

# Ortelius' panorama of Daphne and Antioch, his sources and his learned friend Dr. Joachim Axonius Gravianus

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## Introduction

This article is about a large map of Daphne and Antioch, 369x493 cm, that was published by the printing-office of Plantin. It came to my attention in a coloured version that was exhibited in 2002 in the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp.<sup>2</sup> In the left corner at the bottom is an inscription: Ex utriusque linguae scriptoribus adumbrabat Ab. Ortelius. Cum privilegio decennali. No date. The map is divided into two parts by a diagonal line. The focus of the bottom-right side, about three quarters of the total, is on a wooded hillside with houses around three important buildings: a temple, a church and a large villa. On the top-left side the river Orontes is seen meandering through fields, flowing under a bridge in the town of Antioch and ending at the seaside in Seleucia. After the printing history the article follows the structure of the map and first treats the foreground. Ortelius added a learned treatise about this part at the back of the map, in several languages for the successive editions. But he does not account for the upper part, the image of Antioch. The article tries to determine which time this image is reflecting, antiquity or the sixteenth century, by analysing some chronicles and travellers reports, with special attention for Arabic sources. Finally the article pays attention to Joachim Axonius Gravianus, the learned friend of Ortelius.

## The history of Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*

In 1570 Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) published the first edition of his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* at the office of Plantin in Antwerp. It was the first of its kind, a new concept of an Atlas: a collection of maps, not all drawn by himself, collected in a book. Many editions followed, in several languages, and with more maps in every new edition. Beginning in 1579, historical maps were added, also an innovation. From 1592 the historical maps got a separate titlepage: *Parergon*, which means: decorative addition. In 1624 the historical section has been, for the first and only time, published separately under the title: *Theatri orbis terrarum parergon; sive veteris geographiae tabulae, commentariis geographicis et historicis illustratae*.<sup>3</sup> The map of Daphne was added in 1595, it was drawn by Ortelius himself, as almost all the maps of the *Parergon*.

This map of Daphne belongs to a special section in the *Parergon* that consists of four maps: a map of Tempe in Thessalia (1590), the former location of Apollo's oracle, the map of Daphne, a map of Thomas Morus' Utopia (1596), and a view of Philip II's Escorial (1624).<sup>4</sup> Peter H. Meurer explains in an article in the commemorative bundle: *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas*, what connects these four maps: they represent each a paradise where the weary soul can find his rest. It takes an effort to imagine the comfort the austere monastery of the Escorial has to offer compared to the lovely scenery of Tempe and Daphne, but for the austere soul of Philip II it might have served the purpose.

## The image of Daphne

On the foreground, the map shows an attractive parklike scenery surrounding a group of buildings. But as Ortelius remarked in the description on the back of the map, in his time no more than a couple of trees was visible in that location, as was confirmed by his friend the

learned Dr. Joachim Axonius Gravianus. No archaeological excavations had taken place, no pictures were available. So Ortelius could only base his visualisation on the descriptions that survived in a great number of classical sources, Greek as well as Latin. In other words: **it is fiction**. It depicts the period that paganism and christianity existed side by side, in the fourth century, as a church stands next to the still flourishing temple. The temple was destroyed by fire on 22 October 362, during the short reign (361-363) of the emperor Julian, who is known as Julianus Apostata because he renounced his Christian faith and favoured pagan practices.<sup>5</sup> Ortelius accounted for the research he did in a learned treatise in the best humanistic tradition, in which he quoted about 50 authors. One can only feel deep admiration mixed with a slight jealousy for the intimate knowledge of so many sources, some at the time recently rediscovered and edited. An important source was the *Misogoponos* (Beardhater), written by emperor Julian after the destruction of the temple as an answer to the rumours about its cause. Among the many authorities the most prominent are the historians Tacitus and Plutarchus (1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> c.), Eutropius (4<sup>th</sup> c.), Procopius and Agathias (6<sup>th</sup> c.), Metaphrastes (9<sup>th</sup> c.) and Gregoras (14<sup>th</sup> c.), and the church historians Clemens Alexandrinus (2<sup>nd</sup> c.), Eusebius (3<sup>rd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> c.), Johannes Chrysostomos (4<sup>th</sup> c.), Sozomenus and Theodoretus (5<sup>th</sup> c.), Callistus (14<sup>th</sup> c.) and Sophronius (15<sup>th</sup> c.). Further the well-known classical authors Ovidius (43 BC – ca. 17 AD), Petronius (1<sup>st</sup> c.) and Claudianus (4<sup>th</sup> c.). Even the historian of the crusades William of Tyre contributed. Details were taken from Philostratus' *Life of Appolonius of Tyana* (2<sup>nd</sup> c.) and the Byzantine encyclopedic lexicon *Suda* (10<sup>th</sup> c.). Two contemporary authors contributed: Petrus Pithoeus, or Pierre Pithou (1539-1596), a French author of juridical and historical works, and Ortelius' friend Dr. Joachim Axonius Gravianus.

