope to change his sex (sig. F3v).

If nothing else in the Oxford anthology, Randes' poem was sure to give offense. In a letter dated early in 1613 Giovanni Francesco Biondi, an Italian convert to Protestantism, wrote to tell Dudley Carleton that "the Spanish

40. Cf. Crosse's poem in *Iusta Oxoniensium*, the Oxford anthology assembled to mourn the death in Prince Henry, in which he says that Henry gave hope of an *imperium aeternam* and puts his hope in Frederick and Elizabeth as well as in Charles (sig. M3r), a less common response in the poems in this collection.

41. When in a public audience in July 1612 the ambassador presented his credentials, James assumed that he also carried a message broaching the proposed match. Receiving no reply, James flew privately into a rage after dismissing him, and the ambassador, Don Pedro Zuñiga, subsequently wrote to Philip that he had been told that because of his silence the match of Elizabeth with Frederick had been concluded.

42. *The Works*, ed. Walter R. Davis, 232. There were, of course, other reasons, military and political, why he would have been unhappy about the marriage.

ambassador makes great complaints [concerning *Lusus Palatini*], and his people say that [copies of it] will all be burnt, which I do not believe.”⁴³ Biondi was, of course, right, but following up on his remark the famous Oxford librarian Falconer Madan discovered that Randes had in fact been forced to make a public apology before the University for his words.⁴⁴ More important for our purposes, in later issues of the anthology the pages with his poem were cancelled and reprinted with a mediocre, innocuous piece substituted in its place. William Cross’ poem suffered the same fate. And even the relatively harmless poem by Phillip Mychell underwent similar treatment, a copy of *Lusus Palatini* in the Cambridge University library having had a curious blank slip pasted over it (only one side is secured so that the slip can be lifted and Mychell’s poem easily read).

Beyond this haphazard censorship, a serious point underlies what happened to the Oxford collection and in the workings of Thomas Campion’s masque. The Spanish ambassador never objected to George Withers’ partisan *Epithalamia* written to celebrate Frederick and Elizabeth’s marriage,⁴⁵ largely I suspect because they were in English. Latin was another matter. Campion could use it within a classically-educated court environment to proclaim the Protestant Union’s aspirations. But the ambassador would by no means have been pleased in seeing Europe’s premier transnational language used within a university culture to circulate slanders against Phillip III and Habsburg Spain. Nor, as the ambassador’s attempt to have *Lusus Palatini* called in and destroyed indicates, would he have been happy that the collection received printed publication. When all is said, the sheer number of copies in circulation of a given printed book as opposed to a manuscript is important. And I suspect that when it came to printing the Cambridge anthology wiser heads at the University prevailed. Ultimately they were content to leave it in limited manuscript circulation, having decided not to risk the tempestuous fortunes that had befallen the Oxford collection.⁴⁶

43. R.C. Christie’s translation in “Vanini in England,” *English Historical Review*, 10 (1895), 254.

44. *Oxford Books, Vol II: Oxford Literature. 1450–1640 and 1641–1680* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), 72.

45. *Epithalamia: or Nuptiall poems...* (London: F. Kingston for Edward Marchant, 1613), sigs. B3r, C2v, D1v. Cf. also, e. g., Robert Allyn’s *Tears of Joy* (London: Thomas Archer, 1613), sig. A4r.

46. Harold Love notes that “censorship was at its most effective during the periods of unchallenged Stuart rule” and observes that the choice of scribal over print publication was often made during these times through the desire to evade censorship imposed by

Strengthening Bonds between English and German-speaking Protestants

Had the Spanish ambassador known about the German edition of Andrew Willet's *Tractatus De Salomonis Nuptiis*, he would likewise have been troubled by its scorn for Spain and advocacy of a possible religious and political union between Britain and German-speaking northern Europe. Among the Latin literature associated with Frederick and Elizabeth's wedding there are in fact several texts that raise this and other possible links with Protestant areas in the Holy Roman Empire.

