Lyric Poetry in the Mohylanian Poetics

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Giovanna Siedina

University of Verona,
Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures

Abstract

This article analyses the treatment of lyric poetry in the Mohylanian poetics and takes into account the wider framework of the conception of poetry fostered at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. The author reconstructs the sources that Mohylanian authors used and then studies their selective use; she also investigates the numerous poetic quotations from Horace and M. K. Sarbiewski that Mohylanian authors quoted as examples illustrating the poetic rules, precepts and principles they wished to impart to their pupils. This analysis confirms that lyric poetry was mainly conceived by Mohylanian authors as a poetic means to either praise someone (*genus demonstrativum* or *exornativum*) or to convey some moral teaching (*genus deliberativum*), and was thus conceived as a means for the moral edification both of those who practiced it and also those who took pleasure in reading and listening to it.

Key Words: Neo-Latin poetry, lyric poetry, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Kyiv-Mohylanian poetics, Horace, early modern Ukrainian literature.

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1. This study stems from my interest in understanding the idea of poetry that Mohylanian poetics teachers fostered at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and that they imparted to their pupils during the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries. The corresponding poetics manuals have been carefully researched over the last few decades,[1] but, while most of the studies have explored the issue of their sources and the conceptions of literary theory expounded in them, very few have delved into the treatment of single literary genres, notable exceptions being the works of Krekoten, Masliuk and Tsyhanok.[2] However, the study of the ways in which lyric

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1   For an overview of the studies devoted to the Mohylanian poetics, see the Introduction to my dissertation "The Reception of Horace in the Courses of Poetics at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy: 17th — First Half of the 18th Century." To date, only about 30 of these manuals have survived, most of them in manuscript form and they are housed in the manuscript section (Instytut Rukopysu, IR) of the National Library of Ukraine in Kyiv (Nacionalna Biblioteka Ukrajiny, hereinafter NBU). For the complete list see numbers 1–33 in the Bibliography of my Dissertation.

2   V. I. Krekoten, *Baiky v ukrainskii literaturi XVII–XVIII st.* [*Fables in Ukrainian Literature of the 17th–18th Centuries*] (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo Akademii Nauk Ukrainskoi RSR, 1963); V. P. Masliuk, *Latynomovni poetyky i rytoryky XVII — pershoi polovyny XVIII st. ta ikh rol u rozvytku teorii literatury na Ukraini* [*Latin Poetics and Rhetorics of the 17th — First Half of 18th Centuries and Their Role in the Development of Literary Theory in Ukraine*] (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1983); O. Tsyhanok, *Funeralne pysmenstvo v*

poetry was taught and practiced has so far mainly remained in the shade, while lyric poetry was actually extremely important in the Kyiv-Mohylanian pantheon, since it also comprised species of panegyric poetry, the most practiced poetic genre at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.

In my investigation I will take into account, on the one hand, the centuries-old Western European tradition of interpreting and commenting on Horace and the treatises of poetics that were used by Mohylanian teachers when writing their own manuals; on the other, the Polish mediation, in particular the role of Horace's brilliant "interpreter" Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski (1595–1640), the so-called "Christian Horace." Sarbiewski's mediation is particularly important in the imitation of Horace by Mohylanian teachers and students.

2. In most Mohylanian poetics, lyric poetry is dealt with in a specific chapter, the length and depth of which varies greatly, depending on the author's approach to literary genres (and to their hierarchy) and on his personal likening. A brief examination of the treatment of literary genres in the poetics manuals will also help us better understand the issue of their correspondence with, or divergence from, the system of literary genres in contemporary Ukrainian literature, quite often debated in scholarly literature on this subject.[3]

For a clearer understanding of the hierarchy of literary genres in the Mohylanian poetics, it will be expedient to briefly recall the conception of poetry propounded in them. Poetry was required to contribute to the education of devout men and loyal subjects by encouraging virtue and dissuading from vice. Its fundamental purpose was to perfect the moral stature of those who practiced it. The best way to achieve this was to represent exemplary human actions, which were therefore considered the main object of poetry. Given this point of view, it is easy to understand the pre-eminence accorded to the species of epic poetry, the main aim of which was to arouse a desire for virtue.[4] Indeed, in the particular poetics, which illustrated in detail

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ukrainskykh poetykakh ta rytorykakh XVII–XVIII st.: teoriia ta vzirtsi [*Funeral Writing in Ukrainian Poetics and Rhetorics of the 17th–18th Centuries: Theory and Samples*] (Vinnytsia: PP TD Edelveis i K, 2014).

3   I will just briefly recall Nalyvaiko's assertion that applied poetics "actively favored the implantation of a new system of genres and styles in East-Slavic literatures," a system that he defined as European (see D. S. Nalyvaiko, "Kyivski poetyky XVII — pochatku XVIII st. v konteksti ievropeiskoho literaturnoho protsesu," ["Kyiv Poetics of the 17th — Beginning of the 18th Centuries in the Context of European Literature Process,"] in *Literaturna spadshchyna Kyivskoi Rusi i ukrainska literatura XVI–XVIII st.*, ed. O. V. Myshanych (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1981), 183). However, as far as I know, there is no comprehensive study based on a wide and diversified set of literary texts to demonstrate the dependence of the contemporary system of literary genres in Ukrainian literature on the genre system presented in the poetics; moreover, the latter does not comprehend or reflect all of Ukrainian poetry of the 17th–18th century, as a brief survey of it shows (cf. also O. Hnatiuk, *Ukrainska dukhovna barokkova pisnia* [*Ukrainian Spiritual Baroque Songs*] (Warsaw: Pereval, 1994), 46). Furthermore, even when a poetic genre dealt with in the poetics existed in Ukrainian literature of the time, its practical realization did not always conform to the prescriptions given for that genre by the poetics.

4   Epic poetry (*epos*, *carmen heroicum*) since antiquity and until late Baroque in reflections on literary theory was considered as the model poetic genre, the perfect poetry (*perfecta poesis*, according to

the different poetic genres of Latin poetry, epic poetry ranked first. In a few Mohylanian poetics, after a detailed illustration of the subject matter and composition of the heroic poem, together with an explanation of the merits and faults of its meter, the dactylic hexameter, their authors ascribe to epic poetry other poetic species that focus on the illustrious actions of illustrious men in different contexts. Among them we find the genethliac, the epithalamic, the encomiastic, the eucharistic poems, the epicedium and a few others.[5] This is a clear indication that the Mohylanian poetics were not extraneous to the expansion of the themes of epic poetry that had led to consider all activities of the intellect noble and as worthy of being celebrated as the military feats on the battlefield.[6] Such a comprehension of epic poetry reflects the Renaissance approach to *carmen heroicum*, which was required to go beyond the celebration of "res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella," as Horace had defined the topic of heroic poem (*Ars poetica*, 73; further on AP).

2.1. In some manuals we find a detailed explanation of the author's theoretical approach to literary genres: this is the case of the author of *Cunae Bethleemicae* (1687). I will briefly summarize it because it effectively epitomizes the Mohylanian authors' teaching of literary genres. The author states that neither Horace's *Epistle to the Pisos* nor Aristotle's *Poetics* are sufficient as regards their treatment of poetic species, and thus he will only partly refer to them. However, as to the number of poetic genres, he refers to Horace's AP, stating that there are six of them, namely epic, lyric, elegiac, satyric, comic, tragic. Pontanus had stated as much in his 1594 treaty, which, as we know, was one of the Jesuit Scholastic poetics most widely followed and frequently quoted by Mohylanian teachers. He starts out by affirming that since poetic art consists of imitating human actions or things, expressed in verse, it follows that perfect poetry is that which displays a perfect imitation that is epic, tragic, comic. Indeed, epic and tragic poetry imitate illustrious actions (the difference between them being in their form, or mode), while comic poetry imitates ignoble actions. On the other hand, lyric and elegiac poetry do not feature any perfect imitation of things or actions which can be sufficiently differentiated from oratory: in fact, as to the medium of imitation, they do not imitate men in action or in speech, but imitate actions only through arguments (reasoning). In the second place, they lack fables, which are the soul of poetry, i.e. they lack the *inventio* of one great human action wholly linked

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M. K. Sarbiewski's formulation), and starting from the beginning of the Middle Ages it was greatly requested in the poetry of the new European States. Cf. the definition that we find in the manual *Hymettus extra Atticam...*: "Epopeia quo ad rem est imitatio illustrium actionum virorum illustrium carmine hexametro per narrationem ad amorem vel desiderium virtutis excitandum ordinata" (NBU, IR, call number 315 P / 122, f. 16 r.).

