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Agnieszka Borysowska
Barbara Milewska-Ważbińska (eds.)

Poesis Artificiosa

Between Theory and Practice

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Introductory Note

In 1668, the Carmelite Paschasius (a Sancto Johanne Evangelista) published in Würzburg a book entitled *Poesis artificiosa*, comprising a collection of miscellaneous poetic forms calculated to impress the readers. The term *poesis artificiosa* had been adopted to refer to elaborate poetic forms, particularly those composed in Latin. Part and parcel of companions to rhetorics and poetics, *poesis artificiosa* was to absorb both visual poetry and poetic compositions characterised by elaborate metre, extraordinary word order and puns. Poetic practice of that ilk had already been in place no later than in ancient times. Registered in the literary heritage of both the ancient Greeks and Romans and in the Far and Middle East were works formally arranged into a specific shape or fashioned to evoke a particular reading effect. The tradition of pattern poetry was preserved in the Middle Ages largely owing to such authors as Optatianus, Venantius Fortunatus, or the later exponent – Hrabanus Maurus. Written not only in Latin but in vernacular languages and defined in poetics and rhetorics companions, elaborate poetic forms were domesticated and practiced regularly by sixteenth century European poets. Pattern poetry gained in unprecedented popularity in the Baroque – a period most inclined towards all manner of ‘special effects’. This period was also heavily marked by the overall absorption and flourishing of emblematics, hieroglyphics, iconology, and other forms underscoring visual qualities of work, resulting from the association that had developed between *poesis* and *pictura*. The tradition of pattern poetry was still going strong in the eighteenth century Carmelite, Jesuit and Franciscan orders. This was because traditional means of poetic expression proved futile for the purpose of communicating one’s faith. The literary form of *poesis artificiosa*, in contrast, went hand in hand with religious content, enriched meditation and spiritual experience. Opacity and polysemy were to serve as a metaphor for a Christian’s way to God – complex and unfathomable. Impermeable to thought, such content could be better communicated via works that banked on the reader’s sight as primary medium of interpretation.

These works fulfilled a similar function in the Protestant tradition. In both Christian traditions elaborate poems were composed not only to communicate religious devotion, but also to commemorate the mighty as well as to glamorise momentous events.

The title of the book extended before the reader’s eyes seeks to do justice to the content it promises. The works elaborated on in the respec-

The Theory of *Poesis Artificiosa* in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1660–1760)

Jakub Niedźwiedź
Jagiellonian University

In this paper I would like to take a closer look at the results that emergence of the category of pattern poetry (*poesis artificiosa*) had for the theory of poetry at the beginning of the eighteenth century and later on. These results significantly influenced the changes of understanding the poetic art in those days. I will base my study on sources coming from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth but some conclusions might be useful in studies on the development of pattern poetry in other parts of Europe as well.

Pattern poetry became very popular around Europe in the seventeenth century.¹ Therefore, there is nothing odd about the fact that from the beginning of that century we come across characteristics of the genre. Among the earlier Jesuit works we count a textbook by Ioannes Buchler from 1613 (an adaptation of the poetics by Iacobus Pontanus *Poetices libri III*), where we can find deliberations on leonine verse, echo, reciprocus and proteus poem.² To the currently well-known poetics of the kind belong *Metametrica* (1663) of Juan Caramuel de Lobkovitz³ and *Poesis artifi-*

1 Dick Higgins estimates that "nearly half of all known pattern poems date from the seventeenth century." Dick Higgins, *Pattern Poetry: Guide to an Unknown Literature* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1987), 11. Pattern poetry is usually mentioned when visual poetry and the visual aspect of poetry is discussed. Cf., among others, John Hollander, *Vision and Resonance: Two Senses of Poetic Form* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1975), 245–270; Carole Anne Taylor, *A Poetics of Seeing: The Implications of Visual Form in Modern Poetry* (New York, London: Garland Publishing, 1985), 4–9; Richard Bradford, *The Look of It: A Theory of Visual Form in English Poetry* (Cork: Cork Univ. Press, 1993), 18–28; Piotr Rypson, *Piramidy, słońca, labirynty: Poezja wizualna w Polsce od XVI do XVIII wieku* (Warszawa: Neriton, 2002), 54–56.

