

Premessa

Questo libro è un omaggio e un tributo di affetto a Giovanna Brogi, che con la sua instancabile attività didattica e di ricerca dapprima nell'Università di Urbino, e da molti anni ormai in quella di Milano, è divenuta una figura di riferimento per gli studi slavistici in Italia e all'estero. Il volume era stato concepito come una raccolta di saggi sia di colleghi che hanno condiviso e apprezzato il percorso di ricerca di Giovanna, sia di studiosi più giovani che da lei hanno ricevuto insegnamenti e sostegno nella loro vita professionale (e talora personale); ma poi, via via che si delineava più chiaramente una rete internazionale di rapporti e di interessi scientifici comuni, l'opera si è dilatata fino a raggiungere le dimensioni attuali.

Si è preferito non costringere gli autori entro gabbie tematiche, lasciando che ciascuno scegliesse come sviluppare il proprio personale dialogo con Giovanna; la varietà e la ricchezza dei contributi hanno poi suggerito di non suddividerli in sezioni e di limitarsi a disporli secondo l'ordine alfabetico degli autori. Ma, a guardar bene, questa varietà e ricchezza rispecchiano l'ampiezza degli interessi e delle curiosità intellettuali di Giovanna Brogi, quell'apertura al nuovo che l'ha portata nel corso della sua carriera ad un'assidua attività di organizzazione di convegni, cura di libri, raccolta di fondi per favorire, in anni difficili, la ricerca di colleghi stranieri e di giovani studiosi. Di qui nascono anche le vaste e impegnative indagini nei campi della polonistica, della letteratura russa medievale e dell'ucrainistica, in cui convivono e interagiscono le dimensioni storico-culturale, letteraria e linguistica. Le sue intuizioni hanno più volte precorso i tempi, anticipando nuovi orizzonti di ricerca e conquistandole un'autorevolezza riconosciuta a livello nazionale e internazionale, e non solo da coloro che hanno preso parte a questo libro.

Senza pretendere di tracciare qui una biografia intellettuale di Giovanna Brogi ripercorrendone la molteplice e sempre intensa attività scientifica e didattica, vorremmo ricordare alcuni momenti particolarmente significativi di incontro e di dialogo fra culture e scuole da lei promossi e realizzati: primi fra tutti i due pionieristici congressi organizzati presso l'università di Urbino, dove studiosi polacchi, ucraini e russi si confrontarono sulla storiografia e sulla cultura barocca in area slava. A questo ruolo di mediazione ha contribuito in modo rilevante la formazione umanistica, italiana ed europea, che contraddistingue il profilo culturale di Giovanna Brogi. Negli anni in cui ha presieduto l'Associazione Italiana degli Slavisti, Giovanna ha contribuito a proiettare gli studi slavistici

italiani in una prospettiva internazionale, sollecitando il confronto fra studiosi di diversa provenienza geografica e differente formazione culturale, e coinvolgendo nell'attività scientifica e organizzativa dottorandi e dottori di ricerca.

L'approdo ultimo di questo itinerario è rappresentato dall'impegno profuso negli studi ucrainistici, che l'hanno portata a creare, in tempi non facili per l'università italiana, uno dei pochi insegnamenti di Civiltà letteraria ucraina e di Lingua ucraina presso l'ateneo milanese.

Il nostro grazie va al Dipartimento di Studi linguistici, letterari e filologici dell'Università di Milano e a Marcello Garzaniti, la cui collaborazione nella fase iniziale di questa iniziativa è stata decisiva per la pubblicazione del volume. Grazie anche ad Alberto Alberti, il cui lavoro scrupoloso e paziente ci ha permesso di condurre felicemente in porto il progetto. Ringraziamo quanti hanno inviato il loro contributo e anche tutti coloro che, pur non potendo parteciparvi, hanno manifestato il loro incoraggiamento.