### Ortelius' treatise

What follows next is a selection from Ortelius' treatise, taken (with slight adaptations) from the English translation based on the various editions of the map by Dr. Deborah van den Broecke-Günzburger and Dr. Marcel van den Broecke, published on the site Cartographia Neerlandica, Background for Ortelius map No. 232.<sup>6</sup> In this form it is a composite text not found on any of the maps.

“Daphne of Antiochia in Syria, [located] on the river Orontes, that famous and pleasant suburb which Ammianus calls *Amoenum & ambitiosum*, a delectable and gorgeous place, is about forty furlongs or five miles distant from the city. It is in circumference 80 furlongs (or, which amounts to the same, 10 miles) as Strabo writes, who moreover says that it is a pretty village within a huge dark grove, watered by various excellent brooks and running waters. But [let us] take this more elaborate description of it from Sozomenus: it is a place, he says, throughout covered and shadowed by many cypress trees and those of infinite height, as Philostratus reports<sup>7</sup>, yet here and there covered with various other sorts of excellent trees. Because of the thickness of their bows and dense leaves, which by no means allow the sun beams to reach the ground, it is so closely covered by shadow that it is almost like a roof. Under the trees, the earth brings forth, according to the seasons of the year, all sorts of most pleasant and sweet smelling flowers, one after the other. Similarly, it is a place, [renowned] both for the abundance and freshness of its waters (Strabo calls them running waters, Philostratus still or standing waters) as also with respect to the temperature of the air and kind seasons of the year; lastly in regard of the cool blasts and gales of the winds that normally blow here, bringing forth, as Callistus adds, a sweet and pleasant, whistling noise, most delectable and fit and commodious for all manner of pleasure and recreation. Here is also a spring which is supposed to get its water from Castalius, a spring near Parnassus in Greece, for which reason some people have attributed to it the virtue and power of prediction, and

they truly persuade themselves that it was of a force and nature equal to that at Delphi. The vulgar and common sort of people to this add the following fable, namely, that the daughter of Laedon, a river in Arcadia (Ovidius says Peneus) fled hence from her lover, and here was transformed into a tree. Yet, Apollo, not quieted in his mind, but crowning himself with the boughs of that tree which took his particular delight, embracing the tree and [cherishing] the ground where it stood, preferring it above all other places in the world, honoured and graced it more than ever any other. <sup>8</sup> (..) The place was easy to defend, enclosed [as it was] with a strong wall or rampart. <sup>9</sup> (..) Moreover, it was also graced, as Metaphrastes writes in his life of [the martyr] Artemi[u]s, with many excellent buildings, houses and baths. In it there was a chapel of very gorgeous and costly workmanship, in which stood the fine statue or image of Apollo Daphneus or the Daphnean God, as Julianus the emperor calls it, equalling, as Ammianus says, the greatness of the statue of Jupiter Olympus. (..) Here was also a temple and sanctuary of Diana, as Strabo states. Similarly, here Germanicus Caesar kept his court, as Tacitus has recorded. (..) His, that is Germanicus' tomb was at Antiochia, where his corpse was burnt.” <sup>10</sup>

About the fate of the oracle and the temple:

