Biblioteca di Studi Slavistici
– 25 –

Latinitas in the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

Its Impact on the Development of Identities

edited by
Giovanna Siedina

Firenze University Press
2014

Latinitas in the polish crown and the grand duchy of Lithuania : its impact on the development of identities / edited by Giovanna Siedina - Firenze : Firenze University Press, 2014.

(Biblioteca di Studi slavistici ; 25)

http://digital.casalini.it/9788866556756

ISBN 978-88-6655-675-6 (online)
ISBN 978-88-6655-674-9 (print)

La collana *Biblioteca di Studi Slavistici* è curata dalla redazione di *Studi Slavistici*, rivista di proprietà dell'Associazione Italiana degli Slavisti (<http://fupress.com/riviste/studi-slavistici/17>).

Editing e progetto grafico: Alberto Alberti.

Questo volume è stato pubblicato con il contributo dell'Università degli Studi di Verona, Dipartimento di Lingue e Letterature Straniere.

In copertina: Rappresentazione della Superbia, tratta dal corso di poetica *Via poetarum ad fontes Castalidum*, 1724 (Biblioteca Nazionale Ucraina, Kiev, Ucraina).

Certificazione scientifica delle Opere

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Università degli Studi di Firenze
Firenze University Press
Borgo Albizi, 28, 50122 Firenze, Italy
www.fupress.com

Printed in Italy

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Latinitas *in the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania : Its Impact on the Development of Identities,* edited by Giovanna Siedina, ISBN 978-88-6655-675-6 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-674-9 (print), © 2014 Firenze University Press

Foreword

For the first time in Italy, from 28 to 30 March 2012, scholars from Poland and Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine came together to reflect on the Latin legacy in these countries at an international congress entitled: "The impact of Latin heritage on the development of identities in the lands of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: history, language, literature, modeling patterns of culture and mentality". For Italy, the country that has always preserved and promoted the legacy of classical antiquity in Europe and throughout the world, hosting this congress was both an honour and a duty. With the generous support of the Institute of Polish Culture, the Universities of Florence and Verona therefore invited specialists from these countries, for a conference also in connection with the International Congress of Slavists (Minsk, August 2013), which featured a panel on "The Latin heritage and its influence on the development of identities in the lands of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (16th-18th centuries)", material on which is already available ("Studi Slavistici", IX, 2012, also on line).

We gathered in Florence not only to discuss the Latin legacy, but also to study its role in the formation of the different national identities. Our aim, in fact, was to reconstruct the role played by Latin culture in forming the different nations making up a complex area that has enjoyed long-standing coexistence between diverse ethnicities, religions and languages. For these reasons, in order to understand the sense of the reflections contained in our congressional proceedings, we need to dispel certain commonplaces and at the same time offer some considerations on the cultural history of the area.

To illustrate the purpose of the meeting I take inspiration from the work of one of the most eminent European intellectuals of the twentieth century, the poet Cz. Miłosz, who, with his Polish and Lithuanian origins and the deep bond with classical culture testified by his literary production, is certainly a fortunate example of the continuity of the Latin heritage in these countries.

In his essay *Native Realm* (*Rodzinna Europa*, 1959) Miłosz recalled that in his education at the Stefan Batory Lyceum in Vilnius two figures determined his cultural path: on the one hand a priest, marked by the rigour that had distinguished the counter-Reformation, on the other a classics teacher who had stimulated his positive attitude towards human reason and its creative potential. At first glance, it might appear to be the traditional opposition between

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the souls of religious and secular culture that characterized the secularization of Europe. Numerous biographies of intellectuals in East-Central and Eastern Europe confirm that adherence to classical culture was motivated by their need to defend themselves against the dogmatism first of religion, and then of the ideologies that dominated the twentieth century.

Miłosz's reflections, however, went beyond this mere ideological opposition, and captured a fundamental aspect of the cultural history of the area that for centuries had seen different ethnicities and religions live together within the Polish-Lithuanian state. Beyond the ideological opposition, this cultural history is determined by an internal dialectic in which religious reflection cannot exist without classical heritage, and the classical legacy is permanently marked by a sensitivity that is irremediably Christian. Like the pagan god Janus, the two figures are two faces of the same reality caught up in a sometimes arduous dialogue which, as in the case of Miłosz, involved the author's conscience and his search for truth.

In general, we are used to considering the cultural history of the area from one point of view only, either religious or literary. The former belongs to the historians of Christianity, the latter to philologists and literary critics. Each perspective neglects what is 'foreign' to its own discipline, sometimes with "surgical" operations that tear up the cultural identity of authors and works, and therefore the cultural identity of their nations. This was not the case at our conference since scholars focused neither on classical culture in itself, nor on religious or theological issues; instead, they examined the identity processes of the authors and of the nations to which they belong.

In this perspective, we need to focus greater attention on the intrinsic links of the two aspects, trying to reconstruct the cultural history of this part of Europe, so often overlooked or considered marginal.

The new trends in the humanities that began to develop in the Polish Crown during the fifteenth century found fertile ground, promoting a renewal of the Latin language and culture that already served as the medium not only of worship and culture, but also, vitally, of communication in a multi-ethnic context. At the same time, the Lithuanian and Polish Jagiellonian dynasty, the most important for centuries in Central and Eastern Europe, sought to create a single state which also included the Kingdom of Hungary and which would bring together even if for a short time Slavic and non Slavic peoples from the Adriatic to the Baltic seas and extend eastwards to act jointly as a bulwark for Christendom. This is not the right place to expand on the extraordinary renewal of classical culture between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that led not only to this culture being assimilated into the Polish-Lithuanian *respublica*, but also to a complex process of identity from which several nations would then develop. An important key to these developments was a sense of being heirs and descendants of the ancient Sarmatian knights, who embodied the ideals of both the medieval knight and those of the ancient warlike civilization described in the classics.

It could be argued, however, that the boundaries of this legacy did not extend beyond the world of Latin culture, thereby excluding the cultural tradition of the Eastern Slavs, namely the Belarusian and Ukrainian people, whose religious tradition, orthodoxy and language of worship – Church Slavonic – seem extraneous to the Latin world. Great intellectuals, such as Ihor Shevchenko, have rebuffed this objection but important steps still have to be taken in this direction. The Greek Orthodox tradition and the Church Slavonic language – modeled on Byzantine Greek for centuries – nevertheless created the ruling class's awareness of aesthetic values and in general of the literary forms of the Mediterranean world. This explains why, when Ruthenian intellectuals came into contact with the Latin legacy, first of medieval origin and then imbued with humanistic values within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, they did not feel totally foreign but rather quite similar, with common roots, exactly like the Greeks who had been coming to teach or study in our country since the fifteenth century. The classical echoes that the Byzantine tradition had not silenced, but had handed down even through liturgical and religious texts, were able to flourish once more. Thus new identity processes began, which Ruthenia developed in dialogue with the Polish world in a dialectical relationship that aimed to preserve her own religious tradition by bringing it up to date. In this context, even a new vernacular, the *prosta mova* or *rus'ka mova* came into being.

On this subject Shevchenko commented as follows: "This offensive coming from the West called forth in part an adaptation and in part an hostile reaction by the threatened Ukrainian elite. We call this movement the rebirth of Rus' faith. This rebirth found its expression in the polemical literature and in the creation of the Ostroh and Mohyla colleges as well as of other school stemming from these two institutions. The struggle against the seemingly invincible West was waged officialy in the name of Greek faith of the forebears, but, in fact, it was waged with the help of the same weapons to which the West owed its success – that is, the Jesuit instructional methods, Catholic scholarship, and Catholic belles-lettres." (I. Ševčenko, *Ukraine between East and West*, "Harvard Ukrainian Studies", XVI, 1992, p. 177).

This approach naturally forces us to abandon the rigid confines of disciplines, as well as those of national cultures in order to understand the cultural dynamics which led to the formation of these new cultural identities with their complex stratifications. For this reason, I would like to conclude with a quotation from a great classic author, Cicero, who already in in his *De oratore* invited readers to look beyond the fragmentation of knowledge to return to the sources of a unified cultural view, so indispensable today in this time of crisis, to find the reasons for an authentic humanistic culture: "Non in hac … una, Catule, re, sed in aliis etiam compluribus distributione partium ac separatione magnitudines sunt artium deminutae. An tu existimas, cum esset Hippocrates ille Cous, fuisse tum alios medicos qui morbis, alios qui volneribus alios qui oculis mederentur? Num geometriam Euclide aut Archimede, num musica Da-

mone aut Aristoxeno, num ipsas litteras Arisophane aut Callimacho tractante tam discerptas fuisse, ut nemo genus universum complecteretur atque ut alius aliam sibi partem, in qua elaboratet, seponeret?"[1] (Cicerone, *De oratore*, III, Bologna 1977, p. 99).

Marcello Garzaniti

[1] "Not only in this particular, Catulus, but in many others, the grandeur of the sciences has been diminished by the distribution and separation of their parts. Do you imagine, that when the famous Hippocrates of Cos flourished, there were then some of the medical faculty who cured diseases, others wounds, and a third class the eyes? Do you suppose that geometry under Euclid and Archimedes, that music under Damon and Aristoxenus, that grammar itself when Aristophanes and Callimachus treated of it, were so divided into parts, that no one comprehended the universal system of any of those sciences, but different persons selected different parts on which they meant to bestow their labour?" (Cicero, *De Oratore*, Book 3, XXXIII, 132, transl. by J.S. Watson, New York 1875, s. online version: <http://archive.org/stream/ciceroonoratorya00ciceuoft/ciceroonoratorya00ciceuoft_djvu.txt>).

Latinitas and Identity Formation in the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries). An Introduction

Giovanna Siedina (University of Verona, Italy)

The idea of publishing the articles gathered here originated during the congress held in March 2012 in Florence, which was devoted to the influence of the Latin heritage on the formation and the development of identities in the lands of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries. The authors of the articles are some of the major specialists on this topic from Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, Belarus and Italy.

The influence of *Latinitas* in a wide and diversified territory as was that of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is a very broad subject, which has many aspects. Only in recent years has it been studied from an areal point of view, and not only anachronistically in a modern 'national' key. This same topic was the subject of the thematic block that I organized for the 15th Congress of Slavists held in Minsk (Belarus) from August 20 to August 27, 2013. The considerable interest aroused by the papers read there[1] and the lively discussion that ensued convinced me that the efforts lavished on organizing the congress and the thematic block were not in vain.

The articles published here reflect, at least partly the different approaches and the different degree to which the Latin heritage has been studied in the countries that now occupy the territory of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, that is Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania and Belarus. Besides the political factors, which have certainly slowed down research in this field since WWII, as well as the formation of good specialists in Classical studies in Ukraine and Belarus', the number and the level of publications seems to be directly proportional to the importance that *Latinitas* has had in their cultural and historical development. And thus, while in Poland and Lithuania the scholarly discourse on *Latinitas* has been an active field of study, for several decades[2], in Belarus

[1] They had been previously published as a *Forum* on the 2012 issue of the journal "Studi Slavistici", pp. 199-289, available online at the following website: http://www.fupress.net/index.php/ss/issue/view/895 (accessed 30th August 2014).

[2] Cf., besides the many monographic publications on single authors, themes, works, books with a wider scope that approach the theme of *Latinitas* from different points of view. Such are, to name a few, *Łacina w kulturze polskiej* (1998) by A.W. Mikołajczak, *Łacina jako język elit* (2004), J. Axer, ed., the periodical "Łacina w Polsce" (1995-), published by the Center for Research on Classical Tradition in Poland and in West-Central Europe (Ośrodek Badań nad Tradycją Antyczną w Polsce i w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej).

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and Ukraine it is a less developed area of research and is affected (particularly in the case of Ukraine) by the dearth of specialists with an appropriate level of knowledge. Such a level is necessary to create synergies with other specialists, to pursue multidisciplinary approaches to the theme as well as to achieve the scholarly standards of publication of Latin texts. As regards Belarus, the numerous publications by Žanna Nekraševič-Karotkaja of Minsk University distinguish themselves for the skill with which the best methodologies elaborated by Western critical thought in the last decades have been applied to the study of Latin legacy in the literature of Belarus and more in general of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania[3].

The articles collected in this volume, all published in English, range from history to literature and to cultural history and the history of ideas. They analyze the issue of building an identity, either real or imagined, from different points of view. One of the most interesting topics is the classical origins of myths and ideas that have helped build the national identities of those that constituted the ethnic mosaic of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The articles by Žanna Nekraševič-Karotkaja, Jakub Niedźwiedź and Alexandr Osipian in particular are devoted to this topic.

By skillfully combining the historical-comparative method, the theory of reader-response criticism (cf. Hans Robert Jauss), and the main principles of hermeneutic literary studies, Nekraševič-Karotkaja evaluates the role of the genre of epopee in the literary process of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the Renaissance and early Baroque periods. The genre of epopee was considered the genre par excellence in classical poetry, and in the Renaissance it developed mostly in Latin, and not in national languages. The author retraces the epic genre in the aforementioned area, starting with the classical epopees of Virgilian style, such as the historical-dynastic epos *Bellum Prutenum* by Ioannes Visliciensis (1516), the first poetic presentation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which is essentially a panegyric and dynastic epos in honor of the Jagiellonian dynasty. Nekraševič-Karotkaja rightly stresses that the new humanistic understanding of the idea of *herois perfecti* (perfect hero) of the early humanists (especially those from the 'German cultural space') extends to the literature of the aforementioned region. According to this new understanding, everything associated with intellectual activity was considered worthy of praise (and thus of being described in the 'heroic' meter – the hexameter), just as military feats on the battlefield. This shift, as Nekraševič-Karotkaja demostrantes, is well reflected in the poetry of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (cf. the poems by Nicolaus Hussovianus). At the same time the author also remarks on the difference between the Polish Crown, where in the seventeenth century the number of epic poems written in Polish steadily increased, and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where Latin preserved its dominant position in the heroic epic. The author rightly points to the expansion of the genre repertoire of epic poetry in the transition

[3] Cf. in particular, her monographs *Belaruskaja lacinamoŭnaja paèzija: ranni Rènesans*, Minsk 2009; *Belaruskaja lacinamoŭnaja paèma: pozni Rènesans i rannjae Baroka*, Minsk 2011.

period between the Renaissance and the Baroque, to include *epinicium*, panegyric poems, poem-*hodoeporicon*, *carmen heroicum*. This expansion is paralleled, in the poetry of many Central and Eastern European countries of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, by the appearance of epic elements, formally marked by the predominance of the hexameter as the poetic meter. The hexameter was used not only in *carmina heroica*, but also in hymns, odes, eclogues, *epithalamia*, panegyrics, even in scientific treatises (in verse)[4].

Quite aptly, Nekraševič-Karotkaja applies to the epic literature of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the four stages that Averincev identified in the history of ancient epos: *thesis – antithesis – synthesis (the second classic) – removal*. This allows her to see the literary works she illustrates here in the relevant literary line, up to the period of parody, when heroic epos was replaced by mock-heroic epos: first in Latin, and then in the national languages. As to the evolution of epic poetry in the literature of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as the author states, it can be described with the help of the pattern suggested by H. R. Jauss: the Renaissance poems as a positive model, then the renewal stage during the early Baroque period, gradual automatization in the late Baroque and the Age of Enlightenment and, finally, the period of parody. At the same time, some specific features of the multilingual literature of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania make it 'unsuitable' for inclusion in the framework of any evolutionary conception. Latin poetry, concludes the author, offered two ways of achieving the goal of creating the image of a national hero, that is the military and Christian ideal *herois perfecti*. It was Latin epos that allowed many, mostly Slavic authors, to determine their identity and creative originality while poets of Western Europe created heroic poems in their national languages. Such a conclusion seems to be well illustrated by the next article, by Jakub Niedźwiedź.

Indeed, Niedźwiedź investigates the influence of Virgil's poetry, and especially of his *Aeneid*, on Lithuanian early modern 'national' identity, which was also triggered by the humanistic ways of reading Virgil's texts and the sixteenth-century imitative procedures. In order to verify his hypothesis, the author analyzes eight epic poems published in Polish and Latin between 1516 and 1592. Several topics used in these poems are examined. They are: Lithuania's location in Europe and its geography, Lithuanian history, its inhabitants' sense of identity and the definition of homeland. These passages read together evoke a coherent image of the sixteenth-century Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the conclusions the author argues that the *Aeneid* provided Polish and Lithuanian poets with a language they could use for creating and expressing Lithuanian identity. When taken together, the poems analyzed, each as though it contained a fragment of the

[4] Although the author does not make mention of it, the expansion of the epic element in the poetry of many Central and East European countries is probably connected with the blurring of the boundaries between epics and the poetry of praise that had its roots in the Renaissance didactic theory of art. See O.B. Hardison, *The Enduring Monument: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice*, Chapel Hill, NC, 1962, esp. pp. 43-67 and 71-72.

history of Lithuania, present five stories that can be read as myth-like narratives. They are the ethnogenetic myth, the legendary foundation of the capital city, the change in the religious order, the legendary victory and finally the tale about a contemporary hero who links this ancient history to the poet's present time.

In this context, the sixteenth-century poems on the subject of Lithuania can be treated as an attempt, in several distinct voices, to build an epic story about Lithuanian identity similar to the official interpretation of Romanity in the days of Augustus as redefined in the *Aeneid*.

The article by A. Osipian, for its part, focuses on the invention, by a premodern society, of a prestigious lineage in the costruction of group genealogies at the micro-level of one city, one book, one author.

And thus, Osipian's article investigates the invention of prestigious ancestors and the construction of collective genealogy for Lviv's/Lemberg's urban patriciate in J.-B. Zimorowicz's *Leopolis triplex* (1650s-1670s). The author examines how Zimorowicz portrayed his contemporary patriciate as having the necessary virtues to govern the city as well as being ennobled by using quotations from Tacitus' *Germania*. The case study of a single quotation from Tacitus' *Annales* demonstrates early modern perceptions about virtues considered innate for a given ethnos and inherited by its members through many generations. The article exploits the interconnectedness of the social and ethnic in forming an image of an urban community, in particular when presenting social conflict as ethnic strife (between the Catholic patriciate and Armenian merchants). It analyzes how Zimorowicz tried to legitimate accelerations or delays in the social mobility of different groups of the city's population in his opus. This analysis also contributes to a better understanding of how the nobility's model – Sarmatism – influenced the urban patriciate's views of its prestigious past. In fact, the way in which Zimorowicz constructed ethnically divided genealogies of socially different strata in the contemporary Lemberg community followed the early modern model of the Sarmatian myth, according to which Polish noblemen were descendants of the belligerent Sarmatian nomads. In synthesis, the article contributes to research into the seventeenth-century urban elites' worldview, including their understanding of how the past was reshaped for present purposes.

The articles by Aleksandr Wojciech Mikołajczak and Piotr Urbański examine Polish-Latin poetry and its role, as a conveyor of *Latinitas*, in the development of national identities. Mikołajczak's aim is to suggest how the coexistence and later the synthesis of Christian and Antique themes shaped the fundamental trend of Renaissance and Baroque poetry in Latin Poland. Through a succint overview of the reception of single motifs, themes and ideas of Latin writers by Polish-Latin poets, the author also delineates the growth of the influence of *Latinitas* in Polish literature and culture. Such growth can be briefly described as a passage from *imitatio antiquorum* to *aemualatio antiquorum*: the latter to be understood as the poet's play between the topic and the convention or between the topic and the language, a sort of creative dialogue with his ancient model. This evolution in the reception of *Latinitas* is evident in Polish-Latin poetry starting with Kochanowski, and received a peculiar development in the works of Maciej

Kazimierz Sarbiewski: they are the expression of a new epoch, characterized by a specific synthesis of the Greek-Roman heritage, biblical tradition, the influence of Counter-Reformation ideas and Baroque stylistics. At the same time, Sarbiewski's works are the expression of a new vision of Christian Horatianism in which the fundamental issues of human existence played the most important part. By using *topoi* and themes taken from Horace, Sarbiewski expressed the drama of men searching for existential choices in an individual dialogue with God. Regrettably, Sarbiewski's followers did not match his talent. Finally, Mikołajczak briefly outlines how Polish *Latinitas* was influenced by the ideology of *Sarmatism*. This ideology, popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and strictly linked to the culture of the gentry, aptly exploited Latin and Roman topics as a source for both political argumentation and literary concept and play.

Centered around Sarbiewski's *oeuvre* and especially delving into the issue of Sarbiewski's real or supposed Sarmatism is Urbański's article. The author's central question is whether Sarbiewski thought of his poetry as an instrument with which to construct either a national or a universal, that is a European identity. In order to clarify this central issue, the author on the one hand reconstructs Jesuit ideology, while on the other investigates the different role and purpose of Latin poetry in the Renaissance *vis-à-vis* the Baroque period. At the same time, Urbański also examines statements made by Polish and Lithuanian scholars about Sarbiewski's Sarmatism and discusses the situation of Neo-Latin poetry in the seventeenth century, and its translations into vernacular languages (in Sarbiewski's case into English) as evidence of its reception and understanding. From his analysis of all the above-mentioned aspects, Urbański deduces that in the case of Sarbiewski's poetry, the only community and/or identity that he wanted to extol and develop was European, rooted in the Horatian or rather Roman set of values, perceived through the poet's Christian understanding of the world. As the author cogently proves, both his contemporaries and later generations considered Sarbiewski as *Horatius Christianus* rather than *Horatius Sarmaticus* (this appellative was first used only in 1721). The former term indicated his poetry as a new, Christian incarnation of the poetry of Horace, and placed it within the international community of the *Respublica literaria*. The cultural, literary and philosophical traditions that characterized his *Lyricorum libri* constituted a common language of values which constructed a universal, European identity. It is not by accident that he was much more popular abroad, which seems to be indicated, among other, by the very limited number of Polish translations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and by the numerous English translations, imitations, emulations, and paraphrases[5], as well as by the history of the editions of his *Lyricorum libri*.

Sarbiewski's Latin legacy had a prominent place in Ukrainian Neo-Latin poetry, which is what emerges in my article devoted to one aspect of the recep-

[5] Cf. K. Fordoński, P. Urbański, *Casimir Britannicus: English Translations, Paraphrases, and Emulations of the Poetry of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski*, revised and expanded edition, London 2010.

tion of Horace in the Kyiv-Mohylanian poetics[6], namely the use of Horace's poetry in the teaching of metrics provided by these manuals. I show how Latin poetry was used as a didactic tool to support the education of devout men and loyal citizens. Besides the 'simple' quotation of Horace's lyrics, the other modes of Horatian imitation in the Mohylanian poetics entail his Christianization. The latter took different forms: particularly favored by Mohylanian teachers were parodies, following the masterful example of M. K. Sarbiewski, the transformation of Horace's lyric in a Christian key, and the use of Horatian meters to compose poems on Christian topics (particularly appreciated were paraphrases of the Psalms by the Scottish poet George Buchanan).

These three modes were in line with the Christian interpretation/imitation of Horace that had begun in Western Europe in the first centuries after Christ and continued in different guises well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed, for Jesuit pedagogy, to which education at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy harked back, poetry was a veritable 'spiritual exercise', a sort of poetic theology[7]. Horace's poetry for its metrical virtuosity and its brilliant verbal craftsmanship provided an excellent model for the introduction of Christian contents. On the other hand, I observe that many motifs of Horace's poetry could easily be made to coincide with the ethical and religious tenets of education at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy: for instance, reflections on the brevity of human life, the impossibility of achieving complete happiness, the avoidance of excesses, contentment with little, love of virtue and the like. In conclusion I assert that the Christianization and moralization of Horace's poetry, next to denying the legitimacy of the pagan pantheon, to which a Christian one was opposed, was a way for Mohylanian cultural élite to implicitly assert their own worth and distinct cultural identity, which in early-modern Ukraine, as elsewhere, in great part passed through schooling and literature.

The article by Valentyna Myronova contains an analysis of the chancellery Latin language, which was used in legal proceedings and record keeping in the Galician Rus' of the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries. Myronova based her research on the analysis of the books of records of the *Grodskyi* and *Zemskyi* courts of Galician Rus', each of which had a brief preface, and name and geographic indexes. A characteristic feature of the Latin language of this period (despite its sacredness) was the fact that it was being used by bilingual readers, and the degree of individual mastery of Latin at that time was determined both by the talent of each author and by specific circumstances. As the author observes, due to the parallel usage of Latin and Ukrainian words, the vocabulary structures inevitably interacted, and therefore the Latin used in this period in the territory

[6] With the term Kyiv-Mohylanian poetics I refer to the poetics courses taught at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy from its foundation (1631-1632) to approximately the middle of the eighteenth century. Most of them are still in manuscript form and are kept in the manuscript section (*Instytut Rukopysu*, IR) of the National Library of Ukraine in Kyiv (*Nacional'na Biblioteka Ukrajiny*, NBU).

[7] Cf. A. Li Vigni, *Poeta quasi creator. Estetica e poesia in Mathias Casimir Sarbiewski*, Palermo 2005, p. 28 ff.

of the Galician Rus' underwent modifications by absorbing a number of lexical, morphological and syntactic features of the Ukrainian language.

A few more words concerning the study of Latin heritage in Ukraine. A good part of the Latin literary texts (school manuals of different subjects, poems of different genres, prose orations, Church sermons and the like) still have to be studied and published. Some progress has been made in the publication and commentary of Latin texts in the last few decades[8], but a comprehensive assessment of the place of Ukrainian Neo-Latin literature (and of poetry in particular) with regard to the literature written in Polish, Church Slavonic and old-Ukrainian in the sixteenth-eighteenth century still remains a task for the future.

Sigitas Narbutas's article specifically assesses the development of *Latinitas* in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the perspective of Latin books. The scholar identifies the three periods that saw the emergence, the establishment and the independent development of Latin literature in Lithuania: although they were of different lengths, their significance was similar. The first period (emergence) spans from the rule of Mindaugas (1253-1263) to that of Alexander Jagiellon (1460-1506). The second period lasts from the rule of Sigismund I the Old (1467-1548) to that of Sigismund I August (1520-1572). The third period encompasses the time from the reign of Stephen I Bátory (1533-1586) to the rule of Stanisław August Poniatowski (1732-1798) and the Third partition of the Commonwealth in 1795[9].

As Narbutas argues, the number of Latin books published in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by Lithuanian authors rose from 3 in the fifteenth century to reach the quite impressive number of 1,790 by the eighteenth century. As to the topics of these books, Narbutas also assesses the qualitative factor, dividing

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[8] It is not possible in this limited space to give all pertinent bibliographical references. I will just mention, among others, my recent monograph *Joasaf Krokovs'kyj nella poesia neolatina dei suoi contemporanei*, Bologna 2012, 224 pp., and my article *Il concetto di virtù nella celebrazione epico-panegirica nella letteratura neolatina ucraina (fine del XVII-inizio del XVIII secolo)*, "Studi Slavistici", IX, 2012, pp. 243-271 (available at: http://www.fupress.net/index.php/ss/article/view/12241/11605; accessed 30th August 2014). For the main bibliographical references concerning the Kyiv-Mohylanian poetics, cf. G. Siedina, *The Poetic Laboratory of the Kyiv-Mohylan Poetics. Some Practical Illustrations*, "Studi Slavistici", VIII, 2011, pp. 41-60 (available online at the website: http://www.fupress.net/index.php/ss/article/view/10518/9905; accessed 30th August 2014), footnote 1. Worthy of particular mention are the articles by N. Yakovenko on the Latin poems *De bello Ostrogiano* (1600) by Simones Pecalides and Camoenae Borysthenides (1620) by Ioannes Dąbrowski in her book *Paralelnyj svit. Doslidžennja z istorii ujavlen' ta idej v Ukraini XVI-XVII st.*, Kyiv 2002. Recently O. Cyhanok has published a book entitled *Funeral'ne pysmenstvo v ukrajins'kyx poetykax ta rytorykax XVII-XVIII st.: teorija ta vzirci*, Kyiv 2014. A quite general overview of Ukrainian Neo-Latin literature is contained in the monograph by L. Ševčenko-Savčyns'ka, *Latynomovna Ukrajins'ka literatura. Zahal'nyj ohljad*, Kyiv 2013.

[9] As Narbutas avers, these dates do not denote the end of *Latinitas* in Lithuania or Poland, both of which lost their independence, but they only refer to the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

the book production of the analyzed period into: 1) belles-lettres (works of poetry, rhetorical prose and dramaturgy); 2) religious books, also for the needs of the Lithuanian Catholic and Protestant Churches; 3) publications of humanities (*artes liberales*) and different schoolbooks.

Interestingly enough, as the author asserts, most of the works published in Latin in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries was represented by panegyrical publications, followed by salutatory, epithalamic and funerary texts. It seems to me that this realization is quite significant, in that it confirms, from the quantitative point of view, the predominance of the epic-panegyric element in the literature of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, of which Nekraševič-Karotkaja speaks so extensively. In turn, this predominance itself reveals the fundamental role of *Latinitas* in the elaboration and celebration of the history of the peoples constituting the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and thus in the formation of their identity.

Lastly, Pociute's article is devoted to the Lithuanian Reformation pioneer Abraomas Kulvietis (Abraham Culvensis, ca. 1510-1545), of whom she recontructs the humanistic background and his relations with the Italian philo-Protestant context in the first half of the sixteenth century. Besides reconstructing Kulvietis' biography, Pociute dwells at length on his *Confessio fidei*, written in 1543 and considered to be the first evangelical *confessio fidei* in Poland and Lithuania as well as the first recorded Protestant text in Lithuania. The article illustrates in detail the early Lithuanian Protestant ideas declared in Kulvietis' Latin *Confessio fidei* and suggests that the pioneer of the Lithuanian Reformation was inspired by the work of the famous Italian dissident Bernardino Ochino, who fled Siena in the same year (1542) and wrote the first Italian Protestant manifesto *Epistola di Bernardino Ochino alli molto magnifici signori, li signori di Balia della città di Siena*. As Pociute concludes, both texts have much in common in terms of their ideas and rhetoric.

The articles presented in this volume only cover a small number of all the issues that *Latinitas* brought about in the cultural development of the area analyzed. Because of the significance of *Latinitas* for both common European cultural traditions and the national cultures, literatures and languages of Belarus, Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and Ukraine, it is to be hoped that the subject will continue to attract a good level of attention in the future. Since all the above-mentioned states either had their origins in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, or were closely related to it, *Latinitas* in this area can be considered a perspective topic for future research. Moreover, given its importance, it would be good to make it the topic of a research project with a European dimension, which would also involve specialists in Neo-Latin literatures of other European countries. Therefore, I hope that this volume can serve as the initial step towards a wider research project.

Latinitas in the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

Latin Epic Poetry and its Evolution as a Factor of Cultural Identity in Central and Eastern Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries[1]

Žanna Nekraševič-Karotkaja (Belarussian State University, Minsk)

Epopee (*epos*, *carmen heroicum*) was evaluated in literary-theoretical research as a model poetic genre, *perfecta poesis* (Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius), from ancient times to the late Baroque, and had been in great demand in the poetry of new European states since the early Middle Ages. In the literatures of many European peoples (including the Slavs) this genre was written in Latin rather than in national languages. Effective research into Medieval and Renaissance epopee in Latin may best be served by adopting a complex approach, which implies taking into account the typology of the given genre and comparing it with corresponding written records of different nations. As well as following the main principles of the historical-comparative method, our methodology uses the theory of reader-response criticism (referring to the concept of Hans Robert Jauss) as well as the main principles of hermeneutic literary studies.

As S. Averincev rightly pointed out, the cult of Virgil was "the most important factor of stability in the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance and from the Renaissance to the following centuries", and the *Aeneid* was "a true center and the norm" (Averincev 1989: 23). In spite of the search for new epic forms, Virgil's classical epopee never left the history of European literature.

Even when folk (or primary, see: Chassang, Marcou 1894: 17) epopees (such as *Beowulf*, *La Chanson de Roland* or *Das Nibelungenlied*, *Cantar de mío Cid*) began to emerge in the early Middle Ages, *carmen heroicum* remained popular in poetry. From the mid-fifteenth century "historical and panegyric epos" ("historisch-panegyrische Epos", see Traube 1911: 334) or "epos about history and modern times" ("historisch-zeitgeschichtliche Epos", see Hoffmann 2001: 146) was popular in the literatures of various European nations. In most cases, these poems were devoted to members of the ruling dynasties of Europe, some of them claimed to be national epos. When choosing titles for their works, authors followed the models of *Ilias* or *Aeneis*. Between 1448 and 1453, an Italian poet named Basinio Basini created one of the first examples of this kind of epic, the poem *Hesperis* (Hoffmann 2001: 147). However, more often names of representatives of a dynasty (*Sfortias*, *Cosmias*, *Laurentias*) were perpetuated in the titles of historic and dynastic epopees. In the sixteenth century Latin poems were created to glorify the representatives of the Habsburg dynasty, four of them

[1] I am sincerely grateful to Svjatlana Adaska, Svjatlana Savik and Giovanna Siedina for assistance with the translation of this article into English.

Latinitas *in the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania : Its Impact on the Development of Identities,* edited by Giovanna Siedina, ISBN 978-88-6655-675-6 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-674-9 (print), © 2014 Firenze University Press

had the same title – *Austrias*. Chronologically the first was *Austrias* by Riccardo Bartolini, known to his contemporaries as Marone Perugino. It was published in 1516. It is interesting that in the same year in Kraków Ioannes Visliciensis published the poem *Bellum Prutenum* which is thematically connected with the Battle of Tannenberg in 1410 but is essentially a panegyric and dynastic epos in honor of the Jagiellonian dynasty. It is the poem that shows the first poetic presentation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – the birthplace of the founder of the dynasty, King Jagello (Jogaila).

Early humanists (especially those who belonged to the 'German cultural space', see: Wiegand 1984) already had a specific Renaissance understanding of *herois perfecti* (see: Sarbievius 2009: 301) and the heroic theme in general. Their works reflect the idea that *studia humaniora* is an aristocratic activity as noble as military feats on the battlefield. Therefore, everything that is associated with intellectual (mainly philological) activity was considered worth describing in 'heroic' meter – the hexameter. Thus, the Czech poet Bohuslav Lobkowitz from Hassenstein (1462-1510) glorifies the invention of printing in his poem *De propriis Germanorum inventis* with the subtitle *carmen heroicum*. In Wittenberg Ulrich von Gutten published the book *De arte versificandi* with the same subtitle. The Renaissance poets thus greatly expanded the heroic concept and departed from Horace's topic *carminis heroici*: "res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella" (Horace, *De arte poetica,* 73). Such understanding established new benchmarks for epic poetry. The sacred history of Christianity was extremely popular in neo-Latin epic poetry during the Renaissance. At that time early Christian poets such as Juvencus, Lactantius and Sulpicius Severus (in Germany) not only published biblical epos but also created new samples of this genre. The Croatian poet Marco Marulič (1450-1524) justly called "a Christian Virgil" by scholars, wrote not only the poem *Judita* (published in 1521) in the Croatian language, but also the poem *Davidias* (1516) in Latin. The literature of the Slavic people of the region *la Slavia occidentale* (Sante Graciotti, see: Graciotti 2006: 109) abounded in hagiographical poems, which replaced the traditional prosaic *Lives* (*vitae*). Departing from the pragmatism and primitiveness typical of the *Lives*, these works satisfied the readers' "horizon of expectations" (Jauss 1970: 177). These poems were normally dedicated to saints of national importance, and their composition often coincided with the completion of the canonization process: cf., for instance, *De vita et gestis divi Hyacinthi* (Cracoviae 1525) by Nicolaus Hussovianus, *Epos de S. Casimiro* (Vilna 1604) by Ioannes Krajkowski, *Iosaphatidos sive de vita et nece B. Iosaphat Kuncewicz libri tres* (Vilna 1628) by Iosaphat Isakowicz. The seminal development of hagiographical poetry during the Renaissance and early Baroque was associated with the poets' desire to add verbal preciosity to their favorite hagiographical scenes. It is essential here that the specific 'gap' that occurred in the development of Latin poetry in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the second third of the sixteenth century (after the death of Nicolaus Hussovianus) was filled with the hagiographical epyllion by Jan Andruszewicz (see Ročka 2002: 220). This short poem was dedicated to the Franciscan missionaries killed in Vilna at the time of

Grand Duke Alhierd (Lithuan. Algirdas, pol. Olgierd). In contrast to the authors of the *Lives*, those authors who wrote secular poems in Latin were not limited by the hagiographical canon and were able to use a wide variety of literary devices. Besides that, the greatest attention was paid to the cult of the man of faith, who acted as a spiritual representative of a certain community in the world arena.

In spite of the clear predominance of the hexameter as the meter of epic poetry, *carmina majora* written in elegiac distichs were well represented in ancient literature (for example, *Smyrneis* by Mimnermus, *Ars amatoria, Fasti* by Ovid). This fact became the basis for the development of a lyric and epic poem, *Carmen de statura, feritate ac venatione bisontis* (Krakow 1523) (hereinafter *Carmen de bisonte*) by Nicolaus Hussovianus, which is the best example of this genre in Renaissance literature. This unique piece of art, a true masterpiece of Renaissance poetry, holds a special place in the literature of many nations – Belarusian, Lithuanian, Polish, and Ukrainian. It is no coincidence that the Regular Session of the International School of Humanities at the University of Warsaw in 2003 (led by Professor Jerzy Axer) was devoted to this poem. Here, besides the main topic of bison hunting, a wide range of social and aesthetic issues are discussed and a unique image of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is created.

The aesthetic program of Nicolaus Hussovianus was imbued with the idea that people should focus on fulfilling their divine purpose in life. The artistic realization of this idea reveals the features of the author's Christian humanism: the problem of protecting the Motherland and the Christian faith is at the center of his attention, and solving this problem is connected with developing the intellectual power of society. The spiritual potential of the people is recognized as the primary factor of stability in the country. So, in the preface to the poem *Carmen de bisonte*, addressed to Queen Bona Sforza, the poet developed Sallust's idea about the priority of perfection of the soul over bodily strength and formulated the thesis which is fundamental not only for his work, but for all humanistic culture: "a state becomes stronger due to the perfection of the human soul, rather than the power of the body, it is evident from Greek and Roman history; military power flourished together with science in these two civilizations, and when talents began to decline, power weakened as well, the state fell into despair and slavery was established"[2].

The poet embodies the idea of the priority of the intellectual potential of society in literary form not only in the dedication, but in the poem itself: he is aware of the opposition eloquently articulated in the works of Roman authors (Ovid, Tibullus, Pliny the Elder and others), between *otia* (leisure) and *labor* (hard work). The poet uses the word *otia* in contrast to the creation of poetry and hunting (the latter for him – labor) (*Carmen de bisonte*, 96, see Hussovia-

[2] "Virtute animi magis, quam vi corporis niti, tam Graeci, quam Romani documento sunt, apud quos arma semper tum maxime dum litterae floruerunt et labentibus primum ingeniis debilitatae vires sunt, quibus lapsis, imperium corruit et servitus imposita est" (hereinafter translations from Latin are by the author of this article)" (Hussovianus 1523: 4 n. n.).

nus 1894). He uses this word in its humanistic conception, as learned by Renaissance poets from the works of their idol Cicero. This is not just 'rest and free time', this is a fundamental position of the artist, his introversion and concentration on his inner world. Andrij Sodomora the creator of one of the best (both metrically and artistically) Ukrainian translations of the poem *Carmen de bisonte,* believes that this work "may serve as an example (in literature, in particular) how the basic rule of the ancients – to combine the useful (*utile*) with the pleasant (*dulci*) – manifested itself in the early modern period"[3]. In the poem itself, the key for the ancient aesthetic concepts of *otia* and *labor* appear in the same context – the context of bison hunting. The continuation of the ideals of ancient *kalos kagathos* can be seen in this ancient chivalric tradition of the elite of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Nicolaus Hussovianus' heritage is a rich source of literary achievements and it looks like an unusual literary phenomenon compared to the rhetorically sophisticated works of such Polish poets as Paulus Crosnensis, Ioannes Dantiscus and Andrzej Krzycki, who competed for mastership in the adoption of the poetic heritage handed down by ancient authors. The deliberate, almost complete disregard of ancient imagery in Nicolaus Hussovianus' poetry is primarily associated with his Christian outlook. In the poem *Carmen de bisonte* he expresses his opinion regarding the subject: "I honor Christ instead of Jupiter, and my songs usually celebrate the Virgin Mary instead of Juno"[4]. Everything that is associated with Christianity is *certi res* for the poet, i.e. it is credible. The gods of the ancient Romans clash with the *pietas* of the poet; they are only *fabula* for him.

In the poem *De vita et gestis Divi Hyacinthi*[5] (herinafter – *De vita*) Nicolaus Hussovianus speaks out against the reformation of traditional Christianity. He criticizes the religious doctrine of Luther, who proposed simplifying and cheapening liturgical practice. The poet emphasizes the aesthetic aspect of Christian worship. The rich garments of the priest, temple decorations, icons, gold plate, choral and organ music are essential, from the humanist's point of view, at least initially when a child first becomes familiar with Christian values, "…in order that a child gets used to it since his childhood and imbibes with his mother's milk the basic doctrines of Christianity which grow in strength together with a young body"[6]. The poet believes that the soul of man is improved by the beauty of Christian worship, which activates the *quinta essentia*, which the German philosopher Philippus Theophrastus Paracelsus (1493-1541) wrote about. The splendor and majesty of traditional Christian liturgy and the rich decoration of

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[3] "Може бути зразком того, як, уже в нові часи, проявляла себе (зокрема, в літературі) основна засада античних – корисне (*utile*) поєднувати з приємним (*dulci*)" (Sodomora 2007: 13).

[4] "Pro Iove qui Christum veneror Christique Parentem // pro Iunone loqui carmina nostra solent" (*Carmen de bisonte*, 405-406).

[5] Onwards – *De vita*.

[6] "Ut puer hinc etiam primos insuesceret annos // et cum lacte suae fidei primordia sugat, // quae pariter tenero sumant cum corpore vires" (*De vita*, 557-559, see Hussovianus 1894).

the temple are good for the human soul, elevating man above his daily exertions and reinforcing his faith. Man's moral duty, according to Nicolaus Hussovianus, is to preserve the sacred covenant of his ancestors, "…and we should not argue about what is good and what is bad"[7]. Arguing with the followers of Luther, who abolished the cult of the saints, the poet comes to the conclusion that attempts to make fundamental changes to the Christian faith can have the opposite effect. He speaks about the necessity to preserve the Christian tradition, in spite of difficulties. That is why he condemns the contemporary inhabitants of Rome, the world center of Christianity, who turned not to Christ and the Virgin Mary for help, but to the ancient pagan gods of their ancestors, sacrificing a black bull to them at the time of the plague in 1522 (the poem *In sacrificium nigri tauri Romae opera cuiusdam Graeculi contra vim pestis publice factum*; see Hussovianus 1523, Hussovianus 1894).

From the mid-sixteenth century, after the publication of tracts by Sperone Speroni *Dialogo delle lingue* (1542) and Joachim Du Bellay *Defense et illustration de la langue française* (1549), many humanists set themselves the task of creating an epopee in their national language. The literary talent of Jan Kochanowski was formed under the influence of Speroni. In his early period the Polish poet wrote in Latin, but during the last quarter of the sixteenth century he gradually switched to Polish. He created a pattern of poetic epos, the poem *Jezda do Moskwy* in Polish. Jan Kochanowski's example was decisive for the further development of Polish poetry. At the turn of the seventeenth century, Latin poetry still flourished in the works of Szymon Szymonowicz and Fabian Klonowic, but as time passed the number of poems in Polish steadily increased. At the same time Latin played a much greater role in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania than in other European countries. This is evident from the fact that two heroic poems were written almost at the same time: in the Polish Crown – *Wojna chocimska* (1670) by Wacław Potocki and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – *Virtus dexterae Domini* (1674) by Iacobus Bennet.