The most suggestive possibility is raised in a poem by Edmund Stubbe in *Carmen gratulans*.⁴⁷ Part of a series by Stubbe welcoming Frederick to Cambridge, the poem begins by noting that whereas Hengest and Luther were both conquerors, the Saxon warrior overcame the English by force but Luther conquered them by the true faith. For this reason, Stubbe concludes, Frederick will find at Cambridge many memorials of his own people (I, 56). Given that in the early 17th century the theology of the English church was strongly Calvinist, Stubbe's stress on Luther seems odd until we realize that he sees him like Hengest as Saxon.⁴⁸ Uniquely in the Latin literature celebrating Frederick and Elizabeth's marriage Stubbe's poem is suggesting that race and common descent link England with Germany. In contrast, Andrew Willet's understanding of them as growing over time into one people is based on the tradition in international Calvinism that led the English to see themselves as belonging to a wider godly "international" not defined by membership in any particular nation.⁴⁹ And even George Wither, envisioning that the marriage

the state: *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*, 2nd ed. (Amherst: Univ of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 185–186. In the case of *Carmen Gratulans*, circulation seems to have been very restricted. Copies were presented to Prince Charles and Frederick when they visited the University shortly after Frederick's marriage: Leicester Bradner, "New Poems by George Herbert: The Cambridge Latin Gratulatory Anthology of 1613," *Ren News*, 15 (1962): 208. Charles' manuscript copy seems to have been lost, and Fredrick's copy was only discovered in the twentieth century in the Vatican Library where it wound up after the Palatine Library at Heidelberg was sacked by Catholic forces during the Thirty Years War. Versions of the collection may have circulated in manuscript at the universities. But aside from the manuscript now in the Vatican Library no other copies seem to have survived.

47. See Philip Dust's note for Stubbe's degrees and subsequent career (II, 176–177).
48. "*Hengistus Saxo, Saxo Lutherus*." In Hengest's case a bit of poetic license. Bede describes him as being a Jute.
49. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride, "The Trials of the Chosen Peoples: Recent Interpretations of Protestantism and National Identity in Britain and Ireland,"

“will the vniting proue / Of *Countries* and *Nations*,” assumes that Frederick and Elizabeth are now members of separate nations with different racial and historical backgrounds.⁵⁰

Stubbe’s suggestion is muted, however, and limited to a collection with manuscript circulation. More immediately striking is a commemorative anthology printed in London and edited by James Martin (Jacobus Aretius). Despite his English-sounding name, Martin had come to England from Germany⁵¹ and was unusual in bringing a transnational perspective to the commemorative anthologies. This perspective shows up in the material included in *Primula veris*, the anthology Martin edited for the wedding of Frederick and Elizabeth. Its title refers to the first stirrings of spring, a common strand of imagery used in the commemorative anthologies to portray a rebirth of hope after the death of Henry the preceding November. For Martin this rebirth meant a reaffirmation of religious and military alliances that Henry had supported and Elizabeth’s marriage now promises. And to suggest this reaffirmation he included a series of poems addressed to her father in German, Italian, Czech, Russian, Polish and Turkish (Figure 1). What unites these poems is an interest in drawing James into issues that deeply concerned continental European Protestants: the Ottoman threat (a subject of the Turkish poem by “an unfortunate Greek”) but also the need to resist the degenerate papacy and support Protestant communities in central and eastern Europe. A poem Martin contributed to *Lusus Palatini* concludes by urging James to

Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, ca. 1650-1850 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998), 12–13.

