The "Catalecta Petrulliana" and the Burman affair: Sex, religion, and feuding in eighteenth-century Netherlands

The *Catalecta Petrulliana* and the Burman Affair: Sex, Religion, and Academic Feuding in Eighteenth-Century Netherlands

Blanche T. Ebeling-Koning

In 1710, a small collection of Latin poetry was published in Amsterdam under the title *Apollonii Veridici Catalecta Petrulliana, sive Poemata selecta.* The author added a rider to the title "Lectu jucundissima" (most pleasant to read), and a fictitious printer: "Ex Officina Menandri." A number of bibliographical sources identify Apollonius Veridicus as Pieter Burman (1668–1741), Dutch classical scholar, professor of eloquence and history at the University of Utrecht and later at the University of Leiden. Christoph Saxe's *Onomasticon literarium,* a late eighteenth-century bibliography listing Burman's works in detail, refers to the *Catalecta,* but does not explicitly mention Burman as the author.[1] The *British Library Catalogue* cites the work under the name of the pseudonymous author only, not connecting it with Burman.[2]

A copy of the *Catalecta* in the Houghton Library at Harvard University has a note on its front flyleaf, written in Dutch, in what seems a late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century hand. Translated into English, it reads: "This little work constitutes one of the most vehement and scurrilous attacks on P. Burman of Utrecht, concerning the suit brought against him in the year 1709 by Dina van Spange, who claimed that her daughter had been ravished by Burman.[3] More than 20 different lampoons on the subject were published at the time, among

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1 Koninklijke Bibliotheek. Nationale Bibliotheek van Nederland. The Hague. Catalogus van boeken, no. 1465. *National Union Catalog, pre-1956 imprints,* vol. 85. Bibliothèque nationale (France). *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale: auteurs,* vol.XXI. Christoph G. Saxe, *Onomasticon literarium, sive Nomenclator historico-criticus praestantissimorum ... scriptorum* (Utrecht: G.T. Paddenburg, 1775–1803). August Beyer, *Memoriae historico-criticae librorum rariorum* (Dresden, Leipzig: F. Hekel, 1734). Emil O. Weller, *Lexicon pseudonymorum. Wörterbuch der pseudonymen aller Zeiten und Volker, oder Verzeichniss jener Autoren die sich falscher Namen bedienten* (Regensburg: Coppenrath, 1886). Neither A. A. Barbier's *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes,* 3. ed. rev. et augm. (Paris: P. Daffis, 1872–79), nor G. Brunet's *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes, suivi des Supercheries littéraires dévoilées* (Paris: F.-J. Féchoz, 1889), mentions the *Catalecta.*

2 *The British Library general catalogue of printed books to 1975,* vol. 9. The only other reference I have found is in an eighteenth-century bookseller's catalogue: Johann J. Bauer, *Bibliotheca librorum rariorum universalis. Oder Vollständiges Verzeichniss rarer Bücher.* Suppl. Vol. II (Nürnberg: M.J. Bauer, 1774), 378, where the *Catalecta* are listed under "Veridici (Apollonii)" but no reference is made to Burman. "Liber rarus" adds Bauer.

3 Dina van Spange (i.e. van Spangen), was the mother of Dina van Woudenberg. The latter is the patronymic given the daughter in the court record.

them *De Gewaande Weeuwenaar*, *Verzachtend Zalfje*, *Vroomaard's Ernstige Aanspraak*, etc. These *Catalecta* are very rare."[4]

The unknown author of these remarks suggests that this collection of poetry was not the work of Pieter Burman, in spite of what the bibliographies claim. Rather, the poems are about him and the sordid affair in which he became embroiled in the years 1708 and 1709. Dina van Spangen, widow of Jan van Woudenberg, brought suit against Burman for defloration, on behalf of her daughter Dina van Woudenberg, then still a minor. The proceedings of the case were published in Rotterdam in 1709. In that same year, Pieter Burman started proceedings against one Daniel Voet, a physician, whom he accused of slander and of plotting to dishonor him in connection with the affair.[5]

The *Catalecta*; the published proceedings of both cases, van Spangen/Burman and Burman/Voet; and several of the lampoons, among them *De Gewaande Weeuwenaar* (The Would-be Widower), a lengthy play in three acts that is undated, but listed in Knuttel under the year 1710, are part of the Houghton Library's collections. It was possible, therefore, to examine the Latin poems found in the *Catalecta* in conjunction with the events pertaining to the van Spangen/Burman affair and the Burman/Voet case as described in the proceedings and satirized in "The Would-be Widower" and other lampoons.[6]

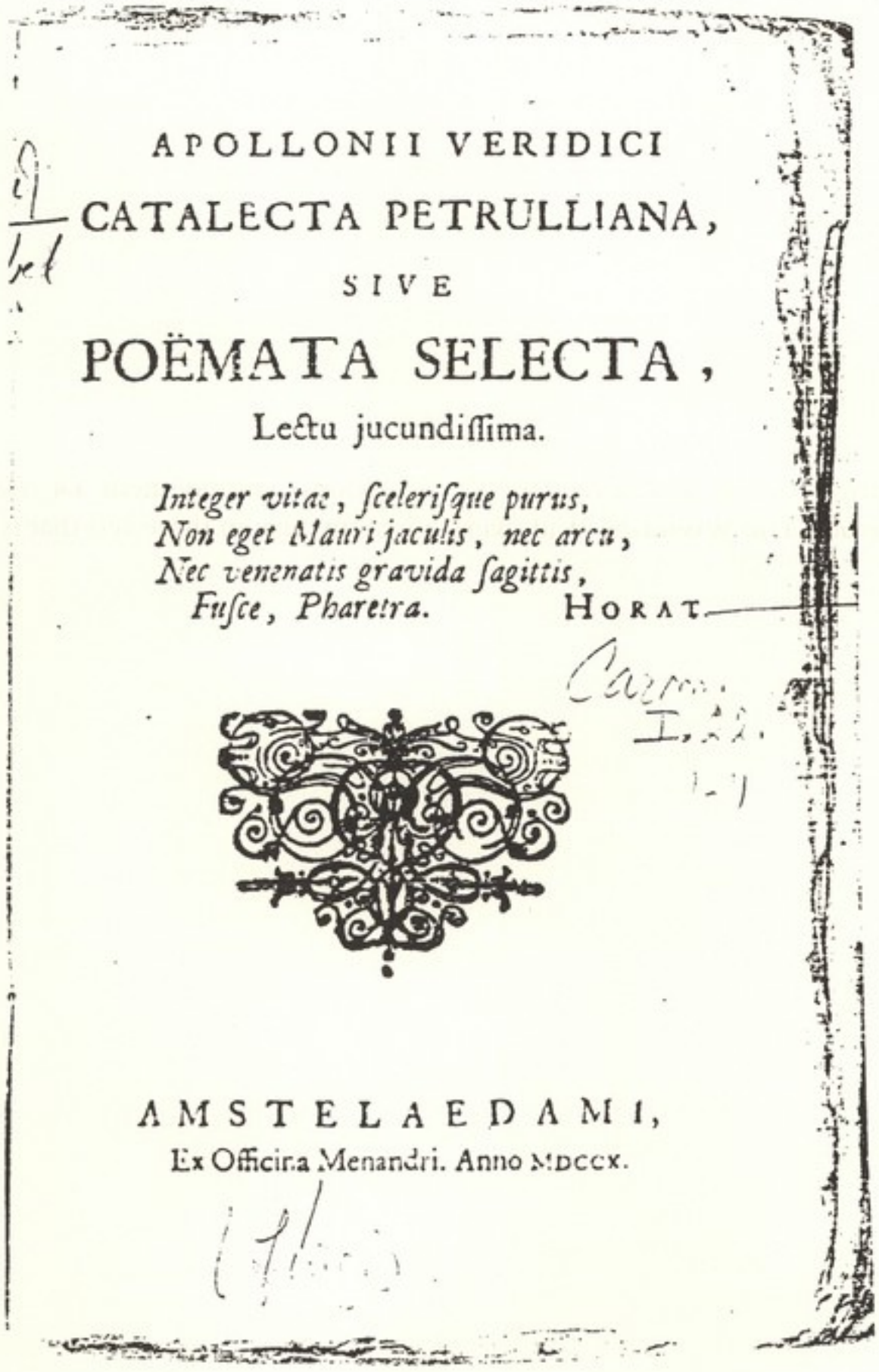
Briefly, the facts as told by Dina van Woudenberg before the court were as follows. In the summer of 1708, when she was twenty-one and working as a servant with a large family in The Hague—ten children and a lot of hard work—she spent a few days' leave to visit her mother in Utrecht during the summer carnival. One day she was accosted in the street by Maria Kok, the wife of the cooper, who fell into conversation with her, suggesting that there might be a better position for her with a widower with just two children, where the work would not be so demanding. She was to come the next day, to Maria Kok's house, to meet the widower and discuss the matter.

The upshot, according to Dina, was that she found herself the next afternoon in an upstairs bedroom in Maria Kok's house, with a man she later identified as Professor Burman, and several bottles of wine. Dina recounts what happened next: carnal knowledge ("vleeschelijk bekend" is the Dutch version). In fact, they did so twice, as stated in the proceedings, but Dina gave no indication that she was unwilling. She insisted before the court that she had been a virgin at the time, so that her case was brought as one of defloration. This helped support her claim, but worse was still to come. In November of that year she paid a visit to

4 *Catalogus van de Pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek bewerkt door Dr. W.P.C. Knuttel* ('s Gravenhage: Alg. Landsdrukkerij, 1900). Nos. 15825, -26, -27, *De Gewaande Weeuwenaar* (parts 1, 2, and 3) and no. 15829, *Verzachtend Zalfje*, are listed in Knuttel's *Catalogus*. The titles translate as "The Would-be Widower," "A soothing ointment," and "The pious man's serious address" (the last one not listed in Knuttel). The *Catalogus* will henceforth be cited as "Knuttel."

