

GREEK POETRY COMPOSED BY POLISH AUTHORS
IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES*

By

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Research into the reception of Hellenic studies in Poland in the 16th and 17th centuries has revealed an unusual phenomenon among the interests and studies of the time that have come to the attention of our philologists and historians of culture and ideas, namely poetry and prose composed by our countrymen in the language of the ancient Greeks.

Such literature was connected to the discipline of Hellenic studies, then still new, implanted in Poland with great enthusiasm from the early 16th century in an emulation of other European countries. The new discipline took on diverse forms, but primarily that of teaching the language, of lectures on ancient Greek literature held at the Cracow Academy and at schools, and of printing Greek texts in Poland: in the original, in Latin translation and eventually in Polish¹. On that substrate grew original Polish literature in Greek; poetry first, and then prose. There was a substantial output of texts, short and not so short, most of them occasional in character, including ample poems whose authors wanted on the one hand to honour outstanding personages or celebrate extraordinary events, or to express their religious sentiments, and on the other to demonstrate their high-class education, humanistic refinement and command of a language unknown in Poland until then.

That phenomenon, not yet fully noticed and brought to light, absolutely deserves a place in the studies of culture in Poland at that time; thus it has been deemed right to publish that legacy wrested from the depths of oblivion. Prompted by Professor Marian PLEZIA, an edition of it has been planned by the Classical Philology Commission of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow section, under the title *Corpusculum poesis Polono-Graecae* as a supplement to

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¹ Results from research into the reception of Hellenic studies in Poland have been published in a number of monographs and papers penned by the present author.

the *Corpus antiquissimorum poetarum Poloniae Latinorum*. Before it is possible to publish the *Corpusculum*, however, let it be preceded by at least this article reporting on the extent of material recovered.

The collection includes works by Poles and persons closely connected to Poland and its culture, among whom there are Greeks settled in Poland, the Italian humanist Pietro Illicino, and students at our academies and colleges bearing foreign names. There is a separate section for the works of Hellenists of Gdańsk (Danzig), who must not be ignored as that region belonged to Poland then (first to the Kingdom of Poland, then later on to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) and had lively relationships with the main body of the country. The collection does, however, omit the works of Hellenists from Silesia and Western Pomerania, who had foreign names and were active in foreign circles.

The poetry collected so far, though not particularly abundant, does come to more than a hundred texts of varying length, from a few lines to really long works. It should be noted that not all the poems we have information about have been preserved; we have reports of at least some of the lost works, including, alas, some by such eminent Hellenists as Szymonowic, Burski, Żórawski and Niegoszewski.

Works of both prose and poetry would rarely be published as separate editions; usually they were appended to some other texts they related to, making them difficult to find in the sea of publications of the period. They were mostly printed in Cracow (Kraków), but also in Vilnius (Wilno), Zamość, Lviv (Lwów), Poznań and Gdańsk. A few came out abroad, in Venice, Rome, Frankfurt on the Oder, Wittenberg, Antwerp and Leiden. They were all published between 1531 and 1650; outside of Gdańsk, no more such works were created afterwards, which is actually not all that strange considering the disaster the people of Poland went through from 1648 and for many years on, and the cultural change that followed it.

The social circles which saw the composition of those poems were primarily academies, academic schools and Jesuit colleges, or their professors and students. It is only rarely that personages not connected with the educational system wrote in Greek; those were for instance Jakub Przyłuski, Andrzej Trzycieski (Junior), Stanisław Warszawicki, Piotr Wierzbicka Biskupski, Stanisław Niegoszewski, Sebastian Klonowic or Grzegorz Knapiusz.

Rarely, there is among those Greek poems one which was not composed for a particular occasion: Stanisław Marenisz's biblical epic *Evangelium Nicodemi*, Klonowic's pieces appended to his (Polish) poem *Flis*, the religious poetry of Gdańsk Hellenists or Knapiusz's *Adagia* and *Hymns*. The rest, a large majority, are all occasional poems. They include eulogies, *gratulationes*, epithalamia and dirges for kings, bishops and other eminent persons, as well as poems in honour of such institutions as the Cracow Academy, the Church or the Gdańsk Gymnasium; finally laudations of specific literary works and graduates of academies.

The prevailing metre was the elegiac couplet, with dactylic hexameter applied quite often, and lyrical metres occasionally, as in Stanisław Niegoszewski, Urban

Brillius, Aleksander Obuchowicz or Grzegorz Świącicki; finally in Knapiusz's *Adagia* one finds iambic trimeter.

In this paper I shall not analyse individual poems in detail, nor shall I quote each and every author. Rather, it is my intention to present especially the more talented poets and longer texts, but also some minor authors for a complete picture, with excerpts from their works serving as samples of their art.

Among the greatest is Stanisław Mareniusz, the author of the epic *Evangelium Nicodemi* in approximately 2500 hexameters, written in the language and style of Homer; another outstanding poet is the gifted improviser Stanisław Niegoszewski with his laudatory song in lyrical metres, composed in honour of Jan Zamoyski; other particularly talented authors include Urban Brillius and Aleksander Obuchowicz with their salutatory odes for Tomasz Zamoyski. From among the professors of the Cracow Academy we must not fail to mention Adam Draski; and the two Hellenists, Mikołaj Żórawski and the eminent philologist and lexicographer Grzegorz Knapiusz, were also wont to compose works of Greek poetry and also count among the outstanding authors.

To illustrate the evolution of that literature I am going to present samples of it in chronological order, selecting as promised above only some of the authors and quoting their works in excerpts.

Let two shy, brief essays into poetry demonstrate to the reader what the beginnings of those efforts were like. The first, an epigram addressed to the reader, is to be found in our famous physician and Hellenist Józef Struś (Struthius), accompanying his treatise and commentary on Lucian's *On Astrology*, published in Cracow in 1531. Signed with the initials *V T*, the elegiac couplet runs:

Πρὸς ἀναγιγνώσκοντα
Στρουτίου ἔργον τῷ δὲ φίλον καὶ ἡδὺ γένοιτο
ὅς περὶ τῶν ἀστρῶν κάλλε' ἰδεῖν ἔραται.