2 Rypson, *Piramidy, słońca, labirynty*, 71.

3 Juan Caramuel y Lobkovitz, *Primus calamus ob oculos ponens metametricam quae variis currentium, recurrentium, adscendentium, descendendentium nec non circumvolantium versuum ductibus aut aeri inciso, aut buxo insculptos, aut plumbo infusos multiformes labyrinthos exornat* (Rome: Fabius Falconius excudebat, 1663). Cf. Roland Greene, "The Lyric," in Glyn P. Norton, ed., *The Renaissance*, vol. 3 of *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), 218; Higgins, *Pattern Poetry*, 50.

ciosa (1668) of Ioannes Paschasius which served teaching at school as the majority of the like.⁴

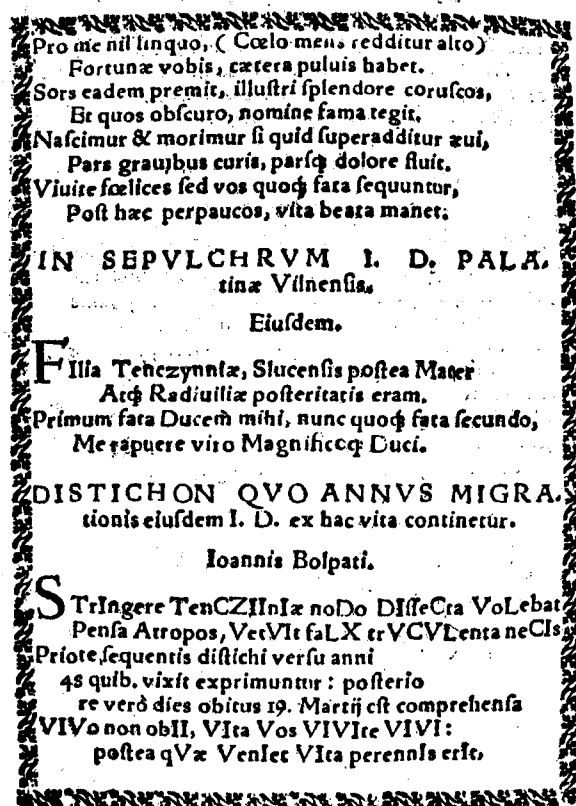


Figure 24: An early Lithuanian example of pattern poetry: chronosticon written by a student of the Vilnian Academy, Ioannes Bolpatus, in: *Threni in exequias... Catherinae Radiviliae de Tenczyn, Vilnae, Ex Officina Iacobi Markowicz 1592.*

However, from the early eighteenth century, when the pattern poetry was commonly practised, some critical voices were raised and this led to complete disappearance of the genre.⁵ Basing on aesthetic and rational premises critics depreciated *poesis artificiosa*. Main objections were related to conceit, lack of solemnity and bad taste. Such stance was presented by a Polish Piarist, Stanisław Konarski, one of the main initiators of the educational system reform in the Commonwealth in the first half of the eighteenth century. Konarski recommended avoiding devices characteristic for chronosticons, stemmas, anagrams and other pattern compositions judging them childish:

In prose to avoid poetical style, to cease ridiculous frolics based on words similarity and, in general, any childish ideas and ludicrous conceits about secondary things, that is as the “circumstances” say, on coats of arms, days, places, medals, names, etc.⁶

Just a while before that, pattern poetry was attacked by Joseph Addison, who in 1711 wrote a kind of “antipoetics” of pattern poetry. In No. 60 of *The Spectator* he discussed in detail anagrams, acrostics, Bouts-Rimés and their poetical realisations, employing the very same examples as did Paschasius and authors of the Lithuanian treatises. This type of poetry was characterised by false wit, and being a product of Catholic monks (Jesuits) and other backward inhabitants of the Continent was at the same time devoid of good taste and often absurd:

The Acrostic was probably invented about the same Time with the Anagram, tho’ it is impossible to decide whether the Inventor of the one or the other were the greater Blockhead.⁷

Negative evaluation of *poesis artificiosa* lasted for more than two hundred fifty years and yet in the second half of the twentieth century scholars of the old literature used the same objections as their Enlightened predecessors. An expert of the old literature and poetics, Teresa Michałowska, writing about genre theory in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, assessed the peak development of the pattern poetry in Poland and Lithuania in those days in the following way:

4 Ioannes Paschasius, *Poesis artificiosa cum sibi praefixa perfacili manductione ad Parnassum, tam veterum, quam recentiorum poetarum autoritate studiosae elaborata: In usum studiosae iuventutis proposita* (Herbipoli: sumptibus Iohannis Petri Zubrodt, typis Eliae Michaelis Zinck, 1668). The second edition of the treatise from 1674 is available at <<http://books.google.com>>. Cf. Higgins, *Pattern Poetry*, 50; Rypson, *Piramidy, stońca, labirynty*, 123–127.

5 About criticism on pattern poetry in European literature see Higgins, *Pattern Poetry*, 13–15.

6 Stanisław Konarski, *Pisma wybrane*, ed. Juliusz Nowak-Dłużewski (Warszawa: PIW, 1955), 2:213.

7 Joseph Addison, “*The Spectator* No. 60,” in Donald F. Bond, ed., *The Spectator* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 255.