5 *Proces, geventileert voor den Ed: Hove van Utrecht tusschen Dina van Spangen, Dina van Woudenberg, Impten. in cas van defloratie. Ca. Den Heer ende Mr. Petrus Burmannus.* "Proceedings brought before the Court of Utrecht by Dina van Spangen, Dina van Woudenberg, plaintiffs, in case of defloration. Against Mr. Pieter Burman." (Rotterdam: H. Herts, 1709). Knuttel no. 15824. *Proces geventileert voor den Ed: Gerechte van Utrecht tusschen Petrus Burmannus in cas van injurien. Contra Daniel Voet, Medicinae Doctor.* "Proceedings brought before the Court of Utrecht by Pieter Burman in case of defamation. Against Daniel Voet, M.D." (Rotterdam: P. de Vries, 1711). Knuttel no. 15986. Although for brevity's sake I refer to these records as "court records" or "proceedings," strictly speaking they are an account by each party, prepared by a notary, to be presented to the court. The costs would be borne by each party.

6 I consulted the following pamphlets connected with Burman, or that had bearing on the case, in the Knuttel pamphlet collection in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague. I have listed the numbers only, rather than giving the often very lengthy Dutch or Latin titles: 15828, 15830-31, -32, -33, -34, -35. Knuttel adds that he believes Burman was falsely accused.


APOLLONII VERIDICI

CATALECTA PETRULLIANA,

SIVE

POËMATA SELECTA,

Lectu jucundissima.

Integer vitae, scelerisque purus,
Non eget Mauri jaculis, nec arcu,
Nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
Fuscе, Pharetra. HORAT.

AMSTELAEDAMI,

Ex Officina Menandri. Anno MDCCX.

The Houghton Library, Harvard College Library

the Professor's house, to tell him that she was pregnant, that he was the father of the child, and that she wanted financial assistance.

By January 1709, the first date entered in the court record, the professor had made no move to acknowledge her claim; instead, he had decided to fight back. A few weeks earlier, Burman had initiated proceedings against one Daniel Voet, a physician, for slander and defamation. He accused Voet of being the chief source of the rumors then flying around town about the girl's pregnancy and his supposed role in the affair. Voet was using Dina and her mother as instruments, out of personal malice and a desire for revenge, in an attempt to destroy Burman's honor and good name.

Burman was forty-two years old at the time, considered a respectable citizen, a professor and scholar of some repute, married and the father of ten children,

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only two of which survived infancy. The professor had been somewhat of a prodigy, to judge by Dr. Johnson's *Life* of him, for he was admitted to the university when he was just thirteen years old.[7] There he studied classical philology under the tutelage of the famous scholar and teacher, Johan Graevius. In 1688 he received the doctor of law degree from the University of Utrecht. At the urging of Graevius, he was made professor of eloquence and history at the University in 1696, to which was soon added the professorship of Greek. The suit brought against him seems not to have harmed his professional reputation, for in 1715 he

7 Samuel Johnson, "The Life of Peter Burman," *The Gentleman's Magazine* 12.4(1742):206-07.

was appointed to the chair of history, Greek language, and eloquence at the University of Leiden, to succeed Perizonius (Jacob Voorbroek).

Throughout his long life, Burman wrote and published prodigiously; Saxe's Onomasticon, V. 466-477, lists twelve pages of his works. He edited many classical authors, wrote a manual on Roman antiquities, a volume of Latin occasional poetry, numerous orations and laudatory addresses, and one work of enduring importance, entitled Sylloges epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum, which he published in 1724.[8] His fame as a scholar had spread beyond his native land. When he lectured, the audience was said to be so numerous that it overflowed the auditorium. In short, the picture one gets of Burman from the biographies and the subject matter of his publications, is that of a man at once erudite, witty, clever, pedantic, arrogant, and opinionated, with a strong sense of his own high worth. The author of the entry on Burman in the Nouvelle Biographie Universelle says of him: "Il se fit quelques ennemis par son caractère violent, emporté, tranchant et irascible."[9] This characterization is confirmed by reading the extraordinarily revealing court records. Burman was a man quick to take offense, equally quick to give it, and with a streak of the kind of abusive quarrelsomeness demonstrated by many scholars through the centuries.[10]

The charge brought against him by Dina and her mother was categorically denied by Burman, who declared every part of it a complete falsehood. His wife testified that on the fateful day she had been with him all afternoon. Burman insisted that the girl and her mother were the tools of unscrupulous persons, one in particular, who sought to harm him. How else would an ignorant, unlettered girl, whose mother lived on the public dole and on what she could make as a whore, dare take to court a man of his standing and reputation? The case was not handled *pro deo,* which meant that there was someone behind these charges, willing to bear the expense. Burman had identified Daniel Voet as that person, and sued him accordingly.

There were numerous scholars or colleagues with whom Burman had engaged in heated disputes that survive in his many writings, and who as a consequence might wish to harm him, but the case against Daniel Voet gains substance when the history of the longstanding feud between the Burman and Voet families is examined.[11] It went back two generations, originating in a theological dispute

8 Modern historians of classical scholarship have not rated Burman's editions of the classics very highly. See E. J. Kenney, *The classical text. Aspects of editing in the age of the printed book* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 115; and U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *History of Classical Scholarship,* trans. H. Lloyd-Jones (London: Duckworth, 1982), 73: "No important work was done on manuscripts, and the textual criticism was often slapdash, with a few lucky hits among a sad mass of blunders. There were some better men at work than the notorious Burman." J.E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (New York: Hafner, 1964), 2: 445: "His editions are overloaded by a mass of ill-digested variants." Lucian Muller's *Geschichte der klassischen Philologie in den Niederlanden* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1869), devotes four pages (55-59) to Burman; he is not complimentary.

9 *Nouvelle biographie universelle depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1853), 7:850-51.

10 Some examples come to mind easily: Denis Lambin's bitterly angry denunciation in his 1570 edition of Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura*—justifiably so—of Hubert van Giffen who had stolen Lambin's emendations for his own edition of Lucretius. Or, A. E. Housman's introduction to his edition of Manilius's *Astronomicon* that blasts every previous editor except Scaliger.

11 One of Burman's more notable disputes involved him with Richard Bentley, the great English classical scholar, and Jean Le Clerc, theologian and professor at the Remonstrant Seminary in Amsterdam. Le Clerc had criticized some of Bentley's work on Cicero. Bentley, by far the better scholar, took revenge by tearing into Le Clerc's 1710 edition of Menander and Philemon and found Burman, with whom he had been corresponding, willing to publish his many corrections. Burman had earlier made fun of Le Clerc in his 1703 satire *Dialogus inter Spudaeum et Goralium* (Knuttel no. 15052), criticized him in the preface to his edition of Petronius in 1709, in a 1710 pamphlet entitled *Le Gazettier Menteur ou Mrs. le Clerc convaincu de Mensonge et de Calomni par Pierre Burman,* and in the introduction to the Menander.

between Gijsbert Voet and Frans Burman, the grandfather of Daniel Voet and the father of Pieter Burman. The quarrel was aggravated by the complex network of political relationships between the municipal government of Utrecht, powerful regents, and the Reformed church. As always, politics, religion, and bigotry combined to form a volatile mix. When the University of Utrecht opened its doors in 1636, a new arena was added in which the pro-Reformed church protagonists could do battle with the "godless," more liberal-minded thinkers in their midst.

Gisbertus Voetius (the Latinized but generally accepted form of his name) was the foremost of the University's theologians and teachers for many years, appointed as Rector Magnificus in 1642, and supported by his son and grandson, Paul and Johan, in the faculties of law and philosophy. His doctrinal theories, underwritten by the church council, virtually ruled the policies of the academy, to such an extent that it had been dubbed the "Academia Voetiana." He was a man of iron will, convinced of the righteousness of his strictly orthodox interpretation of Calvinist dogma; this unusually powerful figure was mockingly referred to as the "Pope of Utrecht."[12]