5   The most detailed list is that provided by the author of *Fons Castalius*, who enumerates and briefly describes up to twenty species of epic poetry (cf. f. 142 r. and f. 142 v. of *Fons Castalius*, NBU, IR, call number DS / P 239).

6   On the faintness of the boundaries between epic and encomiastic poetry that has its roots in the Renaissance didactic theory of art, see O. B. Hardison, *The Enduring Monument: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 43–67; 71–72.

together with a probable event, such as in Virgil's *Aeneid*. As to epigrammatic poetry, following Sarbiewski, our author defines it as imperfect since it has no poetic portion whatsoever. Etymologically, the epigram is nothing more than a *subscriptio* (inscription), describing not the way in which a thing could be or should be, but the way a thing already was.[7]

And thus, epic poetry in virtually all Mohylanian poetics ranks first among poetic genres. Such a hierarchy was certainly influenced by contemporary European literary criticism; however, although I do not plan to dwell any further on this topic here, it was probably also influenced by contemporary Ukrainian literature. Indeed, even a cursory glance at seventeenth-eighteenth century Ukrainian literature gives one the impression that the noticeable preeminence of the species of epic poetry in it, especially the encomiastic species, was, at least in some measure, influenced by the poetics and rhetoric teaching that their authors had been exposed to.

It is precisely the notion of praise that epic and lyric poetry share with each other, as we will shortly see. Indeed, the idea of praise, especially praise of God / the gods, is central to the conception of lyric poetry that most poetics teachers present to their pupils, and this is in line with the conception of lyric poetry upheld by Renaissance literary theorists.[8] Indeed, "the natural tendency of lyric expression to assume the form of praise"[9] at least partly explains why Renaissance lyrics were strongly influenced by epideictic rhetoric. The centrality of praise in lyric poetry is stressed in Western European poetics, as for instance in Pontanus,[10] in Vossius,[11] and in Masenius.[12] On the subject matter of lyric poetry, Pontanus quotes first lines 1–4 from Horace's *Carm.* I, 12 and then AP 83–85. He introduces the quotation of *Carm.* I, 12, 1–4 by saying that Horace assigned to this genre the praises of gods and heroes, the celebration of Olympic games (*olympionicas*) or the victories of boxers and horsemen, and that also Pindar in *Olympians 2*, whom Horace imitates in *Carm.* I, 12, had stated that these were the subject matters of lyric poetry. Indeed, the influence of the "swan of Dirce," as Horace called him, is especially marked in the incipit of this ode, which recalls how "Pindar swiftly and splendidly asks and answers his own questions."[13] The mention and quotation of this ode testifies that the practice of extrapolating Horace's words from their context and using them as precepts of literary theory was not limited to the AP and Horace's other "literary" epistles, but extended to the whole of his oeuvre. Here are the quoted lines:

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7   The author moreover observes that epigrammatic *acumen* is common also to orations, epilogues and satires, and that epigrams were initially written in prose. However, epigrams should not be excluded from the species of perfect poetry when they feature some apt fiction or imitation of characters (*imitatio morum*), as Martial's epigram *Lib*: 6, 8 or epigrams by Sarbiewski.

8   Speaking of lyric poetry, all Mohylanian authors state that in antiquity its subject matter was praise of the gods, but as time passed, it became customary to use it for any subject matter, although it is especially suitable for expressing important, lofty and noble subject matter.

9   Hardison, *The Enduring Monument*, 95.

10   J. Pontanus, *Poeticarum institutionum libri III* (Ingolstadii: Sartorius, 1594), 137–38.

11   G. J. Vossius, *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres* (Amsterdam: Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1647), 65.

12   J. Masenius, *Palaestra eloquentiae ligatae* (Coloniae Agrippinae: Herman Demen, 1654), 326–27.

13   R. G. M. Nisbet and Margaret Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 143.

Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?
Quem deum? Cuius recinet iocosa
        nomen imago?

What hero or man do you choose to celebrate,
Clio, with lyre or piercing tibia?
Which of the gods? Whose name will a jocular
        echo repeat.[14]

Indeed, Horace's *Carm.* I, 12 is not about lyric poetry, although it is a celebration of Roman history that culminates in the praise of Augustus, which is opened and closed by the glorification of Jupiter. The question of the first stanza, drawn from Pindar, but also from Theocritus,[15] is meant to rhetorically introduce the object of praise. Horace answers this question in the reverse order, that is by praising first gods, then heroes and finally men, and each category is represented by a group and contains allusions to Augustus and to the functions of the *princeps*. Indeed, the main aim of the ode is to link Augustus both with the republican tradition of historical *exempla* and with the Hellenistic kingship theory.[16] However, Pontanus provides no further information about the ode.

The German Jesuit states instead that Horace afterwards stretched the boundaries of the genre to encompass love, banquets, drinking parties and cheerful and joyful things.[17] And he adds lines 83–85 of the AP, in which Horace, following a prescriptive generic taxonomy, stated the topics of lyric poetry that corresponded to the subject matter of the genres of classical lyric, namely hymns, encomia, *epinikions*, love songs and convivial songs. These lines are also quoted by Masenius when he speaks of the subject matter of lyric poetry (Masenius, *Palaestra eloquentiae ligatae*, Pars II, p. 326). Cf.:

Musa dedit fidibus divos puerosque deorum
et pugilem victorem et equom certamine primum
et iuvenum curas et libera vina referre.

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14 Translations of quotations from Horace's Odes and Epodes are taken from Horace, *Horace's Odes and Epodes*, trans. David Mulroy (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994). All translations of quotations from Horace's *Satires*, *Epistles* and *Ars poetica* are taken from Horace, *Satires, Epistles, Ars Poetica*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, 11th ed. (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1970).

15 Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace*, 143–44.

16 Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace*, 144.

17 "Atqui postea terminos protulit, et complexum est amores (quales celebrarunt Alcman, Sappho, Anacreon) conuivia, compotationes, et res hilaritatis plenas" (Pontanus, *Poeticarum institutionum*, 138; "And then he shifted the boundaries and embraced love (as it was celebrated by Alcman, Sappho, Anacreon), dinner and drinking parties and fun and games").

To the lyre the Muse granted tales of gods and children of gods, of the victor in boxing, of the horse first in the race, of the loves of swains, and of freedom over wine.

Both sets of lines of Horace's are quoted to the same end also by the author of *Officina artis poeticae*, apparently the only Mohylanian poetics teacher to make use of them. In introducing Horace's aforementioned lines he follows Pontanus' words, although he does not reproduce them verbatim. And thus, like Pontanus, he introduces into his manual the idea that Horace broadened his conception of poetry to encompass also (the description of) symposia and love topics ("Postea extensus odarum usus ad convivia et amatoria quam utramque materiam complexus Horatius his versibus").[18] This is a rare or maybe unique occurrence of the term "love" in Mohylanian poetics, and indeed the author does not return to it again, concentrating on the strophic division and on matters of style; finally he goes back to the subject matter of lyric poetry, stating that it is "omnia sunt illa quae carmine possunt exprimi et sunt laudes, suasiones et doctrinae ad mores spectantes."[19]

The variety of the subject matter of lyric poetry is underlined in all Mohylanian poetics, whether they follow Horace or not. However, most of them agree that although lyric poetry imitates all actions, whether sad or cheerful, the latter are to be preferred since the main characteristic of lyric poetry is *suavitas*. Next to it we often find *varietas*, which was to be derived from a variety of lyric meters and thus of rhythm,[20] as well as from tropes, sentences, various verbal ornaments, and a fine and attentive arrangement of the words.