The tendency to putting the pattern poetry in the first place in the hierarchy of literary kinds and genres was a symptom of the typical alteration of literary taste at the close of baroque and the times of Saxon kings [i.e. 1697–1763]. The legislators of poetry popularised a model of art which should be intellectually empty, deprived of ideological values and at the same time definitely subjected to technical rules. Through the medium of school didactics they tried to impose such a model upon literature. In these endeavours inheres a clear evidence of decadence and decay of contemporary literary culture which was remaining in the range of the influence of the monastic school-system.⁸

In the passage quoted above my attention was attracted not only to the negative opinions of *poesis artificiosa*, but also to the positive arguments: about “putting the pattern poetry in the first place in the hierarchy of literary kinds and genres,” about “the alteration of literary taste,” and to the great part which in this process is played by the “school didactics” and “monastic culture.”

From the thesis stated by Teresa Michałowska we can draw two questions:

1. Why did pattern poetry gain such a great autonomy?
2. Why did this autonomy during the last two hundred fifty years irritate and bother literary critics?

Further in this paper I will try, above all, to give an answer to the first of these questions and I will commence with relating what solemn rhetoricians, described by Addison as *blockheads*, had to say on this subject.

Characteristic Outline of the Pattern Poetry in the Lithuanian Poetics

The theory I am going to discuss is one used at schools. It was formulated to satisfy the needs of lecturers and students of humanistic colleges. My observations are based on forty-one manuscript textbooks about rhetoric and poetics written between 1660–1760.⁹ All of them were writ-

8 Teresa Michałowska, *Staropolska teoria genologiczna* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1974), 141.

9 All the manuscripts mentioned here are stored in the collection of the University Library in Vilnius (Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka, hereinafter: VUB), the Wróblewscy Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius (Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka, hereafter: LMAB), the Library of the National Belarusian Academy of Sciences in Minsk (Бібліятэка Нацыянальнай

ten records of lectures in schools in the Great Duchy of Lithuania, one of the two main countries included in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In these times the majority of the colleges in Lithuania were run by three orders: Catholic Jesuits and Piarists and Uniat Basilians.¹⁰ The Jesuits were in the lead, their schools were the most numerous and they even had their own university: the Vilnius Academy.¹¹ The significance of the academy as the centre of humanistic studies rose after 1608, when the Lithuanian province of the Society of Jesus was separated from the Polish one and became independent of it. Although both the provinces held the same educational system that based on school regulations *Ratio studiorum* (1599), one can notice that there were differences as to studying humaniora in Lithuania. The Basilian colleges¹² took pattern from the Jesuit ones, and so the literary theory practised there copied Jesuit solutions and often the Jesuit textbooks were used there too.

Chapters dedicated to the subject we are interested in appeared for the first time in the Lithuanian poetics in the 1680s, but it may be as-

акадэміі навук Беларусі, hereafter: BNAN) and the National Belarusian Library in Minsk (Нацыянальная бібліятэка Беларусі, hereafter: BNB).

10 In this period in Lithuania there was also a Calvinistic gymnasium, firstly in Kiejdany and later in Stuck. But we do not know any textbooks that were used there. Cf. Dainora Počiūtė-Abukevičienė, “Protestantyzm,” in: Vytautas Ališkauskas et. al., eds., *Kultura Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego: Analizy i obrazy*, trans. Paweł Bukowiec, Beata Kałęba, Beata Piasecka (Kraków: Universitas, 2006), 614; Ingė Lukšaitė, *Reformacija Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje ir Mažosioje Lietuvoje. XVI a. trečias dešimtmetis – XVII a. pirmas dešimtmetis* (Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1999), 462–473.

11 About the role Vilnius Academy played in the culture of the Great Duchy of Lithuania cf. Ludwik Piechnik, *Dzieje Akademii Wileńskiej*, vol. 1–4 (Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1983–1990).

12 The order of St. Basil (the Basilians) was established in the 1620s. It was an order within the Uniat Church that came into being as a result of union in Brześć (Brest). The union was concluded in 1596 between the Catholic Church and a part of the Orthodox Church which functioned on the area of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Five Basilian colleges were set up in Lithuania at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Cf. Stanisław Litak, “Jezuici na tle innych zakonów męskich w Polsce w XVI–XVIII wieku,” in Ludwik Grzebień and Stanisław Obirek, eds., *Jezuici a kultura polska: Materiały symposium z okazji Jubileuszu 500-lecia urodzin Ignacego Loyoli (1491–1991) i 450-lecia powstania Towarzystwa Jezusowego (1540–1990) Kraków, 15–17 lutego 1991 r.* (Kraków: WAM, 1993), 198; Alina Nowicka-Jeżowa, “Bazylianie na Kresach – pośrednicy między kulturą oficjalną a ludową,” in Hanna Dziechcińska, ed., *Literatura i instytucje w dawnej Polsce* (Warszawa: PWN, 1986), 59–60; Maria Pidyłczak-Majerowicz, *Bazylianie w Koronie i na Litwie. Szkoła i książki w działalności zakonu* (Warszawa: PWN, 1986).