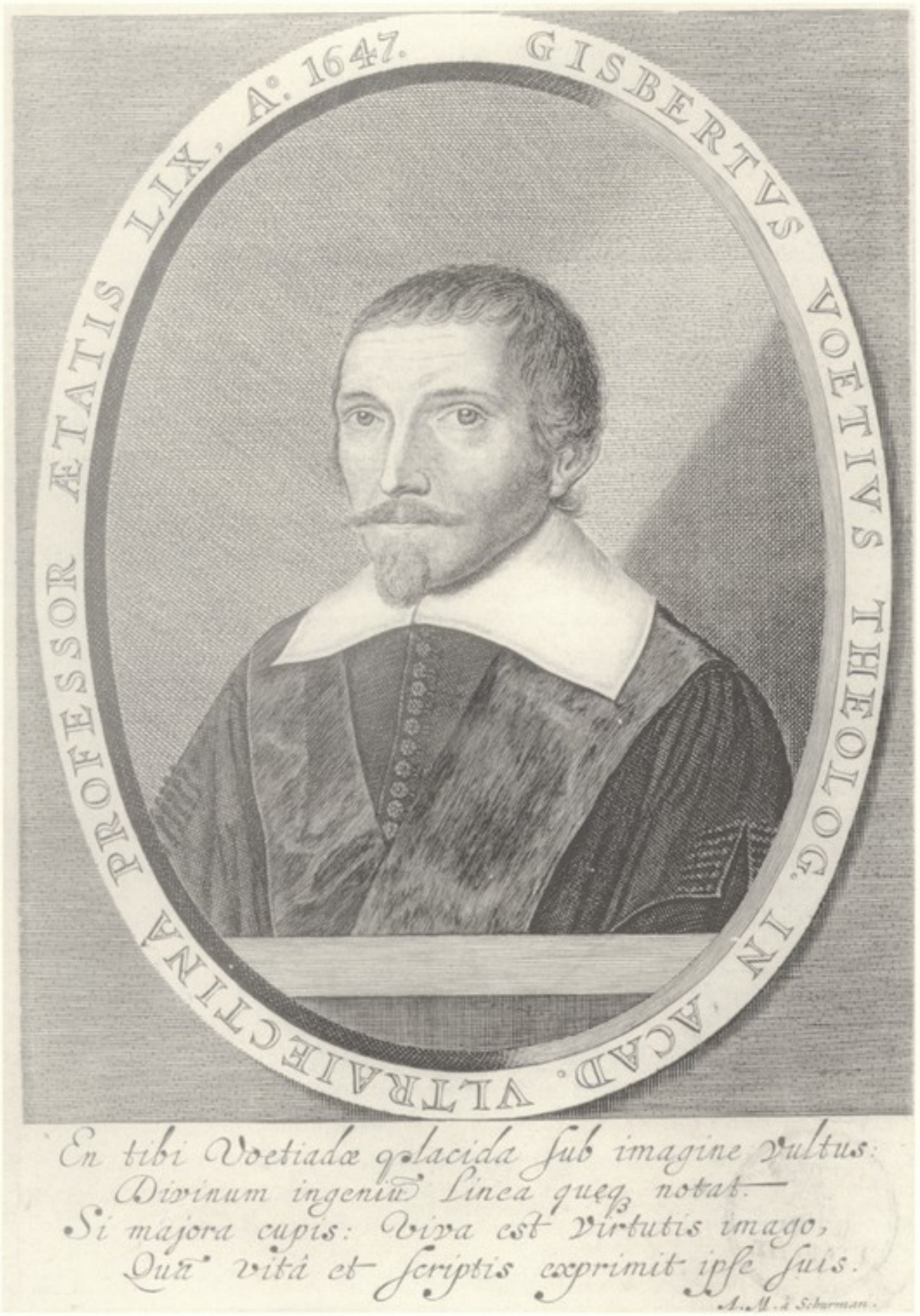
On the other side of the arena stood a far more powerful thinker, the French philosopher René Descartes, attracted to the newly founded university by the Dutch philosopher Henricus Renerius, and the subject of an interview in April 1648 with Frans Burman.[13] Voetius and Descartes were poles apart in their philosophical and theological thinking, leading to strife which their adherents continued into the next century. Caught in the middle was Frans Burman, who had been appointed in 1662 to the theological faculty.

Voetius had been exposed as the author of a vicious attack on Descartes—hiding behind the pen name of one of his former students, he had called the philosopher an atheist, a Jesuit (far more damning than being a mere atheist) and a charlatan. Still, he succeeded in holding at bay the threat of Cartesian doctrine then invading some of the faculties, until a new theological trend developed under the influence of the Cartesian drive towards renewal. It was named Cocceianism, after Professor Johannes Cocceius, appointed theologian at the University of Leiden in 1649, a development for which Frans Burman became a spokesman. Once more Voetius exerted his considerable influence, putting the mild-tempered and peace-loving senior Burman under constant pressure, forcing him to endure attacks from which he seems to have suffered a great deal. Voetius died in 1676, Burman just three years later in 1679, when his son Pieter was only eleven years old.[14] The enmity of the orthodox Voetians, the Cartesians and the

12 This nickname was first used by Louis Dumoulin, (also known as Ludovicus Molinaeus and Ludiomaeus Colvinus), who wrote a tract entitled *Papa Ultrajectinus* (i.e. the Pope of Utrecht), *seu Mysterium iniquitatis reductum a clarissimo viro Gisberto Voetio* (London: Thomas Roycrof, 1668), in response to Voetius's *Politia ecclesiastica*, objecting to the latter's high-handed exposition concerning the relationship of clergy and secular magistrates. According to Molinaeus, Voetius had copied the Roman Catholic notions of an all-powerful clergy, "De potestate, politia et canonibus ecclesiarum," reducing the secular polity to underlings. The name was quickly adopted, one finds it often referred to when Gisbertius Voetius is mentioned.

13 See John Cottingham, *Descartes' Conversation with Burman, translated with introduction and commentary by John Cottingham* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

14 I have tried to sum up in a few paragraphs some aspects of the complex history of the university's first fifty years and its relationship with the clerical and municipal authorities. For more details, see chapters 7 and 8 of Dr. J. E. A. L. Struick's study *Utrecht door de eeuwen heen* (Utrecht through the centuries. Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1968), and pp. 219-24 for the struggle between Voetius and Frans Burman. Also Jonathan Israel's *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). For a biography of Gisbertus Voetius, see A.C. Duker. *Gisbertus Voetius* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1897-1914), 3 vols.



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followers of Cocceius was handed down to the sons who carried on the tradition. Pieter Burman spent a lifetime bitterly resentful of the manner in which his father had been maligned and reviled by the Voet family and their adherents.

The city of Utrecht was (and still is) the capital of the province of that name. In the early eighteenth century it was in some ways still a medieval city, with its town walls intact, and city gates that were closed at night, a place where people lived in a physical proximity hard to imagine in this age of spreading suburbs. The proceedings of the Burman/Voet case, which fill ninety-one tightly printed

pages, provide a remarkably clear social panorama of this provincial community, made up of closely intertwined lives. A hierarchy of rank and class dominated all interactions, supporting Burman's claim that an illiterate from the dregs of society would not dare challenge a man of his rank in court.

Besides Daniel Voet, some half dozen persons are named as playing a role in the chain of events. Most important is the physician Dr. Huybert van Wijkersloot, to whom Dina first confessed that the professor was the father of her child. In spite of the serious nature of the accusations, the court record conveys a sense of characters engaged in a comedy of sorts, a musical-chairs kind of farce, extremely revealing with regard to the social and cultural status of the participants. Since gossip and hearsay were the only evidence, those named in the proceedings were anxious to point to some one else, rank or status permitting, of having been the first to spread the story, talked about it in public, or joked about it in the lecture halls and the market place.

No matter who first began the tale, the news of the professor's "problem" apparently spread like wildfire. Everyone, from the Rector Magnificus to the lowest of the professor's own servants, is likely to have had a good laugh at his expense. The court record makes clear Burman's feelings that he had become the laughing stock of his native town. To add injury to insult, if Dina's case were upheld, he would have to pay her the enormous sum of three thousand florins for the loss of her virginity, three hundred for the delivery, and a fixed sum for years of upkeep for the child (the amount to be doubled in case of twins!). For a man of Burman's arrogant, fiery temperament, the entire affair must have chafed him unbearably.

Any attempt to comprehend the nature of the *Catalecta* must be based on the foregoing outline of events and persons involved. It is essential to an interpretation of the many allusions in the poems and to an understanding of the author's frame of mind, composing such an abusive work and trying to pass it off as Burman's own creation.

The author chose the pseudonym "Apollonius" possibly because in Cicero's *De Oratore* there is a distinguished teacher of rhetoric by that name, thus making an easily identifiable link with Burman. Adding "Veridicus" (one who speaks truth), frequently done with contemporary pseudonyms, here, no doubt, was meant as a touch of irony. For the poems he used *Catalecta*, originally the title of poetry attributed to Vergil, but later often used for a collection of short poems, and added *Petrulliana* (about Little Peter). Right underneath the title there is a four-line quotation from Horace's *Carmina* 1.22: "Integer vitae scelerisque purus / non eget Mauri iaculis nec arcu / nec venenatis gravida sagittis, / Fusce, pharetra." In James Michie's translation this reads: "The good man innocent of sin, / Fuscus, may walk the world unharmed. / He has no need to travel armed with bow or Moorish javelin / or clanking, poison-arrowed quiver."[15] These are allusions to the accusations made against Burman, with obvious sexual connotations in the use of "purus" (pure) in the first line, as well as "gravida" in the third, for its primary meaning is "pregnant," one that springs to mind here because the form is feminine. The military imagery of bows and javelins, often applied to the

15 Horace. *The Odes of Horace translated by James Michie. With the Latin text* (New York: The Orion Press, 1963). Modern editions of the *Carmina* read the second line somewhat differently: "non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu." See Q. Horati Flacci *Opera*, ed. E. C. Wickham. 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

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male lover in Latin poetry of the classical period, adds to the picture, with the poisoned arrows standing for Burman's sharp pen, and conjuring up Cupid with his quiver.[16] Mention of the fictitious printer, "Ex Officina Menandri," calls to mind the Attic playwright Menander, whose comedies frequently have as their central theme the seduction or violation of a girl and the subsequent abandonment of her and her child, and to Burman's recent involvement with the edition of Menander (see n. 11).

16 J. N. Adams. *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 14, comments: "No objects are more readily linked to the penis than sharp instruments." This is true also for "gladius" (the sword) and "gladiator," the one who wields it, both of which occur frequently. The basic obscenity, according to him (p. 9), was "mentula" for the male organ, which is used several times in the *Catalecta* and in the two *Conspiratio* poems (see n. 23).

The dedication is addressed by Apollonius Veridicus to "Danieli Pedio" and "Huberto a Cavefovea," the Latinized versions of Voet (the English "foot") and Wijkersloot (Dutch for a stream or ditch bordering an area), which the author has twisted into two Latin words, both meaning a hollow or excavated place.[17] No reader, however, will fail to recognize that the author had in mind the two physicians Daniel Voet and Huybert van Wijkersloot, the one accused of slander and defamation, the other the first to know of Dina's pregnancy. The dedicatory text reads like a quasi-Ciceronian treatise on the virtues of "prudentia" and "constantia," in which the dedicatees are praised as "viris morum integritate ac doctrina conspicuis" (men outstanding for their learning and moral integrity). Apollonius quotes from St. Augustine, turning the Saint's use of "amor" as an expression of spiritual love into an obscene version of the Ovidian classical meaning of sexual love. We all know, he claims, that the passions are guided by love, like a prime mover.[18] St. Augustine expresses this so well when he says: "Amor meus, pondus meum, illo feror, quocumque feror" (I carry my love, i.e. lust, around with me, like a tremendous weight, wherever I go). Then Apollonius turns critic, condemning the scholar who wastes his time composing such "naeniae," i.e., poetic trifles, often of an abusive or erotic nature and precisely what makes up the content of this collection. It proves, he argues, that the author has no imagination and is lacking in virtue. The dedicatees are men of good taste, who understand and appreciate great works of literature, reason why he is dedicating this collection of *Catalecta Petrulliana*—which he has just condemned—to them. The dedication is such a twisted piece of writing, with the shifting author/editor/Apollonius roles, that it is sometimes difficult to grasp the author's intentions, other than excoriating Burman (alias Petrullus) and ridiculing the two physicians.

