Some Renaissance/ Early Modern Topoi in the Twenty First Century

Editors
Krystyna Kujawińska Courtney
Grzegorz Zinkiewicz

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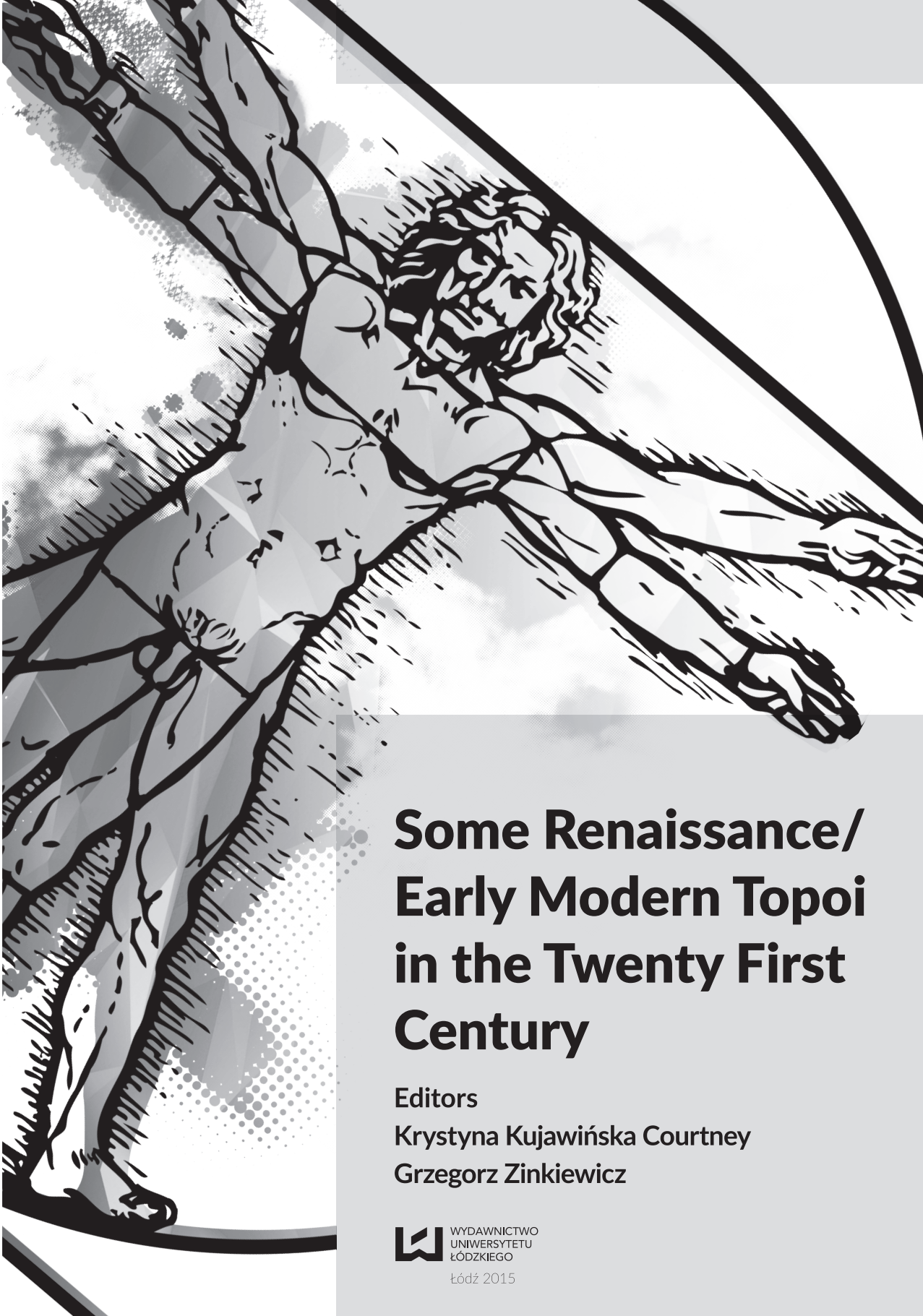

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Krystyna Kujawińska Courtney

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INTRODUCTION
CONCEPTS AND STRATEGIES

This collection of essays is in part the result of an international research project "Revisiting the Renaissance: Poland and the Low Countries in Early Modern Europe—The Culture of Self-Deception", which was carried out by the British and Commonwealth Department of the University of Lodz in Poland and the Vakgroep Nederlandse Literatur en Alegemene Literatuuretenschap of the University of Ghent in Belgium (2009-2012). The goal of this project was to validate the ongoing debate on the Renaissance by looking at its significance in European civilization through the prism of marginalized cultures. As the essays presented in this volume demonstrate, the scope of our interest has grown over time so that issues such as literature, religion, diplomacy, politics, and arts are seen not only from Polish and Netherland perspectives, but also from the vistas of other European countries. These varied frames of reference present an intercultural impact upon early modern civilization.

Once the project began, our attention became occupied with the question of terminology. Although "Renaissance" was the initial term we applied to the period of our interest, with time we also included the term "Early Modern" in our discussion. After all, the word "Renaissance" (it. "rinascita"), which appeared for the first time in Giorgio Vasari's *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architettori* [*Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*] in the sixteenth century, has somehow lost its initial meaning. This was the result of its popularization through the works of two historians, Jules Michelet

(1798-1874), a Frenchman, and Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897), a Swiss. Both scholars, working independently, used the term to mean rediscovery, or rebirth, of ancient learning and knowledge, as well as the employment of this renewal in the arts and sciences. They also extended the meaning to signal the restoration of European culture in general through the resumption and appropriation of ancient texts.

The other concern, which made us re-examine the term "Renaissance" results from its literal meaning. The term introduces the idea of optimism and well-being in that it announces restoration and renewal, while at the same time discounting and/or ignoring innumerable cultural phenomena, such as the prevalence of poverty, the emerging concepts of sex, gender and national identity, the existence of *lusus naturae,* and questions of print and authorship. In addition, the word "Renaissance" implies fracture or even rupture: before something is reborn, it first must die. In this perspective, the study of "Renaissance" or "Rebirth" is inseparable from appraisement, and the appraisement reveals a hierarchy of values, placing epochs preceding the "Renaissance" in an inferior position.

The term "Early Modern" has a shorter history. It appeared only in the twentieth century in the works of École des Annales*,* mainly in his periodical *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, which was published for the first time in 1929. As the title of this periodical shows, the historians, also called the "annalists", used social sciences methodology in their studies. Furthermore, they departed from the research apparatus of classical political history, concentrating on the processes of, as they called it, "long continuation". "Long continuation" meant taking lengthy time perspectives as the subject of their studies. Instigating research on those aspects of civilization, which are usually marginalized or even ignored, this approach extends the boundaries on time periods researched and spans the centuries between the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. In other words, the term "Early Modern" covers the period from the late fifteenth century to the late eighteenth century.

Since its inception, the "Early Modern" approach has drawn attention to the significance of interdisciplinary studies. For example, in the study of literary texts, the methodological achievements of history, arts, politics, religion, architecture, anthropology, linguistics, philosophy or even sciences do not assume an auxiliary function; they are as important as the theory of literary studies. Their inclusion helps with not only discovering, but also interpreting the meaning and civilizational significance of the literary works under study and places them

in a wide interdisciplinary context. Moreover, texts coming from various disciplines are regularly studied with the methodological literary theory apparatuses, usually postmodern. In this way, the term "Early Modern" contributes to blurring the boundaries between disciplines and indicates new research perspectives on facts and processes that in the past were limited by the homogeneity of the research tools.

As this collection of essays demonstrates, in our research we have included the "Early Modern" multi-faced cultural/civilizational approach, studying texts coming from history, theatre, religion, politics, linguistics, literature and art with the use of the postmodern literary apparatus. As a whole, it embraces the current vogue of "microhistory", a term that freely encourages critique of the "master Narrative" of the rise of modernity and the Western civilization. The "Early Modern" galvanizes, for example, the shift of interest from great men as Leonardo da Vinci, Martin Luther or Shakespeare to common people, sometimes anonymous. After all, who "canonized" these great personages, burying in the vaults of oblivion such eminent personages as Klemens Bolesławiusz, Joost van den Vondel, Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, Jan Kochanowski and Giovanni della Casa, the men whose achievements our essays describe?

Yet, while developing our ideas, we soon realized that we could not discard the term "Renaissance." As it is reflected in the many publications surveyed by Alex Davis (2011: 22-23 and 145-150), currently "Early Modern" is frequently used as a substitute for the term "Renaissance", and vice versa. After all, on a daily basis we see that the meanings of terms such as "modern," "modernism," "postmodernism," "modernity," "postmodernity" are also inconclusive. Although the studies of the centre, which focus on some of the most vibrant and internationally known cultural facts, processes and eminent personages, definitely occupy an important position in the genealogy of humanistic ideas as found in Europe, our studies also attempt to reclaim some space for the edges of early modernity as seen in Poland, the Netherlands, Sicily, and Britain. It is this space that we bring to the center of cultural debate.

It is a cliché in contemporary cultural criticism to say that the margins should be treated with caution because they have a potential capacity to change/reform the centre. Nevertheless, we believe that in our collection of essays, the center is enriched by receiving this new dimension. After all, reexamination of the centre does not mean simply telling the stories of the "others," usually discounted by the Western humanistic discursive practices. Instead, it is to re-define the centre, to see how it has been re-shaped by its encounters with cultural

marginalization. We hope that our collection of essays will join the debate over the politics of culture, stressing the contingent play between constantly shifting centres and margins at individual, group, and societal levels.

"*The Dismissal of the Greek Envoys*—A Forgotten Trajectory Within the Web of European Renaissance" by Marta Wiszniowska-Majchrzyk takes up Jan Kochanowski's dramatic text that plays a prominent role in the history of Polish literature. Yet, as the author points out, it also evokes ambivalent feelings among critics and readers. Regarded as the first fully developed drama in Poland, *The Dismissal of the Greek Envoys* (1578) is also labelled and classified as "occasional" and pertaining to a specific historical moment. The work attempts to justify its importance by employing diverse research strategies and different perspectives, including extensive commentaries that range from traditional to postmodern.

In the essay "The Marginalization of Lucrece's Story in the Early Modern Polish Culture" Krystyna Kujawińska Courtney reflects upon the reception of the story of Lucrece, a Roman martyr who chose to commit suicide rather than to suffer disgrace after having been raped by Sextus Tarquinius. The text deconstructs the mechanism of marginalisation, which is shown as a gradual process that begins with faithful description of the actual legend, but then the story of Lucrece becomes fused with that of the implicitly more important Christian saint, Pelagia, finally existing on the outmost margins of cultural discourse. Such gradual eclipsing of Lucrece's story in Poland, as the work in question demonstrates, concurred with the increased power of Polish nobility at the expense of royal prerogatives.

The essay "Revisiting the Jacobean War of the Sexes: Righteous Anger, Patriarchal Anxiety and the Swetnam Controversy" by Natalia Brzozowska discusses a challenging moment in the history of English drama that occurred after the demise of the golden age of the Elizabethan theatre. Outright misogyny in the texts of some English writers and playwrights as well as the responses it generated among women could be considered as an attempt to renegotiate the role of gender under new circumstances. In a word, a growing cult of masculinity combined with disparaging remarks with regard to the "weaker sex" could signal the forthcoming events that would bring an abrupt change to the course of British history.

In "The Founding Rupture. From Strong to Weak Identity" Stanisław Obirek discusses the historical and contemporary situation of the Jesuit Order. The emphasis is placed on the moments of crisis when Jesuits faced both the external

threats of dissolution and internal conflicts within the structure of the Catholic Church. Such instances of the rupture in the Congregation in turn affected its unity and identity. Bringing to the fore the proceedings and postulates of the Second Vatican Council (1962), the author opens up a space for exploring new opportunities for the Order and the Church, which, however, have been largely forfeited. On that account, the contemporary position of the Society of Jesus is mainly presented from the perspective of its missionary activities, while the future of ecumenical dialogue is vested not so much in the Church, but it needs to be founded in the very fabric of society.

Paul Hulsenboom analyzes two versions of Jacobus Wallius' "Ode to Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius". By exposing substantial differences between them, he suggests that the reader deals with two de facto separate poems. In the paper "'Have the Menacing Alcaean Muses Blown the War Trumpets Again?' Two Versions of Jacobus Wallius' Ode to Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius", the author offers a broad intertextual study of the seventeenth century early modern period as the background of the texts under discussion. The thematic range of the essay extends beyond the specific locus and tempus, i. e. The Low Countries and Poland, of two Jesuits, Jacobus Wallius-the author and Casimirus Sarbievius or Maciej Kaimierz Sarbiewski-the addressee. At the same time, the semantic shift that occurs in the second version as compared to the first is significant: in the face of external threats, Europe must act in unison as one body bound by its religious and cultural heritage.

The essay "On Going to Hell. The Conception of the Underworld in "Przeraźliwe echo trąby ostatecznej" ["The Shrill Sound of the Ultimate Trumpet"] (1670) by Father *Klemens Bolesławiusz* (1625-1689), and of the Otherworld in Lucifer (1654) by Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679)" by Andrzej Wicher investigates two long poems from the Netherlands and Poland, respectively. Both texts, in one way or another, relate to the national epic of England, namely John Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Despite their varied popular reception and literary renown, all the three seem to share common codes and values embedded in the broadly conceived early modern episteme. The analysis of the texts in question results in their relocation from the specifications of time, place and circumstances, to the universal qualities of European cultural discourse.

In "Giovanni Della Casa's *Galateo*: A Serious Treatise on Manners or 'Only a Joke'?", Mariusz Misztal offers a new interpretation of probably the most famous treatise on manners in history, namely Giovanni Della Casa's *Galateo* (1558). Having utilized a number of archival sources, the author points

at alternative possibilities of its reading or even different original intentions regarding the entire content and purpose of the cinquecento Italian text. In a word, the intricate narrative pattern and the choice of the interlocutors might well indicate that *Galateo* was not meant to be taken seriously and that Della Casa could in fact consider his guide to be little more than a mere joke. The veracity of this presupposition is debatable, but the essay forces the reader to ponder again whether they really "know the Galateo".

If, in literary criticism, the affective fallacy is defined as a "confusion between the poem and its results", then, by analogy, the same criteria can be applied to political systems and parliamentary representations. Two of such systems are discussed in the paper "Evolution of the Political System in the Kingdom of Sicily" by Katarzyna Kozak. It seems that the forms of governance in the Kingdom of Sicily and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are perhaps too hastily rejected merely on account of the fact that both state formations did not stand the test of time. Yet, the text signifies more than just a rendition of historical specifications and minutia of the early modern period in Sicily and Poland: the ultimate point of reference appears to be the political situation in contemporary Europe. Possible scenarios for further alternations, improvements and ramifications do not exclude some concepts and proposals from the statutes and constitutions of the now long defunct parliaments.

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THE DISMISSAL OF THE GREEK ENVOYS —A FORGOTTEN TRAJECTORY WITHIN THE WEB OF EUROPEAN RENAISSANCE

In Saint-Pierre le Jeunne church in Strasbourg there is a late medieval fresco showing a procession of European nations heading toward a mountain with a cross on which"Ave spec unica" is inscribed. The fresco presents figures on horseback or on foot with Poland followed by Lithuania and the Orient, coming at the very end of the cavalcade (Jaromska 2000, 316). Obviously, Poland and Lithuania, both of them christened, the former in 966 and the latter in 1385, must have been considered as part of the great medieval family of the Christian countries of Europe.

Likewise, studying Polish Renaissance, in its originality and recognizability, conviviality and seriousness, one seems to find himself/herself within the best of European tradition, balanced so well that disregarding some linguistic ambushes (not unduly significant as a huge bulk of Polish Renaissance literature still used Latin) there seems to be little to no difficulty in further studies. The same holds true for Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584), the most brilliant creative talent, to hastily add—one of quite a number of great poets of his time in Poland. Generations of Polish Renaissance scholars considered Kochanowski an indispensable topic in their studies. Thus, taking into account the scholarship past and present, it comes as a considerable shock to observe both the poet and Polish Renaissance literature virtually non-existent within

a wider European context[1] (the complaint recently voiced by Koehler 2007, XXXVIII). Though the list of notable exceptions may lessen the unease felt, it is probably the Barańczak-Heaney duo translating Kochanowski's *Laments* that recently rekindled some passing interest. And yet, one cannot help but wonder who reads poetry nowadays, who needs it, who would pick it up from among various entertainments modern world blatantly offers in abundance?

Professor Bill Johnston, who translated Kochanowski's only tragedy *The Dismissal of Greek Envoys*, was the first recipient of the award for translators from Polish.[2] Yet, the above translation has been overlooked in the Internet accounts of his achievements. In 2008 when he became the first recipient of the aforementioned award it was in appreciation of his translation of Stanisław Różewicz's poetry. With no intention of diminishing the achievement of translating Różewicz, an outstanding contemporary poet, it is symptomatic how the present seems to effectively oust the past from the collective memory of otherwise worthy institutions and endeavours.

Kochanowski seems to meet almost all Renaissance standards, set in his contemporary world and recognized today. Educated in the best universities of Cracow and Konigsberg, in Padua and Paris, where he spent four years, he also traveled through France and Italy. His activities at home seem to fit the pattern of many a European Renaissance poet. He was a poet and a courtier, later a country gentleman who withdrew from the public scene to the private, to his country house and family life, both beautifully and excruciatingly rendered in several works.

The present paper mainly deals with his only dramatic piece, which may serve as a testing ground to indicate where Kochanowski's poetic/intellectual/patriotic loyalties were placed and how/whether they converged with the Renaissance Zeitgeist. Besides, several issues of utmost importance to the main objectives of this volume will, hopefully, be annotated, for it appears a lot of further studies should be conducted to give justice to the phenomena of the by-passed (inter)national phenomena that may make the map of Renaissance Europe satisfactorily complete.

In pursuit of organizing data and compartmentalizing facts, Kochanowski's *oeuvre* has been customarily divided into Latin and Polish periods, due to the languages and conventions the poet employed. Yet, in his case, such division

[1] The complaint has recently been voiced by Koehler (2007, XXXVIII).

[2] "Found in translation" (Awards cf. Johnson 2008).

would be most deceptive, as, on examination, he remained bilingual and multi-conventional almost throughout his life. Moreover, what Joannes Cochanovius wrote stood in sharp contrast with what Jan Kochanowski did. And it did not concern marginal or insignificant finger pieces. Kochanowski's Latin poetry was more heavily convention-bound as for its form, overtly ironic and sceptical, at moments unbelievably salient, bordering on the unacceptable. Taking a stand on social, moral, and political matters, the poet must have been aware of the duality of his vision and most probably enjoying the split, and deliberately employing it.[3] His points of reference could be identified as humanism, and classical requirements for discipline, clarity and balance (Karpiński 2007, 100).

To merely indicate how the poet's literary horizons were expanding during his years of traveling and studying, an imposing list of the people he met, however incomplete it may/must of necessity be can be made. Charles Utenhove of Gaunt helped him meet Ronsard whose Pleiades advocated, among others, writing in the vernacular. He also met Hungarian writers, among whom Peter Bornemisza is considered as a potential link with Kochanowski's dramatic work (Karpiński 2007, 103-106) due to the Hungarian having authored a play distantly comparable to his own. He also came across several influential figures of Polish Renaissance, with Jan Łaski (or Jan á Lasco). Łaski and Utenhove traveled together in Europe and Utenhove visited Poland. The trajectory Erasmus—Utenhove—Łaski testifies to pan-European links. Erasmus corresponded with the Polish king, Sigismund I the Old. He accepted gifts and money from his Polish "fans", dedicated his books to them, was translated and adapted, his ideas permeated Polish Renaissance thought (Łempicki 1952). Kochanowski also met other Polish figures, such as Łukasz Górnicki, his lifelong friend, who adapted Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* as *Dworzanin Polski* ["Polish Courtier"] (1566) thus setting standards for an ideal Polish courtier (Libera 1989, 88).

Kochanowski's earlier stay in Königsberg must have brought him in touch with the reformation, as the place was its stronghold (Popławska 2009, 28). Kochanowski also sought contacts/protection with the Prussian Prince Albert and his court, which makes him a likely supporter or at least a sympathizer with the reformation movement. His brothers also went to study in Koenigsberg (Libera 1989). If the dates of his stay there be correct, Kochanowski must have missed the translation of Erasmus's work published there in 1558. Not that there were any language barrier to have made Erasmus unreadable.

[3] For a detailed discussion see Weintraub (1978).

His formidable learnedness was soon employed in his translation of *Psalms* (as *David's Psalms*) for which he studied several works including Septuaginta, and such writers as Buchanan and Campensis. Rej, another Polish poet and his close predecessor and gave his works a distinct classic shape looking back to Horace (Karpiński 2007, 113-116). Horatian inspirations could be seen in his later collection of *Songs* (Karpiński 2007, 105, 117-122). His poetry also testifies to the Horatian "docere et delectare" ["teach and delight"] maxim (Libera 1989, 96). In Padua, Kochanowski studied Greek, Latin and Italian literatures, read Homer in the original and later set out to translate the *Iliad* (Libera 1989, 91).

Back in Poland, Kochanowski joined the court of the Cracow bishop Piotr Myszkowski, later hetman Jan Tarnowski, and, for a time, was secretary to King Sigismund II Augustus. It was the same king whom Jan Łaski was in vain trying to convert to Protestantism. Jan Zamojski, who the play was dedicated to, was a convert himself but from Calvinism to Catholicism (in Padua!) and married a protestant, Krystyna Radziwiłł. Kochanowski offered the magnate *The Dismissal of the Greek Envoys* that was performed as a typical occasional play—to celebrate Zamojski's wedding ceremony (it is revealed in Kochanowski's letter to Jan Zamojski; cf. *Dismissal* 2007, 1-5).

The poet actively participated in political events of the time. His poetry enthusiastically greeted and then disapproved of Henri de Valois who, elected Polish king in 1573, stayed in Warsaw for nine months only to make a clandestine escape to France when the opportunity to become Henri III of France presented itself.

Since it was the first election to the Polish throne, a real life lesson in democracy and an expected political solution after the death of the last Jagiellonian king who died heirless, Kochanowski's interest should not be surprising. Weintraub maintains that Kochanowski's interest in the matter was exceptional, "no political event in Poland caused such frequent references as the said election" (Weintraub 1978, 158). Kochanowski further engaged in the matter of the ridiculous monarch when the king's courtier Philippe Desportes wrote a slanderous account attacking Poles and Poland. Kochanowski's answered with an ironic poem entitled "Gallo crocitanti" showing Henri as a vain cock, who was trying to impress the Poles with his crowing but evoked such "storm of laughter" that frightened he flew out of the window. Likewise Henri de Valois, who detested the regulations on religious tolerance, but who was obliged to sign a document guarding religious freedoms for all denominations. Poles, in

turn, detested, among others, his lack of hygiene for which the French court was renowned (Weintraub 1978, 158-161). The poet's engagement in political matters continued throughout his life, allowing for yet another regrouping of his works, by defining some of them, including *The Envoys* into the category of "civic—duty writings" (Karpinski 2007, 107).

Kochanowski's engagement in politics, in quasi-protestant activities (cf. his translation of *Psalms*) and parallel success of his early hymn "Czego chcesz od nas Panie za Twe hojne dary" ["Lord, what do you want from us for your generous gifts?"]—still sung in Catholic churches in Poland for the last five hundred years, made him a far better poet than a successful political commentator (to use a modern word for his activities). Kochanowski did not make mistakes in poetry, but he did misplace his political sympathies, incidentally very much like his patron, Jan Zamojski. The latter prided himself that he first openly backed Henri de Valois and then Stefan Batory, the next elected monarch, formerly Prince of Transylvania, during the subsequent election and he prided himself for being for and against "the Piast king" (Besala 2010, 98). "Piast" was the first Polish royal house that also ended when the last king of this dynasty, Casimir the Great, died leaving no male heir in 1370. Neither of the two elects was any "Piast king" but Zamojski obviously was a clever strategist who convincingly, if underhandedly, toyed with national sentiments.

However, the abortive election of Henri de Valois had one forgotten non-political consequence of extensive cultural significance. Henri de Valois entered his native land's and the world's culinary history as the man who invented a table fork. The truth is that tri-pronged forks were evidenced in Sigismund II Augustus' utensils, and appeared in France after Henri's return from Poland. In 1535 the abbot of Mogila, near Cracow, presented Erasmus with a knife and a fork to challenge Erasmus's treatise *De civilitate* in which forks did not figure at all but merely knives and spoons, while they were commonly used at the courts of the last Jagiellonian monarchs.[4]

Naturally, a panorama of events shaping Polish Renaissance intellectually and politically was much more extensive. Having escaped religious wars and insisting on religious tolerance, which the king had to guarantee, the country did not escape political upheavals, but still enjoyed several democratic prerogatives. Affluence brought about civilizational progress in various areas of human activity. Kochanowski and his contemporary statesmen and poets were well

[4] They might have come to Poland from the East as they can be found with medieval excavations (Selwa 2002).

acquainted with material and spiritual foundations of European Renaissance and made them both their own and universal.

Likewise, Polish drama and theatre from its medieval beginnings revealed striking similarities concerning the stages of its development, but they also presented unmistakable local colouring and considerable shifts in time and conditions. Yet, Renaissance saw several dramatic works employing earlier dialogic conventions such as Rej's morality play *Kupiec* ["The Merchant"] inspired by Thomas Mercator or *Żywot Józefa z pokolenia żydowskiego, syna Jakubowego* ["The Life of Joseph, Jacob's Son from the Jewish Race"] partly based on Cornelius Crocus's play (Karpiński 2007, 55-57). Incidentally, religious affiliations seemed independent of humanist heritage, contemporary inspirations and the significance in Polish literary history. As a matter of interest, Mikołaj Rej (1505-1569), rightly considered instrumental in advocating using Polish instead of Latin, was a Calvinist himself (Karpiński) while Crocus was a Jesuit. Religious denominations seemed to have mattered, but little in Renaissance Poland.

Theatre historians find it difficult to date, recover and verify fragmented evidence (Okoń 1971, Raszewski 1990), yet in spite of the remaining gaps it is certain that Poland did have its own drama from probably thirteenth century and morality play stayed popular well into Renaissance and longer (Okoń 1971). Besides, the very fact of performing Kochanowski's tragedy at the wedding ceremony, as already mentioned, testifies to a common practice known all over Renaissance Europe.

Before embarking on the play itself two issues should be addressed: the option the translator chose to follow and the persistent dispute on whether the play was political or not—whatever the term "political" may signify. Bill Johnston, associate professor in Second Language Studies and Comparative Literature Department at Indiana Univeristy and Director of Indiana University's Polish Center, supplied a note describing his translating strategies. Eloquently arguing for the use of contemporary English because the language of Kochanowski's play was not archaic to his contemporaries, but insisting that he never slips into colloquial language, he also describes insurmountable difficulties he encountered due to several dissimilarities in rendering Polish verse metre (11 and 13 syllable lines) into English iambic pentameter, as other options were impossible in English. Other changes introduced were minor and served to avoid confusion such as the substitution of Paris for Alexander (in Polish). The translator also added some stage directions which, in his own words "are placed

in contemporary editions of the play" (Johnston 2007, XLII). In reality those added directions were limited to mere "Enter Paris" or "Exit Chorus" which makes them unobtrusive.

However, the modernized version with its shortened title *The Envoys* on the claim that the full title would be confusing, is indicative of the approach favoured by such outstanding American scholars of the past as John Gassner; he modernized English medieval and Tudor drama (1968). Whatever the reasons given, modernizing the original text adheres to postmodern (slightly) unscrupulous treatment of literary heritage, offering not quite "the real thing" but its modern(ized) copy. Yet, the translation reads very well and one can only admire the translator's skill and ingenuity.

The other issue relates to traditional labelling the play as a political drama. Koehler regards such traditional labelling on three counts, assumed polonizing strategies, occasional character of the play, and historical context of the first performance (Koehler 2007, XVIII). Questioning all three makes it necessary to find alternative meanings. Thus, he insists, the play was written a few years before the event in the late fifties or sixties, while it was performed in 1578). The subject needed no polonizing touches, though they are there according to another critic, (cf. Popławska 2009, 34) as its context was topical enough in view of political realities in a republican system of governing. Koehler's reservations seem to overlook the play's possible wider references. The attempt at depoliticizing the play seems futile considering all arguments to the contrary that look like the famous structuralist rabbit/duck drawing where the same thing is either/or when looked at from two opposite perspectives.

Besides, it has been a common practice that the context is of secondary importance to artistic aims. The purpose, then, to briefly summarize Koehler, was the poet's dialogue with the world of values, ancient and contemporaneous, two-dimensional perspective of political (that is, to turn national for the *polis*) and individual tragedy, decisions making, virtues and weaknesses that condition them, and, last but not least, emphasizing the political and the rational at the expense of the metaphysical. The play also conducted a dialogue with the roles ascribed to the characters within the tradition handed down from the antiquity. It also negotiated common values that could not be relativized (Koehler 2007, XIX-XLIII). Both Koehler and Karpiński stress artistic mastery, originality and inventiveness of the play. In addition they draw attention to its a linguistic/poetic experiment: the choice of the particular event from which the tragedy originates was far from common.

Within the bounds of Aristotelian definition of the tragedy's scope, the play depicted the arrival of the Greek envoys who demanded that Helen be returned, continued to show how the request/demand was rejected, exposing machinations and arguments of those involved, touched upon the weakness of the ruler and dishonesty of his advisors (criticism of democracy), to end with the envoys leaving and the war reportedly beginning. That episode, rather obscure, has never been favourite with generations of creative writers. To make an *avant la lettre* comment, Kochanowski as if adheres to the Medieval, Renaissance and … postmodern practice according to which the originality of the topic is inessential, but its presentation is. As a corollary to this, a seemingly "postmodern" strategy lies in the very choice of a comparatively insignificant event and makes it central. After all, history of Troy has been one of the best known literary motifs in European literature (Benson 1980), and audiences knew both the main story and its episodic developments better than we do nowadays. In consequence, the quality of yet another work based on the same story must have been measured by the ingenuity of the given presentation and not the uniqueness of the topic.

The choice of the Greek tragedy necessitated the following to be observed: three unities, one-plot action, five epeisodia (if we count carefully) with a prologue and an epilogue linked or divided (as you will) with the chorus parts (stasima). Epeisodia develop the action, with the *Vorgeschichte* sketched in the prologue and the final disaster in the epilogue (*Nachgeschichte*). For obvious reasons the latter concentrates on the premonition of destruction to adhere to the time limits of the tragedy. Kochanowski could also have followed the Senecan pattern of tragedy (Rusnak, 2008).

To divagate upon the employment of the Greek model would be stating the obvious considering Kochanowski's education and poetic affiliations, even more so if the tragedy were composed soon after his extended studies and travels abroad. The lure of the Antiquity was strong all over Europe. As his biography and other works revealed, Kochanowski was also engaged in the politics of his time, as a secretary to various officials, including the king. As sketched above, Polish turbulent history could have fitted beautifully into the context of the play already composed. Besides, it seems impossible for him not to be acquainted with *The Prince* (written 1513, publ. posthumously 1532), or *The Praise of Folly* (1509). Incidentally, in his essay on governmentality Foucault extensively discusses the ideas contained in The Prince and their far reaching consequences, its critics coming from both Catholic and protestant critics as such (Foucault, 1991, 88-89).

According to Foucault, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the idea of government began to emerge. He describes it as follows:

> To put it schematically, in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, the art of the government finds its first form of crystallization, organized around the theme of reason of state, understood not in the negative and pejorative sense we give it today (as that which infringes on the principles of law, equity and humanity in the sole interest of the state), but in a full and positive sense: the state is governed according to the rational principles which are intrinsic to it and which cannot be derived solely from natural or divine laws or the principles of wisdom and prudence; the state, like nature, has its own proper form of rationality, albeit of a different sort. Conversely, the art of government, instead of seeking to found itself in transcendental rules, a cosmological model or a philosophico-moral ideal, must find the principles of its rationality in that which constitutes the specific reality of the state. But, we can say here that, right until the early eighteenth century, this form of "reason of state" acted as assort of obstacle to the development of the art of government. (Foucault 1991, 96-97)

Surprisingly enough, the political reality of the sixteenth century Poland responds to some elements of the above historical assessment. The government was to become more and more important with the elected monarchs who were not to establish a dynasty, chosen in the so called free election in which the gentry and aristocracy could take part with the famous "liberum veto" principle that could overthrow any majority in the name of sound objection or one vote against whether bought, manipulated, fair or foul. The diminishing power of the king reversed the situation entirely. It was the elected monarch who had to agree to certain principles, not so much the people. The divine rights of the king no longer operated. The nation agreed to be governed by an elected monarch as long as he conforms to certain rational terms of agreement. Unfortunately, Polish history soon showed that there were several trappings in such arrangement which finally led to the loss of independence in 1795.

In the play the reason of the state either clashes or conforms to particular views on politics, morals, rationality and recklessness. Corruption, that downside of parliamentary democracy, comes in the very first lines spoken by Antenor, a Trojan lord. Paris sends gifts and mobilizes his allies in order to secure a favourable voting to keep Helen in Troy. Trying to win over Antenor, Paris strikes another alluring tune, namely friendship. If a friend asks for a favor it must not be denied, to which Antenor replies that it holds

when the request is honourable. In turn, Paris accuses him of taking gifts from Greeks, perhaps finding his are not generous enough, which certainly angers Antenor. The Chorus of Trojan maidens sums up the scene offering some universally known and commonsensical views on youth and wisdom, as diverging and ultimately leading to loss of health, wealth and even one's own country. On its second appearance, the chorus would utter the best known and most powerful lines on the nature of the government, its obligations and responsibilities.

Johnston's modernized translation almost liquidates the time span between then and now, making the text distinctly identifiable with the commonly shared sentiments that regularly appeared in "politically" oriented literature till the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, for instance with Kipling or war poets, as far as the sense of duty, obligation and responsibility were concerned. Such a risky comparison is only to illustrate the universality and recurrence of certain motifs in literature.

> You with the Republic under your command,
> Who carry human justice in your hand—
> Yes, you to whom the human flock's consigned,
> Whose job is to ensure it's safe and sound—
>
> Always remember this for all you're worth:
> You are God's representative on earth.
> You're more than your own affairs to keep in mind:
> You must look after all of humankind.
>
> You rule all those beneath you; yet you too
> Possess a Lord, a ruler over you.
> One day his final judgment must be faced—
> And woe betide those who have been unjust!
>
> This Lord does not take gifts, nor does he care
> Whether a man's a peasant or a peer.
> Whether he's clad in rags or cloth-of-gold—
> If he's done wrong, he'll find himself engaoled.
>
> We small folk, when we sin, we are risking less—
> It's only ourselves we lose in wickedness.
> Our leaders' crimes, though, bring whole cities down,
> And cause great emperors to lose their crown. (*The Envoys*, 25-27)

Public figures are responsible to God who is incorruptible and his judgment fair. One should not overlook the final touch of irony of the Chorus's song, as it cleverly concludes that the sins committed by private individuals endanger only the sinners while public figures will have to account for their doings in the public sphere.

The next scene illustrates the Chorus's lines. Conforming to the rules of ancient theatre that allowed no group scenes with several speakers, Messenger has to relate the debate of the king's Council to Helen. The debate exemplifies how reasons clashed, how arguments smashed counterarguments, how opinions were manipulated with and final aims achieved. King Priam begins reminding the Council that he does not remember doing anything without asking for their advice and puts forward the essential question concerning Helen's fate: "Should she be given up to them or not?" (*The Envoys*, 31). Paris, the first speaker, recalls his famous judgment in the consequence of which Venus promised him the most beautiful woman on earth that was Helen, the wife to King Menelaus. Paris insists he was in no position to refuse the goddess, more so bearing in mind the history of Medea that shows how treacherous the Greeks had been in the past. Taking Helen hardly balances the former doings of the Greeks.

The next speaker, Antenor, tries to abolish Paris's arguments by giving some very good reasons for returning Helen. Stealing the wife of his host, Paris humiliated Priam. The Greeks will soon claim her not by sending envoys but waging a war. He ironically states that Paris's marriage should not have been so excessively expensive as to bring about bloodshed and the downfall of the country. Besides, former injustices of the Greeks do not validate similar behaviour of the Trojans. The next speaker, Eneas, Paris's brother and other speakers use highly emotional arguments: "Then what—whichever tune the Greeks will play, / We have to dance to it?" and later: "Right now they're forcing us / To give back Helen; but it won't be long/ Before they're asking for our wives and children. / Greed never puts a limit on its power" (*The Envoys*, 41). Continuing the same line of reasoning Ikeaton paints a horrifying picture of the events to follow and the nation enslaved, which justifies his appeal to support Paris. Then emotions run so high that no further arguments can be presented and voting is demanded.

Besides the importance for the development of events, Messenger's seemingly historical account reveals some characteristics of Polish parliamentary traditions (Popławska 2009, 18). There are sitting and standing members, the

speaker, and casting vote by going to one side (Paris's) or the other. The result is predictable and the majority call for the king to obey the law and respect the opinion of the majority. Without delay, Priam is reported to proclaim:

> I'd have preferred
> To witness concord; since that cannot be
> I must needs imitate the greatest part.
> Them may what's good become the chosen way.
> Let Helen stay in Troy, and let the Greeks
> Make compensation to us for Medea. (*The Envoys*, 45)

Juxtaposing Priam's silence throughout the debate and his eagerness to accept the majority vote as his verdict shows him weak if not a cowardly ruler who chooses an easy way out bypassing rational arguments and promoting emotional and prejudiced ones. Does it follow that the king is a hostage of his family interests or, worse, unaware of the manipulations (bribery, persuasion) before the voting took place? Whatever the historical context proper, the position of the king must have looked familiar to those in power in the sixteenth century Poland. In case of doubt, the next character, Ulysses (one of the Greek envoys) criticizes Trojan anarchy (corruption, bribery, disregard for the law and the truth) and the young generation's life style (drunken revels, overspending, setting a bad example to others, love of luxury, idleness) that must end in disaster for they will be unable to defend the country in case of need. Ulysses ends saying that he would always want to have such (weak, ineffectual) men as his enemies.

Subsequently, the Chorus takes up the motif of the coming war as the events begin to accelerate. Antenor warns the king that preparations for the war should be undertaken immediately, which the king brushes off accusing him of cowardice "as if the enemy stood here before you" (*The Envoys*, 57). Antenor gives the monarch another piece of wisdom advocating prudence: "Fear/ Makes one more provident and well-prepared" (*The Envoys*, 59). The atmosphere of approaching calamity permeates Cassandra's prophetic vision. She predicts all stages of the war, concentrating on the horse, not to be taken inside but rather burnt. Unrestrained manslaughter, bloodshed, savagery and terrible grief will follow (*The Envoys*, 65). Besides being a famous figure in her own right, Cassandra reminds of Old and New Testament prophets whose prophesies were disregarded. In her case, as the legend had it, Cassandra's prophecies were to be ignored, so Priam did not take them seriously in spite of Antenor's pleadings and his own memories of a nightmare his wife had before giving birth to Paris

that she bore a burning torch. Antenor supplements that there was a prophesy a child would bring about the destruction of Troy (*The Envoys*, 67). The arrival of the Captain with a Greek hostage confirms all fears and prophecies for the warfare have already begun. In view of that Priam announces that the first thing to do next morning (not immediately!) is calling the council to plan defense, to which Antenor replies that the war must be planned and not mere defence: "Let's fight, instead of waiting to be struck "(*The Envoys*, 71).