sumed that they had been written down yet in the preceding decade. Such was the situation in the Polish province, where the earliest discussions of pattern poetry can be found in poetics from the 1670s, among others, in the treatise about poetry entitled *Attica Musa* (1674), written by a Polish Piarist, Ignacy Krzyżkiewicz.¹³

However, pattern poetry was practised in the Lithuanian colleges much earlier, even several dozens of years before the first theoretical descriptions of it.¹⁴ Probably the earliest publications of the kind were anthologies of poems prepared by the students of the Vilnius Academy on the occasion of the king Stefan Batory's arrival (1579)¹⁵ and funeral cycles from the end of the sixteenth century. In the next century such poems were inherent elements of almost every poetic anthology.¹⁶ The monastic regulations allowed practising this kind of poetry. It was recommended by *Ratio studiorum* which suggested that in classes of rhetoric and poetics, pattern compositions were to be composed in addition to studying classics and imitating traditional poetic and prose genres. A professor of rhetoric was to recommend exercises which consisted in "explicating hieroglyphs, symbols, Pythagorean sentences, apophthegms, proverbs, emblems and riddles or in delivering them and on other activities, at the teachers discretion."¹⁷ In the third edition of *Bibliotheca selecta de Ratione studiorum*, a wide commentary to the Jesuit regulation of the school-system, Antonio Possevino described in detail some genres of the pattern poetry including emblematics.¹⁸ Budding writers' fruits were to be exposed in the corridors of colleges in a form of so called *affixiones*. Usually, they accompanied students' public declamations or performances,

- 13 Ignacy Krzyżkiewicz, *Attica Musa Thitorem et Hyampeum Parnassi colles ultro et citro pervolans seu Epitome artis poeticae*, anno symbolico VIctor, DIVes opVM sIt, rege Ioannie poLonVs. (Cracoviae: apud Albertum Gorecki, S.R.M.Typ., [1674]), 46–61.
- 14 Cf. Higgins, *Pattern Poetry*, 130–145; Eglė Patiejūnienė, *Brevitas ornata: Mažosios literatūros formos XVI–XVII amžiaus Lietuvos didžiosios kunigaikštystės spaudiniuose* (Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 1998), 153–203.
- 15 Cf. Eugenija Ulčinaitė, ed., *Kalbų varžybos: Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdovų ir didikų sveikinimai* (Vilnius: Išleido Nacionalinis muziejus Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdovų rūmai, 2010), 194.
- 16 Cf. Rypson, *Piramidy, slońca, labirynty*, 74–86, 102.
- 17 Laszlo Lukács, ed., *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu* (1586, 1591, 1599), vol. 5 of *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu: Nova editio penitus retractata* (Romae: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1986), 427.
- 18 Antonio Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta de Ratione studiorum ad disciplinas et ad salutem omnium gentium procurandam...* (Venetiis: apud Altobello Salicatum, 1603), 549–551.

which were organised several times a year on the occasions of various church holidays.¹⁹

Until the 1660s in Poland or Lithuania we do not find any pieces of literary criticism in which the pattern poetry would be discussed. It may seem strange that theoretical utterances appeared so long after the poetic practise. The reason for this several dozen years delay is that generally codification of the literary theory in colleges in the Commonwealth began late. Probably, making textbooks on the basis of lectures about rhetoric became a common practice in the 1660s,²⁰ and on the basis of the ones about poetics even later. Manuscript rhetorics from the first half of the century are very rare and there were presumably no manuscript poetics whatsoever. Instead, subsequent editions of Jacob Pontanus' poetics were in use. The only exceptions are the treatises of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, written in the colleges in Polatsk (Połock) in mid 1620s, but they go far beyond the standard course of poetics.²¹

Presumably, a need of a more theoretical reflection and of reinforcing students' knowledge of literary criticism appeared in the 1660s. In addition, it was about adjusting rules from the printed textbooks to the local conditions which determined the poems and speeches written here. Before that, teachers were concentrated on training practical skills. This is shown by a huge amount of works written by students and printed in the university printing house in Vilnius and manuscript collections of poems and speeches. Although within this practical teaching about literature there was a place for some comments on theoretical nature of the