2.2. If these prescriptions were shared by most Mohylanian poetics teachers, only some of them illustrate them in any detail. I will therefore linger on those manuals that dwell on lyric poetry at some length, and thus seek to provide their pupils with basic knowledge about Latin lyric poetry, especially that of Horace and its Neo-Latin Christian interpretation in the works of M. K. Sarbiewski.

The poetics manuals that illustrate lyric poetry in some detail are: *Cunae Bethleemicae* (NBU, IR, call number 499 P / 1729), *Rosa inter spinas* (NBU, IR, two manuscripts, 1. call number 665 / 456 S; 2. call number DP П 241)*, Arctos in Parnasso* (NBU, IR, call number DS / P 245 [21])*, Idea*

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18   "Afterwards he extended the uses of odes to include banquets and love; in these lines Horace embraces the subject matter of both these topics."

19   "They are all things that can be expressed by a poem, and they are praises, persuasions, and instructions concerning morals" (*Officina praestantissimae artis poeticae*…, NBU, IR, call number 686 / 482 S., f. 64 r.).

20   The designation of one peculiar characteristic for each poetic genre by Mohylanian authors is probably drawn from Pontanus' manual (cf. *gravitas* for the heroic poem, *acrimonia* in tragic poetry, *iocus* in comic poetry, *teneritudo* in elegiac poetry, *acumen* in epigrammatic poetry, *simplicitas* in bucolic poetry, *acerbitas* in satyric poetry). Some times *gravitas* is also attributed to tragic poetry; other times the dominant of the latter are said to be *maerores*, while *acrimonia* is attributed to satiric poetry.

21   All the Cyrillic letters in the call numbers of the mentioned manuscripts have been transliterated with Latin characters.

artis poeseos (NBU, IR, two manuscripts, 1. call number 505 P / 1721, 2. call number DA / P 420), *Lyra Heliconis* (NBU, IR, call number 674 / 463 S), *Fons poeseos* (NBU, IR, call number 316 P / 119), *Regia Regis* (NBU, IR, call number 326 P / 103), *Lyra variis praeceptorum chordis... instructa* (NBU, IR, call number 501 P / 1719), *Cytheron Bivertex* (NBU, IR, call number DS / P 235), *Epitome meditationis poeticae* (NBU, IR, call number 690 / 485 S). As all the authors of these manuals are influenced to a greater or lesser extent in their exposition by Sarbiewski's treaty on lyric poetry *Characteres lyrici, seu Horatius et Pindarus*,[22] I will provide some information on its content and theoretical approach. Sarbiewski opens his treaty by dividing lyric poetry into the three rhetorical genres, that is the *demonstrativum* or *exornativum*, the *deliberativum* and the *iudiciale*. To the first belonged encomiastic odes and high-style odes such as hymns;[23] the second included odes containing some moral doctrine (*odae ethicae*), the aim of which was either to encourage virtue or to discourage vice. Finally, the *genus iudiciale* comprised complaints, invectives (execratory odes, also called *dirae*), dedications (*vota*) and supplications. And thus Sarbiewski's divisional criterion is a thematic one, and is enthusiastically adopted by the Mohylanian poetics teachers. Indeed, their adoption of Sarbiewski's division of poetry into the three *genera* of rhetoric appears all the more comprehensible taking into account the applied character of poetry and the social-political function that was assigned to it, and therefore its role of *persuasio*. For each genre Sarbiewski lists a few of Horace's relevant poems (odes and epodes). And thus, to the *genus demonstrativum* (*exornativum*) he assigns *Carm.* I, 6, 10, 12, 21, *Carm.* III, 11, *Carm.* IV 3, 5, 6, 9, 14, 15. The authors of the above-mentioned manuals generally indicate the same examples as Sarbiewski, at times omitting some. However, a few of them show an independent approach. One such was the author of *Rosa inter spinas* who adds *Carm.* I, 20 (to Maecenas), while Iosyp Turoboyskyi, author of *Hymettus*, who had a firm grasp of poetry and contemporary literary theory, subdivides this genre further into different species and for each of them lists not only Horace's, but also Sarbiewski's odes. And thus he divides the *genus demonstrativum* into the *epeneticon,* which is an ode written to praise some friend or benefactor (as examples of which he indicates Sarbiewski's *Lyr.* II, 22 and 28, and III, 19),[24] the *gratulatorium*, in which the poet rejoices in a victory, an honor or the like (as an example of which he indicates Horace's *Carm.* I, 37),[25] the *epinicium* in which the poet applauds the winners on account of the glory or victory gained, the *epicedium* or funeral ode in which the poet celebrates a dead hero or

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22   M. K. Sarbiewski, *Praecepta poetica* (*Wykłady poetyki*), przeł. i oprac. S. Skimina (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1958), 22–158.

23   This genre also included encomia, congratulatory odes, odes of greeting (*salutatoriae*), odes of blame (*vituperatoriae*), descriptions of battles, of triumphs and other panegyric odes.

24   *Lyr.* II, 20 is devoted to Stefan Menochiusz SJ, Rector of the Roman College, for the publication of his books on the education of princes; *Lyr.* II, 28 is a praise of Władysław IV probably written in 1621 on the occasion of the victory of Chocim; *Lyr.* III, 19 is addressed to the military orders of Europe, and contains an incitation to regain the region of Greece (he who aspires to have glory with his descendants, let him follow Achilles's or Hector's examples).

25   This ode was written by Horace to celebrate the death of Cleopatra (30 B.C.).

friend or benefactor (as example of which he indicates Sarbiewski's *Lyr.* III, 25 and 26),[26] finally the *paean*, which is an ode sung to Apollo after a victory.

As for the deliberative genre, the author of *Hymettus* individuates the following species: *pareneticon* (hortatory ode), which proposes some moral precepts that lead to virtue and honesty, supported by different sentences, examples and arguments[27]; *oda suasoria* and *dissuasoria*, in which the author urges his pupils to perform good actions and to avoid evil ones[28]; *propempticon* (*oda valedictoria*), in which the poet sends a friend or a benefactor or other departing person on his way with wishes of good omens, or addressing a ship, a horse or a chariot, so that the traveller may reach his destination safely, or expressing to his friend the dangers of travel, and the difficulties[29]; the *oda consolatoria*, in which the poet consoles someone who is saddened by another person's death or by some other misfortune or harm or by the absence of friends[30];

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26   *Lyr.* III. 25 was written on the death of Jan Rudominy father; *Lyr.* III, 26 is titled *In funere Ernesti Veiheri, Palatini culmensis filii*, and commemorates the premature death of the addressee.

27   As examples of this species the author indicates Horace's *Carm.* II, 14; III, 1, and Sarbiewski's *Lyr.* I, 3, 4, 12, and III, 4. Horace's *Carm.* II, 14, addressed to a certain Postumus, was particularly dear to Mohylanian poetics teachers, especially for its lingering on the flight of time and the unavoidability of death. Indeed, the latter motif, which is the destiny of death that is common to all human beings, is almost obsessively present in this ode from the very first lines. Also the Epicurean inspiration of *Carm.* III, 1 drew it close to the Mohylanian authors' mindset: indeed here the central theme is that of luxury, which is strictly linked to that of the fear of death. In fact, according to Epicurean morals, excessive ambition and greed originate from the fear of death.

28   As examples of this species he indicates Horace's *Carm.* II, 6 and 11.

29   As examples of this species Turoboiskyi indicates Horace's *Carm.* I, 3 to Virgil and *Epode* 10, the reverse *propempticon* to Mevius. Indeed, this epod, which looks like a sort of learned exercise based on an Archilochian model, contains a reversal of the traditional motifs of the *propempticon*: and so Horace wishes his addressee (almost certainly identified by scholars with the poetaster Mevius) that winds from all directions may strike his ship with terrible waves, that no friendly star may guide its way and that the sea may not be gentle at all while it sails.