50. For this understanding of “nation” ref. *OED*, s.v. I.1.a. Wither’s lines are from *Epithalamia*, B3r. Ironically, Stubbe delivered a Latin oration welcoming the Spanish and Austrian ambassadors when they visited the University soon after Frederick’s defeat at the battle of the White Mountain: *True Copies Of all the Latine Orations...* (London: W. Stansby for Richard Meighen, 1623), sigs. B1r–2v.
51. See D.K. Money’s notice on Martin in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Money casts some doubt on his German background. But, as he admits, Anthony à Wood in his history of Oxford University describes Martin as one of “two Germans” studying with John Prideaux at Exeter College and notes that he “stiles himself ‘Germano-Britannus’” (as Jacobus Aretius, Martin so signed himself after a poem in *Eidyllia* [Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1612], A3v, a commemorative collection he edited to mourn the death of Prince Henry): *Athenae Oxonienses*, with a continuation by Philip Bliss (1815; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1967), III, 269; *Fasti* in *ibid.*, I, 355.

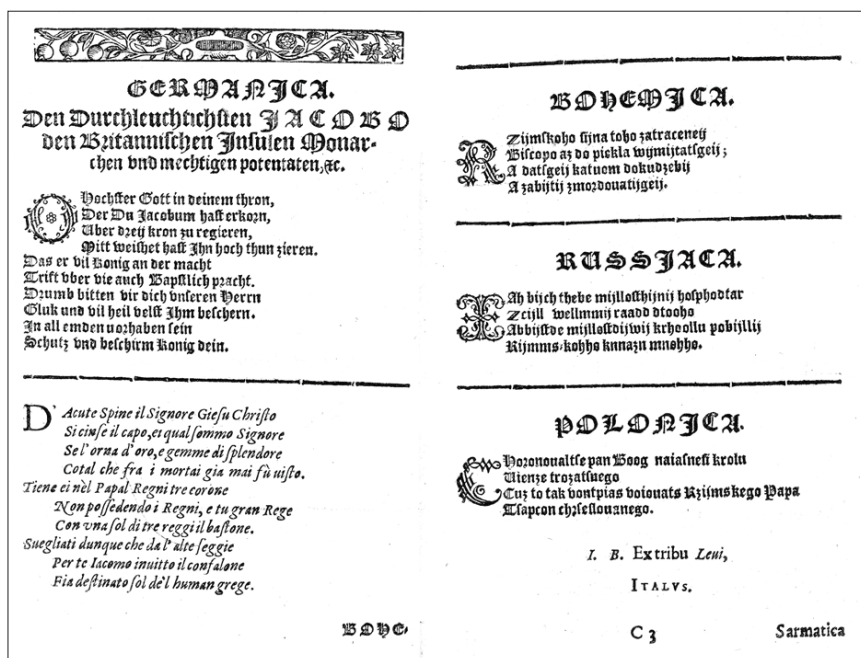


Figure 1. James Martin, ed. *Primula veris*. London: G. Stansby, Impensis I. Budge, 1613. Sigs. C2v–C3r. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

weave bonds of alliance with the Protestant German princes so as to beat down proud Rome (sig. E4v). The polyglot series of poems in his *Primula veris* extends the canvas, attempting to unite James with the interests of Protestant communities within and beyond the Holy Roman Empire.⁵²

If this group of poems suggests a place for the English king within an international, predominantly northern European Protestant context, an emblem contributed by Laurence Abell and placed early in the collection depicts the position envisioned for Frederick, the Palatine Elector, within this setting. Entitled “*Calum Palatinum ; seu Insignissimi Principis Palatini Insigne*,” the emblem’s conceit alludes to the orb carried by a monarch and varies the Ptolemaic model of the universe in a way familiar to English readers (if nowhere else) from the figure in John Case’s *Sphæra Civitatis*.⁵³ Abell’s two sets

52. Despite being claimed by “I. B. Ex tribu Leui, Italvs,” the poems are almost certainly by Martin, perhaps written in conjunction with colleagues at the University. There is a similar polyglot series in *Eidyllia*, in which four poems in Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic and Turkish are attributed to “Josephus Barbatus Arabs Memphiticus Cophéus.” James Martin/Jacobus Aretius was a man who liked to play identity games.