“Julianus in his *Misopogonos* writes that he had so many times and often gone to this oracle that he could not possibly remember how often. In this time also, Sozomenus, Theodoretus and Saint Chrysostomus write that this oracle ceased to give any answer at all at the time of emperor Julianus. For Gallus, the brother of this Julianus, being elected Caesar by his father Constantius, determined because he professed to the Christian belief to cleanse and purge this place of that heathen superstition, and he did that by the following means: he commanded that the coffin of Saint Babyla, that dependable martyr (..) be brought from Antiochia to that place. The mere presence [of this coffin], as Gallus had truly predicted, [was the cause] that the devil instantly became wholly dumb. (..) Julianus, having difficulty to accept this, commanded the Christians to carry away the coffin of Babyla from there to somewhere else, [a command] which was straightaway performed accordingly. Not long after that (the very night one author says) the chapel happened to catch fire, which consumed the roof and burnt the statue to ashes. This was the end of this Apollo and Daphne, as also of this temple.”  
Follows a survey of various versions of what happened, the conclusion being that the fire was caused by thunder and lightning and not through human carelessness. “In spite of this, we read in Nicephorus and Callistus that this place from that time [onwards] was not altogether forsaken and deserted, but continued for a long time to be frequented, and that games, plays and shows were usually held and kept there.”

Later, several reliable witnesses testified about the absence of any traces:

“Saint Chrysostomus writes that in his time there stood one remaining column, firm and sound, which neither any violent tempest of wind and weather, nor any trembling earthquake had ever shaken or overthrown. (..) And although Procopius states that this temple was rebuilt by Justinianus the emperor, yet Cedrenus (who lived much later than Saint Chrysostomus) says that in his time no stick or stone was left of it. This is also confirmed as the truth by my good friend Mr. Joachimus Axonius Gravianus, a man <sup>11</sup>, very famous and honourable for the various distant travels undertaken and performed by him, and especially for his skill in various strange languages, and an eye witness of the same place. For he, being interrogated by me about the present situation of the place, answered plainly that besides some trees, there is nothing left to be seen of [this temple] at all.”

The Dutch editions of the Daphne-map have a much shorter text with a different appreciation of the place. After the geographic details of the location it continues:

“There are many tall cypress trees here, and also various other trees, which have grown together so closely that the earth seems to be covered with a roof against the sun. Under the trees, the earth, depending on the season, produces various flowers, which emit a sweet smell. Then there are beautiful clear springs. This region is sweet, the winds sigh in a lovely manner, providing pleasure and satisfaction for all. There is also a fountain there of which the water is believed to have originated from the Castalian spring, which has the power to make prophecies with a virtue similar to that of Delphi. This is supposed to have been the result of some noble deed of Apollo, who chased the daughter of Peneus because of his love for her, but she changed into a tree. But Apollo, whose love was not quenched, crowned himself with [her] boughs and leaves, and also embraced the tree, and thus provided this place with exceptional virtues above others. Therefore this place, as well as its nature and also the fable about its lover, has pleased the hearts of youngsters greatly. And they indulge in this pleasure ground, and therefore it is considered shameful that any virtuous man would come to it. For whatever man strolls here without his wife is considered a fool. Everyone is devoted to lust here. Apollo is worshipped here in a temple, to counteract the devil. But when the Christian religion arose, the devil kept silent, and some fire came unexpectedly, which burned the statue of the idol and his entire temple. Chrysostomus says that in his time one column of this temple still remained, which neither the storms, nor earthquakes had been able to topple, as a warning to their offspring. But Cedrenus, who lived after Chrysostomus, says that this temple can no longer be seen. This is confirmed by Joachimus Axonius Gravianus, who visited the place himself. He is a man, renowned because of the many travels he undertook, and because he knows many languages. He says that there is no more to be seen nowadays but some trees.”