The author says at the end of the dedication, again quoting Horace (*Ars poetica* 333): "Aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare poetae." Poets wish to be of use or to delight, and that is ostensibly his motto, although one doubts that invective and offensive verse can truly serve either purpose. He shows considerable skill and inventiveness in his attempts to amuse his readers and execrate Burman, but his subject is fornication—sexual misconduct is too polite a term for his approach to the matter—which, in its biblical connotations, does not lend itself easily to comedy. He manages, however, to spin it into some three thousand lines of verse, with numerous mutations and variations, for all the educated world to read. It is written in a learned language, aimed at that section of Burman's world where, as an honored member, he would be most vulnerable. One of the town's pillars of propriety had been caught *in flagrante delicto*—so the rumors said—offering the author his chance to have the tables turned on the very man who used his capacity for erudite witticisms to ridicule his learned colleagues. Burman's pride in his skill with the Latin language is returned to him a hundred times over.

An affair with one of Burman's social equals might have caused comment, but not a scandal that would serve as food for ridicule and scorn by all, from high to

17 It could also be read as the Latin imperative form "cave," i.e., "beware;" "fovea" translates as "a pit dug to trap animals, a snare," and as "womb" (genitales feminae). This may seem rather farfetched, but this author likes to play with names. Also, the translation of "Wijkersloot" as "Cavefovea" somehow does not ring true; as a more literal translation of the Dutch "Wijkersloot" one would have expected the author to choose "vicus" and "fossa."

18 The quotation is from St. Augustine's *Confessions*, xiii, 9; in the Loeb translation of William Watts of 1931, it reads: "My weight is my love: by that I am carried, whithersoever I be carried." Adams, *Sexual vocabulary*, 71, comments on the use of "pondus" as a metaphor, particularly for the testicles.

low. As for dealings with a prostitute, no doubt quite a few men of his class did just that, without occasioning uproar, the idea being that all this was tolerated so long as there was no scandal. There are comments about these kinds of visits in the Burman/Voet proceedings; Clarenburgh, the local "red light" district, is mentioned by name. It seems likely that in retaliation for injuries of some kind Burman was set up for a swindle. Dina, the part-time prostitute, apparently was willing to lend herself to a charade of injured innocence, probably in exchange for some form of payment. More than that, she may well have seen this as a helping hand from Fortuna to foist onto one man the child fathered by another, probably a man she knew in The Hague, according to the local rumors, as mentioned in the Burman/Voet record. Characters and events set the scene for the author to have a girl from the lowest ranks of society, with a little help from an interested party, turn the haughty professor into the public comic figure of a man who could not contain his lust. He emphasized the farcical nature of the affair by transforming Dina, the half-witted servant girl, into an Ovidian courtesan such as Corinna or Propertius's Cynthia. Necessity may also have inspired this metamorphosis, for how else present a slut and slattern (Burman's terms for her in the proceedings) as the object of a burning passion? The author's sense of malicious glee, as he turned social norms upside down, must have delighted his erudite readers, or at least those who took pleasure in another's misfortunes.

A perceptive reader, perhaps confused by the author's assertions in the dedication that this material is without merit, might ask himself, why publish it at all? The "editor" answers this question in the epistle to the reader which follows. Although, unlike the dedication, it is not signed, it is clear that this is the anonymous author, pretending to be editor. There is no longer any mention of Apollonius, who seems to have disappeared from the scene. Instead, there is an assault on the character, morals, scholarship, and poetic abilities of one Petrullus Orbilius, presumably the Petrullus referred to in the *Catalecta Petrulliana*. "Nec scopus huius libelli est Orbilii amores, studia, ac errores decantare, quoniam jam lippis et tonsoribus notum exstat, quam imprudenter quibuscumque carmina eloquentia allatraverit Orbilius." (It is not the purpose of this little book to repeat the history of Orbilius's love affairs, his bogus zeal for learning, and faulty ways, for it is known to one and all in what ferocious manner Orbilius barks forth his songs *(Catal.* Praef. [2]). Burman is not called by name, but identifying Orbilius as "this professor of eloquence, history, and letters" can leave little doubt in the mind of his public acquainted with the facts. The nickname, Orbilius, would also call to mind Horace's complaint about his much-hated teacher, the Roman grammarian and orator Orbilius Pupillus, to whom he referred as "plagosus" because he flogged his students (*Epist.* 2.1.70). Apparently, that Orbilius, like Burman, was in the habit of attacking his scholarly rivals in no uncertain terms, reason why the author may have selected the name.[19]

There follows a summing up of the professor's vices: Orbilius has attacked others with his cutting remarks, shown himself ungrateful to his patrons for their benefices, and with supreme arrogance has denied to the court all his whoring ("scortationes suas"). He is lazy and idle and has neglected his duties as lecturer.

19 The Latin "orbus" can also be interpreted as "bereft" or "deprived of," especially of something of value; although it refers particularly to parental loss of a child, it can also be a synonym of "viduus", i.e., widowed.

There are now only a few students, paid to come and listen to his discourses, where once Graevius (Burman's predecessor) had a huge audience, including foreign scholars. "Go on, Petrullus," says the editor, "carry on with your vicious attacks, write satire, continue your whoring, drinking, and gambling; all that is suitable for a professor of eloquence, history, and literature." ("Agedum, Petrulle, convitiari perge, satyras compone, scortari, bacchari, alea ludere ne dubites ... hoc enim professorem eloquentiae, politices, & litterarum decet." (*Catal.* Praef.[2]).[20]

Publishing the literary effusions of such a man might well seem unnecessary, since Orbilius has become the object of everyone's mockery and laughter ("omniumque risui & ludibrio expositus"). The author, a prime example of the holier-than-thou school of thought, believes it his duty to expose to the world the work of this man who has "vomited forth satire full of filth and disordered speech," which will now be brought to light (satyram omni spurcitie & incondito sermone refertissimam evomit, *Catal.* Praef.[3]). There is a great deal more of this nature in the preface. Suffice it to say that after condemning the poet's prosody as puerile, and ordering this "Ovidiaster" to betake himself to Ultima Thule, the author at last allows the reader to dip into these titillating trifles.

The collection consists of twenty-one long poems, each of approximately ninety to one hundred and thirty lines, interspersed with twenty or so "epigrammata," of two, four, or six lines, in the style of Martial's epigrams. Each poem is composed in Ovid's favorite meter, the elegiac couplet, consisting of a hexameter followed by a pentameter. In the first poem, Orbilius, identified in the poem's heading as "Orbilius Petrullus B.", addresses "Galantissimae Mariae Cupreae," i.e., Maria Kok, the wife of the cooper (hence the Latinized form "cuprea" of her husband's surname Kuiper), at whose house Dina had first met with Burman. The author has given her the role of Dipsas the procuress, copied from Ovid's *Amores* I.viii. She was a prostitute when she was young, now that she is old she acts for others and teaches the girls the art of how to snare a lover: "Artes illa docet/ Illa puellarum salientem pollice venam / Tentat, & officium Dipsadis illa facit" (*Catal.* 1: and with her guidance reveals what lies hidden / as she checks the pulse of the girls and does the work of Dipsas). The scene shifts to the lover, expressing his yearning in language and imagery reminiscent of the *Amores* : Lena igitur cum sis, noctem concede torumque / Est mihi, qua caleo, bellula, bella movet, / Illius exorat facies placidissima amorem, / Est violenta genis, fronte Diana trahit: / Candida cum video nigris ornata capillis / Colla, minor flammis sum miser ecce meis. / Lumina dum specto, totidem radiantia cerno / Astra, mamillarum forma nitorque rapit" (*Catal.* 2: Since you are a procuress, provide me a bed for the night. I have a little beauty for whom I am burning with passion, she stirs up war—the author is playing on the Latin "bellula" and "bella", the words for beauty and war—her very pleasing face persuades to love. Diana allures with her lively cheeks and brow; when I see her white throat and dark hair, behold me, wretched as I am, threatened by my burning passion. When I look in her eyes, I see as many radiant stars, and the beauty of her breasts captivates).

20 I recognize the need for translating the Latin quotations but regret that the innuendo, much of the impact and many of the allusions are lost in doing so, whether freely translated or not. The Latin originals convey many shades of meaning in tightly organized, language-thrifty ways that the more explanatory mode of the English language cannot convey as easily.

This imitates the description of female seductiveness, whether the subject is girl, mistress, or courtesan, found in classical and neo-Latin poetry; Vergil, Horace, Ovid and Catullus would have been his major sources. The author, no doubt steeped in these works which were so much a part of the school curriculum, could compose lines like these with a fair amount of ease and, given a subject matter that offered ample opportunity for variations on the one theme, he would not have to look far for inspiration. Here the irony lies in the application of this formulaic description of classical beauty, meant to arouse the lover, to a girl who had nothing to offer, except the prostitute's form of sex. Dina, the slut, is here presented as Diana, the virgin moon godess, symbol of beauty and chastity. To complement the irony, the poet provides an original touch in the next couplet, including a line of farewell on the part of the lover to his wife and his marriage vows, not a notion to which the Ovidian lover would pay much heed.