The above synopsis is to present the political context of the play. Stepping away from the immediate context another outline is possible that intensifies the topic's universality. For any ruler's son may commit a disgraceful deed of dire consequences. It is in the interest of the state to make amends to avoid grave them. The ruler's son seeks for support of the council by persuasion, gifts, flattery and slander. As an able speaker he sways the council to his favour regardless the danger of accelerating the conflict and endangering the state, his family and fellow countrymen. Even stripped from cultural connotations, be they from the original story or from its Polish context, the play's message is timeless and easily decipherable.

The government fails when the reasons of the state give way to self-interest in spite of various warnings and appeals for prudence. However, before the inevitable happens there occurs an interplay of arguments that reveals complex relations between those in power and the individuals. The latter, Antenor, the Chorus, Cassandra and Ulysses set a dialogue with the king trying to sway his judgment. They are all heard but not listened to. The king's verdict testifies to the "blood is thicker than water" proverb. It also adheres to "an eye for an eye" maxim, which is immediately contradicted. One bad deed cannot be justified by another one committed in the past (*The Envoys*, 39). A chain of violence and injustice will never bring reconciliation.

The Foucaldian notion of governmentality as specified in his seminal essay, of the same title already quoted, helps to make a list of disparities rather than, less numerous, similarities. To recall his own summing up:

> The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security. The tendency which, over a long period of time and throughout the West, has steadily led towards the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, etc.) of this type of power which may be termed government, resulting on the one hand, in the

> formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of savoir. The process or rather the result of the process, through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages, transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gradually becomes "governmentalized". (Foucault 1991, 102-3)

The Envoys may be hardly expected to conform of the above in detail. The very idea of "governmentality" materialized in the eighteenth century (Foucault 1991, 103). Thus the term may be used not only *avant la lettre* to conveniently name certain general tendencies discernable. In the play the state's obligation is to secure its citizens' wellbeing. The king is held personally responsible and liable to the power of God above him. But the doctrine of the king's divine rights is absent, as it must have already been eroding. Priam fails to assess the situation of the country and lacks necessary (expected) prudence. Besides recalling the Polish of the time, the play's power structure visualizes the forces responsible for the country's actual politics. To say that it opts for a more modern approach in which individual opinions are considered and such public sins as corruption and folly exposed may look like an echo of Erasmus's in *The Praise of Folly*. To substantiate, there are obvious instances in the play such as Paris' speech before the Council full of self praise and the addresses of his supporters. As the audience already know how he has won support, perhaps there is a possible link with Machivellian traits as described in *The Prince* concerning the ruler's manipulative abilities. Delivering the harshest criticism possible, his opponents also place themselves within typical (if veiled) Renaissance concerns.

The king's Council must be regarded as an institution because the king states he has never failed to ask their opinion in difficult matters. Besides, the similarity of the ancient polis and Renaissance governments with a monarch and a parliament bypassing Middle Ages (are we right to consider medieval idea of monarchy different?) forming yet another similarity with the Antiquity.

The Envoys bears a distinctly secular character. It seems devoid of all recognizable forms of religiousness. Ancient gods seem of little consequence or hardly serious (the competition of three goddesses) but influential and vengeful all the same. Morality bears no traces of religious denomination. To act ethically the characters have to rely on commonly recognized principles such as honesty, straightforwardness, prudence, hospitality, unselfishness, etc. Such principles are drawn from socially acceptable norms (the law of hospitality Paris violated), from the past (historical events), and observation of the state of affairs (abominable behaviour and self-centeredness of the young). Besides, making right

decisions also depends on trying to learn from both rational (as already stated) and the irrational that is considering various prophesies such as men obtain in dreams (Priam's wife) or from such visionaries as Cassandra.

"It was the work of remarkable originality in our Renaissance literature but it found no followers", says Libera (1989, 101) summing up the discussion on the play, the work of unmatchable poetic qualities (its linguistic intricacies of necessity lost in translation) spanning several traditions and the poet's original talent. They were the awareness of literary traditions of the Antiquity filtered through Kochanowski's poetic temperament and the qualities of the vernacular placed against the background of European Renaissance as studied during his university years and public service, the latter having provided a distinct local colouring due to the political upheavals of his time. However, both *The Envoys* and Kochanowski's poetry were innovative enough to pave the way to Classicism (Karpiński, 2007, 107).

Becoming the major poet of Polish Renaissance was achieved at a cost for his contemporaries who continued to write in Latin widely circulated in Europe. Kochanowski absorbed the best of European Renaissance conventions and thought enframed in local tradition and individual creativeness. By a strange coincidence Kochanowski's play shared yet another universal Renaissance characteristic (concerning book production) having been the first book printed in Warsaw in 1578.

Tracing links and correspondences within European Renaissance by studying translations (Erasmus) and adaptations (Goślicki, Dwornicki, Rej, Kochanowski), letters (Kallimach, Jan á Lasco), political treatises (Modrzewski), morality plays (Rej, Nicholas of Wilkowiecko), poetry (Janicki, Rej, Kochanowski, Sęp Szarzyński, Klonowic, Szymonowicz) seems a formidable, if captivating task. Only then a balanced view of how Renaissance ideologies operated on the "peripheries" may be reached and Polish Renaissance put back on the cultural map of Europe.

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THE MARGINALIZATION OF LUCRECE'S STORY IN THE EARLY MODERN POLISH CULTURE

In Poland, the motif of Lucrece first appears in works written in Latin, an example of which is the poem *Deliberatio Lucretiae Romanae*, written in hexameter, probably as a school exercise by Marcin Kromer (1512-1589).[1] He later became well known all over Europe through his service as the Bishop of Ermland [*Pol*. Warmia], as well as for his skill as a cartographer, diplomat, and historian. The Lucrece's theme was also taken up by Jan Dantyszek [*Lat*. Johannes Dantiscus, also known as Jan Flachsbinder] (1485-1548), an internationally renowned poet, politician, and diplomat; unfortunately, his Latin work "De Lucretia Barbara" has been lost.

A short time later, works written in Polish also appeared. The first of these was penned by Jan Dymitr Solikowski (1539-1603)[2], who dedicated his

[1] The text of this essay was originally written in Polish, and I would like to express here my gratitude to Ms. Anna Jędrzejewska for translating it into English.

[2] Although towards the end of his career Solikowski became Archbishop of Lvov, he had also successfully served as a diplomat as well as secretary to King Sigismund Augustus. In addition, he authored numerous political and historical works, as well as poetry. Polish access to the sea constituted one of his most pressing concerns. In one of his state papers Solikowski stated: "Every sovereign and every nation knows the importance of the access to the sea. The countries which possess it, and do not use it, or allow the others to take it from them, deprive themselves from many benefits. They bring upon themselves innumerable woes, turning from free countries into dependent provinces, and losing their riches". (qtd. "Historia Marynarki Wojennej RP")

eight-page poem *Lucrecya rzymska i chrzescijanska* (*Lucretia Romana and Christiana*, 1570) to "Her Ladyship Dorota Krzysztoporska, Chatelaine of Wielun". Julian Krzyżanowski sees this dedication as a result of Solikowski's friendship with Mikołaj, Krzysztoporski's son, dating back to their university years in Wittenberg. It was probably also Solikowski's expression of gratitude to Jan, Krzysztoporska's husband, for his help in securing Solikowski's first diplomatic post (Krzyżanowski,1962: 215-216).

The main text of the poem is preceded by "A Short Foreword" by Andrzej Trzycieski (ca. 1530-1584).[3] At the time, Trzycieski was a well-known writer, poet, translator, and supporter of the Reformation. He had also studied alongside Solikowski at Wittenberg.[4] Preparing Dorota Krzysztoporska to read the poem, Trzycieski introduces the theme of virtue, which

> had in olden days been held in such honour by heathens,
> that they would often gladly their lives for her have given
> and for that immortal glory have earned' (2-4).[5]

Because martyrdom is only one of the poem's themes, Trzycieski notes that men are not the only ones who can become martyrs: "we do have of the fair sex examples aplenty" (5-6). To illustrate this, he uses both Lucrece and St Pelagia, who "while but a maiden from a height did leap / and thus a greater feat [than Lucrece] did accomplish / being pure and intact as she did so do" (13-16). Praising,"until the ages of this world do pass" (18-19), the glory of these two women, who had both sacrificed their lives in defence of their virtue, Trzycieski does not make a qualitative distinction between the life of the pagan Lucrece and the Christian Pelagia.[6]

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[3] All citations from the poems come from Krzyżanowski's edition (1936).

[4] As a philologist, Trzycieski, who was fluent in Hebrew and Greek, was included in the team of translators that involved in preparing the Calvinist Brest Bible under the patronage of Duke Mikolaj Radziwill "the Black" in Pinczów. Trzycieski's work, in both Polish and Latin, included numerous lyrical poems, pamphlets in verse, elegies, epigrams, as well as religious hymns, which could be found in numerous Calvinist hymnals.

[5] All translations are given in prose though in the case of poems they preserve their verse structure.

[6] St Pelagia, who lived in the 3rd century AD, came from a Christian family in Antioch. She was 15 when persecutions of Christians under Diocletian, or indeed his predecessor, Numerian, began. When Roman soldiers came to arrest her, she, having heard about prisoners being raped and tortured, asked to be permitted to dress for the journey. Having

Religious issues do not, however, play a significant role in this Foreword, as its main purpose is to praise the virtue of "Her Ladyship" [Dorota Krzysztoporska], which may serve as an example of "true love'" (26-27) to other women "so they may true Lucreces be called / and with greater glory be honoured, Eternal Lord" (28-29). This panegyric by Trzycieski is followed by the main body of Solikowski's poem, whose two sections, "The Roman Lucrece" and "The Christian Lucrece", depict the martyrdom and suicide of Lucrece and St Pelagia, respectively, and praise their virtue.

"The Roman Lucrece" is a loose adaptation of Ovid's poem *Fasti*, although on a few occasions Solikowski introduces into the conversations between Lucrece and Collatine his own philosophical and theological views on the difference between the pure, untarnished soul and the sinful body:

> Said he [Collatine] that "it is the mind and not the flesh that sinneth
> so when the mind hath stayed undefiled, thou canst rejoice
> that while the flesh hath suffered a wrong, but the thought hath not been raped
> thou canst be sure thou hast stayed entire
> The deed forced on you we thee forgive
> but the Tarquins our anger shall know".
>
> To which she [Lucrece]: "Though you forgive me
> you will still know a different mind of mine
> I want a memory and an example of my virtue behind me to leave
> for Roman ladies never do disgrace condone" (139-148).

The section of the poem entitled "The Christian Lucrece", which tells the tragic story of a young woman, inspired by the life and death of St Pelagia, is of a completely different character. The only element of the original hagiographic text that is retained in Solikowski's poem is the message that the preservation of virginity is worth sacrificing one's life through suicide. The heroine of the poem is not a twelve-year-old girl, as it is in St. Pelagia's case, but a young woman who the queen's son is plotting to rape. Lured into a trap by the queen, the woman realises that her persecutor will soon appear, and seeking help in God, she places herself in His hands and leaps out of the window:

.....

thus distracted the attention of her captors, she ascended the roof of the house and leapt to her death. The Church considered this act of suicide to have been committed in defence of the faith and her virginity. On this basis, Pelagia was deemed a martyr and a saint.

My Lord, when this man is so intent
please let this your servant keep her mind intact.
I must the only rescue left to me pursue,
when this rape I can no more escape (63-66).

An innovative feature of the poem is the presence of another woman—the queen—as an accomplice in the young woman's downfall. The rape is planned with her full knowledge and approval. In this way, Solikowski's poem raises not only the issue of the lack of solidarity between women, but also the problem of the corruption of authority, which affects both men and women.

If we take into consideration the fact that the average lifespan in the sixteenth-century Poland was, at just over 30 years ("Folwark szlachecki i chłopi"), significantly lower than at present, it is not surprising that the thirty-one-year-old poet adopts the standpoint of an experienced man, not only offering advice to young people, but also sharply criticising them [*sic!*]. He addresses them with full confidence in his own righteousness and in the integrity of his moral judgements, offering a word of warning: "when shamelessly your passions you follow, much cause for wrongdoing to others you give" (81-82). In its final section, the poem acquires a didactic and moralising tone as the poet warns parents of the consequences of failing to morally educate their children: "Take care, so that you do not later weep, / if you the young to do ill permit" (85-86).

Solikowski's criticism also extends to poets ("Why with your poems do you the world spoil?" (88) and artists ("Why such shameless works do you make, Jove's all vanities, Mars and Venus' doings?" (101-102)). His accusations regarding the poets' role in promiscuity and the demoralisation of women probably reflect his general assessment of everyday life in Poland, as well as the quality of its art. Condemning the looseness of Roman sexual mores, which in the cases of both Lucrece and St Pelagia targeted the virtue of innocent women, the poet laments the state of culture in Poland: "All now in Poland the Italian way has gone; / there is wickedness everywhere, and very little shame" (110-111).[7]

A second piece on the theme of Lucrece published in Polish at the time was an anonymous poem entitled *Historia o Lucrecyey Rzymskiej Pobozney y szlachetney Matrony Uczciwym y Cnotliwym Mezatkom Przyklad Wieczny* [*A His-*

[7] In his analysis of the poem, Julian Krzyżanowski describes Solikowski's poem as an example of humanist tendencies that, under the influence of the Counter-Reformation, were being revived in Poland at the time.

tory of Lucrece of Rome, God-Fearing and Noble Matron, to Honest and Virtuous Wives an Eternal Example].[8] This work, full of passages of high lyrical intensity, is undoubtedly of significant aesthetic merit. Its message is reminiscent of that of mediaeval exempla, aimed at illustrating moralistic discourses present in mediaeval didactic literature and homiletics. An important part of the poem is formed by Lucrece's despairing monologues, typical of the popular literary sub-genre of the Renaissance period, the "lament".[9]

Polish Renaissance scholars have not been able to establish whether *Historia o Lukrecyey Rzymskiej Pobozney* is an original work or a translation. Its author doubts (quite unnecessarily) his/her poetic powers, concluding the opening section of the work, "Ad Zoilum", with the request "If some wise person a mistake doth find, / please forgive the less learned author". A reading of the poem demonstrates that it was written with a high level of artistic skill, particularly evident in the sections of the text spoken by Lucrece:

> Oppressed throughout, o omnipotent God,
> thou from whom nothing can be hidden,
> when thou observest from heavenly heights the lowest earth
> thou seest the good deeds, thou sees the wickedness done […],
> thou seest my heart, thou art a witness of my innocence,
> and of what evils are upon me
> from the wicked man against all propriety.
> O God, take revenge for the wrong that hath afflicted me,
> the wrong and the calumny thrown on me (196-199; 205-209).

Also worth noting are the sections of the poem in which Lucrece complains that the cause of her tragedy is her sex:

> Woe is me! Why have I into the world been born?
> If only I had in my mother's womb perished,
> and not in such trouble lived,
> nor into such an affliction survived,
> nor to my virtue the slightest damage suffered.

[8] According to Krzyżanowski, some scholars ascribe the poem to the little-known Marcin Luterna. Krzyzanowski does not share this view.

[9] This sub-genre was originated by Ovid in his *Heroides*—a collection of fifteen love letters in verse in which fifteen heroines of ancient myths lamented their suffering at the hands of their lovers (e. g. Medea, Penelope, Phaedra, Dido, Ariadne, Deianeira, Sappho). See for example: Holst-Warhaft (1992).

> Unhappy, I say, thrice unhappy am I,
> of all of the fair sex, for what I valued more
> than my soul against my will I have lost,
> and for which I now have to weep (242-250).

An innovative element is the inclusion at the end of the poem an epitaph which Collatine, in his despair, has engraved on her tomb:

> Here lies Lucrece, who, by her great love of virtue driven,
> at once to take revenge for her grief, both her revenge and her life
> with a sharp iron she did end.
> Such a bargain with this world she did make,
> for over her life her virtue she did treasure. […]
> For years unending
> may the loss of her innocent life remain famous (346-351; 269-270).

The poem does not raise political questions because the issue of revenge on the Tarquins remains private. Collatine promises revenge, which is meant to "redeem the innocent grief [of his wife],/ redeem her innocent death" (369-370).

Other authors who dealt with the theme of the tragic fate of Lucrece include Andrzej Krzycki (1482-1537), the Primate of Poland. He was both politician and poet, as well as author of the didactic piece *Historia Rzymskiej Lukrecji, Cnotliwej i poboznej matrony uzyta jako wieczny przyklad uczciwej i bezgrzesznej kobiety zameznej* [*A History of Lucrece of Rome, a virtuous and God-fearing matron, used as an eternal example of an honest and sinless married woman*]. There was also an anonymous narrative poem "Historia Rzymskiej Lukrecji" ["A History of Lucrece of Rome"] in circulation. Furthermore, Zbigniew Morsztyn (1625-1688), a seventeenth-century Polish poet, mentioned Lucrece's name in his 1684 poem "A Carol".

A notable aspect of the reception of the myth of Lucrece in sixteenth-century Poland is its absence from public debate. There are no documents indicating the use of that story in any supporting commentary on current public events.[10] In other European countries, however, references to the motif of Lucrece was present, for example, in pamphlets, scholarly treatises, creative

[10] This was the role played by the myth of Lucrece in England, which is demonstrated by the fact that it is referenced in *England's Parnassus, or The Choicest Flowers of our Modern Poets*, an anthology of poetry published in 1600 by 'R. A.' [Robert Allott].

appropriations and translations. These dealt not only with the theme of suicide, but also addressed debates about the political system, the monarchy, republicanism, and civic responsibility (103-142) (Kujawińska Courtney 2012, 59-74).

The popularity of the myth of Lucrece increased in times of political crises, encouraging opposition against tyranny, particularly when the monarchy attempted to strengthen its authority at the expense of the legislative powers of parliaments or of the aristocracy. "During the Renaissance, like in ancient Rome", explains Katherine Baseman Maus,

> the story of Tarquin and Lucrece displayed vividly the inextricability of domestic and civic order, of public and private realms, of sexual and political violence, as a political fable; it suggested circumstances in which subjects were permitted, even obliged, to challenge the authority of their sovereign.

"When Tarquin rapes Lucrece," Baseman Maus adds, "he does not merely perpetrate an act of brutal violence against her, but he defiles Collatinus's exclusive claim on his wife's body, imagined as the husband's property (Baseman Maus 2005, 663; emphasis in the original).

It is possible that it was the political situation of Poland in the sixteenth century that resulted in a lack of interest in the myth of Lucrece: after the creation of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations in 1569—Poland and Lithuania—Polish political thought was dominated by the ideology of republicanism. This was a consequence of the attempts, over the previous two hundred years or more, of the aristocracy and the gentry to obtain a guarantee of their civic freedoms in legislative and executive spheres. Summarising the political situation in Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century in his famous treatise *Polonia defensa contra Ioannum Barclaium* (1648), Łukasz Opaliński the Younger explains: "We have a king, but we are neither his inheritance nor his patrimony […] because he exists for his citizens, and not his citizens for him" (qtd. Pendrich 2009, 103). In other words, the fact that from 1573 on Polish gentry secured the right to freely elect the monarch meant that, although the gentry fully accepted the existence of the monarchy as an institution, the myth of Lucrece did not attain the level of significance it enjoyed in political debates elsewhere in Europe.

With the issues of virtue and suicide reduced to the private sphere, the myth of Lucrece was rather quickly marginalised in Polish culture. It was mainly used for didactic purposes: a review of Polish textbooks used over the centuries

for the study of Latin indicates that the other fragments from Livy's *Ab urbe condita* were preferred.[11]

Excerpts of Livy's work became available to the Polish reader only in 1965,[12] while Ovid's *Fasti*, which had for centuries been one of the sources for the myth of Lucrece, were not translated into Polish until the twenty-first century (2008). A better fate awaited Shakespeare's narrative *The Rape of Lucrece*, the first translation of which was published in 1922 by Jan Kasprowicz. When one considers one-sentence entries on Lucrece in dictionaries, encyclopaedias, and lexicons, the lack of reference to her in the work of Polish artists is not surprising. In other words, this female figure, one of the most famous in sixteenth-century Europe, never took her rightful place in the pantheon of Polish culture.

Relegated to the domestic sphere—marital innocence and virtue—she was never granted her own history. She suffered the same fate as many other heroic women in the history of the Polish nation, whose lives tended to be seen, evaluated, and commemorated primarily through the lens of the activity and achievements of men.

[11] Textbooks used in the English and American educational systems usually include the myth of Lucrece in their selections of Latin texts.

[12] At present the Polish reader has access to five volumes of translations from Livy's work: *The History of Rome ab Urbe Condita,* Books I-V, translated by A. Kosciółek, introduced and edited by M. Brożek (Wrocław, 1988); Books VI-X , translated by A. Kosciółek, and with a translation of summaries by. M. Brożek and a commentary of Books XI-XX by J. Wolski and M. Brożek (Wrocław, 1971); Books XI-XX, translated by M. Brożek and with M. Brożek's commentary (Wrocław, 1974); Books VIII-XX, translated and edited by M. Brożek (Wrocław, 1976); Books XV-XV and XX translated by and edited by M. Brożek and J. Wolski (1981); *Excerpts from Livy's History*, translated and edited by W. Strzelecki (Wrocław, 1965).

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REVISITING THE JACOBEAN WAR OF THE SEXES: RIGHTEOUS ANGER, PATRIARCHAL ANXIETY AND THE SWETNAM CONTROVERSY

The essay seeks to explore the Early Modern English *querelle des femmes* and how the role of women in Early Modern society was discussed through a new wave of pamphlets and plays during the reign of James I. It may be noticed that Jacobean patriarchy was a much less stable construct than is commonly thought, and that the overt misogyny of James I and his supporters was an anxious reaction to the possibility of women gaining more independence in the period of economic and political transition after Elizabeth I's death, which could pose a potential threat to the patriarchal family, a unit on which the reign of James was modelled. The Jacobean period is also the first time women responded personally to misogynistic pamphlets—most notably, Swetnam's *Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward and Inconstant Women*—and responded with righteous anger, as evidenced by the pamphlets of Rachel Speght, Ester Sowernam and Constantia Munda. What is more, the debate entered the world of drama: Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Woman Hater* (published in 1607, before the Swetnam controversy yet mirroring the gender issues of the time) and the anonymous *Swetnam the Woman Hater Arraigned by Women* (1620) seem to redraw the boundaries for "just" female anger, what is more, they make the misogynistic characters appear angry in a petty and hysterical way, a behaviour hitherto attributed to the "weaker" sex.

Sociologists working under the power-status theory of emotions (Kemper 1987, 2011) consider anger to be a passion of domination, an expression of power, disparaged if expressed by inferiors. By putting women in more powerful positions, and defending their righteous anger, it is likely that the playwrights supported the women and not the misogynistic men. It may be argued that economic and political changes, as well as the legacy of Elizabeth I, influenced the sharper tone of the debates regarding a woman's place in society—and her emotions.

The *querelle des femmes* or "the woman question"—the debate on whether women are more prone to sin than men—was hardly a new topic when the Englishwomen Rachel Speght (1617), Ester Sowernam (1617) and Constantia Munda (1617) wrote their answers to one of the most famous misogynistic tracts of the English Renaissance, Swetnam's *Arraingment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women* (1615). Indeed, Christine de Pizan, Marguerite de Navarre and Boccaccio published earlier defences of female virtue.

Rebellious women and the war of the sexes were popular Elizabethan and Jacobean topics, to which titles like *The Cruell Shrew*, *Hic Mulier*, *The Womens Sharpe Revenge* or the popularity of Swetnam's *Arraingment* (which went through ten editions) can attest. However, Early Modern English women pamphleteers are often embraced by modern feminist critics as the first who attempted to demonstrate that female anger could be of a virtuous nature, rather than proof of female weakness and proneness to sin, even if some state that aside from Speght, who gave her personal name and therefore could be identified, the "female defenders" may have been men "ventriloquising" women's voices.[1] Though the topic itself was not new, the Early Modern *querelle* can be seen as unique due to the increase of the number of discussions regarding female authority and independence in the Jacobean period. James's reign can be characterised by misogyny but also by frequent renegotiations of a woman's place in society, as well as by a certain masculine anxiety regarding female independence. The Swetnam controversy took place during a period "when the patriarchal system was transforming and reasserting its control within society […] there was indeed the blurred line between theory and practice" (McClymont 1994, 35), and periods

[1] Scholars who maintain the pamphlet writers were women include Henderson and Mc Manus (1985), Beilin (1987), Travitsky (1989) and Purkiss (1992), while those who negate that claim include Woodbridge (1984), Clarke (2001), Romack (2002) and Bellows (2004). However, even those who claim the writers were men do not negate the validity and the proto-feminism of those responses.

of transition often offered women a chance to gain more independence. Certain historians (Underdown, Thomas, MacFarlane) identify various economic and political factors as strongly influencing the matter of the misogynistic backlash but also the will to fight back on behalf of the women and men who supported them.

The way those Early Modern pamphlet writers, both the male accusers and the retaliating women, express and handle the emotion of anger is of special interest. Early Modern women were generally discouraged from openly showing they were angry, as anger was an emotion of the dominant side. However, the Swetnam retaliatory pamphlets and two 'woman question' plays see a departure from this approach, as the women often ridicule their opponents' "choler" but justify their own strong emotions. As dominant emotions—like anger—are, according to the status and power theory, linked strongly to the idea of social hierarchy, the renegotiations of "the right to anger" can be seen as an attempt to imagine a different sort of status distribution in times of transition.

The quest for finding the true social origins of emotions may have yet not been completed, and sociologists have different approaches to the passions.[2] The power and status theory of emotions suggests that social structural relations—which determine the social hierarchy in a given society—are the basis of all emotion-evoking interactions. The concepts of power and status must, however, be clarified. Status is, in most general terms, the approval of reference groups (Kemper 2001: xi), freely given respect. Status may be ascribed or achieved. The definition of power used in this analysis will be the classical (and general) idea of Weber ([1922] 1965, 152), who claimed that power is "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability exists".

Though this theory is often contrasted with social constructionism, which considers the origins of emotions to lie in culturally embedded social norms and standards, ingrained through socialisation, it can be merged with it to some extent, as sociologists are also concerned not only with how particular emotions arise but how they are managed and conveyed (Barbalet 2007, 1375). Anger may be subdued in order for the individual to conform to not only social standards but also if the individual's position in the social structure does not allow for an open expression of rage.

[2] Other theories pertaining to the study of emotions include ritual theory, affect control theory, the dramaturgical approach and exchange theories.

> Clearly, the cultural norms that develop in a cultural system mirror the standard role relation-ships within that social group. If students are supposed to display deference (or even anxiety) in interacting with teachers in one culture, while showing lively, even combative, engagement in another, these patterns say volumes about the relative status and power of the two roles in those cultures. (Wisecup et al. 2007, 115)

Kemper (2011) considered the status/power theory to be universal, as power and status are concepts identified in every society, regardless of the stage of development. Every community, no matter how primitive, establishes certain margins of permissible behaviours and has some method of castigating transgressors. It must be established, then, what influences power and status (what determines an individual's position in the social structure of a particular society) as well as which norms apply to the expression of anger in the Early Modern period in England, and whether the two plays and the Swetnam controversy offer a new glimpse into those matters.

According to the power-status theory, anger is an emotion "directed toward the other" (Kemper 1978, 121), born out of the "felt undeservingness of status deprivation" (Kemper 2011, 245). The foundation of the power-status concept is that anger is an emotion of dominance, as it is an emotion related to aggression and the direct voicing of one's displeasure or opposition. If expressed openly, it may be threatening. A dominant emotion may be most safely conveyed by actors in power, or those with high status.[3] In general, in Early Modern England, powerful and influential people were encouraged to show anger albeit in a civilised way if it served a regulating purpose (e. g. scolding servants or breaking an unruly child's will), though rage was generally discouraged, especially in relation to princes, gentlemen and "magistrates", who were to give an example of temperance. However, a low status and/or low-power actor, even potentially displeased, was culturally trained to suppress anger.

> The ideal of the "humble man" is also presented by religious pamphleteers:
> He loves rather to give than take honour; not in a fashion of complimental courtesy, but in simplicity of his judgment (…) his words are few and soft; never either peremptory or censorious (Hall [1608] 1837, 93)

The humble man, therefore, is an ideal when he is silent and submissive. Anger management is given ample attention in conduct literature for the lower

[3] The term "actors" is used here in its sociological sense, denoting individuals engaged in social interaction.

classes—those able to read could consult manuals such as the *Boke of Nurture for Men, Servants and Children*, which offered more detailed advice on dealing with the passion. One of the suggestions is to keep clear of company when one is "in temper", another—a comment probably directed at servants—to avoid "exciting" anyone already angry (Rhodes 1577, 36). Sometimes, this creates a paradox: "open expressions of anger are judged negatively and associated with low social status and overall unworthiness" (Kennedy 2000, 116). The lower-status individuals were often judged to be emotionally childish, lacking control over their impulses.

> Anger becomes rather a savage beast than a Gentleman […] Nay, 'tis a kind of baseness and pusillanimity, and so beneath a Gentleman. For we see such as are weak, sickly. Aged, or else children. Fools, and women most addicted to it. Men, especially Gentlemen, shall vent their Anger rather with scorn than fear, that they may seem to be rather above than below the injury. To get meekness, a calmness of spirit is an excellent Antidote, and directly opposite to it, and advances a Man's Honour. (Ramesey 1672, 106)

People who could not handle their anger were deemed uncivilized, but the "handling" differed according to power and status. However, those with lower status—children, people of lower class, and, most importantly, women—had to be able to control their impulses and suppress their rage, as their anger could potentially destabilise the status quo. However, according to the status-power theory, when the lower-power individual wishes to renegotiate those power relations, especially when he or she deems them unfair, the situation may call for an exception. There is a margin of tolerance to "transgressive" behaviour if the anger is considered "righteous", the individual expressing it seeking to correct an infraction that could destabilise the society in a far greater capacity than a temporary insubordination.

The Early Modern war of the sexes can be seen as a mirror of a certain social uncertainty of the time, a form of masculine anxiety caused by, among other factors, "excessive population growth, inflation, land shortage, poverty and vagrancy" (Underdown 1987, 116). Other historians mention the loosening of neighbourhood ties that came along with the spread of capitalism, as well as the redefinition of the concept of charity. Indeed, the growth of capitalism has also identified as an important factor in the discussions of female freedom by scholars such as Thomas (1971), Macfarlane (1970) or Boyer and Nissenbaum (1974) in their social studies of witchcraft. The conclusions that can be drawn from this rather unique situation offer a departure from the prevailing atti-

tude that the patriarchal order was an accepted and stable element of the time. The insecurity regarding the patriarchal structure of Early Modern England was a reflection—and was also reflected by—the uncertainty of James I and his followers at court. "The ambivalence about female independence which marks the debate over women's roles during the reign of King James suggests the presence of deep-seated anxieties regarding women's cultural authority, which can be traced, at least in part, to the double-edged politics of gender in the Jacobean court" (Miller 1996, 109). Allman (1999, 32) identifies the causes of the resurgence of misogynist discourse as the king's antifeminism, the unclear issue of James's sexuality as well as the attempts (some futile) to distance his wife, Queen Anne, from political life.

The legacy of a female monarch was also a problematic issue. Mullaney (1994, 139) argued that it was also the cult of the Virgin Queen that paradoxically enhanced misogyny after Elizabeth's death—while she could put herself on a pedestal of purity, she distanced herself from other women whose virtue could potentially be challenged. The last years of her reign saw a return to misogyny that flourished during the initial stages of James's reign. On the other hand, "if the anticipation of James had undermined Elizabeth's authority in her last years, her haunting of James's reign returned the favour" (Allman 1999, 33). By the 1620s, Elizabeth's image was no longer tainted by the last (and less successful) years of her reign, but was referred to with a certain nostalgia (Wayne 1999, 236), which led many women to use the image of Elizabeth to further support their claims that women too can be respected and even followed as examples. It is interesting to note that even Elizabeth's anger (socially permitted, yet discouraged on the part of a sovereign) was later regarded positively. "A female monarch who could display herself when the occasion arose as aggressively and confidently militaristic was a more satisfying Renaissance monarch than an indolent and pacifist king" (Allman 1999, 34). Her "angry frowne" could be viewed much more positively than James's proudly patriarchal yet ultimately passive attitude if it was the female queen who was remembered as "the Phoenix of her time, our euer to bee renowned Queene, Elizabeth, at whose frowne Kings trembled" (Newstead 1620, C2).

The new king had to establish himself against the cult of Elizabeth I, but remain respectful to her memory. In his first address to Parliament, James I drew on the images of England as his wife, and him, the king, as the "head" of the marriage (Allman 1999, 30). While Elizabeth also drew on familial terms to describe her monarchy, James's ideas were clearly more absolutist—and patriar-

chal. His positioning of himself as the head of the household could cause certain political discomfort, as it also placed the men in the position of the subordinate "wives".[4] James's negative attitude towards women was well-known, he was especially critical of cross-dressers and was a fervent persecutor of witches—he was known to personally oversee their tortures (Keay and Keay 1994, 556). This speaks volumes about his uncomfortable feelings towards women who defy patriarchal norms. Interestingly, the French ambassador reported James I "piques himself on great contempt for women […] the English ladies do not spare him but hold him in abhorrence and tear him to pieces with their tongues" (Willson 1956, 196). It is pertinent to note that the fact that "English ladies" had enough power to be even covertly angry with the king's behaviour reveals a lot about the complexity of the situation at court.

It appears that the Jacobean court itself was more multifaceted than is commonly thought, and, like Early Modern English society, could not be treated as a single unchanging entity. A clear example of certain subversive politics are the activities of Queen Anne and her circle of female confidantes, to whom she often lent support even if it meant challenging the king's authority. This included Lady Anne Clifford, who refused to be ignored in the discussions over the territory she inherited, Westmoreland, even though the king explicitly stated that only her husband should be responsible for the sheriff's office. Clifford even mentioned that she put the king "in a chaff" (Miller 1996, 116) over the matter, but still refused to quit her case. A subject who made the dominant side of the interaction angry and still held her ground was a bold subject indeed, and her "insolence" mirrored the righteous anger of the women pamphleteers, who did not fear anger if they knew they were acting out of the feeling of justice. Aemilia Lanyer may have challenged the king by dedicating her proto-feminist *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* to Queen Anne. By praising the Queen's sex and appealing to her judgment, she excluded James I from the exchange concerning women (Miller 1996, 119).

It is likely, then, that the misogyny of James and "his" court was an attempt to reinstate the ideals that were being challenged far more often than it is thought.

[4] Furthermore, as James was also known to publicly demonstrate an affection for his male favourites that went beyond the permitted norms of the period (Goldberg 1989, 142), this could be further discussed considering James's rumoured homosexuality, and Jordan (30) notes that "his behaviour blurred the sexual binary on which the theory of patriarchy rests"

> Clearly, if status differences between men and women were as secure and inherent as Early Modern social theory argues, we would not find such a ubiquitous masculine concern over the fear of effeminacy [. . .] the overt misogyny of Joseph Swetnam's *Arraignment* is clearly a response to the same fear of emasculation. (Breitenberg 1996, 165)

The king's subjects were not all unanimously misogynistic. Dusinberre (1996, 5) argues that the entire Early Modern English culture of drama—influenced by the spread of humanism in the educational modes of the time, by certain Puritan ideals of equality as well as Elizabeth's reign—can be seen to have feminist sympathies, and that even Shakespeare's strong heroines are part of a certain common stock. It could also be argued that a reaction against overt misogyny in plays could be interpreted as criticism of the king's ethos and behaviour.

"James's rhetoric of fatherly authority can be viewed as disclosing the implicit instability of the domestic hierarchy it was concerned to invoke" (Miller 1996, 114). While it may be difficult to agree with the notion that the patriarchal family (and order) could no longer be taken for granted, as Underdown's study (1985) suggests, there is indeed evidence of an increased number of punishments meted out to scolds and unfaithful or domineering wives (according to local court records from 1560-1640 reviewed by Underdown), and an almost obsessive preoccupation with women who were considered to be threatening the patriarchal system (Underdown 1985, 119), from scolds through witches to cross-dressers, which points to a certain social anxiety often ignored by historians and literary critics. The image of the scolding woman, the most extreme example of female anger that the patriarchal society sought to dominate, shall be returned to.

It has already been hinted that female anger was often thought to be baseless, and, in the long run, a destructive expression of insubordination. In Early Modern England, judging from data collected from pamphlets, artistic output, letters, memoirs, laws, public speeches and advice manuals, the main variables regarding power and status were social class, gender and age, with race and religion playing an important part. Women were generally in a disadvantaged position. Even well-born "wives held a rank but not the command that usually went with it; correlatively, they possessed wealth but could not spend or manage it" (Jordan 1990, 298).

The sin of Eve was a constant reminder that women should follow, not take initiative. A Christian woman's social sphere was the house; outside she was often denied voice. "Let a woman learn in silence with all submissiveness. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men; she is to keep silent"

(I Timothy 2:8-15). The pamphleteer Rachel Speght, a member of the lower class and a daughter of a church minister, was most likely familiar with those teachings. However, Speght opposed the "norm" of female silence and openly voiced her discontent.

In her pamphlet, she challenges Swetnam with her displeasure (though perhaps not open anger). Speght was certainly a transgressor, however, her response in emotional terms is not even comparable to that of "Jane Anger" of Elizabeth's reign. Jane Anger ([1589] 2000, 4) openly flaunted her "chollericke vaine" while Speght does her best to demonstrate tact and humility, as if to stand in opposition to Swetnam's aggressive behaviour:

> Worthy therefore of imitation is that example of *Senec[a],* who when he was told that a certaine man did exclaime and raile against him, made this milde answere; […] This I alleage as a paradigmatical patterne for all women, noble & ignoble to follow, that they be not enflamed with choler against this our enraged aduersarie, but patiently consider of him according to the portraiture which he hath drawne of himselfe, his Writings being the very embleme of a monster. (Speght [1617] 1998)

Ester Sowernam and Constantia Munda are more critical than Speght, the former even apologizing that her stance may not mirror the natural sweetness of the ideal woman—yet claiming that such an approach is necessary in this case. Interestingly, Sowernam draws on the image of Elizabeth I and her more traditionally male attributes of valour and strength and presents her as a shining beacon of virtue, one that could be followed by both women and men. It was likely a daunting and potentially dangerous task to reply negatively to any praise regarding the Virgin Queen, and Sowernam made full use of that situation. "The mythology of Elizabeth […] could attach itself to brave and virtuous women" (Allman 1999, 33).