In the transition period between the Renaissance and the Baroque, the genre repertoire of epic poetry expanded significantly. Thus, there are several poems of different genres dedicated to the events of the Livonian war (1558-1583): epinicium (*Victoria de Moschis reportata per ... D. Gregorium Chodcevitium* (1564) by Ioannes Mylius from Libenrode), panegyric poem (*Panegyricus in excidium Polocense* (1580) by Basilius Hyacinthus), poem-*hodoeporicon* (*Hodoeporicon Moschicum* (1582) by Franciscus Gradovius), carmen heroicum (*Stephaneis Moschovitica* (1582) by Daniel Hermann Borusser). The heroic poem *Radivilias, sive De vita et gestis ... Nicolai Radivili* (1592) by Jan Radvan holds a special place among epic works of this period. According to Eugenia Ulčinaitė, the concept of the heroic poem and the national epic was most vividly and variously embodied in this work (see Ulčinaitė 2001: 70). The idea of *translatio imperii*, essential for sixteenth-century Europe, was reflected in this poem in relation to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. We cannot but agree with the

[7] "Nec sit discernere nostrum, // "quae bona vel mala sint" (*De vita*, 668-669).

opinion of the Lithuanian scholar Sigitas Narbutas, who states that "heroic epos may appear and obtain recognition only in the state where they were created and at a time when, for different reasons, society started to feel the need for the regenerating force of history which is able to help to find necessary ways in those unstable conditions that are typical of the periods when two epochs collide"[8]. Namely, this period saw the creation of the poem *Radivilias sive De vita et rebus praeclarissime gestis, immortalis memoriae, illustrissimi principis Nicolai Radivili* (hereinafter – *Radivilias*), which reflected the 'Roman' concept of aristocracy in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (from the patrician *Publius Polemo Libo*; see Stryjkowski 1582: 62-79).

The Belarusian territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania appear in the poem *Radivilias* in the unity of aesthetic and cognitive aspects. Ioannes Radvanus' work is the first in Latin poetry where Belarusian geography is widely presented: in fact, it mentions no fewer than twenty Belarusian cities and towns as well as seven rivers. Radivilias contributes to forming an appropriate idea about the role of the Belarusian nation in the heroic history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. *Catalogus optimatum et ductorum* at the beginning of the third book of *Radivilias* starts with the names of Belarusian noblemen: Hrehory and Jan Chodkiewicz, Georgy Zienowicz, Filon Kmita, Bahdan Salamjaretsky, Barkulab Korsak and others. The warriors who resist the military aggression of the Principality of Moscow are presented in the poem not only with the common politonym *Lithuani*, but also with a more specific identification regarding their origin, for example: "those heroes who inhabit Vitebsk"[9], "those who inhabit the lands of blossoming Orsha"[10], "those who frequently walk in the fields where the light Berezina braids the banks with reed"[11], "those who cultivate the vast lands of Minsk and see Lida"[12], "those who plough your lands, Mahiljoŭ"[13], "those who cultivate the fields of Kobryn"[14], "Men from Slonim"[15]; the poet mentions "those mighty heroes who are brought up by ancient Polatsk"[16], "those men who are reared by Homel"[17], "those who are brought up by Mscislaŭl in the glorious fields"[18] and "the inhabitants of Vaŭkavysk"[19] (*Radivilias* IV, 147-171; see: Radvanus 2009).

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8 "Herojinis epas tegali atsirasti ir gyvuoti savoje valstybėje ir tuo metu, kai dėl įvairių priežasčių visuomenei prireikia istorijos gaivinančios jėgos, siekiant surasti gyvybiškai svarbius kelius epochų sąvartos nežinomybėje" (Narbutas 2009: 495).

9 "Qui fortes Vitebas late habitant".

10 "Qui sunt Orsae florentis in arvis".

11 "Qui agros frequentant, qua Beresina nitens praetexerit arundine ripas".

12 "Qui aequora Minsci lata colunt Lidamque legunt".

13 "Qui terras Mohilaee tuas vertunt".

14 "Qui colunt Cobrinia aequora".

15 "Slonimii viri".

16 "Quos vetus pascit fortissima corda Polottus".

17 "Quos Homella viros alit".

18 "Egregiis pascit quos agris Mscislaus".

19 "Volcoviscum colentes".

The poem by Jan Radvan – *carmen heroicum,* ideologically closely associated with a specific etiological myth (the Polemon legend) – provides a holistic depiction of public life and customs in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the sixteenth century. At the same time, significant elements of mythopoetic and ideological paradigm of the Belarusian nation that existed within *natio lituanica* (see e.g.: Niendorf 2006: 22-38) are embodied in the poem. This semantic perspective allows us to consider the poem *Radivilias* as the first experience of creating a 'national' epopee at the stage of protonational discourse. In general it should be noted that the other Latin poems of the late Renaissance (eg., *Hungaridos libri poematum quinque* (1599) by the Slovak poet Jan Bocatius or *Roxolania* by the Polish poet Sebastian Klonowic) acquired a clear etiological connotation.

The Renaissance cult of the 'almighty man' was corrected in Baroque poetry according to the objectives of a Christian upbringing. The poetics of contrast obtained a considerable value. The heroic poem *Carolomachia, qua felix victoria, ope Divina, auspiciis [...] Sigismundi III. ... per [...] d. Joan[nem] Carolum Chodkiewicium... de Carolo Duce Sudermanniae S.R.M. perduelli V. Kalend[as] Octob[res] A. D. 1605 in Livonia sub Kyrkholmum reportata, narratur* (1606) by Christophorus Zawisza became a new implementation of Virgil's epopee forms. It was dedicated to the Battle of Kirchgolm (Salaspils) in 1605. The *heros perfectus* of the poem, the great military commander Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, who defeated the Swedish army of Charles IX, is shown not only as a military leader but also as a true patriarch of his people and the upholder of Christian virtues.

Research into the Medieval and Renaissance heroic epos in Latin inevitably leads to the conclusion that these works are a valuable source of information about the ancient history of European nations. The Ukrainian researcher Vasyl' Jaremenko justly points out: "The historical views of the new Latin poets were based on literature of which we know nothing. To date there are no known historical sources that could teach us more about the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, other than those of historians"[20]. New European epopees focus on the commoners' view of history, and that is something that cannot be found in official historical sources: ancient chronicles, historians' annals or state and clerical written records. It should be mentioned that the Ukrainian scholars Natalja Jakovenko, Volodymyr Lytvynov and Valerij Ševčuk link the first attempts of poetic presentation of the history of Ukraine-Rus' with the Latin poems *De bello Ostrogiano* (1600) by Simones Pecalides and *Camoenae Borysthenides* (1620) by Ioannes Dąbrowski (Jakovenko 2002: 163-167, 275; Lytvynov 2005: 11-15; Ševčuk 2004: 113-114).

In the poetry of many Central and Eastern European countries in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, epic elements appeared (Nekraševič-Karotkaja 2011: 186-194) and were formally marked by the predominance of the hex-

[20] "Історична досвіченість новолатинських поетів Україти походить із літератури, інколи уже нам не відомої. За браком історичних джерел із їхніх творів про XV-XVI ст. ми можемо довідатися часом більше, ніж із праць істориків" (Jaremenko 1987: 10).

ameter as the poetic meter. This meter was used not only in *carmina heroica*, but also in hymns, odes, eclogues, epithalamia, panegyrics, even scientific treatises (in verse). Speaking about the development of multilingual literature, Sjarhej Kavaljoŭ noted that "... heroic epos is becoming the dominant genre in the poetry of the late Renaissance"[21]. Perhaps the academic Alexandr Pančenko, speaking about the formation of a poetic tradition among the Slavs, was referring to the Latin poetry of Dalmatia and Dubrovnik, as well as the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, when he emphasized that "… a magnificent flowering of the epos is typical ofhe southern and eastern Slavs and atypical for the western Slavs"[22].

If we compare the history of written culture in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania that was closely interconnected with the literature of the Polish Crown throughout the Renaissance (during the sixteenth century), we can say that the pattern of its development is quite different from that of other countries. Epic poems in the literature of this state remained mostly in Latin. According to Sergej Averincev (regarding antique epos) such poems went through four stages of evolution : *thesis – antithesis – synthesis (the second classic) – removal* (Averincev 1978: 212-214). The poem *Bellum Prutenum* (1516) by Ioannes Visliciensis, which appeared due to the common European tendency of creating historical and dynastic poems, became a new *thesis* (as compared to Virgil's *Aeneid*), a new classical example of *carmen heroicum*. Stylistically, this work is within the framework of ancient tradition. *Carmen de bisonte* by Nicolaus Hussovianus is an example of a completely different understanding of the epic genre (namely, as a lyric-epic) and, therefore, belongs to the *antithesis* stage. Thus, the end of the *thesis* stage and the beginning of the *antithesis* stage in Latin language epos in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania happened almost at the same period of time (there is only a seven-year difference). Most of the poems from the 'Livonian' cycle belong to the same stage – lyrical epic works by Ioannes Mylius, Basilius Hyacinthus and Franciscus Gradovius. The works written at the *antithesis* stage are characterized by a new aesthetic program, by the sharp contrast between their authors' artistic style and that of their predecessors. *Radivilias* by Ioannes Radvanus belongs to the *synthesis* stage: Jan Radvan strongly distances himself from antique images and explicitly shows his ironic attitude to the artistic experience of his predecessors. He accepts plot and composition models that are typical of Homer and Virgil (the army register, the commander's dream, monologues, battle descriptions) and fills them with heroic material from the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The heroic poem *Carolomachia* by Christophorus Zawisza as well as the hagiographical poems by Ioannes Krajkowski and Iosaphat Isakowicz also belong to the *synthesis* stage. Rhetoric and panegyrism prevail over narration in these poems. On the other hand, poems written at this stage (as well as the *Aeneid* by Virgil) are closer to the implementation of the author's patriotic program.

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[21] "Гераічная эпіка робіцца дамінуючым жанрам у паэзіі позняга Рэнесансу" (Kavaljoŭ 2005: 19).

[22] "Пышный расцвет эпоса характерен для южных и восточных славян и нехарактерен для славян западных" (Pančenko 1999: 265).

Lastly, all the numerous literary monuments of the Latin language epics included in the literature of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the late Baroque period and the Age of the Enlightenment, that unfortunately have neither been studied nor analyzed, can be attributed to the *removal* stage of the Renaissance epos at the moment of its already non-Renaissance condition[23].

The position of the classical school in the written culture of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was stable to the extent that the *removal* stage co-existed with the relics of *the second classics* for a certain period of time. This situation provided the cultural foundations for the creation of the first poem in the Lithuanian language – *Metai* (Seasons, 1765-1775) by Kristijonas Donelaitis, and to a certain extent also influenced the artistic manner of the most outstanding poets of the nineteenth century – Adam Mickiewicz, Tadeusz Lada-Zablocki and Władysław Syrokomla – who were originally from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. At the same time, the emergence of classical epopees of Virgilian style in Renaissance and early Baroque literature (*Bellum Prutenum, Radivilias, Carolomachia*) inevitably led to the emergence of a parody and travesty of this genre form in the literature of the Enlightenment. Heroic epos was replaced by mock-heroic epos: first in Latin (*Avium comitium* by Michaeles (Michał) Korycki), and later in the national languages as well (*Енеїда* by Ivan Kotljarevs'kyj, *Энеіда навыварат* by Wikencij Rawinski). All these works confirm the continuity of the epic tradition.

The way, described above, in which epic poetry evolved in the literature of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania also matches the correlation developed by H. R. Jauss, which allows us to perceive a new literary work as an event but at the same time to see it in the relevant literary line. According to the researcher, "… the background for a new literary work is either the previous works or competing ones; later on it is recognized as a successful form, it reaches the peak of literature era, then it begins to renew, it is automatized, and, finally, when a new literature form is established, the previous one is perceived with a feeling of defiance in the literary discourse"[24]. The evolution of epic poetry in the literature of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania can be described with the help of the pattern suggested by this scholar: the Renaissance poems as *a positive model*, then *the renewal stage* during the early Baroque period, gradual *automatization* in the late Baroque and the Age of Enlightenment and, finally, the period of *parody*.

At the same time, the fact that the large poetic form clearly prevails in the multilingual literature of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the sixteenth-

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[23] Here I am paraphrasing the words of Averincev: "снятие античного эпоса в точке его уже не-античного состояния ("removal of the ancient epos at the point of its already non-ancient condition"; Averincev 1978: 213).

[24] "Das neue Werk gegen den Hintergrund vorangegangener oder konkurrierender Werke entsteht, als erfolgreiche Form den 'Höhenkamm' einer literarischen Epoche erreicht, bald reproduziert und damit fortschreitend automatisiert wird, um schließlich, wenn sich die nächste Form durchgesetzt hat, als abgegriffene Gattung im Alltag der Literatur weiterzuvegetieren" (Jauss 1970: 187).

seventeenth centuries does not completely fit into the framework of any evolutionary conception. Taking into account the specific character of the literary development of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the absence of novels, strong interest in ethnographism and etiology in the chronicles and memoirs) and the results of the holistic analysis of a significant number of epic works, we can draw the following conclusion: poetic works in Latin in the literature of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania are characterized by the tendency to episation[25] of poetic narration starting from the early Renaissance period. Later, at the end of the sixteenth century, the tendency to episation is transformed into the epic dominant of the poetic development.

Now that numerous previously unknown records of Latin poetry, related to the history of Belarusian, Lithuanian, Polish, Ukrainian literatures, have been found and published, there are grounds for talking about the preservation of the Latin tradition in the epic poetry of various nations in Central and Eastern Europe instead of the gradual decay of literary creation in Latin. Most of the epic writers of the Renaissance and Baroque sought to set their works against those of Homer and Virgil. The cult of antiquity was not essential for them as it was for the poets of Western Europe. The tendency to discuss with ancient authors induces (produces) the dynamics of the genre structure – "...the moment of uncertain, nonstandard forms, that was replaced by a new, quite significant artistic idea"[26], which coincides with the dynamics of the genre structure of the classical epic. The intensification of the author's role became a "quite significant artistic idea" in the Latin epos of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. It was connected, first of all, with the aim of creating the image of a national hero. Latin poems offered two ways of achieving this goal: the military and Christian ideal *herois perfecti*. It was Latin epos that allowed many, mostly Slavic authors, to determine their identity and creative originality while poets of Western Europe created heroic poems in their national languages. Even in the poems of early humanists (*Ioannes Visliciensis* and *Nicolaus Hussovianus*) you can see their clearly expressed creative program oriented to strengthening their creative position in relation to both their predecessors and contemporaries. They expressed this position by means of epithets *impar* (*dispar*). This predominant aesthetic idea was maintained in works of many Latin authors (first of all, the poets of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) during the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. Para-

[25] Episation – the increment of the epic (narrative) principle, "the introduction of traditionally epic features not only into the poem's composition but also in the way the author expresses himself as if he was hiding the lyrical hero in the decorations of existence" ("привнесение традиционно эпических черт не только в композицию стихотворения, но и в сам способ выражения автора, как бы прячущего своего лирического героя в декорациях бытия", Alechin 2007: 57) – was a common tendency typical for the poetry in Latin not only in a certain cultural region but in many European countries (for the details see: Nekraševič-Karotkaja 2011: 186-191).

[26] "Момант няпэўнасці, нясталасці, нестандартнасці формы; момант унікальнасці, момант якасна новага для свайго часу мастацкага сэнсавага звязу; момант нараджэння новай, дастаткова значнай мастацкай ідэі" (Koran' 1996: 7).

doxically, their literary works became a sign of originality compared to the traditions of Western European humanism rather than a sign of integration with the Renaissance culture of Europe.

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Abstract

Žanna Nekraševič-Karotkaja

Latin Epic Poetry and its Evolution as a Factor of Cultural Identity in Central and Eastern Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

The article evaluates the role of the epopee genre in the literary process of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the Renaissance and early Baroque periods. Epopee was considered the genre par excellence in Classical poetry. In the Renaissance this genre developed mostly in Latin, and not in national languages. The genre started with the historical-dynastic epos *Bellum Prutenum* by Ioannes Visliciensis. Meanwhile, the traditions of elegiac, hagiographical and panegyric poetry, as well as the poem-*hodoeporicon,* continued. A new humanistic understanding of the idea of *herois perfecti* (perfect hero) was formed in the literature of the region as well as in the creative work of the poets belonging to the 'German cultural space'. From the middle of the sixteenth century the role of Latin diminished in the heroic epic genre in the literature of the Polish Crown while in that of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Latin preserved its dominant position. The special place enjoyed by epic poetry in Latin in the literature of Central and Eastern European countries gave rise to a tendency to epicise poetic narration, which, in turn, influenced the formation of the poetic manner of the most prominent poets of the nineteenth century.

How did Virgil Help Forge Lithuanian Identity in the Sixteenth Century?

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1. *Introduction*

The purpose of my paper is to assess the impact, direct or indirect, of the classical epic tradition on the image of Lithuania and the self-image of its inhabitants. This image helped foster a sense of identity and provided a language for constructing early modern national identity. Creating such a language was facilitated by re-using the *Aeneid*, one of the most influential texts in sixteenth-century European culture. As Craig Kallendorf shows (2001: 11), the state or nation used Virgil and his poetry to continuously (re-)establish and exercise its power. It seems that the culture of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was no exception when it comes to the use of the Roman poets' authority. Although in the title I have only used the name of Virgil, my focus is really the whole ancient epic tradition, familiar to Polish and Lithuanian poets in the sixteenth century.

For my analysis I have chosen eight epic poems written in Latin and Polish in the second and ninth decades of the sixteenth century:

- Ioannes Vislicensis (Jan z Wiślicy, ca. 1585-between 1516 and 1520), *Bellum Prutenum* (Kraków 1516);
- Nicolaus Hussovianus (Hussowski, between 1475 and 1485-after 1533), *Carmen de bisonte* (Kraków 1523);
- Franciscus Gradovius (Gradowski ca. 1545-after 1599), *Hodoeporicon Moschicum* (Vilnius 1581);
- Maciej Stryjkowski (1547-between 1586 and 1593), *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Żmudzka i wszystkiej Rusi – The Chronicles of Poland, Lithuania, Samogitia and the whole Rus'* (Königsberg 1582)[1];
- Daniel Hermann (1529-1601), *Stephaneis Moschovitica* (Gdańsk 1582);
- Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584), *Jezda do Moskwy – The Ride to Muscovy* (Kraków 1583);

[1] Written in Polish, Stryjkowski's chronicle is a heterogeneous text. In principle it is written in prose but numerous fragments, especially those about heroic deeds, are written in thirteen-syllable verse (equivalent to the Latin hexameter). Stryjkowski admits that the source of his invention was Virgil. Cf. Stryjkowski 1978: 62-63. About using the *Aeneid* and other Roman epic poems in Ioannes Vislicensis' *Bellum Prutenum* cf. Smereka 1932: 30; in Gradowski's *Hodoeporicon Moschicum* cf. Czarski 2007: 33-40; in Radwan's *Radivilias* cf. Narbutas 1998, *passim*.

Latinitas *in the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania : Its Impact on the Development of Identities,* edited by Giovanna Siedina, ISBN 978-88-6655-675-6 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-674-9 (print), © 2014 Firenze University Press

- Andrzej Rymsza (?-after 1593), *Deketeros akromama* (Vilnius 1585);
- Jan Radwan (Radvanus, ?-after 1592), *Radivilias* (Vilnius 1592).

In these poems I am interested in the references to Lithuania. They are usually lateral and provide additional information that remains unnoticed by most contemporary readers who treat them as a background for the main subject, usually a war[2]. Meanwhile, these lateral references suggest a particular projection of Lithuania. This projection – constituted within the space of the texts and, in this case, the language of epic – was formed under the influence of the classical epic.

After reading these poems I was able to distinguish five fields of particular interest to the afore-mentioned poets writing about Lithuania: 1. Lithuania's location in Europe; 2. its geography; 3. its history; 4. the inhabitants' sense of identity; 5. the definition of homeland.

The questions raised here require certain terminological clarifications. When I write about Lithuania I mean the Grand Duchy of Lithuania[3], which should not be confused with the current Republic of Lithuania. Therefore, words such as Lithuania, Lithuanian, Lithuanity, Lithuanian identity or Lithuanian nation etc. concern only the realities of the sixteenth century and the aforementioned state, which no longer exists today. The notation of the authors' surnames is given in accordance with versions used in the sixteenth century.

2. *Description*

2.1. How to reach Lithuania? Virgil and cartography

The point of reference for all the poems was Italy. Lithuania is situated, as Kochanowski put it, "in the Septentrio", that is to say in the far North. Maciej Stryjkowski and Jan Radwan wrote that the founder of Lithuania, a Roman patrician named Palemon, a character modelled on Aeneas, travelled from Italy (Stryjkowski 1978: 62-63, Narbutas 1998). While Stryjkowski's poem makes no mention of the port from which "the Romans set sail for Lithuania", he described precisely how Palemon and his five hundred fellow travellers crossed

[2] Over the last twenty years all of these epic poems have been the focus of Byelorussian, Lithuanian and Polish research. Most of the Polish researchers ignored the problem of the Lithuanity of the poems even though they were written by Lithuanian noblemen and published in Vilnius (eg. Gradowski). On the other hand, Byelorussian and Lithuanian researchers sometimes omit the texts of the Polish poets (eg. Kochanowski). Cf. Nowak Dłużewski 1966: 56-57, 59, 96, Nowak Dłużewski 1969: 112-152, Pelc 1980: 480-482, Skuczyński 1980: 107-120, Sajkowski 1965: 5-24, Narbutas 1998 *passim*, Narbutas 2004: 75, Ulčinaitė 2003: 118-129, 132-139, Niedźwiedź 2001: 204-220, Czarski 2007: 31-33; Krzywy 2008: 153-178.

[3] Cf. Wisner 2008: 12-31.

"frothy seas and a walkable mainland" ("po pienistym morzu i ziemi przechodniej", Stryjkowski 1978: 56).

In order to reach Lithuanian waters, on leaving Italy you should sail west across the Mediterranean, round Spain and past England, unfavourable for sailors, then Flanders on the right and the Danish straits. Then you only have to cross the Baltic Sea ("per Balthica dorsa") and the bow of your ship will come to a halt on the sandy shore at the mouth of the "double-branched Płotela river", as Radwan describes it, or, according to Stryjkowski, at Gilia, a tributary of the river Nemunas (Stryjkowski 1978: 63, Radwan 2009: 135). You are now in Samogitia.

Stryjkowski and Radwan imitated Virgil's story about a hero's journey and any reader could easily recognize this well known narrative. However, they also demanded something new from the reader. To imagine Palemons's way to Lithuania he or she needed to use their cartographic knowledge. Without the early modern notion of map the depiction of this voyage to Lithuania would be impossible[4]. But mapping the continent in such a way brings one important result: in these texts Lithuania becomes a part of Europe. In other words, Lithuanian poets drew a mental map and consequently included their country in the European community of the time.

2.2. What does Lithuania look like?

Although the poets who speak about Lithuania sometimes differ in describing its borders, they all agree that is a huge country. Ioannes Vislicensis laconically mentions that Jogaila's homeland contained mostly Samogitia and Belarus. It extended from the "mighty Borysthenes" that flows close to the border with the "Tartarian nomads" to the "turbulent shores of the fathomless, choppy and stormy Baltic Sea" – in other words from the Crimean Peninsula to Samogitia (Ioannes Vislicensis 1997[2]: 42). Jan Radwan confirms these words when he writes that "the Lithuanians are a powerful nation because their country stretches from the Baltic to the Black Sea" (Radwan 2009: 68).

The poetic chorography of Lithuania varied in terms of detail. Most authors underline that it is a "magnificent" country where "shady forests stretch as far as the eye can see". In these forests, Palemon hunted bison and deer to bring food to his fellows, just as Aeneas had done centuries before in North Africa. These events were recalled by Stryjkowski (1978: 63) and Radwan (2009: 135).

The Dnieper river is a metonym of the homeland ("Borystenius… pater", Gradowski 2011[2]: 38, v. 100), while other rivers are the metaphorical ornaments of Lithuania. In Kochanowski's poem "the quickest Dauguva" flows to "the Gdańsk Sea" and marks the country's northern frontier (Kochanowski 1980: 647, v. 318). In Samogitia the river Nemunas flows to the same sea fed by two other rivers: Neris and her sister Vilnia. The capital of Lithuania was founded between them. To the south of the city there is Bug, to the north – the river Šventoji.

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[4] Cf. Conley 2007: 403.

The rivers of Lithuania were as important as its forests. Of course the greatest was the Dnieper – in ancient times called the Borysthenes (Hussovianus 2007a: 21). This "Septentrional" river, the Greek name of which sounded sweet to the ears of Renaissance Latin poets, was the symbol of the state and of the homeland. Franciszek Gradowski wrote that from its banks the brave hetman Krzysztof Radziwiłł "the Thunderbolt" drove off the Tartar and Muscovian invaders (Gradowski 2011[2]:60, v. 521).

The river Neris, just mentioned after Jan Radwan's poem, crosses "fertile fields", which are another characteristic feature of the Lithuanian landscape. Its inhabitants "ploughed its hard soil with a hard plough" which is why it gives such splendid crops (Ioannes Vislicensis 1997: 40, v. 5). But even without any special efforts on the part of the Lithuanians, their land feeds and enriches both them and all newcomers. The Roman exiles observed this abundance with amazement. Maciej Stryjkowski (1978: 63) argued that

> Dalej poszli i ujrzą wołów stada wielkie,
> I wełnonośne owce, źwierzu trzody wszelkie
> Na kwitnących się łąkach bez stróżów pasące,
> I sarny wiatronogie po górach skaczące. (…)
> Potym pszczół miodnonośnych ujrzą roje hojne
> I konie, wielkie stada do boju przystojne,
> Ryb rozmaitych w rzekach pełno, hojność chleba
> Widząc iżby, mniemają, trafili do nieba. (…)
> Dziwują się Włoszyska, bo auzońska strona
> Nie rodzi takich darów, tylko winne grona.
>
> They went forward and saw immense herds of bullocks[5]
> And large flocks of woolly sheep
> Which grazed on the flowering meadows without any shepherds.
> And, as fleet as the wind, roe deer leaping over the hills. (…)
> Next they saw great swarms of honey bees,
> And large herds of horses, useful for war.
> The rivers abounded in fish.
> When they saw so much bread, they thought they had gone to heaven. (…)
> The Italians were astonished, because their Ausonian land
> Bore no such gifts – but only grapes.

This idyllic Lithuanian landscape did not fade once the Romans had mixed with the Samogitians, but it was noticeably transformed. After the wars against Muscovy, Andrzej Rymsza builds a new picture. This too is a Virgilian depiction, but more civilized and more georgic than bucolic: the manor house where a happy and devout noble family lives. God "blesses them and fills their barns, fields and cowsheds" (Rymsza 1972: 218, v. 2059-2068). The natural environment of Lithuania is both wild and friendly for Lithuanians. Nature is ready to cooperate with them for their benefit, even though it was represented as a bison, struck by

[5] The translation of these lines is mine (J. N.).

an arrow, chasing Nicolaus Hussovianus (2007a: 18). In spite of that, the natural environment of Lithuania is frequently described as having been tamed by its inhabitants, who tend rich fields of corn, flocks of sheep and herds of cattle.

In this woody or rustic landscape there was little place for cities. Vilnius was an exception and the poets mentioned it as a residence of grand dukes or as a symbol. Other less important towns, however, were described as having witnessed the struggle against Muscovy, for example Polatsk in the poems of Kochanowski (1980: 643, v. 73, 93), Radwan (2009: 117-118), Gradowski (2011: 36, v. 39) and Rymsza (1972: 152, v. 207).

None of these poems includes a description of Vilnius, and the only topographical detail mentioned is Castle Hill which lies where Vilnia falls into the Neris. Vilnius is mentioned also as the capital from which the commander in chief sets off for war and to which he returns to celebrate a victory. Vilnius, as a city of legendary origins, is considered the most significant city in Lithuania.

2.3. What is the history of Lithuania?

With an epic flourish Maciej Stryjkowski described how Palemon had sailed into Lithuania along the banks of the river Nemunas. The Latin account by Jan Radwan is more modest, as it is a fragment of a description of a shield belonging to Mikołaj Radziwiłł, known as "Rudy" ("the Red") (Radwan 2009: 134-138). Palemon, one of the key figures on the shield, was not only the founder of the state, but also a progenitor of numerous families, whose descendants, as Stryjkowski claimed, still lived in Lithuania in the sixteenth century[6].

Among the many events depicted on Radziwiłł's shield the most significant are those that received recognition from other poets too: read together, a kind of textual interference (like waves interference) emerges as some of the stories are emphasized while others are understated. Besides the arrival of the Romans, four other crucial moments in the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania are underlined, namely: the founding of Vilnius by Gedyminas, the baptism of Lithuania, the Battle of Grunwald and the sixteenth-century battles against the Muscovites, led chiefly by the Radziwiłłs.

The poets create Lithuania's past not only by recalling past events, but also by celebrating what today we would call national heroes. Apart from Palemon as the founder of the state, there are also references to Gedyminas, firstly as the progenitor of the Jagiellonians, and secondly as the founder of the city of Vilnius, about which Hermann, Stryjkowski (1978: 234-235) and Radwan (2009: 136) write at length on account of Gedyminas's dream of the iron wolf and the necessity of founding a new capital city. Jogaila is mentioned as the man who gave rise to the Jagiellonian dynasty, introduced Christanity to Lithuania and defeated the Teutonic Knights in the Battle of Grunwald. It is also thanks to him that the Jagiellonians ruled throughout Central Europe (Ioannes Vislicensis

[6] For the ethnogenetic myth of Palemon and its political dimensions cf. Suchocki 1987: 27-65; Eriksonas 2004: 249-253; Jurkiewicz 2004: 125-131; Niendorf 2011: 76-84.

1997: 42, v. 8-27). Nonetheless, in my opinion a more significant and distinctive personage was duke Vytautas. According to Kochanowski (1980: 646, v. 195), Krzysztof "the Thunderbolt" Radziwiłł, fighting in the sixteenth century with Muscovy "renewed the overgrown routes of Vytautas"[7] and because of this – which is mentioned by Rymsza – "he will be famous all over the world like Vytautas" (Rymsza 1972: 185, v. 1109), as Vytautas fought with the Teuton, Moschus and Tamerlan, that is to say with the Teutonic Order, Muscovites and Tartars. All the aforementioned authors wrote about Vytautas, especially Hussovianus (2007a: 40-43).

2.4. Who are the Lithuanians?

The Lithuanian nation is comprised of diverse ethnicities and speaks diverse languages. To explain its heterogeneity we must refer yet again to Stryjkowski's poem. The image of the ancient Romans sailing up the Nemunas evokes that of the sixteenth-century explorers of the New World sailing up the Amazon River. And yet they differ from Francisco Pizarro's troops in their attitude towards the land they discover: the newcomers from Rome are the descendants of Aeneas, and not conquistadors – they are prospecting for their homeland, building the new Rome (as Stryjkowski and Radwan put it) – just as Aeneas built the new Troy (Stryjkowski 1978: 63; Radwan 2009: 135). They do not impose their civilisation but rather integrate with the culture of the native tribes. This is why the language of the Lithuanians is more distant from Latin than Romance languages – it has mixed with the language of the indigenous people who had lived in Samogitia long before Palemon got there.

And yet at the time of Ioannes Vislicensis, the Lithuanian nation included not only Massageteans, that is Samogitians, but also Ruthenians (Ioannes Vislicensis 1987: 42, v. 17-23). The texts of the latter, composed mainly in the Slavonic language, described the past and the present of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Nicolaus Hussovianus (2007a: 19) stresses the fact that the Greek alphabet was adapted to Slavic phonetics centuries ago. For Andrzej Rymsza it is obvious that the main language in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is that of the Slavs. In the introduction to his poem he writes that in praising the expedition of Krzysztof Radziwiłł "the Thunderbolt" he was anticipated by Franciszek Gradowski and his Latin poem. This explains why Rymsza chose Polish as the *lingua franca* of the Slavic countries – thanks to which the glory of Radziwiłł will be common not only among the learned who knew Latin (Rymsza 1972: 141, v. 143).

The customs of the Lithuanian nation are not dealt with at any length in the epic poems. Lithuanians are free and brave and they eagerly sacrifice themselves for their country (Gradowski 2011: 60, v. 525-526; Rymsza 1972: 157, v. 354). They are also hardworking and skilled in agriculture, breeding animals and hunting. They are known for their decency and for the fact that they use bath houses (Rymsza 1972: 198, v. 1460; 208, v. 1754).

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[7] Cf. Skuczyński 1980: 111; Niendorf 2011: 89-91.

2.5. What is the homeland?

In the poems under discussion, the Radziwiłłs are the people that best illustrate the civic ethos celebrated in the humanistic literature of the sixteenth century. Rather than enumerating the particular features of this ethos, I would like to consider the way it is orientated. As Kochanowski (1980: 641, v. 1-15), Gradowski (2011: 60, v. 524-526), Rymsza (1972: 119-124) and Radwan (2009: 185) all testify, Krzysztof "the Thunderbolt" Radziwiłł sacrifices himself for his country, because it is the most important thing for him. The name of the homeland is interchangeably used in reference to the Commonwealth and to Lithuania. In Andrzej Rymsza's text the two nations, Polish and Lithuanian, are close to each other. The term Commonwealth is used both to describe Lithuania and to encompass the entire Polish-Lithuanian state (1972: 142, v. 152-153)[8]. Lithuania as a homeland is identified above all with freedom: it must be defended from invaders and, as a last resort, may even require the ultimate sacrifice. The war with Muscovy, as this is the threat which Rymsza (1972: 159, v. 412-413) has in mind, is a purely Lithuanian matter. It is typical that in *Bellum Prutenum* and in *Radivilias* the Battle of Grunwald concerns both nations, but the struggle against Muscovy concerns only one of them, although the Poles also take part in it. Such an interpretation may also be attributed to Kochanowski (Kochanowski 1980: 644, v. 113-115).

In this concept of homeland the relationship between Lithuanians and Poles is blurred. Andrzej Rymsza remarks that "it was strange for the Poles" who must have served under Krzysztof Radziwiłł to have to obey "a Lithuanian hetman", but eventually they appreciated his qualities as a leader (Rymsza 1972: 170, v. 697-700). The equality of the two nations was emphasized by Ioannes Vislicensis, who devoted a separate passage to each of them in the first and second book of his *Prussian War*. Any Lithuanian complexes, such as cultural backwardness, the late introduction of Christianity, the lack of descriptions of a more distant and glorious history, are carefully glossed over and concealed. Stryjkowski and Radwan write about the initial relations between the two countries that came into being thanks to the marriage of Aldona and Casimirus the Great (Stryjkowski 1978: 250-251; Radwan 2009: 136), and both of them, with no inhibitions, list the Lithuanian victories over the Poles (Stryjkowski 1978: 299-300; Radwan 2009: 135-136).

3. *Conclusion*

In each of these epic works there is a fragment of the history of Lithuania. All together they present five stories. These are: the ethnogenetic myth, the legendary foundation of the capital city, the change in the religious order, the legendary victory and finally the tale about a contemporary hero, e.g. Radziwiłł. All

[8] Cf. Wisner 2002:12-13.

these stories can be read as myth-like narratives. However, being both a mythical character and a contemporary personality, Radziwiłł belongs to the mythical past and, at the same time, to the sixteenth century. This in turn allows the contemporary readers to interpret all the narratives as if each of them referred to the present as well as to the past. At least four of the key points of these stories can be found in the *Aeneid,* namely: Aeneas's arrival in Italy, the foundation of the City by Romulus, the victory over Carthage and the rule of Augustus.

In this context, the sixteenth-century poems on the subject of Lithuania can be treated as an attempt, in several distinct voices, to build an epic story about Lithuanian identity similar to the official interpretation of Romanity in the days of Augustus as redefined in the *Aeneid*.

Nevertheless, none of the aforementioned poems is the *Aeneid*. In none of them, except for the chronicle by Stryjkowski, is the presentation of Lithuania the primary purpose of their authors: Hussovianus is interested in the bison, Gradowski in a detailed account of the Muscovian villages being burnt and Radwan in the glory of Mikołaj "the Red" Radziwiłł. For all of them Lithuania is merely the backdrop against which the main heroic deeds are played out. But if all the aforementioned poems are read, one after the other, not as self-contained works but as part of a series of texts that inspired images of the past, the common denominator is their Lithuanity. Lithuania occurs in each of these works and although each occurrence constitutes only a small part of the world represented in these texts, when in their mutual context, Lithuania becomes not only a wider intellectual project, but also an axiom, a crucial cultural reference point for the interpretive community of the time[9].

The use of such fragments has a significant function. Partial information about Lithuania is supposed to create the impression that they come from a greater and earlier whole. When Gradowski (2011: 68, v. 686) and Kochanowski (1980: 646, v. 195) mentioned eg. "the routes of Vytautas", both of them supposed that the reader would be able to relate this character not only to their historical knowledge of Vytautas but also to some previous texts: chronicles, poems etc. as well. The problem here is that it was they, the poets, who established the literary image of duke Vytautas, while it is unlikely that their readers would have had a chance to acquaint themselves with previous texts about this character, particularly with poetic ones.

The authors of the texts I discuss here write about Lithuania as if the facts they quoted were commonly known and ancient. But in fact, it is precisely the other way round – it is they who mention the facts for the first time, but they do it in such a manner as to create the illusion of a textual base for their narratives. These poets did not have many predecessors, when it comes to poetical narrations about Lithuania. Two authors, Stryjkowski and Hussovianus, admit that the way they present history is something new, but nevertheless they assume that the reader has some previous notion of it from earlier readings when, in actual fact, they could not have had any such thing.

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[9] Cf. Bukowiec 2012: 171-172.

So how can this illusion of textual base have been so effective? It worked because the poets invoked the repertoire of epic means from the *Aeneid* and other epic poems, with which contemporary readers would have been familiar. This repertory included such devices as geographical references, the main character's shield depicting a history or a specific kind of representation of war. These enabled readers to find their bearings in terms of the functions of numerous mysterious and erudite facts, i.e. stories about bison or Gedymin's dream.

Thus, what had hitherto been unknown, became known: the ferocious bison from the Lithuanian forests was tamed and readers imagined that they had previously heard about Gedymin's dream of the iron wolf and of establishing the city. And even if they did not know it, they preferred not to admit their ignorance. Reading the *Aeneid* required erudition – those who failed to understand allusions to Anchises or Achilles, laid themselves open to charges of lacking humanistic polish. One of the key factors for sixteenth-century poets was the need to produce erudite writing[10] – authors had to incorporate such things as the iron wolf or the Borysthenes into their work – while another factor was that erudite readers had to have been brought up on the *Aeneid*.

Readers were obliged to decipher things that would have appeared obvious to the Western interpretive community[11] (although in fact they did not have to be that obvious). Authors of sixteenth-century epic poems relating back to the *Aeneid* drew on the fact that their readers were used to recognising allusions and fragmentary information. Readers therefore had to accept the fact that Lithuania lies upon the river Dnieper and perhaps later and elsewhere, i.e. from Ortelius's maps, learnt where that river flows.

Through this strategy of erudite writing and erudite reading, otherness became familiar. This worked both outwardly and inwardly. Readers from outside Lithuania would have recognized this country as belonging to the Latin canon of texts while readers from Lithuania gained a language by which they could pursue self-identification.

The eight epic poems from the sixteenth century were not the only ones to play a significant role in cementing the Lithuanian state in this period. Other important texts should be mentioned, i.e. the Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania[12] or historical[13] and cartographical studies[14]. All these texts were written by humanists with different degrees of skill, who used a common code based on classical literature. It allowed for *translatio imperii* again, this time within the territory of the extensive Lithuanian state. The poems discussed in this paper allow us to track the textual implications of this process.

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[10] Cf. Pawlak 2012: 66-81.

[11] Cf. Kallendorf 2007: 6-10.

[12] Cf. Płaza 2002: 161-162; Godek 2004: 21-67; Zakrzewski 2005: 34-63 and 2013: 215-231; Bardach *et al.* 2009: 209-210; Niendorf 2011: 108-116.

[13] Cf. Rott 1995.

[14] Cf. Alexandrowicz 2012: 59.

These poems convey a humanistic ideology and some textual procedures by which it was applied to action. It was an ideology based on literature and one that was a base for a sense of identity of one of the early modern European nations – the citizens of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Translated by Kaja Szymańska

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Abstract

Jakub Niedźwiedź

How Did Virgil Help Forge Lithuanian Identity in the Sixteenth Century?

During the sixteenth century Virgil's poetry had a noticeable and increasingly strong influence on literature written in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This can be attributed to the fact that the *Aeneid* enabled Polish and Lithuanian to construct a reflection on early modern national identity. The author attempts here to examine this hypothesis and to answer the question: how did Virgilian identity-*topoi* work in poems written in Poland and Lithuania in the sixteenth century? To do that he focuses on eight epic poems published in Polish and Latin between 1516 and 1592. In the main part of the paper several topics used in these poems are examined. These are: Lithuania's location in Europe and its geography, Lithuanian history, the inhabitants' sense of identity and the definition of homeland. Read together, these passages evoke a coherent image of the sixteenth-century Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the conclusions the author argues that the *Aeneid* provided Polish and Lithuanian poets with a language they could use for creating and expressing Lithuanian identity. This can be observed especially in a historical narrative which is based on four Virgilian motifs: the ethnogenetic myth, the legendary foundation of the capital city, the legendary victory and the tale of a contemporary hero who links this ancient history to a poet's present time. The author stresses the fact that the process of constructing knowledge about Lithuania was triggered by the humanistic ways of reading Virgil's texts and the sixteenth-century imitative procedures.

Constructing Noble Ancestors and Ignoble Neighbours. Uses of Cornelius Tacitus's *Germania* and *Annales* in J.B. Zimorowicz's *Leopolis triplex* (1650s-1670s)[1]

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1. *Introduction*

It is commonly accepted in studies of modern nationalism that according to the primordial paradigm, the 'nation' is seen as an almost eternally uninterrupted lineage uniting contemporary generations with their direct forefathers since time immemorial. One of a nation's key features is ethnic purity, which can guarantee its uniqueness and sometimes even its superiority. But before modern nationalism was invented, there were other, sometimes absolutely unexpected, imagined lineages between forefathers and their descendants in pre-modern societies. This article focuses on the question of how such imagined group genealogies were constructed at a micro-level – in one city, in one book, by one author.

According to Bo Strath, "it is not unreasonable to argue that the production of symbols, images and myths is an elite undertaking, that this construction/invention is simply the elite's manipulation of the masses"[2]. History does not exist 'out there', waiting to be discovered, but is permanently invented in order to give meaning to the present – and to the future – through the past[3]. The main purpose of this article is to demonstrate how social aspirations and fears influenced historical imagination, and how this socially constructed past was in turn used to reconstruct social reality as well as social stratification and mobility. It will also address the issue of how a narrative was constructed to fill existing gaps and to build up continuity in order to restore social order and stability.

First, this article will analyze how Tacitus' *Germania* was used to provide the contemporary urban elite of one specific city with prestigious ancestors.

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[1] This paper was written thanks to my fellowships at the Jagiellonian University, Warsaw University, Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau, and Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas e.V. an der Universität Leipzig. I am grateful to the Foundation for promoting science in Poland, Kasa im. Józefa Mianowskiego, and to the Robert Bosch Stiftung for their financial support of these fellowships. This paper draws on, and seeks to summarize, some of the arguments and conclusions of a book-in-progress devoted to the uses of the remote past in social relations between Catholic patricians and the Armenian community in late sixteenth-seventeenth century Lemberg.

[2] Strath 2000: 30.

[3] *Ibid.*: 26.

Latinitas *in the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania : Its Impact on the Development of Identities,* edited by Giovanna Siedina, ISBN 978-88-6655-675-6 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-674-9 (print), © 2014 Firenze University Press

Second, it will demonstrate how just one sentence from Tacitus's *Annales* was used to produce a negative image of the Armenian community, seen by the Catholic patricians as their main economic and social rival.

In addition, it will investigate how the ethnic and the social were intermixed in a multiethnic city and in historical narrative in order to highlight how imagined group genealogies were used to promote or to hinder the social mobility of certain groups.

Analysis of the grammars used by actors enabled us to discover bonds, conflicts, and alliances between them. Special attention will be given to analysing the uses of the terms ambiguity (*ambiguitas*), constancy (*constantia*), and militancy (*bellicosus*). Why did Zimorowicz quote Tacitus in his work? Why were the terms *ambiguity*, *constancy*, and *militancy* so important, and how was their use influenced by the recent decades of the city's history, and by Zimorowicz's own experience and intentions?

2. *Tacitus' Germania and German Humanists*

According to Frank L. Borchardt, "the Middle Ages and the Renaissance needed no committees to compile lists of the one hundred great books. The great books were known, read, distilled, plagiarized, and anthologized" (Borchardt 1971: 1). And among these great books was Tacitus's *Germania*.