### **The background: Antioch**

Behind the wood, the river Orontes is seen curving through Antioch and flowing into the Mediterranean at Seleucia. That poses several questions. The orientation of the map is not correct. Antioch lies indeed north-west of present-day Harbiyya, ancient Daphne, but the Orontes flows from there to the south-west. So the top of the map is south, not north. That is not unusual at the time as can be demonstrated by the famous map of Amsterdam by Cornelis Anthonisz (1544) and, to keep to Ortelius, by his map of Anatolia.<sup>12</sup>

Ortelius did not account for his representation of Antioch. He might have had access to recent information, on the site about the background it is suggested that his friend Axonius had made a sketch which he used. So it is possible that he took the situation of Ottoman Antioch in the sixteenth century as his point of departure. To understand what the city did look like a short survey of its history since late antiquity, based on information from Arabic chronicles and reports of Arabic and European travellers, will be helpful.<sup>13</sup>

The decisive question is whether it was fortified or not. If it was fortified in the time of the emperor Julian is uncertain, but after devastation by the Persians in the sixth century, it was rebuilt and fortified by Justinian. Since then, as a frontier town, it changed hands many times. Frequent earthquakes might have caused damage, but when it was conquered by the crusaders in 1098, it was still heavily fortified. As was also the case when the Mamlûk sultan Baybars took it in 1268. Most of the sources about this conquest agree that it caused a massive destruction. Al-Nuwayrî (ca 1300)<sup>14</sup> and Mufaddal ibn abi l-Fadâ'il, a Coptic author who wrote presumably in the fourteenth century<sup>15</sup> cite the provocative and ironic letters which Baybars wrote to Bohemond, the lord of Antioch. Bohemond stayed in Tripoli while Baybars attacked Antioch, and in these letters Baybars, back before Tripoli which he threatened to attack, informed Bohemond about the conquest and described the havoc he wrought: “ [If you had seen the damage] then you would be convinced that the God that had given you Antioch

had taken it back from you and that the Lord that had granted you her fortress had withdrawn it from you and had uprooted it from the earth.”<sup>16</sup> Al-Maqrîzî, who composed his chronicle in the early fifteenth century on the basis of contemporary sources, tells about the care Baybars took to divide the booty (an elaboration on al-Nuwayrî's tale) and reports that the iron of the gates and the lead of the churches was sold on markets outside the walls.<sup>17</sup> That the citadel (not on the map) has been burnt seems sure, that is also reported by Ibn Shaddâd (1272-1281)<sup>18</sup> and Ibn Khaldûn (ca 1380-1390)<sup>19</sup>. About the walls we are less sure. Ibn Battûta, who visited the region between 1325-1349, reports that they were destroyed by Baybars.<sup>20</sup> But in 1481-85 Joos van Ghistele, a Flemish pilgrim, visited Antioch and the book based on his observations written by Ambrosius Zeebout, *Tvoyage van Mher Joos van Ghistele*, tells a different story.<sup>21</sup> After a description of the mighty walls and towers that used to surround the city, he concludes: " .. although the city has begun to fall into decay, still most of the walls and towers are still standing upright." <sup>22</sup> Another panorama dated 1725, by an anonymous engraver, shows a city completely surrounded by a wall. The caption says that it represents the situation in 1630. It was probably made for a Dutch edition of a work by Augustin Calmet (1672-1757), a French Benedictine monk who wrote works about biblical history. <sup>23</sup> In the 19th century, after another devastating earthquake, the remnants of the walls and towers were used as quarries, so in the present situation not much remains to be seen of the old fortifications.

The map shows an open town without walls. That might reflect, as the panorama of Daphne, the situation in late antiquity, be it real or imagined. Several details in the map are realistic, as the bridge over the Orontes and the high mountains behind the town. But the Orontes is too curvy, and you cannot see the sea from Antioch, it is hidden behind a row of hills. So, all taken together, this part is not pure fiction, but an imaginary map with details based on the situation as known in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Dr. Joachim Axonius Gravianus, Ortelius' learned friend**

Who was Ortelius' friend and witness, Dr. Joachim Axonius Gravianus? He has left various traces, but there are still gaps in his biography. That he is remembered in modern biographical dictionaries is thanks to his Latin poetry. The New Dutch Biographical Dictionary and several other similar works have short notices about him.<sup>24</sup> But they are far from complete, and not everything they state is true.