Le Curatrici

Slavic Bison or European Beast? Thoughts on Nicolas Hussovianus' *Song of the Bison*

Jerzy Axer (Warszawa)

The Latin poem *Carmen de statura, feritate ac venatione bisontis* by Nicolas Hussovianus, published at the Wietor printing house in Cracow in 1523, unexpectedly aroused a lot of interest among Central and Eastern Europe's literary historians in the last quarter of the 20th century. It is clear today that the basis for the sudden popularity of this difficult poem, previously unappreciated by neo-Latin scholars, was the national revival in the western republics of the Soviet Union on the eve of the empire's disintegration. Never reprinted or imitated by anyone in the Old Poland period, apparently preserved in just three copies¹, this work unexpectedly turned out to be worthy not only of an intense discussion among specialists, but also of being published many times in the original Latin and in translations into four languages (Russian, Belarusian, Lithuanian, and to the least extent – Ukrainian)².

A very interesting dispute arose among different ethnoses in the 1970s and '80s over the right to call Hussovianus their national poet. It is easy to distinguish the incorporation of Latin-language literature into national literary history as a parallel process in Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine. A few years ago I said that dividing the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's heritage among the elites

¹ One copy currently at the St. Petersburg Library; one copy at the Czartoryski Library in Cracow, the basis for all editions and phototype publications to date (except the St. Petersburg edition of 1855); one copy at the Ossoliński National Institute, Wrocław.

² Russian translation: Jakau Parëcki and Jasep Semiažon in the periodical "Neman" (1968), book edition 1980; Belarusian translation: Ja. Semiažon in "Polymia" magazine (1969), book edition 1973; Lithuanian translation: Benediktas Kazlauskas (full poem 1977); Ukrainian partial translation in *Ukrajinska poezija XVI stolittja* (1987). On the 500th anniversary of the birth of Nicolas Hussovianus and Francysk Skaryna, when UNESCO included them on the world list of patrons of 1980, jubilee editions were published in Belarus: a trilingual one (Latin, Belarusian, Russian) with an extensive study by Viktor Daraškevič (translators as above), and a bilingual one (without the Latin text), an abridged version of the previous edition. Both were published in Minsk. Uladzimir Šaton's translation into Belarusian was published in 1994 (Minsk, book edition), and Natalia Arsenneva's translation appeared in "Krynica" magazine in 1997. In 1984 Parëcki published his monograph *Nikolaj Gusovskij* in Minsk, promoting Hussovianus as a symbol of Belarusian national culture; earlier, V. Daraškevič had presented Hussovianus and Skaryna as the authors of original Belarusian literature and identity who expressed themselves in Latin (Daraškevič 1979).

of the new nations inheriting from that multinational state was necessary if these texts were to have an impact on the development of the intellectual culture of future generations³.

In the times of Soviet Belarus, there emerged a cult of Hussovianus as a Belarusian partner for Dante, Virgil or Homer (he was also compared to Petrarca and Erasmus of Rotterdam), but different from the great Western poets in that he expressed the Eastern Slavic identity. A symbolic relinquishment of the rights to the poem by the Lithuanians and Ukrainians for the benefit of the Belarusians and Russians (within the former empire) came with the Minsk edition of 1980. The Latin text and its translations into Belarusian and Russian was consulted with the classics departments of Vilnius, Lviv and Leningrad, as Viktor Daraškevič noted in the final sentence of his treatise *Poem of a Lifetime* which came with the aforementioned edition. Was this a joint anti-Western manifesto of eastern Slavdom?

It was only a mask. In fact, regardless of politicians' intentions, once the poem had become a genuine component of contemporary reading culture in Belarus (an extraordinary phenomenon!), it had a life of its own. Working with Belarusian colleagues during several sessions of the East-Central European School in the Humanities organized by the Centre for Studies on the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe (OBTA), University of Warsaw (in Warsaw in June 2000 with the participation of Ukrainians; in Minsk in November 2003 and in Warsaw in February 2004 with the participation of Lithuanians), I became aware of the dynamic of change. Hussovianus' piece was used to justify Belarus' belonging to eastern Slavdom and its unity with Russia as an anti-West choice and as a manifesto of folk, plebeian culture. In this, the poem was starting to be treated as a testing ground to find ways in which the new Belarusian-language elites could establish contact with the past elites of old Belarus, believing that even as they were being Latinized, they did not necessarily lose their ties to their own society or betray their Slavdom. A good example of this kind of reading is offered by the studies of Uladzimir Karotki and Žanna Nekraševič-Karotkaja⁴.