In the following year, Marcin Kromer, then still a young, enthusiastic Hellenist, published an epitaph for the death of Jan Mymer, brother of the lexicographer Franciszek Mymer. As was the ancient custom, he put it in the form of an elegiac couplet as well:

Τὸν τό γ' Ἰωάννην ἄρ' ἐδέξατο σῆμα Μύμηρον,
δεξιὰ δὲ ληστῶν κέκτανε αἰμοχαρῶν.

Skipping a few minor poems from 1533, 1539 and 1545 let me quote from a more mature poem, written by Jakub Przyłuski and placed by him in the introduction to his work, *Leges seu Statuta Regni Poloniae* (Cracow 1548 and 1551–1553), a collection of laws, to encourage the youth to study those laws and to observe them in times of peace and of war. That parenthetic text in 20 hexameters begins (according to the 1551–1553 edition) thus:

Σαρματίας ἔφορᾶν τὸ συνέδριον ὅστις ἀπάντων
 σκηπτροφόρων ἐθέλης καλᾶς τε θέμιστας ἀκούειν,
 ἅ σοι προσφέρομεν πρόφρων λάβε βιβλία ταῦτα,
 ἔνθ' οἷς νῦν ζῶντές θεν ἔτι μὴν ψηφοφοροῦσι,
 πῶς δεῖ ἐν εἰρήνης ἀγορᾷ πολέμου θορύβῳ τε
 σαυτὸν ἔχειν, τί δ' αἰεὶ μελετᾶν τὸν ποιμένα λαῶν
 καὶ σκοπεῖν τά τ' ἐόντα, τά τ' ἐσόμενα, πρό τ' ἐόντα...

A religious poem worth noting was composed by Apollo Winkler of Wrocław (Breslau), who lived in Cracow for years and was active in the Cracow Academy. Published in Cracow, or possibly in Wrocław, around 1553 under the title *Carmen elegiacum graeco-latinum in Natalem Iesu Christi*, it was written in elegiac couplets; there, too, we find reflections of Homer's style in the form of phrases and epithets taken from him, which may seem peculiar, although it was motivated by the literary fashion of the time. That considerably long text had some 80 lines; these are its opening ones:

Ἐλεγεία χαριστήρια πρὸς τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν...
 Χαῖρε θεοῦ ὦ υἱέ, Θεὸς κ' ἀνθρώπος Ἰησοῦ,
 ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἐξ Αἴδαο λύων,
 βυλόμενος λαὸν σόον ἔμμεναι ἢ ἀπολέσθαι,
 σεῖο γὰρ ἐρχομένου εὐσσοῦς ἐστὶ βροτός.
 Ὡλεσεν ἀνθρώπους γαίης τὸν σῖτον ἔδοντας
 ψευδομένου ὄψεως ἡδὺ λέγοντος ἔπος.
 Ἥλυθας οὐρανόθεν ψυχῶν ἰατρὸς ἄριστος
 ἰᾶσθαι νοσερῶν πῆματα πάντα βροτῶν...

Let me also quote some examples of his Homeric epithets and phrases:

19: παγκρατές ἐσσι Θεοῦ ὑψιβρεμέταο τὸ τέκνον
 62: μηνίδος οὐλομένης νῦν τέλος ἐστὶ Θεοῦ.
 65: οὕτως καρτίστου τε Θεοῦ ἐτελείετο βουλή.

We know that such Homeric style was then considered attractive from the long epic poem of 2310 lines by Stanisław Mareniusz, a learned bachelor and later a professor at the Cracow Academy. The poem, *Evangelium Nicodemī*², has only been preserved in manuscript (Jagiellonian Library, no. 3206). It deserves our attention, all the more because it has so far lain forgotten, only rarely mentioned in bibliographies, even though it is a unique phenomenon and bears witness to its author's remarkable skill and poetic inspiration. Love for Homer's poetry already shows in Mareniusz's lectures of 1564 and 1565, when he read on books II, III and IV of the *Iliad*, and probably worked at his epic in the meantime, since its manuscript gives 1565 as the date of its completion. The full title

² For details regarding that work and its author, see my article *Evangelium Nicodemī a Stanisłao Marenio carmine graeco scriptum*, *Eos* LXXI 1983, pp. 167–186.

is *Evangelium Nicodemi, Domini nostri Iesu Christi discipuli, carmine redditum*. The content is that of the then popular apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus* circulating in Latin under an analogous title in both manuscript and print, translated into Polish³ around the midpoint of the 16th century. Mareniusz's work is based on the Latin version, but it needs to be emphasised in advance that our Hellenist's story differs from its model not only in many details, but also as to whole episodes and narrative style, so that we are justified in considering it Mareniusz's own work. While the general structure and some aspects of composition were taken over from the Latin original, that was a dry report. It did contain dialogues and monologues next to narrative parts, but they were strictly plot-oriented and did not paint either the characters or the atmosphere in which events took place. In Mareniusz's epic, in contrast, his poetic and story-telling instinct resulted each time in vivid, dramatic scenes, full of tension and emotion, especially in the part containing Christ's trial. Modelling his work on Homer's epic, the author tried to adopt the formal aspects of his art, or his literary technique. That allowed him to express the pathos required by the gravity of the content, adapting to its various aspects of his language and style; he also followed his model's classical conventions. Other than expressions, phrases and whole lines borrowed straight from the *Iliad* and used when appropriate, Mareniusz generously applied Homeric epithets, taking some over exactly as they were and coining others in their semblance. On the level of vocabulary, his work maintained Ionic flavour, although he used Attic forms too, side by side with their Ionic counterparts. Just as the author of his model, the Polish poet took advantage of the possibilities of hexameter: prosodic lengthening and other devices.