Constantia Munda, on the other hand, provides probably the most direct critique of Swetnam, threatening him with physical violence. Her anger is apparent: "I'll take pains to worm the tongue of your madness and dash your rankling teeth down your throat" (Munda 1617, 16). She is not afraid to state that she has been angered, and that Swetnam's misogyny is harmful and unacceptable. In many ways, those female pamphleteers renegotiate the social boundaries of female behaviours, as they reply in their own voices, display irritation and displeasure, and openly demand to be treated better. "The voices of these tracts were not only clever, but were also outraged" (McClymont 1994, 39).

It is interesting to note that Swetnam expected a furious response from women (stating "I know women will bark more at me than Cerberus" (Swetnam [1615] 1985, 192)), but not rational arguments and a rhetorical battle featuring "just" anger—an emotion employed, surprisingly to Swetnam, by people he deemed inferior—and in order to reassert their status. His mentality reflects certain emotion ideologies of the period: ridiculous fury could be downplayed as comically out of place, but righteous anger was quite rarely a female domain, as this would mean that a woman could think herself more virtuous or more clever than a man, and consider herself to have the right to admonish men.

This was surprising, and this criticism from a socially inferior individual would most likely evoke anger in turn. To prove this point, a closer look should be taken at Lewalski's analysis of an original copy of Speght's pamphlet with annotations done by the girl's contemporary, which Lewalski (1996, 91) considers to have been Swetnam himself. The notes on the margins contain "puns on female genitalia, rude references to body parts or to sexual intercourse, double entendres, and slurs on Rachel's chastity—attacks which take on special force since they are directed against a known young unmarried woman" (Lewalski 1996, 92). One of the most controversial of his notes appears when Speght, in a commendatory poem included in the copy of her pamphlet, is likened to David fighting Goliath: "What? throwinge stones? Give mee her arse" (Lewalski 1996, 96). Breitenberg (1996, 154) notes the "excessive" rhetoric of the men's texts and speeches, and states "if it were simply a question of stating agreed upon differences, surely we would not find the passion or virulence exhibited in the *Hic Mulier* tract or in Joseph Swetnam's angry *Arraingment* […] nor would we find James I ordering preachers to condemn cross-dressing women from the pulpits". Swetnam's crude and ireful remarks only underline that he was deeply uncomfortable by the fact that he has been judged in a constructive way, and admonished by an inferior.

An analysis of the female replies to Swetnam reveals that argument-wise the women use largely conventional means of attack, using logical arguments and biblical examples. Yet, the act of the reply itself and the naming of emotions is provoking—the surprise of the man who originated the controversy speaks volumes about the uniqueness of the women's act: "his [Swetnam's] comments reveal that he is deeply offended not just by what she [Speght] writes, but that she writes at all" (Bellows 2004, 191). "The greater the misogyny, the more is revealed about the anxiety of the masculinity that it seeks to defend—even Jane Anger notes that the men do indeed protest too much" (Breitenberg 1996, 154).

It is interesting that the Jacobean debates as well as the character of this particular discourse (in the case of the later play) found their way into drama, namely, Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Woman Hater* (published in 1607) and the anonymously written *Swetnam the Woman Hater Arraigned by Women* (published in 1620). Though certain gender stereotypes remain in the two plays, one may wonder whether certain culturally expected anger presentations are not treated differently from what one would expect: the misogynists are the ones who are irrationally choleric, while the women's anger is shown to be excusable even if openly expressed (like the anger of "Atlanta" in *Swetnam the Woman Hater Arraigned by Women*) or channelled into a rational, though humorous, plan of just retribution (like the schemes of Oriana in *The Woman Hater*).

Therefore, if female anger was ideologically considered either comic rage, unnatural transgression or a nuisance, it is curious that angry women in two woman-hater plays are not punished for indecency, ridiculed or branded as scolds—they are the heroines of the play. It may be argued that this is because the image they present is that of righteous anger. It has been mentioned that according to the status and power theory, the inferior can occasionally be angry at a person with higher status if the anger is "just", and if s/he seeks to defend what is valuable to a given society. It is likely that the playwrights saw raging misogyny as harmful. Two elements contribute to making this situation work. The "enemies" of the women, the woman-haters Misogynos (an alias of Swetnam until his true name is finally revealed) and Gondarino, are presented as a raging, illogical and contemptible human beings—their anger is close to madness. It may be worth examining whether the dramatic world saw Swetnam and similar misogynists as mirrors of the indolent James I, or whether they simply thought that the "woman-hating" had gone too far (it should naturally be remembered that women constituted a large portion of the dramatists' audience). Of course, plays which can nowadays be seen as misogynistic also existed.

The action of the Swetnam plays may be contrasted with Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* scenario, with "Petruchio's cavalier dismissal of Kate's pseudo-righteous ire as nothing more than "a 'paltry cap'—a trifling matter" (Freeh 2002, 287). Yet, in Shakespeare's comedy, it is Kate who is originally the transgressor of norms—in the two "woman-hater" plays the blame rests on the ridiculous but harmful men. If the ridiculous Swetnam, who gloats over the fact that he has wreaked havoc in his native England, had managed to emerge victorious at the end of the play, the social system could be deemed faulty. Gondarino's invectives and accusations towards Oriana in *The Woman*

Hater are sins that must be paid for, as he is denying innocent, high-status women their right to be respected. Therefore, high-class dramatic heroines like Oriana and "Atlanta" could be allowed to help restore the social order by teaching the misogynists a lesson in humility, especially if the men cross so many social boundaries.

Angry men, if they are contemptible or unreasonable, are easier to rebel against. It is very likely that if that irrational anger was directed towards women, the retaliating ladies would receive social support for their "righteous" anger. In *Swetnam the Woman Hater Arraigned by Women*, the main plot is centred on two young people, who are faced with punishment for their love for violating the king's command—however, as both the young lady and the man want to take the blame for their infraction, their case cannot be easily resolved. The king cannot distinguish between slander and truth—just like James I, "the archetypal patriarch lacks the foremost quality of an idealised ruler" (McClymont 1994, 110). The king decides that the best way to solve the problem is to have a debate on the question of whether men or women are the less virtuous sex. At the trial, Swetnam, naturally, defends the men and criticises the women. Swetnam's opponent at the gender trial, speaking for the women, is actually the long-lost prince Lorenzo dressed as the Amazonian "Atlanta". By choosing to participate in the trial, he gets a chance to defend the women, protect the lovers from their deadly fate and reinstate himself at court. Regardless of his motives, Lorenzo provides social support for the unjustly criticised women. Lorenzo/Atlanta delivers a very convincing defence of female virtue: women, even within the patriarchal structures, had a right to be honoured and respected, as the loss of reputation was synonymous with loss of status. In the play, Atlanta is especially angered at Swetnam's (insincere) attempts to woo her. Swetnam is convinced that he will seduce the Amazonian woman, as—in his opinion—women are generally weak-minded and therefore easily charmed. Atlanta flies into a rage, and admonishes Swetnam violently:

> Impudent slave
> How dars't thou looke a Woman in the face
> Or commence love to any?
> (*Swetnam the Woman Hater Arraigned by Women*, 5. 2. 110)[5]

[5] All references to the text of the play follow *Swetnam the Woman-Hater Arraigned by Women* [1620] (1969).

"Atlanta" sees his behaviour as offensive and disrespectful. The public trials, however, offer even more interplays of emotions. Swetnam tries to deride Atlanta, patronising her and labelling her a scold ("O doe not scold, good woman!" (*SWHAW*, 3. 3. 216)). After many perturbations Atlanta is finally righteously victorious, but s/he leaves the "punishment" of Swetnam to the town womenfolk, who have long wanted to take revenge for all the insults Swetnam directed at womankind. Those townswomen mention wanting to tear him apart ("let's teare his limes in pieces, ioynt from ioynt" (*SWHAW*, 5. 2. 159)). Atlanta finally reveals "herself" to be the prince Lorenzo. The play ends with the women falling to their knees before the prince to thank him for the defence: "And on our knees we muft this dutie tender / To you our Patron, and our Fames Defender" (*SWHAW*, 5. 3. 196-197). Though ultimately it is male authority that restores order, the title page's woodcut is an image of the court where the "arraignment" of Swetnam is held it is dominated by the Chief Judge, a woman with queenly attributes, one very similar to the Virgin Queen. "The image of a woman on a throne opposing a misogynist would recall the authority and the advocacy of the old Queen […] it may also be read as a confrontation between the misogynist James I and a revived Elizabeth I" (Wayne 1999, 236).

The anonymous play cannot be called "feminist", but it still allows for female anger—Swetnam's rage is petty and ridiculous, yet must be confined as it is a threat to social stability. Spontaneous female ire is likened to that of the mythical Furies—but the premise of anger is seen as valid. The defender of women is a man, but the members of the court do not realize this until the trial's over. What is more, they applaud the brave Amazon Atlanta and do not react against "her" strong, public expressions of anger, even when s/he utters lines which are designed to offend: "Base snarling Dogge, bite out thy slanderous tongue/And spit it in the face of Innocence" (*SWHAW*, 3. 3. 207-208). After all, she defends not only "her" good name, but the honour of all women—certain lines cannot be crossed, even in patriarchal structures: female anger is seen as permissible if a woman's reputation is at stake.

Similarly, Beaumont and Fletcher's play *The Woman Hater* cannot be called a feminist milestone, however, it delivers a directly empowering message. Oriana, as has been mentioned, is a noblewoman, probably of higher social standing than her adversary, Gondarino, and is very polite and charming, yet the man offends her in a despicable, even irrational way—so irrational that Oriana starts laughing at his insults.

> Gondarino: Doe you commend me? Why doe you commend me?
> I give you no such cause: thou are a filthy impudent whore
> A woman, a very woman
> Oriana: Ha, ha, ha (*The Woman Hater*, 2. 1. 145-48)[6]

This behaviour only proves the fact that Gondarino, like many misogynists falling back on old and absurd "arguments", is ridiculous, and transgresses all norms of politeness and courtesy. Gondarino, on the other hand, believes himself to be superior, which only makes him more comic—when women irritate him, at one point he remarks:

> Dare they incense me still, I
> Will make them feare as much to be ignorant of mee and my moodes
> As men are to bee ignorant of the lawe they live under (*WH*, 4. 1. 121-123)

He rages on about how severely he will punish women and how much they deserve punishment, yet to the audience his exclamations were probably more amusing than truly threatening. However, there is a moment of danger in the play—a moment which demonstrates that even the status of high-born women could be fragile. Gondarino defames the chaste Oriana, and she is accused of dishonesty.

Of course, the moral "test" of Oriana exists for dramatic appeal—a typical comedic turn of events where the accused are eventually cleared of blame, the accuser faces punishment, and peace and joy are restored—yet it mirrors the fear that even women of valour could have their chastity or honesty questioned. Oriana's own anger at Gondarino is generally subdued. It is perhaps because she had to be presented as a believably chaste and "civilised" noblewoman, familiar with the models of courtly behaviour that demanded mildness and elegance, yet a light-hearted attitude towards the madness of Gondarino only proves that Oriana's status is high enough to allow her not take the man completely seriously.

During their first meeting, Oriana manages to conceal her disgust, but in private, she schemes to get back at Gondarino—not with rage, but with what he expects least—feminine charm.

[6] All references to the text of the play follow Beaumont, Francis and John Fletcher 2008 [1607] *The Woman Hater*.

> I must not leave this fellow, I will torment him to madness,
> To teach his passions against kind to move
> The more he hates, the more Ile seem to love (WH, 2. 1. 397-399)

However, a later turn of events allows Oriana to express her anger at men.

When she is falsely accused and sentenced to death, she is in fact being manipulated by the Duke himself—his test rests on is whether she is willing to sleep with her executioner, Arrigo, if he promises to spare her. When Arrigo suggests this, she reacts with wrath:

> Villaine, I will not; Murderer, do the worst
> Thy base unnoble thoughts dare prompt thee to!
> I am above thee, slave (*WH*, 5. 4. 60-62)

Oriana is aware of her social standing, where her dominant anger is righteous also because her class status may take precedence over her gender. She suggests that even if the executioner forces himself upon her, she will not lose status—a surprising approach considering the times—as she knows she is pure and deserving of honour. Indeed, it is by this action that Oriana proves herself to be the high-status lady that she was considered before her defamation and the attention of the men turns to the one who had slandered her in the first place.

The punishment of the misogynist is decreed, and it is Oriana who delivers an admonishing statement.

> Lord Gondarino, you have wrong'd me highly; yet since it
> Sprung from no peculiar hate to me, but from a general dislike
> Unto all women, you shall thus suffer for it (*WH*, 5. 4. 108-110)

It is interesting that Oriana sides with all women, regardless of status, while, considering the social rules of the time, she had a right to retaliate personally for the slight against her personal integrity. At the end, a group of women "attack" Gondarino with charms and kisses, knowing the man will be embarrassed by the situation. He is "forced" to accept femininity, whether he likes it or not, just as many Early Modern English men were—both men and women were created by God, and this order should not be challenged. In the play, therefore, a chaste noblewoman can be seen to have the right to defend not only her virtue, but the virtue of all women, even if it means expressing theoretically unfeminine anger, what is more, the authorities recognise that right and (though after a "test" of moral purity) punish the slanderer for his baseless rage.

The pamphlets and plays of the Jacobean period present the readers with flashes of female moral superiority towards misogynists. The women pamphleteers seem to have the moral high ground, and demand justice, at times angrily, but constructively. The female characters (or posing as female) of the two woman question plays, Atlanta and Oriana, possess status which appears to be equal or higher than the misogynists', which allows them to be righteously angry, but even the lower-class women who deal out the punishments at the end of both plays are empowered enough for their anger to be justifiable in this situation. It may be an exaggeration to speak of "milestones" in the case of the two plays. There are also moments of justified and non-destructive female anger in other Renaissance plays, what is more, comedies could sometimes allow for situations outside the realm of permitted behaviours, especially if they served a moralising purpose. Yet, the women's anger in the two plays was used to show that women should be treated with respect, and all women should be innocent until proven guilty. The anger of the plays' female characters as well as the anger of the pamphleteers is valid and righteous, and it presents a departure from the general social attitude towards female emotions of the time. Scholars such as McClymont (1994, 121) remark that James's I reign, especially the first years, were a transitional stage for male-female relations, where certain groups, attempting to adapt to a changing economic reality, reinforced ideas of patriarchal rule over women. On the other hand, it is also acknowledged that certain periods of transformation could be beneficial to women, and that many tried to fight back, at least within the realm of public, literary works. Additionally, though the system of Elizabethan and Jacobean England was male-controlled, it was not unanimously misogynistic.

Though the woman question pamphlets failed to inaugurate real political change (Jordan 1990, 298), they were perhaps one of the first examples of women publicly demonstrating their displeasure with misogyny and not being unanimously slandered or rejected for it, as evidenced by the support the angry female characters receive in the controversy-based plays. "By the time that Swetnam wrote *The Arraignment* in 1615 the game had run its course and women were no longer willing to tolerate misogyny" (McClymont 1994, 119). Both Beaumont and Fletcher's play and the Swetnam play support the fighting women rather than the angry men, as the women are shown to have much nobler and socially healthy goals than the irrational, contemptible male antagonists.

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THE FOUNDING RUPTURE FROM STRONG TO WEAK IDENTITY

In this essay I would like to show how writing history by Jesuits historians changed in the last decades. For many years the Jesuit Historical Institute based in Rome published sources concerning history of this Catholic religious order. The typical and most representative publication of Jesuits historians is *Diccionario Historio de la Compania de Jesus. Bibliografico-tematico* (2001). What is characteristic for this kind of historiography is the concentration on facts and limitation of interpretation. More hermeneutical approach toward the history of the Order could be seen in publications by John O'Malley, particularly in his *First Jesuits* and *Four Cultures of the West*. In both books O'Malley presented the Jesuits more as a cultural phenomenon than as a missionary organization. From the same perspective I wrote the history of the Jesuits in Poland in 1564-1668.

In the first part of this essay I will present the history of the Polish Jesuits, using traditional methods, showing the strong identity of this religious order, which had very significant impact on Polish culture. In the second part I will try to present the change of the paradigm of Christianity which took place during the II Vatican Council in the second half of twentieth century, and its impact on writing history of the Jesuits. According to John O'Malley Vatican II was first of all "a language-event" (O'Malley 2008, 12). I have asked O'Malley if it is appropriate to use the word "rupture" in relation to the documents of Vatican II, and he answered me in an email as follows:

> I would avoid the word rupture. First of all, it has become the litmus test for conservatives and will bring you unneeded grief and distract people from what you are trying to say. Secondly, it is pretty much what the followers of Lefebvre have been saying, and you do not want to be identified with them. Thirdly, it's not a really helpful word, too absolute in its implications. In historical happenings, even French Revolution, the continuities are stronger than the "rupture". Look for another way of speaking, e. g., paradigm shift, values-shift, or something like that".[1]

So perhaps it is really a kind of continuation for the Church, but for some scholars it makes sense to describe what happened at Vatican II as a dramatic rupture with the past of the Catholic Church. Michel de Certeau was the first Catholic historian who drew attention to the second approach. In accordance with the first approach of writing history we have a support of political-religious system, which is conceived as all-embracing, and in the second approach we are invited to abandon the system, and to observe the Jesuits' history from the outside, in its social context, one part in a pluralistic society. In the history of the Jesuit order there were moments of tension between them and the Church. In other words, Jesuits obeyed the Vatican orders, but from time to time they responded to the needs of people to whom they were sent despite the Vatican dissatisfaction.

Although the first approach to writing history tends to describe and explain the history of the Jesuits within the system, one cannot ignore the fact that during its history this organization disagreed with the system due to a conflict of interests between them and the Catholic monarchs and even the papacy, which resulted in a suppression of the order.

The Jesuits are members of a religious order which I know from the inside. I also appreciate them to a great extent for their contribution to cross-cultural studies, or more precisely, for their involvement in religious and cultural dialogue. The best known example of these activities are the so called "Jesuit Reductions" which were founded and flourished in eastern Paraguay for about 150 years, until their destruction by the Spanish crown in 1767. The "Jesuit Reductions" were communities of local people ruled by Jesuits, which constitute a controversial chapter in the history of Latin America. They are variously described, either as socialist jungle utopias, or as authoritarian theocratic regimes. On the missions in colonial Latin America the Jesuits built some of their most original and influential foundations, which remains an episode in the history of Latin America.

[1] John O'Malley in an email to me (May 20, 2011).

Another good example of Jesuit activity is the history of their mission in China. It is considered to be one of the most important events in the early history of the relations between China and the Western world. It could be described by four major characteristics: 1) a policy of adaptation to Chinese culture; 2) propagation of Christian doctrine "from the top down"; 3) using European science in order to attract the educated Chinese; and 4) openness and tolerance toward Chinese culture. This mission is a prominent example of successful relations between two cultures and belief systems in the pre-modern age. At the time of their peak influence, the members of the Jesuit delegation were considered some of the emperor's most valued and trusted advisors, holding numerous prestigious posts in the imperial government (Standaert 2008, 172-173). Unfortunately, the policy of the Vatican made it impossible to implement this original method of cultural and religious dialogue in China in seventeenth and eighteenth century (Standaert 2012).

A different situation occurred in the sixteenth century Poland where the Jesuits were invited in 1564 to fight against the Reformation. From the beginning they started to play an important religious and also political role. The reasons for seeking help from the outside were multifarious. There was the growing popularity of the new religious ideas among Polish and particularly Lithuanian Catholics, where the powerful Radziwiłł family gave full support to the Calvinist Church (Obirek 2008). In addition, the first officially Lutheran country in Europe was founded in the year 1525 in the neighbourhood of Poland: Prussia, with an important intellectual centre in Koenigsberg. At that time the Polish episcopate was more interested in politics than in religious renovation of the Church. This fact is understandable if we remember that Polish Catholic bishops were, automatically, members of the parliament, and the primate of Poland had an important function in the period between the death of a king and the election of a new one as *interrex*—responsible for the legal aspect of the new king's election.

Janusz Tazbir wrote in his article "Anti-Jesuit literature in Poland" that there is a need for a new perspective in dealing with the Jesuits' past:

> For long time there were those who looked on its history [Jesuits] through panegyrical glasses, others only through pamphlets. Today we try to take the middle road, remembering that only indifference kills. In fact, pamphlets are usually written only about movements and people that leave a permanent sign on the history of politics and culture. (Tazbir 1993, 333)

If we take the number of pamphlets written against the Jesuits as a measure for their political and cultural importance, we, indeed, will be surprised. It is enough to think of the extraordinary popularity of *Monita secreta* written by the former Polish Jesuit Hieronim Zahorowski, which became a world bestseller and a source for many slanderous stereotypes about the Jesuits (Pavone 2005).

When the Jesuits finally arrived in Poland, they rapidly became the most dynamic element in the confrontation with the Reformation movement, which was carried out in various ways, from education to court preaching. The most decisive impact on this process was that of the first generation of the Polish Jesuits. Many entered the Society of Jesus in Rome and were educated at the Roman College. Some of the most important included: Jakub Wujek (1541-1597), an erudite Biblical scholar; his Polish translation of the Bible shaped the style of Polish Biblical language for centuries. Piotr Skarga (1536-1612), the author of *Lives of Saints*, which influenced enormously the religious imagination, not only of Poland, but of all the Slavic world. He was also the court preacher of Sigismund III for twenty-five years (1588-1611). Stanisław Warszewicki (1530-1591) who, before joining the Jesuit order, studied under Melanchton in Wittenberg; as a Jesuit he was sent as the papal envoy to Stockholm in 1574, when King John III of Sweden showed interest in becoming a Catholic. Warszewicki was also involved in educating the king's son Sigismund, the future king of Poland.

Those individuals were very important for the creation of a positive image of Jesuits. The next generations of Jesuits made an important contribution to Central and Eastern European culture. Let us recall just three names: Mateusz Kazimierz Sarbiewski (1595-1640), who was described as the Horace of Poland, the author of *Lyricorum libri tres* ["Three Books of Lyrics"], and the court preacher of Władysław IV; Adam Adamandy Kochański (1631-1700), the courtier mathematician of John III Sobieski, who left extensive correspondence with Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz; and Marcin Poczobut (1728-1810), also a mathematician and an astronomer, a member of the Royal Academy of Science (London), and of the French Royal Academy. The question of whether they were excellent scholars because they were Jesuits, or simply because of their personal talents, has remained open.

The fate of the Jesuits universities and schools was similar to the fate of the Society of Jesus as such. In some places they were welcomed and in some violently rejected. In the huge Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth they experienced

differentiated reception, from enthusiasm (in Vilnius) to open hostility (in Cracow). Indeed, in Cracow the Jesuits spent a lot of energy trying to fight the monopoly of the old *Akademia Krakowska* without any positive result, and in Vilnius they founded their own Academy, and created a cultural centre, which spread Western culture not only in Lithuania, but also in Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia and Russia. We are still far from a complete picture of the impact of Jesuit's education on Eastern and Central European culture. Nevertheless, we can say, following Eugenio Garin's opinion, that it was the education with a strong ideological aspiration, and probably it was also the reason why other denominations were so critical towards the Jesuits almost successful attempt to have an educational monopoly in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Garin 1957).

What made the Central and Eastern European situation of the Society of Jesus in eighteenth and nineteenth century unique was the suppression of the Order, in 1773 by the pope Clement XIV. In that year, two hundred members of the Order who worked as Jesuits in the Polish Commonwealth found themselves, after the first partition of Poland, henceforth part of Russia, as subjects of Tsarina Catharine II the Great. Most of them worked in Połock College, which soon became an Academy. The Tsarina, after visiting Połock and after a debate with her counselors, decided to preserve the Jesuits as teachers, and gave them extensive autonomy (Kadulska 2004). Thanks to her decision, the Society of Jesus survived.

Yet, in Prussia, the Jesuit educational system did not meet the expectations of Frederick the Great, who preferred to control all education systems, and after a few years he simply expelled the Jesuits from his territory. This explains why the fate of the Jesuits who became the subjects of Frederick the Great in Prussia was different from the fate of the Jesuits in Russia. This new attitude towards the Jesuit order after its Papal suppression could also be an interesting case study of the complex relationship between politics and religion. In the rest of Poland, under the Polish king Stanislaw August, most of the former Jesuits[2] became active in the Commission of National Education, founded in 1773 by the King himself. This fact can be seen as the Jesuits' contribution to the Polish Enlightenment. In fact, most of those who were prepared for teaching had made their studies in Western Europe, mainly in Italy and France. A good example is Marcin Poczobut, who after the suppression of the Society of Jesus became the rector of Vilnius Academy and later became actively involved in the Commission for National Education (Popłatek 1973).

[2] After the suppression of the Order all the Jesuits were forced to look for new work.

There was a real paradox and unusual coincidence: Catholic religious order, which was known for its fidelity to the papacy, was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV in 1773, and was saved by non-Catholic monarchs. And more than that: the Catholic Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was divided between three neighbours—Orthodox Russia, Protestant Prussia and Catholic Austria (1772) and yet Jesuits, working in Russia (from 1773 till 1820) and Prussia (for a few years), could continue their activity, while in the Catholic Austria and the rest of the Polish Kingdom they were suppressed. This paradox was expressed wittily by Frederick the Great of Prussia: "despite the exertions of his Most Catholic Majesty of Spain, his Most Apostolic Majesty of Portugal, his Most Christian Majesty of France, and the Holy Roman Emperor, the Jesuits had been saved by his Most Heretical Majesty and her Most Schismatically Majesty" (Padberg 2000, 142). But in sixteenth and seventeenth century the Jesuits were part of the political system of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and even more so—they were the decisive element of the successful Catholic reform.

The presence of the Jesuits in the royal courts of Europe has been extensively studied, but the historians did not pay enough attention to the Polish Commonwealth. The decisive impact of the Jesuits upon the religious situation began with their collaboration with the Polish king Stephen Bathory (1574-1584) who, as a fervent Catholic monarch, was very much interested in ideological support of the Society of Jesus. Therefore, he gave them full support in founding new colleges, including the most important educational institution, the *Academy of Vilnius* that he founded in 1579. Also his successor, Zygmunt (Sigmund) III (1588-1632), was educated by Jesuits, and was well known for his leaning toward the Society. Piotr Skarga, for example, was not only the court preacher for almost twenty-five years, but also a close friend of the royal family. It is likely that this close association of the Jesuits with the royal court contributed to the opinion that they were more interested in politics than in religion.

The reason why kings were looking for Jesuits as advisers, preachers and confessors was that the new religious order was strongly supporting the existing political system. To Skarga, the division between the state and the Church did not exist, because, in his opinion, both of them were supposed to serve the same purpose. One Church within one state—that was his idea. He was strongly influenced by biblical models, and he used the example of God as the model of kingship in the patristic tradition. God was said to recommend autocracy, or government under one leader. Such a leader is like God who alone rules heaven and earth. Strongly criticized, Skarga tried to confute the criticism of such

an idea by pointing out the differences between absolute dominion, based on God's law, and tyranny. Here he quoted the Old Testament tradition according to which Israel's kings ruled thanks to God's grace, and on the basis of His law (Obirek 1994).

One of the most characteristic qualities of the Society of Jesus is its ability to inculturate the Christian message in different cultural and religious contexts. As a matter of fact, this "inculturation" practice became a kind of trade mark of the Jesuits' pastoral activity, and was the cause of many conflicts with the Roman Curia, and it probably was one of the reasons why the Order was suppressed in 1773. Today it is accepted as a positive, and in a way a prophetic – policy of the Catholic Church after the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s (Standaert 1994). The most important intuition of the Jesuits related to their practice of inculturation was the realization that the Western form of Christianity which was only one of many possible ways to be a Christian. This realization may be obvious today, but in the sixteenth century it was viewed by many as heresy. In fact, there can be ambiguous results of a strategy of inculturation. The Polish, or Central and Eastern European experience can be an interesting case study. Perhaps it might be more appropriate to name inculturation a syncretic process. It is also important to remember that the Society of Jesus was a part of the history of Christianity, which was characterized by melting with European culture (Jenkins 2008). This perspective (Christianity identified with Western culture) was largely overcome by Vatican II, particularly through two small documents; one dedicated to the liberty of conscience *De libertate religiosa* and the second to the relationship of the Catholic Church to other religions *Nostra aetate* (O'Malley 2008). The most interesting consequences resulting from this new position of the Church were drawn by the French Jesuit Michel de Certeau (Davis 2008).

The Jesuits Order, as an institution, was much more a part of European political and cultural system of the sixteenth century than a religious community. The members of the Order gave priority to defending the existing western institution of the Catholic Church and its claim to be the embodiment of the only true explanation of the Christian message. This is also true concerning the Jesuit presence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. When Jesuits arrived in Poland, they intended to change Polish society, but with time they actually became a part of that society.

What I have in mind here is the phenomenon conventionally known as the sarmatization of Polish Catholicism. The concept was first used by Janusz Tazbir. For him more interesting than the question of the Jesuits' influence on

the Polish society is the question of the "sarmatization" of the Order's members, and the price which the Jesuits paid for it. It seems that the Jesuits contributed to the construction of a theological justification for the concept of the state and its structure held by the majority of the *szlachta* (gentry). It seems that with the passing years they felt more and more at home with this concept, and became an integral part of the state. In other words, in the Jesuits' balance of accounts for work accomplished in the seventeenth century it would be hard to overlook the fact that ultimately sarmatism had the upper hand of the Society's cultural elite (Obirek 1999).

The concept of "Sarmatism", familiar to Polish historiography, may need explanation: sarmatism—the influence of pre-Christians customs and behavior on the Christian society as a whole. To a similar phenomenon, although in different context, would draw attention De Certeau in the introduction to his *The Practice of Everyday Life*:

> The ambiguity that subverted from within the Spanish colonizers' "success" in imposing their own culture on the indigenous Indians is well known. Submissive, and even consenting to their subjection, the Indians nevertheless often *made of* the rituals, representations, and laws imposed on them something quite different from what their conquerors had in mind; they subverted them not by rejecting or altering them, but by using them with respect to ends and references foreign to the system they had no choice but to accept. (Certeau 1988, XIII)

Obviously, the Polish Jesuits were not the "conquerors" of Poles, but in a way the final effect of their activity was similar to that of the Spanish colonizers in Latin America. Carl F. Starkloff, drawing attention to his experience in North America, elaborated the concept of theology based on syncretic process. For him the elements of the spirituality of indigenous Indian enriched the traditional Christian theology (Starkloff 2002).

The same could be said about the cultural impact of the Jesuits on Polish religiosity which is constructed of a mixture of Roman Catholicism and East European sentimentality. The Jesuits were not only contributing to the education of the Poles but they were also shaped by Polish customs. And exactly this evolution of the Order was seen with suspicion by the Vatican.

With the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 this cultural experiment came to its end, as it happened in China and Latin America. The short episode of collaboration of the Jesuits with Orthodox Monarch of Russia—Catherine the Great and the foundation of Academy of Połock—shows that the separa-

tion from the religious and political centre of Catholicism was very creative in paving new ways for being a religious community. Unfortunately, this tradition is almost completely forgotten and the present day activity of the Jesuits consists almost exclusively of providing commentary on the Vatican official documents.

In other parts of the world we can observe a plethora of successful attempts to elaborate a new form of theology in the spirit of seventeenth century tradition in Asia and Latin America. It is enough to mention a few names of liberation theologians like Ignation Ellacuria (1930-1989) assassinated (with his five Jesuit brothers) from San Salvador or Jon Sobrino (1938) also from San Salvador. Less known is Engelbert Mveng (1930-1995) from Cameroon, one of the first promoters of African liberation theology and considered to be the "father of the Church" in Africa. He coined two terms which aptly describe the way how Christianity was introduced in the African continent, namely "anthropological impoverishment" to describe the European colonization and "anthropological annihilation" to indicate the arrogance of Christian missionaries in Africa and their attitudes toward indigenous cultures and religions (Hinsdale 2008).

About forty years ago it seemed as if the Church was taking a new theological path with the declaration of "Nostra aetate" and "De libertate religiosa" which were mentioned above. Both documents were written by Jesuits. The first by Cardinal Augustin Bea, a German Jesuit, and the second by John Courtney Murray, an American Jesuit. For the first time Catholic theology spoke in a positive way about other religions, as well as on the capacity of human being to take responsibility of their religious choices. New language in theology was a sign of a new attitude toward the possibility of formulating religious conviction in words. I think that we can say that the Catholic Church has changed the paradigm of its view of other religions—it moved from religious exclusivism towards inclusivism or even pluralism (Dupuis 2001).

One of the most important Catholic thinkers to articulate this new way of thinking (independently of the Vatican II) was an American Jesuit Walter Ong (1912-2003). As far as I can see, he was the first Catholic theologian in the twentieth century who was looking for inspiration outside of Christian theology and took seriously the possibility to change religious conviction as an outcome of a dialogue with other cultures and religions. According to Ong, the centre of the Christian message should be the human being as such, namely an individual person, and not the Holy Scripture, or dogmatic formulations:

> The person of every human being, for believers and non believers**,** lies in a way beyond statement. The "I" that any one of us speaks lies beyond statement in the sense that although every statement originates, ultimately, from an "I", no mere statement can ever make clear what constitutes this "I" as against any other "I" spoken by any other human being. (Ong 1995, 20)

The theological consequences of this way of thinking are enormous. Namely, it means that it is not doctrinal formulations at the centre of theological reflection, but rather human beings. In other words, before we start a dialogue between religions, we have to realize that we meet as human beings.

How far this new approach will lead us, it is impossible to say. It seems that this kind of dialogue is the only way to avoid the dangerous aspects of any fundamentalism. Ong speaks about American culture, but his observation is also appropriate for the European context. Ong claims that each and every text should not be treated as a final truth that cannot be interpreted further. This conviction also applies to the Church's doctrinal formulations. In Ong's thinking we can find a basis, and a support, for a fundamental scepticism toward an uncritical acceptance of written tradition, including Christian one. In other words, what is needed is a new form of interreligious dialogue in which not the texts, but the people involved, will play the most important role.

There is a similar way of thinking in Karl Rahner's writings. In 1954 he wrote an essay, entitled "Chalkedon—Ende oder Anfang?" ["Chalcedon: Ending or Beginning"], for the occasion of the 1500th anniversary of the Council of Chalcedon, formulating the most important Christological concepts. As for the question of "ending or beginning" his answer was "both"! A dogmatic and clear formulation is, usually, the end of a long and painful process of searching for a theological solution as well as the beginning of a new understanding (Rahner 1963).

Rahner's point is basically that we cannot look on a written text as dead letters, but rather must see it as a point of departure for a living and dynamic interpretation of the concrete Church community context. It is also important to emphasize that Karl Rahner was one of the most influential theologians during the debates of Vatican Council II and his interpretation of the documents is particularly significant (Rahner 1979). Speaking at the Weston School of Theology in 1979 Rahner stated: "The Second Vatican Council is, in a rudimentary form still groping for identity, the Church's first official self-actualization *as* a world Church." (Rahner 1979, 717). This search for identity is particularly salient in regard to other world religions. Rahner, as well as Ong, does not sanctify any single text, even holy one. Rather the opposite; both encourage the search

for new and more adequate theological and dogmatic formulations, and a new interpretation of the Holy Scripture.

In the same manner we should look upon the documents of the last ecumenical council—as the end of a long process of clarification, but also as the beginning of a new situation for the Church. The tormented history of the declaration *Nostra aetate* is well known and it is not our aim to rehearse it here. What is interesting for us, the readers, is the comment made by its main author, Cardinal Augustin Bea.[3] His observation is very similar to Rahner`s:

> The Declaration on the Non-Christian Religions is indeed an important and promising beginning, yet no more than the beginning of a long and demanding way towards the arduous goal of a humanity whose members feel themselves truly to be sons and daughters of the same Father and act on this conviction. (Neudecker 1989, 289)

It is important to notice that *Nostra aetate* is seen as "an important and promising beginning." It also means that it is only a starting point for a new approach toward other religions. In other words, traditional theology could be declared as no longer fitting to describe the current situation of the Christian religion among other world religions—a change is needed!

The proclamation of Vatican Council II by the Pope John XXIII was seen as a "new spring" in the history of the Church, and there was a great enthusiasm for the possible change. When he passed away during the Council, and his successor Paul VI influenced the sessions of the Council some theologian started to speak about "winter time" and the theological debate became frozen (Kueng 2011). The culmination of this process was the publication of the declaration "Dominus Iesus" by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger in 2000, which stated the universal meaning of salvation in Jesus Christ (Dominus Iesus 2000).

On the other hand, the positive openness toward other religions has brought a new perception of what it means to be a Catholic. I would like to recall the already classical division of the Church's history made by Karl Rahner:

> Theologically speaking, there are three great epochs in Church history, of which the third has only just begun and made itself observable officially at Vatican II: First, the short period of Jewish Christianity. Second, the period of the Church in distinct cultural regions, namely, that of Hellenism and of European culture and civilization. Third, the period in which the sphere of the Church's life is, in fact, the entire world. (1979, 721)

[3] The comment was made at the press conference on the day of its promulgation on October 28th 1965.

The development of this third period is still in its initial stage, hence its result is unknown, and this also explains why the Catholic Church is still looking for its own identity as a world religion. One can learn a great deal from those Christians theologians who went to Asia and returned transformed by their exposure to Asian religions.[4] Asia, in particular, is the place where Catholic theologians elaborate new christological approaches. For example, Jacques Dupuis, Belgian Jesuit who worked for many years in India, invented there the concept of "pluralistic inclusivism" (Dupuis 2001, 94).

Also theologians of the new generation, as Peter Phan, an American theologian from Georgetown University, writes in a similar spirit when he speaks about "being religious interreligiously" (Phan 2004), or about multiplying religious belonging. According to him:

> There is then a reciprocal relationship between Christianity and the other religions. Not only are the non-Christian religions complemented by Christianity, but also Christianity is complemented by other religions. In other words, the process of complementation, enrichment and even correction is two-way or reciprocal. (Phan 2003, 502)

This theological insight is particularly important for the Jewish-Christian relation to which the declaration "Nostra aetate" was dedicated. Exactly to this perspective draws attention one of the most important Jewish theologian of twentieth century Abraham J. Heschel in his exquisite essay "No Religion is an Island". From the many words of Heschel I would like to quote the final part of this famous lecture, in which he asks about the purpose of interreligious cooperation:

> It is neither to flatter nor to refute one another, but to help one another; to share insight and learning, to cooperate in academic ventures on the highest scholarly level, and what is even more important, to search in the wilderness for well-springs of devotion, for treasures of stillness, for the power of love and care of [humankind]. (Heschel 1996, 249-250)

In this search for the new fields of mutual cooperation Michel de Certeau could be a real master.