The poem ends with lines which refer directly to the "Would-be Widower" theme with clear sexual imagery. "Sim viduus, viduus multa caloris habet, / Praecipue, si flore viget, si robore constant / membra, cupidineo sueta cubare toro" (*Catal.* 3: "I am widowed, a man bereft has much ardor, particularly if his strength is vigorous, if his member stand strong, as he is accustomed to lie in his couch, full of lust).[21] "Viduus," i.e. "empty," is also the root for the word "widowed", allegedly how Burman had presented himself. Finally, there is a coy footnote in very small print at the bottom of the page, part of which reads: ; Ao. Climacterico pridie Kullendas mensi Capricorni" (In the year of the climacteric, the day before the Kalends of Capricorn). The references to the climacteric and the horned goat are metaphors for sexual lust and need no comment. The spelling "Kullendas" is no typesetter's error (it should read "Kalendas" but is not listed on the errata leaf), but a pun on the Dutch slang word "kul" for the Latin "membrum," i.e., the male sexual organ.

The second poem is in the form of a soliloquy delivered by Maria Cuprea (Maria Kok, the wife of the cooper), the whoremonger, containing advice for each of the lovers and musings on how she can best profit from the situation. To Dina she says, what use is chastity, for if you remain chaste, no man will ever make love to you. She tells the male lover to act like Jupiter who visited Leda in the guise of a swan, "Jupiter in Ledam tectus sub imagine cygni ivit / & ex facto est facta deinde parens" (*Catal.* 6: a deed that resulted in his becoming a parent), a stab at Dina's pregnancy. Maria easily reverts to the pedestrian from her Olympian heights, for she next admonishes Orbilius that he needs more help around the house. "Verbis adde merum," she says, add some wine to your persuasions, no doubt with those two bottles of wine in mind that she had provided in that little upstairs bedroom: "Vinis est stimulanda Venus" (wine stimulates desire). Then she conjures up a picture of the passionate lover, using the heroic/military imagery of the horseman in the saddle, as in Ovid's *Amores* and *Ars Amatoria*, where it is frequently a metaphor for sexual passion. In these lines the lover is astride the creature of which he is master: "Heros qualis eris! qualis quantusque caballus, / Cum fuit in lectum jacta Diana meum. / Igneus illius, fervens, furibundus & amens / Diripies tunicam diripiesque peplum. Illa repugnabit paulisper, fortius insta, / Et temta vires, quas gladiator habet" (*Catal.* 6: What a

21 Adams, *Sexual Vocabulary*, 46: the use of "membrum" is largely restricted to the male organ, i.e., "membrum virile"; cf. also Ovid, *Am.* 3.7.65 as another example.

hero you will be and how much and often like a steed, when Diana has been laid on my bed, burning with passion, beside yourself with lust you will tear off her robe and strip off her tunic.[22] She will resist a little, push on more forcefully, and put to the test the strength the swordsman has). It hardly needs explaining that the sword is also a metaphor for the "membrum virile" (cf. n. 16). The imagery here is far cruder and more explicit than what is found in Ovid, making the reader aware of the allusions that vilify Burman and present him as a veritable Priapus.

The lover as hero imagery is continued in the next poem where the juxtaposition of the heroic image and its subject makes it particularly ludicrous. (*Catal.* 8:): "Orbilius Petrullus Bulmannus (sic), the great hero always triumphant," is now the dedicatee of a soliloquy by Dina Sylvestrimontana, alias Dina van Woudenberg (the Latin version of her name is a literal translation of the Dutch terms for forest and mountain). There is additional mockery here since, according to the court record Dina, the supposed author was illiterate—nescit litteras—and could neither read nor write. The subject of this epistle is the vexatious problem of the childbirth awaiting her, its form that of Ovid's *Heroides,* i.e., epistolary. Shall I speak, or remain silent, she muses (*Catal.* 8: "loquor an sileo?," shades of Vergil, *Aen.* III, 39). Should I write or go to him? Dina is now supposedly back in The Hague and therefore separated from Orbilius, which is the excuse for the exchange of the dozen poetic epistles which follow. She wonders if he will ask after her health and gives herself a straightforward response. Her health is not the problem, it's her pregnancy: "Forsitan, an valeam, quaeres causamque salutis, / Est mihi quod valeat viscere, mater ero. / Id quoties nostro se jactat ventre; salutat. / Te patrem, patrem sentiat esse suum. / Sentiat, ut sensi, cum te, fortissime rerum, / Excepi gremio virgo puella meo" (*Catal.* 8: Perhaps you will ask that I am well, and what is the reason for my health, it is that which grows strong in my womb, I will be a mother. As often as it tosses itself about in my belly, it greets you as father, it feels that you are its father, as I felt when you, with all your force, took my virginity). The hero imagery in the dedication is turned into farce by the description of the hero's sexual acts and even more so by the unborn child perceiving and greeting its father.

The dozen poems that follow, all epistolary in form, are variations on the separation theme. The lover Orbilius laments that he cannot do without her, sends up a prayer to Venus and father Bacchus and includes some detailed sexual reminiscences, with a reference to the carnal knowledge, twice, mentioned in the court record: "probâsti / Tempore in exiguo bis juvenile femur" (*Catal.* 12: When you proved with youthful strength capable of carnal knowledge twice in a short time. The Latin "femur," i.e. thigh, is another one of the many metaphors for the "membrum virile"). In the next poem/epistle addressed to "Dinula, deliciae Veneris, placidissima rerum" (*Catal.* 15: Little Dina, darling of Venus, most pleasing of all things), Orbilius makes a vow to offer to the goddess Lucina for a safe delivery for Dina. The quotation from St. Augustine is repeated once more, while Orbilius is enjoying a visit from Cupid, "heu quantum pondus amoris habet" (*Catal.* 20: alas, what weight love has).

22 The Latin "jacta" (fuit in lectum jacta Diana meum) and the English "laid" (when Diana was laid on my bed) can both be accepted in their ostensible meaning and in the slang version. Adams, *Sexual Vocabulary,* 177, refers to "iaceo cum" as widespread for "to sleep with, to lie with."

In spite of the author's brave attempts at variety, the epistles tend to become somewhat repetitive in their expression of the lovers' supposed fervent desire for each other, even though he sprinkles the lines with such an overdose of fake sentiment and prurient itchings that it all turns into farce. There is another allusion to Jupiter and Leda, for Jupiter's amorous exploits, ridiculed even by the classical poets, and always good for a comic element, seem to be much on the author's mind, forming the framework for Dina's reminiscences of Orbilius's sexual prowess (*Catal.* 23). What catches the reader's attention is the author's clever manipulation of the stylized, often almost formulaic phrases found in much of classical and neo-Latin poetry, now put to salacious use, with an unexpected scramble of subject and imagery, and a twist of language and context which startles one into recognition of his borrowings.

The author strikes a different note in the next three poems, which deal with Dina's confession to the doctors of her pregnancy and the identity of the father (*Catal.* 28). She tells Orbilius that she felt feverish and went to see no other than Dr. Daniel Pedius and Dr. Cavefovius, the two dedicatees, Dr. Voet and Dr. van Wijkersloot. Professor Munniks, also mentioned in the court record, is included in the scene, with the Latinized form of his name, Dr. Monachius. It is one of the author's clever twists on words and the meaning of names, for this translates as "monk": Dina is making a confession. Orbilius warns Dina against all doctors but particularly these three, which she must not ever see again, for they are his enemies. There is a reference to some offensive verse that Orbilius allegedly is writing about them: "Pedius, Hubertus Cavefovea, Monachiusque, / Tres sunt, quos tetro carmine scribo, tetri" (*Catal.* 33: these are the three foul men about whom I am writing foul verse), by which he means the *Conspiratio* poems. At the bottom of the page there is a footnote referring directly to the second one, "Secundum criminosum carmen Petri Burmanni cui titulus *Conspiratio Medico Voetiana in Petrum Burmannum*" (*Catal.* 33: The second slanderous poem by Peter Burman entitled "The conspiracy of Dr. Voet against Peter Burman").[23] The author adds another instance of Orbilius's boasting of his sexual heroics: "Tunc ego, qui nuper tantum tibi miles habebar, / Dux ero, tunc gladium per tua castra feram" (*Catal.* 32: Then I, who formerly was used only as your foot soldier / will be your master, when I carry my sword into your camp). Finally, Orbilius says to Dina that her confession to the doctors is the equivalent of having violated "fidem tori" (literally, the faithfulness of the marriage couch or bed). She is compared to Helen, who was unfaithful, and threatened with physical harm, for now "sum manifestus amator, / garrulitas." (*Catal.* 37: for now I am known as your lover, due to your gossip).