Let me quote from the epic to illustrate its character. What follows is the opening passage (lines 1–7) of *Evangelium Nicodemi*, modelled strictly on that of the *Iliad*:

Μῆνιν ἄειδε, πάτερ νεφεληγερέτη, φαρισαίων
 οὐλομένην. Οἱ θεσμοπόλοι εὐχονται ἄρ εἶναι
 δεξιτέρη μάλα χειρὶ νόμων Μωσῆος ἐχέσκειν,
 θέσφατον ἠδὲ λόγον θεοπνεύστων εἶτα προφήτων,
 σοῦ δ' ἔτι καὶ γένος ὑπόθεν καὶ στήριγμα διωτὸν.
 Ἄνερας οἳ δὲ μάλιστα κύνεσσιν ἐλώρια χρηστοῦς
 οἰωνοῖσὶ τε πᾶσιν ἔτευξαν ἀϊδρίη σαυτῶν.

Let me quote two other samples of Mareniusz's text containing Homeric forms, lines 10–12:

Χαῖρε πάτερ, μέγα χάρμα μέγ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὄνειαρ.
 Αὐτὸς καὶ πρότερος γενεῆ θώκοις τε πόλοιο
 εἰ θέμις εὐχομένῳ, τέκμηρον πᾶσαν ἀοιδῆν...

³ That translation was published by S. VRTEL-WIERCZYŃSKI as *Sprawa chędogo o męce Pana Chrystusowej i Ewangelia Nikodema*, Poznań 1933.

and 171–173:

...καὶ Πιλάτῳ τ' ἄχος ἀρ' γένετ' ἐν δὲ οἱ ἦτορ
 στήθεσσι λασίοισι διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν,
 στάσκεν ὑπαὶ δὲ ἴδεσκε κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πῆξας.

Imitating the style and language of Homer, even borrowing from him outright here and there, do not detract from the worth of Mareniusz's work; that kind of mannerism was required by Renaissance poetics, so strictly connected to the classical models. Considering that the terse and unsophisticated prose of the Latin original took the form of a work of poetry, with artfully depicted characters, carefully modelled dialogue, precise choice of words and an epic metre, we can without hesitation regard Mareniusz as an author rather than a translator.

Besides that epic Mareniusz wrote four short occasional poems, likewise in hexameter, apparently his favourite form.

To skip a few decades and authors with a dozen short poems, mostly occasional epigrams, let me move on to that gifted, even brilliant young man, Stanisław Niegoszewski (I), who gained fame in Italy (in Venice and Rome) with his improvised poems in several languages. We only have one collection of his impromptu poems, comprising six dithyrambs in six different languages, including Greek. The collection was dedicated to Jan Zamoyski and probably published by Aldus Manutius the Younger in 1588 in Venice under the title *Ad [...] Ioannem Zamoyscium Regni Poloniae magnum cancellarium [...] ἐπινίκιον*. The Greek epinicion comes in two parts, the strophe, in hexameter, and antistrophe, in lyric metres resembling Pindar's. Let me quote the opening lines of both parts:

Ἐπαμινώνδα

Ἄσατ' Ἰωάννην κύκνοι νῦν, ἄσατε τῆνον
 ἄσμασι καὶ γλυκεροῖς ὑψίστω αἶρετ' Ὀλύμπω
 αὐγὴν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν.
 Αἶρετ' Ἰωάννην Μουσάων ἄξιον ἄνδρα,
 ἀμβροσίαν πίνοντα Διὸς κοῦρον μέγαλοιο,
 καλὸν πᾶρ θνητοῖς Ἐριούνιον ἔξοχον ἄλλων...

Ἀντιστροφή

Ἄριστος εὐφροσύνα
 πόνων κεκριμένω
 ἰατρὸς αἰ δὲ σοφαὶ
 Μουσῶν θυγατέρες αἰοῖδαι
 θέλξαν νιν ἀπτομέναι...

Niegoszewski also published in print (Rome 1587) a long salutatory panegyric, also in Greek, in honour of Sigismund III Vasa, entitled *Πρὸς θεῖον Σιγισμόνδον τρίτον [...] στεφανοφορία*, which however has not been preserved in Poland. Niegoszewski has left us few poems, having died young; the dates of his life are 1565–1599.

As Jesuit colleges prospered, the number of minor occasional poems written by their students grew. I shall here quote in excerpts one of them, longer than most others, published in print in 1583 as *Epicedia in obitum Catharinae Sigismundi Magni [...] filiae...* It was composed by Krzysztof Przyjemski, an alumnus of the college in Braniewo, later a courtier of Sigismund III, for the death of Catherine queen of Sweden, daughter of Sigismund I the Old. Here is a passage:

Ἀποστροφὴ πρὸς τὴν Σουηκίαν
 Σκῆπτρον ἀλιστέφανον, Σουηκία μῆτερ ἀνάκτων,
 τί κλαίεις ὅσον δὲ γόοιο κορύσσειαι ἀκμῆ;
 Ἄρπυαι τραγομάσχαλοι ἐξ Ἑρέβουσφιν ὄρουσαν;
 ἔπλετο ἔσοραεῖν πάνυ ἀλλὰ γόοιο καὶ ἄσσαι...

Ἐπιτάφιον
 Πυραμίδες τοῖαι, ἀμέγαρτά τε ἄντρα Κυκλώπων,
 τύμβος ὅθεν κ' αὐτὸς Δαίδαλον ἔργμα βροτῶν,
 ἔνθα δέ τοι μεγάλην βασιλείαν γαῖα καλύπτει
 ἢ ἄως ὅσον κίδναται οὐνομ' ἔχει.
 Κεῖται λάρνακι ἐν καθαρῇ Καθαρήνῃ,
 κεῖται Σουήκων τὸ κλέος, εὐχος ἅπαν...

Other Jesuit colleges, where Greek had been introduced early on as a subject of study, had their achievements too, as demonstrated by Greek poems written by their students and published in occasional editions in the honour of eminent persons. We find one such publication in Poznań, printed in 1593 under the title *In primo felicissimo Adami Sendivoii a Czarnkow [...] in suam praefecturam adventu gratulationes a studiosa iuventute Collegii Posnaniensis SI factae*. Alongside Latin texts the collection contained nine Greek ones in elegiac couplets and one in hexameters. Similarly at the Academy of Vilnius, which had been formed of a Jesuit college, an occasional collection was published of Latin poetry interwoven with Greek epicedia; the title was *Parentalia in obitum Georgii Chodkiewicz [...] a sodalibus [...] mortem sodalis sui et moderatoris [...] deflentibus conscripta* (Vilnius 1595). All nine of the Greek epicedia were in elegiac couplets.