In this context, it is striking how little interest in the poem has been shown in Poland. Eugeniusz Czaplejewicz aptly described the situation in his study *Współczesne przekłady poematu Hussowskiego w świetle heterogeniczności* (*Contemporary Translations of Hussovianus' Poem in the Light of Heterogeneity*)⁵. There have been no translations since the one by Jan Kasprowicz from the early 20th century. This was only published in its entirety in 1994, together with a picture of the Latin first edition, in a project by the Białowieża National Park initiated by the Polish Forest Society to mark the 65th anniversary of European bison being reintroduced into the Białowieża forest (Hussowski 1994). There has been virtually no discussion among literary historians since Jan Pelczar's

³ See Axer 2004: 319-328.

⁴ Authorized summary of their views: Axer 2004: 322-323; an English version of the complete texts is being prepared for publication in "EOS".

⁵ See Czaplejewicz 1996: 43-53.

edition and his monograph of the poet published more than 100 years ago (Pelczar 1894 and 1900), neither has there been any scholarly edition. Classics scholars have been critical of the work's poetic quality, Polish studies scholars have been indifferent⁶.

Polish bison breeders are the only ones to see this poem as an important point of reference. An unusually luxurious edition inspired by this community was published recently (Hussowski 2007), this time with a phototype print of the first edition and translations into five languages: Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, Belarusian and English⁷. This time the institution behind the project was the Uroczysko (Wilderness) Association, and the volume was published in connection with a session entitled "Bison – Extinction and Rescue" on the biology, breeding and protection of bison in Poland and elsewhere in Europe. The reason given for publishing a multilingual edition was the historical reach of the animal's habitat⁸.

Czaplejewicz rightly titles the first part of his work "The Hussovianus phenomenon in Polish studies, or about studying without interest"⁹. He thinks the source of such an "aggressive lack of interest" lies in a failure to understand the specificity of the eastern borderland culture. I think the diagnosis should be even tougher: it is a sign of ethnic Polishness taking over the tradition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a kind of 'kiss of death' for the entire Old Polish culture.

I think a good starting point for looking at *Carmen de bisonte* from a fresh perspective is to completely abandon any dispute over the author's national affiliation. It is true that Polish neo-Latin studies under communism treated the Latin heritage of Silesia and Western Pomerania similarly to the practice of Belarusian and Lithuanian scholars during the weakening and collapse of the Soviet Union towards the Latin-language heritage of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth¹⁰. However, with respect to lands that formed the Polish-Lithuanian state in the 16th-18th centuries, ethnocentric claims would do no more than discourage future generations from taking an interest in their shared heritage.

A completely new plane of interpretation, as I wrote a few years ago, could be found by focusing on the role that this text was meant to fulfill as part of a political propaganda show designed by the Polish king's mission to Rome.

⁶ Some parts of the Latin original and Polish translation by Kasprowicz, have been published in Lewandowski 1996; parts of the translation in Plezia 1952, Jelicz 1956 and 1985, Żukowska 1977, and recently Dynak, Sokolski 2008.

⁷ Translations were reprinted as follows: Lithuanian – from the 1977 Vilnius edition, Polish – from the 1994 Białowieża National Park edition, Russian and Belarusian with a critical edition of the Latin original – from the 1980 trilingual Minsk edition. The English translations of excerpts for this edition were by Michał J. Mikoś.

⁸ See the introduction to the above edition, by K. Wolfram (Hussowski 2007: 9-10).

⁹ Czaplejewicz 1996: 43-46.

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. Ulčinaite 1993. Hussovianus was considered a part of Lithuanian literature also by Lithuanian scholars before the war and in exile.

In the present text I will elaborate on this theme, leaving out the issue of the poem's literary genesis and the dispute over its originality versus Western European neo-Latin tradition. Let me just note that the most interesting remarks on this were offered by Jerzy Krókowski¹¹, and especially Claude Backvis in whose approach this work was one where two aesthetics clashed – the Western Renaissance and Sarmatian (Old Polish) local color¹².

A letter of dedication addressed to Queen Bona which preceded the poem suggests that the Polish king's envoy, Bishop of Płock Erazm Ciołek, commissioned the author to write the poem following a conversation with Pope Leo X. The pope expressed his interest in seeing the royal hunting trophy of northern rulers, already extinct in the west of Europe – the bison. Therefore the bishop asked Prince Radziwiłł Czarny (the Black) to send him the largest possible bison hide to be stuffed with hay so that a show could be put on for the pope. The reading of the poem would serve as accompaniment for the presentation of the specially prepared 'arch-bull'. The plan never came to fruition, as Pope Leo X died on December 1, 1521. Soon after, Hussovianus also lost his patron (Ciołek died in September 1522), but he finished the poem and readdressed it as a gift for Queen Bona Sforza, the wife of Sigismund I Jagiellon, King of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. However, he never tried to erase its origins.