30   As examples of this species the author points to Horace's *Carm.* II, 9, III, 7, and Sarbiewski's *Lyr.* II, 3. The three odes are quite diversified as to their topic and their addressee. Indeed, only Horace's *Carm.* II, 9 can be properly defined a *consolatio*, where the poet tries to soothe Valgius's (Gaius Valgius Rufus's) grief for the loss of his beloved Mystes. *Carm.* III, 7 refers rather to the elegiac genre (cf. the theme of the separation of lovers): in fact, its addressee with the fictional name Asteria ("starry") is jealous because her husband, a merchant, has left because of his trades. However, it seems that Horace's main aim was to provide a depiction of the amorous life of Rome, offered with his usual irony and suitable distance from passions (see Horace (Q. Orazio Flacco), 1991–1994, *Le opere*, Introduzione di Francesco Della Corte, testo critico di Paola Venini, Traduzioni di Luca Canali, Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, Roma, vol. 1: bks. 1–2; vol. 2: bks. 1–4, here vol. 1, book 2, pp. 758–59). Sarbiewski's *Lyr.* II, 3, on its part, is a short ode addressed to his own lyre, a melancholic meditation on the brevity of human joy that is usually disturbed and surpassed by grief.

proseuticon (*oda petitoria*), in which people ask for someone's assistance or help[31]; lastly *eucharisticon* (*gratiarum actoria*), in which the poet thanks his benefactor for a favour, help or other gifts received (no examples are provided of this species).

For the adjudicating genre (*genus iudiciale*) too, the author of *Hymettus* shows an original approach. In fact while most poetics teachers only include *dirae* in this genre, as Sarbiewski himself does,[32] Turoboiskyi[33] lists two other species: the accusatory ode (*oda accusatoria*), in which the poet blames something, complains of it or accuses and reprimands it,[34] and the excusatory ode (*oda excusatoria*), in which the poet excuses himself or someone else of something that he has been or may be accused of.[35]

Finally, the last species of the adjudicating genre is *dirae*, that is a poem of imprecation in which the poet invokes curses and imprecations. As an example of this genre both Sarbiewski and most Mohylanian authors who teach this division of lyric poetry cite *Carm*. II, 13, the ode against the falling tree that nearly killed Horace in his Sabine estate and *Epode* 3 against garlic.[36]

However, as an example of *dirae*, the author of *Fons poeseos* also indicates *Carm*. II, 2, providing the indication "in Salustium," which should be read here as "ad Salustium," that is "to Sallust" (addressee of the ode), and not "against Sallust." It is not clear why this ode is listed among *dirae*, since it does not contain imprecations or curses. Indeed, C. Sallustius Crispus,

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31   As examples of this species the author selects Sarbiewski's *Lyr*. II, 26 and IV, 28. In *Lyr*. II, 26 Sarbiewski turns to the Virgin Mary and wishes she may bring his own land peace, prosperity and abundance. *Lyr*. IV, 28 is instead an appeal to Holy Wisdom so that amidst the conflicts and strife that constantly divide peoples and countries, the poet may enjoy a serene state of mind.

32   Cf. K. Stawecka, *Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski. Prozaik i poeta* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL, 1989), 95.

33   On Iosyp Turoboiskyi see my 2012 monograph: G. Siedina, *Joasaf Krokovs'kyj nella poesia neolatina dei suoi contemporanei* (Bologna: I Libri di Emil, 2012), particularly Chapter 3.

34   As examples of this species, the author indicates Sarbiewski's *Lyr*. I, 5 and I, 6 and Horace's *Epodes* 15 and 16. Interestingly enough, these two epodes of Horace contain respectively what we could call a "private" and a "public" reprimand, which also points to Turoboiskyi's accurate selection. While in *Epode* 15 Horace blames Neera for having been unfaithful to him, in *Epode* 16 Horace turns as a poet-*vates* to the whole Roman community, tired of civil wars (there is no complete agreement on the time of composition and thus on the wars Horace is referring to: most probably the epode was composed in 38 B.C., right before or right after the war against Sextus Pompeius). It is unclear why of Sarbiewski's odes the author indicates *Lyr*. I, 5 that is an ode which praises the Pope Urban VIII as the bearer of a golden age in which there is no trace of wars, sorrow, cruelty, but where justice, happiness and abundance reign. As for Sarbiewski's *Lyr*. I, 6, it appears more in line with this species, in that it is addressed to the princes of Europe and contains an exhortation to them to regain the regions under the Ottoman yoke.

35   As an example of this species Turoboiskyi points to Horace's *Epode* 14. Indeed, in this epode, which Horace addressed to Maecenas, the author justifies himself for not being able to finish the iambs he had promised his patron-friend because he is in love of a woman named Phryne.

36   Next to these two poems, Turoboiskyi also indicates as examples of this species Sarbiewski's *Lyr*. II, 24 "in Herodem."

great-nephew of Sallustius the historian, is praised for his wise use of the fortune he has inherited.[37] And thus, this ode, for its execration of greed for material riches, was in tune with the Mohylanian teachers' moral approach. They certainly particularly prized the third stanza of this poem, which espouses the Stoic idea that the true rich man is the one who is able to subdue his passions, and particularly avarice. This stanza, however, also contains the Epicurean thought that wealth consists in being able to limit one's wishes, which was also particularly dear to the Mohylanian teachers' mindset.

Yet, this ode can hardly be classified as *dirae*, especially if you compare its tone with the tone of indignation of both *Carm*. II, 13 and *Epode* 3. In the former poem the great indignation against the tree, and especially against the unknown man who planted it, is perceivable from the very first line,[38] although the reader is also struck by the humorous exaggeration of the poet's accusations.

As for *Epode* 3, as I have said, it is addressed to Maecenas and features a playful tone and a parodic intent. The occasion is linked to a garlic-based country-style dish that Maecenas had prepared for Horace and that the latter had found stodgy.

As to Sarbiewski's *Lyr*. II, 24 it is entitled *Dirae in Herodem*, and it is Sarbiewski's only poem in this genre: in nineteen alcaic stanzas, the poet uses mythological images and characters to poetically retrace Herod's life from his birth to his death and describes it as accursed from beginning to end.

2.3. Interestingly enough, however, Sarbiewski's classification of lyric poetry was not the only one among the Mohylanian poetics teachers. Indeed, the author of *Cytheron Bivertex* (1698) adopts a slightly different one, although in the background the above-mentioned division is present. He is followed very closely a few years later by the author of *Lyra Heliconis* (1709). The species of odes they mention, with a few slight differences, are the same as those of the manual *Hymettus*: however, the examples they provide for the different species do not always coincide, which indicates that the knowledge of Horace's and Sarbiewski's poetic legacy was first hand, and authors of poetics felt free to choose the examples that they considered best suited to a particular genre or species. And thus the author of *Cytheron Bivertex,* and after him the author of *Lyra Heliconis*, divides lyric odes into ethical or moral, panegyric and historic ones. As we can see, this division partly reproduces the "rhetorical" one, but with an important difference: the *dirae* odes (*genus iudiciale*) are considered together with ethical odes, and the place of the *genus iudiciale* has been taken by the *odae historicae*. From their description, the latter look like something in between epic poems and panegyric odes: and thus they are said to describe

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37   C. Sallustius Crispus, who was Maecenas's successor as Augustus's most trusted minister, was a munificent man and also a generous supporter of literature. His sobriety also manifested itself in the fact that Sallust was content to remain in the equestrian rank, in which he was born and had declined the offers of advance that Augustus had made him.

38   As Nisbet and Hubbard state, "Though Horace's misadventure was a real one, his account of it is written within a literary tradition. Death from falling objects made one of the innumerable possible topics of sepulchral epitaph," as well as of satires and epigrams. Nisbet and Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book II*, 202

notable events, such as wars, victories or triumphs. They should be written using "honest" fiction, having the appearance of truth; and in order to provide an example of a *verisimilis fictio*, the author says that, e.g., if one describes the war of Azov, one may devise Mars to have supplied the brightest czar with strength and courage.[39] Likewise also Bellona can be depicted as having shed the enemy's blood, and this should be done especially through personifications and lively and pictorial descriptions in narrating military events.[40] The author then adds that these odes can be written using all strophes, by which he probably meant all metrical systems; however, he adds that strophes ought to be either *dicolae*, or *tricolae*, or *tetracolae*.[41] As to the way of composing odes, he enjoins his pupils to consult Horace and Sarbiewski; however, he provides no examples of historical odes, stating that it would be too long to do so.