We find a very different subject matter, native, even folkloric, in our poet Sebastian Klonowic, who added two short Greek poems to the introduction to his Polish-language work *Flis (Rafting; Cracow 1595–1598?)*. In those two texts he observed that while billowing waves are a beautiful sight, life on land is happier; even a pine tree warns boatbuilders that if the wind broke it on land, no ship built of it will be fortunate on sea. Let me quote that warning, reminiscent of classical literature:

Ἐς τί πίτυν πελάγει πιστεύετε γομφωτῆρες,
 ἦς πολὺς ἐξ ὀρέων ρίζαν ἔλυσε νότος;
 αἴσιον οὐκ ἔσομαι πόντου σκάφος ἐχθρὸν ἀήταις
 δένδρεον, ἐν χέρσῳ τὰς ἀλὸς οἶδα τύχας.

The reborn Protestant school system in the form of academic gymnasia, such as those in Toruń (Thorn) and Gdańsk, also taught Greek, as attested to, among other things, by a number of poems in Greek composed mostly by their teachers. Let me recommend to the reader's attention one longer and unusual text, a humorous epithalamium by Adam Freitag, a professor of the Toruń Gymnasium: the *Ἐπιδορπίσματα γαμικὰ αἰνιγματώδη*, published in the printed collection *Ἐπιθαλάμια in honorem nuptiarum Ch. Stroband* (Toruń 1598). The poem is made of 42 lines (21 elegiac couplets), comprising an introduction and 6 separate riddles. Of those, I shall quote the introduction and the first riddle:

Εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως ἕτεροι ξύμπαντες αἰοῖδοι
 πρὸς γάμον ἤδη ἔπη τόνδε μὲν ἠράρασι.
 Δόρπω ἔμοι μέρος ὡς ἐπιβάλλει παῦρα μέμηλε,
 ὑμῖν τ' ἀντῆσαι κρυπταδίοισι λόγοις...

Αἶνιγμα α

Οὔθ' ὁ γάμος πόλεμος λέγεται πολέμῳ γάμος οὔτε
 ἐστὶν ὁμοῖος. Ὁ γὰρ κεδνός, ὄδ' ἐστὶ βαρύς.
 Αὐτὰρ ὁμῶς γαμικῇ πολεμήμιον οὖνομα κεῖται
 προσθήκη· τί πέλει πράγμα τόδ'; εὐστόχῃε.

Freitag has left two other poems besides, also in elegiac couplets, in connection with the person and works of Franciscus Tidicaeus, a physician and scholar of Toruń, published together with his works, printed in Toruń (1607) and Leipzig (1615)⁴.

The Greek Muse flourished also in the far-off Vilnius, favoured by the developing Academy of Vilnius. Besides several short occasional epigrams originating at that school, there came out the short poem *Odarion* by a canon at the Vilnius Cathedral, Grzegorz Świącicki, a lover of Greek literature, as he himself said, from his early years. That love found its expression in poems in Sapphic stanzas in honour of Saint Casimir, the patron saint of Lithuania, enclosed in the printed work *Theatrum s. Casimiri* (Vilnius 1604). The *Odarion* comprises eleven strophes, nine of them spoken by the Muses, and the remaining two by their new "companion", *Scientia linguarum*. Świącicki was not content with the artistry of the Sapphic stanza; he tried to "improve" it with rhyme, generously applying homoeoteleuta in each strophe. Here is a sample of that oddity:

ODARION

Scientia linguarum
 Κάζετ' ἀνθηρὸν Κασιμεῖρον ἱρόν,
 Ζηνὸς ὦ φρουραὶ μέγαλοιο κοῦραι,
 ἀνέρας Μοῦσαι ζαθέους ὑδοῦσαι,
 ἄσμαφιλοῦσαι. ...

⁴ They were *De theriaca et eius multiplici utilitate...* and *Microcosmus hoc est Descriptio hominis et mundi...*

Terpsichore

Εὐλαβής, σάφρων, θεότητι πρόφρων,
πολλάκ' εὐχλωλῶν ὁ παρεῖχε μῶλον,
πολλάκ' ἀνήκον νύχιός τε σηκόν,
πολλάκ' ἐφήκων.

Next, we owe a few words to another Hellenist, whose enthusiasm for Greek took on more serious forms. In his peregrinations of many years, Piotr Wierzbęta Biskupski studied in several German and Italian cities. While a student in Frankfurt on the Oder, he congratulated his professor of Greek, Pankraz Krüger, on his birthday, dedicating to him a poem entitled *Ἔπος in natalem [...] Pancratii Crugerii...* (Frankfurt on the Oder 1605). Of its twelve couplets, let me quote an invocation to the Muses (1–4):

Δεῦρο προσέλθετε Μοῦσαι, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι
καί μοι Καλλιόπη δεῦρο προσέλθε θεά,
καὶ κατάβαινε ἐς ἦτορ ἐπέυχομαι εἶνεκ' ἀοιδῆς,
ἄξιον ὧς ἂν ἐγὼ καὶ καλὸν εἶπω ἔπος.

and a final praise of his master's teaching skills (17–24):

Οὐδεις ἀνθρώπων κρεῖττον ποτε τοῦτο ποιήσει
λαμπρὸν στίλβη ἕως ἡλείοιο φάος,
Αὐτὸς μάρτυρ ἐγὼ παιδευθεὶς Ἑλλάδα φωνῆν
ἐπτά μόνον μῆνας ταῦτα δ' ὁμῶς γεγραφῶς,
Μακρὰ μὲν οὖν τάδε σεμνὲ Διδάσκαλε πράξω ὅμοια
κᾶν σε φθόνος σκύλλη, κᾶν μέγα γλώσσα δακῆ
ταῦτά σοι εὐχομαι, εὐδόξων μέγα κύδος ἀοιδῶν,
εὐχομένου δὲ θεὸς κλυθὶ καὶ ἐσθλὰ δίδου.