Germania was first published in 1476, and over the next five decades it was printed mostly in German-speaking countries, amounting to as many as six thousand copies (Krebs 2011: 91). It served as the foundational text for German humanists, who formed "Germany" as an "imagined community", actively "inventing traditions" set in the Germanic past (Krebs 2009: 281).

According to Christopher B. Krebs, four factors were particularly conducive to the ideological impact of *Germania* in the sixteenth century: the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation was losing its centripetal force, and the notion of a German nation correspondingly became more appealing and integrative. This emerging national consciousness rose further during the confrontation between German electors and the Curia in Rome as well as German and Italian humanists, with the former all too aware of their *barbara tellus*, the latter scornful of it. Finally, a classical text of unquestionable authority to humanistic eyes, *Germania* fulfilled deep desires: the obstinate German search for a national identity in its own right found a past characterized by specific values very different from those of Rome, a past which, in those times of instability, offered a stable foundation for nation-building (Krebs 2009: 282).

The Tacitean emphasis on Germanic customs and morals was particularly welcome, since the majority of humanists intended history to reveal the morally superior past and teach its readers to embrace long-lost values (Krebs 2009: 286).

In reaction to Germanic cultural shortcomings, apparent even to patriotically blinded eyes, emphasis was given to their morality and simple lifestyle (in

contrast to Roman/Italian decadence) , and weakness was turned into strength. However, this re-evaluation of the German past relied on a second strategy, namely demonstrating that it was not as primitive as the Italians liked to assert: Celtis' promotion of the learned Druids, Bebel's collection of *proverbia* and Jacob Wimpheling's characterisation of the Germans as supreme inventors and crafters are merely three examples of this endeavour. Overnight the ancient Germans became Promethean warriors; and, for centuries to come, disappointing realities would yield to gratifying fiction (Krebs 2009: 286).

Other enduring ideas emerging at this time, growing over centuries, included the attribution of other people's achievements to the ancient Germans, the idea that noble and outstanding individuals and families were of German blood (Krebs 2009: 287). This idea was developed in the writings of Józef Bartłomiej Zimorowicz, who was a Pole, but who used Tacitean "German virtues" in a different way from those used by German humanists.

3. *Life and works of Józef Bartłomiej Zimorowicz*

Though Polish Germanophobia has a long history in pre-modern times[4], Tacitus's *Germania* was used by Zimorowicz to provide the contemporary urban elite in Lemberg[5] with German lineage and thereby with Tacitean "German virtues".

An old Polish saying goes:

> Jak świat światem, nie będzie Niemiec Polakowi bratem.
> Till the end of time, Germans will never be brothers for Poles.

[4] An example of such argumentation may be the speech delivered in the Roman Curia by Jan Ostroróg in 1467. Similar anti-German accents were to be found in the historic arguments in the letter of July 28, 1514, which the Polish primate and chancellor, Jan Łaski, wrote to Bernardino Gallo and Maciej Miechowita. (Cynarski 1968: 9). In the course of the election campaign during the first interregnum in 1572-1573, the German candidates Maximilian Habsburg and prince Albrecht Friedrich of Prussia were seen as bearers of absolutism, which endangered republican values. Were they to be elected, their opponents predicted an influx of foreign nobility into Poland and the marginalisation of Polish nobility (Kąkolewski 2007: 22-23).

[5] The original name of the city was *Lvov* or *Lviv*. It was renamed by German settlers in the mid-fourteenth century as *Lemburg*. In neo-Latin writings the city was named *Leopolis*. In Polish it is known as *Lwów*. From 1772 to 1918 the city – as well Galicia/Galizien province – was part of the Habsburg Empire where it was known as *Lemberg*. Under this name, the city was known in modern times in the main European languages. When writing on the period before the Polish conquest of the 1340s, the name *Lviv* is used in this article. The name *Lemberg* is used in the post-1340s period. The name *Lemburg* is used in the quotations from *Leopolis triplex* referring to the post-1340s period. The name *Leopolis* is used in the respective quotations from or references to the text of *Leopolis triplex*.

Lemberg city councillor Józef Bartłomiej Zimorowicz (1597-1677) was probably familiar with this saying. He wrote the history of the city between 1665 and 1667, and then between 1670 and 1672. Józef Bartłomiej Zimorowicz (*Iosephus Bartholomaeus Zimorowicz*) was born in 1597 into the family of a suburban mason Stanisław Ozimek. The young Zimorowicz began his career as assistant to a municipal clerk. During the 1620s, he performed the duties of a *palestrant,* comparable to a modern lawyer, and represented the Armenian community in its relations with the city magistrate. Zimorowicz glorified the victory of the Polish-Cossack army led by crown-prince Wladislaw over the Ottoman-Tatar troops in the battle of Khotyn in 1621 in a panegyric published in 1623. In 1629, Zimorowicz married the daughter of a rich jeweller and councillor (*consul*) Mikołaj Siedmiradzki (†1630)[6]. In the same year Zimorowicz obtained the citizenship of Lemberg. In 1634, when recently elected King Wladislaw IV visited Lemberg, the city council presented him with the panegyric entitled *Voice of a lion* (*Vox leonis*), written by Zimorowicz (Heck 1887). In 1635, Zimorowicz bought a house (*lapidea*) within the city walls. In 1640, he became a secretary of the city council. In 1646, Zimorowicz was co-opted into the city jury (*lawa*, *scabinat* – the court of the bench) and in 1648 into the city council (*rada*) and headed the self-government of Lemberg – he occupied the highest office of *burmistrz* (*proconsul*)[7]. In the same year, the Polish Crown witnessed an uprising by Zaporozhian Cossacks, led by hetman Bohdan Khmelnitsky, who besieged Lemberg in September-October. In November 1648, Zimorowicz took part in the election of the new king in Warsaw, being one of the two representatives of Lemberg in the elective diet (*sejm*). In 1654, Zimorowicz held the office of city judge (*advocatus*, *wójt* – a head of the court of the bench) and married Sophia, the daughter of a rich Armenian merchant, Zachariasz Awedikowicz, by then deceased. Sophia died in 1655 (Heck 1897: 47). In the same year, together with many other burghers, Zimorowicz fled Lemberg besieged by Cossack and Russian troops. After his return in 1656, he married Rosalia, a daughter of the patrician Martin Grozwaier (†1653). Rosalia died in 1661. In 1663, Zimorowicz married Jadwiga, the daughter of city councillor Jerzy Krall (†1669), who gave him one son and two daughters (Heck 1897: 57).

Among the many works written by Zimorowicz on religious, lyric and historic topics, there is also a history of Lemberg – *Leopolis triplex* – his main opus. Zimorowicz started to collect source materials from the city archives in the 1650s. Some of his earlier works – such has the history of the Holy Spirit hospital – were also included in *Leopolis triplex*. The main core was written between 1665 and 1667 (Heck 1899: xxvi). Lemberg's past was described in chronological order from the thirteenth century till 1597 – the year of the author's birth. Then, around 1670, Zimorowicz continued his chronological narrative until 1633. At the beginning he added a dedication to the city's Senate and the bulk of text not directly connected with Lviv/Lemberg's history, but devoted

[6] Heck 1894: 72.
[7] Heck 1897: 30-31.

to the history of political and military relations between Poland and Rus' from the eleventh through to the fourteenth centuries. In 1671, Zimorowicz published a book entitled *The famous men of Lemberg* (*Viri illustres civitatis Leopoliensis*), written as a series of brief biographies of the sixteenth and seventeenth century urban patricians. When Lemberg was besieged by Ottoman, Tatar, Cossack, and Moldavian troops in 1672, Zimorowicz led the defence of the city. This siege is described in his book *Leopolis a Turcis, Tataris, Cosacis, Moldavis obsessa*, published posthumously in 1693. His last wife died in 1675, followed in 1677 by Zimorowicz himself.

Thus, Zimorowicz's life could be an example of a successful career – he was born in a suburb and finished his life as a patrician – owner of a house in the most prestigious Market square. He used his talents – judicial as well as literary – to defend and glorify the urban elite, into which he was accepted on account of his career and his marriages. Zimorowicz dedicated his main opus – *Leopolis triplex* – to the city's Senate – "eodemque calamo, fortuna priore proscripta, fascibus consularibus Musas meas suburbanas adscripsit" (Zimorowicz 1899a: 4)[8]. Zimorowicz emphasized that *Leopolis triplex* is an expression of his gratitude to the patricians who helped him make a successful career, because the Senate "manu e caeno plebeio extraxit" (*Ibid*.)[9].

4. *Inventing Collective Genealogy in "Leopolis Triplex": German Warriors as Ancestors of the Polish Patricians in Lemberg*

Zimorowicz entitled his main historical writing – "Leopolis triplex", that is "Tripartial Leopolis". He divided the city's history into three parts. In the first part, he described early history – Ruthenian Leopolis – from the foundation of Lviv by the Ruthenian prince Lev (Leo), son of Daniel, around 1270[10]. According to Zimorowicz, Lev used the new town as a place in which to store the booty that he and his Tatar allies had seized during their incursions into Poland[11]. The second period started with the conquest of the city by the Polish king Kazimierz/Casimir III (1333-1370) in 1340. Zimorowicz named this period – "German Leopolis" – since Casimir III settled his German mercenaries there. It was they who transformed Lviv (*Lwihorod*) from a semi-barbarian town (*oppidum*) into a city (*urbs*) called Lemburg. According to Zimorowicz, by the mid-sixteenth cen-

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[8] "and with the same pen, marked by early fortune, my suburban talent is subjected to the insignias of the [Lemberg's] consuls".

[9] "pulled a plebeian out of the dirt with its hand".

[10] It is important to note that in the thirteenth-century Ruthenian chronicle – *Ipat'evskaja letopis'* – the existence of Lviv/Lvov was mentioned for the first time in 1256. Zimorowicz indicated 1270, since his main source for this period was Kromer's *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum*.

[11] Zimorowicz 1899a: 39, 40.

tury those Germans had been assimilated by the local Polish population. Thus, he named the third part – "Polish Leopolis" – from 1551 until his own day.

Zimorowicz delivered his concept of the temporal division of the city's history in the opening part of *Leopolis triplex*:

> Triplicem ego Leopolim in una comperio:
>
> 1270. Russicam primam, a Leone regulo Russiae condi verius coeptam, quam conditam, ideoque, ut omnia opera antiquitatis, informem, horridam, impexam, stativis militaribus, quam urbi propriorem, Lwihorod ab initio apellatam.
>
> 1340. Alteram Germanicam, per Casimirum, omnium testimonio Magnum, priore de Russis deditione accepta, flammis Polonicis expiatam, moenibus saxeis, iuribus Saxonicis, praesidiis Teutonicis in melius mutatam, Lemburgum nominatam.
>
> 1551. Tertiam post duas priores Polonicam factam, qualis hodie usque superstat. Incolis enim primaevis in mores indigenarum uxorumque, quas ex puellis Lechicis capiebant, sensim degenerantibus, peregrinitas quoque advenarum pau latim exolevit, cultus autem popularis et vernaculus sermo externum praevaluit. (Zimorowicz 1899a: 37)[12].

At the beginning of the second part of *Leopolis triplex*, Zimorowicz included a long and detailed story about the virtues of the Germans and how they had civilized the city. In the review of the year 1345, Zimorowicz wrote: "in olim apud Tacitum proclamatum quasi inaudivisset Casimirus, multum bellicae laudi, plurimum constantiae Germanorum indulsit, regiae suae, castrorum urbiumque primariarum custodia illis credita" (Zimorowicz 1899a: 61-62)[13]. Then he quoted Martin Kromer – the most famous Polish historian of the sixteenth century – who emphasized the role of the Germans in urbanizing Poland:

> Cum Poloniam atque Russiam, partim bellis superioribus et excursionibus barbarorum, partim pestilentia exinanitam, minus cultam minusque populosam esse cerneret, Teutonici generis hominibus sive accitis, sive ultro venientibus agros attribuit. Quorum non exiguae reliquiae in Submontana et Hungaris finitima regione et Russia in hodiernum usque diem manent […] Eorum cura et opera Polonia fre-

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[12] "Threefold Lviv in one [city] I discover:

1270. First it is Ruthenian, founded by the Ruthenian prince Lev, or anyway planned rather than built. Therefore, like all ancient creations, it was shapeless, primitive, crude, and similar to a military camp rather than a city, initially called Lviv-town.

1340. Secondly it is German, taken from the Ruthenians by Casimir –commonly recognized as "the Great", then purified by Polish flame, and improved with stone walls, Saxon law, a German garrison, and called Lemburg.

1551. Thirdly, after the previous two became Polish, which it is till now. Primary residents [of the city] in accordance with the indigenous habits married Polish girls and as a result gradually transformed themselves: since foreign (German) habits gradually diminished, the native way of life and the local language (Polish) replaced foreign ones".

[13] "In the ancient era, Tacitus testified in his Roman history that there are no other people who could surpass the Germans in warcraft or in loyalty".

> quentari et cultior esse pages et oppidis coepit. Sunt enim frugaliores et diligentiores in re paranda ac tuenda quam Poloni, et lautius habitant[14].

Then Zimorowicz interrupted Kromer's quotation to introduce his own remark: "ita ut facile etiamnum appareat per pagos et oppida iter facientibus, ubi illi, ubive Poloni habitent, videmusque ruere muros quorundam oppidorum, ab illis, quod vel nomina testificantur, conditorum, posteaquam a Polonis habitantur et administrantur" (Zimorowicz 1899a: 62-63)[15].

Zimorowicz continued Kromer's quotation to emphasize not only Casimir III's particular favour to the German settlers in Lemburg, but the king's general protection of its townspeople and peasants:

> Fuit autem in eos, Teutonos inquam, et in ceteros oppidanos et agrestes propensior et indulgentior Casimirus, nec eos gravioribus laboribus vel exactionibus, aut ullis iniuriis praefectorum suorum, sive adeo procerum atque nobilitatis premi passus est, animadvertendo in eos, qui aliquid eiuscemodi ausi essent, ita ut vulgo rusticorum sive plebeiorum rex vocaretur. Nec ipsos modo Teutonos iure suo Saxonico seu Magdeburgensi uti permisit, sed suis quoque Polonis id indulsit" (Cromerus 1589: 214; Zimorowicz 1899a: 63)[16].

By extensively citing Kromer, Zimorowicz thus criticized the contemporary nobles whose politics had caused the decline of Polish cities and their populations. At the same time, aware of the long tradition of Polish Germanophobia, Zimorowicz found it necessary to explain Kromer's favour toward the Germans in the following statement: "Haec et plura alia in laudem Germanorum gravis scriptor idemque antistes, doctrina vitaque laudatus, quamvis satis superque esset a Polono aemulam gentem celebrari, inter quos hereditariae rixae de gloria et de viribus pugnae, – sed virtus et in hoste probatur"[17]. Actu-

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[14] "When he [King Casimir III] saw Poland and Ruthenia, poorly civilized and sparsely inhabited due to the plague [of 1348] and constant wars, he invited Germans and granted them lands in Subcarpathia and in the borderland with Hungary. Their communities still exist in Ruthenia today […] Thanks to their efforts and deeds, Poland began to be settled with many villages and towns, because these Germans were much far superior to the Poles in managing and developing this country" (Cromerus 1589: 214; Zimorowicz 1899a: 62).

[15] "And even today anyone travelling through villages and towns can easily see where Germans live, and where Poles live. And they can see that urban fortifications need repair in those towns, which were founded by Germans, but are now inhabited and ruled by Poles".

[16] "And Casimir favoured these Germans as well as other [that is Polish] townspeople and peasants. And he forbade his governors and even the aristocracy and noblemen to oppress them [that is townspeople and peasants] with works, and taxes, and other burdens. That is why he was known as the king of peasants and plebeians. He not only allowed the Germans to use their Saxon or Magdeburg law, but also granted it to his own Poles" .

[17] "These and many other praiseworthy examples of German habits are described in detail by the chronicler-*bishop* [M. Kromer], glorious of his life and talent. It is worth

ally, Kromer was born into a burgher family of German immigrants in Biecz, in southern Poland (Finkel 1883: 7). Kromer had graduated from both Kraków Academy (1530) and Bologna University (1540). In 1533-1537 he worked at the Royal Chancellery in Kraków. On his return from Italy, he became secretary to Archbishop Peter Gamrat. As the latter's personal advisor, Kromer was also his envoy and representative to Rome from 1543 to 1544. In 1545, he became secretary to King Sigismund I. Kromer was seen as one of the best Polish diplomats and frequently served as an envoy on various diplomatic missions: to Augsburg (1547), to Rome (1548) and to Vienna (1553, 1554)[18]. In 1552, he was ennobled and granted a coat of arms for his services to the King (Finkel 1883: 34). In 1550 Kromer worked in the royal archive and in 1555 he published his history of Poland – *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX*. From 1558 to 1564 he served as the Polish envoy to Emperor Ferdinand I (Finkel 1883: 35). Recalled to Poland in 1564, Kromer took the post of coadjutor of the Bishopric of Warmia (Ermland), and in 1573 he was promoted to Prince-Bishop (Finkel 1883: 36). Thus, in the eyes of contemporary and later generations of urban upper-classes, Kromer embodied their aspirations for career and ennoblement. His life became a model for the urban patricians and, for a century, his history of Poland shaped their historical imagination. Kromer's history was published in Latin in 1555, 1558, 1568, and 1589, in German in 1562, and in Polish in 1611. Kromer's history in the Latin edition as well as in the German edition was mentioned seven times in the Catholic burghers' book inventories composed after their death in late sixteenth–early seventeenth-century Lemberg[19]. Zimorowicz himself called Kromer "Cromeri, florentissimi rerum Polonicarum auctoris" (Zimorowicz 1899a: 29)[20] and "[...] florentissimi rerum Polonicarum scriptores horumque coryphaeus Cromerus" (Zimorowicz 1899a: 55)[21].

4.1. Roman features of the German settlers in Lemberg: old and new virtues of "the primary Germans" in Leopolis triplex

Zimorowicz goes on to describe how the German mercenaries of Casimir III settled in Leopolis and became burghers. Zimorowicz emphasized the domination of the Germans in Lemberg, which after the conquest was founded again on a new legal basis, in accordance with the German or Magdeburg law (*Mag-*

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adding that [he being] a Pole praises the rival nation [Germany], with which [Poles] have inherited quarrels for glory and battles for virtues. But even rivals' virtues are praiseworthy".

18 Finkel 1883: 12-13.

19 Skoczek 1939: 45. According to Luc Boltanski, the grammars used by individuals to legitimate their arguments draw on a limited repertory of fundamental texts identified by him as forging the social bond.

20 "the most brilliant among Polish historians".

21 "the most brilliant writers of Polish history and the head of them – Kromer".

deburger Recht): "Germanis solis regimen in reliquos indigenas tutelamque urbis tradit" (Zimorowicz 1899a: 64)[22].

According to Zimorowicz, "quidquid igitur sancti aut egregii Leopolis ad praesens habet, totum id a primaevis Teutonibus accepit, maxime vero pietatem in superos, reverentiam in principes, caritatem in domesticos, hospitalitatem in externos. […] Adventu Germanorum monstrosis superstitionibus exonerate est" (Zimorowicz 1899a: 64)[23]. Thus Zimorowicz juxtaposes the "superstitions" of the "schismatic" (Orthodox) Ruthenians and the good mores of the local Germans – the "true believers" of the holy Roman Church.

Then Zimorowicz counted the virtues of "the primary Germans", mostly derived from Tacitus' *Germania*: "[…] ad extremum, quod apud me palmare, bonos mores, quales apud Germanos plus, quam bonas leges, valere Tacitus attestatur" (Zimorowicz 1899a: 65)[24]. At the same time, Zimorowicz transformed the primitive Tacitean Germans living their simple life in the forests into the promoters of urban civilization on the eastern fringes of Europe (*ex magistris militum magistros civium*). In 1356, Casimir III granted Lemburg – actually the Catholic urban community – the Magdeburg law. Under this year Zimorowicz included an article on the leading role of "the primary Germans" in the military and civil life of the city, with the subtitle – "Germans are teachers of war and citizens" ("Germani belli et civitatis magistri"). Zimorowicz based this story on the two well-known Roman models: 1) when the stationary military camps of legions, situated mostly on the Rhine and the Danube, gradually developed into towns (such as *Vindobona* – Vienna, *Castra Bonnensis* – Bonn, *Castrum Mogontiacum* – Mainz, *Argentoratum* – Strasbourg), or 2) when emeriti legionnaires were granted plots of land and settled on the borderlands in the *colonies* named after Roman emperors, their relatives or powerful officials (such as *Colonia Agrippina* – Cologne). In both cases these military settlements were mostly founded on the places of the former native burghs and gradually civilized the conquered natives in a given province. Thus, Zimorowicz portrayed his "primary Germans" with Roman features:

> 1356. Germani belli et civitatis magistri. Germani quoque laudis avidi et propensione regia velut classico exciti, abunde votis Casimiri satis facientes, pace sollertes, bello strenui utrobique fideles, prolixam regis munificentiam provocarunt.

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[22] "[Casimir] granted Germans the right to rule over other indigenous people and to defend the city".

[23] "The holiest and the best that Leopolis has today, was borrowed from the primary Germans, in particular piety, loyalty to monarchs, care for their fellow citizens, hospitality to foreigners. In earlier days Leopolis had been barbarian and excluded from the mystic body of true believers […] With the arrival of the Germans, [Leopolis] freed itself from these monstrous superstitions […]".

[24] "Lastly, what is most important for me, they introduced good habits to Lemberg, which, according to Tacitus, the Germans respect more than law". Cf.: "boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges" ("good habits are worth as much as good laws elsewhere" (*Germania* 19).

> Illos nondum veteranos et iam emeritos in uberes campos deduxit, legibus patriis, immunitatibus agrariis, vacationibus castrensibus demulsit, ex magistris militum magistros civium constituit, ut merito Leopolis colonia Casimiritana dicenda esset, nisi eam pristino nomini princeps, hostibus etiam aequus[25], reliquisset (Zimorowicz 1899a: 67)[26].

The "primary Germans" brought with them the laws, symbols and practices of urban self-government, trade and handicrafts, they built churches and hospitals in Lemberg, and established a school[27].

4.2. Ethnic origins as social markers: the patricians' aspirations for ennoblement

There are also other differences between "the good old" Germans presented by Tacitus and those presented by Zimorowicz. Tacitus and German humanists emphasized that the Germans are "aboriginal, and not mixed at all with other races"[28] ("Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos"); "They preserved their old mother tongue unmixed and unadulterated" (Justus Georg Schottelius, 1648)[29]. Conversely, Zimorowicz wrote that the "primary German" settlers of Lemberg "married local Ruthenian women" ("Amazonum Russicarum confixi")[30]. Then they continued inter-marrying with the Poles: "Verum perpetua duarum nationum inter se mistio" ("The intermixing of these two nations [Germans and Poles] was constant"[31]). In the end, the Germans were assimilated into Polish society. One should not forget that in contemporary discourse, mingling with others was seen as a sign of degradation[32]. But Zimorowicz 'married his 'primary Germans' with

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[25] "gracious even to their enemies", that is to the recently conquered Ruthenians.

[26] "Germans, yearning for praise, and stimulated by the king's grace, satisfied all Casimir's orders. Industrious in peace, brave in war, and in both situations faithful, Germans provoked the extraordinary grace of the King. He settled them, yet not veterans but merited, on the fertile fields, granted them their native law, freed them from land taxes, made them city officeholders, thereby transforming them from military instructors into teachers of citizens. Thus, Leopolis could have been renamed Casimir's colony, but the king, gracious even to his enemies, let the city keep its old name".

[27] Zimorowicz 1899a: 68-69.

[28] *Germania* 2.

[29] Krebs 2011: 129.

[30] Zimorowicz 1899a: 63.

[31] Zimorowicz 1899a: 126.

[32] "Mysos vocatos, id est, *miessancy mieszani*, ex diversis gentibus" ("They are called Mysos, since they are *a mixture* of diverse peoples") [Italic mine, A.O.] (Sarnicki 1587: 65). In the Latin text, the author includes Polish words – *miessancy mieszani* – in order to explain to his Polish readers the etymology of the name *Mysos* and the ignoble nature of these people. "The concept of purity was used to justify the position of certain social groups. In early modern Europe 'purity of blood' was officially essential for high status. Elsewhere the nobility often described their social inferiors as unclean in order to prevent social mobility" (Burke 1992: 63).

local women to demonstrate how the former's symbolic capital was inherited by the contemporary Polish patricians of Lemberg.

For the seventeenth-century patricians this meant abandoning their forefathers in favor of those who had preceded them in Lemberg, going all the way back to King Kazimierz/Casimir III's conquest of Galician Rus'. It is impossible to explain the reasons why Zimorowicz constructed such a history if one focuses exclusively on the surviving primary sources or on the historical realities of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Zimorowicz was not a disinterested, dispassionate observer. He was not simply describing Lemberg's urban society in his time but articulating a view of it from the standpoint of an occupant of a particular position within that society, that of an ennobled magistrate. According to Simona Cerutti, the sources that the historian uses are often (though not always) documents that make claims (rather than describe it)[33]. It is time to ask questions, such as: what claims to legitimacy does Zimorowicz express? Who are these claims made to? And in what way?

Actually, the early Germans settled in Lviv long before the Polish conquest of the 1340s. These Germans were merchants and artisans, mostly from Poland and Silesia, invited by the Ruthenian prince Daniel (1238-1264) in the mid-thirteenth century. After the Polish conquest of Galician Rus' and Lviv in 1349, local German townspeople (*cives catholici*) became the dominant community as the Catholics were supported by the Polish kings. The new influx of German burghers to Lemberg, mostly from Poland and Silesia, continued during the fifteenth century and transformed them into the majority group (Skoczek 1929: 21). The Ottoman conquests in the northern part of the Black Sea region in the 1470s-1480s dramatically changed the trade in which the German merchants of Lemberg were involved. Thus, the economic power of the older patriciate radically declined in the late fifteenth century (Lozinski 1892: 39-41). In the second half of the sixteenth century, a new patriciate emerged in Lemberg. Moreover, the new patricians were newcomers to Lemberg. Some of them were migrants from German or Silesian cities, some from Pannonia/Hungary, Italy and Crete, but mostly they were ethnic Poles. The most evident example could be Paul (Paweł) Kampian (ca.1527-1600). The son of a serf, one Mikolaj Wosczyna, Paul attended Kraków Academy and in 1556 graduated as a Doctor in Medicine from the University of Bologna. He invented his new surname *Novus Campianus* (*Novicampianus, Novicampius*) by translating the Polish name of his native village Nowopole – "New Field" – into Latin. In 1560, Paul Kampian settled in Lemberg and accepted urban citizenship. There, he married Anne Grynwald/Grinvalt – a girl evidently of German origin – and started his career in the independent city government. Paul Kampian was adopted into the patriciate being co-opted into the city council in 1584. His son, Martin (Marcin) Kampian (1574-1629), the embodiment of the German-Polish elite alliance in Lemberg, was the most powerful member of the city council in 1617-1627. He subsidized the city with large sums of money and controlled the most profitable fields of

[33] Cerutti 2004: 28.

communal economy. My suggestion is that Zimorowicz modelled his 'political archaeology of virtues' on the biography of the patrician family of Kampian[34]. Zimorowicz called M. Kampian "princeps senatum" ("first in [the city] Senate") and "urbis columen" ("pillar of the city")[35], since Zimorowicz himself started his early career when M. Kampian's power was at its zenith. When M. Kampian was accused of numerous abuses of Lemberg city's budget and property by the city council, Zimorowicz defended him as a lawyer in the city court in 1627-1629.

People's actions do not reveal their objective determination so much as their claims, intentions, and proposals (Cerutti 2004: 27). When we feel confident about who we are, we do not talk about it, and it is generally only in periods of identity crisis that we look for a new identity and social community (Strath 2000: 21). The new urban elite – constituted by the newcomers – needed a sense of common ancestry. Historical continuity had to be invented by creating an ancient past beyond effective historical continuity.

Zimorowicz deliberately called "primaevi Teutoni" ("the primary German settlers") – whom he actually invented himself – "veteres nostri" ("our ancestors"). In the introduction to the third chapter, entitled "Polish Leopolis", Zimorowicz stated: "illuc adtraxerunt brevique Germanos numero minores, velut mare vastum fluvios os suum intrantes, absorpserunt vel in mores, ritus habitusque suos verterunt. Abhinc igitur Polonis Germanisque unanimi manu habenas reipublicae civilis moderantibus"[36] ("In a short time, the German minority was assimilated by the Polish majority in the same way as a larger sea assimilates rivers. Germans accepted Polish habits, rites, and clothes. … [Then] Poles and Germans ruled the city together"). Thus, Zimorowicz established genealogical ties between the "primary Germans", as founding fathers of Lemberg, and the contemporary Polish patricians of the city. The virtues of the "primary Germans" became the virtues of the Polish patricians. These inherited virtues, as well as their glorious warrior ancestors, underpinned the Lemberg patricians' ambitions for nobility status. My point is that by emphasizing the role of king Casimir III the Great as the protector of Lemberg and of townspeople in general, Zimorowicz intended to dedicate *Leopolis triplex* to his contemporary – the Polish king John Casimir/Jan Kazimierz (1648-1668). In 1661 John Casimir granted Lemberg – or its local patricians – nobility status, because the city had demonstrated its loyalty to the king during the political and military crisis of 1648-1660[37]. The motto "Always loyal Leopolis" ("Leopolis semper fidelis")

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[34] Zimorowicz included both Paul and Martin Kampian in the list of Lemberg's prominent citizens (cf. Zimorowicz 1899b: 304). He also devoted a panegyric to Martin Kampian (†1629) in his chronicle (see Zimorowicz 1899a: 200-202).

[35] Zimorowicz 1899a: 200.

[36] Zimorowicz 1899a: 126.

[37] Zimorowicz 1899b: 330-337. In the introduction to *Leopolis triplex*, Zimorowicz mentioned the ennoblement of the city at the Diet (*Sejm*) in a sentence: "At Leopolim […] publico amplissimorum ordinum regni oraculo decus et munimen Russiae appellatam […]" ("And Lviv […] in public speeches of the general estates of the kingdom was called decoration and stronghold of Rus' […]") (Zimorowicz 1899a: 4).

was applied to the city's coat of arms in 1658 by Pope Alexander VII. *Leopolis triplex*, written by Zimorowicz in 1665-1667, may be an expression of the patricians' gratitude to the king for his grace. Unfortunately for Zimorowicz, John Casimir was dethroned in 1668. This could explain why Zimorowicz finally dedicated his opus to the city council, which he called the Senate.

Moreover, while describing migrations into Lemberg, Zimorowicz emphasizes the difference in social status and the ways in which Germans and Poles settled in Lemberg. While the "primary Germans" were mercenaries at the service of King Casimir III, who allowed them to settle in Lemberg in order to protect and civilize his new domains in Ruthenia, Polish migrants were described by Zimorowicz as wretched refugees looking for food and asylum. Between 1348 and 1362, Zimorowicz recorded comparable stories about famine and the plague in Poland. In any case, he noted that numerous Poles fled their country for Ruthenia, because Casimir III gave orders that refugees should be fed from the royal food stores in Lemberg. Then the King settled survivors in Lemberg. Opening the third part (*Leopolis Polonica*) of his tripartial book, Zimorowicz wrote that because of the bad harvest in Poland in 1551, numerous people fled from Mazovia/Mazowsze province to fertile Ruthenia and some of them settled in Lemberg. Thus, Zimorowicz constructed ethnically divided genealogies of socially different strata in the contemporary Lemberg community. If the brave German warriors were ancestors of the city's patricians, the miserable Polish refugees were ancestors of the city's plebeians. This explanatory scheme follows the early modern model of Sarmatian myth that Polish noblemen are descendants of the belligerent Sarmatian nomads; meanwhile, peasants are descendants of the subjugated natives[38]. Since urban patricians could not be 'descendants' of Sarmatians, Trojans or Romans, Zimorowicz in a more modest way provided them with German ancestors – brave warriors in royal service – whom, in turn, he portrayed with the superior German-Roman virtues.

This model also reflects the attitude typical of pre-modern societies that every ethnic group maintains its innate features of temperament and that virtues and shortcomings are hereditary, similar to titles, jobs, offices, property, social status, etc. Finally, the urban commoners could not aspire to the dominant social position in Lemberg occupied by the patricians – descendants of the brave German stock and thereby bearers of inherited noble virtues. This point was further developed by Zimorowicz in a funny story, ridiculous only at first glance. In 1578, the artisan Walęty Wąsik from Lemberg was ennobled by the King for the heroic demolition of Polotsk castle during the war against Muscovy. Wąsik was granted the noble surname Polotynski and a coat of arms. Being drunk, he behaved like a hooligan in Lemberg, was thrown into prison but soon pardoned and released by the city magistrate, because such behaviour was seen as typical

[38] Cynarski 1968. See also: Kulicka 1980. The same model was elaborated in Renaissance Hungary, where the nobles were proclaimed descendants of the Huns who had conquered Pannonia in the 5th century AD and then transformed aboriginal people into their serfs.

of 'new nobles'. Nevertheless, the 'new noble' felt offended and went to Warsaw, probably in order to file a lawsuit against Lemberg's magistrate in the royal court. In Warsaw, he drowned in the Vistula and, as Zimorowicz concluded, "se dedit unique secum nobilitatem submersit"[39] ("sunk his ennoblement along with himself"). In writing this tragicomic story, Zimorowicz emphasized the attitude of his patrician milieu that urban plebeians or 'commoners' should not be granted noble status even for military deeds, but that ennoblement should be reserved exclusively for the urban upper-classes.

Bernd Schneidmüller's note of the changes in urban historical consciousness in late medieval Germany could be easily applied to seventeenth-century Lemberg:

> It is important to note that urban historiography was subject to a general process by which urban society increasingly split into strata. When the patriciate emerged as an authority endowed with a God-given right to rule, urban chroniclers, when describing the origins of their city as a social body, no longer focused exclusively on the emancipation of the city dwellers from their lords … [Now] … city chroniclers […] were far more interested in explaining the royal acts of favor that had fostered the development of their cities. They integrated the community of burghers into the history of the realm […] Moreover, they avoided a conceptual divide between the sphere of the citizen and the feudal world of lords and knights. This type of urban historical consciousness was not oriented toward dissent between the commune and the lords of the town. Instead, it underscored a basic level of consent between all actors as to the overall importance of urban growth (Schneidmüller 2002: 189).

4.3. Ambiguity as an innate feature of the Armenians: from Tacitus to Zimorowicz

Since Lemberg was a multiethnic city with more or less autonomous communities/*nations* of Armenians, Ruthenians, and Jews, the dominant position of the Catholic patricians in urban society had to be defended from these groups as well. Non-Catholics (*schismatici*) were not accepted into the city community. They were not treated as "cives", i.e. the citizens of Lemberg. All members of the city government were Catholics. Within the city walls there were special streets for Armenians, Ruthenians, and Jews. Economic opportunities for 'heretics' and Jews were also restricted[40].

Armenian merchants were well-known for their oriental trade with Crimea, the Ottoman Empire, and Persia[41]. They were also used as interpreters in the Royal chancery. Some of them were diplomats or spies, listed in the royal service[42]. There was an evident increase in tension between the Catholic and the Armenian communities in the second half of the sixteenth century, caused main-

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39 Zimorowicz 1899a: 139.
40 Cf. Charewiczowa 1925.
41 Cf. Dziubiński 1998; Nadel-Golobic 1979.
42 See Baranowski 1945-1946.

ly by economic issues. Using the capital they had previously accumulated from trading with the Orient, Armenian merchants began to push their Catholic competitors out of the Lemberg market. According to the 1578-1583 tax records, there were 346 Catholics (76 percent), 85 Armenians (19 percent), and 24 Ruthenians (5 percent) operating within the city walls[43].

In 1589, there were 38 so-called "rich shops" trading in expensive goods. Armenians owned 22 of them, Ruthenians owned 6, Catholics owned only 8, and for the other 2 they had a trial with Armenians. Armenians also owned 19 'poor shops' out of a total of 24. Instead of observing the restriction to living only in the Armenian street, Armenians slowly bought up properties outside their territorial jurisdiction. By 1538-1544, they owned 42 (16 percent) "lapidea" – three-four storey stone buildings, by 1578-1583 – 56 (19 percent), in 1600 – 70-73 (24 percent)[44].

Despite accusations of being secret partisans of the rebellious Ukrainian Cossacks[45], Armenians and Ruthenians demonstrated their loyalty to the Polish king when Lemberg was besieged by the Cossacks in 1648 and 1655. In 1654, king John Casimir granted to Armenians in Lemberg – who by that time had accepted religious union with the Roman Church – equal rights with Catholic burghers. Moreover, in a short time John Casimir ennobled four Armenian merchants who had subsidized the King and the defence of Lemberg during the war against the Cossacks led by hetman Bohdan Khmelnitsky. Thus, the Catholic patricians saw their dominant position in Lemberg as being endangered by the growing influence of wealthy Armenian merchants.

Zimorowicz's writings reflect this tension. He saw it as his duty to promote the dominant position of the Catholic patricians to whom he belonged and to stop the growth of Armenian influence in the city. Among other arguments used to criticize contemporary Armenians, Zimorowicz borrowed a sentence from Tacitus's *Annales* (II, 56): "Ambigua gens ea antiquitus hominum ingeniis et situ terrarum, quoniam nostris provinciis late praetenta penitus ad Medos porrigitur; maximisque imperiis interiecti et saepius discordes sunt, adversus Romanos odio et in Parthum invidia"[46] (small capitals are mine, A.O.).

For the first time, Zimorowicz used this quotation from Tacitus in his work entitled *The famous men of Lemberg* (*Viri illustres civitatis Leopoliensis,* 1671). Describing the process of settling the city, recently founded by prince Lev, Zimorowicz linked the Armenians to the Tatars, thus representing both nations as allies in their incursions into Poland[47]: "Tandem ardenti bellis provincia Armeni

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[43] Sribnyi 1912: 9.

[44] *Ibid*.

[45] Kochowski 1859: 24.

[46] "Armenia had been of old an ambiguous country due to the character of its people and its geographical position, bordering, as it does, to a great extent on our provinces and stretching as far as Media. It lies between two mighty empires, and is very often at strife with them, hating Rome and jealous of Parthia".

[47] For a detailed analysis of the imagined Armenian-Tatar military cooperation directed against Poland, see my article: Osipian 2011.

Tatarique, ANTIQUITUS TESTE TACITO AMBIGUI, in partem virium vocati civitateque donati sunt" (Zimorowicz 1899b: 293)[48]. The rationale behind his creative reading of Tacitus was probably that, since the Armenians had been allies of the oriental Parthian nomads against the Romans in ancient times, their descendants twelve centuries later became allies of the oriental Tatar nomads who were threatening the Roman-Catholic Poles, that is contemporary Romans.

The next time Zimorowicz borrowed the same phrase from Tacitus, it was to describe the lawsuit of 1535 on the Armenians' right to own a shop, where they could sell goat meat for their fellow believers (the shop was situated near the Catholic monastery of Corpus Christi). In this writing, Zimorowicz reinforced his criticism with quotes from Trogus: "1535. [...] Eodem tempore ARMENI nostrates, non autem Asiatici, PER TACITUM AMBIGUI, per Trogum pomposi apellati, […]" (Zimorowicz 1899a: 118-119)[49]. Thus, migration from Asia to Europe failed to change the Armenians whose "ambiguity" (or unsettled state) was the same wherever they lived.

Lastly, Zimorowicz quoted Tacitus when starting the story about the lawsuit between the Armenian and Catholic communities in 1600, resolved by the royal decree of Polish king Sigismund III: "1600. Decimum sextum saeculum cives cum Armenis invenit litigantes. ARMENOS AGREE SAEPIUS DISCORDS ET ADVERSUS ROMANOS ODIO IN ANNALIBUS SUIS ANNOTAVIT TACITUS. Neque nostrates a maioribus suis degenerarunt" (*Ibid*: 156)[50]. In this text, Zimorowicz equated the contemporary Roman-Catholic community of Lemberg with the ancient Romans, representing Armenians as a constant cause of trouble.

Thus, according to Tacitus, Armenians are AMBIGUOUS mostly because of their country's "GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION" between the Roman Empire and Parthia. Zimorowicz transformed AMBIGUITY into the CONSTANT national feature of the Armenians. Armenians are AMBIGUOUS because of their heretic faith, imagined close ties with Tatars and frequent commercial trips to the Tatar and Ottoman domains.

Ambiguity was used by Tacitus in *Annales* (II, 24) in the notion of duality, when he described the Roman army's invasion of Northern Germany by sea. The Roman army was led by Germanicus. After their return from Germany, the soldiers told stories about fabulous "AMBIGUAS hominum et beluarum formas, visa sive ex metu credita"[51]. The ambiguity of Armenians was indicated by Zimorowicz once more – this time without reference to Tacitus – when he described the foundation of the Armenian church in Lemberg in 1363: "1363.

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[48] "Finally, ardent in military arts ARMENIANS and Tatars, AMBIGUOUS AS TESTIFIED BY TACITUS, were invited as warriors and granted citizenship".

[49] "… In the same year, our Armenians, being not at all Asian, NAMED BY TACITUS AS AMBIGUOUS, and by Trogus – as pompous …".

[50] "In the sixteenth century, burghers started lawsuits against Armenians. ARMENIANS MULTIPLIED QUARRELS AND HATRED AGAINST ROMANS AS TACITUS INDICATED IN HIS ANNALS. And our (contemporary) Armenians have degenerated from their ancestors".

[51] "Ambiguous semi-human semi-bestial creatures, things they had really seen or in their terror believed".

Ecclesia Armenorum et s. Georgii. Eadem tempestate Armeni quoque delubrum suum hermaphroditum opera latericio erigebant […]" (*Ibid*: 69)[52]. The metaphor of "hermaphrodite" was used in religious polemics of the time to criticize heretics. Here, this term is used to characterize Armenians and their church as an in-between community, situated between true Christians (Roman Catholics) and schismatics (Greek Orthodox) and heretics (Protestants), in the sense that Armenians' faith is at once semi-good and semi-bad .

Armenians in Lemberg were viewed by contemporaries as a nation in transition – as semi-Catholic and semi-heretic, at once local and foreign, as loyal to the king of Poland and suspicious from the Catholic burghers' point of view, as Christians freely doing their business in Muslim countries – closed to Western Christians – as merchants supplying Poland with oriental goods and thereby causing money flow out of the country into Ottoman domains, and as townspeople openly living a noble lifestyle. Thus, *ambiguity* was seen as a constant and innate feature of Armenians whenever and wherever they lived, and Tacitus with his authority only legitimized this attitude. Catholic patricians saw the Armenian merchants' aspirations for social mobility based on their geographical mobility (international trade) and profitable commerce as undermining their dominant position in the city. The dominant Catholic elite thought that Armenians in Lemberg caused disorder within the social framework by their very existence. That is why Zimorowicz tried to turn Armenians into ignoble neighbours, thereby signalling their *ambiguity* to the King in the hope that he would refrain from further acts of grace and empowerment towards Lemberg's Armenians.

4. *Conclusions*

Zimorowicz's example shows the norms and practices of social relations in the small-scale urban community of Lemberg being accommodated to the dominant concepts of a large-scale society – that is of Polish nobility – precisely through that set of norms that governs debate concerning the past. Like all systems of norms, those concerning the past constitute a link between cultural concepts and social action. But unlike any other set of norms, this set is, necessarily, a code for societies to talk *about* themselves, and not only *within* themselves[53]. Quotations from Tacitus – an authoritative ancient source revitalized by the humanists throughout Europe – constituted part of this code.

Thus, instead of evident differences, the Germans depicted by Tacitus and by Zimorowicz have much in common. Tacitus had never been to Germany and had never seen the real life of German tribes. Zimorowicz lived in the seventeenth century and could know little about fourteenth century Lemberg, having at his disposal only a few primary sources of that distant period. Both authors

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[52] "At the same time Armenians built their hermaphroditic temple with bricks ...".

[53] Cf. Appadurai 1981: 218.

constructed idealized Germans. Tacitus used them to criticize morally corrupt Roman society. Zimorowicz constructed the multifunctional idealized "primary Germans" ("primaevi Teutoni") – founding fathers of Lemberg. These idealized "primary Germans" were used by Zimorowicz: 1) as an argument for the dominant position of the Catholic patricians in Lemberg; 2) to criticize contemporary Polish noblemen whom he accused of the decline of the Polish towns founded by the German settlers and Casimir III the Great; 3) to criticize contemporary Polish aristocracy ("contra iniurios potentiorum") – the so-called magnates – who limited the economic opportunities of burghers in comparison to the good old king Casimir III who protected the townspeople. Thus, both authors constructed idealized Germans in order to criticize their contemporaries.