Exact dating of the moment when Hussovianus started writing his poem is possible only to some extent. He certainly finished it soon after January, 1522 and before August of the same year. This is clear from the writer's appeal to Leo X's successor, Adrian VI, to come quickly to Rome (the new pope was elected in January and arrived in Rome in September). Hence the main corpus of the poem must have been ready when Leo X was still alive. The time *post quem* can be proposed on the basis of Hussovianus' statement at the start of the poem, where he mentions that he came to Italy shortly before starting to write, and that he had never been there before, and also from a second mention that being in Rome, he was witness to bullfights and the enthusiasm this show aroused. We read that he then told stories of his own experience with the incomparably more dangerous wild bulls living in the forests of his native land. As a result, he was asked to write down these remarks in verse "in the greatest haste" ("ut dicta referrem / Carmine, quod raptim condere iussus eram"¹³).

Thus, everything indicates that Hussovianus arrived in Rome in the spring of 1520 (or perhaps even 1521¹⁴), he saw the bullfights which added luster to the carnival in the Eternal City, and soon received a commission from the royal legate who was his patron, Bishop Erazm Ciołek.

The bishop's idea to offer the pope a bison is worth deeper consideration than the attention it has been given to date. Deliberations on the quality of

¹¹ Krókowski 1959.

¹² Backvis 1968: 40-100.

¹³ Lines 14-15 Hussovianus' work quoted after Pelczar's edition (Pelczar 1894).

¹⁴ This was the view of Władysław Pocięcha (Pocięcha 1949: 131-132).

Hussovianus' writing and his national affiliation have completely overshadowed the fact that what we have here is evidence of a carefully planned though never staged show. The script for the show was devised by an expert politician at the historically important moment of a political turning point, and designed to be performed on the world's most important political stage.

The only commentators who appreciated the importance of Hussovianus' work from such a viewpoint were again foreigners – Americans free of the burden of our reading of the poem: Harold B. Segel and Simon Schama¹⁵. The former noticed very rightly that Hussovianus would have been very surprised at the sort of fame he enjoys among Eastern European scholars, and that the proper road towards understanding the poem's uniqueness is to see it in the context of the show planned for the papal court. The latter highlighted the peculiarity of the experiment of describing the primeval forest landscape in Latin. He said Hussovianus thus accomplished a kind of inculturation of the forest country, *ergo* the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, into European culture. Neither of them, however, considered the planned show from the point of view of diplomatic custom and the relations between kings of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Western rulers.

Let us begin by noting that the tradition of 'royal hunts' as an important means of building the space of power is particularly prominent in the Jagiellon dynasty. The king, who as a hunter became also both a knight and a ruler of the territory where he hunted, is a key figure to understanding the behavior models which Jagiełło took from the Lithuanian tradition and which were intrinsic to the ethos of the multicultural Grand Duchy's ruler. It also seems justified to say that this model had a major impact on the attitude that his successors had towards the hunt.

The bison and the aurochs were the noblest species among the *animalia superiora*, considered royal game since the early Middle Ages, and had the legendary reputation of worthy opponents for the bravest knights. Let us add that in the Ruthenian culture the aurochs – often not distinguished from the bison – was a symbol of strength and power, like the lion in the Western world.

Hence, trophies from hunting these animals were a particularly appropriate gift in relations between the Jagiellons and the most important European rulers: the emperor and the pope. Since these animals were long extinct in the west of Europe, gifts like this had special value in the court culture as highly regarded 'curiosities' highlighting the symbolic significance of the gesture and the importance of the donor.