As far as ethical odes are concerned, they are said to be those containing some doctrine on public or private morals. For this reason, continues the author, these odes should contain elevated, sententious meanings, be adorned with erudition, with which they may persuade students to accomplish virtue and honest customs and dissuade them from vice. Such odes can be found in Sarbiewski and Horace. The author of *Cytheron Bivertex* then proceeds to a further division of this group into *odae invitatoriae*, *consolatoriae*, *petitoriae*, *hortatoriae*, *dirae*. The first subgroup contains odes which should describe whatever the poet is inviting someone to, after which he should compose the petition, addressed to a person or an object: as an example of this, he quotes Horace's *Carm*. I, 4. This ode was particularly esteemed by Mohylanian authors for its content, especially for its reminder about the brevity of human life and impending death. It is an enchanting meditation on the temporality of human life, as opposed to the circularity of the time of nature. It is the return of spring, masterfully described by Horace together with the dance of Venus and the Graces and the enjoyment of nature's beauty that leads the poet by contrast to think about death, and thus about the fugacity of human life. Hence the invitation to L. Sestius to live and enjoy the present day and not to cultivate any distant hope.

The group of *odae consolatoriae* is succintly described as comprising odes in which the poet first ought to propose those things in which he consoles someone, and then he should remove all sadness, grief and sorrow, in order to finally assuage the person's sad feelings with suitable phrases. As an example the author cites Horace's *Carm*. I, 24 in which the poet consoles Virgil for the death of his friend Quintilius. As Nisbet-Hubbard affirm, although the first two stanzas make no mention of Virgil, this poem should rather be regarded as an *epicedium*, and because of this it is natural that it includes some themes of *consolatio*[42]. Indeed, as our author has said, as a rule, in the *consolatio*, the person who comforts (the poet) should first show that he shares the other man's grief.

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39   Interestingly enough, here the author of *Lyra Heliconis* substitutes the war of Azov with the war with the Swedes. The indication of two different historical events is comprehensible taking into account the years of the two manuals: *Cytheron Bivertex* was written in 1698, while *Lyra Heliconis* in 1709.

40   These prescriptions seem to have been followed verbatim by Ilarion Iaroshevytskyi, author of the manual *Cedrus Apollinis* (1702) and of a poem included in it describing the military events that led to the conquest of Azov, and celebrating hetman Ivan Mazepa: see Siedina, "Un poema epico."

41   That is containing either two, or three, or four species of verse.

42   Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace*, 280–81.

As for the *odae petitoriae*, in them the poet first ought to declare the necessity of the petition and then compose the praise of the thing that one requests or of the person from whom one requests. Finally, the author concludes with an attestation of affection and gratitude. No examples are provided for this species of ode.

As regards hortatory odes, they are designed to exhort and thus need to exaggerate whatever it is that someone is being exhorted to do. They require sentences formed by useful, honest, agreeable ideas. The example provided by both *Cytheron bivertex* and *Lyra Heliconis* is Sarbiewski's *Lyr*. I, 6 and I, 9. The former is addressed to the princes of Europe, while the latter, as Buszewicz argues, has as its model Horace's *Carm*. IV, 5 (and it is written in the same metre, the third Asclepiadean). Horace's ode is addressed to Augustus and was written in 13 or 14 B.C., shortly before the emperor's return from Gaul and Spain: it sounds like a prayer to the *princeps* that he may come back and it abounds in encomiastic *topoi*, first of all the assimilation of the emperor to the sun. Sarbiewski's ode is addressed to Mikołaj Wejher, Sarbiewski's schoolmate and sponsor of the Cologne edition of his works. As Buszewicz maintains, and as a cursory comparison reveals, Sarbiewski borrows from his model the image of the homeland that nostalgically awaits the conqueror introducing the figure of the mother who awaits her son on the seashore. However, the Polish poet quickly turns away from his model and shows his addressee how to conquer glory, which resides especially in the cultivation of virtue: the latter in fact, asserts the poet, is the true treasure and the best companion of the true wise man.

As to panegyric odes, the author of *Cytheron Bivertex* provides his pupils with some important information about their composition: indeed, this was the poetic genre most widely practiced by Mohylanian novice poets. And, the poetics teacher says that panegyric odes are those that celebrate someone's praise, and they are written in different ways: 1. through a paradox or a hyperbolic sense; 2. through similes, comparisons and the like; 3. through one or more fictions, so that the poet may imagine that Bellona had cherished the praised hero since childhood. The poet, on his part, may imagine himself flying or dreaming something, or say that he is inspired by a divine spirit to sing someone's praise: the author refers his pupils in this regard to Horace and Sarbiewski: the latter imagined being turned into a swan that flew through the clouds. The author is here referring to Horace's *Carm.* II, 20, in which the poet imagines he is transformed into a swan, and Sarbiewski's recalling this metamorphosis of Horace's in his ode *Lyr*. I, 10 (see Chapter 1).

The poet can also concoct the idea of having been forbidden by Apollo or the Muses to sing the praise and the strength of anybody else except a definite person, or the poet can entrust the Muses with that duty, by proposing to them all the merits, deeds and virtues of the person to be praised. Interestingly, the author then says that panegyric odes can be written with a thesis or a hypothesis. For instance, in the thesis the writer can insert political doctrines, opinions, eruditions, and the like, and then the apodosis, or conclusive part, should contain an explanation of the thesis with praise of the person to whom the ode is addressed. And as an example of such an ode, the author of *Cytheron Bivertex* indicates Sarbiewski's *Lyr*. III, 3, *De clementia principum*, that is "On the clemency of princes."

2.4. An interesting variation on the division of odes according to the genres of rhetoric is provided by the author of *Epitome meditationis poeticae*. At first he states that lyric poetry

is a poem of either praise or reproach or that describes sad or joyful things. He therefore singles out four species: *laudativa*, which sings the praise of virtuous acts; *reprehensiva*, which blames the depravity of morals; *descriptiva*, which describes places and persons, and *docilis*, which teaches and informs with precepts. As you can see, this scheme partly reproduces that of rhetoric. For each of these species the author provides an example, also from Sarbiewski's and Horace's poetry. Indeed, as an example of *docilis oda* he quotes Horace's *Carm.* I, 22 ("Integer vitae scelerisque purus..."), often and variously quoted by Mohylanian authors for its perceived content of moral instruction.

2.5. As regards the ways in which the odes were composed, Sarbiewski distinguishes two modes: *simplex et expositorius* (that is simple and expository) and *obliquus*, which is characterized by the presence of fiction or of another indirect way of presenting the thought (*sententia*). The *modus obliquus* is then further divided into eight different "submodes" according to the type of fiction they contain. Sarbiewski then outlines a third mode, called *medius*, which is further divided into two ways, and which is defined as very suitable for arousing enthusiasm. For each of these modes and "submodes" the author provides one or more examples, mainly drawn from Horace's poetry.

Many Mohylanian authors follow Sarbiewski's exposition on lyric poetry, although, as we will shortly see, they do not limit themselves to quoting the same examples as he does, but add others as well, among which those drawn from Sarbiewski's poetry itself. I will illustrate the mentioned exposition in the manuals *Rosa inter spinas*, *Cunae Bethleemicae*, *Lyra variis praeceptorum chordis... instructa*, and *Lyra Heliconis*, since they feature a more independent approach compared to other poetics courses.

2.5.1. All the aforementioned manuals follow Sarbiewski's distinction of the mode of the odes into *simplex et expositorius* and *obliquus*. And thus their authors state that the former is "cum sententiae tractantur directe, sine ulla peculiari inventione" ("when the thoughts/sentences are treated directly without any particular invention"), while the latter requires the thoughts/ sentences to be treated indirectly in some ingenious way, either through a fable or through an allegorical fiction that can embrace the whole poem or only some stanzas. Sarbiewski distinguishes eight modes and Mohylanian authors follow him: among these modes we find the one when the poet does not himself praise someone, but orders someone else to praise, as Horace did in *Carm.* I, 21 and IV, 6; or when one treats his subject matter indirectly through a *prosopopoeia*, like Horace did in *Carm.* I, 14. Lastly, the mode expressed by means of an allegory, which in some cases embraces the whole ode, like in Horace's *Carm.* I, 14; III, 30; II, 10. To these examples then the author of *Cunae Bethleemicae* adds Sarbiewski's own ode *Lyr.* III, 11. This ode is devoted to the cardinal Francis Barberini, and it is dominated by the allegorical motif of the high flight that he uses for panegyrics. And thus the poet will search for an adequate place to sing the praise of the cardinal among the stars, and all the constellations will somehow request the new hero.