53. *Sphæra Civitatis* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1588), sig. ¶1v.

of inscriptions above and below the earth at its center have a chiasmic structure, beginning with Frederick's thoughts being not on mortal things but Heaven and ending with God granting him the Heaven he has always known (Figure 2). The basis of Frederick's actions thus seems otherworldly, an orienta-

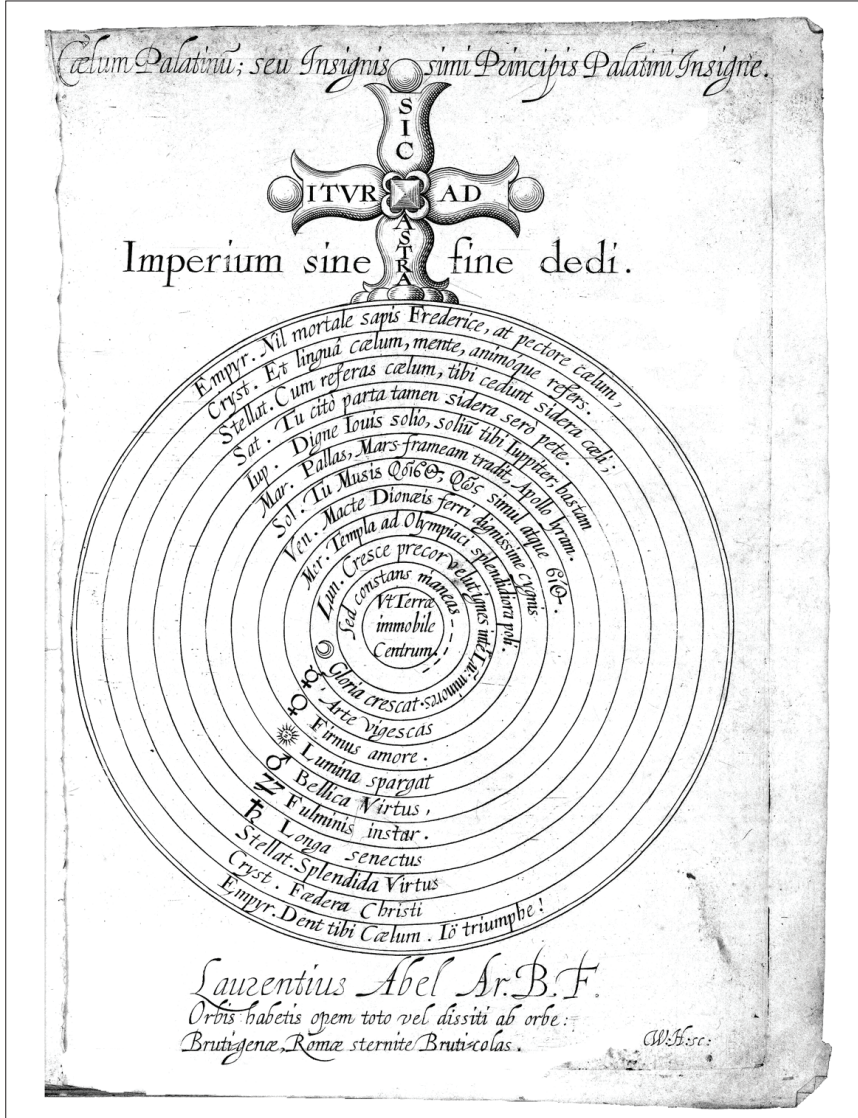


Figure 2. James Martin. ed. *Primula veris*. London: G. Stansby, Impensis I. Budge, 1613. Leaf unsigned, tipped in between sigs. A2 and A3 By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