This literary utopia was used for the first time by the ancient Greeks, namely in Plato's story of Atlantis and in Xenophon's "Cyropaedia" ("The education of Cyrus"), both written in the 4th century BC, that is during a time of deep political crisis in the Greek polis. Tacitus wrote his *Germania* around 100 AD, that is after the civil war of 68-70 AD and the assassination of the emperor Domitian in 96 AD and the coming to power of Nerva and Trajan. Finally, Zimorowicz lived during a period of political crisis for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, constant wars with Ukrainian Cossacks, Crimean Tatars, Russians, Swedes, Transylvanians and Ottoman Empire, in the course of which Lemberg was besieged three times – in 1648, 1655, and 1672. Plato and Xenophon both located their idealized imagined countries – that is ancient Atlantis and ancient Persia of Cyrus – in a remote space and time. Tacitus used the spatial dimension to locate his idealized Germans, while Zimorowicz used the temporal one. Thus, Zimorowicz located his idealized "primary Germans" in the good old times he and his contemporaries had lost forever.

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Abstract

Alexandr Osipian

Constructing Noble Ancestors and Ignoble Neighbours. Uses of Cornelius Tacitus's Germania *and* Annales *in J.B. Zimorowicz's* Leopolis triplex *(1650s-1670s)*

This article investigates the invention of prestigious ancestors and the construction of collective genealogy for Lviv's/Lemberg's urban patriciate in J.B. Zimorowicz's *Leopolis triplex*. The article examines how Zimorowicz portrays his contemporary patriciate as having the virtues necessary to govern the city as well as for ennoblement by way of using quotations from Tacitus' *Germania*. It also contributes to a better understanding of how the nobility's model – Sarmatism – influenced the urban patriciate's views of its prestigious past. The case study of a single quotation from Tacitus' *Annales* demonstrates early modern perceptions about virtues considered innate for a given ethnos and inherited by its members through many generations. The article exploits the interconnectedness of the social and ethnic in forming an image of an urban community, in particular when presenting social conflict as ethnic strife (between the Catholic patriciate and Armenian merchants). It analyses how Zimorowicz tried to legitimate accelerations or delays in the social mobility of different groups of the city's population in his opus. The split produced by the political and military crisis of 1648-1660 helped to actualize the concepts of 'constancy', 'ambiguity', and 'militancy' in public discourse. This actualization, in turn, influenced the narrative concept of *Leopolis triplex,* which reflects its author's attempt to overcome the break and to restore continuity. This attempt includes, in particular, re-establishing social stratification in the city, which had been undermined during the military-political crisis of the 'Deluge'/*Potop*. Thus, the article contributes to research into the seventeenth-century urban elites' worldview, including their understanding of how the past was reshaped for present purposes.

Antique and Christian Traditions in the Latin Poetry of Renaissance and Baroque Poland

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Issues about the role of the ancient heritage and the influence of the Christian tradition on Polish-Latin Renaissance and Baroque poetry may come down to a question about the style and content of the ethos created in that poetry in the Polish Commonwealth from the end of the fifteenth to the first half of the eighteenth century. Undeniably, references to Greek and, mostly, to Roman literature and culture, often combined with Christian topics, were dominant features in works of the most numerous group of Polish-Latin poets of those times. In this article the author will suggest how, initially, the coexistence and later the synthesis of Christian and Antique themes shaped the fundamental trend of Renaissance and Baroque poetry in Latin Poland.

The influence of Italian humanism[1] on the development of this poetry in medieval Poland can be observed as early as the fifteenth century. In the works of such poets as Stanisław Ciołek (1383-1437) and Adam Świnka (fourteenth-fifteenth century), who still followed the scholastic Latin and medieval form of poems, a new lay subject with topics taken from Virgil, Horace and Ovid may be found[2]. This tendency intensified thanks to foreign humanists who settled in Poland; for instance the Italian Filippo Bonaccorsi (1437-1496) known as *Callimachus*[3] and the German Konrad Pickel (1450-1508) or *Celtis*[4]. *Callimachus* was a member of the court of the Lviv archbishop Grzegorz of Sanok in Dunajów from 1470. He wrote a series of love elegies for his lover Fannia Swentocha. Cf.:

> Dum mea bracchiolis circumdat colla tenellis
> Fannilla et confert lumina luminibus
> paulatim vitreus ros circumfundit ocellos
> qualis abortive cernitur in lacrima
> et suspiriolum medio de pectore surgit
> indicium mentis dans mihi sauciole[5].

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1 Lewandowski 1996: 14.
2 *Ibid*.: 27.
3 Cf. Kumaniecki 1953.
4 Cf. Jelicz 1956.
5 Carm. XLI: *De suavio Fanniae*, v. 1-6, Callimachi Experientis 1981: 72.

Latinitas *in the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania : Its Impact on the Development of Identities,* edited by Giovanna Siedina, ISBN 978-88-6655-675-6 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-674-9 (print), © 2014 Firenze University Press

When Fannilla clasps me in her arms
and gazes intently into my eyes
slowly her eyes are dimmed with transparent dew
like tears and a sigh may escape her breast
showing how her doleful soul suffers.

These works, composed according to the *imitatio antiquorum* rules, were novelties in Poland as far as the ancient register, classical Latin and, above all, sensitive erotica were concerned[6]. A similar set, this time dedicated to Hesilina, was written by *Celtis* who came to Poland in 1488 to attend lectures by the famous professor Wojciech of Brudzewo at Cracow Academy[7].

Although this early period in the development of Latin poetry in Poland was not fully independent, it helped shape a style of poetry in terms of poetic ethos. This style was dominated by classical Latin, Roman metric patterns and references to ancient topics. With regard to the content of the ethos, a certain pragmatism and a tendency to consider general human issues may be seen at those times. These issues expanded into new topics in the late Polish Renaissance in the sixteenth century when Latin poetry came under the influence of another humanistic approach started by Erasmus of Rotterdam.

The reception of Erasmus's thought was popular and creative within scholars and writers' circles in sixteenth century Poland. His contacts with the Polish elite (who included cultural luminaries of the calibre of the primate Jan Łaski, the chancellor Krzysztof Szydłowski and the bishop of Cracow Piotr Tomicki) contributed to forming the Christian character of the Polish Renaissance[8]. Thus, the Erasmian model of humanistic Latin became deeply rooted in the native culture. This phenomenon was most widespread in Polish-Latin poetry, which gained its own original character compared to that of other European countries. Its main feature was a bold link between contemporary issues and ancient topics and metrics.

The Latin poems of Jan Dantyszek (1485-1548) may be seen as an example of such a marriage. Dantyszek was a diplomat and a poet who liked to frequent European political and cultural circles and who was crowned with poetic laurels by emperor Maximilian I in 1516. By virtue of his involvement in different fields of knowledge, Dantyszek produced mostly epitalamia, epicedia and epitaphs, poetical congratulations and wishes, requests, thanksgivings and suchlike[9]. Using the ancient staffage, he depicted matters that were important for contemporary European elites, which broadened the ethos of Polish-Latin poetry on a more universal scale. He also took up religious issues that he presented with humanistic Latin and the classical meter. In this way, near the end of his life, Dantyszek became a poet of Cristian humanism. This is clearly indicated in *Vita Ioannis de Curiis Dantisci* in which, trusting God's mercy, he takes a look at the end of his life and reveals a more personal style.

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6 Kumaniecki 1953: 19.
7 Lewandowski 1996: 48.
8 Cf. Cytowska 1965.
9 Dantyszek 1950.

> Iam tandem tibi, terra, vale mihi dicere mens est,
> pertaesus vitae tempora dura meae.
> Hactenus hic vixi, per multa volumina rerum
> versatus, requies nec fuit ulla mihi[10].
>
> The time has come for me to bid farewell to my country,
> the burden of this life has become too heavy.
> I have lived here until now, buffeted by the turmoil of numerous
> events, without a single minute's respite.

This peculiar individualism was also typical of the works of Klemens Janicki (1516-1543), probably the most interesting Polish-Latin poet of that time[11]. He was the son of a peasant and only received a classical education thanks to a generous patron. Janicki graduated from the Lubrański Academy in Poznań and then from the University of Padua where he was crowned with poetic laurels. His studies in Italy and direct contact with the Antique heritage made his Latin crystal clear and his meter of purely Ovidian excellence. Drawing on these skills, Janicki spread the ethos of Latin poetry in Poland with an interest in national issues, stigmatizing bad Polish habits in the satire *Querela Rei Publice Regni Poloniae* (1541). It was when Janicki realized that he was suffering from an incurable disease that his ultimate talent became apparent as he filled poetical style with dramatic confessions and bitter thoughts about life. Published in 1542, the set *Tristium liber* was a manifestation of these aspects; especially the moving elegy *De se ipso ad posteritatem,* in which the author writes:

> Si quis eris olim nostri studiosus, ob idque
> nosse volens vitae fata peracta meae,
> perlege, quae propere dictavi carmina, cum me
> hydrops Lethaeis iam dare vellet aquis[12].
>
> You who will think about me and wish to learn about my life
> just read the poems dictated in haste,
> when hydropsy pushed me into the depths of the river Lethe.

In Neo-Latin poetry Janicki achieved the impossible: the natural expression and honesty of feelings typical of poems written in a native language[13]. He was also the last poet of the Polish Renaissance to write exclusively in the language of the Romans. The maturity of the Polish culture of that period and the connection with the ability to master Latin poems helped authors to improve their poetical expressions in Polish too. Struggling with the Reformation, contemporary humanism revealed its own inner ambiguities, which led to different attitudes to Latin between Catholics and Protestants. The Reformers' aversion to the exis-

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10 *Ibid.* XLIX: *Vita Ioannis Dantisci* : 49.
11 Cf. Ćwikliński 1893: *passim*; Janicki 1966.
12 Elegia VII, v.1-4 (Janicki 1966).
13 Mikołajczak 1998a: 161.

tence of that language in the lives of the faithful was due to both the following reasons: it was the language of secular humanism, and, above all, it remained the official language of Papal Rome. This, however, restricted the Protestants' use of Latin since they did not use it for spiritual purposes. The language of the Romans remained in science and, less often, in poetry. This was why the vast majority of late Renaissance and Baroque Polish-Latin poets came from the ranks of the Catholics.

Among them, there was Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584) who mastered both Latin and Polish poetries[14]. In the former, he introduced Horatian lyric meters and topics into Polish-Latin poetry by publishing *Lyricorum libellus* in 1580. He also wrote *Elegiarum libri IV* in 1584 after his studies in Padua, where he became fascinated with Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid[15]. Kochanowski did not simply copy the ancient patterns but creatively adapted them to a new cultural context, using them to express contemporary social and political issues.

> Arma fraternique avidum cruoris
> in truces ferrum potius Tartaros
> verteque in Turcas veterumque clades
> vindica avorum[16].
>
> Weapon and iron, greedy for your brothers' blood
> against the tyrant Tatars
> and the Turkmens
> to revenge our ancestors' defeat.

It meant that in Polish poetry there was a tendency to drop the Latin *imitatio antiquorum* and to replace it with a peculiar *aemulatio antiquorum* which was a poet's play between the topic and the convention or between the topic and the language[17]. Thus, Polish poetry, in which Kochanowski adopted the Roman formal discipline of patterns, became the natural supplement of his Latin works.

This was the way in which the Renaissance ethos of Polish-Latin poetry evolved, making way for the later development of the Baroque epoch. The Antique and Christian traditions played a key part in the new epoch but their role was slightly different due to such factors as: Counter-Reformation ideas, the dominance of *aemulatio antiquorum* and Baroque stylistics. These factors shaped a new ethos of that poetry in which style and themes were expressed by a specific synthesis of the Greek-Roman heritage, biblical tradition and issues defined at the Council of Trent[18].

In the seventeenth century, Europe entered a period of violent political upheavals and a crisis of civilization that led to the creation of modern countries in the West and a new concept of man. These were determined by religious conflicts,

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14 Cf. Pelc 1987: *passim*; Kochanowski 1884..
15 Walecki 1978: 123-128.
16 Ode IV: *Ad concordiam*, v. 37-40, *Lyricorum libellus* in: Kochanowski 1884: 41.
17 Cf. Otwinowska 1990.
18 Cf. Pelc 1970.

the scientific revolution and great ideological debates. In a Commonwealth ravaged by bloody wars and rebellions, these external problems were of little interest to Poland; nevertheless, Latin culture was mainly taught in Jesuit colleges and shaped by the native ideology known as *sarmatism* (a term related to the Antique, claiming that the Polish people come from the eastern tribe of the Sarmatians; popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and strictly linked to the culture of the gentry). In such circumstances, the ethos of Latin poetry in Poland started to move away from its western model. Paradoxically, the influence of Polish *latinitas* spread further than ever in Central and Eastern Europe[19].

Initially, Baroque culture in Poland was coincident with the general tendencies that appeared in Europe after the break with Renaissance humanism. It is apparent in the works of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski (1595-1640) – one of the most brilliant Latin poets of that time[20]. Sarbiewski, being hailed as the *Horatius Christianus*, was crowned with the Capitoline laurels in Rome by Pope Urban VIII. The poet published *Lyricorum libri* for the first time in 1625 but his enduring popularity ensured that the work would be published again more than 60 times, mostly abroad[21].

In his works, Sarbiewski presented a new vision of Cristian Horatianism in which the fundamental issues of human existence played the most important part. Using *topoi* and themes taken from Horace, Sarbiewski expressed the drama of men searching for existential choices in an individual dialogue with God[22]. These references helped the poet to consider different topics: from praising Urban VIII to thoughts addressed to his friends, as well as moral and political reflections. In this way, he enriched Polish Latin poetry with new features, using parody and Horatian palinodes.

In the Baroque era, parody became the form for transferring semantic structures from ancient works to Neo-Latin poems, and expanding their meanings pursuant to Catholicism[23]. One of such examples is the Marian ode II, *Ad Deum Virginem Matrem,* in which Sarbiewski used song, in the form of Horace's *Carm*. I, 30 – *O Venus regina Cnidi,* a love poem imitating a hymn. In turn, the Horatian palinode represented a kind of ideological argument with the work of the pagan master that the poet had paraphrased. For instance, one of such is Epod III *Laus otii religiosi* in which Sarbiewski denies the message of Horace's epod II *Beatus ille qui procul negotiis*:

> At ille, Flacce, nunc erit beatior,
> qui, mole curarum procul,
> paterna rura, litigantium
> solutus omni iurgio[24];

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19 Axer 2004.
20 Cf. Mikołajczak 1998b; Sarbiewski 1980.
21 Cf. Starnawski 2007.
22 Mikołajczak 1994: 98-112.
23 Budzyński 1975: 88-108.
24 Epod II, v. 1-4 (Sarbiewski 1980: 448).

But today, oh Horatius Flaccus
none are happier than those who shed their worries,
abandon their father's land and all their burdens.

Regrettably, after his death none of the Polish-Latin poets were able to match Sarbiewski's great talent. Nonetheless, he left a few Polish followers who limited themselves to using Horatian lyric meters in religious themes. Among them, there was Albert Ines (1619-1658), known as *Vates Marianus* thanks to his Marian topics[25]. He was the author of *Horologium Marianum* written in 1643 and *Lyricorum centuria prima* in 1655:

Polone, nam te, Carpatiis super,
fertur marito Marte, recessibus
regina libertas, reclinem
non humili genuise partu[26].

Poland, since you reign over the Carpathian Mountains
you could be said to be Mars' wife, the queen of freedom
and you do not come from any common family.

Occasional Horatian poems were also written by Jędrzej Kanon (Canon) (1612-1685) who extolled the centennial of the founding of the Society of Jesus in his *Liricorum libri IV* published in 1643[27].

Widespread knowledge of the language of the Romans among the gentry, who were taught by the Jesuits, effectively led to the Latinization of Baroque culture in Poland. It was supported by the Counter-Reformation model of antiquity which eliminated contradictions between pagan texts and the doctrine of Catholicism. It was a sort of allegorical interpretation of ancient writers' works and thus aimed at highlighting Catholic truths hidden in the form of symbols[28]. In such circumstances, Latin and Roman topics (Latin – related to the Latin language; Roman – related to the tradition and culture of ancient Rome) influenced the gentry's ideology and tradition, becoming a source for both political argumentation and literary concept and play.

In so-called sarmatism – a national ideology of the gentry – that peculiar *Romanitas* tried to convince people that in fact *Res Publica Polonorum* was an heir of the Roman Republic with its civil rights to freedom. The Commonwealth was the easternmost bastion of Roman civilization – the bulwark of European Christendom against pagan barbarians[29]. This idea may be seen in a narrative commemorating the victory of king John III Sobieski over the Turks in 1683 in the Battle

[25] Cf. Borysowska 2010.

[26] Ode IV: *Ad equites Polonos generosa liberae gentis gentilia*, v. 1-4 (Ines 1655: 30).

[27] Mikołajczak 1998a: 205.

[28] Bieńkowski 1970.

[29] Cf. Tazbir 2004.

of Vienna. Three years after that triumph, Jędrzej Wincenty Ustrzycki (died 1710) published *Sobiesciados seu de laudibus Ioannis Magni* (1686), a Latin epos filled with ancient erudition that followed the example of *Pharsalia* by Lucan. There was also a similar work entitled *Vennis* (1717) written by Jan Damascen Kaliński (1664-1726) who was inspired by Virgil's *Aeneid* and Statius[30].

Poland's role as a bulwark at the easternmost border of Christendom in the seventeenth century made the Latin tradition confront the Byzantine heritage. With distinct ethnic and religious diversities, the attitude to *Latinitas* became a key factor in shaping the national identities of the peoples living on the eastern borders of the Commonwealth. Both local and Polish gentry looked for their origins among the ancient Sarmatians, but in Ukraine, the mythical Sarmatia was seen as Rus' itself. Jan Dąbrowski expressed that idea in his Latin poem *Camoenae Boryshtenides* in 1620[31].

Not only did the ideology of sarmatism build its identity on the ancient tradition but the mores of the gentry were also expressed through *Romanitas* (the essence of Roman culture, a term related to the Antique) and *Latinitas.* Adjusting every single thought and word to the imagined idea of the Ancient world also shaped the canon of Polish-Latin panegyrical works and the sophisticated Baroque poetry *(poesis artificiosa)* that was considered as a kind of grammatical, metrical and geometrical play. When it comes to *carmina figurata,* it was a return to the medieval tradition of toy-poems. They are known from the works of Klemens Stanisław Kostka Herka (died 1759), the author of *Liber passus* (1732), who loved poems in the shape of a star or obelisk. Latin anagrams – rearranging the letters to produce a new word – were written by Bartłomiej Kazimierz Malicki (ca. 1660-1706) who in 1688 published them in his collection *Centuria Anagrammatico Epigrammatica*[32]. These works were characteristic of the late Baroque and they enriched Polish-Latin poetry with the ludic trend, rarely found in the previous periods.

In conclusion, I would say that the ethos of the Polish-Latin poetry created in the Renaissance and Baroque demonstrated that it belonged to the West and featured certain original and unique aspects. The connection between ancient and Catholic traditions shaped the specific poetics of these works and a fascination with man and the world determined a set of religious, political, existential and other topics that were characteristic of the poetry of that epoch. Poetry broadened its scope to include individual human issues, a concern for the homeland and a consideration of some universal questions related to human destiny and existence that were then much debated throughout Europe. It also contributed to affirming freedom and humanism as an attitude to life in the culture of the old Commonwealth, placing emphasis on values and beliefs in the power of the word.

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30 Cf. Milewska-Wiaźbińska 1998.

31 Mikołajczak 1998: 224.

32 Cf. Wilczek 1989: 43-79.

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Abstract

Aleksander Wojciech Mikołajczak

Antique and Christian Traditions in the Latin Poetry of Renaissance and Baroque Poland

This article revolves around the role of Polish-Latin poetry, as a conveyor of *Latinitas*, in the development of national identities. The author's aim is to suggest that the coexistence and later the synthesis of Christian and Antique themes shaped the fundamental trend of Renaissance and Baroque poetry in Latin Poland. Through a succint overview of the reception of single motifs, themes and ideas of Latin writers by Polish-Latin poets, the author also delineates the growth of the influence of *Latinitas* in Polish literature and culture. Such growth can be briefly described as a passage from *imitatio antiquorum* to *aemualatio antiquorum*: the latter to be understood as the poet's play between the topic and the convention or between the topic and the language, a sort of creative dialogue with his ancient model. This evolution in the reception of *Latinitas* is evident in Polish-Latin poetry starting with Kochanowski, and underwent a particular development in the works of M.K. Sarbiewski: they are the expression of a new epoch, characterized by a specific synthesis of the Greek-Roman heritage, biblical tradition, the influence of Counter-Reformation ideas and Baroque stylistics. Finally, Mikołajczak briefly outlines how Polish *Latinitas* was influenced by the ideology of *Sarmatism*. This ideology, popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and strictly linked to the culture of the gentry, aptly exploited Latin and Roman topics as a source for both political argumentation and literary concept and play.

Cultural and National Identity in Jesuit Neo-Latin Poetry in Poland in the Seventeenth Century. The Case of Sarbiewski

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The aim of the present paper is to discuss whether Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski (1595-1640) considered his poetry as an instrument with which to construct either a national or a universal, i.e. a European identity. The problem is how it would have been possible to use Latin poetry as a vehicle to build a 'Sarmatian' world of values and how Sarmatism was understood in Sarbiewski's works. It appears that the poet was first dubbed *Horatius Sarmaticus* only after his death. What did this appellative really indicate and did it have a positive connotation? And what was its relation to his former appellative of *Horatius Christianus*? I shall examine certain statements made by Polish and Lithuanian scholars about Sarbiewski's Sarmatism and will discuss the situation of Neo-Latin poetry in the seventeenth century, and its translations into the vernacular (in Sarbiewski's case into English) as evidence of its reception and understanding. I shall argue that in the case of Sarbiewski's poetry, the only community and/or identity that he wanted to extol and develop was European, rooted in the Horatian or – broadly speaking – Roman set of values, modified by the poet's Christian understanding of the world.

1. *Identity or Identities*

The issue of constructing national identity in Jesuit Neo-Latin poetry in the first half of the seventeenth century is a tricky one, hard to describe without an ideological bias. Of course, the main reason for this is the international character of the Society of Jesus and certain fundamental concepts expressed in the founding documents of this religious order. Also the later instructions given by the general superiors of the Society barred Jesuits from any involvement in current political struggles. The instruction given in the decree issued by the second General Congregation of the Society of Jesus (1565) is the most important. It strictly forbade Jesuits from taking part in any political activities that might be contrary to their vocation. The Society, however, had no common political doctrine and its members freely adapted their views to their own current local situation. In the case of Polish Jesuits, the majority of members were people of noble origin who became supporters of Golden Freedom ('wolność szlachecka'). The election of

Latinitas *in the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania : Its Impact on the Development of Identities,* edited by Giovanna Siedina, ISBN 978-88-6655-675-6 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-674-9 (print),

King Sigismund III in 1587, in particular, provided an occasion for engaging Polish Jesuits politically against their will[1].

Also the quite complex biographies of many members of the Society – who would work in international communities far from their native countries and who very rarely had an opportunity to use their mother tongues not only in professional but also in everyday life – are an important factor which could prevent scholars from describing Jesuit poetry, especially when written in Latin, as an instrument for constructing or spreading a national identity. It can be said that the Latin heritage led to the construction of a European, i.e. universal, rather than a particular or national identity. Consequently, Jesuit poets built a community primarily with their international audience through their Latin writings.

Another explanation may be that they wanted to include their 'national' cultures in a universal, i.e. European, Christian, and Classical culture. According to Barbara Milewska-Waźbińska:

> By using an ancient form and ancient *topoi,* the authors of the occasional poems tried to transfer the Classical tradition to Poland. They attempted to look at the world through the eyes of the Romans, and they depicted it as the ancient poets would have done in their place[2].

Furthermore, at the stage of the development of Neo-Latin as is represented by Sarbiewski one seldom encounters one of the most characteristic ideological *topoi* cherished by the Polish nobility i.e. the representation of Poland (or more precisely the Commonwealth) after the fashion of the Republican Rome. The phenomenon, typical among the landed gentry, is represented predominantly in Polish language writing. An explanation is quite simple, the Latin writings were addressed to the members of the elite of European humanists. Apparently, presentation of such local, national ideologies to this particular group of readers did not seem appropriate.

In this case perhaps nothing had changed since the time of Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584). Kochanowski's Polish poems, saturated with the ideology of the nobility, would have been perfectly comprehensible to the group of readers that he addressed, as a kind of literary, philosophical, and political handbook on how to behave in certain areas of life. Latin poems, on the other hand, with their sophisticated Latin and Greek erudition and a world view limited to the values absorbed or developed from the golden age of Roman culture, could only have been comprehensible and convincing to the members of the *Respublica literaria*. We may thus say that Kochanowski was not only a bilingual poet but also that his two manners of thinking and expressing his thoughts, differentiated by

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[1] Obirek 1996: 113-119. This paper is based on an unpublished manuscript by the eminent Jesuit historian Jan Poplatek.

[2] "Wykorzystując antyczną formę i starożytną topikę autorzy okolicznościowych utworów literackich realizowali w ten sposób ideę przeniesienia tradycji klasycznej na grunt polski, starali się patrzeć na otaczający świat oczami Rzymian i przedstawiali go tak, jak zrobiliby to na ich miejscu starożytni poeci" (Milewska-Waźbińska 1995: 53).

the choice of language, created or stimulated two different communities. Both Latin and Polish poems were clearly rooted in the Classical heritage but they were understood on different levels and used variously and to different aims. As a Latin poet, Kochanowski can sometimes say things which contradict his Polish poems, not only in minor matters but also in the most important ones as seen from the point of view of the reasoning and emotions of sixteenth-century man[3].

The problem of Polish Latin language poetry after Kochanowski should be considered in the context presented above. Did it make sense to write Latin poetry any more once Kochanowski had invented a Polish poetical language? Let me mention just one example which demonstrates the great change. This change took place in funeral poetry. After the publication of Kochanowski's *Treny* (1580), there was no longer any reason to imitate Latin authors and – as described by Stefan Zabłocki – Latin funeral elegy and epicedium ceased to be written. The process of imitation shifted its focus from Ancient to Polish poetry. Zabłocki states:

> Now [i.e. after Kochanowski] writing poetry in Latin actually became pointless, since by applying the principle of imitation it was possible to achieve in the native language the same, if not better, more touching results. That was the reason why the funeral works of Kochanowski inflicted a severe blow on elegies, epicedias, and threnodies in Latin.
>
> This does not mean that they ceased to be written. They appeared constantly, and even in large quantities, in the subsequent periods, mainly in the Baroque era. However, they no longer played any role in the development of artistic poetry at that time. Latin funeral creativity became completely stifled, deprived of the evolution of thought and art, and this poetry became a typical classroom exercise in rhetoric, not taken seriously by any major artists[4].

Zabłocki argues that Latin – the language of the enemies of the Sarmatian tribes, the mythical ancestors of the Poles – became their own language in the sixteenth century. Actually, after the Council of Trent, Latin was no longer the official state language and started to be considered a sacred language, the lan-

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[3] Weintraub 1991: 187, 201. Weintraub stressed the problem of literary convention which should be remembered to avoid direct reading of statements taken from Kochanowski's works.

[4] "Twórczość w języku łacińskim stała się teraz [tj. po Kochanowskim] właściwie niepotrzebna, skoro w języku ojczystym można osiągnąć było, stosując zasadę imitacji, te same, a może nawet lepsze, bo bardziej przemawiające do serca, rezultaty. Dlatego twórczość funeralna Kochanowskiego zadała dotkliwy cios elegiom, epicediom i trenom w języku łacińskim.

Nie znaczy to, że przestano je pisać. Pojawiają się one ciągle, i to w sporej nawet ilości, w epokach następnych, przede wszystkim w epoce baroku, przestają jednak odgrywa jakąkolwiek rolę w rozwoju artystycznej poezji epoki. Łacińska twórczość funeralna kostnieje całkowicie, zanika w niej ewolucja myślowa i artystyczna i poezja ta staje się typowym szkolnym ćwiczeniem retorycznym, nie traktowanym poważnie przez poważnych twórców" (Zabłocki 1968: 232).

guage of Catholicism and Jesuits. Despite their excellent knowledge of Latin, seventeenth-century Sarmatians (Poles) preferred to speak and write in their own very peculiar Polish sociolect full of Latin phrases and expressions (known as 'makaronizmy') combined with Polish. At the same time proper Latin was reserved for politicians and scholars[5].

It is impossible to look at Sarbiewski's literary output in a similar way to that of Kochanowski. Sarbiewski was an exclusively Latin poet and there is no knowing why he never decided to try his hand at Polish verse. Anyway, he greatly admired poetry written in Polish, as is confirmed by his comments in the treatises collected in the volume *Praecepta poetica.* Sarbiewski not only quotes Polish poems written by Kochanowski over thirty times but also states that in some of his poems Kochanowski not only equaled Horace but even surpassed him. Here are some quotations from *Characteres lyrici* (in *Praecepta poetica*):

> At this point, I do not refrain from using some examples from our vernacular Horace […]. It is certain that Jan Kochanowski not only is not inferior to them [other European Renaissance poets], but [...] he is superior in the politeness of Polish speech, the gravity of thought, the choice of invention, and especially a certain excellency, which they possess[6].
>
> An example of which you can only find in Kochanowski, some of the weaknesses in the other authors[7].
>
> Of which I will look more willingly to Kochanowski for some examples, because I could not find any better in the Greek and Latin lyrical poets. [p. 42]**]**[8]

Barbara Milewska-Waźbińska summarizes the differences between Renaissance and Baroque Latin literature in Poland as follows:

> Seventeenth-century Latin verse differed from the poetry written in Latin during the Renaissance and served another purpose. The writings of Sarbiewski's day should be seen in the context of the bilingualism of both the writer and the reader, typical at that time in the Commonwealth. Texts in Latin served as a cultural element linking generations, stressing connections with Europe, integrating residents of the multi-national and multi-denominational territory. Writing Latin poetry in the seventeenth century was not limited to the elite – it was widespread and generally understood[9].

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5 Zabłocki 1976: 211-214.

6 "Hic ego non dedignabor vernaculi Horatii nostril exemplo uti […]. Certe illis Ioannes Kochanovius non inferior modo, sed etiam […] urbanitate sermonis Polonici, gravitate sententiarum, inventionis, precipue obliquae, praestantia, nervo demum quodam superior sit" (Sarbiewski 1958: 38).

7 "Cuius modi verum exemplum in solo reperies Kochanovio, in ceteris debilia quaedam illius vestigia" (Sarbiewski 1958: 39).

8 "Cuius libentius ex Kochanovio adducam exempla, quod paria in lyricis Graecis et Latinis non reperiam" (Sarbiewski 1958: 42). See also Mikołajczak 1998: 119-136.

9 "Poezja łacińska XVII w. różniła się od poezji pisanej po łacinie w okresie renesansu i pełniła inną funkcję. Twórczość czasów Sarbiewskiego należy rozpatrywać na

Sarbiewski's biography, education, cultural contacts, and the reception of his poetry, as well as the history of the editions and translation of his *Lyricorum libri* (*tres* and later *quattuor*) are important factors which may help us to understand his place in the history of European culture[10].

2. *Sarbiewski's Biography and Works*

Sarbiewski was born in Sarbiewo in the province of Mazowsze in 1595. He joined the Society of Jesus at the age of seventeen (a novitiate in Pułtusk). He was educated in the humanities at Braniewo and Vilnius. Later on, he was appointed as a teacher of poetics and rhetoric (Kražiai, Polotsk). Later still he studied philosophy and theology at the Vilnius Academy. His first Latin occasional poems were published in 1619.

The most important stage in Sarbiewski's intellectual development was his Roman period (1622-1625) when he completed his theological studies at the Collegium Germanicum and was *prefectus studiorum* in the Collegium Romanum. All his theoretical treatises on poetry (published only in the twentieth century as *De perfecta poesi* and *Praecepta poetica*) and on mythology (*Dii gentium*, to which are added *Liber de Urbe et Romanis*) were rooted in his intensive studies and discussions with eminent scholars including Alessandro Donati. He was also introduced to Pope Urban VIII.

The relationship between the Pope and the Polish Jesuit is not very clear. According to a popular legend they were quite close and, just before his departure from Rome, Sarbiewski received the poetic laurel and a gold medal. Despite this legend, Józef Warszawski states that for unknown reasons Sarbiewski was banished from Rome, perhaps at the Pope's orders. In fact, there was no imminent reason for him to go back to Poland before the end of the academic year while, after his return, he spent a couple of months in his native village. After a year of the so-called third probation Sarbiewski started to teach in Polotsk and later on at the Vilnius Academy, where he obtained his PhD in philosophy (1632) and theology (1635), and served as the dean of faculty until 1635. The last five years of his life were filled by his duties as court preacher to King Vladislas IV Vasa, whom he had met in Rome. Sarbiewski died in Warsaw in 1640. The author of over 130 odes (collected in four books like the odes of Horace) and almost 150

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tle dwujęzyczności zarówno nadawcy jak i odbiorcy, charakterystycznej dla I Rzeczypospolitej. Wypowiedzi w języku łacińskim pełniły funkcję kulturowego pierwiastka łączącego pokolenia, akcentującego związki z Europą, integrującego mieszkańców terenów wielonarodowych i wielowyznaniowych. Łacińskojęzyczna twórczość poetycka XVII w. nie ograniczała się do elit – była powszechna i w pełni zrozumiała" (Milewska-Waźbińska 1995: 61).

[10] See e.g. Narbutas 1998: 289-307 (including an English summary), Buchwald-Pelcowa 2006 and Cubrzyńska-Leonarczyk 2006.

epigrams, Sarbiewski also wrote an epic poem *Lechias*, an imitation of Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*. It was never published and only a fragment of the eleventh book has survived. According to Krystyna Stawecka, this epic poem, intended to become the national epic, was nothing more than a suitable school exercise written according to Sarbiewski's own theoretical statements[11]. The first edition of his *Lyricorum libri*, in three books, was published in Cologne in l625. Later editions were expanded and revised. Of all the editions, the most important are *Lyricorum libri quattuor* published in Antwerp by Moretus in 1632 and also his edition of 1634 – *editio ultima*[12].

There is insufficient space here to describe all the cultural inspirations of Sarbiewski's poetry, so a brief list will have to suffice:

- Horatian language and poetics – vocabulary, metre, prosody, and values; there is no influence of Christian authors, a pure Horatian style;
- Biblical tradition, i.e. paraphrases of *Carmen carminorum*;
- Stoicism and Neo-Stoicism;
- Platonism;
- Hermetic tradition in the specific interpretation of Annibale Rosseli who was active in Kraków ca. 1570 and published his commentary on *Corpus hermeticum*; this interpretation was quite anachronistic in the 1620s and later, after Isaac Casaubon's proof that *Corpus Hermeticum* is much younger than had been supposed;
- Ignatian spirituality, which can sometimes be confused with certain Stoic motifs[13].

These heterogeneous cultural and literary influences are fairly well recognized by scholars. There are, however, also some which have not been analysed to a satisfactory degree, such as Sarbiewski's use of quotations from Lucretius' *De rerum natura*. They demonstrate Sarbiewski's actual world of values as well as his ideological and cultural identity. The intellectual independence in their use and interpretation, sometimes in surprising ways, leaves the impression of chaos in the manner of Athanasius Kircher. Undoubtedly, side by side with his masterful Horatianism they became another reason for Sarbiewski's European popularity and fame. They allowed the citizens of the *Respublica Litteraria* to read Sarbiewski's poetry with unabated interest for at least two centuries[14].

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[11] Stawecka 1989: 155.

[12] Unfortunately, there are only two twentieth-century editions of Sarbiewski's poetry (but neither critical!), respectively in Polish and Lithuanian: Sarbiewski 1980 and Sarbievijus 1995.

[13] See: Urbański 2000: passim; Buszewicz 2006a: passim; Lichański 2006: passim; Schäfer 2006: passim (unfortunately the the authors of papers included in Schäfer 2006 completely ignored Polish studies on Sarbiewski).

[14] See footnote 13.

3. *Horatius Christianus vs. Horatius Sarmaticus*

Sarbiewski's odes, characterized by erudition and a profound understanding of poetry, especially ancient poetry, bear the mark and influence of Horace. Many are paraphrases or parodies, as they were called then, of Horace's poems. Some of his contemporaries claimed that Sarbiewski not only equaled but surpassed Horace in his poetry and he was known in his lifetime as the Christian Horace, as the famous Dutch humanist Hugo Grotius called him in 1625.

The usage of the appellative *Horatius Sarmaticus* instead of *Horatius Christianus* has an unfortunate ideological character. It should be remembered that before 1721 nobody called Sarbiewski *Horatius Sarmaticus*. It happened for the first time in the Cologne edition of his poetry published by Johann Everhard Fromart. In Poland it was used only in 1758 by Jan Andrzej Załuski in the advertisement of his *Ternio Vatum Polonorum*. As Józef Warszawski argued, this change was a depreciation of the poet's position. In the same way the adjective *Sarmaticus* was used in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century, e.g. by Philip Melanchthon. It was only due to a misunderstanding of this appellative that it began to indicate Sarbiewski's cultural or national adherence.

Warszawski stresses further that nobody called Sarbiewski *Catholicus,* which is an evidence of his universality, or *Polonus*, a name that was reserved by the poet himself for Jan Kochanowski; in my opinion mainly due to the language of his major works[15]. It should be remembered that, in his *Praecepta poetica,* Sarbiewski quoted Polish poems by Kochanowski as good examples of poetry, even better than others taken from Roman poets (including Horace), but never a Latin one.

Naturally, the two appellatives given to Sarbiewski – Christian and Sarmatian Horace – differ greatly. The first indicates the world of his values: he is better than Horace because he equaled him in literary talent but apparently surpassed him with his Christian ideology. So, for example, when Horace speaks of ideas such as *libertas*, *pietas*, *laus* and *honor*, Sarbiewski responds by showing their true merit or Christian dimensions.

It should be added here that such a novel reading of Horace would not have been possible in Kochanowski's day due to the conflict between a specific poetic language i.e. Latin and the values that could and could not be expressed in that language. The Sarmatian Horace, as has been shown above, was an appellative invented by Fromart. Probably the adjective "Sarmatian" was not used in its ethnic but rather in its cultural sense. Fromart was not particularly interested in Sarbiewski's Polish origin, he is more likely to have indicated in this way the poet's cultural and ideological provenance rather than any issues connected with his native language or nationality. In the 18th century, "Sarmatian Horace" could simply have been understood as 'Horace from Sarmatia', but it might also have drawn the readers' attention to certain motifs and ideas considered characteristic of the lands of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

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[15] Warszawski 1964: 467-475.

We may compare the Sarmatian Horace appellative of with the self-description of Joannes Dantiscus (1485-1548). While at the court of the Emperor Charles V, he said that he was a Sarmatian though not a Pole, thus using the former adjective exclusively in its cultural sense[16]. As Dantiscus was of German origin, his declared Sarmatism may have expressed his allegiance to the politics and culture of the Jagellonian court. In the case of Kochanowski, dubbed the "Polish Horace", also by Sarbiewski in *De perfecta poesi*, had both a cultural and linguistic dimension: Kochanowski was a Horace of the Polish language as well as a Horace writing in the Polish language.

It is hardly surprising that Aleksander Wojciech Mikołajczak's analysis of the social and political dimensions of Sarbiewski's poetry concludes that Sarbiewski shares the conscience and beliefs of his social group, i.e. the gentry ('średnia szlachta'), modified by his Jesuit background. It is worth mentioning that Sarbiewski avoided referring to King Sigismund III in his poems due to the King's marked royalism. At the same time, however, the poet was a keen supporter of a strong monarchy and wanted to strengthen the role of the Senate. He was also an ardent advocate of the idea of the golden freedom of the gentry. The influence of his Jesuit background may be observed in the poems on the Pope and papacy as well as on the emperor and empire, the king and kingship. Thanks to the use of the ancient frame of reference he was able to include contradictory ideas in his poems, such as the reinforcement of the king's power and the preservation of the golden freedom[17].

From the Polish perspective Elwira Buszewicz remarked on Sarbiewski's Sarmatism that it was a question of the extent to which he felt bound with his native tradition. As she claims he could participate in the cultural heritage of the Commonwealth and retain his adherence to the gentry and it is in this precise sense that I intend to comment on Sarbiewski's Sarmatian identity. The main problem for Buszewicz is HOW Sarbiewski approached Sarmatian themes rather than WHETHER he did so at all[18]. Andrzej Borowski observes Sarbiewski's criticism against Sarmatism which in some manner anticipates the 18th-century "enlightened Sarmatism"[19].

An observation made from the Lithuanian perspective is very different. Darius Kuolys writes:

> Sarbievius' texts reflect the tension between Sarmatism and the independent ideology of a Lithuanian state. He […] tends to embody the signs of Sarmatian patriotism into idealized Lithuanian noblemen. In a frequent case, they are extolled as protectors of 'homeland Poland'. The Republic, however, is viewed by Sarbievius as a union of two equal nations – the Poles and the Lithuanians. […]

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16 See: Zabłocki 1976: 213; Pelc 1970: 100; Pelc 1993. Among new studies on Sarmatism see Nowicka-Jeżowa 2009-2011: 211-234.

17 Mikołajczak 1998: 117; Mikołajczak 1994: 75-76, 88, 93.

18 Buszewicz 2006b: 85-87.

19 Borowski 1999: 196.

> Sarbievius' works propagated an original, but not closed, Sarmatian ideology which felt responsible for the fate of Western Christian civilization, declared the idea of solidarity between Christian nations and the common fate of Christian Europe […]. In the first place Sarbievius should be regarded as a poet of Christian Europe, a defender of Christian ideals. To the political theatre of Lithuania his poetry added a more universal dimension of Christian culture and Western civilization.[20]

All the sources of inspiration of Sarbiewski's poetry listed above are essential for a thorough interpretation of the existential or philosophical part of *Lyricorum libri*. Some of the second part of his works could also be interpreted according to such necessary categories. This second part consists of occasional poetry, a selection of poems which tend to border on panegyrics. If we read the first edition of *Lyricorum libri tres* (1625), we can see the main characters or heroes of Sarbiewski's world: Pope Urban VIII and his nephew Cardinal Federico Barberini, as well as the emperor. Polish heroes such as King Vladislas IV and – generally – Polish knights appeared only in the later editions, starting from *Lyricorum libri quattuor*, the editions of 1632 and 1634. They are to be found in the fourth book and, in the case of some poems, added to previous books, as a kind of deconstruction of the previous order of poems and values. All these additional poems were written after the poet's return from Rome.

In my opinion, there could be two explanations for this fact. Firstly, new cultural circumstances forced Sarbiewski to return to the topics and people who were presented in his *iuvenilia*, especially epigrams and other occasional poems. Consequently, it was a return to his Polish-Lithuanian world of values. In this context his unfinished epic poem entitled *Lechias* was intended as the beginning of a new stage in his literary career. It was a strictly national poem, constructed on ethnogenetic and eponimic legends but written in a pure Virgilian manner, according to Sarbiewski's interpretation of the *Aeneid* included in his *De perfecta poesi*[21]. It was not a coincidence but a conscious decision that Albert Ines (1619-1658) published his own *Lechias* (*Lechias: Ducum, Principum ac Regum Poloniae, ab usque Lecho deductorum, elogia historico-politica et panegeryces lyricae* […], Kraków 1655). The similarity of this work to Sarbiewski's *Lechias* does not go beyond the title, although Ines refers to Sarbiewski as his predecessor, whose work he would like to continue. In terms of genre, Ines saw his work not as an epic but as a collection of poetic biographies of Polish kings and princes. An *elogium* – including facts relating to the rulers' reign and using a number of quotations from the works of ancient writers and references to ancient biographies – and a panegyric song in verse are dedicated to each of them. Ines intended his poem as a way of creating the image of an ideal ruler, as well as a summary of the history of the Poles. The poem was thus intended to reinforce the "Christian-political" formation ("ad christiano-politicam instructionem comprehendere voluerim") of the Polish nobility, es-

[20] Kuolys 1998: 331-332.
[21] Sarbiewski 1954.

pecially the younger generation, who studied *Lechias* in their rhetoric lessons at the Jesuit colleges[22].