- 19 "Every other month some poems should be put up on walls in school to celebrate a more festive day, on the occasion of the election of people in charge or on any other occasion – poems should be most carefully selected and copied by students. In accordance to the local custom also short pieces of prose patterned on inscriptions carved on shields, in temples, on tombstones, in gardens, on statues; some descriptions, for example of a city, port or army; stories, for instance of a god's deed. Finally, some paradoxes may be added but only with the vice-chancellor's consent, let there be some pictures appropriate to an emblem that presents a story." Lukács, *Monumenta paedagogica*, 428.
- 20 Yet we must bear in mind that manuscripted textbooks of rhetoric were in use already in the first half of the seventeenth century; books used in the Vilnian Academy may serve as a good example. VUB MS F3-2126 (ca. 1636) and VUB MS F3-2172 (ca. 1630–1650).
- 21 Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, *De perfecta poesi, sive Vergilius et Homerus*, trans. Marian Plezia, ed. Stanisław Skimina (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1954); Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, *Wykłady poetyki: Praecepta poetica*, trans., ed. Stanisław Skimina (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1958); Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, *Dii gentium: Bogowie pogan*, preface, ed., trans. Krystyna Stawecka (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1972).

thing, the main sources of any remarks of this kind were printed textbooks, mainly the two by Cypriano de Soarez and Jacob Pontanus, and later also by local Jesuits: Michał Radau and Zygmunt Lauksmin. One may assume that, at first, theoretical explanations were reduced to the minimum and, in accordance to what was recommended in *Ratio studiorum*, they were provided at the beginning of lectures, so that student could know how to imitate hexameter, Horace or acrostic. Practising was the main part of lessons. Although this did not change later either, composing texts was then supported with wider theoretical foundation.

We must bear in mind that the users of the textbooks were teenage students, so theoretical reflections on poetry codified in Jesuits schools in Poland and Lithuania must have been concise and simple, and aimed at organising knowledge and establishing rules of poetry. They were holistic dissertations and therefore each of their elements was inscribed in the structure of the whole knowledge of literature and occupied a particular place in it. The textbooks were based on earlier published poetics or definitions and examples constituting *loci communes* in the contemporary knowledge of poetry. This can be easily observed in some examples which served to explain the discourse: identical poems cited in two different poetics do not necessarily prove that any of them directly influenced the other one. In the poetics of Krzyżkiewicz the following poem is provided as an example of logogryph²²:

	pit	em	tem	cap	em.
Qui ca	uxor	li	it	atque	dolor
ret	e	tem	fug		e.

In a Lithuanian rhetorical commonplace book from the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there is another version of the poem, additionally supplied with a polemic Polish translation:

	pit	em	pit	em.
Qui ca	uxor	ca	absque	quiete labor
ret	e	ret		e.
Dla		wpada w		
białejgłowy	człek	niewola.		
Bez		cierpi		

22 This kind of structure is called *versus concordantes*.

In older treatises about the literary theory there were various places occupied by the discussion of the pattern poetry. Some of the genres of *poesis artificiosa* (most frequently the hieroglyph, emblem and enigma) were characterised in rhetorics, in chapters about invention, as a topos of external argumentation: *De argumentis externis*; *De inventione propositionis tam vulgaris quam rarioris*.²³ A professor of the Vilnian Academy, Jesuit Baltazar Dankwart, in the chapter on invention in his rhetoric treatise *Artis praecepta rhetoricae* from 1663 characterised, for instance, seven types of anagrams. A little bit later he discussed the external toposes as well: "ad testimonium revocabimus sententias, adagia, paradoxa, problemata, geroglifica [sic!], symbola, aenigmata, apophtegmata, stemmata etc."²⁴ And there was a place for emblems, too. Sometimes the subject of emblems was brought up in chapters focused on amplification that was an element of deliberations on invention, and it was often given in a form of examples.²⁵

The pattern forms were also discussed in dissertations on invention in separate genres. In a treatise written about 1727-1728 there is *Inventio symboli vel emblematis* or *Inventio mausolaei*.²⁶ In a rhetoric from around 1727 the pattern way of writing poems was treated as a device that could be used to create a different genre, e.g. elogium:

2-do. per hieroglyphicum vel symbolum effingitur imago rei cuiuspian tractandae in elogio et ex illa sumitur impetus ad totum elogium conficiendum. Hoc modo frequenter utitur Emmanuel Thesaurus.²⁷

The second way. With a hieroglyph or symbol there is created a picture of a thing, about which the elogium is to be, and from it the inspiration to create the whole elogium should be drawn. This way was often used by Emmanuel Tesaurio.