tion apparently supported by the inscription—“*Sic itur ad astra* (thus is the way to the stars)” —on the cross that crowns the figure. This otherworldly emphasis is complicated, however, by the second inscription—“*Imperium sine fine dedi* (I have given them dominion without end)” —that frames the cross and stands above Fredrick’s *celum*. Any schoolboy would have recognized its sonorities as coming from Jupiter’s famous prophesy, at the beginning of the *Aeneid*, looking to Rome’s future destiny (*Aeneid* I.279). As with Aeneas in Virgil’s epic the words in Abell’s emblem have the effect of placing Frederick within the context of European history. Fredrick’s *imperium* may ultimately be Heaven, but given that he was an elector of the Holy Roman Emperor Abell is unclear about where it might also extend. Like “*sic itur ad astra*” —part of the god Apollo’s praise of Aeneas’ son Ascanius for defending his people (*Aeneid* IX.641)—the words link Fredrick with an imperial destiny implicated with his actions in the military, political, and religious world of the Holy Roman Empire.⁵⁴

Like Abell, Thomas Campion places Frederick together with his wife in an international Protestant adaptation of Virgil’s imperial myth. But in drawing the audience’s attention to the statues of the newly married couple Campion’s Sybilla concludes by focusing, as Kevin Curran has pointed out, on the power of the anticipated Anglo-German union as being vested in their natural bodies, not in the religious or even the political bodies they represent.⁵⁵ John Donne was likewise moved by the power of Elizabeth’s personal presence when, a year before her marriage, he wrote of his plans to visit the Palatinate before returning to England:

I go there with a great deal of devotion; for methinks it is a new kind of piety, that as pilgrims went heretofore to places which had been holy and happy, so I go to a place now which shall be so, by the presence of the worthiest princess in the world, if that marriage proceed.⁵⁶

54. Joseph Foster has a short notice on Laurence Abell in *Alumni Oxonienses*, early series (Oxford/London: Parker, 1891–1892), I, 2. Like Martin, he was at Broadgates Hall, the major source of contributors to *Eidyllia* and *Primula veris*. More than editing the collections, Martin was a major presence in them (Madan, *Oxford Books*, 62), and the proud way he alludes to “*Celum Palatinum*” in a poem towards the conclusion of *Primula veris* (E1v) suggests that he at least took an active interest, and may have had a hand in shaping it.

55. “James I and Fictional Authority at the Palatine Wedding Celebrations,” *Renaissance Studies*, 20 (2006), 66.

56. Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1899), I, 306.

Abell's emblem praising Frederick is abstract; for both Donne and Campion Elizabeth's presence is in contrast inspirational. In Campion's concluding exhortation to look upon the images of the two lovers and "honor...the life these figures beare" (261), the masquers and audience are being urged after his entertainment has ended to sustain on this personal basis the hopes he has placed in them.

At the same time Abell's emblem like Campion's masque endorses in muted terms the militancy that characterized Prince Henry's foreign policy and the German Protestant Union. Among the gifts that the gods grant to Frederick in his emblem, Mars and Pallas Athene give him the *framea* (a spear used, in Tacitus' *Germania*, by the ancient Germani) and with it he will achieve *bellica virtus*, excellence in war. This militant undertone is conspicuously absent from the most extensive Neo-Latin treatment printed in England of the marriage in Virgilian terms by a Protestant convert, Joannes Maria de Franchis. In the form that we have it⁵⁷ de Franchis' poem presents a council of the gods based on Book I of Virgil's *Aeneid* in which *Religio* complains to Jupiter that she has been torn and persecuted throughout the world by wickedness and Popish superstition. Jupiter's response (in the Virgilian model, the pronouncement that gave Abell "*imperium sine fine dedi*") is that religious reform and oppression will be remedied not by his wrath but solely by peaceful means. Reform is to be brought about exclusively on an individual basis. Free will is not to be changed by force, Jupiter strives not to use strength but *consilium*, good counsel, to insure that mortals achieve a heavenly reward (sig. C3r). Following this general description of his ways, he then proclaims that at present the chief means of religious reform will be by means of the marriage of Elizabeth and Frederick, a union preordained by Fate for the reformation of the corrupted times (sigs. C4v–E2r). Conspicuously absent from de Franchis' praise of Frederick is any mention of international Protestantism's militancy or his active role in the German Protestant Union. Above all, Frederick is praised for valuing virtue and the persuasive power of eloquence. It will be by these means that he will restore a vaguely defined Age of Gold and end Religion's oppression by Superstition and deceitful Rome.