Michel de Certeau was born in 1925 and joint the Jesuit Order in 1950. At the beginning of his academic activity he wrote extensively on the history

[4] Like: Thomas Merton, Bede Griffiths, Enomiya Lassalle, Heinrich Dumoulin, William Johnston, Anthony de Mello, Raimundo Panikkar.

of French Jesuits and particularly on mysticism. Yet, from the time of the student riots in Paris in May 1968 de Certeau changed his interest into daily life practice, although his interest in Christianity remained constant. As Frederick Christian Bauerschmitd wrote:

> In many ways the work of de Certeau displays a sensibility which seems characteristically postmodern: an awareness of the inescapableness of linguistic representation, an overturning of traditional hierarchies of presence and absence, a recognition of the shattering of meta-narratives, and, perhaps above all, a concern with otherness. Yet unlike many postmodern thinkers, de Certeau's sensibilities are profoundly marked by Christian faith and tradition. (Bauerschmidt 1997, 135)

Luce Giard, who for many years collaborated with de Certeau and who takes care of his writing, stated that: "de Certeau belonged to this minority of historians who are not afraid of calling for a thorough rethinking of the prerequisites and presuppositions which rule the profession as a social body and guide its intellectual commitment" (Giard 2000, 18). And it was also Giard who added an important consequence connected to this approach toward writing history: "For followers of this line, historiography stands as an elucidatory activity which is inherent to any writing of history. They believe that the historiographical debate opens to historians a royal path toward clarification and validation of their craft (Giard 2000, 18).

Stephen Greenblatt considers that *The Possession at Loudun* is the masterpiece of de Certeau's historical writings. Originally published in French in 1970 the book is a kind of passage from the old to the new style which is aptly captured by Greenblatt:

> *Committed*. to justice, decency, and the unvarnished truth, de Certeau has no interest in remystifying a shameful episode. On the contrary, he ruthlessly uncovers the tangle of bad faith, ignorant fanaticism, and conspiratorial lies—but he makes us feel the full force of what was at stake and what was in the process of being forever lost. (Greenblatt 2000, XI)

The abovementioned qualities of de Certeau's style are evene visible in his political pamphlet published in May 1968, after the students' revolt in Paris. Some of his observations were later published by Luce Giard, first in French in 1994 and a few years latter in English as *The Capture of Speech and Other Political Writings*.

The book is a good illustration of the positive attitude of de Certeau towards the students' expectations (Certeau 1998). Some of these essays were

written as a response to the revolutionary events of May 1968, others as his response to Latin America experience, and also as fruits of his cultural and political activities in France. Altogether, they established de Certeau's public reputation as an intellectual with great insight into the ramifications and possibilities of those revolts. These essays show de Certeau's political thought, particularly his preoccupation with social discrimination and his definitive departure from theological thinking. His preoccupation with diverse language, labeled by him "heterologies" helped him to include in anthropological reflections all kinds of manifestation of daily life; from cooking to walking down the street. In this sense, de Certeau was different from Walter Ong who was mainly interested in relation between orality and literacy (Ong 1982).

In 1971 Michel de Certeau published his dissertation *La rupture instauratrice ou le christianisme dans la culture contemporaine* ["The Founding Rupture, or Christianity in the Contemporary World"] which could be seen as the beginning of a new approach toward the heritage of the Jesuits and of Christianity in Europe. No wonder that this new approach was not accepted by Institut Catholique in Paris as a doctorate thesis in theology. De Certeau was not interested in Christian theology, but he was stating that in the modern time we have to do away with "refunding rupture" (Certeau 1971) and we need to start a new way of reflection on the presence of religion. In other words, he was asking: how is Christianity thinkable today at all? (Certeau 1997).

De Certeau does not question Christianity as a religious system, but shows that the daily practice has nothing to do with official doctrine: "The history of religion has gradually shown, as it has become more and more sensitive to the contribution of sociology, that the practice of Christians has always been, and remains today, something other than official laws and theological teaching" (Certeau 1997, 152). Therefore, there is no point studying the history of Christian institutions, for example—Jesuits, and its doctrinal documents, but one would rather concentrate on the daily life practices. Even the most important and funding event for Christianity should be seen in this perspective:

> The death of Jesus and his resurrection within a multiplicity of Christian languages made and continues to make a faithful freedom *possible*. But only new departures manifest and will continue to manifest Christianity as still *alive*. That is the first question: no longer to know whether God exists, but to *exists* as Christian communities. It is impossible to be Christian without a common risk, without the creation of a new divergence in relation to our past and to our present, without being alive. (Certeau 1997, 155)

It is not easy to grasp the real meaning of this statement. But perhaps Natalie Zemon Davis is right identifying de Certeau's words as a kind of departure from Christianity in its traditional form: "Feeling the Christian ground on which I thought I was walking disappear, seeing the messengers of an ending, long time under way, approach, recognizing in this my relation to history as a death with no proper future of its own, and a belief stripped of any secure site, I discover the violence of an instant" (Davis 2008, 59). Davis is calling this statement "his own inner dialogue about how to validate his religious belief other than through Church authority" ((Davis 2008, 59).

I think that Michel de Certeau found in it a new community, similar to this of the Polish writer Witold Gombrowicz. Indeed, in "General Introduction" to *The Practice of Everyday Life* de Certeau quoted Witold Gombrowicz and named him "an acute visionary" and one of the representatives of a new sensitivity, together with Robert Musil and Sigmund Freud (Certeau 1988, XXIV). In fact Gombrowicz was the first in Polish literature who, after losing his faith in God, concentrated his life and literary oeuvre on daily life, and on human relations. It is particularly evident in his *A Kind of Testament* where he presented the main goal of his literary activity: "*The Marriage* [Gombrowicz's drama, SO] should become a Mount Sinai, a place full of mystical revelations; a cloud, pregnant with a thousand meanings; a galloping work of imagination and intuition; a Grand Guignol, full of play; a puzzling *missa solemnis* on the threshold of time, at the foot of an unknown altar" (Gombrowicz 1973, 65). In other words, in *A Kind of Testament* Gombrowicz presented a sort of new religion, this time without God: "I wanted to show humanity in its transition from the church of God to the church of man" (Gombrowicz 1973, 97). As I have stated in another essay:

> Gombrowicz the atheist was not resigning from a new revelation and new rituals, he himself brought them to life in his writings, there adherents can find an explanation for a new religion, a religion without God. Its essence is responsibility in front of another person, God was left outside the horizon of his interest. Even if in his stories and dramas he created new rituals it is obvious that what is important is their impact on other people, and their importance lays exactly in this. Therefore, ethics replaced religion. (Obirek 2010, 254)

Similar evolution I observe in Michel de Certeau, although I can understand Luce Giard who insists that it is not appropriate to call him "former Jesuit" (Giard 1987, IV), despite the fact that his anthropology is far from the orthodox approach.

The impact of his thought on Catholic theology is limited, or perhaps does not exist at all. We may think of many reasons why it is so, but the most important is that de Certeau saw the history of Christianity as a part of ideological construction of Western Christianity, and proposed an interesting way to deconstruct it. The most important declaration in this regard was his already mentioned *The Practice of Everyday Life* in which de Certeau declares his interest in the present moment instead of the past:

> By adopting the point of view of enunciation—which is the subject of our study—we privilege the act of speaking: according to that point of view, speaking operates within the field of linguistic system; it effects an appropriation, or reappropriation, of language by the speaker; it establishes a *present* relative to a time and place; and it posits a *contract with the other* (the interlocutor) in a network of places and relations. (Certeau 1988, XIII)

His protest against Christian tradition is particularly visible when de Certeau shows the culture of writing and education as a way to control and as a source of violence (Certeau 1988, 139). Even the Reformation, as a movement based on the return to the scriptural sources of Christianity, and European Enlightenment with its axiom that theory must transform nature "become violence, cutting its way through the irrationality of superstitious peoples or religions still under the spell of sorcery" (Certeau 1988, 144). Naturally, in this analysis of social and cultural reality we can detect the affinity with Michel Foucault and even Marxist thought. On many pages of *The Practice of Everyday Life* these inspirations are evident. Also in other books like *Culture in the Plural* and *Heterologies. Discourse on the Other* the interaction with modern and even postmodern thought is evident (Certeau 1997; 1986). This analysis, though, we have to leave for another occasion.

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"HAVE THE MENACING ALCAEAN MUSES BLOWN THE WAR TRUMPETS AGAIN?" TWO VERSIONS OF JACOBUS WALLIUS' ODE TO MATHIAS CASIMIRUS SARBIEVIUS[1]

In 1632, the Antwerp Plantin-Moretus press published a small book, containing the poetical works of the Polish Jesuit Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius (Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, 1595-1640).[2] As the volume soon sold out, another edition was printed in 1634, of which no fewer than five thousand copies were issued. The two Plantin-Moretus volumes subsequently became the standard editions of Sarbievius' poetical oeuvre until well into the eighteenth century.

Although not mentioned in their title, the books incorporate yet more Neo-Latin poetry. Sarbievius' own work is accompanied by a so-called *Epicitharisma*,[3] a collection of poems in honour of the Pole, written primarily by

[1] This paper is an adaptation of a chapter from my 2013 MA thesis, entitled *The Sarmatian Horace in Antwerp: Three authors praise Sarbiewski*. I am grateful to my supervisor dr. Vincent Hunink for his valuable guidance, and to prof. dr. Andrzej Borowski, prof. dr. Dirk Sacré, and prof. dr. Piotr Urbański for kindly supplying me with books and articles. I furthermore owe special thanks to Wouter van Gorp MA and Wouter Rozing MA, whose keen observations have aided me repeatedly.

[2] *Mathiae Casimiri Sarbievii e Soc. Iesu Lyricorum Libri IV. Epodon Lib. Unus Alterq. Epigrammatum*: "Four Books of Lyrics, One Book of Epodes and Another of Epigrams by Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius from the Society of Jesus". All translations are my own.

[3] The term "epicitharisma" features only once in classical literature, in Tertull. *Adv. Valent.* 33. 1, where it denotes a (musical) "finale" or a short "extra" to a tale or performance.

Flemish Jesuits.[4] In the *Epicitharisma*, Sarbievius is often compared to the likes of Horace, Pindar, and Alcaeus, or even Orpheus and Apollo (e.g. in Habbequius [45-49], Tolenarius [1-12], Hortenius [9-12], and Dierix [11-14]). High praise is also given to pope Urban VIII,[5] former patron of Sarbievius, dedicatee of the volume, and a prolific poet himself.[6]

Most of these eulogies have only one version, extant in the *Epicitharisma*, but three odes were on other occasions printed in a distinctly different form and thus have two versions.[7] This paper focuses on the poem that was altered the most: a composition written by Jacobus Wallius (Jacques vande Walle, 1599-1690), which would later be republished in his "collected works" volume as *Lyr*. I, 11. The aim is to uncover what Wallius had to say about Sarbievius, what differences there are between the two versions of his eulogy, why these differences may have come about, and how they affect the ode's meaning.

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Tertullian furthermore says that his "epicitharisma" is a compilation of different texts, much like the collection of poems in honour of Sarbievius.

[4] The *Epicitharisma* counts fifteen poems by fourteen poets, eleven of whom were Antwerp Jesuits: Maximilianus Habbequius (1580-1637), Joannes Tolenarius (1582-1643), Jacobus Hortensius (1586/8-1633), Lucas Dierix (1593-1639), Joannes Bollandus (1596-1665), Michael Mortierus (1594-1636), Jacobus Wallius (1599-1690), Sidronius Hosschius (1596-1653), Guilelmus Hesius (1601-1690), Guilelmus Boelmannus (1603-1638) and Jacobus Libens (1603-1678). Not from Belgium were the Frenchman Gilbertus Joninus (1596-1638) and Sarbievius' Polish friend Nicolaus Kmicius (1601-1632). The only non-Jesuit was Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646), the famous humanist and successor of Justus Lipsius at Louvain University. See: Borowski (103-108) and Sacré, *Aspects* (109-133) for a general overview of the relation between Sarbievius and the Low Countries, and Starnawski (45-66) for concise information about the poems that make up the *Epicitharisma*.

[5] References to the pope's coat of arms are frequent. See, e.g.: Hortensius (6, 24), Bollandus (52), and Hesius' emblem 2. Puteanus gives a remarkable amount of attention to the pope's poetical skills, mentioning the pontiff, for example, both in the opening verse and in the final verse of his poem. Urban VIII was a member of the Barberini family, which had a coat of arms formed by three bees in a triangle. Sarbievius often refers to the these bees, and they are also visible in Rubens' frontispieces to the Plantin-Moretus editions of the Pole's poetry.

[6] In 1634, the Plantin-Moretus printing press published a volume of the pope's compositions.

[7] These are: the composition by Gilbertus Joninus, which was first published in 1630, the elegy by Sidronius Hosschius, which reappeared in 1656, and the ode by Jacobus Wallius, which was likewise reprinted in 1656. See: Hulsenboom (97-117) for an analysis of Joninus' poem.

Even though he has often been named one of the best Flemish Neo-Latin poets,[8] research on Wallius' life and works has been remarkably scarce.[9] His course of life can be summarised as follows. He was born in 1599, in Kortrijk (Courtrai), and became a Jesuit novice in Mechelen in 1617, after which he spent most of his life travelling through the Southern Low Countries, both studying and teaching at a variety of Jesuit colleges. For example, he studied in Mechelen and Louvain, taught in Bruges and Brussels, and was a prefect of studies in Sint-Winoksbergen, Cassel, and Belle. Additionally, he was a preacher, confessor, librarian, and spiritual leader of the Antwerp Jesuit convict. He died there in 1690, at the age of 90.

Many of Wallius' works were written for specific occasions and therefore published separately, before being collected by Wallius himself and issued by the Plantin-Moretus press in 1656 as *Iacobi Wallii e Societate Iesu Poëmatum Libri Novem* ("Nine Books of Poems by Jacobus Wallius of the Society of Jesus"). In the same year, Wallius assembled (and possibly edited) a large number of poems by his lifelong friend and fellow Jesuit poet Sidronius Hosschius (Sidronius [or Syderoen] de Hossche, 1596-1653). It may be, therefore, that Wallius was inspired to collect his own oeuvre whilst working on Hosschius' poetic material, or vice versa.

Wallius' "collected works" volume is dedicated to pope Alexander VII, and consists of three books of poems, each divided into a further three books, thus presenting us with a collection of nine books in total.[10] The first two of these are entitled *Heroica*, with poems in dactylic hexameters, addressed to people like Felipe II of Spain, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, and Karel vanden Bosch, the bishop of Bruges.[11] Then come the so-called *Paraphrases Horatianae*, followed by three books of *Elegiae*, written in honour of, amongst others, pope Alexander VII,

[8] See, e.g.: the poem by Emmanuel van Outers in De Meyer XV-XI, Hofmannus Peerlkamp (387-393), Fuss XLVI (*Dissertatio*), and 92 v. 237 (*Sacrum*), Star Numan (76-78 and 91), and Van Duyse (66). Van Duyse draws attention to Wallius' lyric to Sarbievius specifically, saying that the Pole had been "eulogised most elegantly by Hosschius and Wallius".

[9] Some brief pieces of information can be found, e.g., in the following works: Mertz, Murphy, and IJsewijn (93-95), Papy (23-56), Roersch (29-37), Sacré, *Sidronius Hosschius*, Sommervogel 8: 966-969, and De Smet (567-568 and 572-575).

[10] The 1656 edition of Hosschius' works was dedicated to the pontiff as well, and both dedications were written by Wallius. Alexander VII had only been in office since 1655.

[11] Hosschius had also composed an elegy in honour of Vanden Bosch, *Eleg*. II, 2. There are more similarities between the two collections. Both Hosschius' and Wallius' volumes, for example, open their second book of elegies with a poem about the "Mother's Mercy". Furthermore, Hosschius (*Eleg*. II, 13) and Wallius (*Eleg*. II, 2) both addressed an elegy to Franciscus Gandavillanus, the baron of Rassenghien and bishop of Tournai.

Ferdinand von Fürstenberg, prince-bishop of Paderborn, and Sidronius Hosschius. The third *Elegia* book bears the title *Oliva Pacis*, and its six poems all deal with the need for peace. Finally, there are three books of *Lyricae*, in which we find Wallius' poem for Sarbievius, but also compositions to such men as Sidronius Hosschius and Aloysius Lauwenbach, likewise a Flemish Jesuit.[12]

Not surprisingly, many of Wallius' poems show signs of significant classical influence, for example through references to Horace and Ovid.[13] The Jesuit Fleming was clever enough to underscore his connection with the ancients, as well as to promote his own poetry quite shamelessly, by opening his "collected works" with Sidronius Hosschius' elegy in his honour. In it, Wallius' old friend encouraged him to publish his works, so that both their own contemporaries and posterity would know that he was "equal to the ancient seers" (Hosschius *Eleg*. II, 12. 49-50). Indeed, Wallius is even called Ovid's successor (*Eleg*. II, 12. 89-91).[14] By advertising his own oeuvre in this manner, Wallius was sending a clear message: his is the work of a talented poet, and it is worth reading.

Apart from Wallius' lyric addressed to Sarbievius, there are several other instances in the Fleming's poetry which strongly relate to the Jesuit Pole's lyrics. For example, as was noticed by Dirk Sacré, Wallius' *Lyr*. II, 11 "To my Comrades, Belgian Poets", highly resembles Sarbievius' *Lyr*. III, 29 "To my Belgian Friends", which was written in response to the *Epicitharisma* (*Aspects* 115-116). In both these poems, the authors lament the fall of Greece to the barbarous Ottomans, Belgium's finest poets are hailed as Hellas' saviours,[15] and Sarbievius as well as Wallius praise their fellow Flemish friends Joannes Tolenarius, Guilelmus Hesius, Jacobus Libens, and Sidronius Hosschius. Similarly, the poetic flight through the heavens on Pegasus, which features regularly in Sarbievius' works,[16] also makes an appearance in Wallius' *Lyr*. III, 9.

[12] Lauwenbach was a friend of both Wallius and Hosschius. Wallius dedicated two poems to Hosschius (*Eleg*. I, 7 and *Lyr*. I, 10) and three poems to Lauwenbach (*Eleg*. II, 6, *Lyr*. II, 8, and III, 13). *Eleg*. II, 7 is addressed to Wallius himself, but deals with the recent death of Hosschius.

[13] Wallius' reliance on Horace is apparent most clearly in the *Paraphrases Horatianae*.

[14] Wallius is furthermore set alongside Vergil, Horace, and Homer (Hosschius *Eleg*. II, 12. 57-59).

[15] It is unclear whether Sarbievius' ode should be read as a call to arms against the Eastern invaders, as a plea for the restoration of the Greek chair at the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain, or perhaps as both. See: IJsewijn (25-50).

[16] See: *Lyr*. I, 3, 10, II, 5, 22, III, 11, 16, and 29, the ode addressed to Sarbievius' Belgian friends. *Lyr*. II, 5 is best known for this theme. See: Guépin (58-59), Schäfer (121-

Some exceptionally interesting similarities can furthermore be found between Sarbievius' posthumous *Epod*. V, or *Epod*. XVII "To the Blessed Stanislaus Kostka", and Wallius' *Lyr*. I, 4 "B. Stanislaus Kostka", which both eulogise the Polish saint Stanisław Kostka. Although the Fleming's poem is rather shorter than the Pole's,[17] several of Wallius' verses do resemble Sarbievius' composition,[18] and both poems are written in the Alcaic metre. One might therefore assume that Wallius had read Sarbievius' epode, and had subsequently decided to imitate the Pole's creation. Sarbievius' poem is not called "posthumous" for no reason, however. As it turns out, the Polish Jesuit's epode would not be published until 1665, by the Parisian printer Jean Henault, even though the piece itself had probably been written around the year 1638/9.[19] How, then, is it possible that Wallius' lyric appears to be so similar to Sarbievius' epode? Had Wallius somehow gotten hold of the Pole's eulogy of Kostka before it was published in 1665, twenty-five years after Sarbievius' death, and nine years after the 1656 edition of Wallius' oeuvre? If that were the case, the Fleming's imitation of Sarbievius' epode might be proof of the circulation of at least a part of the Polish poet's yet unpublished work in the Low Countries, before the printing of the 1665 Parisian volume.[20]

As was mentioned before, Wallius in 1656 collected both his own poetry and the works of his friend Sidronius Hosschius. It is interesting to note that Hosschius' eulogy to Sarbievius, which reappeared as *Eleg*. III, 9 in his "collected works" volume, is the second most altered of the three adjusted *Epicitharisma* poems. Could Wallius have decided to change not only his own poem, but that of Hosschius as well?

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123) and Thill (28-33). Also see: IJsewijn (31-32) for the Pegasus theme in *Lyr*. III, 29, and Ludwig, for information about the Pegasus theme in general.

[17] Wallius' *Lyr*. I, 4 counts 36 verses, Sarbievius' posthumous *Epod*. V, or *Epod*. XVII, counts 120.

[18] E.g., Wallius' *ridente vultu* (1) and *dignata vultu* (17) vs. Sarbievius' *ridente, caelo* (45) and *spectare vultu* (81), Wallius' *Arctoi perosum* (3) vs. Sarbievius' *serenus Arcton* (111), Wallius' *Regina, te praesens amico / nomine* (15-16) vs. Sarbievius' *te magna rerum Praeses et aurei / Regina mundi* (5-6), and Wallius' *qui nitor aureo / Infantis ori* (17-18) vs. Sarbievius' *quo pariter tibi blandus ore / respondet Infans!* (24-25).

[19] According to Sarbiewski (608), he told bishop Łubieński about his epode in a letter from 1638. The poem's subtitle (*Pro incolumi Vladislai IV, Poloniae regis, e Badenis reditu, anno MDCXXXIX votum*) suggests that the composition had been re-edited in the following year.

[20] The correspondence between Wallius' and Sarbievius' piece was first noticed by Jerzy Starnawski (64-66). He did not, however, mention the discrepancy concerning the year of publication of Sarbievius' epode.

According to Wallius, as he writes in the dedication to pope Alexander VII, the 1656 edition of Hosschius' works is "imperfect" (1). Wallius has collected most of his late friend's material, he argues, but has kept himself from carrying out any changes, "for as no one has been found, who would have finished that part of the painting, which Apelles has left imperfect, so no one would have had attended those things which Sidronius had not perfected, because of the excellence of that which he has made" (5).[21] May we assume, then, that Hosschius himself had altered his elegy to Sarbievius before his death in 1653? Perhaps, but it may also be that Wallius, contrary to what he would have the reader believe, did have a hand in the matter. In 1660, Wallius was the compiler of another collection of poetry, *Septem illustrium virorum poemata* ["Poems by seven illustrious men"], issued by the Plantin-Moretus press. Several of the seven authors, however, whose poems Wallius had gathered, expressed their dissatisfaction with the volume, since the compiler had adjusted their original compositions.[22] It goes to show that Wallius was no stranger to altering other persons' poems, and it should not astonish us, therefore, that he chose to change his own ode as well.

In this section I will analyse Wallius' lyric to Sarbievius, focusing on those elements that are essentially the same in both its versions. Due to the many differences between the *Epicitharisma* version and the 1656 edition, however, a certain amount of overlap with the final paragraph, which will discuss these differences specifically, cannot be ruled out.

The poem's structure can be perceived as follows: a militarily themed introduction (1-12), the designation of the enemy at hand (13-28), the exhortation of Europe's monarchs in combination with an emphasis on the power of Sarbievius' poetry (29-64/68), a passage which differs significantly in both versions, but which basically applauds the Polish Jesuit by comparing him to Pindar (65/69-76/80), and a conclusion which addresses Sarbievius himself (77/81-108/104).[23]

[21] See: Sacré, *Sidronius Hosschius* (156-157) for brief information about the genesis of the 1656 edition of Hosschius' poetry.

[22] See: Sacré, *Sidronius Hosschius* (161-163) for a more elaborate explanation of the situation.

[23] Unless citing Latin, the numbers refer to the verses in the English translations (see Appendix B), which not always correspond exactly with the numbers of the verses in the Latin originals (see Appendix A). The number before the slash refers to the 1632 edition, the number after the slash to the 1656 text. The difference is caused by the diverging structures of both versions.

The lyric is written in the Alcaic metre, which Wallius also applied in his composition to Stanisław Kostka, and which is used frequently by Sarbievius as well.[24] The title, in the *Epicitharisma* reading "Ode which often inspirits the European Princes to recapture the Empire of the East, by Jacobus Wallius of the Society of Jesus to the Sarbievian Lyre", and in the 1656 volume "Ode XI. Which Excites the European Princes to a Holy War, to the Lyre of Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius of the Society of Jesus",[25] leaves no question as to the piece's main topic: the exhortation of the European monarchs to fight the menacing Ottomans, a subject not unfamiliar to Sarbievius.[26]

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the opening of Wallius' lyric, which contains the largest unchanged section of the poem (1-8), has war written all over it. The Flemish Jesuit cleverly introduces both his own composition and Sarbievius' odes on military subjects, when he writes: "to what arms does the lyre incite the Martial troops? Of what sounds does it sing, and what causes of war?" (1-3). The reader knows the answer, of course, if only because of the title. The enemy is not yet named, however, although we are informed that he is "barbarous" (6). In addition, Wallius points to the ongoing wars raging throughout Europe, which are causing the European blades to be "blunt with friendly blood" (5), and he says that the Western princes are urged to cease their mutual fighting, so as to turn their attention to their common adversary.

The poem's beginning is thus strongly reminiscent of Hor. *Od*. II, 1, something which Wallius himself implies when he asks if the "menacing Alcaean Muses" have "blown the war trumpets again?" (7-8).[27] Horace's ode deals with the works of Gaius Asinius Pollio, whose *Historiae* discussed the Roman civil

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[24] See: Sarbievius' *Lyr*. I, 1, 3, 5, 8, 10, 15, 19, 22, II, 1, 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, 16, 17, 21, 24, III, 1, 5, 7, 9, 11, 14, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, IV, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17, 20, 27, 29, 31, and 33.

[25] See: Appendix A for the Latin originals (including their sometimes confusing punctuation and spelling) and Appendix B for the English translations of the poem's two versions. An *editio altera* of the 1656 volume was issued in 1657. There are no differences between the 1656 and 1657 texts, however.

[26] The battle with the Eastern adversary features prominently in, e.g., *Lyr*. I, 6, 8, 12, 15, 20, II, 1, 12, 17, 22, III, 10, 20, 30, IV, 1, 3, 5, 6, and 29.

[27] Horace's poem is written in the Alcaic metre, just as Wallius' *Lyr*. I, 11 itself. In fact, many of Wallius' allusions to Horace relate to the Roman's poems composed in this metre. Direct references to Hor. *Od*. II, 1 are *bellique causas* (3) and *principum amicitias* (4), which feature literally in Hor. *Od*. II, 1. 2 and 4. Furthermore, Wallius' *Alcaei minaces (. . .) Musae* (7-8) also refer to Hor. *Od*. IV, 9. 8-9: *Alcaei minaces (. . .) Camenae*.

wars following the First Triumvirate.[28] As the Roman lyricist exalted the historian, Wallius is now applauding Sarbievius' poetry on Europe's battles and his simultaneous call for a new crusade.[29]

The "Alcaean Muses" refer to more than Horace and the poem's metre, however. As the following verses make clear (9-12), Wallius speaks of the ancient Greek poet Alcaeus himself, and of an important topic in his oeuvre: the oppression of the Lesbian town of Mytilene by Pittacus or other tyrants. Alcaeus, of whose work mostly fragments remain,[30] wrote numerous poems about the political situation in Mytilene, and his personal vendettas against some of its most influential figures.[31] Furthermore, Alcaeus is on several occasions mentioned by Horace as well, who took great inspiration from his Greek predecessor.[32] Thus, by harking back to both Horace and Alcaeus and their mutual interest in military and political topics, Wallius is at once relating Sarbievius as well as himself to the ancient lyricists. Additionally, the introduction of Mytilene and its oppressors ties in perfectly with the contemporary situation of Lesbos and, indeed, the whole of Greece, which had largely been under Ottoman rule since the fifteenth century.

The next passage (13-28) shows some notable differences, but the message it contains in both versions is roughly the following: the Ottoman Empire, represented by its moon,[33] is waning in fear of Sarbievius' lyre. Phoebe, goddess of

[28] The First Triumvirate was the unofficial political alliance between Gaius Julius Caesar, Marcus Licinius Crassus, and Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus. It lasted from 60 to 53 BC.

[29] Sarbievius likewise appeals to his Belgian friends to end their fighting in his lyric *Ad Amicos Belgas*, *Lyr*. III, 29. It is interesting to note, however, that Horace's ode ends with the assertion that he would sooner concern himself with lighter topics, rather than with the serious themes Pollio wrote about. Still, as Wallius' poem is itself dedicated to war entirely, Horace's final statement is in this case likely meant to be disregarded. See: Garrison (258-260) for a concise analysis of Horace's composition.

[30] Wallius did not have access to all currently known fragments, but he probably did have a more or less sound idea of what Alcaeus wrote about. In 1568, for example, the Plantin printing house had issued an edition of ancient Greek lyricists, which included several Alcaeus fragments, accompanied by a short commentary.

[31] Alcaeus lived in the seventh and sixth centuries BC. He was himself actively involved in Lesbos' politics, but had little success. The betrayal of Pittacus, who subsequently became tyrant and even became known as one of the Seven Sages of Greece, meant that Alcaeus and his brothers were forced into exile. Fr. 69, 70, 129, 130, 332, 348, and 429 all deal with the Mytilenean tyranny and Alcaeus' exile. See: Dillon and Garland (270-272).

[32] *Od*. II, 13. 27, IV, 9. 8, *Epist*. I, 19. 28, II, 2. 99. See: Paschalis (71-84).

[33] This image is used frequently by Sarbievius as well: see *Lyr*. I, 10. 73, II, 22. 33, and III, 19. 59. The combination of *luna* with *cornua*, often present in descriptions of the

the moon, is pale,[34] and the witch Canidia is seen performing her dark, barbaric magic (17/21-20/24).[35] The association of the Ottomans with Canidia makes them appear more savage still, and helps to clarify why fighting them would be "very just" (5-6). These people are evil, Wallius says, but Sarbievius' poetry is already getting to them, as must the rest of the Christian world.

All this serves to prepare the reader for the inevitable exhortation of Europe's finest (29-64/68), around which the rest of the poem is set up. "Go forth, go forth" (29), Wallius urges the princes and monarchs of a divided Europe to challenge the Ottoman threat.[36] Sarbievius' songs, not some sweet Ionic poetry (33-34),[37] will guide them to victory and provide the soldiers with the rhythm they must keep while marching to meet their foes in battle (35-40).[38] By calling Europe's leaders "Quirites" (39), moreover, Wallius evokes the image of a united people, which is heir to the Roman Empire and thereby obliged to recapture its Eastern territories.[39] Lycurgus too, the famous Spartan lawgiver, prepared his troops with appropriate music, Wallius says (41-42), and Mars will crown those who are soiled by the battlefield's dust (49-50).[40] The passage's final stanza focuses on the difference between the war trumpet and the lyre: while the first can only "dilute funerals and the last words of the fallen", the second will glorify both the wounded and the dead (57/61-64/68).

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Ottomans, also features in, e.g., Ov. *Am*. II, 1. 23, *Met*. II, 453, III, 682, VIII, 11, X, 479, IX, 783-4, and XII, 264. *Luna*, *cornua* and *orbem* (13/17-15/19), although not necessarily in the same forms, appear together in Ov. *Met*. X, 295-6. The same goes for *umbra* and *cornua* (14), which can be found side by side in Ov. *Met*. X, 111-112.

[34] Phoebe is also called "pale" in Sen. *Agam*. 819.

[35] The witch Canidia appears regularly in Horace's works and is usually portrayed as being particularly evil and filthy, and skilled at working with obscure rituals. See: Hor. *Sat*. I, 5. 23 and 48, II, 1. 49, *Epod*. III, 8, V, 15 and 47, and XVII, 6. Also see: Manning (393-401).

[36] *Ite, ite* is also used Sen. *Med*. 845 and in *Troad*. 191, 627, and 1165.

[37] Wallius may be referring to the works of Anacreon, whose Ionic poems were also included in the 1568 Antwerp volume of ancient Greek lyricists, and who tends to write about love, rather than war.

[38] The phrase *ferre pedem* (36) or *pedes* features recurrently in Ovid: *Am*. I, 12. 6, *A. A*. II, 534, *Pont*. II, 2. 78, and *Met*. XIV, 756. It can also be found in Hor. *Od*. II, 12. 17, Tib. II, 1. 30, and Sil. III, 515.

[39] The name *Quirites* is prominent in Sarbievius' oeuvre as well. It appears twenty-two times in total.

[40] This metaphor is also applied in Hor. *Od*. I, 6. 14-15, Sil. III, 407, and Stat. *Silv*. IV, 3. 53, *Theb*. 589 and 827.

Next, almost every one of the following fifteen lines from the *Epicitharisma* edition has, in the 1656 volume, been replaced by another (65/69-76/80). The passage in both cases, however, essentially praises Sarbievius by way of a comparison with Pindar.[41]

The final section addresses the Polish Jesuit himself (77/81-108/104), calling him a "great Seer" (77/81),[42] whom both "the God", presumably Apollo, and the Muses have taught the "Pindaric labours" (78/82-80/84). The Pole's works will enflame horses and riders alike (96/92), and he will victoriously fasten "Latin shackles to the Argolic people" (99/95-100/96), thereby subduing Greece to Rome and the Christian West once more. Wallius utters a classic "hurrah, thrice hurrah!" (101/97),[43] and introduces the ode's climax: if Apollo and the Muses have sung trustworthy prophesies, then the world will know that "Sarmatian strings" have conquered the instruments of war, and that the "enchanted Moon of the Thracians" has bent the knee to Sarbievius' plectrum (101/97-108/104).[44]

Indirectly, then, the Fleming may thus be praising both his Polish fellow Jesuit and himself, as his poem similarly predicts the Ottomans' demise, and Apollo and his Muses could be prophesying through his own verses as well. His main message, however, is not to be mistaken: Sarbievius' lyre will congregate the European forces and inspire them to perform great and heroic deeds. His songs will form the soundtrack to the Christian victories over their barbarous Eastern enemies, and posterity will know it. In the meantime, Wallius is simultaneously glorifying the Pole, and lending him a hand by supporting his cause. Indeed, one might say he would do so twice.

. . . . . .

[41] These verses will be dealt with in detail in the final paragraph.

[42] A "seer", or *vates*, is a common title for great poets. Sarbievius called both Horace and himself "seers" (*Lyr*. I, 10. 1-3 and II, 10. 24). For the significance of the word *vates*, see: Kennedy (11-13). In addition, the words *o magne Vates, o Heliconidum/Aganippidum* (77/81) may refer to *o sol / pulcher, o laudande* in Hor. *Od*. IV, 2. 46-47, which according to Kirby (46-47) alludes to the songs sung by Roman soldiers, praising their general in a military procession. The same goes for Horace's *io Triumphe! (. . .) io Triumphe!* in his *Od*. IV, 2. 49-50, which may be reflected in Wallius' *io, ter io!* (101/97).

[43] The exclamation *io, ter io!* can also be found in *Epod*. XXI, 69, by the German Jesuit Jacob Balde (1604-1668). His poem had not yet been published in 1632, however.

[44] Jacob Balde would use the phrase *lyra tacta* (104/100) as well, in his *Lyr*. I, 26. 12. The words *lituis tubas* (106/102) appear side by side, although in a different form, in Hor. *Od*. I, 1. 23. *Excantata*, meaning "enchanted" (107/103), probably relates back to the witch Canidia, who performed her magical spells beside the moon goddess Phoebe earlier on.

The differences between Wallius' lyric in the *Epicitharisma* edition and in his 1656 "collected works" volume are extraordinarily many, with entire stanza's being heavily altered, repositioned, or even replaced. This final paragraph will analyse the discrepancies between the two texts, discuss how and why they were introduced, and deliberate on their meaning. As nearly every larger alteration affects the poem's overall meaning, these differences will be dealt with following the exact order in which they appear.

First, the reference to Alcaeus has taken on a different form in the 1656 volume: "and does Pittacus, unable to control the scepter and his rage, press upon the city with unaccustomed slavery" has been replaced by "and does another tyrant rage again and, unbridled, press upon Lesbos with slavery" (9-11/10). Whereas the *Epicitharisma* text explicitly names Pittacus as the evil oppressor of Mytilene, the second version limits itself to "another tyrant", who "again" subdues Lesbos. The change makes it easier to relate Wallius' verses to the political situation of the time, and subtly portrays the Ottomans as successors of Pittacus, or any of the other Lesbian tyrants. It thus delivers a clearer message than the first version, which alluded less obviously to the Ottoman threat.

Furthermore, the 1656 edition has expanded the connection with Alcaeus by an entire stanza, which does not feature in the earlier version (1656, 13-16). For although "the Lesbian seer may once have shattered" the tyrant's fury, now the river Tanais, the Bosphorus and Ionia fear "the lyre". In the second version, then, the comparison is not merely a negative one, between the Lesbian tyrants and the Ottomans, but a positive one as well, between Alcaeus, the "Lesbian seer", and Sarbievius, the Polish Jesuit. Indeed, Sarbievius actually appears to outrank Alcaeus.

Only then does the 1656 text discuss the "Moon of the Ottomans", copying two stanza's from the *Epicitharisma* volume, with several alterations (13/17-20/24). Firstly, "while the Seer diminishes all its brilliance" has been turned into "caused to tremble by a Sarmatian song" (16/20). This may have to do with the fact that Wallius also used *vates*, "seer", in the aforementioned new stanza, which prompted him to remove it from the following one. In addition, the implementation of "Sarmatian" underscores the comparison between Alcaeus and Sarbievius, and is the first direct reference to the Polish poet.[45]

[45] Furthermore, the combination of *Lesbous* with *Vates* (1656, 13-14) also features, slightly differently, in Ov. *Trist*. III, 7. 20. The same goes for *fregerit (. . .) furorem* (1656, 13-14), which resembles Sen. *Agam*. 775.

Subsequently, "while Canidia thrice, with sacred magical arts, scatters juices, and thrice echoes Martial voices" has made way for "while Canidia thrice, with a magical rite, lights sacred things, [and] she thrice leads the Cytaean poem" (18/22-20/24). By letting her sing a Cytaean,[46] i.e. Colchian or Medean song, the later version emphasises Canidia's barbarous nature.[47] Instead of echoing "Martial voices", which would make her seem full of fighting spirit, she is now associated with the ancient sorceress Medea, whose Caucasian homeland was, at the time, either under Ottoman rule, or close enough to it. Again, therefore, the 1656 text ties in nicely with the contemporary political situation.