However, we usually find a characteristic of pattern poetry in poetic treatises, not in rhetoric ones. In the second half of the seventeenth century

23 Rhetoric textbooks from the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: VUB MS F3-1427, fols. 38v-40r and from 1695, VUB MS F3-2188, fol. 76v. Cf. also LMAB MS F41-612 (a rhetoric from the first half of the seventeenth century), fol. 60r i BNB MS 091/221 (a rhetoric from 1687); VUB MS F3-1133, fols. 26v-34v; VUB MS F3-1324, fols. 27r-28v; VUB MS F3-2117, fols. 31v-34v (a rhetoric from 1682). Cf. Eugenija Ulčinaitė, *Teoria retoryczna w Polsce i na Litwie w XVII wieku: Próba rekonstrukcji schematu retorycznego* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1984), 64.

24 VUB MS F3-2103, fol. 23r.

25 VUB MS F3-2232 (a rhetoric from 1666), fols. 18r-40v, VUB MS F3-2275, fol. 112r.

26 VUB MS F3-1430 II, fols. 125r-126r.

27 VUB MS F3-1430 I, fol. 15r. Cf. also VUB MS F3-1353, fols. 88r-94r.

and sometimes in the eighteenth century it was included in deliberations on epigram or placed directly after the chapter on epigrammatic poetry. Such information one can find in numerous manuscript poetics from the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century.²⁸

A major change came in the early eighteenth century. Gradually, the classification of pattern poems as epigrammatic poetry stopped in favour of treating them as a separate category, for which a distinct nomenclature was reserved.²⁹ We can find a handful of examples in a poetics from the beginning of the eighteenth century written in an unidentified Jesuit college. It is divided into three parts. In the first one the author discusses letter and chria, the second one is about the main poetic kinds and genres, and the last one is entitled: *De poesi iucunda, curiosa et artificiosa*. In turn, a poetics written in 1747³⁰ contains a chapter *De carmine artificiosi* placed between a part about heroic poetry and series of random extracts.

Characterising pattern poetry generally came down to providing names of genre, a clear definition and examples. Sometimes, information about the origins of a name or sub-genres was added. A list of genres of *poesis artificiosa* in certain poetics amounted from few to more than twenty items. A wide and quite early catalogue is given in a manuscript *Institutum rhetoricum seu Leges religiosae rhetorum Societatis Iesu* written down in the Vilnian Academy in 1687.³¹ It is placed within deliberations concerning epigrammatic poetry, which is typical for those times. In this treatise some of the listed poems were not defined as separate genres or at least sub-genres but as ways of writing epigrams. These are variants of pattern texts we can single out:

1. gryphus (riddle);
2. anagramma (here: acrostick);
3. logogryphus (logogryph);
4. aenigma (enigma; riddle);

28 LMAB MS F41-612, VUB MS F3-646, VUB MS F3-920, VUB MS F3-1063, VUB MS F3-1363, VUB MS F3-1376, VUB MS F3-1375, VUB MS F3-1414, VUB MS F3-1427, VUB MS F3-1746, VUB MS F3-2087 I, VUB MS F3-2135, VUB MS F3-2188, VUB MS F3-2199, VUB MS F3-2277. Cf. Ulčainaitė, *Teoria retoryczna*, 165; Michałowska, *Staropolska teoria genologiczna*, 139.

29 Cf. Michałowska, *Staropolska teoria genologiczna*, 139-140; Rypson, *Piramidy, słońca, labirynty*, 120.

30 VUB MS F3-1556. Cf. also VUB MS F3-952; VUB MS F3-1004; VUB MS F3-1005; VUB MS F3-1069, VUB MS F3-1395, VUB MS F3-1404, VUB MS F3-1420, VUB MS F3-2109, BNB MS 091/74 (the manuscript was written in the basilian college in Żyrowice in 1724-1726).

31 VUB MS F3-2054.

5. labyrinthus (labirynty);
6. protheus (protheus poem);
7. epigramma musicum (music epigram);
8. epigramma chronosticum (chronosticon);
9. epigramma echicum (echo);
10. epigramma anagrammaticum (anagram);
11. epigramma dialogicum (dialogue epigram);
12. epigramma cancrinum (cancers);
13. epigramma leoninum (leonine verse);
14. and additionally affectiones epigrammaticae (pattern couplets, e.g. versus rapportati).