57. *As De auspicatissimis nuptiis. illustrissimi principis D. Friderici...cum. Principe D. Elizabetha...Pöema* (London: William Stansby, 1613). This gives only the first book of de Franchis' three-book poem. An English translation of the whole work was made by friends without his permission and published as *Of the most auspicious Marriage: betwixt... Prince, Frederick...and the most Illustrious Princesse, the Ladie Elizabeth...* (London: G. Eld for William Blainchard, 1613).

Some Conclusions

Joannes Maria de Franchis was an Italian living in England, and beyond his respect for the temperate official attitude towards international Protestantism's militancy⁵⁸ his utter silence on the subject in comparison to the recognition of it by Campion, Abell, Martin, and other British and German Neo-Latin writers points to a fear that animated many northern European Protestants in the early seventeenth century. Diarmaid MacCulloch has pointed out that the St. Bartholomew's Day's Massacre in 1572 initiated an important long-term division in the destinies of northern and southern Europe.⁵⁹ As Protestants, northern European writers increasingly came to feel that they could not trust France, let alone Rome and the Spanish Habsburgs to insure their lives and that they should unite in their own defense militarily and perhaps even politically and on a common religious basis. This fear lies behind many of the texts discussed in this essay.⁶⁰ Tragically, it also was one of the causes that led to the outbreak of the 'Thirty Years' War. The hopes that many British and German writers placed in Frederick would seem to have been irrevocably dashed when after the defeat of his supporters at the battle of the White Mountain in November 1620, he was driven out of Bohemia and, later, the Palatinate. In subsequent English negotiations to persuade the emperor to restore the Palatinate a modern historian has described how "Frederick himself, under the ban of the empire, deserted by the Protestant Union, which by this time had been effectively dissolved, and forced to live on the charity of the Dutch at the Hague, played almost no part."⁶¹ Not that the voices raised when Frederick and Elizabeth married fell silent after 1620. Towards the end of his life Abraham Scultetus, who having fled Prague with Frederick settled as a preacher in reformed Protestant Emden, wrote a Latin apologia memorializ-

58. De Franchis sent a manuscript version of his poem to the archbishop of York, from whom he unsuccessfully sought preferment, and dedicated the English version to Elizabeth's brother, Prince Charles. De Franchis, who had been a Carmelite friar, subsequently recanted his Protestant conversion and fled from England with the help of the Spanish ambassador. For his extraordinary life in England, see R. C. Christie, "Vanini in England," esp. 24–52, 261–264.

59. *The Reformation* (New York: Viking, 2003), 311–312.

60. In 1613 the immediate source of this fear was the close relations that had developed between Marie de Medici, the queen regent of France, and Habsburg Spain after the assassination of Henri IV: see Patterson, *King James VI and I*, 155–56, 194 and J. Michael Hayden, *France and the Estates General in 1614* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1974), *passim*.

61. W.B. Patterson, "King James I and the Protestant Cause in the Crisis of 1618–22," in *Religion and National Identity*, ed. Stuart Mews (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), 329.



Figure 3. Thomas Scott. Frontispiece to *Vox regis*. Utrecht: A. Van Herwijck, 1624. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

ing the hopes expressed in his earlier sermons.⁶² And in 1637 Johann Joachim

62. *De Curriculo Vitae, Inprimis verò De actionibus Pragensibus Abrah. Sculteti Narratio Apologetica* (Emden: Helwig Kallenbach the Elder, 1625).

von Rusdorf, a German diplomat who in 1613 delivered an oration welcoming the newly married couple to Heidelberg, had printed in London Latin and English editions of an attack on the Emperor's transfer of the electoral title and revenues along with a defense of its restitution to Frederick's son, Charles Louis.⁶³ In issuing versions in English as well as Latin Rusdorf was looking for the largest possible readership in Britain. But by this time all hopes for a Protestant alliance of Britain with Germany had long since faded. Rusdorf's concerns are strictly dynastic (as Frederick's wife, Elizabeth and the Stuarts had an interest in the future of the Palatinate).