Next, there are two stanza's from the *Epicitharisma* edition which have been replaced by a single stanza in the 1656 version (21/25-28). The earlier text speaks of a "prophetic horror", excited by "the Lyre" to summon "bloody waters", which would flow with "Haemonian splendours",[48] and asks the reader if posterity should believe, if the European monarchs fail to act, presumably, that Sarbievius' songs "burn", only to find that "the sacred heights of kings would be profaned by a malicious shadow" (1632, 21-28). The second version is a lot less fuzzy. Who would think of Phoebe and Canidia as threats to Sarbievius' songs, Wallius asks, since the fallen Thracian crowns are trembling with fear (1656, 25-28)?[49] The relation with the previous verses is thereby made a good deal clearer, and the message has been altered. There is no question of whether posterity will remember the strength of Sarbievius' poetry: rather, the Pole's works seem triumphant already. The 1656 poem thus appears to have a more positive tone than the *Epicitharisma* text.

The exhortation of the European kings and princes has also been substantially adjusted (29-64/68). To begin with, "go forth, go forth, brave ones, where the sweet sound of the Sarbievian cither calls [you]" has been converted into "go forth, go forth, Kings, where another able player of the Latin cither calls you" (29-30). Thus, instead of remaining somewhat vague, the second edition directly addresses the "Kings", and furthermore makes an unmistakable allusion

[46] The adjective "Cytaean" is also used, for example, in Prop. I, 1. 24 and II, 4. 7. In the first case, *Cytinaeis* is connected, much as in Wallius' poem, to *carminibus*.

[47] Additionally, it contains a clear allusion to Ov. *Met*. X, 398: *magico lustrante ritu*.

[48] This is likely to be a reference to Hor. *Od*. IV, 2. 5-9, where Pindar is described as a rushing river. Moreover, "Haemonian" generally means "Thessalian", and thus "Greek", but it may also allude to mount Haemus in Thrace, the name of which translates as "bloody".

[49] In both texts, verses 26/25 strongly resemble Hor. *Od*. I, 27. 1-2: *natis in usum laetitiae scyphis / pugnare Thracum est*. *Regum apices* (1632, 28) also appears in Hor. *Od*. III, 21. 20. Furthermore, *trepidant coronae* (1656, 28) returns in Jacob Balde's *Lyr*. IV, 43. 18.

to Hor. *Od*. IV, 3. 23, by calling Sarbievius "another able player of the Latin cither".[50] On the other hand, by removing "Sarbievian", the reference to Sarbievius becomes implicit. In fact, one could argue that Wallius is, in the later version, not only speaking of the Polish Jesuit: who is to say that the "other able player of the Latin cither" is not Wallius himself as well?

In the following two verses, "go forth, and fly towards the Idumean songs after the fields have been conquered" has been changed into "fly, following the preceding Muse to the Thracian fields" (31-32).[51] The 1656 edition thereby produces a strong image of a Muse, supposedly in the form of Sarbievius, who leads the European armies towards the Eastern territories. Furthermore, the addition of the Muse connects the passage to the preceding verses about the "other able player of the Latin cither", since Hor. *Od*. IV, 3 deals with Melpomene as well. It follows, then, that Sarbievius is compared to both Horace and Melpomene herself.[52] Several verses concerning the actual fighting have also been thoroughly altered, leading to the replacement of more than one entire stanza (43-48):

	And the soldier who heeded the melodies Walked rejoicing, and who moderated the true		Thus did a Spartan youth go heeding the Melodies, about to die in the first line of
45	Fears of death with a placid song, Willingly fell for the fatherly hearths Through weapons, and the diffused slaughters, Through ashes, through the dangers of war. (1632)	45	Battle, not familiar with retreating and About to repel degenerate flight for a Hundred vines, or the crime of a slack Battle, and the dishonour of fetters.* (1656)

* The "vines" may refer to the notion of having a good time, drinking wine, instead of fighting for an honourable cause.

[50] Hor. *Od*. IV, 3. 23 reads *Romanae fidicen lyrae* ("a player of the Roman lyre"). In his ode, Horace praises his Muse Melpomene.

[51] "Idumean" stands for "Palestinian".

[52] This probably also explains why *fila regent* became *Musa reget* (40). Other smaller nuances in these verses are the following: *auribus accinunt: / docent in adversas phalangas* has become *leniter accinit: / urget per obstantes Gelonos* (34-35), presumably since the first version has the aforementioned "Idumean songs" (plural) as the verses' subject, while the second has "the Muse" (singular) (31-32). Additionally, *non (. . .) leniter* and *urget* are stronger than *non (. . .) auribus* and *docent*, and *Gelonos*, indicating the Ottomans, is a name used frequently by Sarbievius as well. Furthermore, Wallius himself had applied *Gelonis* in line 91 of the 1632 text, which he later altered. *Gradivi nervus* has made way for *Gradivi robur* (37) ("Gradivus" meaning "Mars"), possibly because *robur* is more common in ancient Latin poetry. The same goes for *firmat*, which has replaced *stringit* (38). *Ordinatos (. . .) gressus* was changed into *ordinatas (. . .) turmas* (39-40), thus giving the lines a more military flavour.

It is remarkable to find that the *Epicitharisma* text contains significantly more references to ancient literature than the later version,[53] yet the changes are understandable. By speaking of the "Spartan youth", Wallius is relating to both the aforementioned Lycurgus (41), and to the political situation in Greece. Additionally, the implied comparison between the European monarchs and the famous Spartan warriors, who know no fear and loath "degenerate flight", favours Sarbievius' and Wallius' cause: it is not just any "soldier" who will stand against the Ottomans, it is a fearsome "Spartan youth".

More or less the same sort of intensification can be found in the following few verses (49-52), where Mars crowns those who are soiled with "the dust of war" (1656, 50), instead of with further unspecified "sacred dust" (1632, 49-50), and the crowns themselves have suddenly become "golden" (1656, 49).[54] Moreover, whereas in the first version the banks of the Nile and Jordan have "until now" grown green, "and" the monarchs' heads demand palm groves (1632, 51-54), the second edition prefers to state that the shores of the rivers have "long since" been green, but that the kings "at last" demand palm groves (1656, 51-53). Thus, the relation between the leaders of Europe and the "palm-bearing" riverbanks has been made even clearer: the Nile and Jordan have long been known for their splendour, yet now comes the time of Europe's triumph, and the palm groves must pass to the victors.[55]

The Muse theme of the 1656 edition is again picked up in the adjusted lines 54-56, which introduce a new stanza altogether (1656, 57-60). Instead of only mentioning a "better gift than noble wreaths", i.e. Sarbievius' ode to the European victors (1632, 55-56),[56] Wallius in the second version elaborates his

[53] Concerning the 1632 text, *ibat ovans* (44) also appears in Verg. *Aen*. VI, 589, and in Sil. III, 409, VII, 734 and XIV, 499. *Veros timores* (44-45) comes from Hor. *Od*. I, 37. 15. *Ruebat (. . .) per tela* (46-47) is reminiscent of both *per tela ruentem* in Verg. *Aen*. XII, 305, and *per tela ruebat* in Sil. X, 319. *Confusasque strages* (47) corresponds with *confusae stragis* in Verg. *Aen*. VI, 504, and with Jacob Balde's *confusa strages* in his *Lyr*. II, 39. 61. *Per acuta belli* (48) is borrowed literally from Hor. *Od*. IV, 4. 76, and is used by Sarbievius in his *Lyr*. IV, 38. 112 as well. Concerning the 1656 version, *ante aciem* (44) features frequently in ancient literature, for example in Vergil's *Aeneid* and in Silius Italicus' *Punica*. Jacob Balde also uses the phrase *degenerem fugam*, in his *Epod*. XVI, 2.

[54] The difference between *ite, ite* and *sic ite* (49) can be explained by looking at verse 43 of the 1656 edition, which reads *sic ibat*.

[55] Sarbievius on three occasions describes the Nile praising the addressee of his poems. See *Lyr*. I, 10. 38, 21. 32, and *Epod*. VI, 157.

[56] This alludes to Hor. *Od*. IV, 2. 19-20, where Pindar is said to grant "a gift more powerful than a hundred statues".

earlier reference to Horace's Muse, which will not "suppress the wild battles" (1656, 54), but will sing of the defeated Bosphorus and mythical Amazons (1656, 56-58), and of the many lands which would, presumably, eventually yield to or look upon the strength of the European forces (1656, 58-60).[57] Further, while in the *Epicitharisma* the lyre sang of the enemy's "prophesied retreat" (62), in the 1656 volume it speaks of "bloody battles and a breast meeting lances", thereby strengthening the lyric's military theme (66).[58]

What follows is a lengthy passage which has been re-written almost completely (65/69-76/80). In both cases, however, it essentially introduces the ode's climax, and praises Sarbievius by comparing him to Pindar. Crucial to our understanding of this comparison is Hor. *Od*. IV, 2.[59] Pindar, so Horace says, cannot be equaled or surpassed, but that is not how Wallius feels. In the *Epicitharisma* text, we are first told that "not only Pindar did once sing with a poem worthy of the Olympian palace" (1632, 65-66).[60] Indeed, "there is one who would sing of the sacred arms with equal praise, after the Palestinians had been conquered" (1632, 66-68), and as Dirce saw that "the Theban lips were moisturised by the Hymettian waters" (1632, 69-70),[61] so now the Tiber is baffled by the "the works of the Quirinal bees" (1632, 71-72),[62] and pope Urban VIII has "pressed together" the nectar which flows on the Vistula's "hospitable bank" (1632, 73-76). According to Wallius, then, Sarbievius does equal Pindar, and the pontiff's appreciation for the Pole's writings strongly supports his claim.

In the 1656 version the pontiff and his awe for the Jesuit's honey sweet lyrics have made way for the military themes within the Pole's works, thereby

[57] Wallius writes that the Muse *canet, quod Aurorae, quod Austri / regna legant, roseusque Vesper* (1656, 59-60). "The realms of Dawn", "the Southern Wind", and the "Evening" could be interpreted as "the world". Furthermore, "the Southern Wind" may be a reference to Ov. *Met*. VII, 532, where it accompanies a passage about "the moon who filled her horns".

[58] The combination *bene ominato* (1632, 62) also features in Jacob Balde's *Lyr*. I, 33. 37.

[59] This poem is likewise at the centre of Sidronius Hosschius' elegy to Sarbievius.

[60] The phrase *olim lusit* (1632, 65) appears in Hor. *Od*. IV, 9. 9 as well. *Digno (. . .) carmine* (1632, 66) is used, in one form or other, by Vergil, Horace, and Ovid.

[61] "Dirce" refers to Thebes, where the Dircaean fountain was named after the mythological woman whose lifeless body was thrown into the fountain's waters. Pindar was born in Thebes.

[62] This is a reference to both Hor. *Od*. IV, 2. 27-28, where Horace compares himself to a bee, and to the bees on the Barberini coat of arms, of which Sarbievius speaks frequently as well.

changing the passage's purport: posterity will know, we are told, who recaptured Buda and crossed the Greek Eurotas river and Haemus mountain (1656, 69-72).[63] Furthermore, the comparison with Pindar is once again brought to the fore, and this time the reference to Hor. *Od*. IV, 2 is made even clearer. Both Horace and Wallius write that Pindar, "the Dircaean Muse" (1656, 73), sings of gods and kings and of the fall of "the fearful Chimera" (1656, 76) and that he has lifted himself to soar through the heavens (1656, 77-78).[64] Despite all this, however, Wallius appears to believe that Sarbievius still outranks Pindar, or at least equals him, since the Greek's Muse "would envy the triumphed Thracians as material for Latin Muses" (1656, 79-80). Pindar may have sung about the ancient gods, kings, and heroes, Wallius declares, yet he would envy Sarbievius for singing about today's champions, who are about to crush the Thracian Ottomans. With the former pope gone and a new one in place, the Fleming has chosen to change the passage's message: his regard for Sarbievius no longer relies on Urban VIII's high opinion of him, but is based solely on the Pole's songs of military glory.

Lastly, we come to the ode's conclusion, in which Sarbievius himself is addressed and applauded (77/81-108/104). Not surprisingly, there are once again numerous differences between the poem's two versions, most notably the replacement of three entire stanzas from the *Epicitharisma* text by a single one in the later

[63] The city of Buda was taken by the Ottomans in 1541. Wallius is thus opting for its recovery by the European forces, which would also pass the Eurotas and Haemus during their crusade to free Greece. *Signa (. . .) fixerit* (1656, 70) resembles *signa fixurus* in Jacob Balde's *Lyr*. I, 2. 54.

[64] Hor. *Od*. IV, 2. 13-16 read "whether he sings of gods and kings, and the blood of gods, through which the Centaurs rightly died, [and] the flame of the fearsome Chimera died out", lines 25-26 read "a great wind lifts the Dircaean swan, Antonius, whenever it tends towards the high stretches of clouds". Wallius' *Lyr*. I, 11. 73-78 (1656) read "although the Dircaean Muse sings of Gods and kings, by whose hand the ungodly youth, trusting in arms, and the fiery power of the fearsome Chimera died, she has lifted herself higher than the earths into a high air with a clapping wing". The "blood of gods" of which Horace speaks is Pirithous, the Lapith king who defeated the Centaurs. The Chimera was famously killed by Bellerophon. Wallius' "ungodly youth" may be a reference to both Pirithous and Bellerophon, as both heroes tried to thwart the gods, but paid dearly for it as a consequence. Moreover, *impia brachiis / fidens iuventus* (1656, 74-75) is strongly reminiscent of Hor. *Od*. III, 4. 50: *fidens iuventus horrida brachiis*, and *terris altior* (1656, 77) can be found in Ov. *Met*. XIII, 103 as well. *Plaudente penna* (1656, 78) is similar to *plausit pennis* in Ov. *Met*. VIII, 238, and *tollit in aethera* (1656, 78) was also used in Ov. *Fast*. IV, 315. The phrase returns again, only slightly altered, in Jacob Balde's *Lyr*. III, 9. 20.

edition (81/85-92/88).[65] The earlier version describes the extraordinary power of Sarbievius' poetry, which flows "with a storm of nectar" (1632, 85),[66] and conquers "noisy rivers" with the help of the wind god Notus and the river god Nereus (1632, 85-87). The phrase "assisted with auxiliary waves" (1632, 87), which accompanies both Notus and Nereus, was taken nearly literally from Ov. *Met*. I, 275, where Jupiter and Neptune flood the earth. Likewise, the notion of waves that destroy houses and "swallow cattle" (1632, 88) was taken from the same passage,[67] indicating the sheer force of the "noisy rivers", and, thus, of Sarbievius' verses as well. Indeed, their force is so great, that they "destroy the high rocky shores" (1632, 90) and threaten the "Gelonic lands" (1632, 92), i.e. the realm of the Ottomans. Sarbievius' lyrics, then, rich as they are with poetical nectar, will incite a flood to overflow Europe's enemies, much like Neptune swept away everything in his path, only this time the flood will consist of armed men, not water.

A similar idea can be found in the 1656 text, yet one stanza cannot express what three can. The Vistula hears Sarbievius' songs "with restrained waves" (1656, 85-86), and so will the South-Eastern European rivers Sperchius, Thermodon, and Hypanis, which represent the Ottoman Empire (1656, 86-88). The Pole's influence on Europe's foes has thus been kept, as has the river-theme, but the reference to Ovid and Neptune's flood has downright disappeared. What is particularly interesting, however, is the fact that the comparison of Sarbievius' lyrics with a nectar-filled current has for the second time been removed completely.[68] Moreover, the same has happened in the following few verses, where the *Epicitharisma* version urges the Pole to "roll down honey-bearing streams with a grand lyre" (1632, 93-94), but the 1656 edition prefers to spur him to "inflame Mars with a Heliconian song" instead (1656, 89-90).[69]

[65] A smaller discrepancy in the preceding stanza is the following: *Heliconidu sororum* has become *Aganippidum sororum* (77/81-78/82), perhaps because the latter is rarer, and therefore emphasises Wallius' creativity. In *Lyr*. III, 10. 36, moreover, the Fleming also wrote *Aganippidosque fontes*.

[66] The idea of a "honey river" is also expressed, e.g., in Verg. *Geor*. IV, 278, and in Ov. *A. A*. I, 748.

[67] *Tecta* and *pecudesque* (1632, 88) are both used in Ov. *Met*. I, 286-7. Furthermore, Wallius' *effraenis* (1632, 91) presumably alludes to *defrenato* in Ov. *Met*. I, 282. Additionally, the phrase *pectoris alveo* (1632, 82) resembles Jacob Balde's *pectoris alveum* in his *Lyr*. II, 10. 38. It appears that a study of the relation between Wallius' and Balde's works would not be out of place.

[68] The first time had been in lines 69/73-76/80, discussed on the previous pages.

[69] Wallius' *matrem accendere cantu* was borrowed from Verg. *Aen*. VI, 165.

The naming of Mars furthermore echoes *Martis* in line 95 of the 1632 text, which in turn has made it possible for Wallius to replace "soon when you have filled the public ears, the ardour of Mars will grow" (1632, 94-95) with "what fury will join the armed wedges! What ardour will grow" (1656, 90-91), thus underscoring the inspiriting strength of Sarbievius' poems, by way of a clever combination of "fury" with "ardour".

Yet why has Wallius chosen to remove all references to rivers of honey and nectar? In two cases the theme has made way for military motifs (1656, 69-76 and 89-90). It may be that by 1656 the Fleming found that the sweet honey rivers did not match his essentially martial ode, and he wanted to give his "Holy War" an additional highlight. Moreover, the river theme of the *Epicitharisma* poem was first introduced in a passage where pope Urban VIII, whose coat of arms bore three bees, played an important role. By the time the second version of the poem appeared, however, Urban VIII was dead, and Alexander VII had taken his place. Wallius may therefore have decided to eliminate every possible reference to the former pontiff, especially since the 1632 volume had been dedicated to the former pope, while Alexander VII was the dedicatee of the 1656 edition.

The final alteration of note emerges in lines 97/93-98/95. The difference between "o how many hats, which must be bought with all burdens, will you restore to the slavish herd!" and "how many hats will you thence restore to shaven heads, and [how many] splendours to our sacred rites!" probably has multiple reasons. Firstly, the new *quot* ("how many" in 1656, as opposed to *quanta*, "how many" in 1632) ties in with the old one in verse 99/95. Secondly, by adding the "heads" in the later version, the use of the "hats" has been elucidated.[70] Lastly, naming the Greeks a "slavish herd" may on second thoughts not have seemed particularly appropriate, in contrast to the mentioning of "sacred rites".[71]

In order to account for the larger prominence of political and military motifs in the second edition, we may consider the fact that the political situation

[70] *Pilea sarcinis* (1632, 98) corresponds with Mart. II, 68. 4. A *pilleus* or *pilleum* (spelled by Wallius as *pileum*) was a felt hat or cap, which could be given to a freed slave. It thus represents freedom.

[71] Lastly, there are a few minor differences in the final two stanzas: *quercus fatidicum sonat* was superseded by *laurus fatidicum canit* (102/98), since *laurus* and *canit* allude to poetry more clearly than *quercus* and *sonat*, and *credetur* was turned into *dicetur* (107/103), which suitably ties in with *dicentur* (105/101).

of Greece, or part of it at least, had by 1656 changed significantly, as compared to 1632. Between 1645 and 1669, the Ottomans were at war with the Venetian Republic, in what was to become known as the Cretan War, as the conflict mainly revolved around the largest of the Greek islands.[72] While the position of the Greek territories in 1632 had been relatively unchanged since the 1570s, when the Ottomans had conquered Cyprus, the Cretan War put an abrupt end to Greece's apparent stability. The conflict, which by 1656 had been raging for over a decade, gave renewed relevance to the topic of a European crusade against the Ottoman threat, and it may have inspired Wallius to have another go at his ode. Inflamed by the new war, he may have decided to sharpen a few edges and underscore the poem's military appearance.

To conclude, the ode comes down to an appraisal of the Sarbievius' patriotic lyrics, and to a simultaneous call for a new European crusade to free Greece from the barbarous Ottomans. The numerous adjustments which Wallius has made, all add up to alter the ode's overall purport, or accents, but they do nothing to change the poem's inherent meaning: contrary to the eulogy itself, the author's views on Sarbievius appear not to have changed substantially. If anything, Wallius seems to have had an even greater admiration for the Pole in 1656 than he had had in 1632.

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[72] The Cretan War was the fifth Ottoman - Venetian war in one hundred years, which resulted in the occupation of Crete by the Ottomans. It would be followed by two more armed conflicts between the warring nations.

Appendix A: Latin originals

1632
IACOBI WALLII
E SOC. IESU
ODE
AD LYRAM SARBIEVIANAM,
saepius Europaeos Principes ad
recuperandum Orientis Imperium
animantem (p. 311-315)

Quae Martiales barbitos incitat
In arma turmas? quos strepitus canit,
Bellique caussas? quas coïre
Principum amicitias, & enses

Pingues amico sanguine barbara
In terga verti iustius imperat?
An rursus Alcaei minaces
Classica personuere Musae?

Sceptrique & irae Pittacus impotens
Urbem insolenti servitio premit,
Saevumque detractat superbi
Ferre iugum Mitylena regni?

Fallorne? Tristi Luna Othomanidum
Pallescit umbra: cornua contrahit:
Plenumque desperavit orbem,
Omne iubar minuente Vate.

Sic noctilucis pallida cornibus
Phoebe laborat, ter, Magicis sacris,
Spargente succos, terque Marsas
Canidia recinente voces.

Praesagus horror, quem Lyra Thracio
Incussit astro, sanguineas aquas
Pro rore sub noctem coëgit
Aemonijs fluitare cultis.

Tantisne credet posteritas minis
Natos in usum laetitiae modos
Fervere, ut augusti maligna
Regum apices violentur umbra?

1656
ODE XI.
AD LYRAM MATHIAE CASIMIRI
SARBIEVII
E SOCIETATE IESU,
EUROPAEOS PRINCIPES
AD SACRUM BELLUM
EXCITANTEM (p. 333-336)

Quae Martiales barbitos incitat
In arma turmas? quos strepitus canit,
Bellique causas? quas coire
Principum amicitias, & enses

Pingues amico sanguine barbara
In terga verti iustius imperat?
An rursus Alcaei minaces
Classica personuere Musae?

Alterque rursus saevit & impotens
Lesbon tyrannus servitio premit?
Saevumque detractat superbi
Ferre iugum Mitylena regni?

Lesbous olim fregerit illius
Vates furorem: nunc Tanaim lyra,
Lateque regnatum tyranno
Bosporon, Ioniumque terret.

Fallorne? tristi Luna Othomanidum
Pallescit umbra: cornua contrahit:
Plenumque desperavit orbem
Sarmatico tremefacta cantu.

Sic noctilucis pallida cornibus
Phoebe laborat, ter, magico sacra
Lustrante ritu, ter Cytaeum
Canidia praeeunte carmen.

Natis in usum laetitiae modis
Has esse quisquam crediderit minas?
Iam sceptra, iam Thracum caducae
Verticibus trepidant coronae.

Ite, ite, fortes, quo citharae vocat
SARBIEVIANAE clangor amabilis:
Ite, & triumphatis Idumes
Ad numeros volitate campis.

Non molle quiddam, non quod Ionicis
Aptum choreis, auribus accinunt:
Docent in adversas phalangas
Ferre pedem bene temperatum.

Ordo, Gradivi nervus, aheneas
Stringit catervas. Ite canentibus
Plectris, Quirites: ordinatos
Fila regent numerosa gressus.

Lycurgus olim sic Lacedaemone
Pugnae imminentis signa dedit lyra:
Et miles observans modorum
Ibat ovans, placidoque veros

Mortis timores carmine temperans,
Promptus ruebat pro patrijs focis
Per tela, confusasque strages,
Per cineres, per acuta belli.

Ite, ite: sancto pulvere sordidos
Mavors coronis vestiet: hactenus
Nilique Iordanisque ripae
Palmiferis viruere silvis,

Vestrosque poscunt caedua vertices
Palmeta. Quin & barbita munere
Vestros adornabunt labores
Nobilibus potiore sertis.

Accendit omnes Martia buccina
Cantu: sed, heu! non nisi funera,
Vocesque supremas cadentum
Docta sono tenuare rauco.

At illa, quae vos increpuit, lyra
Bene ominato signa receptui
Datura, vulgabit decore
Vulnus hians, obitasque mortes.

Non solus olim lusit Olympica
Digno palaestra carmine Pindarus:
Est, qui Palaestinis subactis
Sacra pari canat arma laude.

Ite, ite, Reges, quo citharae potens
Alter Latinae vos fidicen vocat:
Musam antecedentem secuti
Threiciis volitate campis.

Non molle quiddam, non quod Ionicis
Aptum choreis, leniter accinit:
Urget per obstantes Gelonos
Ferre pedem bene temperatum.

Ordo, Gradivi robur, aheneas
Firmat catervas. Ite canentibus
Plectris, Quirites: ordinatas
Musa reget numerosa turmas.

Lycurgus olim sic Lacedaemone
Pugnae imminentis signa dedit lyra:
Sic ibat observans modorum,
Ante aciem moritura primam

Spartana pubes, nescia cedere,
Vitisque centum degenerem fugam,
Aut segnis aversura pugnae
Crimen, & opprobrium catenae.

Sic ite: belli pulvere sordidis
Mavors coronas destinat aureas.
Nilusque Iordanesque pridem
Palmiferis viruere ripis;

Vestrosque tandem caedua vertices
Palmeta poscunt. Nec fera praelia,
Bellique, quos suasit, labores
Musa premet. Canet illa torvo

Decussa per vos cornua Bosporo,
Gravemque nexis Strymona vinculis:
Canet, quod Aurorae, quod Austri
Regna legant, roseusque Vesper.

Accendit omnes Martia buccina
Cantu: sed, heu! non nisi funera,
Vocesque supremas cadentum
Docta sono tenuare rauco.

At illa quae vos increpuit lyra
Pugnas cruentas dicet, & obvium
Pectus sarissis, & decore
Vulnus hians, obitasque mortes.

Quae quisque gessit, posteritas sciet:
Quis signa Budae fixerit arcibus
Primus: quis Eurotam natatu;
Quis pedibus superavit Heamum.

Nec sola Dirce vidit Hymettijs
Thebana tingi labra liquoribus:
Apum Quirinarum labores
Obstupuit Tiberinus amnis,

Et hospitalem Vistula nectare
Madere ripam, quod sibi Romula
Stipavit URBANUS Tiara
Mellifluos glomerante rores.

O magne Vates, o Heliconidum
Mystes sororum, quem Deus incola
Musaeque, securum pericli,
Pindaricos docuere nisus;

Pars quanta laudum, mella liquentibus
Stillasse labris? pectoris alveo
Dives refundis mellis agmen,
Nectareaque ruens procella

Sonora vincis flumina, quae Notus
Spumansque Nereus auxiliaribus
Dum iuvit undis, versa secum
Tecta trahunt, pecudesque sorbent.

Talis superbos colligis impetus,
Altosque ripae diruis obices
Effraenis, & foedam Gelonis
Perniciem meditatus arvis.

I, perge, grandi mellifluos lyra
Devolve fluctus. Mox ubi publicas
Impleris aures, Martis ardor
Crescet equis, equitumque turmis.

O quanta servo restitues gregi
Emenda totis pilea sarcinis!
Quot victor innectes Latinas
Argolico populo catenas!

Io, ter io! Si quid Apollinis
Divina quercus fatidicum sonat,
Verosque praesagit triumphos
Vaticinis lyra tacta Musis,

Dicentur olim Sarmaticae fides
Vicisse mistas cum lituis tubas:
Credetur excantata Thracum
Luna tuo trepidasse plectro.

Dircaea quamquam Musa Deos canit,
Regesque, per quos impia brachiis
Fidens iuventus, & tremendae
Ignea vis cecidit Chimerae,

Seseque terris altior arduum
Plaudente penna tollit in aethera:
Thracas triumphatos Latinis
Materiem invideat Camoenis.

O magne Vates, o Aganippidum
Mystes sororum, quem Deus incola
Musaeque, securum pericli,
Pindaricos docuere nisus:

Quem nunc repressis Vistula fluctibus,
Olim & canentem corniger audiet
Sperchius, arrectusque capta
Thermodoon, Hypanisque ripa,

Intende chordas: Martem Heliconio
Accende cantu. Quis cuneos furor
Committet armatos! quis ardor
Crescet equis, equitumque signis!

Quot inde raso pilea vertici
Cultusque nostris restitues sacris!
Quot victor innectes Latinas
Argolico populo catenas!

Io, ter io! Siquid Apollinis
Divina laurus fatidicum canit,
Verosque praesagit triumphos
Vaticinis lyra tacta Musis,

Dicentur olim Sarmaticae fides
Vicisse mistas cum lituis tubas:
Dicetur excantata Thracum
Luna tuo trepidasse plectro.

Appendix B: English translations

1632
ODE
which often inspirits
the European Princes
to recapture the Empire of the East
BY JACOBUS WALLIUS
OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS
TO THE SARBIEVIAN LYRE
(p. 311-315)

To what arms does the lyre incite the Martial
Troops? Of what sounds does it sing,
And what causes of war? What friendships of
Princes does it command to assemble, and what

Swords, blunt with friendly blood, does it very
Justly command to be turned to barbarous backs?
Have the menacing Alcaean Muses blown the
War trumpets again?

And does Pittacus, unable to control the scepter
And his rage, press upon the city with
Unaccustomed slavery, and does Mitylene refuse
To bare the fierce yoke of vain kingship?

Am I deceived? The Moon of the Ottomans turns
Pale with a sad shadow: it draws in its horns:
And it has given up hope of a full orb,
While the Seer diminishes all its brilliance.

Thus a pale Phoebe labours with horns
That shine by night, while Canidia thrice,
With sacred magical arts, scatters juices,
And thrice echoes Martial voices.

1656
ODE XI.
WHICH EXCITES
THE EUROPEAN PRINCES
TO A HOLY WAR,
TO THE LYRE OF MATHIAS
CASIMIRUS
SARBIEVIUS OF THE SOCIETY OF
JESUS
(p. 333-336)

To what arms does the lyre incite the Martial
Troops? Of what sounds does it sing,
And what causes of war? What friendships of
Princes does it command to assemble, and what

Swords, blunt with friendly blood, does it very
Justly command to be turned to barbarous backs?
Have the menacing Alcaean Muses blown the
War trumpets again?

And does another tyrant rage again and, unbridled,
Press upon Lesbos with slavery?
And does Mitylene refuse
To bare the fierce yoke of vain kingship?

The Lesbian seer may once have shattered
His fury: now does the lyre scare the Tanais,
And far and wide the Bosphorus, and Ionia,
Ruled by a tyrant.

Am I deceived? The Moon of the Ottomans turns
Pale with a sad shadow: it draws in its horns:
And it has given up hope of a full orb,
Caused to tremble by a Sarmatian song.

Thus a pale Phoebe labours thrice with horns
That shine by night, while Canidia thrice,
With a magical rite, lights sacred things,
[And] she thrice leads the Cytaean poem.

The prophetic horror, which the Lyre excited
Upon the Thracian star, has summoned the bloody
Waters before the dawn, under the night, to flow
With Haemonian splendours.

Or will posterity believe, because of such threats,
That the songs, born for the use of happiness,
Burn, so that the sacred heights of kings
Would be profaned by a malicious shadow?

Go forth, go forth, strong ones, where the sweet
Sound of the SARBIEVIAN cither calls [you]:
Go forth, and fly to the Idumean songs after the
Fields have been conquered.

Not something weak, not that which is apt for
Ionic choirs, do they sing to ears:
They teach to step a well tempered foot against
The enemy phalanxes.

Order, the power of Gradivus, brings
The bronze troops together. Go forth with playing
Plectrums, Quirites: harmonious strings
Govern regulated steps.

Thus did Lycurgus once give the signs of the
Imminent battle with a Spartan lyre:
And the soldier who heeded the melodies
Walked rejoicing, and who moderated the true

Fears of death with a placid song,
Willingly fell for the fatherly hearths
Through weapons, and the diffused slaughters,
Through ashes, through the dangers of war.

Go forth, go forth: those dirty with sacred
Dust will Mars don with crowns: until now
The banks of the Nile and Jordan
Have grown green with palm-bearing trees,

And your heads also demand palm groves
Fit for cutting. And truly will the lyres adorn
Your labours with a better gift
Than noble wreaths.

Who would have believed that the songs, born
For the use of happiness, would have such threats?
Already do the scepters, already do the crowns,
Fallen from the heads of Thracians, tremble.

Go forth, go forth, Kings, where another able
Player of the Latin cither calls you:
Fly, following the preceding Muse to the
Thracian lands.

Not something weak, not that which is apt for
Ionic choirs, he sings gently:
He urges to place a well tempered foot through
The opposed Gelones.

Order, the strength of Gradivus, fortifies
The bronze troops. Go forth with playing
Plectrums, Quirites: the harmonious Muse will
Govern regulated troops.

Thus did Lycurgus once give the signs of the
Imminent battle with a Spartan lyre:
Thus did a Spartan youth go heeding the
Melodies, about to die in the first line of

Battle, not familiar with retreating and
About to repel degenerate flight for a
Hundred vines, or the crime of a slack
Battle, and the dishonour of fetters.

Go thus forth: Mars destines golden crowns to
Those dirty with the dust of war.
The Nile and the Jordan have long since grown
Green with palm-bearing banks; and at last

Do your heads demand palm groves fit for cutting.
And not will the Muse suppress the wild battles,
Nor the labours of war, which she has exhorted.
She will sing of the horns, shaken off by you

The Martial trumpet inflames everyone
With song: but, oh! alas, it has learned merely
To dilute funerals and the last words of
Those fallen by a hoarse sound.

But that lyre, which incited you, which will
Well give signs for the prophesied retreat,
Will make honourably gaping wounds and
Received deaths known publicly.

Not only Pindar did with once sing with a poem
Worthy of the Olympian palace: there is one
Who would sing of the sacred arms with equal
Praise, after the Palestinians had been conquered.

And not only Dirce saw that the Theban lips
Were moisturised by the Hymettian waters:
The Tiber's current was amazed at the works of
The Quirinal bees, and that the Vistula has made

The hospitable bank moist with nectar,
Which URBAN, while the Romulean Tiara
Was collecting the honey-flowing dews,
Has pressed together for himself.

O great Seer, o priest of the Heliconian
Sisters, [you] whom, safe from danger, the God as
Inhabitant and the Muses have learned
The Pindaric labours;

How big is the part of your praises, that honeys
Have dropped from your liquid lips? You
Pour a current, rich with honeys, back out of the
Concavity of the chest, and you conquer, while

Flowing with a storm of nectar, noisy rivers,
Which, while Notus and the foaming Nereus
Assisted with auxiliary waves, drag ruined
Houses with them, and swallow cattle.

From the savage Bosphorus and [of] the Amazon,
Heavy with fastened shackles: she will sing of
That which the reigns of Dawn, of the Southern
Wind gather, and the rose Evening.

The Martial trumpet inflames everyone
With song: but, oh! alas, it has learned merely
To dilute funerals and the last words of
Those fallen by a hoarse sound.

But that lyre which sounded to you, will speak
Of bloody battles, and a breast meeting lances,
Honourably gaping wounds, and received
Deaths.

Posterity will know, who did what: who first
Thrust the banners in the fortresses of Buda:
Who conquered the Eurotas by swimming;
Who surpassed the Haemus with his feet.

Although the Dircaean Muse sings of Gods
And kings, by whose hand the ungodly
Youth, trusting in arms, and the fiery power
Of the fearful Chimera died,

[And although] she has lifted herself higher than
The earths into a high air with a clapping wing:
She would envy the triumphed Thracians as
Material for Latin Muses.

O great Seer, o priest of the Aganippean
Sisters, [you] whom, safe from danger, the God as
Inhabitant and the Muses have learned
The Pindaric labours;

Whom now the Vistula hears with restrained
Waves, and [whom] once the horned Sperchius
And, after the bank has been taken, the excited
Thermodoon and Hypanis will hear singing,

You gather such proud assaults, and you
Destroy the high rocky shores of the bank,
[You], unbridled, and reflecting upon a
Horrible death for the Gelonic lands.

Go, make haste, roll down honey-bearing streams
With a grand lyre. Soon when you have
Filled the public ears, the ardour of Mars will grow
For the horses, and for the troops of horsemen.

O how many hats, which must be bought with
All burdens, will you restore to the slavish herd!
How many Latin shackles will you, as victor,
Fasten to the Argolic people!

Hurrah, thrice hurrah! If the divine oak of
Apollo resounds something prophetic,
And the lyre, touched by the prophesying
Muses, forebodes true victories, [then] the

Sarmatian strings will once be said to have
Surpassed the tubas, mixed with clarions: the
Enchanted Moon of the Thracians will be thought
To have been frightened by your plectrum.

Strike the strings: inflame Mars with a
Heliconian song. What fury will join the armed
Wedges! What ardour will grow
For the horses, and for the signs of horsemen.

How many hats will you thence restore to
Shaven heads, and [how many] splendours to
Our sacred rites! How many Latin shackles will
You, as victor, fasten to the Argolic people!

Hurrah, thrice hurrah! If the divine laurel of
Apollo sings something prophetic,
And the lyre, touched by the prophesying
Muses, forebodes true victories, [then] the

Sarmatian strings will once be said to have
Surpassed the tubas, mixed with clarions: the
Enchanted Moon of the Thracians will be said
To have been frightened by your plectrum.

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ON GOING TO HELL. THE CONCEPTION OF THE UNDERWORLD IN *PRZERAŹLIWE ECHO TRĄBY OSTATECZNEJ* (*THE SHRILL SOUND OF THE ULTIMATE TRUMPET*) (1670) BY FATHER *KLEMENS BOLESŁAWIUSZ* (1625-1689), AND OF THE OTHERWORLD IN *LUCIFER* (1654) BY JOOST VAN DEN VONDEL (1587-1679)

It seems that, in the seventeenth century, writing about the affairs of heaven and hell, and about the history of paradise became something of a fashion in literary circles of various European countries. The two best known fruits of this fashion are John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and the far less known, mainly because written in a language that has not had the good luck to become a world language, but still highly respected *Lucifer* by Joost van den Vondel, the Dutch dramatist, who was, roughly speaking, Milton's contemporary. But the fashion itself had more wide ranging effects. L. C. Van Noppen, in his *"Lucifer" an Interpretation*, being part of the introduction to his own English translation of Vondel's work, notices the popularity of the subject in various European literatures in the Early Modern period extending from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries:

> We would, in passing, call attention to the curious coincidence that so many poets of so many different nations, most of them doubtless without knowledge of the others,

> should about the same time have chosen this subject of such historical and symbolical importance. For besides the poets mentioned were many others: the Scotchman Ramsay, the Spaniard de Azevedo, the Portuguese Camoes, the Frenchman Du Bartas, and two Englishmen, Phineas Fletcher and John Milton. A more remarkable instance of telepathy is not, we believe, on record. (Van Noppen, 158-159)

I would like to add to this list the poem by a Polish Catholic priest *Klemens Bolesławiusz* (1625-1689) entitled *The Shrill Sound of the Ultimate Trumpet, or the Four Last Things Awaiting Man* (1670).[1] It is obvious enough, at the same time, that the Polish poem is no match for Vondel's epic drama, let alone for Milton's *Paradise Lost.*[2]

It also has a clearly different character. Instead of being an attempt to "justify the ways of God to men", as in the case of Milton's poem, and instead of being a vision of the tragedy of Lucifer, and of the human species, which seems to be the main subject of Vondel's play, *Bolesławiusz's* vision of the Otherworld has a clearly didactic, rather than theological, philosophical, or political purpose, and is meant simply to make the reader become terrified of hell, that is of sin, and attracted to heaven, that is to virtue. And yet I would claim that all three poetical works share, apart from obvious thematic similarities, also a certain moral passion and intuitive understanding of metaphysics which seem to constitute necessary conditions for someone who wants to deal with the always topical subject of supreme good and supreme evil.