Biskupski also wrote voluminous treatises in Greek, such as for instance *Oratiuncula de laude scriptorum Demosthenis* or *Caput [...] Isaiæ Graeco et Latino idiomate [...] redditum*, both printed in Frankfurt on the Oder as well, in 1605.

Roughly at the same time, in 1607, in far-off Antwerp, Szymon Birkowski, a Hellenist and professor at the Cracow Academy, and Adam Fabian Birkowski, a preacher, published epitaphs for the outstanding philologist Justus Lipsius, both entitled *Iusti Lipsii [...] fama postuma*. For quotation I have picked Szymon's, which is much more classical in character:

Ἐπιτάφιον

ὦ ξένε, τύμβον ὅταν ἐφορᾷς τὸν ἀραῖον Ἰούστου
Λιψίου, ὃς σοφίας τῆς ἱερῆς φάος ἦν,
ἦδυεπέϊ τε νόφθνητοῦς νίκησεν ἅπαντας
ἔν τε λόγοις πεζοῖς, ἔν τε λόγοις μετρικοῖς.
Τὸν τ' ἄγε τύμβον ἅμα Ἰρῶμης ἐπίβλεψον ἀνάσσης,
μοῦνος ἐὼν ἀνέγειρ' ἐκ ῥυπαρῶν κονίω.

Αὐτίκα τὸν γ' ὄσιον σοφίας ἐπιδέρκεο τύμβον
 σὺν γὰρ ἀποθνήσκει στήθει Λιψιάδου.
 Οὐκοῦν δακρυχέων τε καὶ ὄλβια εὔχεο πάντα
 καὶ λέγε· φεῦ, ὁ μέγας Λίπιος ἐξέθανεν.

Let me now turn towards another part of the country. The Zamoyski Academy, growing briskly during the life of its founder, the Chancellor of the Crown Jan Zamoyski, from the beginning cared for its classical and in particular its Hellenic studies, and the printing house set up there from the start published Greek texts edited by professors at the Academy. The founder's death soon after turned the ambitious publishing plans into nothing after printing a mere few works in Greek, but the teaching of Greek continued, as proven by several poems, occasional as usual. They were inspired by Tomasz Zamoyski, the Chancellor's son, returning to Zamość after several years of educational travels. The welcome ceremony was enriched and embellished with presentations by professors and students, and a special impression was made by the recitation of a few works in Greek: by professor Urban Brillius and his two students, Aleksander Obuchowicz and Kazimierz Filip Obuchowicz. Brillius composed a lyric poem of considerable length, artfully modelled on Pindar's odes, made up of seven triads, each containing a strophe, antistrophe and epode (265 lines in total), published in Zamość in 1617 as *Περιφανεστάτω Θώμα Ζαμῶσκι ἀπ' ἄλλοφύλων κατερχομένω ἀνασωθεῖ εἶδος*. Here are the opening lines with headline:

Εἶδος ἀσπαστικόν
 Στροφή Α'
 Ἦ Μοῦσα πότνια,
 ὦ φιλτάτη μήτηρ ἐμή,
 ἀγλαὸν αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος,
 πᾶσιν παιδείης ἀρετὰν γεννῶσ' ἄμεμπτον,
 θρέπτειρα ψυχῆς, ὀρθοδότεια νόου,
 Οὔρεα λείπουσα ζάθοιο,
 καὶ θριγγὸν Παρνάσου
 οὐράνιον, κρήνης τ' Ἐλικωνίδος ἔνθεον ὕδωρ,
 ἀνεμῶκεος νεφέλας δρόμον
 ἐξανύθι γε ποσὶν
 δι' αἰθέρος λίσσομαι·
 πρόδραμ' εἰς Ζαμῶσκίδα, τῶν πολίων
 ἀντ' ἄλλων πολλῶν περικλειτήν...

Aleksander Obuchowicz welcomed Tomasz with an ode of 14 stanzas in Asclepiadean verse, of which I shall quote the first two (lines 1–8):

Ἦδῃ προσαγορευτική
 Θῶμ' ὦ Σαρματίας κῆδος ἀγήρατον,
 Θῶμ' ὦ ὀμμάτιον σεῦ πατρίδος φίλης,
 Θῶμ' ὦ δημοπεδῆ πολλὰ βαρύσταθμε
 καὶ κειμήλιον ἐν λαῶν,

Θῶμ' ἀλκτῆρ πατρίδος πᾶσιν ὑπέρφιλε,
λαμπάς τηλεφανῆς, δεινὸν ἔρισμα καί,
καὶ στηλή σθεναρή, κ' ἀλκῆ ἔρισθενῆς
κ' ἡμῶν θεσπέσιος πόθος. ...

and two found further into the poem (lines 17–24):

μήτηρ ὄρανῆ ὡς Μῆδεα ἄφθιτα
καὶ δεινά, στονοεῖ θυμῷ ἀναρρόφει
ἀχθοῦσ' ἀργαλέων τῶν ἀνέμων ἀπὸ
παῖδ' ἀρπασμένον ἔννιον.
Ὀφθαλμούς ἀκλινῆς τῆς στυφελῆς ἀπὸ
ἀκτῆς τὰ φθονερά πνεύματα πόντια
δυσφήμοισιν ἀραιῖς πόρρω ἀάστονος
δυσθεινοῦσ' ἀπομέμφεται.

Kazimierz Filip Obuchowicz also honoured the eminent guest in Greek, though differently, with an ample welcome speech, adorned at the end with two Sapphic stanzas. Those works by the two Obuchowiczs came out in Zamość in 1617 as well, under the title *Εἰς ἐπιπεποθεμένην ἀπονόστησιν [...]* *Θῶμα Ζαμῶσκι λόγος ἀσπαστικός*.