In this context, a gesture the most similar to Erazm Ciołek's concept would be the gesture of Władysław Jagiełło in 1415, when he offered the future emperor, Sigismund of Luxembourg, a meticulously prepared aurochs. There were supposed to be three aurochs originally, delivered alive, but because they died before they left Poland, one of them was placed in salt and spices to stop it from rotting and delivered with ceremony to the king of Rome, who was at the Coun-

¹⁵ Segel 1989: 138-160; Schama 1996: 38-42.

cil of Constance at the time. He in turn decided to send the extraordinary gift to the king of England, Henry V, who was conducting his successful campaigns in France. During this time Sigismund of Luxembourg was a mediator in the war between France and England, as he was also in the Polish-Teutonic conflict. The aurochs traveled in style, with a trumpeter preceding the cart and calling upon local people to come out and admire this *curiosum*¹⁶.

That is my view of the cultural and historical genesis of Erazm Ciołek's idea, obligated as he was to win the pope's support in the face of Poland and Lithuania's new war with the Teutonic Order (1519-1521). I am absolutely not suggesting any direct connection, i.e. that Ciołek was intentionally repeating a script from a hundred years before¹⁷. I only want to highlight the appropriateness of this gesture, which remained within the tradition of the Lithuanian Jagiellons' missions to Western rulers. That is all as far as the sender of the message goes.

It would be hard to find better compatibility between a message and the recipient's expectations. Leo X was not only an enthusiastic hunter but also a ruler who turned the hunt into one of the most important ceremonies building the space of the pope's lay rule. There was great personal passion in his hunting activity. First and foremost, though, what we see here is a strategy whereby the behavior of the Eternal City's ruler is presented as being similar to that of the first Caesars – Julius and Octavian Augustus. The *venationes* with their antique motifs were perfect for this purpose¹⁸.

Another element it was possible to take advantage of with regard to the pope's love of the hunt and to its functioning in the symbolism of power, was the name Giovanni de' Medici adopted after his election. What gift could be more appropriate for Leo X than one which assumed the form of a tribute from envoys of different provinces of the animal kingdom to its monarch – the Lion? This motif was also one that humanist poets at the papal court liked to elaborate upon.

An event that gained special fame some years before Erazm Ciołek's mission to Rome was the arrival in that city (in 1514) of envoys of Emmanuel I, king of Portugal. At the time, he was developing his empire in the East – *Estado da Índia* – which ruled over the spice routes, and wanted to consolidate his conquests by obtaining papal privileges. The mission, whose aim was to proclaim Portugal's overseas triumphs to the world and at the same time win the Holy See's favor for such undertakings, brought magnificent gifts that documented everything extensively. Apart from jewels, manuscripts and artworks, King Emmanuel also selected specimens from his collection of rare animals and birds.

¹⁶ For hunting bison and aurochs as a *regale*, see: Samsonowicz 1991: 45-52. For the role of the hunt at the court of Władysław Jagiełło, see: Jaworski 2001: on aurochs and bison, see pp. 45-46, on the king's hunting gifts, see pp. 69-72 (also includes mention of the aurochs sent to Sigismund of Luxembourg, and further references).

¹⁷ Though this cannot be ruled out, seeing that Hussovianus himself refers in his poem to the hunting memories of people remembering the times of Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas (who ruled in 1401-1430).

¹⁸ Cf. Visceglia 2000: 132 and subsequent pages.

The pride of the collection and a true *curiosum* was a young white elephant. The animal became an absolute sensation at the papal court. Named Hanno, it was the pope's favorite pet, and when it died in 1516 the pope personally wrote its epitaph, translated into Latin by Filippo Beroaldo himself.

The success of this gift was so huge that King Emmanuel tried to repeat it. This time, the gift he sent to Rome was the first Indian rhinoceros in Europe since ancient times, but the ship carrying the animal sank off the coast of Genoa. The rhino's corpse was fished out, stuffed, and ceremonially carried into Rome in February 1516. If it had not been for the pope's absence and his subsequent illness, the stuffed rhino would certainly have become the main attraction of a spectacular show.

Ciołek knew Leo X very well from his own previous stays in Rome, before Giovanni became pope, and was friends with him. When he came to Italy in 1518, the wall near the main entrance to the Vatican already featured a portrait of the white elephant (executed under Raphael's supervision) which welcomed ambassadors and pilgrims. The stuffed rhinoceros – lost today – was most probably still being shown to visitors at this time.