By saying "always topical", I mean that the validity of the matter of paradise, or banishment from it, does not depend on the acceptance, or lack thereof, of the religious dogmas that lie behind the Christian interpretation of this story.

.....

[1] If not stated otherwise, all translations are mine.

[2] Nevertheless, Bolesławiusz, in his description of hell, he can sound quite similar to Milton. In Milton's *Paradise Lost* we read:

> A dungeon horrible, on all sides round
> As one great furnace flamed, yet from those flames
> No light, but rather darkness visible. (Book I, 61-63)
> See: Milton, 213.

And in Bolesławiusz:

> Ogień tam z siebie światła nie wydaje, Fire does not send out light there
> Katem się tylko, o jak srogim, staje! It merely becomes a tool of torture,
> Kopcąc jaskinią czarnymi sadzami, Smudging the cave with black pitch,
> Z siarki dymami. With sulphurous fumes.
> (Book IV, 13-16).
> See: Sokołowska, Żukowska (1965, II, 147).

The "Four Last Things Awaiting Man",[3] in Bolesławiusz's poem, are obvious: death, judgement, hell or heaven.[4] The necessity of such judgment is motivated, first of all, by a passionate desire for justice, and the obvious lack of such justice in the social reality.

It seems remarkable that Bolesławiusz emphasizes the lack of a defence council in the so called "particular judgement"[5] that the sinner is supposed to undergo immediately after death, where the devil plays the role of the prosecutor, and a very ruthless one, while God Himself appears in the double role of a witness, and of the judge. We are not told expressly if He is going to be a witness for the prosecution, or for the defence, but the former seems to be clearly the case, since there is no defence. This would put Bolesławiusz's God in a somewhat inferior position in relation to the devil, at least in His capacity as a witness, but naturally it is also possible that Bolesławiusz, not being a lawyer, did not distinguish between those two kinds of court witnesses:

It is evident that the idea of a defence counsel was in Bolesławiusz's mind associated with a possibility of corruption. Hence the defunct sinner can count only on what might be called "mathematical justice", embodied in the divine judge, and consisting in cold and objective counting and weighing up of his good deeds and, presumably, comparing them with the evil ones.

Bolesławiusz mentions, to be sure, the possibility of an intervention of the sinner's guardian angel at the time of the former's passing away. The poet assumes that this is the time when the devils are going to launch an all-out attack against the dead man's soul:

.....

[3] Jacek Sokolski claims that Bolesławiusz could be partly inspired by the Latin work *Cordiale quattuor novissimorum* (composed around 1460) by a Netherlandic writer Gerard de Vliederhoven, which treats about the subject of "the four last things". See: Klemens Bolesławiusz, (ed. Sokolski), 7.

[4] It has already been noticed that Bolesławiusz ignores the existence of purgatory. The matter is discussed in the "Wprowadzenie do lektury" ("Introduction") to: Klemens Bolesławiusz, *Przeraźliwe echo* (15-16).

[5] As the Catechism of the Catholic Church puts it: "Each man receives his eternal retribution in his immortal soul at the very moment of his death, in a particular judgment that refers his life to Christ: either entrance into the blessedness of heaven-through a purification or immediately, -- or immediate and everlasting damnation." See: www. scborromeo. org/ccc. htm.

Tu jadowity czart przeciw smutnemu
Człowiekowi stanie obżałowanemu,
Chcąc, by go w ogień wieczny
potępiono,
W nim pogrzebiono.
Tu chytry praktyk, ani też orator,
Nie będzie z tobą, mądry prokurator,
Który sędziego mógłby sztuką nową
Zwieść chytrą mową.
Sam tylko staniesz a sumienie Twoje
Mając uczynki za rzeczniki swoje,
Które tak ścisło, gdy sędzia zasiędzie,
Roztrząsać będzie.
Sam się Bóg świadkiem i sędzią pokaże,
Wprzód niźli dekret na winnego skaże.
O jakiż tam sąd będzie sprawiedliwy!
O Boże żywy!*

Prose translation:

Here, the malicious devil will stand against the contrite defendant, desiring to have him doomed to eternal damnation. Here, you are not going to have a defender, a clever lawyer, who could deceive the judge with his cunning speech. You shall stand alone, and only your conscience and your deeds will plead your case, and the judge will weigh them up very carefully. God Himself will appear as witness and as judge, before the verdict is announced. O what a fair trial it is going to be! O Spirit of the living God!

* This excerpt comes from a 1913 edition, which is apparently a reprint of the 1871 edition of Bolesławiusz's poem authorized apparently by the Archdiocesan Curia in Poznań, and available at: www. pbi. edu. pl/book_reader. php?p=30528. This version does not seem to differ, apart from some very minor details, from probably the best edition of the poem, which is the above-quoted Klemens Bolesławiusz, *Przeraźliwe echo* (ed. Sokolski).

Gdy tak na ciało bóle następują,
Czarni do duszy hurmem się zlatują,
Wojsko szykują wielkie na jednego
Konającego. …
Anioł stróż sobie chcąc poruczonego
Człowieka bronić, jak skarbu drogiego,
Będzie się starał, by mu go nie brano,
Nie potępiano.
Krzyknie do drugich: Święci Aniołowie,
Obrońcy ludzi i miłośnikowie,
Na pomoc proszę prędko przybywajcie
Mnie wspomagajcie.
Brońcie, by nie był człowiek przekonany,
Za którego Bóg ciężkie podjął rany,
Którego stworzył, żeby mieszkał z nami,
Swymi synami.
Szczęśliwy, który będziesz miał przy sobie
Świętych aniołów, zjednawszy ich sobie;
Oni w tym razie będą cię ratować;
I zastępować.
(www. pbi. edu. pl/book_reader. php?p=30528)

Prose translation:

When the body is so much in pain, the devils throng around the soul, they prepare a great army against the lonely dying man. . . . The guardian angel, desiring to defend the person he was in charge with, as if he were a precious treasure, tries to prevent the man being taken away from him, and doomed for ever. He would shout to the other angels: Come here quickly, o Holy Angels, defenders and devotees of people, with your help man will not be defeated, isn't he the one for whose sake God has suffered such grievous wounds, the one whom God created so that he may live with ourselves, God's sons? Happy is he who can count on the holy angels, having propitiated them. When in need, they will try to save him and act on his behalf.

Reading this, rather peculiar, passage we can have the impression that the dying man should not expect too much from God, the Holy Virgin, and the saints—God the Father and God the Son are mentioned, but only as those who did something for man in the past. The dying sinner is not even encouraged to call on them. The only denizens of Heaven that he can count upon in his final hour is a flight of angels brought together on the spur of the moment by his own guardian angel. But even this does not look like a very effective help, we do not eventually learn what those angels manage to achieve; they certainly do not safeguard the soul of the dead sinner from damnation. If he is sentenced to hell, the devils will sooner or later get hold of him again, and rather sooner than later, because the "particular judgement" seems to be based on a court of law that issues swift verdicts, and there is no possibility of any further appeal. This angelic levy in mass may remind the reader of the situation in the seventeenth century Poland's Eastern borderlands where an effective defence against a foreign invasion could usually be organized only on the basis of the local forces because the central authority was usually too ineffectual to be relied upon.

The image of angels and devils contending for the soul of a dying man is obviously very traditional, and may be traced back to the ancient allegorical motif of *psychomachia* (conflict of the soul) or *bellum intestinum* (internal warfare) (Lewis, 66-83). This motif may be associated by the lovers of English literature with the figures of "Good Angel" and "Bad Angel" in Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, while the lovers of Polish literature may perhaps recall the poem *Człowiek igrzysko boże* (*Man—God's Playground*) by Wacław Potocki, a Baroque poet, in which we find an angel and a devil playing chess with each other, and it is, of course, man's soul that is at stake in that game (Sokołowska, Żukowska,1965, 29).

In Vondel's *Lucifer*, the situation is apparently totally different. The plot of the play is told from the point of view of supernatural creatures, who are mostly angels, but in the process of becoming devils because consumed with pride and envy. The theme of death, so prominent in Bolesławiusz's poem, is also very important in Vondel's work, but it appears first as a distant and rather unlikely perspective. In Act I, we witness a conversation between two angels, Apollion and Belzebub, destined of course to become devils, where the former submits a report to the latter concerning Apollion's visit to the Earthly Paradise inhabited by Adam and Eve in the yet unfallen state.

BELZEBUB:
Wat baet al ‘s menschen roem, indien zijn schoonheit smelt,
En endelijck verwelckt, gelijck een bloem op ‘t velt?
APOLLION:
Zoo lang die hof beneên niet ophoude ooft te geven,
Zal dit gezalight paer by zulck een’ appel leven,
Die daer in ‘t midden groeit, bevochtight van den stroom,
Waer by de wortel leeft. dees wonderbare boom
Wort ‘s levens boom genoemt. zijn aert is onbederflijck.
Hier door geniet de mensch het eeuwigh en onsterflijck,
En wort den Engelen, zijn’ broederen, gelijck,
Ja overtreftze in ‘t eindt; en zal zijn maght en Rijck
Verbreiden overal. wie kan zijn vleugels korten?
Geen Engel heeft de maght zijn wezen uit te storten
In duizentduizenden, in een oneindigh tal.
Nu overreken eens wat hier uit worden zal.
(Act 1, 175-188)
(See: www. archive. org/stream/vondelslucifer00vond#page/282/mode/1up)

BELZEBUB:
What profits human glory if even as
A flower of the field it fades and dies?
APOLLION:
So long their garden fruit doth give, shall this
Most happy pair live by an apple sweet
Grown on the central tree, that nurture finds
Beside the stream that laves its tender roots
This wondrous tree is called the tree of life.
‘Tis incorruptible, and through it man
Joys life eterne and all immortal things,
While of his Angel brothers he becomes
The peer, and yea, shall in the end surpass
Them all, until his power and sway and reign
Spread over all. For who can clip his wings?
No Angel hath the power to multiply
His being a thousand thousand times, in swarms
Innumerable. Now do thou calculate
What shall from this, in time, the outcome be.
(See: www. archive. org/stream/vondelslucifer00vond#page/282/mode/1uP)

This passage shows that, in Vondel's mind, human beings, even before the Fall, were stigmatized, as it were, with mortality. Belzebub assumes, although it would be, I am afraid, rather difficult to say on what grounds, that Adam and Eve are mortal and, for this reason, inferior to angels. Apollion disabuses Belzebub of this notion, but not quite so because he begins his speech with the ominous "so long", which clearly indicates that our first parents' immortality is not unconditional.

Before the above quoted exchange takes place, Apollion expatiates on the joys of the sexual relationship between Adam and Eve, and utters the following lament:

APOLLION:
Hoe arm is eenigheit! wy kennen geen gespan
Van tweederhande kunne, een jongkvrouw, en een' man.
Helaes! wy zyn misdeelt: wy weten van geen trouwen,
Van gade of gading, in een' hemel, zonder vrouwen.
(Act 1, 139-142)

APOLLION:
How poor
Our loneliness ! For us no union sweet
Of two-fold sex, of maiden and of man.
Alas! how much of good we miss: we know
No mate or happy marriage in a Heaven
Devoid of woman.

This "joy of sex", however, is in the angels' minds inextricably linked with natural reproduction, which, again, is rather difficult to explain bearing in mind that no children are born in heaven, among the angels, and also that the union of Adam and Eve remains, so far, childless.

In fact, the story of the first parents, as told in the Book of Genesis, suggests very strongly that bearing children is the obverse of mortality, and an aspect of the Fall, no children are born to Adam and Eve before they are banished from Paradise, and Eve is doomed to "bring forth children in sorrow" as part of the punishment for her disobedience. This is also the case in Vondel's version of the story, but he envisages the possibility of man's multiplying while remaining immortal, and thus filling all of the available space both one earth, and in heaven. Indeed this vision, adduced above, of "een oneindigh tal" ("swarms innumerable") is quite frightening and makes the reader sympathize with the angels, soon to become devils, rather than with the dehumanized humanity reduced to mere mathematical numbers: "duizentduizenden" ("a thousand thousand"), even though Apollion's tirade is merely a prophecy. This explosion of life seems to call for death as its natural regulator.

What connects Vondel's *Lucifer* with Bolesławiusz's poem is also the way both are fascinated with images and metaphors denoting debasement and loss of human dignity. Bolesławiusz is fond of connecting the fate of the doomed with animals that are traditionally regarded as frightful, despicable and evil:

Tedy jak psy z łańcuchów spuszczeni,
Okrutni czarci, jak lwy rozjuszeni
Rzucą się, mając moc na potępionych
Sobie zleconych. …
O jak będą źli wrzeszczeć kozłowie
Kiedy ich będą piekielni wilkowie
Pożerać z jadem, kłami rozdzierając,
Żalu nie mając.
Ze wszystkich ścierwów, trupów i zgniłości
Zebrane smrody, wszystkie do jedności
Nic prawie nie są względem piekielnego
Smrodu srogiego.
Żaby, jaszczurki, parchate bufony
Żmije rozjadłe i węży ogony
Padalce, trzewa z gadziny brzydliwe
Wspomnieć straszliwe.
To czarci w usta potępieńcom tkają,
Jedną za drugą potrawę podają.
Ach, jaki smak w tych potrawach czuje
Co ich kosztują.
Pasmo padalców na głowę włożono
Na miejsce włosów żmije zawieszono
Jazczurkowie zaś jagody kąsają
Cery dodają.
Piersi wężowie gryzący pilnują
Żaby zaś usta rozkosznie całują
Jad zaraźliwy w nie z siebie puszczając
A nie przestając.
(www. pbi. edu. pl/book_reader. php?p=30528)

Prose translation:

Like dogs unchained, the cruel devils, like enraged lions, will pounce on the damned who are in their charge . . . they will be screaming like goats eaten alive by those ruthless wolves, and torn apart by their fangs . . . All the stench emitted by all kinds of corpses and rotting bodies will be nothing when compared to the terrible stench of hell. Frogs, lizards, mangy toads, venomous vipers, serpents' tails, blindworms, revolting animals' guts, terrible to mention, are being stuffed into the mouths of the damned. Such dishes they serve one by one, oh, what those who taste them feel. Chains of blindworms are put on their heads, vipers hang from them instead of hair, their cheeks are being bitten by lizards, which make them more rosy, their breast are being stung by serpents, and lips are kissed voluptuously by frogs that never cease to pour their venom into them.

The essence of the above passages seems to be encapsulated in the following statement about the damned:

Żyjąc, umierać nigdy nie przestają Żądają śmierci, przecież jej nie mają Choć umierają	They shall live while dying, they cry for death, but they won't get it, even though they are constantly dying

The author invents a number of tortures that betoken the state of perpetual transition between life and death, a kind of ironical immortality, and thet consist in establishing an intimate, but also very painful, contact between human body and all kinds of "low" animals (frogs, toads, serpents, vipers, lizards), which, in this case, means simply animals that move close to the ground. Also other animals are mentioned, namely wolves, dogs and lions, which are known for their ferocity, but it is clearly the former ones that are meant to awake the reader's strongest horror and disgust. The above descriptions are taken from the part of the poem that deals with the sinners whose main offence was gluttony, hence the devils constantly feed them with the kind of food they would have probably never touched with a bargepole when alive, the foods the consumption of which breaks important social taboos (not only those concerned with "low" animals, but also the taboo against eating human corpses), and one can imagine that only abject poverty might induce one to become interested in them.

In Vondel's *Lucifer*, we do not have descriptions of infernal torments as the action of the play takes place before the first human soul was consigned to hell, but we have a number of references to the human race that emphasize man's being an earthling, a creature that is for ever bound up with the idea of mortality, even though he is still in a state of immortality:

LUCIFERISTEN:
Wat is by ons alree mishandelt of misdaen,
Dat Godt een waterbel, vol wint en lucht geblazen,
Verheft om d' Engelen, zijn zoonen, te verbazen?
Een basterdy verheft, gevormt uit klay en stof?

LUCIFERISTEN:
Hoe kan de meerder voor een minder zich verneêren?
APOLLION.
Zoo groot een ongelijck valt lastigh te gedoogen.
BELIAL.
Het overtreft bykans ons krachten en vermogen.

LUCIFERISTEN:
Waerom belast men ons een' snooden worm te dienen,
Te draegen op de hant, te luistren naer zijn stem?

LUCIFERIANS:
What have we done
Amiss? How erred, that God a water bubble,
Blown full of vapid air, exalts, His sons,
The Angels, to abase—a bastardy Exalts.
Formed out of clay and dust? (Act III, 83-87), (335).
LUCIFERIANS:
How can the greater to the lesser yield? (III, 129), (338).
APOLLION:
It is hard such inequality to bear.
BELIAL:
It almost goes beyond our utmost strength. (III, 167-168) (341)
LUCIFERIANS:
Why stand we charged to serve a worm so base,
To bear him on our hands, to heed his voice? (III, 514-515), (363).

Man is thus a "snooden worm" ("base worm"), a "waterbel" ("water bubble"), "klay en stof" ("clay and dust"), and to serve him is for the rebellious angels the grossest injustice. From the point of view of Vondel's Luciferians, man is God's illegitimate child, a bastard, which curiously invokes a female element, fundamentally absent from the Judeo-Christian story of creation, as if the angels were a fruit of God's marriage to an unknown goddess, and man was born out of God's union with a mysterious, and presumably less exalted, mistress. The Luciferians seem then to treat God as if he were a pagan god, such as Zeus, who, apart from his legitimate wife, the goddess Hera (or Juno), had also numerous affairs with earthly women, but for whom, obviously, earthly women are not available. In both poetical works, then, we observe a certain obsession with the material limitations of the human condition.

What most clearly connects Vondel's play and Bolesławiusz's devotional poem is the character of Lucifer. In Bolesławiusz's text, he is not given much attention, but he does make an appearance in the part of the poem based on the Latin and medieval *Visio Tundali* (*Vision of Tundale*), and he is rather thoroughly dehumanized:

What we get is a vision of a curious, and monstrous, circular movement. The souls of the damned are repeatedly swallowed and vomited, and swallowed again by Lucifer, who, in order to torment others, has to undergo unspeakable torture himself because the rhythm of his monstrous inhaling and exhaling is dictated by the pangs of his pain caused by the waves of heat produced by the devils blowing the bellows.

Tam był Lucyper większy nad wszystkie widziany
Rzeczy, które w piekle są, do nich przyrównany.
Tak jako kruk się ona bestyja czerniała,

A od nóg aż do głowy postać ludzką miała.
…
Leży to dziwowisko straszne, niewidane,
Na kracie rozpalonej mocno przykowane.
Nieprzeliczeni czarci ognie podpalają.
Dmąc miechami, pod kratą płomienie wzniecają. …
Za wszystkie członków stawy smoka przywiązano,
Łańcuchami miąższymi z spiże przykowano.
A gdy na roście owym zostaje pieczony,
Gniewając się okrutnie, od jadu wścieczony,
Coraz to się obraca na bok zawsze drugi,
A w tym na dusze, czarty jak na swoje sługi
Ściąga ręce i one, nimi napełnione,
Ściska, że jak jagody bywają stłoczone.
Tu, wzdychając, dech puszcza, a zaś w różne strony
Rzuca dusze na ogień on nieugaszony. …
A gdy znowu dech wraca od siebie puszczony,
Pożera wszystkie dusze smok nienasycony,
które z ogniem do jego paszczęki wpadają.
Te zaś co jego zęby i ksieniec mijają,
Ogona swego siecze ostrymi brzytwami,
Dusze nędzne katując pospołu z czartami.
I tak mordując inszych, sam bywa dręczony
Nad insze wszytkie duchy, smok on potępiony.
Tedy rzecze Anioł do duszy strudzonej
„Ten jest anioł Lucyper od Boga stworzony.
Tego, gdyby Pan Bóg mocy nie ukrócił,
Wszytek by świat i samo to piekło wywrócił.
(*Echo* V, lines: 443-486)

Prose translation:

There one could see Luciper, bigger than everything else that could be found in hell. This beast was raven black, from the waist up it resembled a human being. This terrible, unheard-of weirdo is lying there, fastened firmly to red-hot bars. Innumerable devils are feeding the fire, blowing the bellows, they kindle flames under the bars. … All the members of that dragon were tied with heavy chains made of wrought iron. And when he is being burned on that grill, fuming with anger, enraged by the venom, every now and then he turns over onto the other side. While doing it, he embraces his servant devils, and squeezes them like berries in a press. Sighing, he exhales, and throws the souls in all directions so that they get burned In the inextinguishable fire. … And when that insatiable dragon inhales, he devours all the souls that fall into his maw. The ones that manage to avoid his teeth and stomach are slashed with the sharp edges of his tail, thus he torments both the miserable souls and the devils. While murdering others he himself is tormented more than other spirits, that damned dragon. Thus the Angel speaks to the tired soul: "Here is Luciper created by God, who, if not subdued by God, would have turned the world and the hell itself, upside down

This symbolical image in Bolesławiusz is apparently traditional and confirmed by late medieval iconography. It may remind us, for example, of a well known miniature depicting hell by the Limbourg Brothers, from a series of miniatures know as *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry.* The central figure in that miniature is Leviathan, apparently synonymous here with Satan, undergoing and inflicting torture at the same time: he is shown lying on a grill, squeezing a tangled couple in each fist and trampling on other human beings tormented by snakes. On either side demons work enormous bellows which fan the flames that consume the damned beneath him. (See: www. christusrex. org/ www2/berry/f108r. html)

But it seems to be possible to apply this kind of symbolism also to the figure of Lucifer in Vondel's play, even though Vondel's Lucifer, unlike Milton's Satan, and unlike Bolesławiusz's Lucyper, appears, for most of the time, as a yet unfallen angel who neither acquired any of the implacable hostility towards God, that characterized Milton's Satan, nor the beastly and contemptible characteristics typical of Satan, or Lucifer, shown as denizens of hell. The complexity of Lucifer's character is much in evidence in the following scene that features the conversation between Lucifer and Gabriel, one of the chief archangels, who, in Vondel's text, seems to play the role of God's spokesman, or minister of propaganda. Lucifer calls him "Herald and Interpreter of Heaven" (Act 2, 129), or, in the original "Herout en tolk van 't hemelsche paleis":

Verschoon me,o Gabriël!	Think not too harshly then, I do beseech
Indien ik uw bazuin, de wet van 't hoog bevel,	Thee, Gabriel, if now thy trumpet's voice, The new-made law given by the High Command,
Een luttel wederstreve, of schijn te wederstreven.	I do resist, or seemingly oppose.
Wij ijvren voor Gods eer: om God zij Recht te geven,	We strive for God's own honor, yea, to give To God His Right, should I become thus daring
Verstout ik mij, en dwaal dus verre buiten 't spoor	And wander far beyond the narrow path
Van mijn gehoorzaamheid.	Of my obedience. (Act 2, 243-249)

This "verschoon me" seems to be, more or less, equivalent to the English "let me excuse myself", and it certainly does not mean "spare me", in the sense "treat me gently", which is what these words seem to mean literally.[6] Lucifer

[6] I base my suggestion that " zich verschonen" may mean "excuse oneself" on (ed.) H. Coenders (2001).

clearly does not regret his having raised a rebellion, he only wants Gabriel to see that his rebellion is justified by the circumstances. Lucifer also offers a pardoxical argument through which he hopes to show that he only seemingly rebels against God, while, in fact, he defends God's honour that has been jeopardized by God's own, somewhat inconsiderate, decisions. Interesting in this context is the word "luttel", in "een luttel wederstreve", left untranslated in the English version. Apparently it means that Lucifer, at least from his own point of view, resists God's power only "a little", or, as he later adds, "seemingly". Vondel's Lucifer, unlike Milton's Satan, is prepared, or at least appears to be prepared, to make compromises, and to keep up appearances.

One might of course suppose that Lucifer only pretends to have adopted a more conciliatory approach in order to gain time, and not to alienate Gabriel too soon, considering that he is a very influential archangel. Lucifer's strategy can plainly be seen in his conversation with Raphael, who is shown as the most sentimental among the archangels, believing, for much longer than Michael and Gabriel, in the possibility of reaching some kind of peaceful agreement with Lucifer. The latter counters Raphael's bitter reproaches in the following way:

Heer Rafaël, ick verdien noch dreigement, noch toren.	Lord Raphael, I nor threat
Mijn helden hebben Gode en Lucifer gezworen,	Nor wrath deserve. My heroes both by God
En, onder 's hemels eedt, dien standert opgerecht.	And Lucifer have sworn, and under oaths
Men stroie wat men wil den hemel door: ick vecht	To Heaven have raised this standard thus aloft
En oorloghe onder Godt, Tot voorstant van zijn kooren,	Let rumours, therefore, far and wide be spread
De hantvest, en het Recht, hun wettigh aengeboren,	Throughout the Heavens, I battle under God
Eer Adam zijne zon zagh opgaen, eer de dagh	For the defence of these His choristers,
Zijn paradijs bescheen.	And fro the Charter and the Rights which were
	Their lawful heritage ere Adam saw
	The rising sun: yea ere o'er Paradise
	The daylight shone.
	(Act IV, 232-241)

We seem to be facing a peculiar schizophrenia, Lucifer tries to fight against God, and "under God", at the same time, and the consistency of this, rather paradoxical, line of thinking seems to show that this more than merely a stratagem.

An interesting passage in Piotr Oczko's book on the culture of the seventeenth century Netherlands can be found on this subject:

> Czy jednak wszystkie nawiązania do Biblii możemy uznać za realizację mitu Holandii—Nowego Izraela? Na pewno nie będzie nią *Lycyfer* Vondla, dramat o buncie aniołów, odczytywany czasem w katolickich Niderlandach Południowych (całkowicie wbrew zamiarom autora) jako polityczna aluzja do wojny holendersko-habsburskiej, w którym tytułowy bohater reprezentować miał niby Wilhelma Orańskiego (sic!), Bóg—Filipa II, Michał—księcia Albę, a Lew i smok wprzęgnięci do rydwanu Lucyfera prowincje, które najwierniej wspierały Wilhelma—Holandię i Zelandię. Nawiązania takie są bowiem zbyt odległe, a interpretacja ta stanowi przecież krytykę Republiki, a nie jej afirmację.[7] (Oczko 2009, 162)

The story sounds familiar, John Milton was also suspected to have represented Oliver Cromwell in the guise of Satan in his *Paradise Lost*, implying that the role of God should be associated with king Charles I of the Stuart dynasty (Morrissey 2008, 269). The fact that Milton was a staunch supporter of Cromwell, and a sworn enemy of the Stuarts, resulted in the general opinion that the interpretation is, to say the least, far-fetched. What happened was rather the opposite, the interpretation led to the famous attempt, by William Blake, to make facts obey that interpretation, rather than the other way round. I mean, of course, the opinion: "Milton was of the Satan's party without knowing it" as suggested by Blake in "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell" (180). Perhaps Vondel as well was of Lucifer's party without knowing it? The most obvious answer is, just as in the case of Milton, he was, and he was not. By analogy, also Vondel's Lucifer is William of Orange, and, most emphatically, is not William of Orange. Naturally, the difference here is that, while Milton was acquainted personally with Cromwell, Vondel could not personally know William of Orange, known also as William the Silent. William was assassinated in 1584, whereas Joost van Vondel was born three years later, in 1587.

[7] "Are all the references to the Bible to be interpreted as part of the myth of Holland—the New Israel? This does not seem to concern Vondel s Lucifer, a drama on the rebellion of the angels, sometimes read in the Southern Netherlands (totally at odds with the author's intentions) as a political allusion to the war between Holland and the Habsburgs, in which the title protagonist was supposed to represent William of Orange, God-Philip II, Michael-the duke of Alba, and the lion and the dragon, harnessed to Lucifer's chariot, were to stand for Holland and Zeland, the two provinces that the most staunchly supported William. Such correspondences are too far-fetched, and the interpretation itself constitutes a criticism of the Republic, and not its affirmation".

If we take into account the sixteenth century probably anonymous poem *Het Wilhelmus*, which is the national anthem of the Netherlands, and also has the form of William's self-presentation, we notice that the Prince of Orange, or rather his poetical persona, justifies his position, and the rebellion against the Spanish rule, by means of a mixture of ostensible loyalty, and understated disloyalty, that is very much like Lucifer's in Vondel's play:

Wilhelmus van Nassouwe	William of Nassau
ben ik, van Duitsen bloed,	am I, of Dutch blood.
den vaderland getrouwe	Loyal to the fatherland
blijf ik tot in den dood.	I will remain until I die.
Een Prinse van Oranje	A prince of Orange
ben ik, vrij, onverveerd,	am I, free and fearless.
den Koning van Hispanje	The king of Spain
heb ik altijd geëerd.	I have always honoured.
Mijn schild ende betrouwen	My shield and reliance
zijt Gij, o God mijn Heer,	are you, o God my Lord.
op U zo wil ik bouwen,	It is you on whom I want to rely,
Verlaat mij nimmermeer.	never leave me again.
Dat ik doch vroom mag blijven,	[Grant] that I may remain brave,
uw dienaar t'aller stond,	your servant for always,
de tirannie verdrijven	and [may] defeat the tyranny,
die mij mijn hart doorwondt.	which pierces my heart.

William of Orange, as shown in the poem quoted above, is, or at least styles himself to be, a reluctant revolutionary, a conservative at heart, and an upholder of social hierarchy, who joins the forces of a rebellion only because his, essentially also conservative, loyalty to his own nation, and sympathy with its undeserved plight, makes any other course of action impossible. Another historical figure that cam be mentioned in this context is undoubtedly Martin Luther's; his famous statement "hier stehe ich, ich kann nicht anders" (qtd. Werner Scholze-Stubenrecht, 223).

This is all very much in the spirit of the reluctant rebellion. Luther's position is slightly different from that of Vondel's Lucifer, or of the William from *Wilhelmus*. The former pledged, first of all, their loyalty to the people over whom they ruled, or from whom they originated, while Luther talks about loyalty to himself. The principle is nevertheless basically the same. Another such "reluctant rebel" is Brutus from Shakespeare's *Julius* Caesar, who, shortly after

murdering Caesar claims that: "If then that friend demand why Brutus rose against Caesar, this is my answer: not that I loved Caesar less, but that I loved Rome more" (3. 2., 19-22).

It certainly is hardly a mere coincidence that all the rebels: Prince William, Luther, and Brutus challenged the authority of Rome embodied either in the Roman Empire, in the Church of Rome, or both—Philip II (*de Koning van Hispanje*) was a son of the emperor of the so called Holy Roman Empire, Charles V, who, incidentally, used to be an ally and protector of William's. Brutus killed the man traditionally considered to have been the first of the long line of Roman emperors, and, at the same time, the man who, as the high priest of Jove, bore the title of Pontifex Maximus (greatest bridge-maker, or Supreme Pontiff), the title later used also by the popes. Brutus did it (as Shakespeare, following Plutarch, claims), for the love of Rome; William, for the love of his countrymen. They, as it is emphatically stated in the poem (*ben ik, van Duitsen bloed*), were not Romans, they did not speak a Romance language, or, in their majority, belong to the Roman Catholic Church. Yet, William himself, like Vondel, was a Roman Catholic, and he owed the title of the prince of Orange to his having inherited the small principality of Orange, in Southern France, which was surrounded almost on all sides by the papal territory of Avignon, where once the popes resided. Also Milton, though a sworn enemy of the Church of Rome, was, somewhat paradoxically, an Italophile, who, like many Protestant intellectuals, had a thorough knowledge of classical Latin and Italian literature as well as of Roman historical monuments.

In conclusion, let me say that it was not my purpose to show any influence or fundamental similarity between the two poetical works discussed above. They are very different from each other and it would be useless to pretend otherwise. My contention is only that they were born out of a similar intellectual climate, out of the keen interest that the culture of the Baroque showed to the doctrine of "the four last things", that is of death, judgement, salvation, and damnation. Yet, it is only Bolesławiusz's poem that addresses this topic directly. Vondel's play shows rather how these "four things" came about. It begins with the motif of the dissatisfaction and jealousy of the angels grouped around Lucifer, while they are still in Heaven, and ends with their being thrown into Hell, by God's decree, and with the announcement of the first parents' disobedience and eating of the forbidden fruit, which makes God banish them from Paradise, but also make them subject to death. In other words, the four topics of heaven, hell,

death and judgment (*mors, judicium, gehenna, Gloria*)[8] are skillfully brought together and given as much prominence, though in a different way, as in *The Shrill Sound of the Ultimate Trumpet*.[9]

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[8] In medieval and Renaissance Latin.

[9] See, for example, the oration of Caspar Barleus, a professor at Leiden University, held at the funeral of Joannes Arnoldus Corvinus in the Dutch town of Leiden in 1648: "Unde quatuor nobis sunt meditanda novissima; mors, judicium, gehenna, gloria" ("Hence we should contemplate four last things: death, judgement, heaven, hell") at www. let. leidenuniv. nl/Dutch/Latijn/Corvinus. html.

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GIOVANNI DELLA CASA'S *GALATEO*: A SERIOUS TREATISE ON MANNERS OR "ONLY A JOKE"?

Gabriel Harvey (Stern 1979), protégé of the influential Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (Misztal 2002), and friend of Edmund Spenser, sometime between 1575 and 1580, when he was a student at Cambridge, wrote to Mr Wood, a gentleman at the court of Queen Elizabeth, a letter which describes his contemporaries' dissatisfaction with the traditional university curriculum[1]. He writes that "schollars in ower age ar rather nowe Aristippi then Diogenes", active rather than contemplative philosophers, "covetinge above alle thinges under heaven to appeare sumwhat more then schollars if themselves wiste howe; and of all thinges in the worlde most detestinge that spitefull malicious proverbe, of greatist Clarkes, and not wisest men".[2] They want practical knowledge which would help them to understand better the ways of the world and to make career outside the university, preferably, at court. Therefore, traditional authorities like John Duns Scotus, Thomas Aquinas or even Aristotle, with "the whole rablement of schoolemen were abandonid ower schooles and expellid the Universitye" and the students now turn to the study of modern French and Italian writers:

[1] British Library, MS Sloane 93, f. 42b and 43, f. 101b, published in Scott 1884, 78-9; an abbreviated text of the letter (f. 101b) is also given on page 182.

[2] Cf. Ascham 1870, 36-7: "Learning is robbed of hir best wittes, first by the greate beating, and after by the ill chosing of scholers, to go to the Vniuerssities. Whereof cummeth partelie, that lewde and spitefull prouerbe, sounding to the greate hurte of learning, and shame of learned men, that, the greatest Clerkes be not the wisest men".

> And nowe of late forsoothe to helpe countenaunce owte the matter they have gotten Philbertes Philosopher of the Courte, the Italian Archebysshoperies brave Galatro [sic], Castiglioes fine Cortegiano, Bengalassoes Civil Instructions to his Nephewe Seignor Princisca Ganzar, Guatzoes newe Discourses of curteous behaviour, and I knowe not how many owtlandishe braveryes besides of the same stampe. And I warrant you sum good fellowes amongst us begin nowe to be prettely well acquayntid with a certayne parlous booke callid, as I remember me, II Principe di Niccolo Macchiavell (Scott 1884, 78-9).

And in 1580, in his "earthquake" letter to Spenser, he again comments on the reading then popular at Cambridge: "Machiavell a great man: Castilio of no small reputation, Galateo and Guazzo never so happy." (Harvey 1884, 1:168).

The above mentioned books seem to offer a representative picture of the eclectic courtesy literature available to Elizabethan readers in English translations. Of all the books in Harvey's list "Castiglioes fine Cortegiano", that is Baldassar Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, was probably most popular among the courtiers (Burke 1995) and it received recommendation even from Roger Ascham, a humanist critical of Italian influences in England, who commented that

> To ioyne learnyng with cumlie exercises, Conto Baldesær Castiglione in his booke, Cortegiano, doth trimlie teache: which booke, aduisedlie read, and diligentlie folowed, but one yeare at home in England, would do a yong ientleman more good, I wisse, then three yeares trauell abrode spent in Italie' (Ascham 1870, 61).

Il Cortegiano, being an extended manual of making and self-making, argues that much of the courtier's success with his peers and sovereign depends on his ingratiating manners. In effect, *Il Cortegiano* presents an art of pleasing the prince, since nearly every courtesy the courtier is asked to cultivate can be used successfully to win or preserve the sovereign's good will. [3] The book became more available to the English courtiers in 1561 in the English translation of Thomas Hoby 1900) and the notes in the copy of *Il Cortegiano* belonging to Gabriel Harvey (Rees-Ruutz 1910) show that it was studied closely. Regardless of *The Courtier*'s popularity, Harvey's list is headed by Philibert de Vienne's *Le Philosophe de court* (1547), translated into English by George North as *The Philosopher of the Court* (1575).

[3] The best studies of *Il Cortegiano* are Woodhouse 1978, Hanning and Rosand 1983, Falvo 1992. On various attitudes towards *Il Cortegiano* see also Bonadeo 1971.

It is rather strange to find this very work in a list of popular courtesy books seriously studied by aspiring Englishmen next to *The Courtier*, because it was intended by its author as a subtle but devastating mockery of courtiership that pressed to extremes Castiglione's ideal (Mayer 1951; Smith 1966, 138-47; Javitch 1971). Philibert stresses that dissimulation and the art of pleasing are fundamental to be successful at Court. The courtier must be prepared to do whatsoever it be, according to the humours of his fellows and courtly company, although his affections are "cleane contrary". The true philosopher of the court dissembles in order to advance himself by pleasing everybody. Stratagems enable him to blind the world, for to be open and simple is "meet for beasts and idiots". The conventional virtues can be followed but only when it is advantageous, and one must never hesitate to abandon "such small trifling things" when they become a hindrance (Philibert de Vienne 1575, 108-9). Philibert's ironic exaggeration of Castiglione's precepts did not prevent the Elizabethans from treating the text as sensible and pragmatic advice about how to succeed at court. George North dedicated this work to Christopher Hatton, who would, he said, find in it "both flowers and fruit of courtly philosophy"(Philibert de Vienne 1575, Sig. A. 2v.).