The second interpretation is quite different. The very pessimistic ending of the third book of *Lyricorum libri*, the disappointment at the Pope's court (similar to Horace's disappointment in Augustan politics), as well as the possible "Roman drama" – banishment from the Eternal City – shattered the poet's vision of the world made up of various cultural elements. In this context, Sarmatian ideology seems the only possible way for the poet to reconstruct his identity after the crisis. The numerous changes in subtitles and in the dedications of his poems in the later editions are clear evidence of Sarbiewski reworking his poetical world.

An attempt to connect Sarbiewski with the idea of nationality and fatherland, based on ideological foundations, pushed top Lithuanian Sarbiewski scholar and editor, Eugenija Ulčinaitė, to the following, very strange, argumentation:

> One gets the impression that Sarbiewski creates Polish reality by imitating Ancient works and elements of a general nature, while he describes Lithuanian reality from his own experience, creating original poetic images. It could be caused by the fact that this "foreign" ambient and diversity of landscape stimulated a greater emotional sensitivity[23].

E. Ulčinaitė also complains about the lack of autobiographical reflections, personal statements and descriptions of regional details in Sarbiewski's poems[24]. The Lithuanian scholar thus follows the tradition started by Sarbiewski's friend, Bishop Stanisław Łubieński, who in an often quoted letter to the poet wrote:

> Pułtusk, where you became a servant of the Muses for the first time, is not mentioned in your writings even in a single word. The Narew, the queen of rivers, our Bug, the Vistula, better than the gold-giving Tagus, are just as alien to you. The Masovians, from whose noble blood you are descended, are well hidden. You are silent about Stanislaus Carncovius, the archbishop of Gniezno, who had given all his resources to your Society. Not a word about all the other people who laid the foundations of your colleges in Poland[25].

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[22] Borysowska 2010: 159-201.

[23] "Odnosi się wrażenie, że polskie realia Sarbiewski stwarza poprzez imitację utworów antycznych i topiki ogólnej, natomiast litewskie realia opisuje z autopsji, kreując oryginalne poetyckie obrazy. Być może miało na to wpływ właśnie 'obce' otocznie, odmienność krajobrazu, która wzbudziła większą emocjonalną wrażliwość" (Ulčinaitė 1996: 105).

[24] Ulčinaitė 1996: 101.

[25] "Pultovia, ubi primum Musis sacramentum dixisti, ne uno quidem verbo in tuis scriptis nominata. Fluviorum rex Narvia, Bugus noster, Vistula, melior quam Tagus auriferax, quasi tibi ignoti praetereuntur. Masovii, quorum e sanguine nobile genus ducis, silentur. Silentur Stanislaus Carncovius, archiepiscopus Gnesnensis, qui quidquid facultatum habuit in Societatem vestram effudit. Silentur alii qui prima per Poloniam fundamenta iacere collegiorum vestrorum" (Sarbiewski, Łubieński 1986: 28-29 [letter dated from Brok, August 21st, 1633]).

Similar ideas are expressed repeatedly in Łubieński's letters and some scholars argued that it was only after certain rebukes by the Bishop that the poet took up local themes such as descriptions of national landscape, Sarmatian ideas, etc.

4. *Reading Sarbiewski's Poetry in the Vernacular*

Translations of works made in any poet's lifetime and later are usually a very useful tool for studying how they were received. In Sarbiewski's case, translations may help us understand how his contemporaries read both the classical tradition and 'native' motifs. The most valuable for this research is, naturally, the sizeable corpus of English translations, in itself surprising given that the Society of Jesus was illegal in Britain.

English paraphrases of Sarbiewski's poems also include poems written after the poet's departure from Rome. Consequently, it is interesting to see how English poets changed the local motifs into universal ones or other motifs of their own. Generally speaking, the huge collection of English translations, imitations, emulations, and paraphrases entitled *Casimir Britannicus*, edited by Krzysztof Fordoński and myself, testifies to the universal dimension of Sabiewski's poetry[26]. Krzysztof Fordoński shows in his articles how Sarbiewski's poems were used in British political debate, in a context substantially different from the original meanings, stressing that such practices can be found on both sides of the political barricade. The English reception of anti-Turkish poems calling for war against the Ottoman Empire seems especially interesting. Fordoński analyses some examples and demonstrates how, in a new political context, these poems started to be read and understood regardless of their original historical and political context[27].

The lack of Polish translations (we know only of a few poems translated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) and of editions printed in Poland and Lithuania after Sarbiewski's death is evidence of the fact that he was much more interesting for readers abroad than in Poland.

The Latin Jesuit poet of the next generation, Ines, added a new dimension to the list of cultural traditions observed in Sarbiewski's poetry. For him the poems of *Horatius Christianus* were the living tradition and he used this similarly to the way that Sarbiewski did with Horace's poems: as the model and starting point but also as a partner in philosophical and poetical dialogue[28].

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[26] Fordoński, Urbański 2010. See here *Introduction* and also the detailed studies by Krzysztof Fordoński: Fordoński 2011a, Fordoński 2012, Fordoński 2013a and Fordoński 2013b.

[27] Fordoński 2011b.

[28] See Borysowska 2010: passim, esp. 39-94.

5. *Conclusions*

It is clear that both his contemporaries and the later generations considered Sarbiewski as *Horatius Christianus* rather than *Horatius Sarmaticus.* The former term indicated his poetry as a new, Christian incarnation of the poetry of Horace, and placed it within the international community of the *Respublica Litteraria*. The cultural, literary and philosophical traditions saturating his *Lyricorum libri* were a common language of values which constructed a universal, European identity. It is not by accident that he was much more popular abroad. All editions of his poetry were printed abroad and many poems from the *Lyricorum libri* were also accessible, to people whose knowledge of Latin was insufficient to allow them to read them in the original, thanks to various translations, paraphrases and emulations into vernacular languages (the most important are the English ones, but there were also German, Dutch, and many others).

The very limited number of Polish translations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seems very peculiar[29]. It is often said that the reason for this was the widespread and excellent knowledge of Latin in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This, however, was probably only true in very few cases while for most Polish readers Sarbiewski's poetry was far too complex to be read in the Latin original. It is no coincidence that editions of Sarbiewski's poetry started to appear in Poland only in the Age of Enlightenment as a foundation of Polish, vernacular Classicism[30]. In the difficult political situation of Poland, partitioned by Russia, Prussia, and Austria (1772, 1793, 1795), Sarbiewski was a symbol of the bygone golden age of Polish culture, a poet on an equal footing with Polish Renaissance authors.

The main shift took place in the nineteenth century. The Romantics began to consider the value of poetry according to two main categories: national values and the candor of the poet's feelings. The romantic hostility against Neo-Latin literature banished Sarbiewski again from the general consciousness. The first complete translation of his poetic oeuvre made by Władysław Syrokomla[31] was a kind of forgery: Sarbiewski started to speak in Polish not in his own poetic language but in the language of Romantic poetry which was quite distant from his identity. The characteristic of Sarbiewski's poetry in the standard manual of Polish literature by Ignacy Chrzanowski[32], who used to read Sarbiewski in the

[29] Jan Andrzej Morsztyn, Samuel Twardowski, Jan Gawiński, Piotr Puzyna, Adam Naruszewicz, Antoni Wiśniewski Jan Albertrandi, Józef Epifaniusz Minasowicz, F.B., Michał Przezdziecki. Almost all translations were republished by Franciszek Bohomolec in his edition (see the next footnote).

[30] *Opera poetica*, ed. F. Kruszewski (Vilnius 1749); *Poemata ex vetus manuscriptis et variis codicillis*, ed. A. Naruszewicz (Vilnius 1757); *Opera posthuma quibus accesserunt multa poemata vernaculo carmine reddita*, ed. F. Bohomolec (Warszawa 1769).

[31] Syrokomla 1851.

[32] Published since 1906, later in an expanded and revised version. See Chrzanowski 1983: 310-316.

post-Romantic manner, calling him only *Horatius Sarmaticus* but never *Christianus,* is very characteristic. The scholar held his war poems and descriptions of nature in high esteem. He also considered the *Silviludia* (as we know today, it is a free Latin adaptation of an Italian poem by Mario Bettini) the best part of his oeuvre. In this way Chrzanowski laid the foundations of a cultural stereotype generally accepted in the twentieth century.

In this paper the poetry of Sarbiewski has been placed in the context of the changes and continuity of the role of Neo-Latin poetry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Poland the main difference in the social role of Neo-Latin poetry between these two centuries seems to be the limitation of its circulation to the erudite community, understanding its identity as a part of the European *Respublica litteraria*. In Poland, Latin became the language of the elite and it was no longer a vehicle used to assert the gentry's consciousness. In this situation Sarbiewski's world of values rooted in ancient Roman culture as well as in the broad, deep and diversified humanist tradition, was much better understood as an instrument for constructing universal, cultural identity among highly educated readers regardless of their nationality. It was not by chance that he was called *Horatius Christianus* and his second well known appellative, *Horatius Sarmaticus*, was invented only in 1721. Some Sarmatian or national motifs in Sarbiewski's poetry were undertaken perhaps by inspiration coming from some of his friends, such as Bishop Łubieński, while for the poet himself universal values were more important. However, he was able to combine them with the first sphere, interpreting them and adding an existential depth. Clear evidence of the understanding of Sarbiewski's poetry are his translations into vernacular languages as well as the history of its editions. The stress put on Sarmatian and local values as a factor in constructing Sarbiewski's identity as done by certain scholars, both Polish and Lithuanian, is rooted in the Romantic tradition and it is an attempt to bind *Lyricorum libri* with the national tradition, perhaps despite Sarbiewski's own views on the matter.

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Abstract

Piotr Urbański

Cultural and National Identity in Jesuit Neo-Latin Poetry in Poland in the Seventeenth Century. The Case of Sarbiewski

The aim of the present paper is to discuss whether Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski (1595-1640) considered his poetry as an instrument with which to construct either a national or a universal, i.e. European identity. I shall examine certain statements made by Polish and Lithuanian scholars about Sarbiewski's Sarmatism and will discuss the situation of Neo-Latin poetry in the seventeenth century, and its translations into vernacular languages (in Sarbiewski's case into English) as evidence of its reception and understanding. I shall argue that in the case of Sarbiewski's poetry, the only community and/or identity that he wanted to extol and develop was European, rooted in the Horatian or – broadly speaking – Roman set of values, modified by the poet's Christian understanding of the world. It is clear that both his contemporaries and the later generations considered Sarbiewski as *Horatius Christianus* rather than *Horatius Sarmaticus*. The former term indicated his poetry as a new, Christian incarnation of the poetry of Horace, and placed it within the international community of the *Respublica Litteraria*. The cultural, literary and philosophical traditions saturating his *Lyricorum libri* were a common language of values which constructed a universal, European identity. It is not by accident that he was much more popular abroad. The very limited number of Polish translations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seems very peculiar. Clear evidence of the understanding of Sarbiewski's poetry are his translations into vernacular languages as well as the history of its editions.

The poetry of Sarbiewski will be placed in the context of the changes and continuity of the role of Neo-Latin poetry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sarbiewski's world of values rooted in ancient Roman culture as well as in the broad, deep and diversified humanist tradition was much better understood as an instrument for constructing universal, cultural identity among highly educated readers, regardless of their nationality.

The Teaching of Lyric Meters and the Reception of Horace in Kyiv-Mohylanian Poetics

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1. *Introduction*

The present article stems from my analysis of the way metrics was presented in the poetics teaching manuals composed and used at the Kyiv Mohyla College/Academy (hereinafter KMA). My intent is to analyze how the variety of poetic examples presented by the poetics teachers to practically exemplify metrical lines and systems, whether quotations, remakes, or 'original' metrical poems, reflects the conception of poetry propounded in their manuals[1].

Given the importance of Horace in Latin metrics, his poetry naturally occupies a prominent place. I will show how its presence is both direct, through quotations of his odes, and indirect or mediated, through remakes of his odes, paraphrases of psalms and composition of poems using his meters. After a brief summary of the main stages of the history of metrics, I will concentrate on the most important metrical patterns and the most meaningful poetic examples. My findings will then be correlated to the overall conception of poetry, which was used as an important educational tool at the KMA; this was in line with the principles of Jesuit education, according to which poetry was to mold "educated and eloquent piety" (*docta et eloquens pietas*)[2]. Therefore poetry was called upon to convey definite religious and moral attitudes by displaying suitable examples and encouraging the audience to follow them. This explains the marked emphasis on didacticism and *paraenesis* displayed by numerous poetical compositions in the Mohylanian poetics. The moral function of poetry was also the criterion that guided the selection of poetic examples from Latin and Neo-Latin poets.

Regarding Latin metrics, we know that Horace himself in the AP (ll. 73-85) had provided a succinct illustration of meters, their inventors and the topics suitable to each of them; he was thus the 'creator' of a good number of meters in Latin poetry, which he 'imported' from Greek poetry. In Pseudo Acro's commentary on Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes*, each ode is provided with the relative meter[3]. Horatian metrical forms were handed down to posterity thanks to their use by Boethius and

[1] As a rule, the authors of poetics do not justify their quoting poetic examples of definite single metrical lines or metrical systems as exemplifications of peculiar rules or exceptions, but they generally provide the graphic metrical scheme of a line or a strophe followed by a poetic example composed using that metrical scheme. That is why I will not go into the metrical analysis of each line quoted, but only into the variety of examples provided to exemplify them.

[2] Cf. Zaborowska-Musiał 2006: 143.

[3] Cf. Boldrini 1999: 115.

Latinitas *in the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania : Its Impact on the Development of Identities,* edited by Giovanna Siedina, ISBN 978-88-6655-675-6 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-674-9 (print), © 2014 Firenze University Press

to the numerous elaborations by late Latin grammarians, such as Caesius Bassus (*De metris Horatii*), Maurus Servius Honoratus (*De metris Horatii* and *De centum metris*, end of the fourth century), the relevant section of Diomede's *Ars grammatica*, and others[4]. Neither should we forget the treatment of Horace's meters, which Keller called *Expositio metrica*, with which the latter prefaced his edition of the aforementioned pseudo-Acronian scholia. These treatises were the basic source of subsequent knowledge about lyric meters. Bede's *Liber de arte metrica* (seventh-eighth century) was also quite influential. The humanistic authors of *artes versificandi* later referred to treatises by late Latin grammarians and by Bede too. Among the tracts devoted to Horace's meters in the fifteenth century a prominent place belongs to Nicola Perotti's treatise *De generibus metrorum quibus Horatius Flaccus et Severinus Boetius usi sunt* as well as his *De metris*. First published in 1471, *De generibus metrorum* together with *De metris*, was reprinted several times, on its own and together with other works on the subject, as well as, in the sixteenth century, in a volume containing various grammatical works also of ancient authors[5]. As for the part dealing with Horatian verses, its popularity was even greater, since, as Boldrini states, as from 1498 it was included in numerous editions of Horace's works. The fact that Perotti's metrics manuals were apparently used at Kraków university in the late fourteenth-early fifteenth century is not devoid of interest for us, since the best Mohylanian graduates, some of whom would later become teachers at their alma mater, further pursued their studies in Polish and Western academies and universities. It also seems probable that one or more editions of Horace's oeuvre provided with Perotti's metrical tract *De generibus metrorum*… was available to Mohylanian poetics teachers, because their presentation of Horace's lyrical meters reflects knowledge (whether first or second hand) both of Servius's and Perotti's treatise, as well as of *Expositio metrica*.

As to treatises on Latin and Greek metrics printed until about 1600, Jürgen Leonhardt's study on Latin prosody from late antiquity to early Renaissance lists 164 of them.

Nearly all Mohylanian authors of poetics exemplify each metrical line and metrical system they present with one or more poetic examples. The device of using mnemonic verses to sum up a rule and of drawing examples from ancient writers had already been adopted by the first treatises on poetical meters, and was followed by some Renaissance manuals; Mohylanian poetics teachers were thus familiar with it[6]. Here I will dwell particularly on the Sapphic and Alcaic metrical systems, since they are the most widely exemplified in the poetics. Alongside Horace, or in his place, Mohylanian teachers willingly quote poems, stanzas or single lines by M. K. Sarbiewski, the 'Christian' or 'Sarmatian' Horace,

[4] As for the iambic and trochaic meters of Roman comedy, particularly of Terentius, let's not forget the contribution of Priscian and Rufinus, whose works were both printed in Venice in 1471. The former, besides composing the comprehensive *Institutiones grammaticae*, was the author of the short treatise *De metris fabularum Terentii*, while the latter composed a *Commentarium in metra Terentiana*.

[5] Boldrini 1999: 105-106.

[6] Cf. also Ford 1982: 15.

as he was called later, especially drawn from his Christian parodies of Horace's odes. All the richness and multiformity of Sarbiewski's poetic output[7] cannot be summarized in just a few lines (he was the author of over 130 odes collected in his *Lyricorum Libri* [first edition 1625] and of 145 epigrams)[8]. We may say that Mohylanian poetics teachers were attracted by all of its main features, as briefly outlined by Urbański in this volume, but what certainly appealed to them most was its Christian Horatianism, that is its adoption and adaptation of Horace's vocabulary, metrics, syntax, and values to a new religious and moral content. As to the themes of Sarbiewski's lyrics, they are quite diversified, spanning from praises of pope Urban VIII and his nephew Cardinal Francesco Barberini to biblical paraphrases and Marian hymns and odes, from reflections on the fluidity of human destiny and on the vanity of human actions to thoughts addressed to his friends. They also include moral and political reflections, from anti-Turkish poems addressed to European rulers (emperor Ferdinand II, pope Urban VIII, as well as to Sigismund III and Vladislas IV) to those addressed to different social groups (Polish knights, European rulers, Italian and European princes). Particularly congenial to the Mohylanian teachers' way of thinking about poetry were Sarbiewski's reflections on the fugacity and uncertainty of life, on the vanity of all human things, as couched in the two forms of parody and palinode. During the Baroque the former was a poetic composition created by transferring semantic structures from Classical poems to Neo-Latin ones in the spirit of Christian devotion. In such poetical composition the linguistic-stylistic and thematic components and often also the metrical scheme of the original are used to express contents that are different and extraneous, or totally opposed to those of the original poem. Consequently, in the new context these elements acquire different religious-Christian meanings. There are many such examples in Sarbiewski (cf. Budzyński 1975)[9]. As for the Horatian palinode, it was a poetic composition in which the author polemicized with the chosen pagan model[10].

2. *The Alcaic Metrical System: Exemplifications*

I will start with the Alcaic metrical system, which is the most exemplified in the Mohylanian poetics[11]. It is also called "carmen horatianum" by nearly all

[7] For a detailed study of Sarbiewski's literary production and its sources of inspiration see Buszewicz 2006.

[8] Cf. Urbański's article in this volume.

[9] Cf. among them, Sarbiewski's *Lyr*. II, 26 "Aurei regina Maria coeli", modeled on Horace's *Carm*. I, 30 "O Venus regina Cnidi Paphique"; Sarbiewski's *Lyr.* II, 18 "Reginam, tenerae dicite virgines" modeled on Horace's *Carm*. I, 22 "Dianam tenerae dicite virgines". In both cases the place of the pagan goddess (Venus, Diana) is taken by the Virgin Mary.

[10] As an example of palinode we may recall Sarbiewski's epod III *Laus otii religiosi*, in which the author refutes Horace's message of epod II ("Beatus ille qui procul negotiis").

[11] Unless otherwise indicated, all the manuals that I refer to and quote are held at the Manuscript Section (*Instytut Rukopysu*, IR) of the National Library of Ukraine in

Mohylanian poetics teachers due to its being the most widely used metrical system in Horace's odes. And indeed, in the exemplification of this metrical pattern Mohylanian authors display a great variety of modes.

After having explained this metrical system, the author of *Camoena in Parnasso* chooses the first two stanzas of Horace's *Carm*. II, 3 (lines 1-8) as an exemplification of it:

> Aequam memento rebus in arduis
> servare mentem, non secus in bonis
> ab insolenti temperatam
> laetitia, moriture Delli,
>
> seu maestus omni tempore vixeris
> seu te in remoto gramine per dies
> festos reclinatum bearis
> interiore nota Falerni.
>
> When things are troublesome, always remember,
> keep an even mind, and in prosperity
> be careful of too much happiness:
> since my Dellius, you're destined to die,
>
> whether you live a life that's always sad,
> or reclining, privately, on distant lawns,
> in one long holiday, take delight
> in drinking your vintage Falernian[12].

Indeed, the fact that he quotes two stanzas of this ode, and not just one (which would have been enough by way of exemplification, and which other poetics teachers do) is probably to ascribe to their content. In fact, as we will shortly see, the frequency with which this ode was mentioned tells us that it was particularly dear to Mohylanian authors. The ode is split into three structural blocks: the first (lines 1-8) contains a more general admonition (ll. 1-4) that de-

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Kyiv (*Nacional'na Biblioteka Ukrajiny*, NBU). These are their respective call numbers: 657 / 448 C. and 658 / 449 C. (the two copies of *Camoena in Parnasso*); 665 / 456 C. (*Rosa inter spinas*), Д С / П 235 (*Cytheron Bivertex*), 674 / 463 C. (*Lyra Heliconis*), 501 П / 1719 and 664 / 455 C. (the two copies of *Lyra variis praeceptorum chordis… instructa*); 509 П / 1718, t. I (*Libri tres de arte poetica*); Д С / П 245 (*Arctos in Parnasso Mohilo Mazepiano exorta…*); 322 П / 101 (*Via lactea*); Д С / П 239 (*Fons Castalius*); 316 П / 119 (*Fons poeseos*); Д С / П 252 and 509 П / 1718, t. II (*Parnassus*); Д С / П 233 (*Poeticarum institutionum breve compendium*); Д С / П 254 and 682 / 481 C. (the two copies of *Via poetarum ad fontes castalidum*); 687 / 477 C. and 320 П / 118 (the two copies of *Via ingenuos poeseos candidatos…*); 691 / 682 C. (*Liber de arte poetica*); 499 П / 1729 (*Cunae Bethleemicae*); ДА / П 420 and 505 П / 1721 (the two copies of *Idea artis poeticae*: the second manuscript is incomplete).

[12] All translations of quotations from Horace's *oeuvre* in this article are by A.S. Kline and drawn from the website <http://www.poetryintranslation.com> (accessed August 30th 2014).

spite the use of the imperative, as Nisbet and Hubbard observe, "fulfils the same purpose as an opening *sententia*" (Nisbet, Hubbard 1978: 52). Quintus Dellius, the addressee, was a man known for his problematic, incident-prone political career. He actually was an opportunist politician, and Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus called him *desultor bellorum civilium* (horse changer of the civil wars). He was given this name because of his many desertions: indeed, he deserted Publius Cornelius Dolabella for Gaius Cassius Longinus in 43 B.C., Cassius for Mark Antony in 42 B.C., and lastly Antony for Octavian in 31 B.C. The gnomic motif of the first part is that of the imperturbability of the human soul faced with the adversities of life as well as a warning about the hybris generated by prosperity. The central part (ll. 9-16) contains an invitation to a banquet and marks the gradual passage from the first part to the last, which contains reflections on the universality and the ineluctability of death.

As already remarked, most Mohylanian lecturers display first-hand knowledge of Horace's poetry, which in some cases makes them choose for exemplification those lines of Horace that besides serving their didactic purposes, were consonant with their aesthetic tastes. And thus the author of *Rosa inter spinas* exemplifies the *carmen horatianum* by quoting lines 21-24 of this same ode by Horace (*Carm*. II, 3). Cf.:

> Divesne prisco natus ab Inacho
> nil interest; seu [sic!] pauper et infima,
> de gente sub dio [sic!] moreris,
> victima nil miserantis Orci;
>
> Whether you're rich, of old Inachus's line,
> or live beneath the sky, a pauper, blessed with
> humble birth, it makes no difference:
> you'll be pitiless Orcus's victim.

The stanza quoted, the penultimate, is the second of the last three, which are centered on the theme of death. In the previous one the poet had reminded his addressee, the hedonist Dellius, that he would have to relinquish all his luxury possessions one day and that an heir would subsequently benefit from them. In this stanza, instead, the theme is that of the equality of all human beings before death, regardless of their origin or wealth. Inachus was the earliest king of Argos, and thus here he symbolizes antiquity from time immemorial. Finally, the last stanza is used to exemplify the Alcaic metrical system by the author of *Elementa latinae poeseos*, a manual of poetics that is now kept at the L'viv National Library, although it belonged to the KMA[13]. And thus, his pupils through this example (ll. 25-28), were masterfully reminded of death,

[13] The manuscript is kept at the Scientific Library of L'viv National University I. Franko (*Naukova biblioteka L'vivs'koho nacional'noho universytetu im. I. Franka*), Manuscript Section (*Viddil rukopysiv*), call number Rukopys n. 407 I.

of its ineluctability whatever one does in life and whatever their station in this world. The last strophe concludes the poet's reflection on the theme of death, which is developed in the two previous stanzas, and had been foreshadowed in the beginning by the future participle *moriture* of line 4, referred to his addressee Dellius. Cf.:

> Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
> versatur urna serius ocius
> sors exitura et nos in aeternum
> exilium impositura cymbae.
>
> We're all being driven to a single end,
> all our lots are tossed in the urn, and, sooner
> or later, they'll emerge, and seat us
> in Charon's boat for eternal exile.

The popularity of this ode among Mohylanian and other authors is also testified by its manifold use, since it is variously quoted also when they deal with lyric poetry.

As mentioned above, the author of *Camoena in Parnasso* provides a second example next to Horace's ode quoted above. Indeed, he adds the first stanza (lines 1-4) of Sarbiewski's ode *Lyr.* II, 11, written in the same Alcaic metrical system, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. Cf.:

> Huc o, beatis septa cohortibus
> Regina mundi, sidereos, age,
> molire passus: huc curuli
> nube super Zephyroque præpes
> [descende].
>
> To this place, o Queen of the world, surrounded
> by the blessed retinue, come, lead your starred
> steps: to this place from the curule cloud and
> flying straight ahead over Zephyr
> [come down].

This ode has as its 'starting point' Horace's *Carm*. III, 4, of which it constitutes a type of parody[14]. Horace's ode is the first of the second trilogy that forms the cycle of the Roman odes (as the first six odes of Book III are called), the proemial function of which is underlined by the invocation to the Muses and by the autobiographical theme of its first part[15].

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[14] Cf. Budzyński 1975: 98-99.

[15] Horace's *Carm*. III, 4 can be divided into two major parts: the first (ll. 9-36), preceded by the two proemial stanzas with the invocation to the Muses, is dedicated to the protective power of the Muses, which the poet experienced both in his childhood and in his adult life and which he will probably experience in the future. At line 37 Horace shifts

Sarbiewski's ode *Lyr.* II, 11 is a prayer to the Virgin Mary, queen of the earth and the sky. Sarbiewski does not intend to imitate Horace's *Carm*. III, 4 either in length or in the treated themes. As Buszewicz states, the incipit of Horace's ode "Descende caelo […] regina" seems to suggest the possibility of a Christian imitation, with a few changes, of this expression. And thus in the first two stanzas of his ode Sarbiewski borrows the words from Horace's first stanza: "regina" – in the same position, at the beginning of the second line, "age", "descende". However, while in Horace "dic" refers to the wish for creative inspiration, in Sarbiewski the accent is first of all on the fact that the Virgin Mary governs the world, then on her protective powers, and subsequently on the act of invocation "Huc, […] huc […] descende". Cf. Horace's and Sarbiewski's first stanzas, in which Horace's invocation to the muse Calliope becomes Sarbiewski's invocation to the Virgin Mary[16]:

Descende caelo et dic age tibia
regina longum Calliope melos,
seu voce nunc mauis acuta
seu fidibus citharave Phoebi.

O royal Calliope, come from heaven,
and play a lengthy melody on the flute,
or, if you prefer, use your clear voice,
or pluck at the strings of Apollo's lute.

Huc o, beatis septa cohortibus
Regina mundi, sidereos, age,
molire passus: huc curuli
nube super Zephyroque præpes
[descende].

To this place, o Queen of the world, surrounded
by the blessed retinue, come, lead your starred
steps: to this place from the curule cloud and
flying straight ahead over Zephyr
[come down].

Sarbiewski's poetry will also recur in other exemplifications of the Alcaic stanza, as we can observe in the example chosen by the author of *Fons Castalius* to exemplify the Alcaic metrical system. Indeed, he presents two Alcaic stanzas, which he defines "Carmina gratulatoria alicui patrono" ("Congratulatory verses to some protector"). The author does not specify whether the quoted lines are his own or not. However, we might assume that he is their author or "remaker", so to say. Indeed, the first stanza looks like a remake of the first strophe of Sarbiewski's *Lyr.* III, 18, a poem devoted to the praise of Francesco Barberini, cardinal, nephew of a more famous Barberini, pope Urban VIII. The celebratee was a quite remarkable person: he was highly cultured and in 1623 he was accepted

his discourse from personal to political themes: ll. 37-42 constitute a sort of link between the first and the second part and expound on the concept of *consilium* (that is the benign influence of the Muses), which is necessary for physical strength, might (*vis*), because the latter without the former would be disastrous. The second part thus contains the myths that exemplify the victory of *consilium* over *vis*, that is the power of poetry to civilize and pacify. Among the mythological exemplifications we find "the most systematic account of Gigantomachy that has survived in Augustan literature" (Nisbet, Rudd 2004: 55).

[16] For the other similarities between this ode of Horace's and Sarbiewski's *Lyr*. II, 11, in particular the similarity between Sarbiewski's sixth stanza and Horace's second stanza, see Buszewicz 2006: 327-329.

by the famous Roman Accademia dei Lincei, founded in 1603; he was also a powerful protector of littérateurs and artists and possessed a large library. The mentioned *Lyr*. III, 18, as Buszewicz states, "stresses or tries to stress the search for humanistic values linked to *otium*"[17]. Sarbiewski illustrates the dilemma of power through the lyric fiction of navigation[18]. The poet-sailor, who emerges on the wide waters of praise of the cardinal, dedicates a good deal of poetical energy to the introductory allegorical image that creates that fiction: the little boat of the pen with the eloquent Muses at the oars, should be generated in the ocean of Glory and Praise. Apollo, who governs the Pegasean waters, is invited to captain the ship. As regards the second Alcaic stanza provided by the author of *Fons Castalius*, it is either modeled on a different poem or he wrote it himself. Cf. on the left the two Alcaic stanzas presented in *Fons Castalius*, and on the right the first stanza of Sarbiewski's *Lyr*. III, 18:

Laudum tuarum diffluat alveus
plenis carinis ite polaria
per prata facundisque Musae
carmina deproperate remis.

Huic e prophanis Echo sororibus
carmen canoris concine vocibus,
et plena per rerum profundo
ore tenus iterando vivat.

Hic ille plenis Oceanus patet
laudum carinis: ite, loquacia
per transtra, facundisque, Musae,
carmina deproperate remis.

The river bed of your praises may flow
of full ships; go through broad polar water
expanses, and prepare hastily, o Muses,
poems with eloquent oars.

To this one sing, o Echo, a poem among the
prophane sisters with melodious voices,
and by the fullness of things from the
depth of the lips may it live [in] repeating.

Here that ocean stands open to the ships
full of praise. Go through loquacious rower's
seats, and prepare hastily, o Muses, poems
with eloquent oars.

And thus in the first Alcaic stanza our teacher transformed Sarbiewski's images in a curious way: the wide ocean has become a more modest river bed (or channel). The expression "per loquacia transtra" ("through loquacious rower's seats"), which is in line with the allegory of navigation, and especially with the simile between the poet and a sailor, has been transformed into "per prata polaria" ("through the broad polar water expanses"); this maintains the image of water and the vastness of the sea, but weakens the association between the poet and a sailor, which is instead kept in the last two lines of the first stanza ("facundisque

[17] "Poszukiwanie humanistycznych wartości związanych z *otium* uwydatnia czy raczej pragnie uwydatniać Lyr III 18." (Buszewicz 2006: 233).

[18] As Buszewicz recalls, Francesco Barberini had made a very quick career thanks to his influential uncle and had accumulated a significant amount of wealth in just a few years.

Musae / Carmina deproperate remis"), which reproduce Sarbiewski's words verbatim. As to the following stanza, the setting is not that of navigation through the sea, but a generic one, more probably the woods, because of the presence of the nymph Echo. She is chosen for her faculty of repeating the last words of every sentence: and thus through her, the poet expresses the wish that the praises of the celebratee may be repeated over and over in a sort of everlasting life.

It is clear that almost all poetics teachers choose examples from Horace's poetry or from his imitators to exemplify the Alcaic system. And thus, the author of *Cytheron Bivertex* on his part exemplifies the *carmen horatianum* by quoting lines 9-12 of Horace's *Carm*. II, 11; cf.:

> Non semper idem floribus est honor
> vernis neque uno luna rubens nitet
> vultu: quid aeternis minorem
> consilijs animum fatigat [sic!]?
>
> And the glory of spring flowers won't last forever,
> and the blushing moon won't always shine, with that
> selfsame face: why weary your little
> mind with eternal deliberations?

This ode is addressed to a certain Quintius, about whom little is known and whose identification is not certain (cf. Nisbet, Hubbard 1978: 167-168); however, the unfolding of the ode is independent of its addressee. The ode is structurally divided into two parts: the first (ll. 1-12) contains a paraenesis to Quintius: the poet enjoins him not to worry about events happening far from him or concerning distant times. The second part (ll. 13-24) constitutes the preparation of the symposium and the poet's tone suggests he is urging his addressee to hurry since there is little time left to enjoy life.

In the quoted stanza, the initial words "Non semper" introduce a comparison between human and natural events: unlike *Carm*. I, 4 and IV, 7, where there was a tragic gap between the two, here man and nature share the same destiny of temporality and decay. The comparison between the brevity of youth and that of flowers is one of the commonest in Greek and Latin poetry. The second comparison is with the moon, whose phases are an indication of the law of natural changes; the adjective *rubens* could metaphorically refer to the bloom of youth. As Nisbet and Hubbard assert, verbs, adjectives and substantives used in this stanza to define phenomena of the natural world can also be applied to human beings, such as the adjective *rubens*: "similarly *honor* is applicable to people as well as flowers, *nitet* reminds us of human *nitor* (I. 5. 13, I. 19. 5), and the personified *voltu* is preferred to the scientific *facie*" (Nisbet, Hubbard 1978: 172). And thus, if both man and nature are subject to constant change and final decay, why trouble our minds with thoughts of eternity as if our lives were everlasting? The concept expressed here by the locution "aeterna consilia" is the same as "spes longa" of *Carm*. I, 4, 15 and as the exhortation "inmortalia ne speres" of *Carm*. IV, 7, 7, both of which are quoted by Mohylanian authors to exemplify other metrical patterns.

The lines that reminded pupils about the brevity of life and the mortality of man, interpreted in a Christian key, as a *memento mori* implicitly urging them to repent of their sins and to lead an irreproachable life, were among the most preferred by Mohylanian poetics teachers. The fact that words that were interpreted as ethical recommendations and moral principles had been expressed by a Classical authority greatly reinforced their message. And thus the same lines 9-12 from Horace's *Carm*. II, 11 are quoted by the author of *Lyra Heliconis* to exemplify the Alcaic metrical pattern. Next to these lines, however, this same author also quotes another Horatian Alcaic stanza depicting the cold winter around mount Soracte in Sabine, which opens *Carm*. I, 9:

> Vides ut alta stet nive candidum
> Soracte nec iam sustineant onus
> silvae laborantes geluque
> flumina constiterint acuto?
>
> See how Soracte stands glistening with snowfall,
> and the labouring woods bend under the weight:
> see how the mountain streams are frozen,
> cased in the ice by the shuddering cold?

This stanza, together with the next one, is modeled on an ode by Alcaeus (338), and by the '"new" Sappho[19]. Horace, however, varies its models, introducing typically Roman elements, and particularly experiencing the winter landscape as a state of the soul, a metaphor, a symbol. Indeed, the ode is centered around the fundamental Epicurean motif of enjoying the present, in this case one's youth, and not worrying about what the future will bring. And thus the poet passes from the oppressive winter atmosphere of the beginning to the vitality of the last scene, from the sadness caused by a winter day to the serenity and joy of the last stanza. Mohylanian authors, however, also regarding this ode, were both aware of and attracted by its main motif as expressed in line 13:

> Quid si futurum cras, fuge quaerere, et
>
> Don't ask what tomorrow brings, […]

This invitation not to worry about tomorrow, and implicitly to enjoy the present day is quoted by the author of *Lyra variis praeceptorum*…, who lists it as its fifth example in the section on four feet lines. Other authors refer to the Alcaic metrical pattern by quoting only the first line of this poem (*Libri tres de arte poetica*, *Arctos in Parnasso*…, *Via lactea*, *Fons Castalius*, *Fons poeseos*, *Parnassus*). The author of *Poeticarum institutionum breve compendium*, on his part, quotes lines 1-2 of this ode.

[19] Cf. Dirk Obbink's article on the two newly found poems by the seventh-century B.C. poetess Sappho: http://www.the-tls.co.uk/tls/public/article1371516.ece (accessed August 30th 2014).

A different picture of nature is chosen by the author of *Via poetarum ad fontes castalidum*, who exemplifies the Alcaic metrical system by presenting Horace's *Carm.* I, 17, 1-4: these lines are not quoted by other authors. Here they are:

> Velox amoenum saepe Lucretilem
> mutat Lycaeo Faunus et igneam
> defendit aestatem capellis
> usque meis pluviosque ventos.
>
> Swift Faunus, the god, will quite often exchange
> Arcady for my sweet Mount Lucretilis,
> and while he stays he protects my goats
> from the midday heat and the driving rain.

This ode is considered one of Horace's most original and subtle. It has a clear structure: it is divided into two groups of strophes (ll. 1-12 and 17-28) with at its center one strophe (ll. 13-16) that marks the passage from the first part, in which Faunus's frequent visits to his Sabine estate are described, to the second part, which contains the invitation to Tyndaris to come and enjoy the pleasures of Horace's Sabine villa. The central theme of the ode is the Horatian conception of the unity of poetry and wisdom as well as a sincere yearning for nature, his almost religious feeling of nature, which identifies the ideal landscape of wisdom, and especially the place of his privileged relationship with the divinity, in the bucolic landscape.

Yet another exemplification and example of the Alcaic stanza is that provided by the author of *Arctos in Parnasso*: he chooses Horace's *Carm*. III, 6, 45-48, maybe as an admonition to his pupils not to stray from the moral principles they had received as part of their education. Cf.:

> Damnosa quid non inminuit dies?
> Aetas parentum, peior avis, tulit
> nos nequiores, mox daturos
> progeniem vitiosiorem.
>
> What do the harmful days not render less?
> Worse than our grandparents' generation, our
> parents' then produced us, even worse,
> and soon to bear still more sinful children.

The lines quoted constitute the last stanza of an ode pervaded by an atmosphere of anxiety and dominated by a pessimistic attitude, an obscure foreboding of decay that is also found in a few epodes. At the same time, the prevailing feeling is that of a sin to be expiated, of a generational curse, of moral decay progressing from age to age, and this motif had been a commonplace of poetry since Hesiod. The ode has a tripartite structure: in ll. 1-16 the central theme is that of *pietas*, that is the prosperity of Rome is linked to her obedience to divine will, while its decay is linked to the decline of religion; these statements are

in line with Augustus's program of reasserting traditional Roman beliefs. The second part (ll. 17-32) links national decline with the corruption of mores, especially envisaged in the adultery of married women but not in that of married men. In the third part (ll. 33-48), Horace delineates the contrast with the customs of archaic Rome, particularly underlining the peasant virtues of former times, which are implicitly contrasted with the urban corruption and immorality of his time. Finally, the last stanza depicts Rome in constant and continuous decline in which each generation is worse than the one before.

This same stanza is cited as an example of *carmen horatianum* (Alcaic) also by the author of the course *Via ingenuos poeseos candidatos*… (1729): evidently through the mouth of Horace Mohylanian poetics teachers intended to warn their pupils against corruption of mores, and to urge them not to disregard the moral principles they had received, lest the same worsening from one generation to the next, of which Horace speaks, happens to them.

It is precisely with such an aim that the author of *Liber de arte poetica* exemplifies the Alcaic metrical pattern by quoting lines 1-12 of Horace's *Carm*. III, 3. The structure of this ode is quite complex and not easy to summarize: its central part is occupied by Juno's speech (ll. 17-68), the central theme of which is the concept of the supremacy of Rome as the center of power vis-à-vis the Eastern world (cf. the prohibition to rebuild Troy), which was one of the main lines of Augustan culture. The core of the ode is articulated in three parts: Romulus's ascension to the sky (ll. 17-36); Rome's ecumenical dominion (ll. 37-48); the conditions on which Rome's empire will prosper further. The central part is preceded by two strophic couples, respectively on the righteous man (ll. 1-8) with a Stoic colouring, and on Augustus's apotheosis (ll. 9-16), and it is followed by a final strophe containing a *recusatio* (ll. 69-72). Here are the quoted lines:

Iustum et tenacem propositi virum
non civium ardor prava iubentium,
non voltus instantis tyranni
mente quatit solida neque Auster,

dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae,
nec fulminantis magna Iovis manus:
si fractus inlabatur orbis,
inpavidum ferient ruinae.

Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
innixus arces attigit igneas,
quos inter augustus recumbens
purpureo bibet ore nectar.

The passion of the public, demanding what
is wrong, never shakes the man of just and firm
intention, from his settled purpose,
nor the tyrant's threatening face, nor the winds,

the stormy masters of the troubled Adriatic,
nor Jupiter's mighty hand with its lightning:

if the heavens fractured in their fall,
still their ruin would strike him, unafraid.

By these means Pollux, and wandering Hercules,
in their effort, reached the fiery citadels,
where Augustus shall recline one day,
drinking nectar to stain his rosy lips.

It is precisely the depiction of the righteous man, whose steadfastness cannot be broken either by men (the people, the tyrant), or by natural and supernatural forces (the wind, Jupiter's force) that appealed to the ethically-didactic stance of Mohylanian teachers of poetics and rhetoric. The reference to justice links this ode to the preceding one, the central theme of which is *virtus*: indeed, justice is the utmost virtue; as to the man of the first stanza, Horace probably alludes to Socrates, who refused to commit the unjust deeds required of him by a people's regime and the thirty tyrants. The Stoic image of the wise man's imperturbability when threatened by tyrants as well as his certainty amidst a collapsing world probably hints at Cato. In ll. 9-12 Horace resumes the eschatological theme of the preceding ode, and presents a review of heroes who have been deified thanks to their virtue: Pollux, one of the Dioscurs, who according to tradition was a model of virtue, justice and *pietas*; Heracles, who represented not only the man able to endure any labour, but also epitomized the struggle against tyrants; and finally Augustus, whose apotheosis had been affirmed by the new constitutional order of 27 B.C.[20]

The popularity of the initial lines of this ode among Moylanian lecturers is testified by the frequency with which they are quoted, particularly in the section on lyric poetry (by the authors of *Cunae Bethleemicae* and *Rosa inter spinas*), or as an example of *amplificatio* (in the course *Idea artis poeticae*), or as an example of *carmen polycolon* (which is constituted by more than one species of verse or metrical pattern) in *Parnassus*. And thus these lines lent themselves to being used as an example of more than one precept of poetics, in addition to being taken as an illustration of the steadfastness of righteous men.

A different Roman ode is chosen by the author of *Via lactea*: he exemplifies the Alcaic metrical system by quoting Horace's *Carm*. III, 1, 1-8, which he defines as follows: "Exemplum sit ex Horatio libro tertio oda prima in qua dicit non odibus [sic!][21] aut honoribus, sed animi tranquillitate vitam beatam effici" ("As an example may it be the first ode of the third book of Horace, in which he says that a happy life can be accomplished not by riches and honours but by the tranquility of the soul"). Indeed, the core of this ode, which has both an ethical and a political import, is the theme of luxury and the fear of death that is strictly linked to it, since according to Epicurean morals, such fear leads to ambition and greed. In tackling these themes, Horace recalls traditional Roman attitudes that were also at the basis of Augustan ideology; and thus, he gives Epicurean

[20] Cf. Nisbet, Rudd 2004: 41-42.
[21] Probably a *lapsus calami* for "opibus".

motifs a political resonance, since they assume a particular value in the light of Augustus's program of ethical re-foundation of *res publica*. However, the first two stanzas have both a different tone and content, and for the sublimity of their style they differ from the rest of the ode, which appears as a gnomic reflection on themes of private ethics. Probably the author quoted them in order to refer his pupils to the whole ode. Here they are:

> Odi profanum volgus et arceo.
> Favete linguis: carmina non prius
> audita Musarum sacerdos
> virginibus puerisque canto.
> Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
> reges in ipsos imperium est Iovis,
> clari Giganteo triumpho,
> cuncta supercilio moventis.
>
> I hate the vulgar crowd, and keep them away:
> grant me your silence. A priest of the Muses,
> I sing a song never heard before,
> I sing a song for young women and boys.
> The power of dread kings over their peoples,
> is the power Jove has over those kings themselves,
> famed for his defeat of the Giants,
> controlling all with a nod of his head.