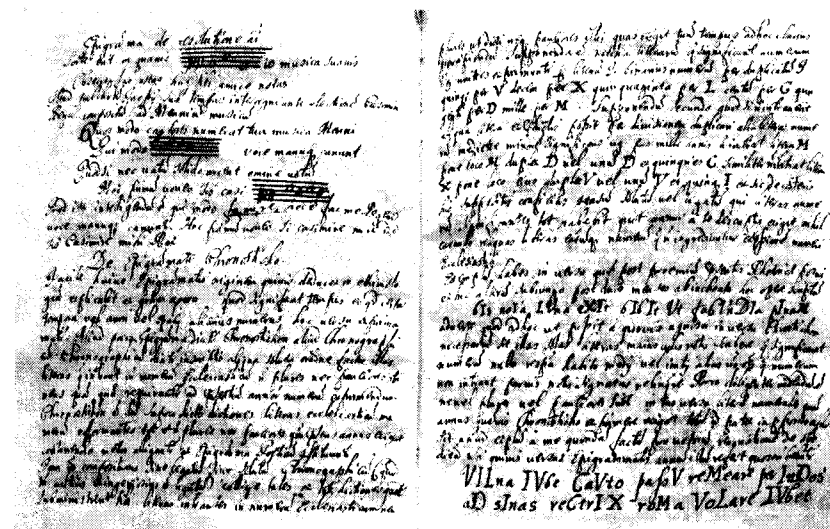


Figure 25: Passages on a chronosticon verse in a treatise *Institutum rhetoricum seu Leges religiosae rhetorum Societatis Iesu* (Vilnius, 1687), VUB MS F3-2054, fols. 119v-120r.

The list above should be supplemented with forms named in other poetics of the time:

1. symbolum (symbol);
2. inscriptio (inscription);
3. nodus;
4. apologus;
5. apophtegmatum;
6. achronosticus;

part of the former way of thinking of poetics, but it might well have gone beyond this way. In the second case placing *poesis artificiosa* at the end of the treatises of poetry³⁹ induces to put a question: did pattern poetry begin to dominate other genres, as it was suggested by Teresa Michałowska,⁴⁰ or did it have a place which was completely different and alternative to the former theoretical presentations of poetry?

The indefinite status of pattern poetry seems to be confirmed not only in the textbooks of poetics but also in those of rhetoric. They presented *poesis artificiosa* as a particular use of figures and toposes, which should serve *inventio* and be subordinated to the traditional literary genres. The anagram or polyptoton in some poetics classified as autonomic pattern genres⁴¹ in the theory of rhetoric are simply figures of words. Treating pattern poems as elements of a major whole is noticeable not only in theory but also in literary practice. When taking a closer look at printed acrostics or figural poems, they usually are a part of other major texts: panegyrics, epithalamia or elegies.

The old literary theory in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth tried to define genres using either structural or functional criteria (classifying texts according to their purpose). The presentations of pattern poetry in Lithuanian poetics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are more of the second kind, since it would be quite hard to find anything common for a stemma and a chronosticon apart from the fact that they both have a limited application and both are "pattern". The patternness, however, is an inexact criterion, which we can easily observe in the example provided below.

In 1695 in Vilnius appeared a panegyric in honour of Iwan Mazepa (a hetman of the Zaporozhian Cossacks) that consisted of a number of minor works.⁴² There are poems in a shape of triumphal arch, in a shape of coat of arms or an acrostic. But among them there is also a poem composed in eight line stanzas, an elegium and a prose speech in Latin. All these literary forms were treated in the same way: they have a refined and diverse form, which should prove the author's skills and give pleasure to the reader. Thus arises a question about what decides that one

39 VUB MS F3-456, VUB MS F3-486, VUB MS F3-1420, VUB MS F3-2075 (1660), BNAN MS 091/74 Фонд 23, опись nr 1, ед. хр. 348.

40 Cf. Michałowska, *Staropolska teoria genologiczna*, 141.

41 VUB MS F3-2188, fol. 14r. Krzyżkiewicz (*Attica musa*, 57) writes: "Polyptoton est poema, in quo aliquod nomen per casus declinatur, et ab iis casibus semper inchoantur versus."

42 Filip Orlik (Pylyp Stepanovych Orlyk), *Alcides rossyjski triumfalnym lawrem ukoronowany Jan Mazepa, hetman wojsk ich carskiego majestatu zaporoskich* (Wilno, 1695).

text, e.g. acroteleastic, is classed with pattern poetry and another, let it be octave, is not. Lithuanian poetics from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are silent on this point.