The second work in Harvey's list is "the Italian Archebysshoperies brave Galateo"[4]. "The Italian Archbishop" is Giovanni della Casa, Florentine cleric and humanist, poet and writer on social issues, inquisitor and the papal curia diplomat. [5] Born into a rich merchant family of aristocratic origins, to please his father he studied law at Bologna, but under the influence of the famous Latinist and Aristotelian, Ubaldino Bandinelli,[6] he became passionately interested in

[4] The other titles are "Bengalassoes Civil Instructions", that is as *The Court of Civill Courtesie*. (1577), and "Guatzoes newe Discourses of curteous behaviour" that is Stefano Guazzo's *La civil conversatione* (1574), translated into English by George Pettie and Batholomew Young as *Civile Conversation* (1581, 1586).

[5] Practically all the available details on Della Casa's life were collected by Casotti 1733; Campana 1907-1909 is indispensable if only because it includes a selection of documents concerning the life of Della Casa many of which are no longer available to scholars. A good summary of Della Casa's life and career is Caretti 1955, but the only detailed life of Della Casa is Santosuosso 1978, which is practically the translation of his unpublished doctoral dissertation *Life and thought of Giovanni* della Casa*, 1503-1556* (1972). The best bibliography of Della Casa's works until 1975 is Santosuosso (1979).

[6] Ubaldino Bandinelli (1494-1551), was the bishop of Montefiascone and Corneto; Della Casa described him in *Il Galateo* as "a worthy gentleman, of singular good witt and profound learning". Peterson (1575, 31). Cf. Della Casa's Latin ode VI: "De Ubaldino Bandinellio" ["Honoring a Florentine Master's Gifts"] (Della Casa 1999, 54-9).

classical literature and poetry. In 1526 he gave up his legal studies and together with his friend, Ludovico Beccadelli, spent seventeen "most precious" months in Mugello, studying the classics, especially Cicero (Giganti 1797, 1:3).

Return to Rome at the end of 1529 marked the beginning of the period of decadence, which in the future proved to be the main obstacle to Della Casa's becoming a cardinal. It is during years 1529-1537 that he composed in *volgare*, in style of his companion Francesco Berni, a series of witty but often obscene poems[7] and became famous for his numerous love affairs. In a letter to his friend he admits:

> Love has taken away from me these few feelings I used to have, and I haven't read anything for months, I haven't even opened a book. A woman, "*dulcibus ille quidem illecebris,*"[8] has changed me so much and I do not deserve the affection that you have towards my person". (Della Casa to Cosimo Gheri, 22 Nov 1532, Della Casa 1733, 4:15).

It was during his stay in Rome that Della Casa decided that taken his origins, wealth and education, the most pragmatic way to develop his future career would be to become a man of the church. He was never really religious and lacked a true vocation, but with the help of his powerful protector, cardinal Alessandro Farnese, nephew of Pope Paul III, soon after taking holy orders in 1537, he was appointed a clerk of the Apostolic Camera and granted the honorific title of Monsignore (Campana 1909, XVIII: 346). In 1540, still enjoying the protection of the Farnese family and thanks to good offices of his friend, Pietro Bembo, now also cardinal, he was made a papal collector in Florence, and four years later he rose to become Archbishop of Benevento and was appointed papal nuncio in Venice (Campana 1907, XVI: 267).

During his stay in Venice he found himself in the middle of religious controversies of the day (Santosuosso 1973) and was supposed to be the censor of the morality of others and, as the official representative of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Venetian territory, the controller of religious correctness (Santosuosso 1978a; Martin 1993, 53-74). In his capacity of the inquisitor he was responsible for conducting the heresy proceedings against Pier Paolo Vergerio,

[7] Della Casa (1538). They include *Del Baccio* ["On the Kiss"], and *Sopra il forno* ["On the Oven"], a metaphor for the female sexual organ. He also wrote a satire in the style of Berni on the minuteness of his sexual organ. Santosuosso (1975, 461-95); Santosuosso (1978, 33-46).

[8] The phrase "she indeed with her sweet lures" was used by Vergil of a cow that distracts and weakens bulls. *Georgics* 3. 217.

Bishop of Capodistria, who used the opportunity to attack Della Casa's dissolute past life in Rome and his obscene *terzine burlesche*.[9] The years of nunciature gave him stimulus to reflect upon the hot Renaissance issue: clash between civil duty and moral law—*ragion di stato* and *morale*.[10]

With Pope Paul III's death in 1549, Della Casa's high hopes to be rewarded with a cardinalate for his faithful service to the papacy and his unwaiving support of the Pope's anti-Spanish policy were dashed.[11] As the new Pope, Julius III, was hostile towards the Farnese family, Della Casa, pleading ill-health, refused to become the new pontiff's nuncio in France and retired from court life.

Choosing a country life, he wanted "di vivere in quiete, e in riposo con ozio e comodità di starmi tra I miei libri, e nel mio studio quanto mi fa di piacere" ["to live in tranquillity, rest and idleness amongst my books and studying as much as I please"].[12] When five years later, the new pope, Paul IV Carafa recalled Della Casa to Rome and nominated him his secretary *a litteris italicis* (Ancel 1906), his hopes of becoming a cardinal were revived again. Although his nomination received the support of the French king, it provoked numerous disputes, because the severe Paul IV wanted among his cardinals only the most religious persons who led austere lives.[13]

Della Casa understood that his past libertine life and the few obscene poems written in his youth, stood again in the way of making the dream of his life

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[9] See: Della Casa (1547, 230). Della Casa, wrote the *Dissertatio* to prove himself innocent of the accusations brought up against him by Vergerio, and he accused the well-connected Vergerio not so much of a religious reformation as of provoking a social rebellion.

[10] It is in Della Casa's oration *Orazione a Carlo V imperadore intorno alla restitution della città di Piacenza*, ["Oration for Charles V Emperor, in the Event of the Restoration of the City of Piacenza"], a passionate address to Charles V begging him to give Piacenza back to the Farnese family, that the first known use of the term "reason of state" is found. Lisio (1897, 249-283); Mattei (1969).

[11] In November 1547 Della Casa wrote to Cardinal Farnese expressing his hope and desire "to be distinguished", "*d'essere onorato*". Della Casa (1733, 5:126). On Della Casa's resentment towards Paul III for not being made cardinal, see Della Casa to Gualteruzzi, 16 November 1549 (Della Casa 1733, 5:272).

[12] Della Casa to Ludovico Beccadelli, 23 August 1550 (Della Casa 1733, 4:28).

[13] Della Casa to Rucellai, 20 September 1555 (Della Casa 1733, 5:65). Although the former pope, Paul III, fathered four children and elevated to cardinalate Bembo, who had three, now it was brought up that Della Casa fathered a Venetian bastard. Della Casa's son was accused of assassinating a Florentine merchant and then beheaded in 1582 (Santosuosso 1978, 135-136).

come true[14], and he sent a letter to Cardinal Farnese who was responsible for making appointments at the papal curia to remove his name from the list of the candidates.[15] Four months later Della Casa's health seriously deteriorated and he died on 14 November 1556.

During his retirement at the Abbey of Nervesa sul Montello near Treviso, Della Casa's literary activity intensified and he composed his most important literary works which would make his name in Italian letters,[16] namely, the largest part of his *Rime*, which show him as a wretched and embittered person,[17] and the famous treatise on manners, *Il Galateo*.

Il Galateo was not, however, Della Casa's first attempt at a book of manners. Probably by 1543 (Carrai 1980), he wrote a treatise on office-holding, *De officiis inter potentiores et tenuiores amicos* (Della Casa 1733, 6:35-54) in which he presented his reflections on mechanisms of newly formed bureaucracy providing the reader with practical instructions on how to command and serve to harmoniously develop power relations. Written in Latin, it was published in an Italian translation as *Trattato de gli uffici comuni tra gli amici superiori et inferiori* [1569] (Della Casa 1733, 5:335-61) and into English [1665] (Stubbe 1665).

Despite the title, this treatise has little to do with Cicero's *De officiis* (Santoro 1967, 215-252; Romano 1971, 169-186; Pissavino 1988, 51-90). The bureaucratical relationships, both antiquated and modern, are illustrated in the treaty as the relationships between *amici superiori*—superior friends and *amici inferiori*—inferior friends, who are also called *servi* or *persone basse*. There exists a relationship between the two groups which is based on partnership, and Della Casa even compares *superiore* to a father of a family who is severe but just and who guides

[14] In 1673, Obadiah Walker, reputed author Of Education. Especially of Young Gentlemen, to underline that caution in writing is of the utmost importance relates an adectode about Della Casa: "For going to to present to the Pope a petition, by mistake he delivered a copy of licentious Verses writ by himself: whereby he lost the Pope's favour, his own reputation, and all hopes of advancement" (231) (qtd. Mason 1935, 263).

[15] Della Casa to Alessandro Farnese, 14 February 1556 (Della Casa 1733, 5: 67).

[16] A good analysis and list of Della Casa scholarship in the twentieth century is Cordie (1971). The latest bibliography is included in the three important volumes of modern criticism of Della Casa's works, Barbarisi and Berra (1996), Quondam (2006), and Carrai (2007).

[17] The *Rime* published for the first time in 1558, and consisting of 70 sonnets and four *canzoni*, were regarded by critics "the most beautiful *canzoniere* of the sixteenth century" (Benedetto Croce), and "the most significant poetry to emerge between Ariosto and Tasso" (Carlo Dionisotti). He also wrote then most of the Latin poems published as *Ioannis Casae Carminum Liber in Latina monimenta Ioannis Casae*, ed. Pier Vettori (Florence, 1564), which was edited and translated in Della Casa 1999.

himself by the welfare of his children. The "friendship" between *amici superiori* and *inferiori* is not gratuitous—the only one thing that joins these two worlds is money; thus, Della Casa admits that it is money which is the crux of the relationships based on subordination and the bureaucratical friendship is possible only between those who are wealthy, and between those who are not wealthy. In this case nobility does not matter at all—one may be of noble birth, may be educated and virtuous but still, if one does not have at least a slender fortune, which would enable him to buy *superiorita*, one will not be allowed to become one of *superiori*. But *De officiis* does not so much support the idea of class society in which money counts more than ancestry, as rather highlights the problem of relationships between *ricchi nobili* and *poveri nobili* and at raising an issue of career and its cost.

De officiis shows also Della Casa's inclination to moralise. He shows that he fully understands that the superiors are *cose noiose*, but, simultaneously, he says that it is how the world is created and a common person cannot but agree with this order. He advises *uomini bassi* to be patient, modest and humble. Although the English translator of *De officiis*, Henry Stubbe claimed that Della Casa "preferred this [*De Officiis*] before his *Galateus*" and that in his Latin style Della Casa surpassed "all others" but Cicero,[18] all in all, this pedantic attempt at a book of manners was largely a failure (see: Richter 1966, 87-100).

In the period from 1552 to 1555, during his self-exile Della Casa composed the famous *Galatheo, ò vero de' costumi.* Della Casa was not willing to publish the treatise. Indeed, he published little during his lifetime, only the *Terze rime* and a handful of poems in anthologies (Santosuosso 1979, Nos. 1-18). The main reason was that he was never happy with his compositions, he thought and rethought his works, and he was "so fastidious about his style as to seem almost neurotic".[19] He was also very sensitive to public opinion, and he was convinced that his works, which he considered "*frivole et non finite*" ["frivolous and incomplete"][20] (Annibale Rucellai to Pier Vettori, 1 January 1564 in Santosuosso 1979, 111), could never bring him a scholar's reputation. Indeed, he seemed to consider a few introductory pages of an unfinished treatise on the quality and use of Italian, Greek and Latin, his most important work (Della Casa 1733, 4:31-34).[21]

[18] Stubbe's *Introduction* to his translation, after *The Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 1963-4), *s. v.* "Stubbe [Stubbes, Stubbs], Henry (1632-1676)", 116-17.

[19] Santosuosso 1979, 1; he prints also an important selection from the correspondence of "Annibale Rucellai to Pier Vettori on Della Casa's works and last year of Life", at 91-119.

[20] Annibale Rucellai to Pier Vettori, 1 January 1564 (Santosuosso 1979, 111).

[21] Annibale Rucellai to Pier Vettori, 11 July 1562 (Santosuosso 1979, 106).

Three months before his death he requested his nephew Annibale Rucellai to burn all his compositions,[22] and it was only thanks to the enthusiasm and diligence of Della Casa's secretary's, Erasmo Gemini de Cesis, and the demands of many relatives, friends and patrons that Annibale Rucellai, the heir of his uncle's works, was convinced to allow the publication of Della Casa's Italian works.[23] The *Rime, et prose* volume included, apart from a sequence of Italian lyric poems and *Orazione scritta a Carlo V imperadore intorno alla restitution della città di Piacenza*, also the first edition of *Galateo* (Della Casa 1568). The front page of the treatise announced the following explanatory subtitle: *Trattato / di Messer Giovanni Della Casa, / nel quale sotto la persona d'un vecchio / idiota ammaestrante un suo giovinetto / si ragiona de' modi, che si debbono, o / tenere, o schifare nella commune / conversatione, cognominato / Galatheo / overo de' costumi*.[24]

Galateo won immediate popularity throughout Europe and by the end of the sixteenth century had been translated into French (1562), English (1576), Latin (1580), Spanish (1585), and German (1597). Nowadays, in Italian "*sapere il Galateo*"—to know the Galateo, is a phrase signifying that one is polite.

In 1576 *Galateo* was translated into English by Henry Peterson.[25] It was reprinted two years later and till 1774 it was printed six times in four different translations.[26] In addition, there appeared from 1616 to 1804 twenty-one

[22] "*Mi disse di far abbruciare tutte le sue compositioni, perche erano imperfette, ne vi era cosa di di valor nessuno*". Annibale Rucellai to Pier Vettori, 6 September, 1561 (Santosuosso 1979, 103). This brings to mind the legend that the dying Vergil ordered his unfinished *Aeneid* destroyed, but Augustus had it published.

[23] Annibale Rucellai to Pier Vettori, 29 January 1559 (Santosuosso 1979, 100).

[24] ["Treatise of Mister Giovanni Della Casa in which, under the persona of an ignorant old man, he instructs a young man on what to do and what not to do in common conversation, thus called Galateo, or of manners"]. The *editio princeps* of *Galateo* was published without chapter divisions or a preface. In the 1578 edition (Florence: Giunti), an editor added a prefatory index of "le cose più notabili" [the most noteworthy things] in the book, but left the whole text intact. The chapter divisions were established in the eighteenth century, in the Pasinello edition of the *Opere di monsignor Giovanni* della Casa (Venice, 1728). Critical editions of the text were published, e. g., by Bruno Maier as Della Casa, G., 1971, and—from the only surviving manuscript—by Genaro Barbarisi as Della Casa, G., 1991. The extensive secondary material on *Galateo* in Italian is given by Stefano Prandi in Della Casa, G. 2000, lii-lix.

[25] His translation is probably based on the anonymous 1573 French version. On Peterson's translation (1576), see (Avila 1997 and 1998).

[26] Santosuosso 1979, 9-11, Nos. 61, 62, 132 (1701, translated from Nathan Chytraeus's Latin version by "several young gentlemen educated at a private grammar

printings of English paraphrases of *Galateo*.[27] The model of behaviour offered in *Galateo* still seemed marketable in the United States as late as 1811, when a London version was pirated and combined with a handbook on carving meats at table.[28] Since 1900 there have appeared three new translations of *Galateo* into English.[29]

The title of the treatise is derived from the Latinized form of Galeazzo, *Galatheus*. Galat(h)eo is also the masculine form of Galat(h)ea (Greek Γαλάτεια; "she who is milk-white"), connected today with the myth of Pygmalion, a Cypriot sculptor, who carved out of ivory a woman so beautiful and life-like that he fell in love with it/her. In answer to his prayers, the goddess Aphrodite brought the statute to life and united the couple in marriage.[30] This allusion has been said to represent the purpose of the book—"the search for human ideals and the means of animating those ideals through fulfilling the potential in all men" (Della Casa (1990, 63); cf. Della Casa (2013, 85-6), and Berger (2000, 202-204)).[31] But despite this seemingly obvious allusion, it is impossible that Della Casa could have made it purposefully, for no ancient text mentions the statute's name, and the name "Galatea" was first used for it only in 1762 by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his *Pygmalion* (Law 1932; Reinhold 1971). Della Casa must have

school near Hackney"), 133 (1703, a free rendition of the Latin version by Barnaby Bernard Lintott), 171 (1763), 178 (1774, translated, or at times paraphrased, by Richard Graves (Della Casa 1774), 270 (1892 reprint of No 61), 291 (reprint of No 61), 324 (1969 reprint of No 61).

[27] Santusousso 1979, Paraphrases of *Galateo*: No 12 (1616), 18-28 (1640), 29 (1663), 31 (1668), 32 (1679), 34 (1686), 35 (1689), 42 (1778), 45 (1804). On Della Casa's influence in England, see Scott (1916, 459-66) and Tilley (1918).

[28] *Galateo, or, A Treatise on politeness and delicacy of manners: from the Italian of Monsignor Giovanni de la Casa… also The Honours of the Table, with the whole art of carving illustrated with a variety of cuts* (Baltimore: printed for George Hill; B. Edes, printer, 1811). Cf. John van Sickle's Introduction to Della Casa 1999, 3.

[29] They include: Della Casa (1958), which is often considered a paraphrase since it omits some phrases; Della Casa (1990), and, quite recently, Della Casa (2013), whose translation is based on the text of the treatise as preserved in the only surviving manuscript of *Galateo*, edited in Della Casa (1991).

[30] The story of Pygmalion appeared earliest in a Hellenistic work of Philostephanus of Cyrene (3rd c. B. C.), history of Cyprus, *De Cypro,* and it is retold in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (10. 242-97).

[31] Interestingly enough, the name *Galatea* is given to Della Casa's work by Laurence Sterne in his *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1759), chap. XVI, but in reality Sterne probably never read, or even saw, the book for he seems to think it was a romance. Cf. Robert Graves' "Introduction" to Della Casa (1774, vii).

known, however, the myth of the nereid Galatea who was in love with Acis, the spirit of the Acis River in Sicilly, eventually killed by his jealous rival Cyclop Polyphemus (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 13. 750-897).

The Galateo of Della Casa's treatise is Galeazzo Florimonte, bishop of Aquino and then of Sessa, a witty censor of human habits and vices, whom Della Casa befriended during his residence in Rome.[32] According to Erasmo Gemini de Cessis, Della Casa's secretary, during one of their numerous discussions, Florimonte suggested to Della Casa writing a book on human manners:

> d'uno in altro ragionamento passando, vennero a dire del vivere civile e politico, e della leggiadria e convenenza de' costumi, e delle sconcie e laide maniere, che gli huomini usano bene spesso infra di loro; alla fine soggiuse il Vescovo, che allui molto a grado sarebbe di vedere intorno a' modi che la gente nell'usanza commune dee tenere o schifare, un Trattato nella nostra vulgar favella, acciocché più largamente comunicar si potesse". [passing from one subject to another, they started to talk about civil and political life, about prettiness and advantages coming from customs, indecent and filthy behaviours that men often perform; finally the Bishop added that it would be a pleasure for him if he could see around manners that men have to apply or disgust, a Treatise written in our vernacular speech, that could be widely spread]. (Erasmo Gemini's introduction "Ai Lettori" [To the Reader] in Bevilacqua's edition of *Il Galateo* (Della Casa 1991, 120).

Florimonte, continues Gemini, praised Della Casa's literary capacities and expressed his readiness to help the poet to write the treatise, using as an example the praiseworthy behaviour and conduct he met with during his stay at Giovanni Matteo Gilberti,[33] the bishop of Verona's house.

In his *Life of Cardinal Contarini*, written before October 1552, Della Casa describes Florimonte as

[32] Galeazzo Florimonte (1478-1567) was the translator of Plato and the author of the learned *Ragionamenti Sopra l'Etica di Aristotele* (1554); he himself started, but never completed, his own book of manners, *Libro delle Inezie o un Trattato delle Buone Creanze*. D'Onofrio (1938) and, especially, Biadego (1900-1).

[33] Giovanni Matteo Gilberti (1495-1543), theologian, papal diplomat, from 1524 bishop of Verona, was one of the organisers of the Council of Trent. In *Galateo* (20-21) he is described as: "a bishop, a wise man, a learned & of a singular good wit by nature… Amongst many good parts yt were in him he was very courtious & Iiberall, to all gentlemen & noble men that came unto him, doing them all ye honor he could in his house, not with over much pompe and cost, but with convenient entertainement and measure, such as besemed well a man of the Clergie".

> vir cum omnibus honestis artibus perpolitus, tum praecipue castus, atque integer, tum religion, ac pietate in primis incensus; in notandis autem, reprehendendisque amicorum vitiis unus omnium maxime acer, ac liber, castigator nonnumquam etiam subamarior [a man adorned not only with every genteel manner, but above all with a chaste and irreproachable manner of living, and he is also very fervent in his religious practices and piety. He is more shrewd and open than anyone else in noticing and reproving his friends' faults, and sometimes he is even a critic who is not quite restrained].[34]

In *Galateo* (22-23), Galeazzo Florimonte is described as "a man well strooken in yeares, very lerned, and mervailous pleasaunt, welspoken, comely, and had muche frequented in his time, ye Courtes of greate Princes," and Della Casa adds that it was at Florimonte's "request and councell, I first tooke in hand to set forth this present treatise" (21-22).

The treatise has a form of a monologue of an uneducated old man, who gives instructions to his young relative to show him the benefits of good manners and proper behaviour. The subtitle of the book says that the instructions are given "under the persona of an ignorant old man", a narrator who is distanced from Della Casa. According to some critics, this impersonization "dramatizes antipathy towards a discourse aimed at alienating what was once rightfully the special property of nobles like himself and making it "the common property of all men'" (Berger 2000, 212).

Galateo was probably dedicated to Della Casa's nephew, Annibale,[35] who was to become his uncle's heir. And it seems that the book is meant for men rather than women. Some women are mentioned in *Galateo*, and they are usually given as examples of defective behaviour (cf Berger 2000, 223). Following the tradition of misogynist writing, already by 1537 Della Casa composed in Latin a controversial treatise on marriage, *Questio lepidissima: An uxor sit decenda* ["A Delightful Question: Whether One should Wed"], which presents women as inferior creatures in every aspect of life (Della Casa 1733, 6:239-72). Della Casa presents women as mischevious and wicked creatures and concludes that not only is marriage unnecessary, but that it is even useless while making love to the same person is boring.

[34] Della Casa 1733, 5: 91. Quoted in Della Casa 1990, 65 (but it is mistakenly written there that the quote is from Della Casa's letter to Contarini).

[35] Della Casa's sister, Dianora married Luigi Rucellai, of an ancient and influential Florentine family. They had two sons, Annibale (?-1601) and his younger brother Orazio, who, rather than Annibale, is sometimes named as the addressee of *Galateo*. Cf. Santosuosso (1975a, note 44).

The narrator in *Galateo* tries to convince his young disciple that it is very important to start learning good manners as early as possible:

> (…) if in mine infancie, when minds be tender and pliable, like a young twigge, they that had ye charge & governement of me, had had the skill to smoothe my manners, (perhaps of Nature somewhat hard and rude) and would have polished and wrought them fine: peradventure I should have beene such A one, as I travaile to make thee Nowe, whome I love no lesse then if thou were my sonne. (95)

It may seem strange that *Galateo* pays so much attention to any minute gestures and daily acts, but as the old man explains, since he is still too young to grasp the "more principall and higher precepts", he would be taught what many may perhaps consider "but trifles" but in really are "very nere to virtue":

> I meane what manner of Countenance and grace, behoveth a man to use, that hee may be able in Communication and familiar acquaintance with men, to shewe him selfe plesant, courteous, and gentle: which neverthelesse is either a vertue, or the thing that comes very nere to vertue (13-14).[36]

And although the law decrees no "paine for unmannerly & grose behaviours", "nature herselfe" punishes us for it by putting us "besydes ye companie & favour of men", because people hate "ye unmannerly & untaught" as much, if not more, than "ye wicked". It is underlined that our manners have "some pleasure in them when we respect other men, and not our owne pleasure" and therefore we must adapt our manners according to the pleasure of those who are around us. But it must always be done by "*discrezione*" [discretion](Santoro 1978) and measure,[37] for if one "applieth himself to much, to feede other mens humors, in his familiar conversation, and behaviour with men, is rather to be thought a Jester, a Jugler or Flatterer, then a gentleman wel taught and nourtured" (16). And on the contrary, someone who has "no care or mind to please, or displease" is a rude, "untaught, and uncourteous fellowe". Conformity is also

[36] This last remark could possibly be deemed Della Casa's only contribution to the philosophy of manners. See Adams (1947, 458).

[37] "Misura", "mezzanamente" The ideal of "golden mean" goes back to the tale of Daedalus who warns his son to "fly the middle course" between the sea spray and the sun's heat; another early elaboration is found on the front of the temple in Delphi "nothing in excess". See Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, II. 8, or Horace, *Odes* II, x, 5 (*aurea mediocritas*). On the importance of the norm of the *via media,* or *mediocrità*, in Castiglione's *Courtier*, see Hoby (1900, 134); Woodhouse (1978, 71-2).

important, for we should adapt to the wishes of the majority, and thus we shall be able to find out which "the meanes and ways to choose and eschewe" for living in a society (16).

Thus, according to *Galateo*, the desire to please is the aim of all good manners. While *Galateo* teaches what forms of conduct are pleasing, it concentrates on displeasing behaviour that must be shunned, reflecting the increasing tendency of later Renaissance moralists to regulate behaviour (especially concerning bodily functions) in public (Elias 1978, chap. 2), and a large part of the book is concerned with the correction of all kinds of conversational faults. *Galateo* provides no new theory of courtesy, and its rules of etiquette do not seem very different from those in prior handbooks like Caxton's *Book of Curtesye*[38] or Erasmus' widely read *De civilitate morum puerilium* ["On Good Manners of Boys"].[39] Unlike his predecessors, however, he does not limit attention to one aspect of polite conduct, but seeks to formulate a code of good manners, based on decorum and prevailing custom, that could apply to every civil person, regardless of his class.

There are various ways of looking at the *Galateo*. It was compared to Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* and called "the very Sanchyo Panza to Castiglione's Don Quixote"[40], and it was observed that *The Courtier* is to the *Galateo* "what a theory of jurisprudence is to a record of the decisions of a police-court magistrate", meaning that *Galateo* is less concerned with the principles of the law than with its maintenance in lesser matters and that is why its evidence is mainly negative (cf. Adams 1947, 457). If *Il Cortegiano* is sometimes seen as an example of literature aiming at the repression of the social mobility—the collective depiction of the ideal courtier was designed programmatically to disgrace many "untowardly Asseheades, that through malapartnesse thinke to purchase them the name of a good Courtier" (Hoby 1900, 41)—some critics claim that *Galateo*

[38] There is an amusing contrast between elaborate rules of etiquette and the reproofs given to young men, some of whom apparently needed very elementary instruction like "Be ware also no breth from you rebounde/Uppe ne downe, be ware that shamefull sounde". Caxton 1477-8, ll. 202-3.

[39] It first appeared in 1530, running to twelve editions in 1530 alone. Robert Whytyngton's English translation was published in 1532 and reprinted in 1534, 1540, 1554. Until 1893 more than 130 editions are recorded. For its importance in the history of courtesy literature, see Elias (1978, 53-9). For a comparison between *Galateo* and *De civilate morum puerilium* see Mason (1935, 39-40).

[40] Raleigh's "Introduction" to Hoby 1900 (lxiii).

aims his precepts at a larger segment of society, which could be the reflection of the increase in number and social importance of "gentle folk" who were not highborn aristocrats or courtiers.[41]

Thus *Galateo* could be seen as the "last Italian democratic treatise" (Toffanin 1965, 253) written for "the middle class citizens rather than for the courtly aristocrat" (Dickens 1972, 126) or for "gentiluomini of Italian cities" (Bryson 1998, 128). Other critics, however, see *Galateo* as "a perfidious class weapon used to differentiate the masses from the elite" (Romano 1971, 169-70), because the rules and the way of life described in the treatise are typical of the aristocracy in the *cinquecento*, not of the middle class, and by establishing rules on how to dress, how to eat, how and what to say in conversation, *Galateo* helps to reinforce the barriers between the elite and the masses (Santosuosso 1975a, 8-9). Still, other critics see *Galateo* as "a kind of confession, of general examination of himself and so as a kind of spiritual will" (Chiari 1946, 120) or "the will of the public man and man of society" (Caretti 1955, 74). But there seems to be at least one more way of looking at *Galateo* and seeing it not as a serious treatise but, partially at least, as a joke.

Already in 1774, Richard Graves wrote in the introduction to his (unsigned) adaptation of *Galateo*:

> It may be said, perhaps, that many of the precepts here delivered (especially the former part of the Treatise) are *ridiculous*; and cautions against indelicacies, which no one of any education can, in this age, be guilty of.

And then he continues:

> If by *ridiculous* is meant laughable, this indeed I must acknowledge; as The Author seems to have placed these foibles in as strong and humorous a light as possible, in hopes of laughing people out of them. And I defy any man to read many of his reflections with a serious countenance: not to mention the merit those little satirical strokes have (like the characters of Theophrastus) in giving a curious picture of the affectations and fopperies of the age, in which they were written (Della Casa 1774, ix-xii).

Indeed, *Galateo*'s explicit advice on how not to behave in public—for example, after you have blown you nose not to inspect the contents of your hand-

[41] Cf. Stone (1965, 21-53). Another indication of the change could be the gradual displacement of the word *courtesy* (from *court*) by the Latinate word *civility* (civil, civic) to denote polite conduct. On this point, see Nicholls (1985, chap. 1) and Bryson (1999).

kerchief, or as the narrator puts it, "not to glare upon thy snot" as if you had "pearles and Rubies fallen from thy braynes" (19)—can often make the reader laugh.

We do not know how Della Casa felt about *Galateo*, because he nev¬er mentioned it in his correspondence with friends. But his nephew, Annibale Ruccelai, writes in his letter (29 January 1559) to Pier Vettori, a Florentine philologist who prepared for publication Della Casa's Latin poems: "*so che non era stimato dal compositore per cosa di momento alcuno*" ("I know that the author considered it [*Galateo*] to be of little worth") (qtd. Santosuosso 1979, 100). This letter allows us also to view *Galateo* as not necessarily a serious treatise, because Annibale Rucellai also writes that "Il Galateo fu fatto solo per scherzo et per vedere come la nostra lingua tollerava quello stile cosi humile et dimesso" ["*Galateo* was made only as a joke and to see how our language would tolerate a humble and modest style"] (qtd. Santosuosso 1979, 100).

The text of the treatise contains numerous allusions to the debate on the Italian language, "*questione dell lingua*", a longstanding debate over which form of the *lingua volgare* should become the standard Italian language. Della Casa's friend, Pietro Bembo in his *Prose della volgar lingua* suggested that Tuscan Italian, as exemplified by the work of Petratch (for poetry) and Boccaccio (for prose), rather than Dante, should be the model for the literary Italian. The narrator in *Galateo,* trying to emulate Boccacio's style and often quoting from *Decameron* (Bonora 1956; Marconi 2002), speaks in a contemporary idiom, using "humble and modest" style, making the treatise one of the finest and most elegant examples of Renaissance Italian prose writing (Morgana 1997).

Galateo discusses the language problem when giving tips on graceful speech, and the narrator, being at times "humorously ingenious" (Parker 1010, 77), is at pains to criticise the bluntness of Dante's certain words and phrases in the *Divine Comedy.* [42] Stressing the need to use words which are easily understood, not obsolete, well-sounding and reminiscent of no evil associations, and to avoid double meanings, indecent or bitter words, the narrator warns against choosing Dante as a rhetorical model—"I would not councell you to make him your Maister in this point, to learne A Grace: forasmuche as he him selfe had none" (76)—because he was "somewhat proude for his know ledge, scornefull and disdainfull, and muche (as Philosophers be) without any grace or courtesie: having no skill to behave him

[42] For Della Casa being critised for writing thus about Dante's language, see Annibale Rucellai to Pier Vettori, 29 January 1559, Bologna (qtd. Santosousso 1979, 100).

selfe in company." (76).[43] Then the narrator gives some examples of Dante's "unhonest, foule & filthie" (81) lines from the *Divine Comedy:*

> She blewe large blastes of winde
> Both in my face and under. [44]

or

> I pray thee tell mee where about the
> hole doth stand.
> And one of the Spirits said.
> Then come behinde and where the hole is,
> it may be scand. [45]

The narrator takes out the quoted phrase from its original context where they are obviously innocuous only to underline possible salacious meanings (winde=flatulence; hole=anus), thus practicing what he condemns, namely, that every gentleman must avoid saying indecent words (For more examples, see: Peterson 1576, 80-3; cf Parker 2010, 77-8).

Regardless of whether *Galateo* was really meant *solo per scherzo* (only as a joke) or not, it is, indeed, full of humourous elements. To start with, the monologue is delivered by an old uneducated man, called in the explanatory subtitle of *Galateo*'s first edition a *vecchio idiota.*[46] He admits that he did not learn much from books in his youth—"althoughe I profited litle in my Grammar in my youthe"(66-7)—but he knows a lot thanks to his gifts of observation and careful listening. He is also of the opinion that as far as manners are concerned, practice is more important than theory:

.....

[43] This description of Dante was taken from Giovanni Villani's *La nuova cronica* [fourteenth century] (1991, ix, 136).

[44] "se non ch'ai viso e di sotto mi venta; [("except for the wind blowing in my face and from below"], which describes the wind striking Dante's face during his ride on Geryon's back. Dante, *Inferno* XVII, 117, the English translation after Dante (1980).

[45] "però ne dite ond'è presso pertugio/…/ E un di quelli spirti disse: Vieni dirietro a noi, che troverai la buca" ["tell us again where the opening is at hand". (…) and one of those spirits said: "Come behind us and thou shalt find the gap".], which is part of Dante's request for directions on the mountain of Purgatory. *Purgatorio* XVIII, 111, 113-4.

[46] *Idiota*, Latin "ordinary person, layman; outsider," in Late Latin "uneducated or ignorant person," from Greek *idiotes* "layman, person lacking professional skill" (opposed to writer, soldier, skilled workman).

> It is not inough to have knowledge and Art, in matters concerning maners & fashions of men: But it is needefull withall, to worke them to a perfect effect, to practise and use them muche: which cannot be had uppon the soudaine, nor learned by & by: but it is number of yeares that must winne it. (94)

His presentation of the teachings is discontinuous and often disordered, repetitions are common and recurrent, and he often deviates from the subject. He tries to imitate high and "learned" style, starting the treatise with the pompous preposition—*Conciossiacosachè*[47]—which has become proverbial in Italian literature as an example of academic affectation.[48] The *vecchio idiota* often alludes to and quotes the classics. He draws from Aristotle, Socrates, Cicero, Terence, and Plutarch as well as from humanistic writers, namely Erasmus and his *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium.* He often does it, however, in a way that indicates his lack of education, confusing classical details or names, which would be well known to any educated person. For example, he says that "the Graecians doe muche commend *a goodman of that time, Socrates, by name*, for that hee sat out one whole night long, drinking a vie with *another good man,* Aristophanes,"(111) calls Socrates "a Catholike"(112), confuses Seigneur de Châtillon-sur-Marne (Boccaccio's "Siri di Ciastiglione") with Count Baldassare Castiglione the author of *Il Cortegiano.*[49] He shows himself as a society man, saying, e. g. , "I have heard it saide (for you knowe I have byn familiarly acquainted with learned men in my time) that "Pindarus that worthy man" (116), and alluding to Aristotle's *catharsis*, he says that he heard that "these dolefull tales, which wee call Tragedies" were written to make people weep to heal them of their "infirmitie", but he claims that if there should be someone who "hath suche weeping disease", rather than go to the theatre to see a tragedy, "it will bee an easie matter to cure it, with stronge Mustard or a smoaky house" (39). The mistakes or gaffes made by the *vecchio idiota*, or his original ideas, are meant to make the text more humorous.

[47] "For as muche as" (Peterson 1576, 13); "In as much as" (Della Casa 1958, 3; Della Casa 1990, 3); "Since it is the case" (Della Casa 2013, 3).

[48] The phrase derives from a standard medieval Latin rhetorical phrase, *cum id sit causa quae*. The Florentine chronicle of Giovanni Villani (c. 1275-1340), *La Nuova Cronica*, opens the same way. Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803), the "father of Italian tragedy", wrote that he tossed *Galateo* out the window in disgust the moment he saw the opening phrase—"me prese un tal impeto di collera, che seagliato per la finestra il libro" (Alfieri 1903, 1: *Epoca quarta*, 140).

[49] *Decameron* VI. 10. Peterson 1576, 43, makes him "King of Castiglio".

Galateo teaches that it is fine for gentlemen and ladies to make jokes, for we all like better people who can "stint after a friendly and gentle sort" than those who "cannot skill or have no wit to doe it." We like "jestes" because they give us "some sporte, and make us merry, and so consequently refreash our spirits: we love them that be pleasaunt, merry conceited, and full of solace". But if it is "convenient and meete in company, to use pretty mockes, and otherwhile some Jestes and taunts", we have to be careful not to confuse joking with mockery (67-8). There is no difference between joking and mocking except in purpose and intention: joking is done for amusement, and mocking is done to hurt. Therefore it is good manners to abstain from mocking anyone. Similarly, one must not "jeaste in matters of weite, and much lesse in matters of shame", because where laughter has no place, there "to use any Jestes or daliaunce, it hath a very colde Grace" (69).

It should also be remembred that "jestes must bite the hearer like a sheepe, but not like a dogge", because in the latter case it would not be a jest, but an insult. *Galateo* warns that not everybody is good at telling jokes and where the joke is "pretty" there "a man straite is merry" showing his liking by laughter and a kind of astonishment, but if there is no laughter the fault is the speaker's, so "hould thy selfe still then, and jest no more" (70-71).

Taking into consideration the opinion of Annibale Rucellai and the text of the treatise itself, it seems that it is "an elaborate, ironic exercise in comic-serious style" ("Introduction", Della Casa 2013, xxiv), and it is difficult not to agree with the opinion of the leading Italian scholar that perhaps *Galateo* has been for too long viewed as "too serious with respect to how the work was for its author" (Berra 1996, 332).

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EVOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IN THE KINGDOM OF SICILY (SIXTEENTH-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY)

Genesis of the process of building representative institutions, irrespective of varying circumstances depending upon the specifics of historical events in individual countries, always used to be connected with the needs of a court. These needs usually concerned financial matters. The necessity to give a consent for taxation or accept a successor on the throne required some form of a contact to be established between a court and a society. A parliamentary debate became such a form. A parliament started to play its primary role, becoming a dialogue tool for both parties.