This was likely what directly inspired the Polish king's envoy. The success of the Portuguese king's diplomatic gifts as he proclaimed his rule over an overseas empire, must have encouraged the envoy of Sigismund I, king of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, to offer the pope an animal symbolizing the Jagiellons' aspirations to rule over the northeastern fringes of Europe – the land of forests and steppes. This was particularly important at a time when plans for a great anti-Turkish crusade involving Poland, which required peaceful relations between Sigismund I, Grand Duke of Muscovy Vasily III and the Teutonic Order in Prussia, were jeopardized when Poland started a war with the Teutonic Order. The king informed the pope of the commencement of military operations by a letter of January 25 and 26, 1520. Somewhere between these dates and the signing of the Polish-Teutonic truce on April 5, 1521 is when Ciołek commissioned Hussovianus to write the poem and began his efforts to obtain the largest possible bison hide from Lithuania.

The political arguments contained in the poem correspond very exactly to Ciołek's orders from the king on how to explain the reasons for the temporary withdrawal from the crusade plans and for starting the conflict with the Teutonic Knights. There are clear suggestions that the Order (never mentioned by name) is joining in an anti-Polish alliance with Muscovy and the Tatars, and even the Turks¹⁹.

The presentation of the arch-bull from the fairy-tale forests of the North, accompanied by a recitation of the poem (perhaps also a pantomime performance), was to have been a display of the military readiness of the knights of Jagiellon territories. The West should then appreciate the value of the support that could be provided by a people who practiced the art of war not in ritualized fights with farm-reared bulls, of the kind fought by Roman nobles on the streets

¹⁹ Cf. Smolucha 1999: 178-180.

and squares of the Eternal City during the carnival, but in the greatest test of valor: in combat with the bull of all bulls – the bison²⁰.

Now for a summary. Hussovianus' poem plays the role of an elaborate lemma which was designed to accompany an emblematic visualization of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania's territories being included in Christian Europe. The performance was to declare that for the papacy this could be a much more reliable ally against the Turkish and Muscovite threat than the Teutonic Order which entered into alliances with enemies of Christianity.

We know today that Hussovianus came from the Przemyśl region²¹. This in no way resolves the issue of his 'nationality' as we understand it today. Undoubtedly, in cultural terms he had ties to the Ruthenian tradition, referred to texts written in Cyrillic alphabet. The Ruthenian part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was dear to him in emotional terms: his experiences and memories from the Lithuanian court of Alexander seem to live in his poetry. This may have been where he met Erazm Ciołek, who later most likely appointed him notary public. Hussovianus could have been among the humanists gathered around Princess Helena, daughter of Ivan of Muscovy, and Zoe from the Byzantine Paleolog family. His ties with the court of Alexander are suggested by the words of praise for Vytautas (honored with an extensive digression in the poem), whom Alexander as the Grand Duke of Lithuania invoked in his political program. The possible ties with the court of Helena could be suggested by the digression on her adventure during the bison hunt. Later, it seems, Hussovianus also enjoyed the patronage of the princes of Golšany²². Politically, on the other hand, he unequivocally declares himself as a *Polonus*. Erazm Ciołek could not have chosen a better author to add credibility to his manifesto declaring that the elite of eastern Slavdom under Jagiellon rule was joining Christian Europe.

There is something symbolic about the difference between the careers of the animal ambassadors paying homage to the pope the Lion on behalf of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* and the unfulfilled mission of the bison, "King of Lithuanian Forests"²³. If the bison had reached its destination, an equally interesting story may have emerged like the one about the pope's pachyderms²⁴. And it might have been portrayed, like the elephant, by Raphael, or like the rhinoceros, by Dürer. As things are, it would only be possible as a part of alternative history.

²⁰ I am paraphrasing an expression from my own paper, see Axer 2004: 325. *Nota bene*, it is hard to understand how Segel (Segel 1989) could have taken the poem's description of the hunt as a tournament preparing knights for the great war against the infidels to be a pacifist manifesto. On the fights with bulls in Rome during the carnival, see Boîteux 1980.

²¹ Ochmański 1985.

²² *Ibidem*: 317-318.

²³ I am paraphrasing here Mickiewicz words: "Dawny tur, żubr i niedźwiedź, puszcz imperatory..." (*Pan Tadeusz*, book IV, line 517).

²⁴ A great success has been a recent book by Silvio A. Bedini (Bedini 1998); cf. also Bedini 1981.

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