Sarbiewski divides odes into three parts, respectively the beginning (*ingressum seu proemium*), the central part (*digressum*) and the final part (*regressum*). The Mohylanian poetics

teachers focused especially on the exordium of the ode, and in this they display good knowledge both of Sarbiewski's and of contemporary Polish poetry. Sarbiewski himself in *Praecepta poetica* devotes great attention to this topic, and Mohylanian authors somehow synthetize his exposition while exhibiting a diverse approach. Thus, at first he divides exordia into "in actu signato" and "in actu exercito": the former contains a statement or declaration on what the poet is going to sing in the ode; the latter does not. Mohylanian authors borrow this division, but not its terminology: indeed, the author of *Lyra Heliconis* calls them more simply *exordium explicitum* and *exordium implicitum*. Sarbiewski distinguishes seven explicit exordia and seven implicit ones, and is followed by the author of *Cunae Bethleemicae*, who however, shows originality in the quotation of examples. And thus to exemplify the second mode of the explicit exordium, when the poet invokes the muse or Apollo, that is the divinity, coherently with the principle that Christian authors should call upon Christian protectors, next to Horace he quotes as an example Sarbiewski's *Lyr*. II, 11, *Ad D. Virginem Matrem*, which has as its starting point Horace's *Carm*. III, 4. Interestingly enough, the author of *Cunae Bethleemicae* as the seventh mode of the explicit exordium has a completely different exordium from Sarbiewski's. While the latter describes it as "VII modus, cum poeta suum genus poeseos laudat aliquem illo laudaturus, qualis est tota lib. IV 8"[43] (that is Horace's *Carm.* IV, 8, to Censorinus), our author describes it as "septimo cum alloquitur aliquam idealem personam, vg virtutem, famam, amorem."[44] Therefore also the examples provided by the two authors are different: while Sarbiewski quotes Horace's *Carm*. IV, 8 and IV, 9, as well as numerous examples from Pindar, the author of *Cunae Bethleemicae* mentions Sarbiewski's *Lyr.* III, 14 and IV, 28. Indeed, *Lyr.* III, 14 is addressed to honor, while *Lyr*. IV, 28 to Divine Wisdom.

2.5.2. As regards the *exordium implicitum*, called by Sarbiewski "in actu exercito," the author of *Cunae Bethleemicae* follows Sarbiewski's exposition.[45] Then our author also adds other exordia that are constituted by figures of speech, that is *ab interrogatione* (with an interrogation), *ab allocutione* (with an exhortation), *ab exclamatione* (with an exclamation), and for each of those he provides examples from Sarbiewski's and other Polish poets. The author of *Lyra Heliconis* also partly follows Sarbiewski in the exposition of *exordia implicita*, although in several places he shows independence and an autonomous judgment (particularly evident in the selection of poetic examples, but not only).

Other courses, such as *Lyra variis praeceptorum chordis... instructa* present all the exordia together, without mentioning Sarbiewski's distinction, and providing examples from Sarbiewski's and Horace's poetry that do not always coincide with other courses (e.g. *Cunae Bethleemicae*).

Still other manuals, such as *Rosa inter spinas*, divide exordia according to the genre of rhetoric to which each ode belongs. And thus, the encomiastic odes, which belong to the *genus exornativum*, may begin in different ways: by the description of the thing that is praised

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43   Sarbiewski, *Praecepta poetica*, 69 ("seventh mode, when the poet praises his own genre of poetry, having to sing someone's praises in it; such is the whole [Horace's] *Carm*. IV, 8").

44   "The seventh [mode] is when one speaks to some ideal person, e.g. virtue, fame, love."

45   See Sarbiewski, *Praecepta poetica*, 72–74

with a direct address, or by a fiction, when the poet states he was ordered by Apollo or the Muses to sing praises. The exordium of encomiastic odes can be with a suitable simile, or with a question, when the poet asks, since the one that he praises is unknown to him or asks who it is that he is going to praise. Lastly, encomiastic odes can begin with a fiction in which the poet addresses the praises that are to be sung by him, to fame, or Apollo or the Muses. For each of these exordia the author provides examples from Horace, Sarbiewski and other Polish poets, each time quoting the first lines of the ode mentioned.

As to the odes belonging to the *genus deliberativum*, since they deal with some moral doctrine, they "need to have propositions and reasonings that may pithily prove that very same proposition. The orations should succeed one after the other without transitions, and they should convey thoughts, similes, allegories and at times acumens."[46] Such odes can begin with a fiction, by which the poet declares himself to have been snatched, so that he may create another fiction, or by some sentence (thought). Moral odes can begin with a narrator, introduced by the poet, who gives a moral doctrine. The author asserts that such odes are frequently found both in Horace and Sarbiewski. Among the odes that can begin with a sentence (thought) (*a sententia aliqua*), the author of *Rosa inter spinas* quotes the first stanza of Horace's *Carm.* II, 3 ("Aequam memento rebus in arduis / servare mentem, non secus in bonis / ab insolenti temperatam / laetitia, moriture Delli" — "Remember to keep a level head / when the road is steep and likewise temper / your glee when times are good, / Dellius, destined to die") which was extremely popular among Mohylanian novice poets.[47] Lines 1–2 of this ode, instead, are quoted by the author of *Lyra Heliconis* as an example of the first type of *exordium implicitum* of the ode, i.e. when the poet, without any statement or premise, starts to deal with his subject; in this specific case, the truth which the poet has chosen to address is introduced by the *gnoma* itself, i.e. by a universal truth, which brilliantly conveys the subject matter and the gravity of lyric poetry.

Finally, the author of *Rosa inter spinas* asserts that both encomiastic and moral odes can begin with a *locus communis*, a common place, which he defines as some subject matter that can serve many human beings, sometimes all, or else kingdoms, through words and things animate and inanimate, such as virtues, vices, morals, human customs, and the like (he refers his pupils to his treatment of *loci communes* a little later). He states that such exordia by means of a common place can be easily found, and as an example he quotes Horace's *Carm.* III, 3 ("Iustum et tenacem propositi virum…"), which as we have seen in Chapter 2, was particularly admired and therefore often quoted by Mohylanian authors of poetics, first for the image of the just and steadfast man who is not shaken either by human beings or by nature or superhuman powers. Interestingly, the author of *Cunae Bethleemicae* quotes this ode as an example of the first implicit exordium, the one that begins with a *gnoma* or universal virtue.

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46   "Debent habere propositiones et rationes, quae probent sententiose eandem propositionem, horationes una post aliam subgeruntur, sine transitionibus, traduntur sententias, similitudines, allegorias, et acumina quandoque" (ms. 8.1, call number 665/456 S., f. 32 r.).

47   On the different quotations of this ode in the Mohylanian poetics, see G. Siedina, "The Teaching of Lyric Meters and the Reception of Horace in Kyiv-Mohylanian Poetics," in *Latinitas in the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Its Impact on the Development of Identities*, ed. G. Siedina (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2014), 102–04.

Before dealing with the exordia of the *genus iudiciale*, the author of *Rosa inter spinas* adds that odes can begin with an allegoric definition, such as Sarbiewski's *Lyr.* III, 14[48] on honor, written when Francis Barberini was appointed cardinal by Pope Urban VIII. Interestingly, this same exordium had been quoted by the author of *Cunae Bethleemicae* as the seventh mode of the explicit exordium, "when one speaks to some ideal person, e.g. virtue, fame, love" (see above). Here is the first stanza of *Lyr.* III, 14 (lines 1–5a), as quoted in *Rosa inter spinas*:

Te clara divum progenies, Honor,
Marsae canemus carmine tibiae,
      te, meta votorum, et laboris
           dulce lucrum, volucrisque vitae
formosa merces.