Next comes a singularly impudent piece of verse by one G.V.M.D., the only "identification" in the collection, possibly an oblique reference to Gisbertius Voetius, who would have been dead some thirty-five years at the time of writing. The caption title reads: "Orbilio Petrullo nativitatem filii gratulatur" (*Catal.* 39: To Orbilius Petrullus, on the birth of his son). He compares Orbilius's

23 The *Conspiratio* poems, *Conspiratio Medico-Voetiana in Petrum Burmannum* and *Conspiratio Medico-Voetiana detecta sive Pietas Burmanniana* cannot be attributed to Burman (Knuttel does not do so). They deal with the paternity affair in the grossest of terms and are clearly hostile to Burman and his claim of innocence. The *Pietas Burmanniana* is particularly scurrilous and offensive. They may be the work of one author, since both are in the same poetic form (sapphic ode) and the opening line is the same in each: "Quid tibi, Burmanne miser, futurum est?" (What, you miserable wretch Burman, is now your future?)

prowess as procreator to that of Jupiter: "Gratulor, en iterum, femoris praeconia vestri, / Metra canent" (Congratulations, for again the heralds will sing in verse of the deeds of your loins). The same author next devotes some eighty lines to "Orbilio Petrullo inscitiam, scholae frigiditatem ac amores impuros regerit" (*Catal.* 43: To Orbilius Petrullus, who rules with ignorance, lackluster scholarship and indecent love affairs), telling his dear Orbilius that his scholarly accomplishments are as sterile and devoid of life as his love affairs are torrid and impure. A relative of Burman named Damianus Westphalius writes to "affini suo amantissimo" (to his much loved relative) with praise: "Tam bene virginea cum sis gladiator arena, / laudo . . . / Mentula parva quidem, tamen est tibi plena vigoris" (*Catal.* 49: I praise you for being such a good swordsman in the maidenly arena . . . although your member may be small, it is full of vigor. See n. 16 for the use of "mentula"). As the author warms to his subject, he becomes increasingly sexually explicit, ending the poem by Westphalius at the bottom of the page with another little footnote, giving a date when it was composed: "Ao. secundo a coitu Petrulli cum Dina" (*Catal.* 51: The second year after the coitus of Petrullus and Dina). Orbilius/Burman is admonished by his brother Frans (referred to as "beatus Fransiscus" although he was still alive) in a lenghty poem about his behavior, in particular in denying the affair *(Catal.: 57-59)*. Next, Frans attacks him for doing an edition of Petronius Arbiter (published in 1709), for the subject of his *Satyricon* is nothing but whoremonging, unnatural love, debauchery, lechery, and so on. The scholar who works with such material is bound to be smeared by it: "Edere Petronium non scelus esse putas?" (*Catal.* 61: Do you think that editing Petronius cannot be considered a sin?).

The above explications will give an idea of the content and nature of these verses and how they convey the author's intentions. Although he claims to instruct and delight, vilification and ridicule are his major goals. For style, imagery, and language, he has skillfully exploited his large stock of classical source material, and presented the whole in fluent verse with some clever and amusingly nasty twists. The juxtaposition of the stylized classical form and the sordid content gives the poetry its shock value which, even by today's standards, makes an impact. In addition, the capacity to startle emanates from the fact that the object, or, more correctly, the victim of this vilification was a respectable citizen and member of his community, an internationally recognized scholar, and professor at a prestigious university. No doubt, many of Burman's contemporaries laughed at the author's clever poetic twists, particularly if they had been the object of Burman's printed witticisms. But to the modern reader, keeping in mind the author's goal, there seems an overdose of dirt and too much viciousness to find it all truly amusing. We can applaud him for his cleverness but the poems' comic aspects are no longer of much force.

In the epigrams that follow the long poems, the subject matter, style, and author's intent are identical, except that the treatment seems even more outspoken and salacious. A listing of some titles will make clear what the author was trying to accomplish. There is a "votum grammaticum," using the rather worn play on the word "genitivus" (genitals). There is a reference to the "Anatomia Petrulliana," as well as a "Petrullus Pharmacopeus" (Little Peter's pharmaceutical list), that includes vile potions, both exceedingly scurrilous. The philosophy of Petrullus, his jurisprudence, and his theology, all are subjects for smutty and sex-

ually offensive jokes. The ghosts of Cicero and Ovid address Orbilius, not to forget Homer's "manes" (shades of the dead). Burman's teacher Graevius returns from the grave with a not very profound saying. Maria Cuprea, the whoremonger, shows up once more with a threat if she is not paid. Orbilius is made to spout forth Cartesian doctrine and suffer an apotheosis reminiscent of the emperor Claudian's fate in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis (*although this one is much dirtier) "Petronii nugas, pariter cum stercora vendas, / Petronii linges post tua fata nates" (*Catal.* 65: If you recommend the contemptible "nugas" (i.e. foul, worthless writings) of Petronius, which are like excrement, it will be your fate to lick his buttocks). Lastly, the author engages the comic characters Marforio and Pasquino in a diatribe with Mercurius.

If it really was the anonymous author's intention to have the world think that Burman wrote this collection of verse, he succeeded remarkably well. The *Catalecta* were attributed to Burman almost from the beginning and the trail is not hard to follow. The starting point is August Beyer's *Memoriae . . . librorum rariorum* of 1734, which is the source Saxe used in his *Onomasticon,* first published in 1775 (see n. 1). These two authors' commentaries, with one exception to be discussed later, are the only ones that reveal at some length what were contemporary or near-contemporary reactions to the *Catalecta*. Since they also determined for their successors what was thought to be Burman's role in the entire affair, their comments are worth examining in some detail.

In Beyer's *Memoriae* identification of the *Catalecta* is put in rather vague terms. The section that deals with Burman has thirteen titles, eleven of which pertain to the paternity suit. His entry for the *Catalecta* is explained as follows (xxix: 52): "Inter Satyra haec carmina, quae Petri Burmanni magni hodie critici laudes examinant vitiaque perstringunt, maximam omnino partem conficiunt ista, in quibusdam ejusdem amores impudentiori quidem satyra omni spurcitie & lascivo sermone refertissima decantantur." Beyer says that among these satirical poems, "which the best critics today consider with praise as Pieter Burman's but censure for moral faults, the largest part is made up of those in which he sings of his own love affairs, over and over again in shameless verses and language that is wholly smutty and licentious." He then lists the two *Conspiratio* poems, "duo carmina genere Sapphico scripta, in quibus omnis amasiarum cohors detegitur" (two poems in the Sapphic meter, in which a multitude of love affairs is disclosed). Next come the published court records, and several of the pamphlets, prominent among them that smutty play the "Would-be Widower." Beyer pretends to describe the opinion of others, saying in a circumspect way that he believes Burman to be the author. He does not identify the "best critics," regrettably, for here, some twenty-five years after the event, are gathered together in one source a good many of the printed attacks on Burman, the record of a community's virulent reaction to the supposed misdeeds of one of its members. It would have been interesting to collect opinions on the *Catalecta* from his contemporaries' compilations, which he lists in his preface.[24] Checking some of these was of no help, for these bibliographers list Burman's scholarly works, but nothing as offensive

24 Christoph A. Heumann. *Conspectus reipublicae literariae*. Ed. sec. (Hanover: N. Foerster, 1726). Gottlieb Stolle. *Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit* (Jena: J. Meyer, 1724). Burkhard G. Struve. Bibliotheca *librorum rariorum* (Jena: J.F. Bielcki, 1719). Beyer's list is more extensive than this, but not all his titles were of interest for this paper. He uses his predecessors' works largely to build up to his explanation of why he includes works that would offend ("libri mores bonos offendentes"): because others have done so before him!

as the *Catalecta* or the *Conspiratio* poems, even if they were aware of these publications. It seems, however, that Beyer had access to the *Catalecta,* for his quotation "quidem satyra omni spurcitie & lascivo sermone refertissima decantantur" is straight out of the preface, unless he is quoting a source he does not reveal. Whatever his motivation for including so many of the publications about the Burman affair, if Beyer had read the introduction, understood at least some of the content of the poems, and knew of the paternity suit brought against Burman, he would have seen through the authorial pretense. The same is true for the two poems *Conspiratio Medico-Voetiana in Petrum Burmannum* and *Conspiratio Medico-Voetiana detecta sive Pietas Burmanniana*.[25] Beyer's comment that these are poems "in which a multitude of love affairs is disclosed" is perhaps purposely vague; one is left to guess whose love affairs, except that the titles are listed in the section of Burman's works. He is closer to the mark when he qualifies the *Catalecta* and the pamphlets concerning the Burman affair as "rare." These were privately printed, in small editions. I have traced few copies of the *Catalecta*, three in this country and three in Europe and only one or two of the other pamphlets.[26]

It is not quite clear why Saxe refers to Beyer's *Memoriae* for his entry of the *Catalecta*. He must have had access to a copy, for in the *Bibliotheca Saxiana*, the auction catalog of his library, sold by his widow in 1806, item no. 1804 (p. 324), reads: "*Apollonii Veridici* Catalecta Petrulliana (i.e. *Petri Burmanni*) sive Poemata selecta, lectu iucundissima." In the twelve pages he devotes to the works of Burman, it is the only title for which he adds the specific source, as part of the entry, in parentheses:"(v. Aug. Beyeri *Memoria* [sic] *librorum rariorum*, no. XXIX p. 52)" (*Onom.*, V. 471). But it is not the only one of Burman's works which he feels compelled to criticize with regard to the latter's opinions, language, or attacks on other scholars. He does so for the *Oratio in obitum viri optimi Jani Brouckhusii,* "cuius praefationem qui legerit, non mirabitur tum prodiisse chartam inscriptam : *Conspiratio Medico-Voetiana in Petr. Burmannum"* (Funeral oration for Jan Broekhuis: whoever will have read the preface will not be surprised that it was followed by a publication entitled *Conspiratio Medico-Voetiana*). His criticism seems unfounded, for Burman's remarks are derogatory, but only comparatively so. It is more difficult to comprehend why Saxe claims the *Conspiratio* poem, telling of Burman's supposed sexual offenses, which were not news in the city until December 1708, would be connected to a funeral oration held in February 1708. He then lists Burman's edition of the *Satyricon*, of which he no doubt disapproved so profoundly that he skips all commentary. Next comes Burman's speech *Somnium, sive Iter in Arcadiam* (A Dream, or a Journey into Arcadia) of 1710, attacking poor scholarly habits, whereupon Saxe continues: "Efferbuit tum maxime bilis in Johannem Clericum" (whereupon he poured all his bile especially upon Jean Le Clerc. See n. 11). According to Saxe, Burman's edition of

25 Knuttel nos. 15832 and 15833, listed under the year 1709. The copy I saw at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek had no imprint. Both little pamphlets are clearly the work of the same printer, same format, same small woodcut head-piece, hastily run off, for the head-piece was upside down in the *Conspiratio in Petrum Burmannum*.