In the first stanza Horace uses a variation on a sacred formula with a sacral-mysteric language to frame the image of the poet-*vates* who has been invested with his mission by the Muses (according to a tradition that harks back to Hesiod). As to the words "carmina non prius / audita", they refer to the Roman odes in general, in that this ode is the first of the cycle and has the function of a proemium. Moreover, as Nisbet and Rudd stress, "in the religious context *carmina* suggests sacred chants, and the assonance of *carmina … canto* suits the sacral style", and "sacerdos […] emphasizes the authority and dignity of the poet's pronouncements" (Nisbet, Rudd 2004: 7-8). Also the fact that Horace is addressing himself to young girls and boys is not only due to their aptness to receive a new discourse and to carry out the moral and political renewal that the Roman odes want to promote, but needs to be seen also in the context of a cult. The second stanza marks the beginning of the gnomic reflection, full of literary echoes (cf. Orazio Flacco 1991, I/2: 724-725): Horace states that even the feared kings have to submit to the power of Jupiter, who rules over everything. The sense is that no mortal can escape fear, since for everybody there is someone to fear, so even the rich and the powerful have to submit to the laws of the universe.

Other examples of the exemplification of the Alcaic metrical pattern remind us once again of the Christian character of the teaching of poetics, as well as of all other subjects at the KMA. Lavrentii Horka, author of *Idea artis poeticae*,

chooses a very curious way to exemplify the *carmen horatianum*. At first he selects the first stanza of Horace's *Carm*. I, 35, which is a hymn and a prayer to the goddess Fortune together with Faith, Hope and Necessity, asking her to assist Augustus in his impending campaign against the Britons[22]. Cf. *Carm*. I, 35, 1-4:

> O diva, gratum quae regis Antium,
> praesens vel imo tollere de gradu
> mortale corpus vel superbos
> vertere funeribus triumphos
>
> O goddess, who rules our lovely Antium,
> always ready to lift up our mortal selves,
> from humble position, or alter
> proud triumphs to funeral processions

The first stanza has been picked by the author very attentively: indeed, apart from the specification "gratum quae regis Antium", it could easily be the *incipit* of a prayer to the Virgin Mary. Horace conveys the topical motif of the unpredictability and violence of Fortune's changes. In the image of the goddess's power to lift up mortals from humble positions, critics see a clear allusion to Servius Tullius, the son of a slave who became king of Rome and the founder of many of the Fortuna cults. On the other hand, in the image of the goddess's power to transform proud triumphs into funeral rites, critics see a reference to the two sons of Aemilius Paulus, who died precisely during the celebration of the latter's triumph over Perses. Indeed, the image of the goddess who is able to lift up the humble and to overthrow the powerful from their positions very closely reminds us of the canticle from the first chapter of the Gospel according to Luke, in which the Virgin Mary praises and gives thanks to God because he has freed His people, better known as the *Magnificat* (Luke 1, 46-55).

Right after these lines come another three Alcaic stanzas that constitute the paraphrase of verses 21-23 of *Psalm* 49 (50) by the Scottish poet George Buchanan. The latter (1506-1582) is considered the 'father' of the Baroque variant of parodic imitation of Horatian lyric. He is the author, among others, of *Paraphrasis Psalmorum*, a work conceived in the Horatian spirit, and in which he uses mostly Horatian meters, the first complete edition of which was published around 1565, and republished many times after that[23]. Ford broadly iden-

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[22] For the chronology of this ode see Nisbet, Hubbard 1989: 387-388.

[23] A selection of the psalm paraphrases had been published in 1556 (see Ford 1982: 77). G. Buchanan's paraphrases of the psalms inspired numerous poets, among whom Jan Kochanowski. For an overview of the influence of Latin poets on Buchanan's paraphrases of the psalms (primarily of Horace and Catullus), see Ford 1982: 76-102. The composition of hymns and other poetical works on Christian topics using Horatian meters, which probably began with the one who is generally considered the first Christian poet, Prudentius (Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, 348-ca. 413), has enjoyed lasting

tifies the three groups of psalms in Buchanan's collection – "those praising God, those outlining the righteous life, and those expressing the particular feelings of the psalmist" (Ford 1982: 82). It is not easy to attribute Psalm 49 (50) to any of these three categories. In fact, in this psalm God is depicted speaking to his people and expressing a judgment on them. In particular, in the lines quoted God is addressing the wicked man, recalling his evil deeds, which contrast starkly with the words that come out of his lips, which proclaim God's decrees and His alliance, but then are not followed by behaviour that complies with God's laws. Quite the contrary. And thus, after having reproached him, God turns to those who behave likewise and urges them to abandon their evil ways and come back to Him, so that they be saved from His wrath. The last verse contains a recollection on the men who are pleasing to God: those who sing his praise and who behave righteously; to them God promises his salvation.

And thus, because of its stress on the contraposition of what is pleasing to God and what is not, Psalm 49 (50) may be said to be closer to the second category identified by Ford. And thus, through the mouth of the psalmist and the pen of Buchanan, Lavrentii Horka reminds his pupils of the conduct they should follow to be true Christians and to pursue the road to salvation.

The quoted lines of Buchanan's paraphrase are preceded by the writing "Item Psal 50" ("Similarly Psalm 50"), which indicate that Horace's *Carm*. I, 35, 1-4 and the paraphrase of verses 21-23 of *Psalm* 49 (50) are not to be considered as a whole text. Here are the quoted stanzas of the Psalm:

> Item Psal 50
>
> Et arbitraris me similem tui,
> quod perpetrata haec dissimulaverim?
> Ne crede: tecum expostulabo,
> ante oculos tua facta ponam.
>
> Considerate haec, vos quibus excidit
> de mente caeca mentio Numinis:
> ne, quum praehendam, nemo sit qui
> de manibus mihi praensa tollat.
>
> Si victimam vis magnificam mihi
> mactare, laudes canta, age gratias.
> Hac itur ad certam salutem
> haec superos via pandit axes.
>
> And you have considered me to be like you
> for I have concealed the accomplishment of such things.
> do not believe: I will demand you;
> before [my] eyes I will place your actions.

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fortune throughout the centuries. For a synthetic overview of the 'Christian' reception of Horace, cf. Harrison 2007, chapters 20-21, and also Ijsewijn, Sacré 1990: 86-91, and Ijsewijn, Sacré 1998: 108-110.

Do consider these things, you from whose blind
mind the mention of the divinity has disappeared
lest, when I will take, there be no one who
may take away from my hands the things I have taken possession of.

If you want to sacrifice for me a sumptuous
victim, sing the praises, give thanks:
through this way one reaches a sure salvation
this way opens the lofty skies.

In order to allow for a comparison let us now look closer at the lines quoted[24]. Buchanan elaborated each verse of the psalm in one stanza. I will quote below the original (from the Latin *Vulgata*) and its remake so as to facilitate a comparison. Cf.:

21 Haec fecisti, et tacui. (*Vulgata*)
Existimasti quod eram tui similis.
Arguam te et statuam illa contra faciem tuam.

Et arbitraris me similem tui, (Buchanan)
quod perpetrata haec dissimulaverim?
Ne crede: tecum expostulabo,
ante oculos tua facta ponam.

22 Intellegite haec, qui obliviscimini Deum, (*Vulgata*)
ne quando rapiam, et non sit qui eripiat.

Considerate haec, vos quibus excidit (Buchanan)
de mente caeca mentio Numinis:
ne, quum praehendam, nemo sit qui
de manibus mihi praensa tollat.

23 Qui immolabit sacrificium laudis, honorificabit me; (*Vulgata*)
et, qui immaculatus est in via, ostendam illi salutare Dei.

Si victimam vis magnificam mihi (Buchanan)
mactare, laudes canta, age gratias.
Hac itur ad certam salutem
haec superos via pandit axes.

For a comparison, this is the King James Bible version of verses 21-23 of Psalm 50.

21 These things hast thou done, and I kept silence; thou thoughtest that I was altogether such a one as thyself. But I will reprove thee and set them in order before thine eyes.

22 "Now consider this, ye that forget God, lest I tear you in pieces and there be none to deliver:

[24] In the Mohylanian poetics George Buchanan is particularly mentioned for his remake of Psalm 137.

23 Whoso offereth praise glorifieth Me; and to him that ordereth his manner of living aright, I will show the salvation of God."

As we can see, Buchanan is at the same time more descriptive and more explicative than the original, which is to be expected in a paraphrase, as Ford states. And thus, the simple and straightforward "qui obliviscimini Deum" ("ye that forget God") of line 22 has become the much more rhetorically elaborate "vos, quibus excidit de mente caeca mentio Numinis" ("you from whose blind mind the mention of the divinity has disappeared"). Again, the synthetic "et non sit qui eripiat" ("and there be none to deliver") is made thoroughly clear in the sentence "nemo sit qui de manibus mihi praensa tollat" ("there be no one who may take away from my hands [the things] I have taken possession of"). *Amplificatio* is used by Buchanan to make verse 23 more explicit too: the conciseness and the semantic incisiveness of the expression "Qui immolabit sacrificium laudis", in which the matching of "sacrificium" and "laudis" aptly conveys the positivity of the sacrifice, is 'diluted' and made personal by the imperatives "Laudes canta, age gratias". At the same time, the meaning expressed by the verb "honorificabit me" is amplified in the explicative locution "Si victimam vis magnificam mihi mactare" where the positive effect of the sacrifice is conveyed by the adjective *magnificam*; however, at the same time, the adjective *immaculatus* following right after, remains unexpressed in Buchanan's remake.

3. *The minor Sapphic Metrical System: Exemplifications*

After the Alcaic stanza, the second most exemplified metrical system in the Mohylanian poetics is the minor Sapphic strophe. The numerous odes (25) that Horace wrote using this metrical system offered a good variety of lines that could be quoted to illustrate it. Among them, *Carm*. I, 22 was the most popular. And thus, the author of *Tabulae praeceptorum poeseos*… chooses the first stanza (lines 1-4) of Horace's *Carm*. I, 22 to illustrate the minor Sapphic strophe, seemingly with moralizing intents. Cf.:

> Integer vitae scelerisque purus
> non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu
> nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
> Fusce, pharetra
>
> The man who is pure of life, and free of sin,
> has no need, dear Fuscus, for Moorish javelins,
> nor a bow and a quiver, fully loaded
> with poisoned arrows

The same lines are quoted to exemplify the minor Sapphic strophe by the authors of *Idea artis poeticae*, *Libri tres de arte poetica*, and by Sylvestr Dobry-

na, author of *Liber de arte poetica*. The main motif of this ode, i.e. the protection from dangers that the uncorrupted man enjoys, was evidently particularly dear to the mindset of Mohylanian poetics teachers. This ode, and particularly its first stanza, is quoted by some Mohylanian poetics teachers in the section on lyric poetry more than once in different functions.

The author of *Idea artis poeticae*, however, after having quoted Horace's aforementioned lines adds to them a strophe from the elaboration of Psalm 5 by George Buchanan. Of the three groups of psalms that Ford broadly singles out in Buchanan's collection, which I mentioned above, – those praising God, those outlining the righteous life, and those expressing the particular feelings of the psalmist, Psalm 5 seems to mix features of all three, although it particularly leans toward the third category. The lines quoted (33-36), which elaborate verses 10 and 11 of the psalm, appear as an appeal that a Christian "integer vitae scelerisque purus", who does not need poisoned arrows, turns to God, asking Him to be protected from evil men, and to do justice and destroy those who commit evil. Cf.:

> Lingua adulatrix tacito veneno
> blandiens, caecos meditatur ictus.
> O Deus, rerum o Pater alme, gentem
> perde nefandam.
>
> The flattering tongue with silent poison
> by alluring, meditates obscure blows
> o God, o great father of things, destroy
> impious people.

Sylvestr Dobryna proceeds in a similar way in his course *Liber de arte poetica*. After having quoted Horace's *Carm*. I, 22, 1-4, he adds a poem consisting of six minor Sapphic strophes, built on the sentence "boni moriuntur laeti" ("good men die happy"), which he defines as an imitation of Horace's quoted verse lines. Of course, basically all authors who quote *Carm*. I, 22 limit themselves to the first stanza: in fact, the rest of the poem takes a different way from the 'moralizing' incipit, and from the third stanza it becomes personal, a declaration of self-sufficiency and of love toward his Lalage, a fictional character. And thus the poem by Sylvestr Dobryna, just like the quotation of the elaboration of Psalm 5 by Buchanan, necessarily has to take as its starting point only the first stanza of *Carm*. I, 22. The author does not specify who the author of the poem is, and so we may assume that it is his own. Here it is:

Qui fuit cultor pietatis almae non sibi visit placidis sed astris namque per spinas ibat ad illam.	He who was a worshiper of the propitious piety did not look at himself but at the placid stars and indeed he was going toward it through thorns.
Triste non vitae miserae periculum, nec dolor carnis tremefecit illum, ipsa nec turpis tremebunda saevae mortis imago.	Not the sad danger of a miserable life, nor the pain of the flesh caused him to tremble, nor the very repulsive trembling image of cruel death.

Totus est laetus moribundus atque suavis aspectû, placidusque vultû: explicat linguâ, licet oris impos verba sonora.	The dying man is all happy and with an agreeable appearance and with a peaceful face: although not in control of his mouth, he expresses with his tongue resounding words.
Quicquid effatur canit triumphans; iam videt caelos patriam futuros sperat aeternum cito ter beatum vivere tempus.	Anything he says, he sings it triumphing; he already sees the skies that will be his homeland he hopes to live soon time eternal three times blessed.
Spiritû gaudet quia vicit hostes carnis et mundi insidias iniqui; salvus ut passer laqueo maligni avolat altum.	He rejoyces in spirit since he defeated the enemy of the flesh and the traps of an unjust world; like a sparrow safe from the snare of the evil one flies away on high.
Spernit atrocis violenta fata mortis, est cuius medijs in umbris clarus ex umbris animivè compos currit ad astrae.	He despises the violent fates of a dreadful death, among whose shades he shines brightly and from the shades, being in control of his soul he runs towards the stars.

Horace's thought, as expressed in the first two stanzas of *Carm*. I, 22, is that the (Stoic) good man, who refrains from committing evil deeds and leads a pure life, does not need to carry weapons to defend himself from the dangers of nature, and thus it is as if he were protected by the gods. However, as is made clear in the following lines, and especially in the last stanza, the *integer vitae* is revealed as his lover, and thus, Horace "is applying to himself, not without amusement, the elegists' commonplace that the lover is a sacred person under divine protection"[25]. A totally different, reversed idea is expressed in the poem quoted: here the man free from sin becomes the incarnation of the true Christian, the one who has overcome the temptation of flesh and has embraced the cross and therefore is not afraid of suffering, nor of corporal death. Such a man has his eyes fixed on life after death and hopes in the resurrection of the body and in life everlasting. And thus our poem definitely moves away from the affirmation of the joys of love in Horace's last stanza (cf. ll 23-24: "dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo / dulce loquentem" – "I'll still be in love with my sweetly laughing, / sweet talking Lalage")[26].

4. *School Exercises with Horatian Meters*

Finally, imitation of Horace takes the form of school exercises written using the Greek lyric measures that Horace introduced into Latin poetry, in the first

[25] Nisbet, Hubbard 1989: 262.

[26] As stated in Nisbet, Hubbard 1989: 263, although in other places Horace claims to enjoy special protection, which might hark back to the ancient idea that poets were sacred, and affirms the happiness and security that poetry gave him, here he alludes to love poetry and in the last two lines emphasis is rather on love than on poetry.

place the Alcaic stanza. Although this type of exercise was already mentioned in the course *Rosa inter spinas*[27], it is mainly after the appearance of Prokopovyč's course *De arte poetica libri tres*, which contains a detailed chapter on the different types of linguistic-literary exercises, that Mohylanian authors introduce this section into their courses more often, particularly following Prokopovyč's exercises, and at times introducing their own[28]. The exercises that Prokopovyč proposed to his students resembled very closely those propounded by the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*, the study plan that regulated the pedagogical and didactic work of the Jesuits, on whose school system the curriculum of the KMA was modeled[29]. They are well exemplified by the chapter on poetical exercises (chapter 9 in the first book) of *Poeticarum Institutionum Libri Tres* (Ingolstadt 1594), by the Jesuit Jacobus Pontanus (Jakob Spanmüller), one of the most influential Latin theories of poetry in the sixteenth century. Pontanus's manual is followed by the *Tirocinium poeticum*, which contains an abundance of poetic examples from various genres[30].

As an example of the rewriting of a poetical composition using a different meter, Prokopovyč rewrites lines 4-6 of Catullus's ode V on the temporality of human life: at first he uses the Sapphic stanza and then the Horatian (Alcaic) stanza, and finally elaborates the same idea and expresses it in 12 lines instead of the three of the original, this time using the same Phalaecean verse as Catullus. As to this type of use of Horace's meters, which I illustrate here, they neither constitute a paraphrase of the contents of a particular Horatian ode, nor do they take one or more lines by Horace as their starting point. They are school exercises, linked to Horace only in the use of 'his' lyric meters. And thus, their interest resides mainly in showing us the types of exercise the pupils were engaged in.

The first example is found in the manuscript with call number 509 II / 1718 (t. III). The manuscript opens with the title *Carmina lyrica per omnia genera ab Horatio usurpata* ("Lyric poems of all genres usurped from Horace"), which however promises more than it delivers. Indeed, the poems are only three. The *genus* of the title refers to the different metrical systems, which were one of the criteria according to which poetry was classified. And thus the adjective "horatiana" refers to the different meters used by Horace and introduced by him into Latin poetry. All of the poems are of a religious character and revolve around

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[27] Call number 665 / 456 C.; in the section *De medijs comparandae poeseos* the author, among the different types of imitation, lists the remaking of a poem by using a different meter, and as one of the examples of this exercise adduces Statius's remake of ll. 9-14 of Horace's *Carm*. I, 3 using the hexameter.

[28] The exercises presented by Prokopovyč concerned different means of poetical expression and imitation: among them synonymy, which was followed by the paraphrase of a poetical text by using a different meter, translation exercises, exercises of exposition of the same content in a more extended or more concise way; finally exercises on how to convert a poetical text into prose.

[29] Its full title is *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu*.

[30] It consists of two books of elegies, one of epitaphs, two books of miscellaneous poems, and the plays *Immolatio Isaac* and *Stratocles sive bellum*.

the birth of Christ, as indicated by the subtitle *De Natali Christi Domini* ("On the birth of Christ the Lord"). The poems deal with three moments of Christ's birth, respectively with the song of the angels, the apparition of the star and the parturition of the Virgin. Christian themes in Neo-Latin poetry, first and foremost the life of Christ, were so popular that it is virtually impossible to find a definite source for these poems[31]. The episodes of the first two poems are narrated respectively in the Gospel according to Luke, and in the Gospel according to Matthew.

Here is the first, written in the first Asclepiadean meter (minor Asclepiadeans):

1
De Angelorum cantu.
Asclepiadea.

Ad Cunas Domini dulcisoni melos
custodes Genii dant modulamina
pastores veluti pervigiles gregis.
Grex illis, Deus est Agnus, ovis Parens.
Flentem sic Genii vociferi vocant
his ex tristitiis astra petat retro.
An quod Pastor adest fistula fors opus
caelos voce replent fistula ceu Geni.
Nunc in carne colit tactibus Angelus
tactus carnis erit passio post brevi.
E caelis Dominus strata solo via
monstrant tactibus id cum Genii canunt.

1
On the Angels' song
Asclepiadeans

At the cradle of the Lord the sweet sounding
guardian angels offer songs, melodies
as pastors who keep watch over the flock.
For them the flock is God, the Lamb is the Father of the sheep.
Thus the guardian angels with a loud voice call to him who is crying,
so that from these sad things he may rise again to the stars.
Maybe because there is the shepherd, a reed is needed
the guardian angels fill the skies with [their] voice as with a reed.
Now the angel adores in flesh with touches,
the touch of the flesh shortly after will be the passion.
From heaven the Lord is the way laid out for the earth,
the guardian angels show this to the touch, when they sing.

[31] Frequently quoted among the religious poetry on Christ's birth in Kyivan poetics, was Jacopo Sannazaro's epic poem *De partu virginis*. Other authors, whose religious poetry was certainly known were J. Balde and of course Sarbiewski. The birth of Christ was the topic of many examples of orations. On the diffusion and popularity of religious poetry in Poland and its European context, see Urbański 2006.

The episode of the apparition of an angel (followed by the heavenly host) announcing the birth of the Messiah to the shepherds who were keeping watch over their flock is narrated in the Gospel according to Luke (chapter 2). Here, the poetical elaboration of this theme is a school exercise built according to definite rhetorical strategies, the goal of which is to challenge the reader's intellect. This is done mainly with the construction of *acumen* (conceit) and the use of figures of word and of thought, which according to Sarbiewski we should call *argutiae*[32]. While generally the *acumen* was recommended in the conclusion (*clausula*) of the epigram, some authors call it the soul of poetry and attribute to it the function *of delectare*[33]. This opinion was evidently shared by our author too.

The main simile is that between the angels and the pastors: while the pastors keep watch over an earthly flock, for the angels the flock consists of the son of God, who is the lamb. Thus, line 4 contains an *acumen* that plays with the polysemy of the metaphors of the lamb and the shepherd in the Bible. On the one hand, since it was the shepherds who found Jesus, he is a lamb[34]; however, being God, he is also the 'father' of the sheep, the shepherd of the people (cf. Psalm 23). The poem is also built around a few words, repeated through the figure of polyptoton: besides the flock, they are touch (*tactus*) and flesh (*caro*); their material nature contrasts with the immateriality of the dominant motif run-

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[32] In his tract *De acuto et arguto* Sarbiewski provides a list of the traditional classifications of the forms of *acumen* and *argutia* and proposes his own definition, which aims at originally reintepreting the precepts of rhetoric manuals. For Sarbiewski *acumen* is a sort of faculty of the mind that is able to create, through a *discors concordia* or a *concors discordia* a conceptual contradiction that delights subtle intellects. On its part, in Sarbiewski's conception *argutia* is a simple verbal ornament of the *acumen*, cf.: "And thus *argutia* will not be entirely the same thing as *acumen*, but [it is] a decoration and almost a sort of garment of the *acumen*" ("Atque ita non ipsum omnino argutia acumen erit, sed ornamentum et quaedam quasi vestis acuminis"; Sarbiewski 1958: 30). Most Mohylanian authors do not make a distinction between *acumen* and *argutia*, although Sarbiewski's distinction is probably reflected in their differentiation between *acumen in verbis* (when two similar words have an opposed meaning) and *acumen in sensu* (a play of concepts, when from the previous exposition a *ratio ingeniosa* is derived unexpectedly or against the reader's (listener's) expectation). However, the notion of *argutia* in Sarbiewski is much more than a simple *acumen in verbis*, in that he lists, explains, and provides examples for thirteen "ways to find *argutias*, which consist in a play of words" ("modi inveniendi argutias, quae in lusu verborum consistunt" (*ibidem*: 32).

[33] Thus, for instance the author of *Parnassus* (call number ДС / П 252, f. 9 v.) speaks about *acumen*: "The poet delights then when he adds to his verses *acumen* or an ingeniuous conceit, which is the soul of poetry" ("Delectat poeta tunc cum adhibet suis versibus acumen vel conceptum ingeniosum qui est anima poeticae"). The same definition with slight variations is found in *Officina artis poeticae* and in *Hortus poeticus* by Mytrofan Dovhalevs'kyj.

[34] Cf. also the prefiguration of Jesus as the sacrificial lamb in Isaiah 53:7: "He was treated harshly and afflicted, / but he did not even open his mouth. / Like a lamb led to the slaughtering block, / like a sheep silent before her shearers, / he did not even open his mouth."

ning through the poem, that of sound. The latter takes the form of both spoken voices, singing and musical instruments. Thus "custodes genii [...] dant modulamina dulcisoni melos"; then "flentem [...] vociferi vocant" (the loud voice is stressed here by the alliteration), where "flentem" also evokes an acoustic impression. Further on the sound is evoked in the image of the "fistula" (reed or shepherd's pipe) which, matched with the angels' voices, fills the skies. The metaphor of the lamb implicitly reappears in line 10, which alludes to Jesus Christ's passion. Finally, the metaphor of the way prepared from heaven for the (inhabitants of the) earth unites the divine and the human nature of Jesus.

The following poem is centered around the miraculous apparition of the star (narrated in Matthew, chapter 2) that leads the wise men to the place where Jesus was born so that they may worship him. In this poem the author uses a different Horatian meter, the minor Sapphic. Here it is:

2
De Apparitione Stellae.
Saphica [sic!].

Dum velut calcar stimulans, polorum
cernimus stellas radiis micantes;
calcar ad Christum stimulans dicatum
regibus astrum.
Natus in terrâ Deus en supremus
astra cui servi radiis corusca
en velut servus sequitur per oras
stella supremum.
Nemo supremum venerans polorum
lampadem succendit agendo grates;
ergo de caelis datur ut lucerna
stella corusca.

2
On the apparition of the star
Sapphics

While, as an inciting spur, we examine
the stars of the skies that twinkle with [their] rays,
a spur inciting toward Christ, is a star
dedicated to the kings.
Behold is born on earth the greatest God,
whom the lightening stars with [their] rays serve,
behold, as if a servant the star follows through
the regions the greatest God.
No one who venerates the greatest of heaven
sets a lamp on fire giving thanks;
therefore from the skies is given as a lamp
a lightening star.

In this poem the dominant image is that of light, and it is expressed by the words "stella" ("astrum"), "lampas", "lucerna". The metaphor of light, applied to Jesus Christ is the central trope in the gospels, cf., for instance John, 8:12, where Jesus declares: "I am the light of the world; he who follows me will not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life". In turn, the star is then metaphorized and materialized: in the first quatrain it is a "calcar stimulans ad Christum", particularly dedicated to the wise men ("regibus"); in the second stanza, it is a servant of God, who faithfully follows Him. Finally it is a lamp, called from on high to lighten the greatest of heaven, and the source of life; indeed, the centrality of the image of the star is evidenced also by the fact that the final line of each stanza contains the word "stella" or "astrum". In this poem, as in the previous one, different figures of repetition are used to stress the key concepts: cf. "calcar stimulans", "calcar ad Christum stimulans" (with *amplificatio*), "servus", "servi", "supremus", "supremum". At the same time the contrast and the movement earth/sky and vice versa (and by implication human/divine) runs through the poem: in the first stanza the action of the humans ("cernimus") is directed first from the earth to the sky, and then from the skies to the earth ("astrum [...] regibus dicatum"). In the second stanza Jesus Christ unites in himself both earth and sky (heaven), in that he is God in human flesh. And thus the One who belongs to the heavens is on earth, while his servant (the star) is in the sky. Finally, because those who venerate Christ on earth do not ignite a lamp to give thanks, the light is given from on high.

Finally, the third poem is written in the first Asclepiadean strophe, in which the Glyconic verse alternates with the minor Asclepiadean. Although it is titled *De partu virgineo* ("On the Virgin's delivery"), it is mostly a collection of tropes that play with the divine and human nature of Jesus Christ and of his mother the Virgin Mary. Here it is:

3
De Partu Virgineo.
Gliconica mixta cum Asclepiadeis.

Caelum Virgo Deîpara
IESVS est Phaeton Justitiae Sacrae
in Caelo velut ortus hic
in Sacra Mariâ Criminis inscia.
Virgo, Soles, Parens Sacra
verum Sole Deo tecta reviseris
qui tunc vestis erat tibi
cunis carne simul vestis eum modo.

3
On the Virgin's Delivery
Glyconics mixed with Asclepiadeans

You are the heaven, Virgin God-Bearer
Jesus is the Phaethon of Divine justice,

as if born in the sky is this one,
in the holy Mary who did not know sin.
Virgin, days of sunlight, holy parent
in truth you will be seen again covered by God, who is the sun;
he who was then your cloth
now you clothe him in flesh in the cradle.

The poem is very skillfully constructed with a series of traditional Christian metaphors identifying the Virgin Mary with the sky (heaven) and Jesus with the sun. Here too, the motif of light runs throughout the poem. The identification of Jesus as the Sun of righteousness was mainly derived from the prophecy in Malachi 4: 2: "But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings". The theme of Jesus as the Sun of God, the Light of the World, is elaborated in the first chapter of the Gospel according to John: "In the beginning was the Word [...] All that came to be had life in him and that life was the light of men, a light that shines in the dark [...] The Word was the true light... ". Jesus as the Light of the World is further spoken of in John 8:12, 9:5, and 12:46. From the earliest Christian times, Jesus was identified as the Sun of God, the Christianized Sun god, Phoebus/Apollo[35]. Here, however, Jesus is called with an antonomasia "Phaeton of holy righteousness", i.e. with the name of the son of the sun, probably to stress his being the son of God and at the same time the son of Mary in the flesh. Indeed, if Mary is identified with heaven, Jesus, her son, comes from heaven as well and thus has a truly divine nature.

The motifs of light and the union of divine and human nature in Mary and Jesus, i.e. of material and immaterial are elaborated on in the second part of the poem. Line six alludes to the motif of the woman clothed with the sun in *Revelation* 18, traditionally identified with the Virgin Mary[36]. It is followed in the last two lines by a conceit, constructed with a polyptoton (*vestis...vestis*): while Jesus, God the sun, was Mary's garment, now in the flesh he is clothed by her.

5. *Conclusions*

The poetical examples illustrated here, which Mohylanian poetics teachers present their pupils in order to practically illustrate single metrical lines and metrical systems (among which I have particularly dwelt on the Sapphic and Al-

[35] Cf. also the mosaic of the Vatican grottoes under St. Peter's Basilica (third century AD), on the ceiling of the tomb of the Julii (Pope Julius I), where Jesus Christ is represented as the sun-god Helios or Sol Invictus riding his chariot.

[36] The author probably knew Stefan Javors'kyj's poem "Ты облеченна в солнце, Дево Богомати," constructed on the contraposition of the author's sinful human nature, and the overwhelming holiness and splendour of the Virgin Mary, where, among other appellations, she is called "raj". It is also possible that the name *Virgo Deipara* for Mary was suggested to our author by Javors'kyj's poem.

caic stanzas, which are the most widely exemplified and used, together with the dactylic hexameter, in the Mohylanian poetics and in contemporary Ukrainian Neo-Latin poetry) allow us to draw some conclusions.

The selective approach of poetics lecturers to Horace's and his imitators' poetry reflects the conception of poetry that they instilled into their pupils: poetry was called upon first of all to form and educate devout Christians, to imbue them with moral values, such as disdain for material goods and riches, the cultivation of virtue, love and care for one's neighbours and so on. Therefore, what we could call the aesthetic purpose of poetry was totally subordinate to its moral end. In poetry so conceived there could be no room for our contemporary conception of the poet's inner emotions and feelings, and to it are inapplicable the categories of 'originality' or 'sincerity' in our understanding of them. The poet's feelings were 'acceptable', so to say, insomuch as they were the expression of those virtues or, as in the case of panegyric poetry, the expression of admiration for characters who embodied those virtues in an excellent way and were therefore proposed to the budding poets as models to be imitated. This approach will also emerge in the treatment of lyric poetry.

The true nature of the poet therefore revealed itself first of all in his ability to creatively imitate one or more chosen models. Indeed, *imitatio auctorum* was one of the four indispensable elements for composing 'good' poetry, and it was one of the ways in which aspiring poets could carry out *exercitatio*, which was another of the four elements for making a good poet, a fundamental one indeed[37]. The choice of Horace and of his Christian 'interpreters', 'emulators', admirers was a natural one. Many reasons contributed to this choice, besides the fact that Horace's poetry constituted a model of lyric meters. Here, L.P. Wilkinson's considerations on Horace's lyrics are very helpful (see Wilkinson 1980: 123; Buszewicz 2006: 34-35). In the first place, what certainly attracted Mohylanian poetics teachers is the fact that Horace's poetry is not 'lyric' in the common comprehension of this word, which refers directly to the sphere of feelings; indeed, Horace's lyrics are poetry of thought, that spring from reflections rather than from direct emotions. This fact is also connected to the rhetorical orientation of Horace's diction, which is often addressed to a certain "you" and takes the tone of an admonition-exhortation. Which is exactly what Mohylanian poetics teachers were looking for. What also certainly appealed to them was the fact that the statements in Horace's poetry are often expressed not through elaborate metaphors, but rather with images simply taken from life.

Another feature of the Horatian lyric that certainly attracted Mohylanian instructors was the way it gave natural phenomena a symbolic meaning with reference to human life (cf. for instance *Carm.* I, 4; II, 3; II, 10). Moreover, at times the thoughts concerning human relationships that the poet leaves 'uncompleted' are expressed through the metaphoric representation of nature[38]. Indeed, if we pay

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[37] Cf. Pontanus 1594: 3, to whom Mohylanian authors often refer.

[38] Wilkinson argues his point of view with the analysis of the ode to Dellius (*Carm*. II, 3): the image of the trees intertwined in a hug and of the murmuring brook

attention to the fragments selected by Mohylanian authors in order to exemplify the different metrical systems, we will see that nearly all of them display the aforementioned features. Moreover, Mohylanian authors were also attuned to what Wilkinson defines as the oratorical features of Horace's language, its artistry, which expressed itself in a particular sensitivity "to sounds and rhythms and to the architectural construction of sentences" (Wilkinson 1980: 134).

As to Horace's teaching on the 'amicable' union of *natura* and *ars*, all the courses of poetics with their insistence on constant exercise are a practical demonstration of this necessity.

The other modes of Horatian imitation in Kyiv-Mohylanian poetics entail his Christianization. In particular, the latter takes three forms: parody, the transformation of Horace's lyric in a Christian key, and the use of Horatian meters to compose poems on Christian topics. These three modes are in line with the Christian interpretation/imitation of Horace that began in Western Europe in the first centuries after Christ and continued in different guises well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed, for Jesuit pedagogy, to which education at the KMA harked back, poetry was a veritable 'spiritual exercise', a sort of poetic theology[39]. Horace's poetry for its metrical virtuosity and its brilliant verbal craftsmanship provided an excellent model for the introduction of Christian contents (in the parodies and in quantitative Latin poetry that adopts Horatian meters). On the other hand, many motifs of Horace's poetry could be easily made to coincide with the ethical and religious tenets of education at the KMA: for instance, reflections on the brevity of human life, the impossibility of achieving complete happiness, the avoidance of excesses, contentment with little, love for virtue and the like.

And thus the particular mode of reception of *Latinitas* that took place at the Mohyla Academy passed through the Christianization of 'pagan' classics. The Mohylanian poetics teachers and their pupils asserted their identity by implicitly denying the legitimacy of the pagan pantheon, to which they opposed a Christian one, depositary, together with religious-spiritual values, also of artistic-poetic ones. Further study of Neo-Latin poetry of the Mohylanian circle, especially of those compositions that reflect local history and reality, will probably confirm the particular character of the reception of the Classics in Ukraine and of its specific *Latinitas*. At the same time, it will throw more light on the issue of forging a distinct Ukrainian cultural and national identity, which, as elsewhere, has in great part passed through schooling and literature.

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that tries to rush down from its river-bed, suggests among the 'remedies' for the shortness of life the act of love, although this is not expressed patently in the text. Such a suggestion is clearly visible in the ode to Thaliarchus (I, 9).

[39] Cf. Li Vigni 2005: 28.

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Abstract

Giovanna Siedina

The Teaching of Lyric Meters and the Reception of Horace in Kyiv-Mohylanian Poetics

In this article, by analyzing the use of Horace's poetry in the teaching of metrics provided in the Kyiv Mohylanian poetics, the author shows how Latin poetry was used as a didactic tool to support the education of devout men and loyal citizens.

Siedina particularly dwells on the Sapphic and Alcaic metrical systems, as they were the most widely exemplified in the poetics. Next to the 'simple' quotation of Horace's lyrics, the author individuates other modes of Horatian imitation, all of which entail its Christianization: parodies, following the masterful example of M. K. Sarbiewski, the transformation of Horace's lyric in a Christian key, and the use of Horatian meters to compose poems on Christian topics (particularly appreciated were paraphrases of the psalms by the Scottish poet G. Buchanan). Such a Christianization of Horace and other classical authors was in line with the Christian interpretation/imitation of Horace that had begun in Western Europe in the first centuries after Christ and continued in different guises well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The author observes that many motifs of Horace's poetry could easily be made to coincide with the ethical and religious tenets of education at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy: for instance, reflections on the brevity of human life, the impossibility of achieving complete happiness, the avoidance of excesses, contentment with little, love of virtue and the like. In conclusion, Siedina asserts that the Christianization and moralization of Horace's poetry, next to denying the legitimacy of the pagan pantheon, to which a Christian one was opposed, was a way for people to implicitly assert their own worth and distinct cultural identity, which in early-modern Ukraine, as elsewhere, in great part passed through schooling and literature.

Chancellery Latin in Fifteenth-Sixteenth Century Ukraine

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A key element in the general history of culture is the history of language, which is inseparable from the social, cultural and political life of a nation.

Starting from the end of the fourteenth century a large number of linguistic booklets of the Galician Rus' were written in Latin, which had penetrated here as a language of public life and legislation.

The introduction of Latin was not easy and it took place in stages. Evidence of familiarity with Latin dating from the thirteenth to the first half of the fourteenth centuries has been found in trade, economic and diplomatic exchanges between the courts of the Galician-Volhynian Principality and their western Polish, Hungarian and Czech neighbors. Ethnic blending, mutual support among political elites and frequent blood ties between dynasties also united them. At that time Latin documents were issued by the office of the Galician-Volhynian princes, first addressed mainly to West European countries, and then, probably, for internal circulation as given privileges, drawn up according to the established Latin record of service of similar acts in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland (Kupčyns'kyj 1983: 25-45).

From the mid-fourteenth century, when an almost 50-year struggle for the so-called 'Galician inheritance' began, other ethnic groups of population, with an excellent mastery of Latin, came from Silesia, the German lands, the Kingdom of Hungary and Poland to the territory of the Galician Rus', devastated by wars, laying the foundations of the future multi-ethnic society.

Thus, Latin came to be used in this territory simultaneously in three spheres:

1) municipal and city administration – in the cities that adopted Magdeburg law (the first of the famous deeds of the self-governed municipal communities were drawn up in Latin in Volodymyr [Volynskyi] in 1324 (Jakovenko 1997: 78-88));

2) the Church – when the first Episcopal Catholic eparchy in Rus' was created in L'viv in 1371 (one more eparchy was opened in Peremyšl' in 1375, and later another in L'viv in 1417); at the same time, so-called 'cathedral schools' were set up to train assistants in worship; in the second half of the fifteenth century most of these (in L'viv, Peremyšl', Jaroslav and Krasnostav) obtained the status of school-branches of Cracow University under the joint tutelage of the episcopate and the city council, having expand-

Latinitas *in the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania : Its Impact on the Development of Identities,* edited by Giovanna Siedina, ISBN 978-88-6655-675-6 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-674-9 (print), © 2014 Firenze University Press

ed education up to the 'seven free arts' of Western European secondary schools (Jakovenko 1989: 267-269).

3) among the gentry (i.e. *zemskyi*) and their role in public life – firstly in the form of privileges to the landed estates granted by the royal office in Cracow. After the 1430s, when the crown spread as far as the Rus' lands, Latin also entered the local court and all administrative documentation was henceforth kept in Latin in the administrative centers of the Galician Rus' regions of L'viv, Peremyšl, Sjanoc, Halyč and Xolm. Minutes of the court sessions were drawn up according to the canons of the office work of that time in the so-called "act books" (*libri actorum*); some seven thousand such volumes have been preserved to this day; they record local criminal and civil legal procedures from the middle of the fifteenth to the end of eighteenth century (Kupčyns'kyj 1976: 16).

A remarkable role in spreading the knowledge of Latin was played by Western European printed books which achieved mass circulation in the Galician Rus' at the turn of the sixteenth century and even reached Central Ukraine. For example, as I. Los'kyj says (Los'kyj 1931: 99-104), in the library of the Kyiv Pečersk Monastery alone there remained two late fifteenth century and sixteen early sixteenth century editions.

Another viable way for Ukrainian students to improve their Latin language skills was for them to take study trips to the West (Nud'ha 1968: 315-316). According to Kraków University records, from the year 1400 to 1500 students from Rus' were mainly the sons of townspeople (Jakovenko 1997: 88), therefore they were coming back home as potential teachers, lawyers, clerks in courts, etc. Ukrainian students also appear in German and Italian university records, where they were registered under the names *Ruthenus* (Latin form of the ethnonym "Ruthenian"), *Roxolanus*, *Russicus*.

A comparison between documents written in Old Ukrainian in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries and Polish, Czech, Hungarian and German acts in Latin testifies to the fact that as early as the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, Rus' diplomacy had been influenced by documents compiled in Latin. This was reflected in the wording of regulations, in the structure and style of the record of service, as well as the lexical and grammatical peculiarities of the language in such documents.

Due to parallel usage, Latin and Ukrainian words and word constructions inevitably interacted and that explains why Latin could not avoid being modified by the use of a chain of lexical, morphological and syntactical peculiarities of Ukrainian.

Thus, due to close contact between both official languages (Latin and Ukrainian), and also through the mediation of Polish and Czech, a specific version of medieval chancellery Latin emerged in Ukraine, the study of which is important both for the history of Latin and Ukrainian, and for the development of the theory of bilingualism as a whole.

There is general agreement in contemporary linguistics that contact between languages implies the interaction of two or more languages that influences the structure and lexicon of one or of both of them. Researchers in the field of interlinguistics suggest different classifications of the types of linguistic contact depending on which aspects are emphasized in the process of the linguistic interaction: reasons, mechanisms or consequences. The study of the court clerks' Ukrainian-Latin bilingualism in Ukraine in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries is based on the classification of the linguistic interaction types, suggested by S.V. Semčyns'kyj in his monograph *Semantic Linguistic Interference* (Semčyns'kyj 1974).

In Ukrainian and foreign linguistics, numerous research projects have been devoted to the study of Ukrainian-Latin linguistic interaction. However, the central problem of these linguistic works is the lexicological analysis of Latin, namely detecting the ways in which loanwords penetrate the recipient language, determining the functions of the intermediary language (Czech, Polish and German) and establishing the historical sources. In particular, the lexical peculiarities of chancellery Latin were examined in the works of such historians and linguists as A. Gurevič (1975), N. Bezborod'ko (1972), (Bezborod'ko 1978), O. Kupčyns'kyj (1983, 1976), F. Luc'ka-Lytvyak (1960), V. Pašuto (1950), O. Sadov (1917, 1914), N. Jakovenko (1995, 1983). These works examine the ways in which the Latin lexicon adapted to the conditions of the local social ways of life. They reveal that the most characteristic feature of a local version of chancellery Latin was its saturation with elements of the national language (Bezborod'ko 1972: 32). Under the influence of Ukrainian, Ukrainian chancellery Latin interpreted the ancient language material in a new fashion, without creating new grammar categories, but changing the vocabulary, which reflected the need to express society's new life styles.

At the same time, disparity and instability of terminologies (in the names of professions, occupations, etc.) typical of Medieval Latin vocabulary were observed by N. Korž (1960: 16).

In the study of the semantic composition of the social and political vocabulary being used in chancellery Latin in Ukraine, the observations of a well-known Ukrainian historian, N. Jakovenko, are pertinent here. The scholar composed a Latin-Ukrainian terminological dictionary with social and political vocabulary on the materials of fifteenth-sixteenth centuries Latin acts of Ukrainian origin, and also statutory documents and legal Statutes of the Rzeczpospolita. N. Jakovenko is convinced that most Ukrainian analogues of these terms were borrowed from the linguistic practice of the institutions of the Great Lithuanian Principality (Jakovenko 1995: 85-89).