A few more lovers of the Greek Muse remain to be mentioned among the later authors, hailing from the Cracovian circle this time.

Mikołaj Żorawski, a professor at the Cracow Academy, an enthusiast of the Greek language, who reputedly⁵ translated even Cicero's speeches into it, left us the poem *Μαίστορος Νικολάου Ζοραβίου εἰς τὴν τοῦ Μελετίου Σμοτρυσκίου [...]* *παραίνεσιν ἔπος ἐγκωμισαστικόν*, appended to Smotrycki's *Paraenesis abo Napomnienie [...] do Bractwa Wileńskiego cerkwie s. Duchy* (Cracow 1629). In it he honoured the archbishop of Polotsk, Melecjusz Smotrycki in 15 elegiac couplets. Let me quote lines 1–4:

Οἱ μὲν δράξαντες πολέμους ἐπὶ πατρίδος αἴας
χαίρουσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵμα φόνιοιο χέειν,
ἄλλος μαρμαρέω βριαρὰν χθόνα σχίζει ἀρότρῳ,
καρπούς εὐτροφέους ὅστις ἰδεῖν γλίχεται...

and 7–14:

Εἰσὶν ὁμογερέες τινὲς ὑψηλοῖς ἐν ὄρεσσι
λίστροις ἀργαλέως χρυσὸν ὀρυττομένοι.
Εἰσὶν τοῖς δὲ μέλει κιθαρίς μαλακὴ καὶ αἰοιδή,
τοῖς τέρπειν κῆρ καὶ δαΐτας ὀλέσσαι αἰεὶ.
Ἄλλ' οὐκ Σμοτρυσκίου λῖαν ταῦτ' ἦνδανε θυμῷ
μηδὲ λιλαιόμεν γήϊνα δὴ πέλεται.

⁵ See K. ESTREICHER, *Bibliografia polska. Cz. 3, Stolecie XV–XVIII: w układzie abecadlowym*, vol. III (XIV) C, p. 255.

Ἔργον κείνος ἔχει τὸ ἄξιον ἔστε ἀμοιβῆς
Αἰδίου καύτων πάντοτε δόξα μένει. ...

A long panegyric has been preserved, alongside a number of short ones, by another professor of the Cracow Academy at the chair of Hellenic studies, Adam Draski. His work in honour of Andrzej Lipski, the bishop of Cracow, *Ἐπαρχίας πανσεβεστάτω [...]* *κυρίω [...]* *Ἄνδρέα Λίπσκι [...]* *μνημόσυνον* (Cracow 1631) is 80 hexameters long and begins with the words of the *Odyssey*, thus:

Σύγχαρμα

Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα ἱαγέλλωνος, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ
εἶδων ἀμβροσίας δόξης ὦν ἄσιος ἦρωσ,
τῆς πάσης τῆς μνημοσύνης συγχάρματός ἐστι.
Τῷδε μάλιστα γλυκὺ στόματος κατὰ νέκταρ ἔχευε
Φοῖβος τῶν Μουσῶν δὲ κράτος τε δέδωκε μέγιστον.
Ἄλλοι ἐπαινοῦσι τοὺς ἐμπολέμους τε κραταιούς,
τοὺς δὲ προστάτους σώφρονας ἐκκλησία μήτηρ
Σαρματίη πρὸς ἐγείνατο πατρίδι δῶρα μέγιστα. ...

I shall end this fragmentary overview with Grzegorz Knapiusz, the eminent lexicographer and philologist, who in his *Adagia Polonica [...] Latine et Graece reddita*, volume three of his dictionary *Thesaurus polono-latino-graecus* (Cracow 1632) transmitted a wealth of Polish sayings with their Latin and Greek equivalents. The Greek part of that work ought to receive the reader's attention, since Knapiusz did not always find appropriate aphorisms in Greek literature, and in such cases he composed them himself, shaping them into iambic trimeters (and always marking them with the letter A). Such texts by him number a few hundred; in quoting samples, I shall also list the Polish equivalent used by the author:

- Thes.*, p. 8: Gr. Κενῆς ἀμάξης ταχύτερον στρέφεται τροχός.
Pol. Baba z woza, kołom lżej
(≈ Good riddance;
lit. With the woman off the cart, it is lighter for the wheels).
- Thes.*, p. 10: Gr. Ζίφος τιτρώσκει σῶμα τὸν δὲ νοῦν λόγος.
Pol. Bardziej boli od języka niż od miecza
(≈ The pen is mightier than the sword;
lit. The tongue hurts you more than the sword does).
- Thes.*, p. 92: Gr. Ὅππόσσαι κεφαλαί τοσσαι δ' εἰσὶν διάνοιαι.
Pol. Co głowa, to rozum
(≈ Two heads are better than one; lit. For every head, an intellect.)

Other than those trimeters, Knapiusz wrote two hexametrical panegyrics in honour of two saints, Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier; both were attached to volume two of the *Thesaurus* in its 1644 edition. They are of unique composition, which tempts one to quote samples of them. The hymn in honour of Loyola is 24 hexameters long and made of nothing but epithets, which must have entertained the lexicographer a lot. The opening lines run:

Τῷ ἁγίῳ Ἰγνατίῳ τῆς Ἐταιρείας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀρχηγῷ ὕμνος πάντη ἀλφαβητικός
 Ἄνδρα αἰνῶ ἀρίδηλον, ἀσώμων ἄξιον αὐδῶν,
 βώτορα βουλευτήν, βέβαιον, βαθυγνώμονα, βριμόν
 γνωμονικόν, γεννάρχην, γρηγορικόν, γλυκίθυμον,
 δριμέα, δεινολογοῦντα, δαίφρονα, δαιδαλόφωνον...