26 Besides the copy in the Houghton Library, there are copies at the University of Chicago Library and the John Carter Brown Library. There is no copy in the library of Burman's alma mater, the University of Utrecht. In the Library at Leiden University, I found, to my surprise, a copy which has all the earmarks of being a second edition (more likely, a second issue). There are small, but definite changes in the type setting of the title page, the "Praefatio" has been completely reset, and some of the errata, as listed in the errata leaf, have been corrected. There are copies of some of the lampoons in the Houghton Library collections. For the other pamphlets, however, the Knuttel pamphlet collection in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, is the best, and possibly the only, source.

Ovid (first published in 1727), had a preface that was so libelous, it could not be printed in his lifetime (and was not printed until 1754).

Saxe says little about the *Catalecta* other than that it did not speak well for Burman's morals. He may have wanted to give it little attention, however, because it was not a proper, scholarly subject for his *Onomasticon,* and because he was deeply offended by its supposed contents, a judgement quite possibly based primarily on Beyer's comments. What is more remarkable, he attaches his criticism almost as an afterthought to his remarks about another one of Burman's publications that deals not so much with personal conduct—or misconduct—but more particularly with public morals and how these would conform to Reformed church rules for right conduct.

Whereas the *Catalecta* occasioned comment but no public outcry—at least, none that has come down to us—a lecture Burman gave at the University at the beginning of the academic year 1711 very soon had the city's religious leaders in an uproar. This was no more than a year after the publication of the *Catalecta,* if the 1710 date of that publication is to be taken at face value, when Burman had the audacity—according to some—to lecture on the plays of Terence and Plautus. He was not proposing any new subject matter; these had formed part of the school curriculum even before the invention of printing. Burman, however advocated the theater, and comedy in particular—considered Satan's very own playground by the Voetians—as suitable educational material and entertainment for everyone, including youth.[27] Saxe is clearly upset by this proposition—one can almost see him wringing his hands: if only Burman had explained the nature of comedy, its purposes and usefulness according to Aristotelian laws or Horatian precepts, he would not have incurred the anger and condemnation of that all-powerful clan, the city's "dominees" (pastors): "fortassis in Theologorum & Homiletarum Traiectensum reprehensiones non incurrisset" (*Onom.*,V. 470). Saxe is referring to the battle royal with the preachers and Utrecht church council which followed Burman's Terence speech, producing such a spate of pamphlets—thirteen in all—so disturbing to him that he did not want to list them. He refers to one only, disdains mentioning the title, and identifies it by what he found on the cover: "cuius in titulo oloris in aere volantis, & tres quatorve catellos allatrantes despicientis imago cernebatur" (on the title of which can be seen a picture of a swan circling above and looking down at three or four dogs barking at him.)[28] The "imago," the little woodcut illustration is right there on the title-page of this *Tweede wederlegging* (Second refutation), the swan circling above and laughing at four dogs barking at him but unable to affect him.

27 *Petri Burmanni Oratio pro comoedia publice in auspiciis academicarum recitationum, quibus Terentii fabulae explicantur habita* (Utrecht: G. van de Water, 1711). His recommendation should have been heeded by those concerned about public morals, for much of the eighteenth-century popular stage was abominably crude, vulgar, and full of coarse sexual jokes, vide *The would-be widower*. Burman apparently thought his lecture of sufficient importance to translate it into Dutch: *Pieter Burmans Redevoering voor de Comedie in t'openbaer opgezegt by den aenvang zyner Academische Leszen over den Toneel Dichter Terentius. Op den 14 September 1711*. "Pieter Burman's public discourse on the nature of comedy, a lecture about the playwright Terentius, given at the opening of his academic lessons, 14 September 1711." (Utrecht: W. van den Water, 1711). Knuttel nos. 15980-15985, 16098-16102 all deal with the Terence lecture and the subsequent uproar, which ran so high that in 1713 the city fathers forbade any further publications on the subject.

28 Knuttel no. 16100. *Pieter Burmans tweede wederlegginge van het antwoord van de vier Utrechtze* (sic) *predikanten. Eerste deel* (Utrecht: T. Appels, 1712). This is Burman's "Second refutation of the response of the four Utrecht pastors" (the four dogs) concerning the use of theater as educational material; the pastors got back at him with an attack to which six of them signed their name. Burman, never to be outdone, responded with yet another refutation (Knuttel no. 16101).

PIETER BURMANS
TWEEDE
WEDERLEGGINGE
Van het Antwoord van de vier
UTRECHTZE PREDIKANTEN.
EERSTE DEEL.

Albus olor, nivei ſpecies expreſſa Poëtae,
Ridet ab excelſo murmura ſaeva Canum.

TE UTRECHT,
Gedruckt by THOMAS APPELS, Boekverkooper, op
't Oud Kerkhof. 1712.

Courtesy of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

Burman's sense of humor got the better of him, portraying himself as the swan, symbol of purity. It seems a rather harmless little joke for him to posture as the picture of innocence that can ignore the four preachers (the dogs) threatening him. On the whole, this "Second refutation," when viewed in the total of the Burmannian oeuvre, is remarkable for the calm, reasoned tone of its arguments. Yet it must have seemed to Saxe the *sine qua non* of Burman at his worst, for in his next sentence it leads him to a direct condemnation of the *Catalecta* (*Onom.*, V. 471): "Aliunde quoque arrepta fuit opportunitas male de Burmanni moribus opinandi. Quo spectant *Apollonii Veridici Catalecta Petrulliana sive Poemata selecta lectu iucundissima*" (elsewhere too, there was occasion to condemn Burman's morals. See Apollonius Veridicus, etc.) This comment does not explicitly name Burman as the author of the *Catalecta*. Saxe may only be accusing Burman of having engaged in acts of an immoral nature, for his tone is certainly accusatory. Later bibliographers, however, unaware of the circumstances surrounding the

publication of the *Catalecta,* may well have interpreted this as pointing to Burman as the author.

Saxe was seemingly in a good position to know all about the Burman affair, for he occupied the chair of antiquities, eloquence, and belles lettres at the University of Utrecht, to which he had been appointed in 1752. Although a classicist not even of Burman's caliber, he was in a sense his successor. It seems unlikely that he was ignorant of the Burman/van Spangen proceedings and the quarrel with the Voet family, but he may have found the whole affair so distasteful that he did not want to refer to it. There is no mention of the court proceedings in his remarks about the *Catalecta* and the *Conspiratio* poem, most likely because the *Onomasticon,* as a compilation of a scholar's serious work, would not include the court records. He excludes even the titles of the numerous pamphlets Burman wrote in refutation of the attacks on his Terence speech, although he does list all of Burman's works critical of other scholars. Those, however, would involve questions of scholarship, not questionable moral matters. Including the *Catalecta* and the *Conspiratio* poem was one way Saxe had to condemn his predecessor for what he considered a lack of moral integrity.

Saxe, like many scholars, had became embroiled in some angry scholarly disputes, most notably (for the purposes of this study) with Pieter Burman's nephew, the self-styled "Petrus Burmannus Secundus," who accused him of having removed manuscript materials and books from his private library, to which he had given Saxe access. Petrus Burmannus also wielded a sharp pen and, backed by Caspar Burman, Pieter Burman's son, had made the affair public in writing. Saxe responded in an angry rebuttal, using some strong language, under the title *Christoph. Saxi Justa depulsio immanis calumniarum atrocitatis,* of 1761 (Christoph. Saxe's just rebuttal of the enormous falsehood and hideous accusation brought against him). Burmannus's reaction to this publication elicited another response by Saxe under the title *Noodige aanmerkingen . . .* (Necessary Comments on Mr. Pieter Burman's defense) in 1764 and that seems to have been the end of it.[29] The whole affair must have rankled, however, for Saxe had seen himself named in print as a thief, accused by a man of solid standing and scholarship in academic circles. There may be reverberations in this dispute of Saxe's disgust and condemnation of the elder Burman's alleged immoral acts, both in matters of sexual as well as public morals. That may explain to some degree his rather hostile and derogatory judgement of Burman, which he must have based not only on the

29 In the introduction to the publication with that odd title *Petri Burmanni Secundi Antiklotzius* (Amsterdam: G. Tielenburg, 1762), Burmannus Secundus compares Saxe's supposed theft to what Gaspar Schoppe did to Hubert van Giffen's manuscripts, "Idem mihi quod Giphanio quondam" (p. 2), i.e., remove whole pages, etc. My first thought, upon reading the poems in the *Antiklotzius,* was that Burmannus Secundus had invented this person so he could make his accusations without fear of libel. Christ. Adolph Klotzius, however, was a German scholar who had attacked Burmannus Secundus's editions of the classics. Burmannus used the opportunity to kill two birds with one stone, call Saxe a thief in print and deal with Klotzius the way the unknown author of the *Catalecta* had dealt with his uncle, in a series of vile Latin poems. The only amusing part of this quarrel is the illustration on the title page of the *Antiklotzius,* showing the nine muses, armed with what looks like pitch forks, pushing Klotzius off the Aonian mountain which in his arrogance he had dared to ascend.

latter's own writings, but clearly also on the judgement of others, whether verifiable or not.[30]