You, bright divine progeny, Honour,
we celebrate with a song of the Marsian flute
      you, goal of pledges, and sweet
           reward of effort, and beautiful goods
of fleeting life.

Indeed, this stanza can "serve" both exordia, since they are not mutually exclusive.

Finally, the exordium of *dirae* can be expressed either by addressing the one against whom the poet is writing his ode, as in Sarbiewski's *Lyr.* II, 14 *in Herodem* or by showing the effects caused by the thing against which the poet is writing his ode, as in Horace's *Carm.* II, 13. The content and the structure of *dirae* are quite well described by the author of *Lyra Heliconis* (f. 223 v.–224 r.).

2.6. Interestingly, the author of *Hymettus* synthetizes his exposition on the "modes" of lyric ode in a short chapter entitled *De modis seu inventionibus odarum scribendarum*. He divides the composition of odes into five modes, which partly recall Sarbiewski's modes, but have the merit of providing a useful summary of the compositional modes of the odes without going into the slight nuances and differences which at times risk confusing and overwhelming the budding poet. Moreover, as we will shortly see, by constantly referring his pupils to the poetry of Horace and Sarbiewski, he not only reveals his first-hand knowledge of the two poets' oeuvre, but also effectively facilitates his students' understanding of the many features of *elocutio* and *dispositio* as well as *inventio*.

And thus, the first mode that we find in *Hymettus* follows Sarbiewski's first mode, *simplex et expositorius* and it occurs when the poet amplifies the meaning of some thought in a simple way, without any particular fiction or invention, through synonymic meanings. According to the author of *Hymettus*, Horace's *Carm.* I, 1 and Sarbiewski's *Lyr*, I, 2 and IV, 26 are written in this mode. Horace, says our author, simply demonstrates how other groups of people are occupied with various life activities, while his own calling is to lyric poetry. In Sarbiewski's *Lyr.* I, 2 the

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48   The manuscript gives ode 13, but this is clearly a *lapsus calami*.

general sense that hostile fortune is followed by consolation is amplified with no particular fiction through synonymic meanings.

The second mode is when the poet who is going to write a panegyric ode does not sing someone's praises himself but encourages someone else to do so. Such is Horace's *Carm.* I, 21[49] in which the poet exhorts young girls to sing praises to Diana and boys to sing praises to Apollo. On his part, in *Lyr.* II, 18 Sarbiewski, parodying Horace's *Carm.* I, 21, exhorts young girls and boys to sing praises to the Virgin Mary.

The third mode is when the poet neither praises someone himself nor urges someone else to praise, but promises that someone else will sing praises while he introduces the topic of the praise. Such is Horace's *Carm.* I, 6 where the poet turns to Vipsanius Agrippa, who had invited him to sing his own praises, excusing himself for not being up to the task and stating that Varius Rufus, who was then considered Rome's most outstanding epic poet, will, with Homer's art, worthily celebrate Vipsanius Agrippa's victories over the enemy. This is a *recusatio*, a trope.

The fourth mode of composing odes is when the poet who is going to deal with some subject does not speak in the first person but introduces with a prosopopoeia some other person, true or feigned, who illustrates the theme. The author provides two examples of this mode. The first is Horace's *Carm.* I, 15 where the poet introduces Nereus. Nereus then reveals to Paris (who abducted Helen from Greece to Troy), the outcome of the Troian war, and the fact that Paris will be slain by Ajax and that Troy will be totally destroyed. Similarly, says the author of *Hymettus*, in Sarbiewski's *Lyr.* IV, 4 which deals with the victory at the battle of Khotyn (1621), the poet introduces Galez, a Moldavian farmer who sings the victory of the Poles over the Turks.

Lastly, the fifth mode is when the poet includes a fable and deals with this throughout the ode. Such is Sarbiewski's *Lyr.* I, 10 where he pretends that Calliope has endowed him with feathers and wings, so that he may carry the name of Pope Urban everywhere, even to the farthest and the highest places. The beginning of this ode harks back to Horace's *Carm.* II, 20. The author of *Hymettus* quotes here also the exordium of Horace's *Carm.* IV, 15, in which the poet imagines that he has been deterred by Apollo from singing Augustus's praise: this exordium therefore contains a *recusatio*.

2.7. With regard to the other two parts of the ode, that is its central and final part, Mohylanian authors generally provide a quite succint description of them or do not provide it at all. As to the *elocutio* of lyric poetry, its style and verbal ornamentation, Mohylanian authors usually limit themselves to a few observations and prescriptions, at times corroborating them with examples.

And so the author of *Rosa inter spinas*, following Sarbiewski, ranks Horace first thanks to the polish and originality of his poetry. Among other things, the uncommon quality of Horace's poetry lies in his choice of epithets, in his skilful use of metaphors, similes, synecdoches, allegories, and other figures of speech and of thought.

Horace is presented as the model *par excellence* to be imitated: his *labor limae* and his studied lexical usage are unequalled in Latin poetry. And the author of *Rosa inter spinas* then quotes Sarbiewski verbatim, when he declares: "Nescio an quisquam Horatio limatior,

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49   The copyist here made a *lapsus calami* erroneously writing I, 12.

et elaboratior in versorum delectu tam simplicium, quam compositorum, uti legenti cuivis passim praestantissima verba et phrases occurrent facile".[50]

Following Sarbiewski, he instructs his pupils on how to confer grace and dignity to lyric expression: they should not use new words that are not found in Horace, they should admit the substantival adjective only in lyric poetry and at the same time they should not disdain using common words, as Horace did in the verse "nec prata canis albicant pruinis" (*Carm.* I, 4, 4) ("nor meadows blanch with frozen dew"). Horace's *ornatus* needs to be followed also in adding adverbs that confer particular elegance to one's speech (e.g. *Carm.* I, 9, 5–6a: "Dissolve frigus ligna super foco / large reponens," that is "Disintegrate winter! Cover the hearth / with kindling completely").

Other authors are even more concise. For instance Ilarion Iaroshevytskyi, author of *Cedrus Apollinis,* apparently undertakes to describe the central part of the ode, but he gives only a few recommendations. And thus he speaks of a triple way of dealing with odes, but then apparently speaks of only one, that is by means of commonplaces, with thoughts, precepts, examples, etc.; the commonplaces should be illustrated with fictions, allegories and the like. Odes should be embellished with thoughts (*sententiae*), proof, examples, without which odes are rough.

2.8. As regards the conclusion of the ode, if Mohylanian poetics teachers speak about it at all, they generally say that the conclusion is not compulsory. For instance, Ilarion Iaroshevytskyi states that the conclusion is not mandatory, but usually when it is present it is derived from a thought, an opinion or from a recollection, as you can see in Horace and Sarbiewski. In his conclusion to *Lyr.* I, 10, the latter expresses the wish that the Muse carry him to the banks of the Tiber so that he may hang his flute and lyre on a holm oak and rest peacefully. Iaroshevytskyi also quotes Horace's conclusion of *Carm.* I, 11, which contains the famous motto "carpe diem": "Dum loquimus, fugerit invida / aetas: carpe diem, quan minimum credula postero" ("An envious age will have fled as we speak. / Seize the day with little faith in tomorrow"). Finally, he says that odes can finish with a prayer, with votes (pledges), with prophecies and the like.

3. From a brief overview of the treatment of lyric poetry in the Mohylanian poetics, we can draw certain conclusions. First and foremost is that lyric poetry was mainly conceived by Mohylanian authors as a poetic means to either praise someone (*genus demonstrativum* or *exornativum*) or to convey some moral teaching (*genus deliberativum*). This is also attested by their selective use of their sources and by the poetical examples, mainly from Horace and Sarbiewski's poetry that they choose to illustrate the rules and principles for the composition of the different odes.