Arguably the liveliest texts to come out of Frederick's expulsion are by Thomas Scott and date from the early 1620s.⁶⁴ An ardent defender of international Protestantism and Frederick's rights, Scott was already notorious for *Vox populi*, a satiric tract that portrays the Spanish ambassador promoting Roman Catholicism and attempting to subvert the government in England. In the wake of Prince Charles' failed attempt to marry the Infanta and his changed attitude towards Spain Scott issued *Vox regis* in 1624. The engraved frontispiece sums up its argument (Figure 3). With Frederick and Elizabeth on their knees Charles is portrayed pleading their case before James. In response the King and nobles raise their swords, resolving to follow Frederick into war against the Holy Roman Emperor and Spanish Habsburgs. All in all, it is an interesting work. But despite its title *Vox regis* is, like *Vox populi*, a work written in English not in Latin.⁶⁵

Although the notoriety surrounding *Vox populi* forced Scott to flee England and settle in the United Provinces, like English writers before him he found Dutch printers to publish *Vox populi* and other of his works.⁶⁶ As his case shows, print remained an effective means by which to promote international

63. *Pomi Palaestini euaporatio... / The evaporation of the apple of Palaestine... Translated out of Latine* (London: A. Griffin for Joyce Norton and Richard Whitaker, 1637). The oration welcoming Elizabeth and Frederick to Heidelberg is *Oratio Gratulatoria...* (Heidelberg: Gotthard Voegelinus, 1613). Continental defenses of Frederick in Latin began soon after his expulsion. There is, e. g., an anonymous tract, *Evidentia Causæ Bohemicæ...*, issued without a printer or place of publication in 1626.

64. For an up-to-date account of Scott's life and works, see Sean Kelsey's article in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

65. *Vox regis* (Utrecht: A. van Herwijck, 1624).

66. John Dover Wilson has an important pioneering study of one of these printers: "Richard Schilders and the English Puritans," *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 11 (1909–1911), 65–134; see also Piepho, "Paulus Melissus and Jacobus Falckenburgius," 103. Scott's printed works have a complicated bibliographic history, for which see *Short-Title Catalogue*, 22064–22105a.

Protestantism in northern Europe. Latin, it would seem, was becoming less so. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, Latin and print remained a powerful combination in bringing together the Latinate community of Protestant readers in Britain and German-speaking Europe. From Laurence Abell's linkage of Elizabeth's husband with an imperial destiny to Thomas Campion's representation of an anti-Habsburg, militantly Protestant alliance centered in Frederick and Elizabeth to Andrew Willet's vision of a transnational political and religious union between Britain and Protestant northern Europe, printed Neo-Latin texts associated with the marriage of the young couple carried important aspects of Patrick Collinson's "impossible dream"—a key version of the international Protestantism that, as historians are discovering, continued to influence the domestic politico-religious discourse of Britain and the Protestant countries of continental Europe well into the eighteenth century.⁶⁷

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67. In several important studies Tony Claydon has pointed out how during the later seventeenth century the rhetoric of Protestant internationalism continued to coexist and interact with other forms of secular and religious rhetoric in Williamite war propaganda against Louis XIV: see, e. g., *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996), 126–147 *et passim*; *William III: Profiles in Power* (New York: Longman, 2002), 134–143. And Pasi Ihalainen has shown how into the eighteenth century international Protestant rhetoric wove its way through the sermons preached in the public churches of England, Holland, and Sweden: *Protestant Nations Redefined: Changing Perceptions of National Identity in the Rhetoric of the English, Dutch, and Swedish Public Churches, 1685–772* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 241 *et passim*.

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