The other hymn, for Francis Xavier, also hexametrical, is in its first part a double acrostic: the initial letters of lines form the saint's given name, and the final ones, his surname. This is the beginning:

Τῷ ἁγίῳ Φραγκίσκῳ Ζαουερίῳ ὕμνος κατὰ ἀκροστιχίδα ὀνομαστικὴν ἀμφοτέρωθεν
 Φημί σε τοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς Ἰούδους εὐθροε κήρυΞ
 Ῥωμαϊκῆς θεολατρίας γῆ καὶ τε θαλάσσοΑΙ
 Ἄκάματ' ἐκφάντορ παναγοῦ τε νόμοιο ΘεοῖΟ
 Γνήσι' ἀποστολικῆς διδασχῆς παιδευτ' ἐπὶ κόσμοΥ

The final part of that hymn, entitled *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀποθέωσις*, was in elegiac couplets.

Towards the end of this paper at least, I must mention the Greek poems from Gdańsk; they are numerous and should be included, considering that the region was then part of Poland and had lively ties with the rest of it.

While such poetry only began to be written and published in Gdańsk in 1563, it began with a mature text, one by Michael Retellius, the greatest and at the same time the most prolific of Gdańsk Hellenists, who started publishing then. The whole period until the half of the 17th century was dotted with occasional poems by the professors of the Gdańsk Academic Gymnasium, its students, alumni and other persons connected to that circle. Other than religious texts, the Greek poetry of that time and place included secular works in the form of various epithalamia, epicedia and *gratulationes*, most often in elegiac couplets, but often in hexameter.

The material by Gdańsk poets collected so far has not yet been catalogued in full. It comprises poems of various length, including a number of voluminous texts, of which the first of their authors to write in Greek, Michael Retellius, seems also the greatest. As can be seen from his prolific legacy, among the Gdańsk Hellenists he was the keenest on writing both poetry and prose in that language. One example of his Greek prose is a variation on the New Testament tale of the Massacre of the Innocents in Bethlehem; others include translations (from Latin to Greek) of Cicero, Melanchthon and Erasmus, as well as treatises on grammar, dialectic and rhetoric, and diverse *moralia*. Retellius' poetry comprises many religious and occasional poems, the latter referring to various persons of his circle. They were published individually to finally appear in two collections together with his other Greek texts, entitled *Poematum libri...* (Gdańsk 1571) and *Epimythia...* (Gdańsk 1574). Some texts by him were published individually in Leipzig, Gdańsk and Königsberg in the years 1563–1574.

Retellius' first text that we know of comes from 1563. It is a poem in three parts published in Leipzig under the title *Carmen de die natali Iesu Christi, De eius resurrectione, De eius item ascensione*, roughly 600 hexameters in total. The opening lines (1–8) run:

Carmen de die natali [...] Iesu Christi...
 Χριστέ θεός φῖτυμα θεοῦ πατρός ἀρχεγόνοιο,
 Φοῖβος ἐμοί γ' ἑτεός, φῶς φωτὸς ἀγεννήτοιο
 ἀένασον, λάμπαν πάρα, σείτο γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀνευθε
 λεχθείη καλὸν ἢ πραχθείη. Ἡμετέρη σε
 Μοῦσα καλεῖ μοῦν σὺ δίδου δ' ὠδὴν θεάρεσκον
 δισοῆς γὰρ φύσεως ἔπεισιν σέο κῦδος αἰείσω
 ἠγάθειον, προλιπῶν πῶς οὐρανὸν ὦδε κατήλθες,
 νηδύος ἐκ προμολῶν κούρης ἐτύμως ἀμολύντου...

Another similarly extensive poem is a hexametrical rendering of three letters of Saint Paul, some 500 lines altogether, published in his collection *Poematum graecorum libri duo* (Gdańsk 1571), which contained also other religious and secular poems, such as epithalamia, *gratulationes* and *epicedia*, for which Retellius applied both hexameter and the elegiac couplet. That collection contained the aforementioned prose treatises as well. The other collection, *Epimythia in historias et fabulas...* (Gdańsk 1574), also had in it a number of secular occasional texts.

Of the secular poems in that collection, let me quote another of Retellius' many works, the *Epitaphium filioli M. Alexandri Glaseri*, classical in its content:

Τῆδε σορῶ κείται τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδροιο Γλασήρου
 υἱὸς ὃς ἄρτι τέρην τέθναεν ὠκύμορος.
 Γαῖα κάλυψε δέμας, ψυχὴ δὲ σὺν οὐρανίῳσι
 Ἀΐδιῳ χράται παμμακάρων βιότῳ.

His fluent use of Greek arouses admiration and indicates his enthusiasm for that language, which he applied with such ease for such diverse purposes. His works are unique in the history of Polish, and perhaps of European culture.

Another, slightly younger Pomeranian, Andreas Welsius, professor of poetics at the Gdańsk Gymnasium from 1581, also served the Greek Muse. We only have two poems left by him, both religious and hexametrical. Their Latin titles are *De beneficiis Spiritus Sancti cui aliud additur De collatione Christi cum rosa* (Gdańsk 1582), and *Ἐκφρασις Christi pendentis in cruce* (Gdańsk 1589). The first numbers some 130 lines; the second is much shorter. As a sample let me quote the opening lines (1–10) of the Greek part of the *Ἐκφρασις...*, titled in Latin as *Querela ad Christum*, an expression of the author's personal feelings:

Οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἐγὼ αὐτὰρ σκωλήκιόν εἰμι,
 οὔτ'ω ἐνὶ σταυρῷ χλονάζεις Χριστέ σεβαστέ,
 Ὅττε ἔης ῥυπαρὸς κ' αἰσχρὸς δι' ἁμαρτάδας ἡμῶν.

Οὐν τί ἐγὼ χλονάζω, ὅς μ' αὐτὸς μεμιάγκα
 πταίσμασι παμπόλλοις καὶ νῦν σκώληξ κατὰ αἰσχροῦς
 πρόσθε θεοῦ κείμαι καὶ ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων;
 αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ μέγα λω Χριστ' ἤπιε ἴλαθ' ἀλιτρῶ
 καὶ σκώληξ σὺ ἐμὲ σκωλήκιον οὐ κατάβαλλε,
 Σὺ βλέψον ποτὶ τραύματά σου χειρῶν τε ποδῶν τε
 ἦδὲ κ' ἄφες χειρῶν μου ὑπερβασίην μοι ἄπασαν.