The need to endorse royal decisions resulted in the documents issued since the end of the 12th century to the second half of the fourteenth century, granting specific rights to assemblies: a privilege for the Kingdom of Leon, *Magna Charta Libertatum*, a constitution for the Kingdom of Sicily or prerogatives granted to States-General in 1355-57. The procedures of such a dialogue in various European monarchies had a similar form.

The analogy was visible in structural, procedural and functional elements. In the sphere of structure all assemblies united representatives of social classes, that is why beside the representation of lieges having its roots still in the king's advisory councils delegates from towns started to appear. Development of urban centres and their related financial standing constituted a key factor in relations with a monarch. The increasing significance of towns was reflected in inclusion of their representation into the group of parliament members. In

certain states an analogical factor had an impact on a decision to allow delegates from the peasant strata to participate in debates. By way of a political practice, the initially joint debates of the whole assembly were replaced with a discussion within the group of representatives of individual classes.

This process was evolving towards a multi-chamber system. Similarities in the procedural issue relate both to the general course of an assembly session and to the work in individual chambers. As a result of gradual development of representations a work plan was worked out, which was later on translated into an official opening ceremony, a debate in parliamentary chambers and a procedure of the assembly closing. In certain parliaments an element of plenary sessions appeared, the purpose of which was to sum up the discussions and to work out a final standpoint of both parties of a dialogue. The assembly and the royalty communicated through mutual formulas, which from the assembly side came down to presentation of petitions, sometimes taking a form of bills, while on the court side, as a rule—to financial demands.

One form of a parliamentary initiative was also to file complaints about functioning of state administration, known as *gravamins*. Regardless of a decisive role of a monarch in shaping the state legislation, one must take into account the fact that decisions or amendments to that legislation were usually consistent with the proposals put forward by assemblies. The awareness that minions must give their consent for the imposition of taxes was a key element in relations between a king and an assembly. An element of tender gave a sense to a political dialogue, because a consent for collection of cash undermined the power of a monarch by forcing him to negotiate with minions. A decision approving taxation limited the royal authority to a greater extent when it was taken after acceptance of presented petitions, while to a lesser extent—when the sequence of actions was opposite. However, irrespective of the sequence of those decisions a monarchical power cannot be deemed absolute.

The functional analogy relates to the prerogatives, which in course of evolution were granted to parliamentary assemblies. A preliminary role played by those institutions, many times referred to above, was to give a consent for taxation. Irrespective of the financial function performed, assemblies had a narrower or wider legislative initiative as well as the influence on election of a monarch or acceptance of his successor. They also many times performed functions relating to judiciary. An evident similarity of structures and procedures relating to the middle-age parliamentarianism may be an evidence of the political system identity typical of the then European states. However, the further history of

Europe clearly points at gradually increasing discrepancies due to the political situation prevailing in each of those countries. Nevertheless, we can see on one side a dualism leading to the development of a parliamentary form of government, but on the other—evolution towards absolute power.

The history of European assemblies clearly indicates that their development line split and run into two different directions. On one side development of the parliament institution was observed, as the fullest and most effective materialization of political dialogue within the mixed political system. This status quo was exemplified by political systems of three states: First Polish Republic[1], the Republic of Venice and the Kingdom of England. On the extreme to those states, which practically had a parliamentary government, there were many countries with the power system reflecting absolute tendencies, an evident example being the Kingdom of France. The limit of powers gained by the then assembly in the half of the fourteenth century did not mobilize its members to continue fighting for further rights. An adoption of the fixed tax rate put an end to the States-General development process, which had an essential impact on a decision to totally stop convening assemblies. The fact that the States-General did not proceed for 175 years is a clear evidence of resignation from keeping up appearances of functioning of a parliamentary government.

In a range of countries implementing the French model the appearances of a parliamentary life were still kept up. The representation assemblies could freely exist, but were deprived of any prerogatives. Such situation was observed

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[1] J. Ekes, *Trójpodział władzy i zgoda wszystkich,* Siedlce 2002; idem *Złota Demokracja,* Warszawa 1987, *Proces kompozycji ustroju mieszanego Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Dziedzictwo pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej w doświadczeniu politycznym Polski i Europy,* J. Ekes, Nowy Sącz 2005: 53-68; J. Byliński, *Dwa sejmy z roku 1613,* Wrocław 1984, idem *Sejm z roku 1611,* Wrocław 1970; J. Maciszewski, *Kultura polityczna Polski "złotego wieku"*, [in:] *Dzieje kultury politycznej w Polsce* J. A. Gierowski, Warszawa 1977; S. Ochmann, *Sejmy z lat 1661-62, Przegrana batalia o reformę ustroju Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] AUW, 355, Historia XXIX, Wrocław 1977; *Sejmy z lat 1615-1616,* Wrocław 1970; *Rzeczpospolita jako „monarchia mixta"—dylematy władzy i wolności*, [in:] *Kultura—Polityka—Dyplomacja* studia ofiarowane prof. Jaremie Maciszewskiemu w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę jego urodzin, Warszawa 1990; Uruszczak W., *Sejm walny koronny w latach 1506-1540*, Warszawa 1980; *Sejm walny w epoce złotego wieku (1493-1569)*, [in:] *Społeczeństwo obywatelskie i jego reprezentacja (1493-1993)*, J. Bardach, Warszawa 1995; Sucheni-Grabowska A. *Refleksje nad sejmami czasów zygmuntowskich*, Przegląd Historyczny, 75 (1984), 4, *Sejm w latach 1540-1586*, [in:] *Historia sejmu polskiego* J. Bardach 1, Warszawa 1984; J. Dzięgielewski, *Izba poselska w systemie władzy Rzeczypospolitej w czasach Władysława IV,* Warszawa 1992; *Procesy destrukcyjne w ustroju mieszanym Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Dziedzictwo* 69-87.

in the Iberian Peninsula, where the *Cortes* of individual provinces were gradually losing their rights[2], as well as in Sweden, Denmark or certain German states. With such a dualism the case of the Sicilian parliamentary system seems to be interesting.[3] A direction of political transformations in the Kingdom of Sicily is clearly visible through an analogy with the history of the parliamentarianism of the First Polish Republic. A comparison of both parliamentary institutions: the Sicilian Parliament and the General Sejm enables to determine the level of similarity and, as a consequence, to classify the direction of development of the Sicilian parliamentarism.[4]

A typical feature of both the Sicilian Parliament and the General Sejm was a set of analogical "acts" and "gestures" of the bodies making up both the institutions. A session of both parliaments started with an opening ceremony. The next stage was a debate in individual chambers. An official winding up of the parliament took place during closing procedures. The fact that in Sicily there was no element of plenary sessions (providing for participation of three classes represented in the Sejm), which is present in the system of the Polish Republic, resulted probably from an absence of the monarchical factor. Analogical are also gestures of both bodies expressed in the speech from the throne, *donativo* documents*, grazii* sets*, gravaminis* or acts of disagreement. In both cases there

[2] Izabela Katolicka many times emphasized the notion of an "absolute royal power". (Mączak 128)

[3] Boscolo A., *Parlamento siciliano e parlamento sardo, motivi per una ricerca comune*, [in:] *Mélanges Antonio Marongiu, Palermo-Agrigento, 1966*. Publication subsidiée par le Gouvernement de la Région Sicilienne, à l'occasion du XX[e] anniversaire de 1'Autonomie. Bruxelles-Palermo, 1967. In-8°, idem *Sul braccio reale nei parlamenti sardi del periodo aragonese.* in: *Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Rome, 1955, Xth International Congress for Historical Sciences,* avec une préface de H. M. CAM. Publication subsidiée par l'UNESCO. Louvain, 1958. In-8° 133-140. *Acta curiarum Regni Sardiniae, I Parlamenti di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, a cura di A. Boscolo, Cagliari 1991; H. Koenigsberger, *The government of Sicily under* Philip II of Spain*, 1969*, idem, *The parliaments of Sicily and the Spanish empire*, [in:] *Mélanges…*; *Il Parlamento di Sicilia del 1615*, a cura di F. Vergara, Bonanno 1991; Il *parlamento di Sicilia di 1612*, a cura di V., Sciuti Russi, Catania 1985, D'Agostino G., *Parlamento e societa nel Regno di Napoli, secoli XV-XVII*; Caracciolo F., *Il Parlamento nel Regno di Napoli durante la dominazione spagnola*, Titone V., *Il parlamento siciliano nell'eta* moderna [Mélanges…; Fonseca C., *De curia semel in anno facienda*". *L'esperienza parlamentare in Europa e il caso Sicilia dal medioevo all'eta moderna*], [in:] *De curia semel in anno facienda* L'esperienza parlamentare siciliana nel contesto europeo, C. Piazza, *Il parlamento siciliano dal secolo XII al secolo XIX;* A. Marongiu, *Il Parlamento in Italia nel medio evo e nell'età moderna*.

[4] Both institutions were compared in Kozak (2011, 171-202).

was a system of bargaining between a monarch and a parliament: in the Sicilian assembly taking a form of petitions (*grazii)*accepted by a monarch in exchange for taxes (*donativo)*. A characteristic feature of both assemblies are relatively regularly held debates throughout the period of their functioning. Hence, the elements common for both institutions are included in a range of procedures connected with their function.

Until 1412 in Sicily the assembly was attended by a monarch and three chambers: noble, clerical and middle-class. However, the lack of *ordo intermedius*is was apparent. Although institutions comparable with the Polish Senate existed, none of them participated in debates as a separate parliamentary chamber. Therefore, despite similarities in the area of functions and rights, a fundamental difference is visible in structural terms. The lack of the role of an intermediary between a monarch and parliamentary chambers was tantamount to the lack of material reflection of the aristocratic factor and, as a consequence, to a disturbance of the balance on which the mixed system is based. An equally important issue affecting the interpretation of the political system of the Kingdom of Sicily is a position of a monarch. The fact of his absence makes a fundamental difference in functioning of the systems being compared. The beginning of the fifteenth century in South Italy brought about changes, namely a personal union of Italian states under the sceptre of one monarch. This fact took place after the period of one hundred years of building similar, but unique for each of the countries, representative structures and procedures connected with their functioning. The representative body of Sicily, after electing a monarch, significantly strengthened its position in spite of chaos caused by the dynastic crisis persisting for almost the whole fourteenth century. The constitutions promulgated by the Aragonian monarchs: Frederic III or Martin Elder are its evidence.

The reign of Alfonso the Great brought next very important changes. This king brought together under his sceptre the Kingdom of Naples, Sicily and Sardinia paving a way for further political development of this region. The cooperation of the monarch with representative bodies was very promising for further development of those institutions. However, a political decision to appoint viceroys for each of those countries put an end to that cooperation. It brought serious consequences for the political system of Sicily, namely the absence of a monarch on the island. The present considerations seem to give one of the possible answers to the compelling problem of identification of the political system of the Kingdom of Sicily. Introduction of the institution of viceroy elim-

inated the monarchical factor from active participation in the political life of the island. Hence, despite the parliament's functioning slow-down of the development process and directing it towards mixed government could be caused by the physical absence of three factors. Since the beginning of the fifteenth century a monarch was represented by a viceroy. However, Sicilians perceived the rank of that official as not equal with the monarch, which can be proven by the acts of protest against his activity, addressed to the monarch residing in Madrid.[5]

A consequence of replacing a king with an institution of viceroy was the improper interpretation of the state representation. In the opinion of publicists defending the thesis about a state as an organism and a mixed political system realizing this assumption, there are three representative components of the Polish Republic: a monarch, a body corresponding to the aristocratic factor and the general public. In Sicily eliminating the monarchical factor from active participation in political life disturbed a balance of the political system. On one hand, we have to deal with three classes of the Polish Republic representing the state in the Sejm. On the other, the physical lack of that first Sejm class, which is a king, finally leads to the situation when bills are addressed to a monarch on behalf of a parliament. This procedure indicates a non-parliamentary status of a monarch, a situation completely different from the Polish political reality.

In appeals to the representation of state included in the Italian sources there are no appeals to a king: "Parlamentum sic tria Bracchia potest facere totum id, quod potest totus populus siculus & totum Regnum" (Muta 1612, VI: 22). Such situation did not predetermine a supra-parliamentarian status of a monarch in the Sicilian system or in the minds of Sicilians, as certain researches try to emphasize.[6] It only confirms the fact of his non-parliamentary like position resulting from the simple, already mentioned reason—his absence on the island. What is more, participation of a monarch in the representation of a state was closely related to identifying that state with a "virtual being" rather than with a personality of the monarch. Besides, the concept of representation should not be understood in contemporary terms. The weakness of a parliament was due, among other things, to the lack of its clearly specified concept. The formulas: "per tucto el dicto Regno et per li tri brachii di quillo, noviter congregate" included in the constitutions may be an evidence that the concept of the Kingdom and three chambers was treated equivalently. In reality, not

[5] *Il parlamento di Sicilia di 1612,* a cura di V. Sciuti Russi, Catania (1985, 122).

[6] For the analysis of the representation relation: monarch–parliament, see Marongiu (481).

only the Italian one, a viceroy had an influence on election of the members of *braccia*. Due to the fact that a clear concept of representation of the Kingdom's citizens was not created, the relations that could separate the government from parliament members disappeared. Hence, a custom that appeared in the parliamentary procedure to pass the votes held by parliament members absent at the meeting onto the treasurer of the Kingdom, who was a royal official.[7]

Irrespective of structural differences, procedural discrepancies are also observed. The most important seems to be the issue of petitions addressed to a monarch and tax decisions taken by an assembly. A change in the sequence of both "acts", putting an emphasize in the Sicilian Parliament on the priority of taking a decision concerning *donativo*, was a result of changes which started with the appointment of a viceroy and the lack of a direct contact with a monarch. Therefore, this gesture did not have such a meaning as in the realities of the First Polish Republic, however it was not deprived thereof. The issue of a length of a debate also entailed serious consequences. By virtue of the Henrician Articles the General Sejm was convened every two years for six weeks. However, a debate of the Sicilian assembly lasted only a few days. This fact should be explained, on one side, by the lack of a plenary discussion on the presented petitions and a potential decision of a monarch concerning their acceptance, but on the other—by elimination of the necessity to hold a debate due to the adoption of fix tax rates.

Other difficulties, which hindered the process of crystalizing the principles of mixture, can be seen in other aspects of the Sicilian political life. Elimination of personal participation of a monarch in a debate was an important obstacle to evolution of the then assembly in the direction set by modern parliaments of the Polish Republic and England. It is because a balance, which made an effective parliamentary debate possible, was shaken up. An absence of a king preventing a constructive discussion on the bills vetoed by the king is a symptom of changes materialized in gradual elimination of the preliminary function of an assembly—dialogue with a monarch. According to the source materials, the period of time between preparation of bills by a parliament and receipt of a king's response was about two years. Hence, such situation was a significant barrier in communication with a court. A changing perception of a monarch's role materially manifest in a change in the formulas of documents promulgated by a monarch.

[7] The meaning of the representation concept in relations to the Sicilian Parliament was presented by Titone (1967, 188).

The formula "Placet Regiae Maiestati" which since the times of Alfonso the Great started to appear as a permanent element of the promulgated constitutions, was a material expression of the royal majesty's authority. However this majesty, along with isolation of the monarchical factor, started to be perceived in a way completely different that it used to be in the realities of the First Polish Republic. This obviously had an impact on the position of the Sicilian Parliament, which became weaker. It should be emphasized once more that a non-parliamentary status was tantamount to his absence rather than his supremacy. In Sicily, for the reasons mentioned above, granting such a status to a monarch was neither obvious than possible. As a consequence, in the opinion of contemporary society the operating political system might not correspond with the model of a mixed political system, which could become one of the most important reasons for the lack of references to Sicily in treatises of Italian political writers of early modern times, dedicated to the issue of a mixed government; it is because Sicily had no "king in the Parliament" as England did, or a king as a separated class in the Sejm as Poland did.

The reasons behind a peculiar status of the Sicilian Parliament may lie, among other things, in the geopolitical situation of the island in the first half of the fifteenth century. The fact of a union between the Italian states and the Kingdom of Spain gives a chance for a comparative look at the solutions introduced in the Mediterranean Sea. The Spanish monarchy allowed for retaining provincial parliaments of a separatist nature. Such a situation was observed not only in South Italy, as on the Iberian Peninsula debates in individual regions were held separately.[8] So, on one hand we deal with tendencies uniting parliamentary structures, but on the other with the lack of interference into the existing particularism. A spectacular effect of the policy pursued by the sixteenth-century Spanish monarchs, probably reflecting the *divide et impera* principle, was a suppression of the potential growth of significance of Italian states by a failure to appoint a representative body common for those areas.

Hence, in this case we have to deal with the state of facts opposite to the then situation in Poland. The appointment of the Sejm common for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth led to strengthening of the principles of the constitutional monarchy and streamlined the operation of the state (Uruszczak 2005). The fact that the importance of functioning of a nation-wide representative institution was neglected might have become one of the reasons behind

[8] The General Assembly of the Spanish *Cortes* took place only in 1724, after the Italian territories fell under the reign of the Austrian dynasty.

a gradual decline of the Kingdom of Spain. The policy pursued by monarchs from the Habsburg dynasty towards representative assemblies brought negative consequences, significantly affecting their development. This process was manifested on one side in intensification of strivings of individual groups, but on the other—in a court's efforts to minimize a rank of assemblies.

In the situation faced among others by the Sicilian assembly, we need to consider the fact that the Spanish monarchy did not make the same gesture as with the decision concerning the States-General from 1614. Despite the existing barriers the Sicilian parliament proceeded regularly throughout the whole period of the reign of the Habsburg dynasty. Such circumstances indicate rather that a significance of that authority was sufficient enough to effectively prevent the Habsburg monarchs from taking a negligent attitude towards its members, but insufficient to direct development of the procedures towards parliamentarism of modern times. Placing the Kingdom of Sicily along any of the evolutionary lines of the political system presents some problems, because the local parliament did not possess the attributes enabling an unambiguous classification. On the one hand, the Sicilian parliamentarianism did not reach the level worked out by the flagship examples of the Polish Republic, Venice and England, but on the other—it does not provide examples of consent for introducing the absolute power. It seems that we deal here with the "third solution" of some kind.

The whole proceedings of the Sicilian parliament show certain attributes supporting the validity of the thesis concerned. Contrary to the Sejm of the Republic of Poland, the scope of prerogatives enjoyed by the assembly of the island was much narrower, nevertheless that authority had an essential impact on shaping a political life in the state. Irrespective of the necessity to get parliamentary acts approved by the monarch, the activity of the assembly influenced the legislation shaping process. However, the already mentioned fact of a king's absence blocked a fruitful discussion on vetoed bills. A long period of time between submission of bills and their acceptance or rejection left the one an only solution in the hands of parliament members, which was used many times: to come back to the vetoed proposal during the next sessions and then to refer it again to a king. The suppression of development of parliamentary procedures towards strengthening the assembly intensified the already analysed fact of a lack of tendencies unifying parliamentary authorities, leading to domination of individual pursuits unifying parliamentary authorities, an effect of which was a domination of individual efforts.

Under these circumstances the events took place which indicated that there was a rivalry between the territories, which practically had common interests. Undoubtedly, it was a factor having a negative impact not only on the position of assemblies functioning within those territories, but also on the states themselves. Well-known is the position of representative bodies in countries ruled by absolute monarchy. Therefore, it is clear that the reign of the Habsburg monarchs in the Kingdom of Sicily was not an exemplification of domination of an individual. Finally, it should be pointed out that parliament sessions were convened regularly. The Spanish monarchy allowed for the parliament's activity, but at the same time effectively restricted its further development. As a result, this institution was falling into deeper and deeper malaise and general stagnation. The operational procedures were not evolving towards strengthening of the assembly's position, however gradual reduction of powers, as well as progressive internal degeneration of the island's parliament did not give way to the unlimited will of the ruler.

Taking a decision on taxation still was one of the key prerogatives of the parliament, which indicates that the parliament was not neglected by a monarch. Regardless the changed position of the assembly, the parliament was bestowed with the authority very important for the political life of the island: the Sicilian citizenship was granted only by its unanimous resolution. The status of a citizen was a precondition for performing public functions, including sitting in the parliament. Hence, decisive functions in this area had an impact on blocking the inflow of foreigners into the circles of the assembly members.

The above analysed differences in the functioning of the Polish and the Sicilian Parliaments determined, among other things, by the political situation in those areas, show that in both systems the monarchical factor was perceived differently. However, the source materials relating to the operation of the Sicilian Parliament does not allow to rank that body equally with the French or even British representative body. From one point of view, because the position of the French monarch and the Sicilian king seems to be the same, the positions of the parliaments of both states cannot be nevertheless equated to any extent. The examples of vetoes against the proposals of the monarch and the contractual nature of the adopted *donativo* and submitted bills are an evident proof of a strong position of the Sicilian Parliament, comparing with the General Sejm, contrary to the States-General of France, which had not been convened since 1614 or incomparably weaker power of the English Parliament than in the Polish Republic.[9]

[9] For the position of the English Parliament in the era of Tudors and Stuarts see: Choińska-Mika.

After all, functioning of a representative body being able to force its bills through is an unquestionable proof that the political system is neither absolute nor monarchical (Marongiu 485). So, the attempt to classify the Kingdom of Sicily on one side of two poles of political transformation is not a clear-cut matter. The political system in the Kingdom of Sicily is incompatible with the model pattern of mixed governance, which was the political system of the First Polish Republic. Therefore, it is not surprising that there is a lack of interpretation of the Sicilian political system as a mixed republic. However, a question arises: how we should characterize that system of a political government when it is now obvious that it was not absolute.

The factual situation described above was reflected in the then journalistic writing. Two different directions, into which two states with the initially identical political systems drove off, were expressed in the renaissance of antique visions of the state: Platonic and Aristotelian. Serious consequences, being also a symptom of rivalry of both visions, were reflected in a kind of practical–political action, which was an effect of a different cognitive method realized within both imaginations. In this question a competition between the two visions came into play in various moments of history, and the clash from the turn of the Middle Ages and the Modern Era is one of the most significant.

The Platonic vision identifies a state with the elaborated system of solutions, the aim of which is to introduce an order in a chaotic–natural society, owing to which the state will get closer to the ideal state of being. This way, a state becomes a rational, imposed formation, which—made in the image of the idea has nothing to do with the human Nature. On the other hand, the Aristotelian vision connected the genesis of the state and related concepts of power and freedom with the concept of Nature. According to this vision, a state is a consequence of the process of the society's maturing up to this organizational stage. The process, which is materially expressed by gradually reaching the subsequent stages of coexistence, i. e. a family, neighbouring community, to finally reach the level of interpersonal cooperation, a state being a form of it.

According to Aristotle, a state is a being independent of others and does not owe its reason for existence to anything. So, according to the postulates of the Platonic vision a state is a purely technical structure. As a consequence of this assumption, a policy is identified with a set of developed mechanical solutions, the aim of which is to create a certain social creature. A creature which would try to bring the chaotic reality of our earthly world to the idea of a state. It goes without saying that such solutions, if adopted without any reference to reality,

are purely mechanical attempts to adjust the reality to ideal, imaginary rules. Such an approach is not acceptable in the naturalistic imagination where the shape of reality shall not be determined by solutions. Quite the contrary—it is the reality which has to influence the form of the adopted rules. Such an approach is a logical consequence of the slogan recommending to follow the nature. Both the system of absolutism, where a monarch is a subject of power, and the system of mixed government where a state is regarded as a subject of power fit into the framework of both visions.[10]

The mixed system eulogized by European writers could not and did not constitute a reference to the reality of a political island. Despite the functioning of a parliament, evident was the absence of the factor indispensable for proper implementation of the rules of *regimen mixtum,* which was *ordo intermedius.* Writers faced also the problem how to comment the fact of the monarch's absence. Due to the circumstances making it impossible to admire the mixed system, but simultaneously excluding absolutism journalistic writers had to find an intermediate solution: the idea of an agreement between a ruler and minions.

Apart from the preference for certain political system, the authors of modern political treatises concentrated also on interpretation of a state and a place of monarch in his government. This interpretation underwent serious transformation, which concerned the moment when the renaissance naturalism and the modern constitutionalism drifted apart from one another. This turn is also perceived in the new understanding of the concept of a state, differing from the previous one, which was promoted by followers of the naturalistic imagination. In political writings a state began to be perceived in the categories of an interpersonal agreement.

The Aristotelian viewpoint defining a state as a being originating from Nature and totally independent from a human will, was replaced by including this human volitive factor.[11] The circles of naturalists are familiar with the concept

[10] A thorough analysis of the reception of a state in both visions was conducted by J. Ekes in the study *Natura—Wolność—Władza* (2002).

[11] The testimonies of this new interpretation can be found, inter alia, in Danaeus, who repeated after Aristotle that "the political power is very different from the power of a householder", but on the other hand emphasized that *the* "power of a householder is recommended by nature, while political power—by voice and approval of people" (Danaeus, 39, transl. after Ekes 2002, 121). This issue was similarly treated by Althusius, who regarding a state wrote as follows: "I do not call the members of this body individual people, but families, associations, numerous boroughs and towns concluding a mutual agreement on appointment of one body of the Polish Republic as a consequence of uniting.

of a contract. However, they treat this concept in different categories. They believe that it is not a state, which is a subject of human will, but only its political system.[12]

In journalistic writings of the southern part of the Apennine Peninsula we do not find references to the mixed system, but references to the contractual solution of the issue of a political system appear quite often. The concept of a contract significantly differs from the social contract theory developed by Rousseau. A difference is that an agreement is not a voluntary interpersonal contract concluded in order to create a state, but an agreement between a nation and a monarch. Such a contract relates to the principle of organisation of that state, namely a political system.[13]

The elements of this theory appear already in the works of such writers as Nicholas of Cusa and Hieronymus Savonarola. Antonio Scaino, a priest and philosopher also refers to the conditions agreed between a nation and a duke, the aim of which is to limit the power of the latter. He indicates the opportunity of a political system transformation by those nations, which being aware that they have been deprived of the possibility to rule due to various reasons elect a ruler. During designation an agreement is concluded, under which minions agree for being ruled in this way restricting a monarchical power (1578, II: 18b). According to Scaino, the majority of monarchies functioning at that time proceeded following this principle.

Implementation of the agreement became the basis for identifying differences between the monarchical political system and tyranny. Whenever the king observes the constitution and the rights presented by electing minions, we deal with a limited monarchy. Whenever a monarch ignores the binding privileges, he becomes a usurper and a tyrant (Scaino 1578). Joining the discussion, Giovanni Botero expressed the opinion that except for a pope "all rulers have their power limited by constitutions and agreements concluded with nations" (Venetia 1596, II [IV]: 147). A Jesuit, mathematician and philologist Luigi Giuglaris

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Such a body and an associations is bound by concord and confidence mutually expressed and accepted". (Althusius, 55, transl. after Ekes 2002, 121).

[12] R. Bellarmino, *De laicis* 1772-1773 (qtd. : Ekes 2002).

[13] The result of this agreement was pointed at by the French writer stating that: "Ces Parlemens sontéstablis par forme de contacts faicts par le Roy avec le peuple, et pour le soulagementd'iceluy, Institution ou droit des François ou nouvelle conference des coustumes de France reduitesen epitome selon des tiltres du Droit par Guy Coquelle" *Paris, 1642*, cf. R. Mattei, *La concezione contrattualistica,* [in:] *Il pensiero politico* II (204).

(1607-1653) approached this problem in the same way, pointing at the essence of the concluded agreement, namely mutual obligations of both parties—chiefs and minions. Not explicitly said by the author, but an evident result of a monarch breaking the agreement conditions, tantamount to the transformation of a political system into tyranny, is a release of minions from the obligation of obedience.[14] We can learn potential consequences of breaking the pact conditions by a duke also from another work by Antonio Santacroce (1598-1641), since 1627 a nuncio in Poland, doctor of legal science.

The fundamental thesis pursued by the scholar comes down to the statement that the ruler who backfired on their own nation deserves a penalty of being ruled by someone else. However, the author believes that minions should refuse obedience not only to the ruler himself; also his successors should be deprived of the right to sit on the throne (Santacroce 1649). As the duke Alessandro Anguissola from Piacenza states, invoking the authority of ancient thinkers, the observance of the given word by a ruler is a basis for justice and stability of states.[15]

The problem of mutual obligations of a nation and a ruler was addressed by Scypion di Castro, a Pope's advisor and an author of guidelines for the future viceroy of Sicily, who had an excellent knowledge of the Sicilian politics (di Castro 1992). In one of his works he emphasized the significance of the duty of minions' obedience to a monarch on one side, but on the other—a kind of a debt of a ruler towards his nation. A failure to settle this debt poses a risk of rising against a ruler and favouring another person with confidence (di Castro 1601, 17). Scipione Ammirato from Lecce indicates that this type of agreement is one of the forms of a relation between a monarch and minions (Ammirato 1599, 16). However, this problem was presented in a specific way by a lawyer from Salerno, Mark Antonio Pistilli in the work *Commentariorum de instruendo Principe imago,* published in 1603 in Naples.

[14] "Gli uomini furono che, per non vivere senza capo come gli eretici acefali, in questo patto convennero: che alcuni, sovrastando padroni, amministrassero buona giustizia; altri, servendo sudditi, si segnalassero nel merito dell'obedienza" (Giuglaris, 80).

[15] *Il Prencipe, per l'istessa ragione di stato, è tenuto all' osservanza della parola*, *poiché questo secondo Cicerone, Platone et Valerio Massimo, è fondamento della giustizia (…) alli quali sono appogiati tutti gli stati e le confederazioni,* A Anguissola, *Del buon governo del prencipe,* Bibl. Naz. di Torino, sygn. N. III. 6. *Senza la quale* [osservanza] *non può essere commertio né communicazione fra gli uomini, talmente che se il Principe, anche d'assoluta podestà, non fosse rispettoso della fede del contratto fatto coi sudditi […] niuno si troverebbe che volesse con lui contrattare,* A. Anguissola.

Despite the fact that in the content of the work religious strands intermingle with political themes, the author's views seem to be clear. According to Pistilli what raises no doubts is a contractual form of mutual relations between a ruler and minions, the relation resulting, among other things, from the norms applicable to civil society (Pistili 1603, 9; qtd. Mattei 2, 12). Another interpretation of a contractual nature of the relation between a ruler and minions is given also by a lawyer, Giovanni Antonio Palazzo. In the work *Discorso del governo e della ragion vera di stato,* published in Naples in 1604, a year after publishing the document of Pistilli, Palazzo returned to the idea of a contract. In Palazzo's view, an agreement is a source of legitimacy of a sovereign's power. Promises made during the election become the obligations that bind a ruler. Palazzo emphasized this very act, during which—as he thought—a tacit pact (*tacito patto*) is forged between an elector and minions appointing him to sit on the throne. By virtue of this pact, minions promise to be obedient and respect the dignity of the rulers in order to maintain the state and defend it against enemies. On their side the rulers promise to implement and observe all the matters, which are necessary for sound governance. To precisely formulate his thoughts the author adds that minions, on their side, are obliged to give blood and property, while the obligation of dukes is benevolence and wisdom.

Continuing, Palazzo tries to outline the type and essence of such a mutual contract. He believes that this pact can be defined neither as a sales nor an exchange agreement, because virtues cannot be won with the precious ores, but with honour and eternal goods. On the other hand, rulers cannot exchange their virtues for temporal goods (44). According to Palazzo, improper definitions of that contract resulted from its inappropriate interpretation. People tried to discern its essence in the needs of a state connected with an order and rights to be guaranteed by a ruler directly or through his officials.

In exchange, minions were to endow him with temporal goods, which are not necessarily proportionate to the sovereign's virtues and merits. According to the author, when nations hand over their temporal and eternal goods to rulers and give their spiritual wealth to them they conclude a unique pact of friendship with the society (*patto di compagna*). However, the sense of such an agreement lies in mutual benefits, as minions benefit from benevolence and wisdom of rulers, while the latter serve citizens of the state to achieve a common goal: happiness, which is possible only in the optimal state, free from external and internal perils. Emphasizing the legitimacy of such an effect of joint cooperation, Palazzo indicates that the observance of that agreement is a precondition for

stability *(fermezza*) of dukes and stabilization of states as a source of the reason of state and the art of politics (47-48).

Palazzo dedicates the second part of his work to the issue of the reason of state in relation to the contractual nature of the ducal power. Despite many repetitions referring to the already presented standpoint towards mutual obligations, he illustrates the potentially destructive role of actions motivated by the reason of state. Whereas such actions should result from the supreme goal, which is to observe the provisions of the concluded agreement, at that time people were aware of the fact that the argument of the reason of state was many times used to justify the activities detrimental to the state. Such conduct of a ruler ignoring the concluded agreement constitutes a threat to safety and stabilization of a state.[16]

The views of Pistilli and Palazzo about the issue of a contract differ in their approaches to the contract's durability. According to the first scholar, the agreement may be broken. The second believes that it has a permanent nature because nations irrevocably waive part of their rights for the benefit of a ruler, vowing obedience, while rulers on their side should reciprocate with wise governance.

The concept of the contractual nature of the relations between a monarch and minions was considered, inter alia, by Marco Giurba, a Sicilian lawyer, in his work *Consilia seu decisiones criminales.* He supported the thesis that a duke could not withdraw from the agreement concluded with his minions (1626, 662) [qtd. Mattei, 2: 231]. As a citizen of Messina, Giurba spoke in favour of defence of the rights granted to the city referring to the idea of a contract. He stated, among other things, that a monarch could not change the terms of the contract by virtue of his power (663). Neither was he authorized to revoke earlier granted privileges, as they constituted a part of the agreement (Giurba, 663).

The author of an anonymous work *Trattato della politica* written in the second half of the seventeenth century, stated that the monarch's power could be limited by a certain type of agreement with minions while the monarch was subject to *ius naturae et gentis.* He distinguished a few types of limited monarchies referring to the then functioning governments in certain European states. He first reflected on the situation in the Kingdom of Aragon, where the legal body that restricted the ruler's deeds was a tribunal called *Justicia de Aragon,* whose task was to settle disputes between a monarch and minions. Referring

[16] He used a fake argument of the reason of state *attendendo i Principi alli propri profitti, si viene ad abusare questa proprietà e convenienza di patto, e a cesare il suo debito fine* (40-44).

to the system existing in the United Provinces of the Netherlands, the author pointed at the fact that minions in that state could refuse the obedience to the ruler in case of his failure to observe the binding law. Under these circumstances the monarch could be legally revoked. However—as the author indicated—this procedure could not be carried out by individual citizens, but only by "the whole body of the nation and state".[17] According to the writer, a decision of Portuguese people to get independent from the Kingdom of Spain was fully justified, because the Spanish monarchs were not willing to observe the privileges valid in that area. The longing for the times of apparently fair rulings of the Aragonian dynasty in Naples was clearly seen in the fragment dedicated to the rebellion from 1642. Having considered the Masaniell uprising as fully justified, the author did not direct his hatred against the ruling elite in the capital, but against the rulers from the Habsburg dynasty as usurpers on the Naples throne, the successors of Ferdinand the Catholic, "who was the first to deceitfully take the throne of the Kingdom of Naples".[18]

In the seventeenth century, due to the disputes between the Sicilian towns, the concept of an agreement between these towns and a monarch was raised on many occasions. An example of such a conflict was the dispute between Palermo and Messina concerning the place of residence of a viceroy, so *de facto* about which of these two towns the status of the Kingdom's capital should be granted. Hence to prove the precedence of one of them over the other, the disputants referred to the contact with the monarch based on the privileges granted in exchange for the adoption of *donativo* (qtd. Mattei 2, 231).

[17] While outlining the contents of this treatise Persico writes that the author makes the following distinction: "nel discorrere dei principatistabilisce una differenza tra i monarchi la cui autorità sui vassali è vincolata da certi freni e da certe convenzioni, e quelli la cui azione di governo non è sottoposta che al „ius naturae et gentis". Le monarchie temperate hanno tipi diversi, ed egli esamina i caratteri di ciascuna di esse, cominciando dall'aragonese, col suo tribunale detto „Justicia de Aragon" che decideva delle contese tra il Principe e i vassalli. Cita le Provincie Unite d'Olanda, ove i sudditi erano sciolti dall'obbligo di fedeltà, se il Sovrano non avesse osservato i diritti, e riconosce, in casi molto gravi, il diritto di abbattere l'autorità regia, ma non già ad alcuni invidui, bensi a „tutto il corpo del popolo e dello Stato", per non incorrere nella taccia di ribellione. Ebbero ragione i Catalani nel 1641, come l'avevano avuta i Portoghesi, a staccarsi dalla Spagna, i cui Re avevano violati i loro privilegi e le loro franchigie" (Persico 1912, 408).

[18] "La rivoluzione di Masaniello è da lui pienamente giustificata [. . .] giacchè egli non si scaglia contro i cattivi governanti, ma contro gli usurpatori del reame, contro i successori di Ferdinado il Cattolico "il quale fu il primo che con tradimento occupò al re Federico d'Aragona, re legittimo, questo regno" (Persico, 409).

However, some of the scholars investigating this problem say that the political situation in the Renaissance Italy did not favour the development of contractualistic concepts due to the dominant concept of *plenitudo potestatis* of a ruler (Mattei 2, 204). There was an area where not only such conditions appeared, but the functioning government apparatus allowed the practical application of such a concept—the Kingdoms of South Italy. Due to the lack of the monarchic factor's direct participation in governance, the representative bodies functioning in those states were not identified with the functioning of a mixed political system. Yet, they became a starting point for discussions on the idea of an agreement.

Such a conception, undoubtedly proving that the monarch was granted an unlimited power, was reflected in political writings more strongly than the concept of *regimen mixtum* due to the political situation prevailing in that area. Hence, in the local political conditions of South Italy the concept of contract acquired a specific meaning. The general idea presented by Pistilli or Palazzo in the writings referring to the specific activities in that matter may be treated as a conclusion of the agreement, on the basis of which *donativi* were adopted in exchange for the approval of the privileges.[19] The interpretation of the political system of the Kingdom of Sicily was expressed in development of the idea of contractualism, which by explaining the relation between a state and a ruler may be a kind of a golden mean between both visions. Therefore, here we would also have to deal with the "third solution"—a theoretical interpretation of the political and constitutional situation of the island put into the framework of an agreement between the minions and the monarch.

[19] *Capitula Regni stante donativo dicuntur contractus,* Don Garcia Mastrillo, *De Magistratibus* 65 cf. R. Mattei, *Il pensiero politico italiano* (2: 232). In another of the sixteenth century works we also find a confirmation of the fact that the act of granting privileges took the nature of a contract: . *Privilegium et statutum tunc dicitur transire in contractum, quando aliquod conceditur, non simpliciter, sed commensurandum ob aliquod factum aut dationem, vel praeteritam vel futuram impletam vel implendam, ex parte eius cui conceditur,* D. Lancellotto Conrado Laudense, *Templum omnium iudicum Pontificiae, Cesareae, Regiae, inferiorisque potestatis,* Venetiis, (1575) 76 [qtd. Mattei, *Il pensiero politico italiano* 2, 232].

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