Since Medieval Latin fulfilled numerous functions in church and religious, scientific, social and political usage, it had a great number of variations. The general consensus is that Medieval Latin was based on Late Classical Latin, and especially on the language of Biblical legends and theological treatises of that period. According to Lehmann, this language was endowed with a sort of "Greek and Eastern luster" (Lehmann 1911: 45).

It is also worth underlining that, of all languages known to us, only Latin widely functioned without any native speaker in the Middle Ages and in Modern Times (Hensers'kyj 1957: 28). As A. Meillet put it (Meillet 1928: 5): precisely because the Latin of the Middle Ages was not a stable unity, it was mastered by studying Late Latin grammar and by imitating Classical authors. The absence of a living linguistic community showed that the continuity of perception and conception, on the basis of which language develops naturally, was becoming lost.

An analysis of the linguistic and cultural situation of that time allows Medieval Latin to be qualified as a virtual entirety. However, though the Latin of the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries did not have any language community, it had all the dynamics of a living language: sound changes, new words, loanwords and assimilation of materials belonging to another language, as well as changes in meanings. Most of these phenomena harked back to late antiquity, to popular Latin, Late Latin and Liturgical Latin.

This observation is reinforced by the fact that any document or any court record in Latin was the result of transposition, any modern historian or philologist wishing to understand the content of the text, should translate it again, but in the opposite direction, that is from Latin into the author's native language. Indeed, Medieval business Latin expressions and formulas were closer to the modern lexicon than the dialecticisms of the Roman languages. From the linguistic point of view, according to A. Gurevič (1975: 30-74), it is easier to translate the Latin texts of this period into modern languages, than the texts written in national dialects. But this relative ease can be misleading, since this is just a literal translation, not a translation of the meaning; therefore it is important to look for the thought hidden behind the linguistic expression, i.e. to move from the plan of expression to the plan of content.

On the other hand, Medieval Latin was a logical continuation of Classical Latin, which did not constitute a unity either because of the peculiarities of its reception in different countries: for instance, you cannot transfer the Latin that functioned in France to the territory of Hungary, Poland or Ukraine, especially in the period when it gradually transformed from the language of the Catholic Church to the language of jurisprudence, universities and diplomacy. Under such premises, a certain mastery of Latin grammatical norms, depending on both personal skills and on cultural circumstances in general, played a significant role.

As to the Ukrainian version of Medieval Latin, a Slavic influence is clearly detectable, probably through the intermediacy of the Polish and Czech languages.

In that historical period, Old Ukrainian (the Eastern Slavic – or 'vernacular', which had been used in chancellery since Kyivan Rus') had not developed sufficiently to oppose the authority of Latin. However, like any living language, it was able to breathe new life into constant forms of Latin morphology and syntax. First of all, discrepancies in the way Latin was used were determined by how well it was understood. This resulted in a saturation of barbarisms on the one hand, and, on the other, a blind imitation of high Latin examples in the way the Ukrainian variant of Latin was used. But in both cases

the continuous influence of the native language (Ukrainian or Polish) manifested itself to a certain extent, even if the average clerk's knowledge of Latin was quite satisfactory.

Before the death of king Władysław Jagiełło in 1434, the Galician Rus' was not considered a province of Poland, but only a personal domain of the king; the Yedlynskyi Charter of 1430 initiated the change of its status from former principality to province; however, the change was finally completed by king Władysław III, a son of Jagailo, already in 1434. At the beginning of his reign, from 1434 to 1435, the so-called "crown right" was extended to the territory of Galician Rus', and consequently the local boyars and knights were given equal rights to the gentry of the state's other provinces. The most important privilege that came with these rights was that the local gentry (*zemskyi*) were entitled to self-government. At the same time, elective *zemskyi* courts were set up and regular assemblies of the gentry, called *sejmiki*, began to be held. In such assemblies, local problems were settled and the envoys in charge of defending regional interests were elected to the general *Sejm* (Jakovenko 1997: 78-80). The gentry living in a particular territorial unit (lat. *terra*), were considered a self-governing unit. Afterwards, according to the ancient traditions of the Galician Rus' (henceforth – Rus' province) the lands of L'viv, Peremyšl, Sjanoc, Halyč and Xolm had separated from it.

Thus, as in other provinces of the Polish Crown, two kinds of courts were set up on Ukrainian territory: 1) the self-governing *zemskyi* court that settled civil disputes amongst the landed gentry; 2) the court of the king's deputy (the 'village headman'), who was in charge of strongholds or *grody* (from the Czech *grad*); this court was called *grodskyi* and tried criminal cases, more precisely the so-called "four grodskyi articles": arson, murder or mugging, robbery, rape. The first court was headed by three people: a judge, a deputy judge, a clerk elected for life by the gentry; nominally it was the village headman that tried cases in the *grodskyi* court, but more often this function was performed by his deputies (a deputy village headman and a *grodskyi* clerk). The presence of a clerk in both types of court was not accidental. As from the middle of the fifteenth century, the practice of writing down all legal proceedings in appropriate records had become compulsory. They were then rewritten and stitched into the court registers, which were kept in the court archives. By that time, some seven thousand legal and administrative records from the Galician Rus' dating from the 1420s had been archived; records from the remaining regions of Ukraine, amounting to approximately two thousand volumes, covered the period from the 1550s onwards (Kupčyns'kyj 1976: 16).

Obviously, these books had to be completely rewritten, like most European clerical works of that time, pages were folded in two long-wise, and after having been filled, they were stitched in small, narrow, long books. Notations had blots and blanks, the text was not always readable, it was saturated with abbreviations; that is why in the only one existing edition of Galician Rus' acts, compiled by Ksaverii Liske in nine books (*Akta grodzkie i ziemskie* [AGZ] *z czasów Rzeczy Pospolitey Polskiej z Archiwum t. zow. Bernardynskiego we Lwowie*), a

lot of his reconstructions are hypothetical. Table 1 illustrates the place of origin and type of legal proceedings.

Table 1.
Court records in the Galician Rus':
regional representation and type of legal proceedings

Court district	*Grodskyi*		*Zemskyi*	
	Entry dates	N° of volume in AGZ	Entry dates	N° of volume in AGZ
Galyč land	1435-1475	XII	1435-1475	XII
L'viv land	1469-1506	XVII, XIV	1440-1500	XIV, XV
Peremyšl' land	1469-1506	XVII	1436-1468	XIII, XVIII
Syanotska land	1435-1462	XI, XVI	1423-1475	XI, XVI

No systematic research has been done on the legal and financial Latin books of the Ukrainian institutions. In particular, we do not know how the books came to be in the Ukrainian territories or anything about their specific local history. Essentially, there are no historic or legal studies on the past of the institutions from which the acts of the affairs were left, and it is difficult to classify books without knowing their history, role or place within the administration, the court or the social and political system of the past. Neither do we know what content was put into the fallacious term "court records", since in medieval courts and in administrative practice the terms "acts" (lat. *acta*) and "books" (lat. *libri*) were identical, so the term "act books" is tautological. A publisher tried to complete books as much as possible, taking into account the existing administrative division and the chronology of the notations. Thus, you have court records, which recorded deeds drawn up in the municipal and *zemskyi* courts mainly of one district, although there are other such books containing a mixture of records about various different districts.

We will not characterize each of the nine books individually, but will try to give the general characteristics of the act notations of every administrative district according to the following aspects:

1) the degree of preservation of such books/records;
2) the extent to which the chronology and logical content of the notations are maintained;
3) the extent to which the notations were grammatically correct;
4) the level of lexical interference (loanwords from Polish and Ukrainian).

The table below conveniently sums up this information.

Table 2.
Comparative characteristics of court records in the Galician Rus'

t. XII, XIX	t. XI, XIII, XIV	t. XVI, XVIII, XIX	t. XI, XIV, XV, XVIII, XIX
grodskyi and *zemskyi* 1440-1497	*grodskyi* and *zemskyi* 1442-1546	*zemskyi* 1435-1570	*grodskyi* 1436-1494
They were kept badly; difficult for arranging; there are a lot of technical defects, omissions, multiple grammatical mistakes.	They were kept well; notations are mixed; there are no defects or omissions; the texts are scattered with polonisms.	They were kept badly, they are comprehensible despite the omissions; the notations are short; the notations are literate.	They were kept well; the notations are short; comprehensible; without defects and omissions; there are numerous repeated notations.

The poorly kept Galician *zemskyi* acts were the most difficult for a compiler (they featured numerous defects and omissions, especially in the *grodskyi* acts which were practically only fragments: see TABLE 1), which explains why it was so difficult to systematize them (*AGZ 12*: 2-7).

The difficulty in systematizing the Galician act notations is that since 1460 the acts of the *grodskyi* courts had been written separately from the *zemskyi* acts in other books, although the cases tried in the *grodskyi* courts were no different from those cases tried in the *zemskyi* courts; even the judges were the same. The publisher of the acts, Ksaverii Liske, stated that these act notations were not primary sources, they are also the copies of the originals acts (*AGZ 12*: 2-7).

This partly explains the numerous omissions and confusions in the act notations. Multiple grammar mistakes and incorrect spellings confirm once again that the Galician court clerks' education and Latin language skills were no better than that of the clerks of L'viv and Peremyšl'. However, a certain originality in the language of the Galician court clerks emerges, as compared with the court clerks of other districts. For example, it was natural for them to change /*e*/ to /*a*/ in different positions of this phoneme in the words:

1) ***a****vassio*, ***a****vasio* instead of ***e****vasio* – (*evasio, onis* – "evasion")[1];
2) ***a****icendendum* instead of ***e****icendendum* – (from *ejicio, jeci*, *jectum, ere* – "expulsion");
3) *cam**a**rarius* (in all variants of the word use) – instead of *cam**e**rarius* (*camerarius, ii* – "storekeeper").

Under the influence of written language, the Galician court clerks preferred to drawl both the Latin and the Polish words, probably trying to avoid or compensate for the *hiatus* – ("hiatus").

[1] All examples are given in the original spelling here and below.

hihahat instead of *ichnat* (*AGZ*: 1143)

dzahal instead of *dzal* (*AGZ*: 1152)

widahal instead of *widal* (*AGZ*: 1158).

One more detail concerns the denotation of the sounds. Crossed out *a* or *o* (a̷ or Ø) denoted nasal /*a*/ or /*o*/, but the Galician clerks also introduced the character /w/, in order to distinguish the pronunciation of /*u*/ from that of /*w*/. However, this spelling was used inconsistently, which resulted in cases, when /*w*/=/*u*/ and /*w*/=/*w*'/. For example, in the names of the settlements: *Dalow (Dalov), Godowska (Godovska), Martow (Martov)* (*AGZ*: 1064), where /*w*/=/*w*'/ or *swrzim w, stlwczeni (stluczeni)* (*AGZ*: 1071], where /*w*/=/*u*/. There were unique cases in the notations, when /*w*/=/*u*/=/v/ was used simultaneously in one word. For example, *Bwkowno 9 (Bukovno)* (*AGZ*: 1094, 1102, 1107).

This phenomenon can be partly explained by the influence of Ukrainian phonetics, characterized by the pronunciation of the bilabial /*v*/ close to /*u*/ in most positions.

There is a notation in Old Rusian language among those in Latin in the Galician court records (*AGZ*: 1435). The appearance of this notation among the Latin notations may have had one of two causes: either the notation came from the time when the Rus' laws existed in the Galician Rus' and the court records were in Old Rusian or the notation was made by a person who did not know Latin, when a court clerk was absent, or perhaps one of the clerks refused to accept the introduction of the new laws about the language of legal proceedings.

Thus, the act notations of the Galician and *zemskyi* courts, both in form (language) and in content, differ from the acts of other administrative districts.

The Syanotski acts, unlike the Galician acts, were kept well, without noticeable written defects or omissions of words, although they were not chronologically systematized. Only the presence of the *zemskyi* court acts in most Syanotski acts permits to affirm that no traces of storekeepers and their activities were preserved in the Syanotskyi acts. However, there are multiple notations of "Valachian" Law (*judicii valachorum*), which do not appear in the court records of the other land, although settlements that used Valachian Law appeared in the Galician Rus' very early, and since the fifteenth century the Valachian Law had begun to spread to settlements that had previously had no relation to the Valachian Law. However, the preserved notations do not give a full idea about the internal order of the Valachian settlements. The only thing that is quite clear from the Syanotskyi acts is that all Valachian settlements were grouped in territorial communities known as "countries". The "Krainyk" was at the head of "the country" (Kupčyns'kyj 1983: 25-45).

The Syanotskyi acts differ from the others for their unsystematic character when considering the court case: the village headmen settled different cases at the courts, both those cases that were left out from the jurisdiction of the *grodskyi* court and those that were transferred to the *zemskyi* court (*AGZ 11*: 189).

In the act notations of the Syanotskyi land you can see the greatest number of explanations in Polish after the introduction of the Latin terms (but sometimes after usual words): in most cases they do not appear in the Latin dictionaries with the meaning they had acquired in the act notations. The presence of the greatest number of explanations in the Syanotskyi notations can be explained exclusively by the influence of Polish and an insufficient (or scarce) knowlege of Latin.

Below you will find some extracts from the court records related to this territory that provide a good exemplification of the above characterized phenomenon.

"Syenko chodnow evvasit jure syenko sch. pro sto peccuribus cornutis, pro media sexagena pecunia, pro sedecim MODULIS alias pangwicy" (*AGZ 11*: 148).

	1) measure;
modulus, i, m	2) tact;
	3) module.

In this case *modulis* in the meaning of 'measure' is confirmed (or specified) by Polish *pangwicy*: "...domini et domine Judex. VELITIS AUDIRE ... ALIAS RACSZCZYE SLISSECY", where "velitis audire" – literally means "wish to listen to".

"Nicolaus de Tharnava actor ATTEMPTAVIT terminum primum alias PREWYEDZALSA sus Vichaelev W. ..." (*AGZ 11*: 148). *Attemptavit* in this case is confirmed by the polonised Ukrainian word "found out".

"Georgius d D. dotavit oprawie consorti sue DOTALICII ALIAS possagu et super..." (*AGZ 11*: 469). *Dotalicii* derives from *dos, dotis, f* – wealth, property, dowry). In this case the Ukrainian word *possagu* defines more accurately the meaning of the Latin word, which has not come into use yet.

"...debet tenere que AD FLUVIUM Boliyanovka ALIAS PORZEKE" (*AGZ 11*: 1886, 448). This is an interesting case in which the clerk accurately chose the Latin word for "river" (in this case *ad fluvium* – to the river) and is strengthened by the Polish equivalent of *po rzeke* – to the river.

"Convenit nobilis Petrus de Yr. Yudex Prs. Nicolaum dictum molendinum construere de nowo in fluvio sub UNO CACUMINE, ALIAS WURZCH" (*AGZ 11*: 501).

Latin *cacumen, inis, n* means: 1) a conic top; 2) an acute angle, peak, spire; 3) a peak, the highest point. In the act notations the question is about the single-layered cover of a mill , i.e. "a roof", specified by a word *wierzch* – "roof". In this case, *wierzch* gains the meaning "roof" under the influence of the Ukrainian language.

Both the Syanotskyi and the Galician acts were mostly inferior to those of the Peremyšl' and L'viv courts in both spelling and stylistic features (see TABLE 1).

The *grodskyi* and *zemskyi* acts of the Peremyšl' courts include the notations of the Pševorsk court, as long as the branch of the Peremyšl' *zemskyi* court was situated in Pševorsk and the judges from Peremyšl' held sittings there. The Peremyšl' and Pševorsk *zemskyi* acts are unique, since those acts vanished entirely from every part of the Galician Rus', and by the first half of the fifteenth century only separate parts remained, not connected with each other.

In spite of the considerable omission of words and whole expressions, the content of the notations can be reconstructed. The Peremyšl' notations differ from the others, they are very short, grammatically correct and informative, as the Peremyšl' court activities were much wider, and this presumably indicates that the court clerks were better educated than those of the Galician and Syanotskyi lands. In this connection the Peremyšl' act notations did not have such serious lexical and grammatical errors as those of the Galician and Syanotskyi courts.

Almost all the Peremyšl' acts are *zemskyi* acts, they mainly concern economic and property claims. Some act notations are abridged, but the content of the others is repeated, though the publisher made an attempt to classify all notations in the acts of the court cases (*acta judicialia*) and act-decisions of the *sejmik*, or *vičevyi* acts (*perpetita*).

The *grodskyi* books were mainly preserved among the court records of the L'viv land. They contain numerous property cases, though fewer than the Galician records have. But most of the property cases were probably in the territory of the L'viv land.

An interesting feature of the L'viv acts is the annexes to the previous notations, meaning those that were added to the acts earlier. Such a feature was widespread (in the first place it concerned the act notations as to land rights). According to I. Lynnyčenko, it occurred because the king had added a new privilege to the existing one, wishing to reward a person that owned a land according to the land record. This way a repeated annex appeared (Linničenko 1984: 170-180, 186-190).

The L'viv registry kept lists of already inaccurately written acts; in fact, the repetition of the same texts could be found very often (*AGZ 14*: 102). It is interesting that a great number of L'viv acts point to the existence of the institution of slavery in the Galician Rus'. We can find some words that denote slavery, namely: *servus* (a slave)*, illiber* (a slave)*, familia illibera* (slave servants)*, kalanny* (a slave) (Zinovijiv, 1971: 379).

The terms *servus* and *familia* were used to denote slaves and free population (servants) (*AGZ 14*: 398, 399, 434; *AGZ 13*: 22).

The terms *kalanny, kalanstwo* (slave, slavery) were used in their direct meaning in the language of the court records (*AGZ 14*: 871, 891).

Summarizing, we can presume that the education of the court clerks (and hence the spelling of the court notations) depended on when colonization of the above-mentioned territories began and on how intensive it was. The Peremyšl' and L'viv lands were the most convenient places for the development of agriculture, so the process of colonization was faster, and the education of the court clerks and their Latin and Polish language skills were certainly better than in the Galician and Syanotskyi lands.

The above-mentioned fact made the act notations of the Galician and Syanotskyi records more original and more unusual from the linguistic point of view. They are characterized by the use of Latin formed and developed under the influence of Ukrainian, and Polish in the territory of the Galician Rus'.

Abbreviations

AGZ 11	*Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasow Rzeczy Pospolitey Polskiej z Archiwum t. zow. Bernardynskiego we Lwowie*, XI. *Najdawniejsze Zapiski sadow sanockich 1423-1462*, Lwów 1886.
AGZ 12	*Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasow Rzeczy Pospolitey Polskiej z Archiwum t. zow. Bernardynskiego we Lwowie*, XII. *Najdawniejsze Zapiski sadow halickich 1435-1475*, Lwów 1887.
AGZ 13	*Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasow Rzeczy Pospolitey Polskiej z Archiwum t. zow. Bernardynskiego we Lwowie*, XIII. *Najdawniejsze Zapiski sadow przemyskich i przeworskiego 1436-1468*, Lwów 1888.
AGZ 14	*Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasow Rzeczy Pospolitey Polskiej z Archiwum t. zow. Bernardynskiego we Lwowie*, XIV. *Najdawniejsze Zapiski sadow lwowskich 1440-1456*, Lwów 1889.

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Abstract

Valentyna Myronova

Chancellery Latin in Fifteenth-Sixteenth Century Ukraine

The article presents a systemic analysis of the chancellery Latin language used in legal proceedings and record keeping in the Galician Rus' in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries. A characteristic feature of the Latin language of this period (despite its sacredness) was the fact that it was used by bilingual readers: few people knew how to speak Latin from childhood. The degree of individual mastery of Latin at that time was determined both by the aptitude of each author and by specific circumstances. Due to the parallel usage of Latin and Ukrainian words, the vocabulary structures inevitably interacted, causing the Latin of this period to undergo inevitable modifications through absorption of a number of lexical, morphological and syntactic features of the Ukrainian language. The record books of the *Grodskyi* and *Zemskyi* courts of Galician Rus', each of which had a brief preface, name and geographic indexes, have served as research materials.

Latinitas in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Chronology, Specifics and Forms of Reception

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The Latin literature of Lithuania, its prominent authors and masterpieces have aroused considerable interest among Central and Eastern European scholars over the last five decades. Numerous articles have appeared on the subject, focusing on both specific subjects and generalizing studies[1]. Attention to Neo-Latinism in Lithuania has not diminished. Since 2008, Žanna Nekraševič-Karotkaja[2] and Sjarhiej Kaval'ov[3] have continued their productive research in Belarus, as has Jakub Niedźwiedź[4] in Poland. Several specialists of the younger generation (Ona Daukšienė[5], Dovilė Keršienė[6], Živilė Nedzinskaitė[7] and Asta Vaškelienė[8]) have published notable studies in Lithuania. Given the significance of *Latinitas* for both common European cultural traditions and the national cultures, literatures and languages of Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Lithuania and Ukraine, the subject is likely to attract the same attention in the future. Since all the above-mentioned states either originated from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (hereinafter – the GDL), or were closely related to it, the GDL's *Latinitas* may be considered as a perspective topic for future research.

The definition of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania leads us to the concrete period. The christening and rule of Mindaugas, king of Lithuania from 1253 until his death in 1263, marked the beginning of Lithuanian statehood. Important changes in this statehood took place in the 1570s. At the Lublin Diet of 1569 the Polish Crown and the GDL merged into a new state – the Commonwealth of the Two Nations. The GDL then lasted until the break-up of the Commonwealth in 1795, though it relinquished part of its political power to the joint diet. Other conditions essential for the existence of statehood (the GDL's own autonomously governed territory; its own army and monetary system; its own courts and laws; even its own ideology based on the legend of the Lithuanians' Roman origins) had remained essentially unchanged until the state was dissolved, while certain laws even outlived the state itself.

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1 Pre-2008 literature on the subject may be found in: Narbutienė 2004: 19-37; Narbutienė 2006: 139-140; Narbutas 2008: 24-34.

2 Nekraševič-Karotkaja 2009, 2011.

3 Kaval'ov 2010, 2011.

4 Niedźwiedź 2012.

5 Daukšienė 2009, 2014.

6 Keršienė 2010.

7 Nedzinskaitė 2011.

8 Vaškelienė 2012.

Latinitas *in the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania : Its Impact on the Development of Identities,* edited by Giovanna Siedina, ISBN 978-88-6655-675-6 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-674-9 (print), © 2014 Firenze University Press

It is important to underline these facts because the roots of Lithuanian *Latinitas*, as a distinctive part of European *Latinitas,* lie in statehood. The Latin language once unified the whole of Europe, and Lithuania's cultural heritage consists of hundreds of thousands of literary pieces created throughout the continent. Individually, all these pieces differ in type, genres, themes, content, length, and other specifics. They can be attributed to a state's cultural tradition if the dimension of such a state is central to these works and more relevant than any other, keeping in mind that the two main factors that define statehood are territory and citizenship. The body of sixteenth-eighteenth century Latin literature comprises all literary pieces created or published in the GDL, as well as all the works published abroad by Lithuanian citizens over this period.

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century Lithuania was characterized by the excellence of its legal culture. It was based on three state Statutes (compendia of constitutional, criminal and civil law), confirmed by the Grand Duke in 1529, 1566 and 1588 (the latter was valid till 1840). As regards citizenship of the GDL, anyone either born within its borders or who had received the rights of a noble for their service to the state were counted as citizens. To these two groups we have added a dozen authors not actually born in Lithuania – but who occupied various positions in Lithuanian state or church institutions (primarily Catholic and Protestant) and who had died in Lithuania[9].

Based on these theoretical provisions, we set out to gather information about Latin books of sixteenth-eighteenth century Lithuania and to compile several lists thereof. One of these encompasses the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries (Narbutienė, Narbutas 2002); another, the seventeenth century (Narbutienė, Narbutas 1998), and the third, the eighteenth century (Narbutienė *et al.* 2010; this list is currently being revised and completed, so the data contained are still being corrected).

The development of *Latinitas* in the GDL has its own beginning, intensification and self-sufficient evolution. So the entire epoch of *Latinitas* in the GDL can be divided into three periods, different in terms of length, but all equally important. The onset of *Latinitas* in the GDL designates the first such period. The above-mentioned christening and rule of king Mindaugas marks the beginning of this period; and the rule of the grand duke, then Polish king Alexander (*05.10.1460-†20.07.1506; who reigned as grand duke and king 1492-1506) marks its conclusion. The intensification of *Latinitas* designates the second period. It spans approximately the reigns of two Sigismunds: Sigismund I the Old (*01.01.1467-†01.04.1548; who reigned as grand duke and king 1506-1548) and Sigismund II Augustus (*01.08.1520-†07.07.1572; who reigned as grand duke and king 1548-1572). Self-sufficient evolution designates the third period. The rule of grand duke and king Stephen Báthory (*27.09.1533-†12.12.1586; who reigned as grand duke and king 1576-1586) marks the beginning of this period while the rule of Stanislas August Poniatowski (*17.01.1732-†12.02.1798,

[9] More about selection criteria and their theoretical basis, is written (in English, Polish and Russian): Narbutienė, Narbutas 2002: 20-24, 33-38, 47-52.

who reigned as grand duke and king from 1764 to1795) and the Third partition of the Commonwealth in 1795 denote its end. Of course, the year 1795 only marks the end of the Commonwealth, but not the end of *Latinitas* in Lithuania or Poland, both of which lost their independence. So the end of the third period only refers to the history of the GDL.

Generally speaking, the rule of a particular duke or king does not necessarily determine the beginning or end of important cultural periods, processes or phenomena. But invoking and mentioning secular or ecclesiastic rulers makes it easier to distinguish such periods, processes and phenomena, because the latter often determine and shape the former. All the above-mentioned periods of *Latinitas* in the GDL had their own rationale of events, distinctive processes and individual phenomena. The first period, or the rise of *Latinitas* in the GDL, involves the spread of Latin language and writings and the non-creative usage of both of them. The presence of Latin writings, and the essentials (but not the full system) of medieval literary genres, styles and types are the characteristic features of this period. The period finishes at the turn of the sixteenth century. It featured the first successful attempts by the society, certain communities and individual citizens of the GDL to recreate or create original Latin texts. The first known scriptorium in the Vilnius Bernardine monastery (founded in 1469) gives us the first copies (dated 1469-1494) of Latin manuscripts, made within the GDL. The first original Latin writings, created in Vilnius or somewhere in Lithuania, were printed in different European cities at that time. For example, the *Agenda* by Vilnius canon Martin of Radom was printed in Gdańsk in 1499. The *Ad Alexandrum Sextum pontificem maximum in prestita obedientia Rome habita oratio* by Vilnius preposit Erasmus Vitellius (Ciołek, *1474-†09.09.1522) was printed in Rome in 1501. The first-known high school (schola particularis) was in operation as from 1507 in the Dominican monastery in Vilnius (founded in 1501). *Septem artes liberales*, philosophy and theology were taught there, so the demand for Latin scientific literature and the reception of Latin medieval culture increased from that time.

The second period, in which *Latinitas* intensified in the GDL, also has its own rationale of events, distinctive processes and individual phenomena. Lithuanian citizens became masters of all genres and types of *Latinitas*. They created important literary works in Latin both of a secular and a religious nature. The first Latin books were printed in the GDL at that time (*Antidotum contra articulos fidei novae* by Grzegorz Paweł, edited in Njasvіž, 1564; *Liber de magistratu politico* by Simon Budneus, edited in Losk, 1573; *Vera et orthodoxa veteris Ecclesiae sententia de Coena Domini ad Petrum Skarga* by Andreas Volanus, edited in Losk, 1574; *Pro sacratissima Eucharistia contra haeresim Zuinglianam, ad Andream Volanum* by Piotr Skarga, edited in Vilnius, 1576, and others), although the majority of Latin publications by Lithuanians appeared abroad. Opinions about the GDL from abroad underwent a radical change during that period: from negative (pope Pius II, born Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *8.10.1405-†14.08.1464, in his work *De Europa* (created 1458), and after that *Commentariorum urbanorum Raphaelis Volaterrani octo et triginta libri* (first printed 1506) by Raffaele Maf-

fei (Volaterranus), *17.02.1455-†25.01.1522, and *Supplementum supplementi chronicarum ab ipso mundi exordio usq[ue] ad redemptionis nostrae annum. M.CCCCC.X. editum* (1513) by Giacomo Filippo Foresti, *1434-†1520, and others) to positive (cf. *Oratio coram invictissimo Sigismundo rege Poloniae &c. in conuentu Caesaris & trium regum, nomine Universitatis, Viennae Austriae per Ioachimum Vadianu[m] poetam laureatum habita* (1515) by Joachimus Vadianus, *1484-†1551, and *Ad divum Maximilianum Caesarem Augustum, Riccardi Bartholini, De bello Norico Austriados libri duodecim* (1516) by Riccardo Bartholini, †ca. 1519, and the hagiographic work *Vita beati Casimiri confessoris* (1521) by Zacharias Ferreri, *1479-†ca. 1525, and others).

The ethnopolitical myth about the Lithuanians' Roman ancestry was created at that time too. This legend cropped up repeatedly in the writings of various Lithuanian authors in Latin, Polish and Ruthenian[10]. It soon found its way into the writings of authors of neighbouring countries. For instance, this is how the Polish historiographer Matthias de Miechow (Maciej Miechowski, *1457-†1523) retold this tale in his treatise *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europiana*[11]:

> Old folks and tellers of the olden days tell that certain Italians left Italy because of disagreements amongst the Romans, travelled to the Lithuanian land and named it Italia akin to their homeland, and they named the people Italians. The peasants having added to the names letter "L", the land commenced to be called Litalia and its dwellers, Litalians. Their neighbours, the Ruthenians and the Poles, warped [the names] even more, so to these very days the land is called Lithuania, and the people, Lithuanians[12].

The rise of certain Protestant cultural centres (schools, printing houses) and the foundation of the Jesuit college in Vilnius (1570) with the Catholic printing house (1575) marked the end of this period.

The third period involves the self-sufficient evolution of *Latinitas* in the GDL and continues until the Third partition of the Commonwealth in 1795. The wealth of different genres defines this period – works of both literary types, i.e. of religious and secular Latin writings of all genres were created and printed in the GDL. This period can be split into two parts: Baroque and Enlightenment. Both quantitatively and qualitatively, Latin works dominated the Lithuanian literary scene during the Baroque period compared to editions in other languages. In quantitative terms, during the Enlightenment Lithuanian *Latinitas* began to

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10 For more information see: Narbutas 2004.

11 Matthias de Miechow 1518: e^{iii}verso-e^{iv}recto.

12 "Aiunt aut[em] vetustiores et antiquitatu[m] relatores q[uod] quida[m] Italici propter romano[rum] dissensiones deserentes Italia[m] ingressi sunt terras lithuanie: et nomen patrie italia: genti vero itali indiderunt: que per pastores terra Litalia et gens litali l littera preposita cepit nuncupari Ruteni aut[em] et Poloni eo[rum] vicini maiorem immutatione[m] facie[n]tes: vsq[ue] in hodierna[m] die[m] terra[m] Lithuania[m] gentes vero lithuanos appellant".

give way to literature written in the national languages used in the GDL (first and foremost Polish).

The key features of Lithuanian *Latinitas* are summarised in the tables below.

Table 1.
Total number of Latin works in the GDL edited in the GDL and abroad by Lithuanian citizens in the fifteenth-eighteenth centuries

Century	In the GDL	In Europe by citizens of the GDL	Sine loco	In total
XV		3		3
XVI	220	133	20	373
XVII	865	226	84	1175
XVIII	1322	245	223	1790
In total	2407	607	327	3341

Sources: Narbutienė 2004: 60; Narbutienė *et al.* 2010.

What do these numbers hide? The chronological component shows chronology and the total number of Latin works printed. The quantitative components hide qualitative indicators. As regards content, forms and genres, you can see the peculiarity of the Lithuanian Latin books. The three main parts of Lithuanian *Latinitas* in the fifteenth-eighteenth centuries consist of 1) courtesy letters (works of poetry, rhetorical prose and dramaturgy; 1364 titles of the sixteenth-eighteenth century Latin books of the GDL or 40.83% of the total number; 2) the works required for the activities of the Lithuanian Catholic and Protestant Churches and other books of religious contents (1106 titles of the sixteenth-eighteenth century Latin books of the GDL or 33.1% of the total number); 3) works of human studies and different schoolbooks (529 titles of the sixteenth-eighteenth century Latin books of the GDL or 15.83% of the total number).

Nicolaus Hussovianus (*ca. 1475-1485-†post 1533) and his poem *De statura, feritate ac uenatione Bisontis* (1523) open the GDL's set of courtesy letters in Latin, while the numerous panegyrics upon monarchs, princes and noblemen of eighteenth century Lithuania bring it to a close. Throughout the sixteenth-seventeenth century, some 700 works of fiction were published, while in the eighteenth century these numbered 664. In the sixteenth century, fictional literature totaled 35% of all publications; in the seventeenth century, 48%; and in the eighteenth, 37%. The common tendency for the content of fiction publications might be described as follows: creativeness and originality signify its beginning, while the lack of creative innovations and the reiteration of conventional genres, topics and forms denote its end.

The history of the second important group of publications, namely religious literature, starts at the very end of the fifteenth century. In 1499, *Agenda* by Martin of Radom, a Vilnius canon, was published in Gdańsk for the Diocese of Vilnius. Later on, a fairly large number of religious publications came out. In the sixteenth century they comprised about 33% of all publications; in the seventeenth century, approximately 29%; and in the eighteenth century, 36% of all books published in that period. This trend shows that Lithuania's religious literary output increased in terms of both volume and repertoire in the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries.

The group of publications in humanities (*artes liberales*) may be described similarly. Its volume grew from 15.63% in the sixteenth-seventeenth century to 16.03% in the eighteenth century. The beginning of its history is associated with the philosophical treatise *Dyalogus Adami Poloni... De quatuor statibus i[m] mortalitate[m] assequi contendentibus* by humanist Adam of Bochyn (Adam z Bochynia, †1514). This work was written in Grodno in 1507 and printed in Kraków in the same year. Throughout the entire period, books in philosophy were the most copious and, we must add, the most valuable part of this group of publications. These were mostly philosophical dissertations by students graduating from Vilnius University and from universities in other states; in addition, a dozen or so notable studies were published that have retained their value up to the present day.

A more detailed view of Lithuanian Latin books is given in the table below.

Table 2.
Topics of Latin books of the GDL, edited in the fifteenth-eighteenth centuries

	Topics	Years of edition	Percentage
1.	Poetry, rhetorical prose, dramaturgy	1523-1798	40.83%
2.	Religious publishing		(33.1%)
2.1.	Rituals	1499-1799	6.17%
2.2.	Hymnals	1592-1787	0.45%
2.3.	Books of prayers	1582-1798	1.8%
2.4.	Catechisms	1605-1786	0.33%
2.5.	Sermons	1596-1789	2.45%
2.6.	Polemic works	1556-1775	3.71%
2.7.	Theology	1501-1798	9.22%
2.8.	Hagiography	1521-1747	0.66%
2.9.	Church history	1585-1775	0.66%
2.10.	Legal acts	1528-1791	2.84%

	Topics	Years of edition	Percentage
2.11.	Law	1701-1792	0.27%
2.12.	Regulae	1582-1798	0.66%
2.13.	Pastoral letters	1576-1785	0.93%
2.14.	Pedagogics	1701-1763	0.09%
2.15.	Calendars	1774	0.03%
2.16.	Miscellaneous works	1515-1798	2.99%
3.	Journalism	1501-1767	2.24%
4.	State and law	1535-1794	2.3%
5.	Artes liberales		(15.83%)
5.1.	Classical philology	1561-1797	1.83%
5.2.	Rhetoric	1584-1800	2.81%
5.3.	Linguistics	1620-1796	1.83%
5.4.	Music	1559-1693	0.24%
5.5.	Ethnology	1618-1621	0.06%
5.6.	Philosophy	1507-1796	6.61%
5.7.	Historiography	1578-1781	1.1%
5.8.	Law	1563-1772	1.23%
5.9.	Pedagogics	1576-1799	0.57%
6.	Physical sciences		(2.3%)
6.1.	Astronomy	1494-1785	0.42%
6.2.	Physics	1636-1786	0.45%
6.3.	Mathematics	1614?-1790?	1.44%
7.	Natural sciences		(0.48)%
7.1.	Botany	1781-1786	0.09%
7.2.	Geography	1700?-1766	0.36%
7.3.	Zoology	1781	0.03%
8.	Military sciences	1592-1753	0.33%
9.	Medicine	1521-1800	1.26%
10.	Architecture	1748-1760	0.06%
11.	Art	1758	0.03%

	Topics	Years of edition	Percentage
12.	Printing works	1597-1765	0.15%
13.	Calendars	1637	0.03%
14.	Miscellaneous works	1706-1800	0.99%

Sources: Narbutienė 2004: 117-118; Narbutienė *et al.* 2010. The numbers in brackets show the total percentage of publications for a thematic group. The first number in the field "Years of edition" indicates the year of the first publication in a thematic group, and the last number indicates the year of the last publication. The "Percentage" field contains approximate data, obtained by calculating the percentage of publications in a thematic group out of the total number of Latin books (3341). The resulting decimals have been rounded up to the nearest hundredth.

These figures reflect some interesting and original tendencies typical of Lithuanian *Latinitas*. Throughout the GDL's existence, most Latin books (as many as 40.83%) were represented by publications in poetry, rhetorical prose (occasional literature) and dramaturgy. According to the literary historian Asta Vaškelienė, in eighteenth-century Lithuania most of the literature published in Latin consisted of panegyrical publications, followed by salutatory, epithalamic and funereal texts[13]. The same might also be said of the Latin books of sixteenth-seventeenth-century Lithuania. Another notable genre group was GDL school dramaturgy (plays staged at numerous Jesuit colleges and at the Vilnius Academy). This genre is characterized by originality, copiousness and a great variety of content[14]. An important feature of the school dramaturgy of the GDL is its unwavering attention to the history of Lithuania (almost a third of all its history-themed plays concern the history of the GDL[15]). The Jesuits brought to the scene the Lithuanian rulers Mindaugas and Algirdas, Vytautas and Jogaila, Alexander the Jagellonian, Stephen Báthory, as well as many famous military leaders. Lithuanian historical events serve as a basis for the drama *Stanislas, he who helped to defeat Osman at Chotyn* (*Stanislaus victoriae de Osmano ad Chocimam relatae consiliator*, 1670; about the victory of Jonas Karolis Chodkevičius [Jan Karol Chodkiewicz], leader of the united Polish-Lithuanian army, over the Turkish army at Chotyn in 1621); Vaclovas Narmontas' *Vilnius, the Throne of the Grand Dukes, the Capital of Lithuania* (orig.: *Vilna sedes ducum, metropolis Lithua-*

[13] Vaškelienė 2012: 210-211.

[14] For more about this, see: Narbutas 2011: 219-226.

[15] Regarding school plays by Lithuanian Jesuits, the literary historian Vanda Zaborskaitė wrote: "Iš Lietuvos mokyklinėje scenoje pastatytų daugiau kaip 70 istorinės temtikos kūrinių savo krašto praeičiai skirta 16, o visoje Lietuvos provincijoje tokių dramų žinoma net 25" – "Of more than 70 history-themed plays staged at Lithuanian schools, 16 are about the past of the homeland, while the entire province of Lithuania counts as many as 25 such dramas" (Zaborskaitė 1981: 33).

niae arx literarum a Gedimino m. duce M.D.L. condita anno 1321 cujus felices ortus ludis metagymnasticis in scena exhibiti, ibidem anno 1683 a perillustri ac nobili juventute academica; staged in 1683); *Algirdas, Grand Duke of Lithuania* (orig.: *Olgerdus magnus Lithuaniae dux ab oratoria facultate Acad. Vilnensis S.I. in theatrum productus diebus antecineralibus, anno 1687*, staged in 1687); Jokūbas Gralevskis' *A Peace Agreement, at the Feast Table Written by Blood and Sealed by Death* (orig.: *Pacis foedera hospitali super mensa ducali sanguine Volstinici magni ducis Lituaniae olim conscripta et morte consignata a Leone Vlodimiriae principe sub auspiciis Fortunati Zamoyski ludis antecineralibus in scenam data ab Oratoria facultate Acad. Vilnen. S.I. anno 1688, mense Februario*, staged in 1688, about the death of the Grand Duke Vaišvilkas); *The Theatre of Polish and Lithuanian Mightiness* (orig.: *Theatrum Fortitudinis Polonae et Litvanae, in Ioanne Hunniade fortissimo belli imperatore adumbratae a magnis Poloni Litvanique exercitus ducibus martiis spectaculis coronatum*, performed in 1694; about the Hungarian military leader John Hunyadi's victories over the Turks, and the victory of Grand Hetman Kazimieras Jonas Sapiega (Kazimierz Jan Sapieha) over the Turks and Tatars at the battles at Kamenets, 1684, and 1688), Jurgis Volskis' *Unquiet Quietness* (orig.: *Irrequieta quies pro viae et vitae meta, inter umbras ergastuli regiis Alexandri Poloniarum regis dapibus Sandapilam, mero maerorem, losoria demum latrunculorum tabula, luctuosum sepulchralis sarcophagi marmor indicantibus, olim a Sachmate transvolgensium Scytharum imperatore in Litvania Caunae infauste reperta, nunc vero inter irrequieta Bacchantium orgia, ad Atticas Academi umbras in lucem publicam ab illustrissima etc. oratoriae facultatis iuventute reproducta, anno 1718 die 26 Februarii*, performed in 1718; about Grand Duke Alexander); Kazimieras Vasgirdas' *A Small Sign on the Heart of Lithuania* (orig.: *Signaculum supra cor Lituaniae in Universitatis ac Acad. charactere a coronato Sarmatiae capite Stephano I positum inter theatrales ignes ab Academia Congregatorum manu in eadem Universitate reseratum anno 1731 Kalendis Augusti*, performed in 1731; about King Stephen Bátory's visit to the Vilnius Jesuit Academy), Juozapas Obrompolskis' *Sacred Hunger during the Impious Symposium* (orig.: *Sacra fames inter profanas dapes a divis martyribus Ioanne, Antonio et Eustachio usque ad consummationem vitae tolerata, ad triduani carnisprivii mensas carnivorae ingluviei in scenico apparatu opposita ab illustrissima etc. iuventute Academiae Vilnensis S.J. anno 1732*, staged in 1732; about Grand Duke Algirdas and Christian martyrs John, Antony and Eustace), and many other plays.

Books by classical authors were first published in the GDL in the seventeenth century. At first only Cicero's works were published (1614, 1670, 1672, 1679). Later the repertoire of books and authors became more diverse. In 1754-1755, a three-volume set of Cicero's selected orations came out; in 1760 – *De Catilinae conjuratione et bello Jugurthino libri duo* by Sallustius; in 1761, the fables of Phaedrus; in 1764, Virgil's writings; in 1772, selected poems by Horace; in 1773, a book of poems by Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius. These were literary works studied in schools. Overall, 17 editions of Roman literature were published during the eighteenth century. Judging by the book repertoire in Lith-

uanian libraries, before the second half of the seventeenth century, foreign-published books by classical authors had sufficed, so this kind of literature had not appeared in print at that time.

The second most numerous group of publications, represented by religious literature, also displays interesting trends. The growing demands of the local Catholic Church were answered by publishing more rituals, prayer books and theological treatises. While a mere 60 rituals were published in the seventeenth century, in the eighteenth century 145 came out (prayer books, respectively, 11 and 48; theological treatises, 100 and 168). The needs of the local Catholic Church and Catholic education caused the emergence, in the eighteenth century, of new types of printed literature: legal and pedagogical publications. Legal literature included certain editions of canon law and commentaries thereon (Claude-Joseph de Ferrière's (*ca. 1680-†ca. 1748) *Institutiones juris canonici*, 1745 and 1765; Maciej Miłuński's (*1646-†1719) *Explanationes juris ecclesiastici canonico-morales in librum 4 Decretalium de sponsalibus et matrimoniis*, 1705, et al.); pedagogical works published included several books by French theologian Alexandre Noël (*19.01.1639-†21.08.1724), including *Institutio concionatorum seu Praecepta et regulae ad informandos Verbi Divini praedicatores* (1701).