The research about his life and works has given the following picture. Axonius was born at an unknown date, presumably around 1530 or somewhat later in Grave, a small town on the southbank of the Meuse in the present-day Dutch province of Noord-Brabant. He should have studied law in Leuven, but that could not be corroborated by a registration in the registers of the university.<sup>25</sup> It is certain that he went to Germany and spent some time in 1558-59 at the university of Ingolstadt as teacher of Greek and Latin.<sup>26</sup> In 1559 he published a book in nearby Dillingen, with a dedication to the bishop of Gurk in Carinthia, maybe with the intention to apply for employment. Then he must have gone to Vienna, where he in 1560 dedicated a book to the emperor Ferdinand. All these books were translations from the Greek into Latin, he seems to have aspired a career in this field. Later he offered a manuscript about the history of the Jews to Maximilian II, at the time king of Bohemia, not yet emperor. For that reason it must be dated between 1562 and 1564.

Axonius is said to have accompanied Philippe de Lalaing as tutor on travels through Europe. This Philippe de Lalaing cannot have been the count of Hoogstraten (1510-1555), as is contended in the biographical dictionaries, but it must have been his nephew and namesake, Philippe count of Lalaing (ca 1537 – 1582).<sup>27</sup> Philippe de Lalaing travelled through Europe in or before 1562, as a report by a companion testifies. That Axonius took part in this trip could

not yet be confirmed.<sup>28</sup> He wrote a Latin poem at the occasion of the wedding, on 07-06-1569, of Philippe, count of Lalaing, and Margaretha de Ligne Arenberg, titled *Gamelion, seu Nuptiale in Nuptias Philippi Lalani comitis et Margaretha Arenbergae*.

On 13-09-1564 Axonius took the doctorsdegree *in utroque iure*, both laws, in Bologna.<sup>29</sup> He published a few books in France, again translations from the Greek. Although the dates of these publications could thusfar not be established, they fit in this part of his life. He is further supposed to have spent much time in Greece and from there to have visited the Holy Land, but when is unclear. He bequeathed an itinerary in Latin to his heirs, sons of his wife from an earlier marriage.<sup>30</sup> If it stills exists, it has until now not been found.

At a certain moment Axonius must have realized that his scientific carreer had no future and that he had better chose another profession. Those were the early years of the revolt of the Netherlands against the harsh anti-protestant policy of the Spanish government. When Axonius settled in Antwerp is not yet known, but he published in 1578 a second edition of the wedding poem in that city, and also two other Latin poems, *Epicedion & Monumentum in morte Anthonii Burgundi, Regis Catholici nomine apud Belgas maris Praefecti* and *Carmen in laudem Cosmographiae*.<sup>31</sup> Antony of Burgundy was governor of Zeeland and was killed during the siege of Middelburg in 1573. It is tempting to relate the poem in praise of cosmography to Ortelius, but there is no proof that it is.

In that same year he published a translation of a Byzantine Admonition to emperor Justinian<sup>32</sup> that he dedicated to archduke Matthias, brother of emperor Maximilian II, who as “landvoogd” or governor of the Netherlands acted as representative of the Spanish crown between 1577 and 1581. Matthias appointed Axonius to be a member of the Council of Frisia, but being non-Frisian he was not well received and his anti-protestant attitude did not help his acceptation.<sup>33</sup> He served in Frisia from 1578 to 1580, then he went to Antwerp. Alexander Farnèse, Duke of Parma, who had brought Antwerp back under Spanish rule in 1585, reorganized the Admiralty of Antwerp, and in 1592 Axonius became a member of its governing board to handle juridical cases. In 1597, after a new reorganization, he was appointed by the Archdukes, the new rulers of the southern catholic part of the Netherlands, as judge-assessor in the Tribunal of Maritime Affairs.<sup>34</sup> He died on 25 August 1605 and was buried in the St.-Jacobs-church, the same church where Rubens later was buried.

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<sup>1</sup> Author's name of Th.M.Koornwinder-Wijntjes.