However, in order to persuade, besides being morally "edifying," poetry had to be beautiful and to sound attractive, so as to catch the readers'/listeners' attention. That is why Mohylanian authors devote so much attention to rhetorical ornamentation, and go into details concerning the lexical, phonetical and semantic level of the Latin language. That is also why, in doing this,

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50   "I do not know anyone who is as polished and elaborate in the selection of both simple and compound verses as Horace, so that he who reads it everywhere meets excellent words and phrases" (*Rosa inter spinas*, ms. 1, call number 665 / 456 S, f. 29 r.).

they borrow the poetical fruits of their glorious predecessor Horace and of his brilliant 17th century Polish "interpreter" M. K. Sarbiewski.

As far as the Kyiv-Mohylanian poetics' teachers selective approach to Horace's poetry, in order to thouroughly understand it, we should recall the conception of poetry propounded by the Mohylanian poetics and the fact that the aesthetic end of poetry was totally subordinate to its moral end. In poetry so conceived there could be no room for our contemporary conception of the poet's inner emotions and feelings, and the categories of "originality" or "sincerity" in our understanding of them are inapplicable. The poet's feelings were "acceptable," insomuch as they were the expression of those virtues or, as in the case of panegyric poetry, the expression of admiration for characters who fully embodied those virtues and were therefore proposed to the budding poets as models.

The true nature of the poet therefore revealed itself first of all in his ability to creatively imitate one or more chosen models. Indeed, *imitatio auctorum* was one of the four indispensable elements for composing "good" poetry, as the authors stated in the general poetics, and it was one of the ways in which aspiring poets could practise *exercitatio*, which was another of the four essentials for a good poet, a fundamental one indeed. The choice of Horace and of his Christian "interpreters," "emulators," admirers was a natural one. In fact, there were many reasons for choosing Horace's poetry, besides its constituting a model of Lyric meters. Here L. P. Wilkinson's considerations on Horace's lyric are extremely helpful.[51] In the first place, what certainly attracted Mohylanian poetics teachers is the fact that Horace's poetry is very often not "lyrical" in the common sense of this word, which refers directly to the sphere of feelings; indeed, it is rather poetry of thought, which springs from reflections rather than from direct emotions. This is also connected to the rhetorical orientation of Horace's diction, which is often addressed to a certain "you" and takes the tone of an admonition-exhortation. Which is exactly what Mohylanian poetics teachers were looking for. Also, the fact that the Horatian lyric is "rarely suggestive or imaginative,"[52] and is rather a poetry of statement and not of suggestion, rendered them attuned to it. What also certainly appealed to them was the fact that the statements in Horace's poetry were often not expressed with elaborate metaphors, but rather with images simply taken from life.

Another feature of the Horatian lyric that certainly attracted Mohylanian teachers was the way the poet gave natural phenomena a symbolic meaning with reference to human life (cf. for instance *Carm.* I, 4; II, 3; II, 10). Moreover, at times the thoughts concerning human relationships that the poet left "incomplete" are expressed through the metaphoric representation of nature.[53] Indeed, if we pay attention to the fragments quoted by Mohylanian authors to different ends, we can see that nearly all of them display the aforementioned features. Moreover, Mohylanian

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51   Cf. L. P. Wilkinson, *Horace and his Lyric Poetry* (Ann Arbor; London: University Microfilms International, 1980).

52   Wilkinson, *Horace*, 123.

53   Wilkinson argues his point of view with the analysis of the ode to Dellius (*Carm.* II, 3): the image of the trees intertwined in a hug and of the murmuring brook that tries to rush down from its river-bed, suggests among the "remedies" for the shortness of life the act of love, although this is not expressed patently in the text. Such a suggestion is clearly visible in the ode to Thaliarchus (*Carm.* I, 9).

authors were also attuned to what Wilkinson defines as the oratorical features of Horace's language, its artistry, which expressed itself in a particular sensitivity "to sounds and rhythms and to the architectural construction of sentences."[54]

Moreover, Horace's poetry served manifold purposes, and was especially considered a sort of "repository" of precepts for different aspects of the composition of poetry: on the one the poetics teachers stress the high value of poetry as the only art able to keep alive the memory of great men and their feats for generations to come (thus elaborating on this idea as it is expressed in Horace's *Carm.* IV, 8). On the other they underline that although talent is necessary when composing poetry, if it is not accompanied by diligent application and exercise, is not enough to make one a poet worthy of this high name.

Indeed, in their poetic "practice" Mohylanian teachers themselves apply Horace's conception of poetry as the depository of glorious memories of important historical figures: quite a few poetic works in the Mohylanian poetics are panegyrics, i.e. belong to the epideictic genre. It is mainly to refute the Platonic contention that poets are liars and that poetry arouses negative passions, that human actions are often made to be the principal subject matter of poetry, and Mohylanian novice-poets chose their material from history. The narration of famous men's deeds in hymns and praises was required to promote models of virtue which the readers would both admire and wish to emulate. The main criterion for such a depiction was verisimilitude, i.e. the different modes of idealization (poets were instructed to represent what ought to have happened, more than what actually happened) were admitted as long as they made the narration credible.

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

The other modes of Horatian imitation in the Mohylanian poetics entail his Christianization. In particular, the latter takes three forms: parody, the transformation of Horace's lyric in a Christian key, and the use of Horatian meters for the composition of poems on Christian topics. These three modes are in line with the Christian interpretation/imitation of Horace that began in Western Europe in the first centuries after Christ and continued in different guises well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed, for Jesuit pedagogy, which inspired education at the KMA, poetry was a veritable "spiritual exercise," a sort of poetic theology.[55] With its metrical virtuosity and brilliant verbal craftsmanship, Horace's poetry provided an excellent model for the introduction of Christian contents (in the parodies and in quantitative Latin poetry that adopts Horatian meters). It would be interesting and important to investigate further how aware the authors of Mohylanian poetics were of their lowering of the Horatian model, and whether their aim was simply that of a parody, or rather to create a "conscious" counter-song (literally a *para*-ōidē).

On the other hand, many motifs of Horace's poetry could be easily made to coincide with the ethical and religious tenets of education at the KMA: for instance, reflection on the brevity

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54   Wilkinson, *Horace*, 134.

55   Cf. Li Vigni, *Poeta quasi creator. Estetica e poesia in Mathias Casimir Sarbiewski* (Palermo: Centro Internazionale Studi di Estetica, 2005), 28.

of human life, the impossibility of achieving complete happiness, the avoidance of excesses, contentment with little, love of virtue and the like.

Through the elaboration of pagan authors in a Christian key and the foundation of their own Parnassus on the hills of Kyiv,[56] Mohylanian teachers aimed at including their institution in European *Latinitas*. Indeed, the examples that I have illustrated show that the education and the assimilation of the Classics that was part of it at the KMA, shared the same absorption of ancient learning in Christian thinking that took place in the schools (of different confessions) of contemporary Western Europe.[57]

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56   Cf. the recurring images in the Mohylanian poetics of the Pindaric *locus amoenus*, which now finds itself on the hills of Kyiv with the attributes pertaining to it: the clear pegasean spring, the thick foliage of laurel, the steep and inaccessible mountain path reserved to a few, the summit of the acquired poetic art.

57   Cf., for instance, what the Protestant Georg Fabricius writes in the introductory poem (addressed to the poetics students) of his *De re poetica libri VII*, Lipsiae 1589: "Carmine divinum celebratur nomen, et usus / ille vetus nostro tempore durat adhuc. [...] Disce bona imparibus iungere verba modis. / His Domino grates ut possis dicere Christo, / et sanctas dulci voce referre preces" ("With poems the divine name is celebrated, and that / ancient custom still continues in our time. [...] Learn how to join good words with uneven rhythms. / So that with them you may say thanks to Christ the Lord, / and offer holy prayers with a sweet voice").

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Giovanna Siedina is Assistant Professor of Russian at the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures of the University of Verona. She has done research in the fields of 18th century Russian lexicography and of early modern Ukrainian literature, as well as of 18th and 19th century Ukrainian literature. Her interests mainly concern the reception of Classical authors, especially Horace, in Ukrainian (18th–20th centuries) and Russian (18th century) literatures, and 17th–18th century Neo-Latin Ukrainian poetry. She has also done research on Russian-Ukrainian literary relationships and on poetic translation. Lately she has directed her interests towards the topic "Language and Politics."