There is a contemporary, direct reference to the *Catalecta* and the Burman/van Spangen case, embedded in yet another attack on Burman's Terence speech. It gives a detailed although highly prejudicial opinion of Burman's person and his works, while showing all the earmarks of what most likely would have been the general public's opinion at the time. If only for that reason, it must be considered a more reliable source than either Beyer or Saxe to determine the public's reaction to Dina's accusations, the *Catalecta,* and Burman's role in the affair. Jacobus Fruytier's *Bekentmaking van het roekeloos bestaan van Pieter Burman* (Revelation of the reckless life of Pieter Burman), like most of these hastily printed pamphlets, lacks an imprint, but Knuttel dates it 1712 (Suppl. No. 16102c). Fruytier, a "dominee" (a pastor but not one of the Utrecht clan) and a devoted and fanatic follower of Voetius, involved himself in the struggle between Burman and the Utrecht preachers about his recommendation of the plays of classical authors for the stage. Fruytier's "Revelation" lists "names by which this Rector Magnificus has become famous, among many others these: 'Orbilis Bulmannus, Galant en Vriendt van Marie de Koperslaagster, een andere Dipsas, dat is, onderwijster van alle hoerestreken' (Orbilis Bulmannus, libertine and friend of Maria the cooper's wife, another Dipsas, that is, a teacher of all whoremonging): 'Orbilius Bulmannus Petrullus, heros ingentissimus, semper triumphator'(Orbilius Petrullus Bulmannus, the great hero, always triumphant). Etc." ("Revelation": 4). The Latin quotes are clearly derived from the *Catalecta*. Fruytier also refers to the affair with Dina and the court case: "Was he given the honor of being promoted to Rector Magnificus in recognition of his famous affair with Dina?" ("Revelation": 5). In the forty-one closely printed pages of his "Revelation" (he probably paid for the printing out of his own pocket), he hurls at Burman all the fire and brimstone that the nine circles of Dante's *Inferno* could possibly provide. He calls Burman a liar, blasphemer, slanderer, fool, fornicator, libertine, gambler, adulterer, insane, follower of Descartes, Spinoza, Hobbes, Cocceius, Machiavelli, lover of "Sophia Carnalis" (the wisdom of the flesh), and archenemy of "Vera Virtus" (true virtue), plus quite a few more epithets of that nature. But nowhere does he say that Burman deserved eternal hell and damnation because he wrote and published sixty-seven pages of indecent poetry about his alleged affair with a prostitute. It seems safe to assume that if Fruytier knew or believed Burman to be the author, he would not have hesitated to say so and condemned him accordingly. Fruytier goes through Burman's Terence lecture practically line by line to rip apart every opinion expressed therein, but his references are primarily of a theological nature, with frequent allusions to the Scriptures and the Synod of Dordt (of 1618), that most powerful weapon that any Reformed church theologian could muster. Saxe registers disapproval of the poems, but seemingly more as an afterthought to his condemnation of Burman's Terence lecture which, like Fruytier, he seems to have found far more disturbing.

30 An interesting aspect of this quarrel is the mention of the private library which may have included (from what Burmannus Secundus says in the preface to *Antiklotzius*), a good deal of Pieter Burman the Elder's library. The sales catalogues of the auction of both libraries, one in 1742, the other in 1776, when the younger Burman had died, make no mention of the *Catalecta*.

What did the author of the *Catalecta* have in mind when he sat down to write these verses? The circumstances that induced him to write this collection have been traced, but his motives remain somewhat enigmatic. Personal revenge, almost certainly, yes, but for what? The author must have been a fellow academic, aware that his choice of medium considerably reduced his audience.[31] "The Would-be Widower" was available to all who could read or, failing that, to all who saw it performed on the stage (One wonders if its author was also one of those who condemned Burman for his views on the nature of comedy). Writing in Latin, the author aimed his arrows at a very particular audience, which makes it more likely that retaliation was primarily for insults of an intellectual and scholarly nature. Scholarly quarrels were certainly not an eighteenth-century invention; they go back at least as far as Aristophanes's barbed remarks about the work of his contemporary Euripides, and probably further. In the academic world, bristling with ego and temperament, and with clerical and secular authorities often vying for positions of power and authority, it is no wonder that personal conflagrations erupted with such vehemence, but it is remarkable to what depths this author goes to give vent to his personal animosity. In the annals of scholarly feuding it is rare that academic hatred would take on such dimensions, driving one scholar to use his erudition and wit to attack a colleague not only pseudonymously (that was not exceptional), but so totally *ad hominem,* at such length, with so much malice, such vicious and scatological dirt and outright sexual offense. The feud with the Voetians is referred to in quite a few instances in the *Catalecta* and crops up repeatedly in the court record and in Fruytier's "Revelations." It may have formed the very basis for the author's hatred of his subject, the source of all his outpourings of detestation of the man, but it is not the main theme of his attack: sex, or, more accurately, fornication, although presented as farce, for it lacks the biblical overtone, is his *leitmotif* throughout. Perhaps this obsession with sexual misconduct is particularly a hallmark of the teachings of Voetius's Calvinist theories, that labeled any kind of sensual pleasure as suspect. Any action, thought, opinion, publication, or personal circumstance is grist for this author's sexual scandal mill, including Burman's scholarly works. The edition of the *Satyricon* is condemned not for inadequacy in the scholarly sense but because its very subject matter condemns the person who deals with it.

Given Burman's character and the unfortunate situation in which he found himself in the years 1709–1710, engaged in two court cases, protesting his innocence in the Dina affair and fighting to maintain his good name and reputation, he seems clearly the victim of a scandal not of his own making. He is portrayed as a smutty Priapus, the butt of sexual jokes that paint him as the ludicrous lover of a slut disguised as an Ovidian courtesan, made out a lecher needing the services of a whoremonger—whom he must have considered the scum of the earth—to appease his goatlike lust, and congratulated on having fathered a bastard on a dimwit servant girl. His person, morals, scholarship, religious beliefs, and standing

31 It is tempting to think of Jean Le Clerc, professor of philosophy at the Remonstrant Seminary in Amsterdam, as a possible author. He had repeatedly quarreled with Burman, who had attacked him unmercifully in his *Le Gazette Menteur, ou Mr. Le Clerc convaincu de Mensonge et de Calomnie* of 1710 (see n. 11), and engaged in disputes with many other scholars. There is no reason, however, to consider him a devotee of Voetius, and he does not seem to have been the kind of person who bears a grudge and turns it into an obsession. See Samuel A. Golden. *Jean Le Clerc* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1972), for remarks on the quarrel with Burman. Daniel Voet, another likely candidate, did not have the requisite intellectual background to write poetry of the caliber found in the *Catalecta*.

in his community and at the university are repeatedly presented in lines with a salacious, quasi-comic, vicious twist that turns each one into a profound insult. In case a reader might misinterpret the author's intentions, he made his characters easily identifiable, using the Latin form of their names as the only disguise. The sum total of these portrayals offers some interesting reflections on how the world at large reacted three hundred years ago, when compared to recent sex scandals. In his own small world, with the help primarily of the printed word, and a good dose of rumor and gossip—probably mankind's oldest form of entertainment—without the use of our modern means to spread the news, Burman had managed to become that indispensable adjunct to our news and "information"-infested world, the celebrity—although, alas, in the negative sense of the word.

An article in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* of 1996 poses the question: "Whither Civility? Some say academic discourse has become too vituperative." It cites numerous instances of quarrels among academics, including forms of physical abuse. The author refers briefly to "gangs of professors" who clashed during the Middle Ages, but seems inclined to think that name-calling is a recent phenomenon, perhaps unaware that invective and academic abuse is as old at least as Horace's complaints, or as the first students and teachers. An article by Lance Morrow in *Time* a few years earlier, entitled "Who cares, anyway?", deals with the question of alleged sexual misconduct in higher places—namely in the world of politics, candidates whose names turn up in the newspapers and the broadcast.[32] There is not much to distinguish twentieth century ways of dealing with alleged sexual offenders, when their misdeeds are discussed *ad infinitum* in the media, from their eighteenth century counterparts. Hawthorne's Hester Prynne was condemned forever to remind the world of her single misstep. Burman was more fortunate; his alleged misconduct was spread all over the then-available "media," in print, so that it is still there today for all to read. But just a few years later the University at Leiden offered him a position, which he gladly accepted. The scandal was no longer of importance.

Time played yet another trick on the Burman/Voet affair, with the result that the feud between the pro-Voetians and their counterparts suffered a similar fate. In 1772, the theater in Amsterdam burned to the ground. In order to raise funds for a new building, several projects were undertaken, among them J.C. Mohr's publication of works dealing with different aspects of the theater, the sale of which was to stimulate public enthusiasm for rebuilding. Here, side by side, are Gisbertius Voetius's *Disputatio de comoedis*, first published in 1650, in which he condemns all forms of stage performance (it leads us into temptation of all the senses), and Pieter Burman's "Lecture on the comedies of Terence" of 1711.[33]

32 Courtney Leatherman, "Whither Civility? Some say academic discourse has become too vituperative," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 42, no.26 (March 8, 1996):A21. Lance Morrow, "Who cares, anyway?," *Time* (February 3, 1992):15: "Collective judgements based on gossip are always crude, often stupid, and sometimes stir up a lynch mob." These remarks were made in connection with the Gary Hart scandal.

33 *Historie van den nieuuwen Amsterdamschen schouwburg* (History of the new Amsterdam theater). The copy at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., includes, besides other works dealing with the theater: *Disputatio de comoedis of, Twistreden tegen de schouuspelen door Gisbertus Voetius*. "Voetius's Disputation concerning comedy. Second ed., with a preface by J. C. Mohr." (Te Amsteldam: J. W. Pruys en H. Keyzer, 1772) ; *Pieter Burman's Redevoering voor de comedie over den toneel dichter Terentius*. 3e druk. "Burman's Lecture on the playwright Terentius. Third ed." (Amsterdam: Hendrik Tiedeman, 1772). Mohr edited these two treatises and had them reprinted for the occasion, with his prefatory remarks.

The editor explains in the preface that he selected these two works for reprinting because they give both sides of an argument. He refers briefly to the commotion occasioned at the time of the Terence lecture, but seems supremely unaware of the ultimate irony that he has brought together two arch-enemies in one volume. Like the Burman scandal, the Voetian feud had outlived its reputation.[34]

34 I have to thank several people for helping me with suggestions, corrections, translations, finding citations, or clarifying obscure references: Prof. Jan Ziolkowski, Harvard University, who read the draft and suggested changes; Prof. T. J. Veen, University of Amsterdam; Drs. W. M. J. Boumans, University Library, University of Utrecht; Drs. F. P. H. Thorissen, Municipal Archives, Utrecht; Mr. Rodney G. Dennis, Ms. Melanie Wisner, both of the Houghton Library, Harvard University; Mr. Frank Joseph Shulman, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, for his encouragement to see it through.