<sup>2</sup> This map has nr. 232 on the index made by M.P.R van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps: an illustrated guide*, Houten, HES Publishers, 1996. See for all information his site [www.orteliusmaps.com](http://www.orteliusmaps.com). About the exhibition: Alastair Hamilton, *Arabische cultuur en Ottomaanse pracht in Antwerpens Gouden Eeuw*, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerpen, 2001; p 14-15.

<sup>3</sup> Peter H. Meurer, *Fontes cartographici Orteliani. Das "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum" von Abraham Ortelius und seine Kartenquellen*, Weinheim 1991, section 3.4, p. 21-23.

<sup>4</sup> Peter H. Meurer, "Ortelius as the Father of Historical Cartography", in: *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas. Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of his Death 1598-1998*. Utrecht 1998; p. 133-159, esp. p. 150-151.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Bidez, *La vie de l'empereur Julien*, Paris, Société d'éditions "Les Belles Lettres", 1930; in Dutch published as Aula Boeken nr. 5: Joseph Bidez, *Keizer Julianus. De ondergang van het antieke heidendom*, Utrecht-Antwerpen, n.d. See also Hans Teitler, *Julianus de Afvallige. Nieuw licht op de christenvervolgingen*, Amsterdam, Athenaeum-Polak & Van Genneep, 2009; p. 78-80.

<sup>6</sup> See [www.orteliusmaps.com](http://www.orteliusmaps.com). The references to the paragraph numbers and the separate editions have been omitted to get a readable tale.

<sup>7</sup> Philostratus, *Het leven van Apollonius of Tyana*. Vertaald en toegelicht door Simone Mooij-Valk. Amsterdam, Athenaeum-Polak & Van Genneep, 2013; boek I.16.

<sup>8</sup> Publius Ovidius Naso, *Metamorphoses*, book 1, 452-567.

<sup>9</sup> This is the only source which mentions walls around Daphne, Ortelius did not follow this idea.

<sup>10</sup> Tacitus, *Annales* II : 69-73, the history of Germanicus, who died in Seleucia. The cremation of his corpse took place in Antiochia. This tale consists of two parts, taken from the paragraphs 232.8 and 232.28.

<sup>11</sup> Only two German editions added: from the city of Grave.

<sup>12</sup> *Epitome Theatri Orteliani, Praecipuarum Orbis Regionum delineationes, minoribus tabulis expressas, brevioribusque declarationibus illustratas, continens*, Antwerpen 1589 (reprint n.d.), p. 90.

<sup>13</sup> See for a short survey EI<sup>2</sup>, vol. I, p. 516-517, s.v. Antakiyya.

<sup>14</sup> Shihâb al-dîn Ahmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhâb al-Nuwayrî, *Nihâyat al-arab fî funûn al-adab*, ed. by Muhammad ʿAbd al-Hârî Shaʿîra and Muhammad Mustafâ Ziyâra, Cairo 1990; vol. 30, p. 307-311; published with translation also by M.Quatremère as appendix to his *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Egypte écrite en Arabe par Taki-eddin-Ahmed-Makrizi, traduite en Français et accompagnée de notes philologiques, historiques, géographiques par --*, Vol. I, p. 190-194; Paris 1840.

<sup>15</sup> E.Bloch, *Moufazzal Ibn Abil-Fazâil, Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, in: *Patrologia Orientalis* vol. 12, Paris 1919; p. 504-514.

<sup>16</sup> Author's translation from al-Nuwayrî.

<sup>17</sup> Taqî al-dîn Abû l-ʿAbbâs Ahmad ibn ʿAlî ibn ʿAbd al-Qâdir al-ʿUbaydî al-Maqrîzî, *Kitâb al-sulûk li-maʿrifati duwal al-mamlûk*, ed. by Muhammad ʿAbd al-Qâdir ʿAtâ, 8 vols., Beirut 1997; vol. II, p. 50-51.

<sup>18</sup> ʿIzz al-Dîn Ibn Shaddâd, *Description de la Syrie du Nord*. Traduction annotée de *Al-aʿlâq al-khatîra fî dhikr umârâ' al-Shâm wa l-Jazîra*, par Anne-Marie Eddé-Terrasse, Damascus 1984; p. 261.