Even though the repertoire of the third most numerous thematic group, that of humanities, did not alter significantly between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, certain changes may be noticed in each field of knowledge. The number of publications in classical philology decreased (from 2.2% in the sixteenth-seventeenth cent. to 1.2% in the eighteenth cent.), rhetoric (from 3.8% in the sixteenth-seventeenth cent. to 1.9% in the eighteenth cent.) and law (from 0.9% in the sixteenth-seventeenth cent. to 0.6% in the eighteenth cent.); however, it increased in other fields, such as language science (especially dictionaries, from 0.7% in the sixteenth-seventeenth cent. to 2.8% in the eighteenth cent.), philosophy (from 5.5% in the sixteenth-seventeenth cent. to 7.3% in the eighteenth cent.) and historiography (from 0.7% in the sixteenth-seventeenth cent. to 1.5% in the eighteenth cent.) Not a single music or folklore publication was published in the eighteenth century.

In the field of exact sciences, changes affected mathematics. While in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries publications in mathematics constituted 0.6% of the total number of books, in the eighteenth century they accounted for as much as 2.2%. Mostly these were dissertations, presented at Vilnius and other universities.

In the eighteenth century, Lithuanian *Latinitas* spread into new fields of science. At that time, the first treatises in botany, geography, zoology, as well as in architecture and art, were written and printed in Latin. Noteworthy among these are Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert's (*1741-†1814) works in botany and zoology (*Flora Lituanica inchoata*, 1781-1782; *Indagatores naturae in Lithuania seu Opuscula varii argumenti*, 1781, et al.); also Kazimierz Alojzy Hołowka's (*1718-†post 1773) rhymed geography *Compendium geographiae in versiculos dispositae* (1743); *Icones familiae Radivilianae* (1758), the album of the annotated portraits of the Radziwill princely family; and some other publications.

The development of Lithuania's Latin literature matches the general trends in the progress of European *Latinitas*. A specific feature of the GDL's *Latinitas*, compared with other languages (Belarusian, German, Hebrew, Italian, Lithuanian, Old Church Slavonic, Polish, Ruthenian, Ukrainian and others) traditionally used here for official writing, is the former's domination in book printing until the very end of the seventeenth century. As mentioned above, in the seventeenth century alone, 1175 Latin books by Lithuanian authors were published. By comparison, throughout the same period, only 818 books were published in Polish[16] and 59 books in Lithuanian[17]. Literature in Lithuania's national languages began to supersede Latin literature only later, in the eighteenth century, when 1790 books were published in Latin, 428 in Lithuanian, and approximately 5000 in Polish[18].

Discussing the Latin culture of sixteenth-eighteenth century Europe, Françoise Waquet points out that until the very end of this period, the Latin language retained a strong position in the Catholic Church (especially in theology), in the humanities (primarily in philosophy and in textbooks and dictionaries), and several other areas[19]. It was through publications in these areas that Lithuania significantly enriched European culture.

Noteworthy among fictional literary works are Nicolaus Hussovianus' *The Song of the Bison, Its Stature, Ferocity and Hunt* (1523), Joannes Radvanus' († post 1592) heroic poem *Radivilias* (1592) and Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski's (Sarbievius, *24.02.1595-†02.04.1640) poetry (*Lyricorum libri*, 1625, 1628 and numerous later editions); works of theology included Nicolaus Lancicius' (Mikołaj Łęczycki, *10.12.1574-†30.03.1653) *De piis erga Deum et coelites affectibus* and other works (printed in two volumes in Antwerp in 1650 by Jean Bolland); of philosophy, Andreas Volanus' (Andrzej Wołan, *ca. 1531-†06.01.1610) *De libertate politica sive civili libellus lectu non indignus* (1572), Martinus Smigletius' (Marcin Śmiglecki, *11.11.1563-†26.07.1618) *Logica* (1618, 1634 and other editions) and Aaron Aleksander Olizarowski's (*ca. 1610-†1659) *De politica hominum societate libri tres* (1651); of historiography, Albertus Wiiuk Kojalowicz's (Wojciech Wijuk Kojałowicz, *1609-†06.10.1677) *Historia Lituana* (I, 1650; II, 1669) and Matthias Dominicus Dogiel's (Maciej Dominik Dogiel, *06.08.1715-†24.02.1760) *Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lituaniae* (I, 1758; IV, 1764; V, 1759); of rhetoric, Casimirus Wiiuk Kojalowicz's (Kazimierz Wijuk Kojałowicz, *24.06.1617-†02.11.1674) *Modi LX sacrae orationis varie formandae* (1644, 1668 and other editions) and *Institutiones rhetoricae* (I-II, 1654), Sigismundus Lauxmin's (Zygmunt Lauxmin, *ca. 1596-†11.09.1670) *Praxis oratoria sive Praecepta artis rhetoricae* (1644, 1648 and other editions) and Michael Radau's (*1617-†1687) *Orator extemporaneus*

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[16] Ivanovič 1998; 2007: 109. This is the number of editions; in terms of titles, fewer books came out.

[17] Urbelionienė 1990: 141. In terms of titles, no fewer than 38 were published.

[18] Ivanovič 2007: 111; Urbelionienė 1990: 141 (229 titles).

[19] Waquet 2002: 82-83.

(1644, 1650 and other editions); of law, Petrus Royzius Maureus' (Pedro Ruiz de Moros (*ca. 1505-†26.04.1571) *Decisiones... de rebus in sacro Auditorio Lituanico ex appelatione iudicatis* (1563, 1570 and other editons); of military literature, Casimirus Siemienowicz's (Kazimierz Siemienowicz, *ca. 1600-†post 1651) *Artis magnae artilleriae pars prima* (1650); of botany, works of the already-mentioned Jean Gilibert; of astronomy, numerous works by Marcin Poczobutt-Odlanicki, (*30.10.1728-†07.02.1810), which afforded their author membership of London's Royal Society, the Paris Academy of Sciences and many other foreign science societies. These authors represent cultural pinnacles, even now visible in the whole of Latin Europe.

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Abstract

Sigitas Narbutas

Latinitas in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Chronology, Specifics and Forms of Reception

Latin culture reached Lithuania along with the christening of King Mindaugas (†1263) and his coronation in the mid-thirteenth century. The first known document written in Latin is the Charter given by King Mindaugas to Livonian traders, dated 25.03.1253-24.03.1254. Since then, Lithuanian literature has travelled a long and impressive road, enriching not only Lithuanian, but also European, culture with its distinctive masterpieces of spiritual culture.

The road travelled by Latin literature in Lithuania may be divided into three sections of different lengths, but of similar significance: its emergence, its establishment and its independent development. Its emergence spanned the period from the rule of Mindaugas to that of Alexander Jagiellon (*05.10.1460-†20.07.1506). The second period lasted from the rule of Sigismund I the Old (*01.01.1467-†01.04.1548) to that of Sigismund II August (*01.08.1520-†07.07.1572). The third period encompassed the time from Stephen I Bátory (*27.09.1533-†12.12.1586) to Stanisław August Poniatowski (*17.01.1732-†12.02.1798).

Evaluating the development of *Latinitas* from the perspective of Latin books throws light on its abundance. In the fifteenth century, just 3 books by Lithuanian authors appeared; in the sixteenth century, 373; by the seventeenth century, there were 1175; by the eighteenth century, no fewer than 1790. Most of them featured the *belles-lettres* of those days (poetry; rhetorical prose and dramatics): 1364 titles in this subject area (40.83% of the total number of publications) appeared in the sixteenth-eighteenth century. The second in abundance is religious literature. In the fifteenth-eighteenth century, 1106 religious books were published (33.1% of the total). The third is literature in humanities. The sixteenth-eighteenth century, saw the publication of 529 works in humanities (15.83% of the total).

Abraomas Kulvietis. Humanistic Origins of the Early Reformation in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

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1. *Kulvietis' Biography*

Abraomas Kulvietis – who pioneered the Reformation in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (hereinafter GDL), was actually the first striking example of a Humanist and *homo trium linguarum* in Lithuania. Both his education and his first Protestant *Confessio fidei* in the whole region of Poland and Lithuania demonstrate that Kulvietis was the first and loftiest ambassador of Renaissance Humanistic culture in Lithuania. He called for the Latin language and a humanistic education in order to introduce early evangelical ideas and Church reforms in Lithuania.

Abraham Culvensis Gynvilonis (Abraomas Kulvietis Ginvilonis) was born into a noble family in Kulva, near Kaunas, around 1510 (Jablonskis 1973: 56-69). Kulvietis gained his bachelor's degree at Kraków Academy on 14 September 1529. In April 1533, he matriculated at the University of Louvain as Abraham Lithfanus (Pociūtė 2007: 99-120). It is likely that he was a student of the famous *Collegium Trilingue* of Louvain. In early 1536 he arrived in Prussia to meet Duke Albrecht, who sent him to study at the Catholic University of Leipzig, where he matriculated as *Abraam Culvensis Lituanus* in Spring 1536 (Erler 1895: 620). A year later, in May 1537, Kulvietis entered the University of Wittenberg under the name *Abraham Littuanus Magister*, becoming the first Lithuanian student there. He studied in this university for one semester before leaving for Italy[1].

In Siena, on 28-29 November 1540 Kulvietis defended his doctoral thesis *in utroque iure* (Minucci, Morelli 1992: 98). The subject of his thesis in canon law was "Clericus nec comam nec barbam nutriat" ("A cleric does not wear long hair or a beard"); his civil law thesis dealt with the issue of a nobleman's (soldier's) testament ("causa de testamento militis")[2]. He defended his doctoral thesis in the palace of the Archidiocese of Siena, the traditional seat for this purpose for students of Siena University, witnessed by *d. Augustinus de Ubertinis* and *In-*

[1] Some historians were able to advance the data proving Kulvietis' arrival in Italy, since it was believed that by 1539 he had returned to Lithuania and founded a school. Such conclusions on the basis of A. Wengerscius' claims were also made by Th. Wotschke (Wotchke 1905: 156), and later by others.

[2] The report of the defense of his thesis is stored in the Archive of Siena Diocese in Italy (Archivio Arcivescovile di Siena, Protocolli degli atti di lauree, 6437 (1515-1542): III libro bastardello, 161v-162r). For more information about the Italian period of Kulvietis' life and his studies in Siena see: Pociūtė 2005: 78-93.

Latinitas *in the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania : Its Impact on the Development of Identities,* edited by Giovanna Siedina, ISBN 978-88-6655-675-6 (online), ISBN 978-88-6655-674-9 (print),

contrus de Incontris from Siena and *d. Martinus Tranerius* from Bavaria. The minutes of the defense were taken by the notary *Raphael*; Kulvietis' promoters were doctors Lodovico di Simone Borghese (1494-1551) and Alessandro Sozzini (1509-1541), (Pociūtė 2005: 249-250). The latter's presence is particularly interesting, since shortly thereafter two representatives of the powerful Sozzini family – Alessandro's brother Lelio Sozzini (1525-1565) and son Fausto Sozzini (1539-1604) – became the leaders of Protestantism in the GDL and Poland. They were founders of the school of radical Christian thought known as Socinianism, the basic principles of which had been elaborated in Lithuania and Poland. Alessandro, the eldest son of Mariano Sozzini Jr. (1482-1556), professor at the Universities of Siena, Padua and Bologna, who died young soon after the presentation of Kulvietis' doctoral thesis, lectured in civil and canon law at the Universities of Padua and Siena. In 1541, he was appointed to lecture at the new University in Macerata, where he died on 28 April 1541 (Minucci, Košuta 1989: 505).

An intense network of philo-Protestants had begun to develop by the time Kulvietis arrived in the city: Juan de Valdés' *Alfabeto Cristiano* was being read in Siena as early as 1538 (Firpo 1987: 54; Marchetti 1975: 25-28), and the two most eminent figures of early Italian Evangelism – Bernardino Ochino (ca. 1487-1565) and Aonio Paleario (1503-1570) – lived and worked there. It was in Siena that the pioneer of the Reformation of the GDL became intimately familiar with the ideas of Italian Protestantism. The city thus provided a crossroads for the pioneers of both Lithuanian Reformation and Italian Evangelism (Pociūtė 2005: 255-260).

On his return to Lithuania in early 1541, Kulvietis decided to introduce himself to Bona Sforza (1494-1557), Queen of Poland and Grand Duchess of Lithuania, who was living in Vilnius at the time, and to announce the "unmasked truth", as the lexicon of Italian Protestantism called pure Evangelical teaching. Information about Kulvietis' visit to the royal court in Vilnius was disseminated by his first biographer Johann Hoppe (Hoppius, before 1520-1565) in 1546 (Pociūtė 2011: 135-136). Cf.:

> [Kulvietis) went to the royal court, which was at that time in Vilnius, to notify on that occasion his friends and his entire homeland of his own liberal and pious inclinations and the impious intentions of the adversaries. It was impossible to dissuade him from this pious and honourable campaign of reminding people of the perils and dangers that threatened them because of the might of the adversaries. He had a strong belief in God and was sure that God took care of him in his devout efforts to preach the word of God. That was why he ignored all threats and perils. Thus, the leading nobles welcomed him heartily in the King's court and soon he was granted royal patronage to protect him from those whose hate was directed not so much against his person as against the teachings about the true knowledge of God[3].

[3] "[...] ac postea in Regiam aulam, quae tunc Vilnae erat, se confert, ut hac occasione amicis suis et toti patriae liberalem suum ac pium animum, aduersariorum uero

Kulvietis was successful in securing Bona Sforza's protection. After nearly two years (in December 1542) during the meeting with the envoy Jobst Ludwig Decius (Dietz) the Younger, the queen would recall her first acquaintance with Kulvietis and would tell how impressed she had been by Kulvietis' education, though he professed forbidden things[4]. In the spring of 1541, thanks to the Queen's protection, Kulvietis opened a school in Vilnius for the children of the gentry, considered the first humanities college in Lithuania. It is likely that the school was organized along the lines of the Louvain *Collegium Trilingue*. It soon became one of the main pretexts for starting the first ecclesiastical anti-Reform court proceedings in the GDL: on 19 May 1542, on the eve of the restoration of the Rome Inquisition, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Sigismund the Old, at the request of the bishop of Vilnius, Paulius Alšėniškis, issued a decree ordering that the rebel ("homo seditiosus", "rebellis") and heretic Kulvietis be brought to the ecclesiastical court. Should Kulvietis fail to appear in court or flee the country, the decree stated that he would be banished from Lithuania, stripped of his nobility status, and have all his assets confiscated (Baliński 1837:142-151). Queen Bona Sforza helped Kulvietis to leave Vilnius and escape to safety in Lutheran Prussia (Königsberg), since she could no longer hope to protect him[5]. In Prussia Duke Albrecht appointed Kulvietis his counselor and later assigned him the task of overseeing the foundation of a new Lutheran University, established in Königsberg in 1544. There Kulvietis received a Chair in Greek: he also taught Hebrew and commentaries on the Psalms (Tschackert 1890: 78). In September 1542, after Kulvietis' escape, Alšėniškis gave orders to arrest Kulvietis' mother and some of his friends, send them to prison and seize the Kulvietis family's property. In early October 1542, having informed only the chancellor of Albrecht's court, but without the Duke's knowledge and during his absence from Königsberg, Kulvietis tried to go back to Lithuania to free his mother. Duke Albrecht was displeased with such a risky decision and told Kulvietis in a letter dated 8 October to cut short his travel to Lithuania and come back, as he had a better plan for setting his mother free. Also Bona Sforza strongly advised Duke Albrecht to keep Kulvietis by his side. Under no circumstances ("even if he had to be restrained by chains") should he be allowed to leave Königsberg because in Vilnius he would be burnt at the stake before the Queen could help him[6]. That

impios conatus, declararet. Nec potuit ab hoc suo instituto tam pio ac honesto reuocari ullo metu periculorum et calamitatum, quibus obnoxius erat propter aduersariorum potentiam. Tanta enim fuit fidutia erga Deum, ut certo statueret, se Deo curae esse in tam pio studio propagandi uerbi dei. Ideoque facile contempsit omnes minas et impendentia pericula. Accedens igitur ad aulam, á Primoribus summa beneuolentia complexus est. Tamdeque in patrocinium Regis ac Reginae peruenit, ut tutus esset contra uim eorum, qui non hominem, sed doctrinam de uera agnitione Dei, oderunt" (Pociūtė 2011: 135-136).

[4] See the letter of J. L. Decius to Duke Albrecht, December 27, 1542 (Wotschke 1905: 177).

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] "Et ita dicas patri tuo, ut scribat domino duci Prussiae, quod illum apud se teneat, nam ille voluit in Lithuaniam domum suam ire et metuendum est, ne illum com-

shows that even after her husband Sigismund the Old had issued a decree against Kulvietis, Bona Sforza was firmly on the side of the pioneer of Protestantism in Lithuania. How long Kulvietis' mother's imprisonment lasted is not quite clear, but it seems that by early 1543 she had already been liberated through the good offices of Duke Albrecht and Bona Sforza.

Nevertheless, the spiritual trial against Kulvietis was not closed and he was still on charges of heresy. In 1543, in Königsberg, Kulvietis wrote his Latin *Confessio fidei* in the form of a letter addressed to Bona Sforza. In that work Kulvietis presented his religious ideas and a request for the resolution of his case. There is no doubt that Bona Sforza must have helped to resolve Kulvietis' case, for after he had lectured for a single semester, he gave up his post at the University of Königsberg on 2 January 1545 and, having received a letter of recommendation from Albrecht (addressed to the duke Mikolaj Radvilas 'the Black'), he was given permission to return to Lithuania. Since the end of 1544 the political situation in Vilnius had changed too: thanks to the efforts of his mother, Bona Sforza, Sigismund August (1520-1572) became sovereign ruler of Lithuania on 6 October 1544. The young Grand Duke demonstrated philo-Protestant tendencies and started to play an important role in the development of the Reformation in Lithuania.

Lamentably, Kulvietis spent only a few months in his homeland: in April 1545 he fell ill in Vilnius and on 6 June he died at his parents' home in Kulva. He was buried on a nearby hill; his mother, Elzbieta Kulvietienė, was not allowed to bury her son in a graveyard, and she interpreted this as the Church's attempt to intimidate all Lithuanian Evangelicals. In her letter to Duke Albrecht, Kulvietienė expressed her suspicion that her son had been poisoned by physicians on the bishops' orders[7]. Historical records testify that after Kulvietis' death his collegues and friends at Königsberg University – Hoppe, the author of *Oratio funebris,* and the lawyer Christoph Jonas – mounted a memorial plaque in Königsberg Cathedral where, according to their late friend's will and deathbed confession of faith, they chiselled the last words of the Apostles' Creed followed by an epitaph in Latin (Lilienthal 1728: 57-58):

> Praematura tulit Culvensis fata Abrahamus,
> qui coluit pura religione deum.
> Hic in gymnasio doctoris munere functus
> stemmate et ingenio clarus et arte fuit.
> Ossa tegit tristis, genuit quae Littava tellus,
> at mens cum Christo non moritura manet.

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burant vel suspendant, nec dimittat, etiam si debeat nolentem in cathena retinere. Nam certe illum comburerent vel suspenderent, antequam ego rescirem." See the letter of J.L. Decius to Duke Albrecht, December 27, 1542 (Wotschke 1905:178).

[7] Elzbieta Kulvietiene to Duke Albrecht, 15 June 1545, Kulva (Wotschke 1905:185).

> Here lies Abraham Culvensis overtaxed by premature death
> who worshiped God with pure devotion,
> was a diligent Doctor in Grammar school,
> and famous for his origins, intelligence and arts.
> The Lithuanian land that gave birth to him, sadly embraces his bones,
> but his soul will never die living forever with Christ.

2. *Kulvietis' Renaissance Library*

In the same letter to Duke Albrecht, Kulvietis' mother asked for her son's personal effects and books remaining in Königsberg to be returned to her. In the summer of 1545, in Königsberg, the list of Kulvietis' books was drafted, probably by Kulvietis' servant Stanislaus Vilcomeriensis, and it was first published by Theodor Wotschke (1905: 189-190). Regrettably, the fate of this collection of books, which must have reached Kulvietis' mother, is not known.

Kulvietis' library must have contained over 80 volumes and is known as the first personal humanities library of a member of the Lithuanian gentry. It was a typical Renaissance library containing books in three languages – Latin, Greek and Hebrew – bespeaking its owner's proficiency in those languages and the fact that he was the first Lithuanian *homo trium linguarum*. The library contained books of classical antiquity (by Aesopus, Aristophanes, Aristotle, Plato, Homer, Hesiod, Sophocles, Euripides, Xenophon, Isocrates, Theocritus, Plutarch, Ptolomy, Cicerone, Vergil, Horace, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Pliny the Elder, Apuleius, Lactantius, and others) and early modern times authors. It was a humanities library of a manifestly new type. Medieval texts were represented only by the philosopher Albertus Magnus. The collection contained works by 15 Roman, 19 Greek, 13 Medieval and early modern authors. Most of them were in Latin and Greek. The library represented a wide range of thematic areas: Roman drama, philosophy, philology, jurisprudence, medicine, theology, natural sciences and history. Humanist and Protestant authors were represented by works by Jan Hus, Jerome of Prague (Hieronymus Pragensis), Laurentius Valla, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Joachim Vadianus, Johannes Bugenhagen, Melanchthon and others. It is noteworthy that Kulvietis' library contained no works by Luther. Kulvietis had one book in Polish (which may have been one of the first Polish Protestant books published in Königsberg by Kulvietis' acquaintance Seklucjan, either a confession of faith published in 1544 or the first Polish Lutheran catechism written by the same author in 1545) and another in Prussian (most probably the first Prussian catechism published in 1545). Most of the volumes would have been printed in the Netherlands and Italy, as well as in Königsberg and perhaps also in Kraków and in Germany. Kulvietis was interested in medicine and had books on medicine by Avicenna, and by the Classical authors Dioscorides and Nicander. Biblical texts were represented by The Book of Psalms in Greek and Hebrew which Kulvietis would have used to translate the psalms into Lithuanian, and also by the works of Jerome, the translator of the Vulgata. There is no doubt that

Kulvietis was preparing to initiate the publication of the first Lithuanian books, which started to be published in Königsberg just after his death in 1547. Unfortunately, Kulvietis' only surviving text in Lithuanian known today was the one published in the Martynas Mažvydas' Lithuanian Hymn Book (1570). It was his translation of Luther's hymn on the Eucharist *Gott sey gelobet und gebenedeiet*.

3. *History of the Surviving Copies of the Kulvietis' and Hoppe's Texts*

The history of the publication of Kulvietis' *Confessio fidei* is no less dramatic than the life of its author. Before the discovery in Durham University Library of the only copy of Hoppe's *Oratio funebris* and the preparation of its new critical edition in 2011[8], no surviving copy of Kulvietis' *Confession* was known to the world. Lithuanian historiography of the twentieth century mentioned Kulvietis' *Confessio fidei*, written in the form of a letter and sent to Bona Sforza in 1543, as a text printed in 1543. However, there has never been any reliable information on such a publication or any of its extant copies. Over two hundred years after the time it was written, Kulvietis' *Confessio fidei* was cited by Michael Lilienthal (1686-1750) in the eighteenth-century publication *Erleutertes Preussen* (1728: 56-57)[9]. Before WWII, the Royal Königsberg University Library had two copies of Hoppe's *Oratio funebris* written and published after Kulvietis' death (1547), which included Kulvietis' *Confessio fidei*. Those copies were used by Paul Tschackert in the nineteenth century when, in 1890, he published an incomplete text of Kulvietis' *Confessio fidei*, which was used by twentieth-century historians as his only extant publication because the assets of the Königsberg University Library had been dissipated and some had disappeared altogether (Tschackert 1890, 3: 163).

Instead, no information about Hoppe's funeral speech *Oratio funebris* was known to twentieth-century historiographers until 1970[10]. After a manuscript copy of its publication stored in the Königsberg library, and made before WWII, was found in 1970, *Oratio funebris* was published according to that (incomplete) manuscript copy containing a large number of inaccuracies (Barycz 1970: 39-44)[11].

And finally, in 2007, the only extant original copy of Hoppe's *Oratio funebris* with the attachment of Kulvietis' *Confessio fidei* was found in the Durham University Library, England (Pociūtė 2008: 121-124). Hoppe's *Oratio funebris*

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[8] See Pociūtė 2011.

[9] The book contains two quotations from the last paragraph of Kulvietis' *Confessio fidei*, without any reference to the source of the quotation.

[10] This work is not mentioned in Hoppe's biography written by K. Kubik (1960-1961: 608-609).

[11] The publication of H. Barycz came out according to the manuscript copy made before WWII by Jan N. Fijałek stored in the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Kraków. Barycz, author of the publication, stated that the two published copies of Hoppe's work stored at Königsberg University before WWII, had disappeared.

was published by the Hans Weinreich printing house in June 1547. Now it is the only surviving copy of Kulvietis' and Hoppe's texts known so far. In 2011 a new critical edition with commentaries of the whole volume was prepared, including both Hoppe's and Kulvietis' texts (Pociūtė 2011).

4. *Hoppe's Oratio Funebris and the Beginning of the Funeral Genre in the GDL*

Johann Hoppe (Hoppius), a professor at the University of Königsberg, was the first writer to present general, comprehensive information on Kulvietis' life. He did so in the *Oratio funebris in obitum nobilis ac clarissimi uiri Doctoris Abrahami Culuensis Lithuani*, which he wrote on the first anniversary of Kulvietis' death in 1546, and which was published in Königsberg in 1547, in the press of Hans Weinreich.

Johann Hoppe's book was printed together with the *Confessio fidei Abrahami Culuensis* in June 1547 in Königsberg. It consists of 36 folios, the format – *in octavo* (8°). The book contains the following: Hoppe's *Oratio funebris*, Hoppe's *Epitaphium*, and *Confessio fidei* of Abraham Culvensis. Hoppe's *Oratio funebris* is the first specimen of a funeral speech dedicated to a Lithuanian hero. So we can claim that this genre, created on the basis of Greek e*pitaphios logos* and Roman *laudatio funebris*, and perfected in Europe during the Modern Age, in the region of the GDL and Prussia was introduced first of all by the Protestants. The second funeral speech dedicated to a Lithuanian was also created by a Protestant. It was dedicated to the duke Jonas Radvilas (1516-1551) and written by Wittenberg University student Venclovas Agripa (Wencelaus Agrippa Lithuanus, ca. 1529-1597) of Vilnius. His speech (*Oratio funebris de illustrissimi principis et domini Iohannis Radziuili*), including a Melanchthon epitaph, was published in Wittenberg in 1553 (Dambrauskaitė-Muralienė 2009: 124-130).

Johann Hoppe (Ioannes Hoppius Budissensis, prior to 1520-1565) was Kulvietis' friend and colleague in Königsberg University. He was born in Bautzen, Saxony (Kubik 1960-1961: 608-609). After graduating from Wittenberg University, he started his teaching career as rector of the Evangelical school in Freystadt (Świdnica), Saxony. In 1542, Duke Albrecht invited him to the university-preparatory school, which the Duke was establishing in Königsberg. After the school was reorganised into a university in 1544, Hoppe was appointed professor of ethics. In 1549, he served as Rector of Königsberg University. During his time at the University, Hoppe maintained close relations with George Sabinus, an outstanding Prussian humanist. On October 16, 1553, Hoppe left the university because he opposed Osiandrism, which was at that time supported by Duke Albrecht and the official authorities of the university. He moved to Kulm and in the spring of 1554 launched his successful reorganising activities of the Kulm town school into a Grammar school, which he described in his work *Forma veteris Gymnasii Culmensis recens instaurati* (Vratislaviae, 1554).

He based his teaching and educating programmes on the model of the famous Protestant Grammar school in Strasburg, but after the publication of his work, his educational programme came under intense criticism from the hierarchs of the Kulm Catholic Church. From the end of 1555, Hoppe served as rector of the Elbing Grammar school for a few years, but his appointment was not acceptable to Bishop Stanislaus Hosius. In 1558, Hoppe turned his hand to organising a humanist gymnasium in Danzig, but in 1560 he came to Kulm, married the mayor's daughter and served as a city secretary until his death. His *Oratio funebris* dedicated to Kulvietis was written in May 1546 to mark the first anniversary of Kulvietis' death. Incidentally, in November 1546, Hoppe wrote his second *Oratio funebris* dedicated to the jurist Konrad Lage from Danzig (ca. 1500-07.11.1546), printed in the same printing house in Königsberg in 1548.

Hoppe's *Oratio funebris* is quite reliable and can be regarded as the beginning of Protestant hagiography in the GDL and Poland, elaborated in the seventeenth century. The speech is not only a descriptive account of Kulvietis' life, but also an evaluation of his achievements and virtues leading to the image of Kulvietis as the first Evangelical hero, a dissident and a martyr. In his text Hoppe cites or freely uses the locutions of such Latin authors as Horace, Cicero and Lucretius. He finished his *Oratio* with the precise quotation from *De rerum natura* by Lucretius: "Vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu" ("Life is given to none to possess fully, but for all to use").

5. *Confessio fidei*

Kulvietis' *Confessio fidei* is quite a short Latin text written in the form of a letter in 1543. It is the first Protestant Confession written in the whole region of the GDL and Poland.

The form of a public letter to express one's religious views had already been used in the history of the European Reformation. Kulvietis' confession is an original work but there are certain different sources he used to construct the main ideas of his letter. The circumstances of appearance, religious ideas and some rhetorical expressions in Kulvietis' letter to Bona Sforza first of all directly recall the religious manifesto of Bernardino Ochino, one of the most prominent figures of Italian Protestantism. Ochino's letter of 1542 was addressed to the city of Siena from Switzerland, where Ochino found himself after having fled from Italy to Geneva. It was the *Epistola di Bernardino Ochino alli molto magnifici signori, li signori di Balia della città di Siena*. Although published in 1543, it had been circulated widely in Protestant Europe before it appeared in print and had been well-known in Königsberg, to where Kulvietis had moved in May-June 1542[12]. Kulvietis wrote his *Confessio fidei* in the form of a letter to Queen

[12] The Letter to Siena has been published more than once. The quotations are taken from: Rozzo 1985.

Bona Sforza, who would have been familiar with Ochino's manifesto to the city of Siena and his flight from Italy. She may have heard about it from her relative Vittoria Colonna, a well-known figure of the Italian Renaissance and Ochino's close friend. He had written a farewell letter to her from Florence (on August 22, 1542) containing further expressions of his views[13]. Numerous facts lead us to believe that Kulvietis had known Ochino, his spiritual leader, quite well in Siena (directly or indirectly) and had read his principles of faith set out in a letter to the magistrates of that city. The circumstances in which Ochino's and Kulvietis' letters appeared, the time of their appearance (1542 and 1543), their Reformation ideas and criticism of the Church were very similar. Both letters were written as apologies of dissidents fleeing their native countries because of persecution and as declarations of their Evangelical views. After the dispatch to their addressees, both letters were published as manifestos of Protestantism in Protestant states, where the two refugees had found shelter: Ochino's letter in Geneva, Kulvietis' letter in Königsberg. Ochino and Kulvietis based their texts on the same paradox: anti-Christians pass judgment on charges of heresy on behalf of the Church. In his letter to Siena magistrates, Ochino stated the following (Rozzo 1985: 141):

> This is the faith for whose sake I was forced to leave Italy, and was persecuted to death, dishonored, and cast out by the Antichristians. But my cause is righteous and speaks for itself. If I err in this article, then all have erred from the beginning who have been truly saints, even the apostles, especially Paul, nay, Christ Himself, – they all must be cast out, rejected and accursed[14].

Kulvietis also wrote that the wickedness of his "adversaries" was so great that they might dare convict even Christ himself (Pociūtė 2011: 154): "As they are so ignorant of the Holy Scriptures, so wicked and cruel, even Christ could be found guilty in their judgments […]"[15].

In *Confessio fidei* Kulvietis touched upon the problem of the state's well-being several times, identifying his enemies as the cause of the state's enfeeblement. While denying the accusations that the Church had made against him, Kulvietis spoke publicly about the vices of the Lithuanian Church of his time, such as obscurantism, avarice and the vanity of the clergy and accentuated the advantages of education for the general well-being of the state. Underlining that

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[13] Ochino's letter to Vittoria Colonna (Rozzo 1985, 123-124).

[14] Here the English translation of Ochino's letter is quoted from: K. Benrath, *Bernardino Ochino of Siena: A Contribution Towards the History of the Reformation*. Translated from German by Helen Zimmern, London 1876, p. 138. This is the original quotation: "Per questa verità so' fuor d'Italia persequitato a morte et dalli antechristiani hauto per excomunicato. Ma la causa è sì iusta per la qual pato che mi scusa per se stessa. Se erro in questo articolo hanno anco errato dal principio del mondo infin a hora tutti quelli che in verità sonno stati sancti, precipue li apostoli et singularmente Paulo, imo et Christo. Et meritano tutti di essere excomunicati, reprobati et maledicti".

[15] "Quare cum tam ignari sint sacrarum literarum, tam impij, et tam crudeles, ut eorum iuditio ne Christus quidem possit esse innocens [...]".

he had used the knowledge he had acquired in the best Western universities for noble purposes – such as educating the children of the gentry – Kulvietis tried to prove that there should be one truth rather than two different secular and spiritual truths and that it should serve the common social good. To characterise his opponents as servants of avarice (*avaritia*) and epicureanism, Kulvietis used the elements and images of Reformation discourse which had become popular in Europe by that time. *Avaritia* was a traditional accusation against the Church of the late Middle Ages and its ethical norms while epicureanism, as a teaching which ridiculed Christian godliness, was strongly rejected in the Scripture. Protestants frequently used this image in their religious controversy with reference to immorality, overindulgent pursuit of pleasure and anti-Christian theories and practices. In the New Testament, the term was used in reference to non-Christian philosophers who opposed the Apostle Paul as a negative characterisation of people interested in earthly rather than spiritual pleasures (see *Acts* 17, 18). Kulvietis was also the first to bring up the category of conscience (*conscientia*) in Lithuania as a contrast to those vices, a concept from classical antiquity given a new Christian interpretation in the teachings of the Apostle Paul (Pociūtė 2008: 153-173).

The pioneer of the Reformation in Lithuania emphasised that the situation in Lithuania, in which an uneducated monk "not fit to head even a children's school" was allowed to comment on the Holy Scriptures while this right was denied to a well-educated citizen proficient in all the Biblical languages, was absurd. Baptism and education should be the basis on which the right of comment is to be recognised (Pociūtė 2011: 157): "My answer to my enemies who say that commenting on such issues is outside my authority is the following: during my Baptism I declared that I am a follower of God and a member of His Church. When I was granted a doctor's degree, I was given the right to interpret, discuss and teach the Holy Scriptures"[16].

In his *Confessio fidei* Kulvietis was rather cautious in expressing his doubts about the sacraments of the Catholic Church. He gave only a few guarded hints about their number, stating: "I also believe that the sacraments are instituted in the Gospel and it is God's will and command that all people should receive the grace of the sacraments"[17]. This was an indirect indication that Kulvietis recognised only two sacraments – the Sacrament of Baptism and the Sacrament of the Eucharist, but he discreetly tried to avoid getting involved in Protestant discussions about the arguments for rejecting the remaining sacraments.

In his *Confession*, Kulvietis pointed out that he could not agree with what he referred to as the four errors of the Church. The first and most important error was the eschatological doctrine of redemption, delivering from sin and sav-

[16] "Quod uero aduersarij mei clamitant, non mei esse offitij de talibus disputare. Respondeo, In baptismo professus sum me esse seruum Dei, et membrum suae Ecclesiae. Deinde quando insignia doctoratus accepi, commissa est mihi potestas interpretandi, disputandi, docendi scripturas".

[17] "Credo item Sacramenta esse instituta in Euangelio, quibus omnes ex diuino mandato uti debeant" (cf. Pociūtė 2011: 155).

ing from evil, which, according to the Church, depended on man's good deeds (merits). Kulvietis opposed this doctrine by saying "I believe that we are saved solely by God's mercy, through the suffering of Jesus at the Crucifixion, as a gift, without any merits of our own"[18]. That was also the basic idea in Ochino's *Letter to Siena* and all his other early works, which contained much broader comments than those in Kulvietis' *Confessio fidei*. The other issues about the need for reforms raised by Kulvietis concerned certain aspects of religious rites and the social system of the Church. Justification for such reforms was to be found in Christ's Gospel and the early Christian Church tradition which was followed by the first Protestants of the GDL. Holding up the early Christian Church as a model, Kulvietis pointed out that in celebrating the Sacrament of the Eucharist, secular recipients should receive Communion in the form of both bread and wine "as it was instituted by Christ and as it was done by the Apostles and the old Church. The second species of the Sacrament was prohibited not so long ago"[19]. Kulvietis treated the Sacrament of the Eucharist under one species as a second error of the Church. Kulvietis also considered that celibacy was only a recent practice in the priesthood and was not based on the traditions of the Church Fathers[20]. Kulvietis saw the fourth error of the Church in its role as a feudal landlord who managed huge wealth at its own discretion without bringing any benefits for the State or education[21]. Kulvietis shared the views of the first anonymous Protestants on the veneration and invocation of St. Mary and other saints, stating that they were not divine but just ordinary people, and therefore, although worthy of honour, they should not be venerated in the same way as God[22].

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[18] "Credo, quod per solam misericordiam, propter passionem Christi, gratis, nullis nostris meritis saluamur" (cf. Pociūtė *ibidem*).

[19] "Secundum Christi institutionem, et secundum Apostolorum et Ecclesiae ueteris traditionem. Nam altera species Sacramenti, non ita pridem adempta est" (cf. Pociūtė 2011: 156).

[20] "I affirm that priests who cannot abstain should marry. The argument that marriage pollutes the clergy is worthless. Since marriage is established by God it cannot pollute the clergy. Holy Fathers like Chaeremon, Spyridon and others were married. That is confirmed by the old canons." ("Affirmo ducendas esse uxores sacerdotibus, qui continere se non possunt. Nec est ullius momenti quod dicunt, ordinem sacrum pollui coniugio. Si matrimonium est opus á Deo institutum, non potest pollui eo, ordo sacer. Prophetae, sancti patres, Cheremon, Spiridon etc. fuerunt coniugati. Veteres item Canones approbant"; Pociūtė *ibidem*).

[21] "The Church wealth is shamefully dissipated by the rectors causing the wrath of God and damaging the State. The resources are offered to the Church first of all for the modest and thrifty life of the Church ministers, then for assisting the poor pupils and finally for the needs of the State when it needs it." ("Bona ecclesiastica á rectoribus ecclesiarum turpiter absumi assero magna Dei indignatione, et ingenti Reipublicae damno. Facultates enim in hoc sunt donatae Ecclesijs, ut de his primum uiuant ministri Ecclesiae sobrie et parce, deinde pauperum Scolasticorum utilitati consulatur: postremo ut reipublicae necessitati subueniatur"; Pociūtė *ibidem*).

[22] "I think of the Virgin Marry that she is the most cast and the most holy Virgin, Mother of God to which no holy virgin or woman can compare. I think that saints should

Ochino and Kulvietis based their texts on the same paradox: anti-Christians and carnal people pass judgment on charges of heresy on behalf of the Church. But unlike Ochino, a lawyer, a doctor of Canon and Civil law at Siena university and a disciple of a famous family of jurists of Siena, the Sozzini, Kulvietis used also the arguments of jurisprudence to defend his own case.

During the period of Kulvietis' activity and the beginning of the Reformation, the First Lithuanian Statute (1529) was effective in the GDL. In this code of laws the clash between secular (civil) and ecclesiastical jurisdiction was not dealt with. Up to the middle of the sixteenth century, the Church enjoyed broad jurisdiction and frequently clashed with the jurisdiction of the State. Besides clergymen and other subjects of the Church, the spiritual courts prosecuted noblemen, peasants and townsfolk.

Kulvietis did not recognise the role of final appeal to the jurisdiction of the Church when judging cases involving laymen. He referred to the quotation from the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, issued by the Roman Emperor Iustinian (from 529 to 534): *Nemo potest esse iudex in sua causa* ("No one shall decide his own case or interpret the law for himself" (*Codex iustinianus,* 3,5). Kulvietis calls this principle *regula iuris aequissima* ("the justest law"). As is well known, the provisions of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* have influenced the Canon law of the Church: the Church lives according to Roman law (*Ecclesia vivit lege romana*).

Another Latin source that Kulvietis used in his *Confessio fidei* was the revised version of Eusebius Caesariensis' *Church History*, edited by Rufinus Aquileiensis (Rufinus of Aquileia, 340/345-410). From this source he took the example of St Spyridon (ca. 270-348), a married bishop of Trimythous (Tremetousia) from Cyprus. With two – St Chaeremon and St Spyridon – examples of married bishops Kulvietis considered that priestly celibacy was only a recent practice and was not based on the traditions of the Church Fathers.

Kulvietis' *Confession* planted the seed of Ochino's ideas in Lithuania, where it bore unexpected fruits in the future of the Lithuanian Reformation, when the contacts between Italian and Lithuanian protestants increased in intensity. In 1558-1560, Ochino's two dramatic pieces dedicated to the founder of the Lithuanian Evangelical Church and Reformation leader in Lithuania, Radvilas the Black, were published in Polish. In 1563 Ochino also dedicated the part on the Holy Trinity of his *Dialogi XXX* to the same Lithuanian duke[23]. At the end of

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be honored as well as their life and customs should be praised in the Church. However the invocation and worship belongs only to the God. According to that word: "there shall not be for you other gods besides me" and "my glory I will not give to another." ("De diua uirgine Maria sic sentio, Esse eam castissimam ac sanctissimam uirginem matrem Dei, cui nulla uirginum ac mulierum sanctarum comparari queat. Sanctis tribuendum esse honorem sentio, ac eorum uitam, mores, laudandos esse publice in templo: Verum inuocationem et adorationem soli Deo tribuo. Iuxta illud, Non habebis Deos alienos coram me. Item, Gloriam meam non do alijs"; Pociūtė 2011: 157).

[23] *O zwierchności papieskiej nad wszystkim światem chrześcijańskim tragedia krotochwilna* (*Tragedia dell'ingiusto ed usurpato primato del papa*) and *Tragedya o Mszej* (*Tragedia della Messa*). For more information see: Pociūtė 2008: 385-389.

his life in 1564 Ochino, former inspirer of the pioneer of the Lithuanian Reformation Kulvietis, was banished from Reformed Switzerland and took brief refuge at Radvilas 'the Black's' in Poland and Lithuania (Pociūtė 2008: 523-537).

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Abstract

Dainora Pociūtė

Abraomas Kulvietis. Humanistic Origins of the Early Reformation in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

The article presents the humanistic background of Lithuanian Reformation pioneer Abraomas Kulvietis (Abraham Culvensis, about 1510-1545) and his relations with the Italian philo-Protestant context in the first half of the sixteenth century. An early reconstruction of Kulvietis' activity was written soon after his death by Johannes Hoppe. His funeral speech *Oratio funebris*, dedicated to Kulvietis (Königsberg, 1547), was published together with Kulvietis' *Confessio fidei*. The only surviving copy of this edition was found in the Durham University Library and in 2011 a new critical edition of it was prepared.

This confession, written in 1543, is considered to be the first evangelical *confessio fidei* in Poland and Lithuania as well as the first recorded Protestant text in Lithuania. Kulvietis' confession was addressed to the Queen of Poland and the Grand duchess of Lithuania, the Italian Bona Sforza. Kulvietis' humanistic origins have their beginning at the University of Leuven (most probably in *Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense)* where he matriculated in April 1533. Kulvietis was later famous as an expert in classical languages (*homo trium linguarum*) and was offered the position of professor of classical languages at the newly founded University of Königsberg. After his studies at the universities of Wittenberg and Leipzig, Kulvietis gained his doctor's degree *in utroque iure* in Siena in November 1540. His studies at the *Collegium Trilingue* influenced the humanistic methodology of the Lithuanian Reformation pioneer as well as stimulating his ideas about the first high Lithuanian grammar school. The school was founded by Kulvietis in Vilnius at 1541. In 1542 Kulvietis was forced to flee his homeland to Lutheran Prussia since the bishop of Vilnius had organized a first Church trial against his 'heresy'. The article provides a detailed discussion of the features of the early Lithuanian Protestant ideas declared in Kulvietis' Latin *Confessio fidei* and suggests that the pioneer of the Lithuanian Reformation was inspired by the work of the famous Italian dissident Bernardinio Ochino, who fled Siena in the same year (1542) and wrote the first Italian Protestant manifesto *Epistola di Bernardino Ochino alli molto magnifici signori, li signori di Balià della città di Siena.* Both texts have much in common in terms of their ideas and rhetorics.

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