For decades, various occasional poems were composed in Gdańsk; out of the many authors I would like to pick the last one in the period in question, a mid-17th century enthusiast of the Greek verse, Johannes Zimmermann, whose works, not only Greek, but also Hebrew, were printed in his home city. He used Greek to celebrate in elegiac couplets now the hundredth anniversary of his gymnasium in 1658, now its professors and rectors⁶. The poem celebrating the anniversary of the gymnasium⁷ was 40 lines long and entitled *Εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν τοῦ τῶν Γεδανέων Γυμνασίου τὴν κατ' αἰῶνα*. Let me quote two samples from it, lines 1–4:

Ὡς μετὰ πρωτόγονον χάος ἦρξατο παντὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ
 τηλεφανοῦς λάμψαι ἠελίοιο φάος,
 τέτταρας ὑψιμέδοντα βροτοῖς αἰῶνας ἀοιδοὶ
 θῆκαι ἀείδουσιν πάντοθ' ἔλισσομένους.

and 19–28:

Εἰπέ μοι εἰρομένω ἀμῶν ὀπποῖος δ' αἰῶν
 ἔλκομεν ᾧ χαλεπῆς ἀμφ' ὀδύνη βίον.
 Χρυσομανεῖς μὲν ἅπαντες ἐπὶ χθονὶ ζῶντες, ὄδ' αἰῶν
 χρύσεος οὐ βιοτήν μηδ' ἔτι ἀργύρεος.
 Ἀλλὰ γε χαλκείω αἰῶνι σιδήρεος αἰῶν
 τήμερον ἀτρεκέως ξύν τ' ἐπέοικε πεσεῖν.
 Αἴθε τελεσθέντος κ' αἰῶνος κυδιανείρου
 Γυμνασίου ἅπαν πῆμα τελοῖτο Ἄτης
 εὐχόμεθ' ἡμὲν θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔολπε
 καὶ δ' ἅμα Γυμνασίω συγχαρησόμεθα.

While on the subject, it ought to be mentioned that Christian Rosteutscher, the professor of Greek at Gdańsk Gymnasium honoured by Zimmermann with a separate Greek print, wrote speeches in Greek, as well as treatises on the grammar of that language.

⁶ See *Ζένιον εὐκτικὸν τετράγλωττον quod Ioh. Botsacco [...] Ioh. Maukischio [...] efferebat [...]*, Gdańsk 1658, and *Υμέναιος τετράφονος nuptiis [...] Chr. Rosteutscheri [...] consecratus a Ioh. Zimmermanno*, Gdańsk 1659.

⁷ See a collection of his works: the *Votum seculare metricum [...] additum orationi seculari hebraeae, qua Gymnasio Gedanensi [...] congratulabatur*, Gdańsk 1658.

The above cursory overview indicates that thanks to the development of its academic gymnasium, Gdańsk was a constant shrine to the Greek Muse. That was possible due to the high academic level of that school, its eminent professors and the general culture brought by their work into their home city, making it into a haven for people of skill worthy of interest and appreciation.

Towards the end of this report on Greek literature, let me for completeness mention in brief at least the essays into prose, collecting here various scattered and short remarks about them.

The aforementioned Piotr Wierzbęta Biskupski wrote an ample laudation of Demosthenes' speeches, the *Oratiuncula de laude scriptorum Demosthenis habita in illustri Academia Francofordana [...] a. 1605*, printed in Frankfurt on the Oder, comprising 12 pages in quarto, and the short *Caput Isaiae quinquagesimum tertium [...] graeco et latino idiomate pro virili παραφραστικῶς redditum*, published in the same city and year.

Another speech has been preserved from the early 17th century, written by Filip Obuchowicz, a student at the Zamoyski Academy and given to welcome Tomasz Zamoyski. The title on the title leaf lists the author as Filip Obuchowicz ("Philippi Obuchowicz, Academiae Zamoscensis studiosi, Zamosci 1617"), but his authorship has been questioned by Stanisław ŁEMPICKI in his biographical note on Brillius published in *Polski słownik biograficzny* (vol. II, pp. 436 f.), claiming the speech to be a work of Brillius, then a professor of the Academy. Still, no evidence was cited there in support of that claim. Since another Obuchowicz, Aleksander, presented at the ceremony a Greek poem, we may suppose that just as in the case of Biskupski, who wrote his speech on Demosthenes according to the "instruction" of his professor of Greek, Crugerius (as he indicated on the title leaf), here, too, a professor may have been responsible for the direction of the students' work.

The Greek speeches by Adam Burski, another professor at the Zamoyski Academy, which he gave there publicly, were probably written towards the end of the 16th or at the beginning of the 17th century; unfortunately, all that we have of them is a mention in J.D. Janocki⁸. That same early bibliographer mentions that Szymonowicz left behind a manuscript containing "poemata atque alia opuscula graece composita hactenus inedita"⁹.

Of the lost and somewhat later Greek prose works (1620, 1632), let me add the piece of information found in ESTREICHER (cf. n. 5) that Mikołaj Żórawski, a lecturer of philosophy at the Cracow Academy, translated Cicero into Greek. The speeches he chose were *Pro Archia poeta* and *Pro lege Manilia*; other works were *Laelius sive De amicitia* and *De officiis*. Apart from the translations,

⁸ See *Specimen catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Zaluscianae...*, Dresden 1752, p. 119.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

Żórawski wrote his own speech in Greek, intended for the planned synod of the Eastern Rite Catholics with the Orthodox.

Let me also remind the reader that two citizens of Gdańsk, Michael Retellius and Christian Rosteutscher, wrote philological treatises and speeches in Greek.

In concluding this overview, in which I have refrained from analysing the poems or investigating their merits and aesthetic points, which would at any rate have been impossible within the modest scope of this article, I would like to remark that its purpose was to familiarise the broader philological circles with the extent and formal quality of those largely inaccessible texts, often scattered across printed works whose titles do not reveal the authors of any poetry contained in them. My goal was to bring that little known field of philological research to light.