<sup>19</sup> Taʾrîkh Ibn Khaldûn (Kitâb al-ʿIbar), 7 vols., Beirut 1968; vol. V, p. 837-838.

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<sup>20</sup> *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*. Texte Arabe, accompagné d'une traduction par C. Defrémery et le dr B.R. Sanguinetti, Vol. I, p. 162, Paris 1853. *The Travels of Ibn Battûta A.D. 1325-1354*, transl. by H.A.R. Gibb; Vol. I, Cambridge 1958; p. 102-105.

<sup>21</sup> Ambrosius Zeebout, *Tvoyage van Mher Joos van Ghistele*, ed. by R.J.G.A.A. Gaspar, Hilversum, Verloren, 1998; p. 310.

<sup>22</sup> In Dutch: " .. ende al eist so dat de zelve stede zeere beghint te nieuten te gane ende vervallene, nochtans de mueren ende torren staen noch meest te vele deelen ever hende."

<sup>23</sup> Found on the internet on 6/11/2009, see: [www.iscra.nl](http://www.iscra.nl). Text: De Stadt Antiochie in Syria aan den Orontes zo als deselve was in het jaar 1630.

<sup>24</sup> *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 4, p. 69-70, on the internet at [www.dnbl.org](http://www.dnbl.org). See also *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, Paris 1854, vol. II, p. 520-521, with a list of publications. The oldest biographical notices are in Franciscus Sweertius, *Athenae Belgicae sive nomenclator infer. Germaniae scriptores* (.), Antwerpen 1628.

<sup>25</sup> A. Schillings, *Matricule de l'Universté de Louvain*, Vol. IV, Février 1528 – Février 1569. Bruxelles 1961.

<sup>26</sup> Carl Prantl, *Geschichte der Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität in Ingolstadt*. Landshut 1872; p. 331: "Im J. 1558 wurde ein gewisser Joachim Axonius für die beiden antiken Sprachen auf Probe aufgenommen." (7 Dec. 1558). No further mention of him is made, so the contract obviously was not continued. Ingolstadt was a center of the Counter-Reformation, as was Dillingen.

<sup>27</sup> See for his life and career Robert Born, *Les Lalaing*, Bruxelles 1986.

<sup>28</sup> The report about his travels: Adrien d'Eclaibes, *Le chemin de Flandre pour l'Italie que j'ai fait avec Mgr le Comte de Lalaing*. 1562. It seems to be a manuscript, but has so far not been located.

<sup>29</sup> Maria Teresa Guerrini, *Qui voluerit in iure promoveri: i dottori in diritto nello studio di Bologna 1501-1796*, Bologna 2005; nr. 1952, p. 234-235, 13-09-1564, Joachim Axonius gravianus.

<sup>30</sup> Sweertius, *Athenae Belgicae*, p. 384: Itinerarium docto stylo M.S. latet apud heredes.

<sup>31</sup> Petrus Hofman Peerlkamp, *Expositio [...] de vita ac doctrina omnium Belgarum qui Latina carmina composuerunt*, 1822; p. 192-193 about Axonius and the *Gamelion*.

<sup>32</sup> It is his only translation that has been reprinted, in 1661 in Cologne.

<sup>33</sup> O. Vries e.a., *De Heeren van den Raede. Biografieën en groepsportret van het Hof van Friesland, 1499-1811*. Hilversum, Verloren, 1999; p. 252. For the background of his nomination: J.J. Woltjer, *Friesland in Hervormingstijd*, Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1962; p. 273, 303.

<sup>34</sup> W. Waterschoot, *De "Poeticsche Werken" van Jonker Jan van der Noot. Analytische bibliografie en tekstuitgave met inleiding en verklarende aantekeningen door ...*, 3 vols., Gent 1975; vol. 2, p. 469: Laudatory poem for Joachim Axonius at the occasion of his nomination as auditor in the Admiralty; vol. 3, p. 338-340: biography. For more details about the nomination and the function of the tribunal see Jacques Bolsée, *Inventaire des Archives des Conseils et Sièges d'Amirauté*, in: *Inventaires des archives de la Belgique*, Tongres 1932; Introduction, p. 153-161.