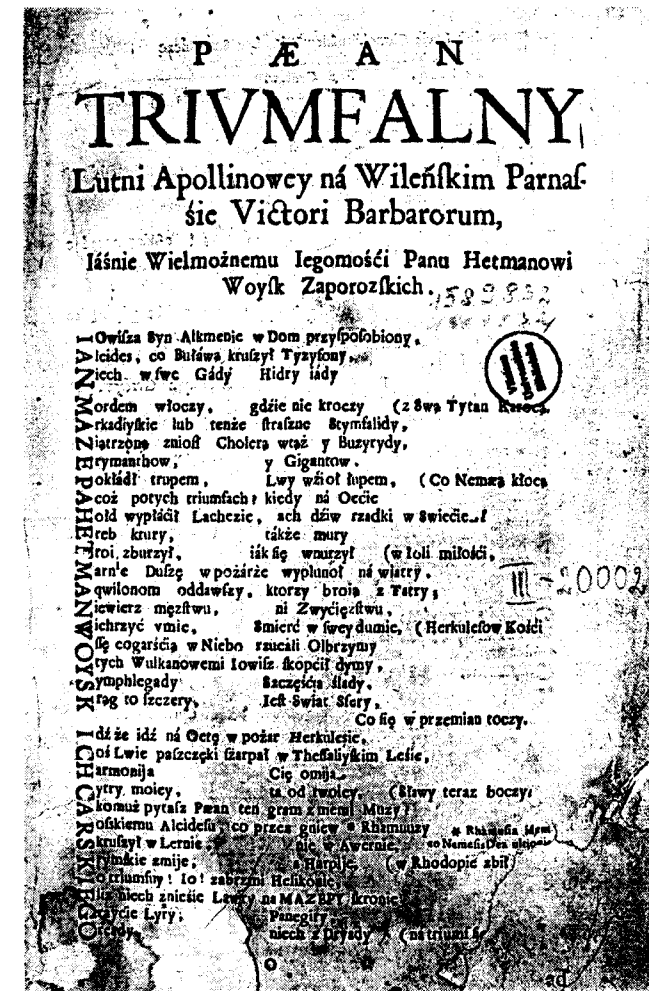


Figure 28: An acrostic verse: Filip Orlik (Pylyp Stepanovych Orlyk), *Alcides rossyjski triumfalnym lawrem ukoronowany Jan Mazepa, hetman wojsk ich carskiego majestatu zaporoskich* [Russian Alcides crowned with a triumphal laurel wreath: Ivan Mazepa, the commander-in-chief of the Zaporizhia army of His Majesty the Tzar] (Wilno, 1695).

As I have mentioned previously, at the beginning of the eighteenth century *poesis artificiosa* emerged in Lithuanian poetics as a category of kind (*genus*), but basing on such treatises it would be difficult to tell what it is and according to which rule the forms listed before, like anagram, labyrinth or *versus rapportati*, were considered pattern. The authors indicate predominance of *ars* over *ingenium*, art over talent, but this is quite a vague indicator.⁴³ The theory of other European countries does not make the thing easier: actually nowhere can we find a precise definition of the term.⁴⁴ For there is no possibility to ask the old rhetorician about the definition, I shall try to carry out an experiment involving the current experts in old poetry.

The participants of the conference *The Latin Pattern Poetry from the 15th to the 18th Centuries – Theory and Practice* (University of Szczecin, September 2010) received a questionnaire with some poetic forms and were asked to decide which of them were pattern.⁴⁵ It turned out that chronostic, acrostic, *versus rapportati*, *carmen cancellatum*, canons, figural poem, labyrinth, anagram and elogium were classed with *poesis artificiosa* by each and every one of the respondents. And almost all of them denied that emblem, octave, leonine verse, sonnet and stemma belong to this category.

Probably, people in the first half of the eighteenth century could have understood the essence of patternness intuitively, just like we do now. Both for the people in the first half of the eighteenth century and for us it is not a problem to understand the meaning of patternness intuitively. When current Polish scholars see a pattern poem, they consider it belonging to this category. However, if we tried to formulate a definition of pattern poetry, it would be very hard to establish its features. The main difficulty is the undefined adjective *artificiosa*, the precise meaning of which is difficult to grasp. For there are texts the patternness of which has to be proved through a subtle, even scholastic reasoning.

Let us go back to the panegyric in honour of hetman Mazepa. Poems in a shape of triumphal arch or acrostic will undoubtedly be regarded as examples of pattern poetry. What is more, we will find a confirmation of

our intuitions in the eighteenth century poetics: acrostic and figural poem are fall into the pattern forms. But what should we do with the elogium or the Polish poem composed of eight-line stanza? During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries elogium was considered a prose genre and discussed in rhetorics, and thus it could not have been regarded as *poesis*, much less as *poesis artificiosa*. The majority of scholars today share this view, although they point out the refinement of the genre: conceit, fancy alliterations, that it belongs to visual literature and that it is close to the current understanding of what poetry is. The poem written in octave, despite the fact it is thought a pattern stanza, would not be classed with *poesis artificiosa*.

There is a conclusion to be drawn from the described experiment – not every way of using *ars*, art of composing a poem, decides about assigning the poem to the category we are interested in. The determining criterion is rather to make use of traditional forms to compose a text based on new rules. If we make up a poem of ten dactylic hexameters, we stay within the traditional poetics, based on neoclassical imitation of antique literature. But if we form it into a pentagram, the poem changes its status and is no longer a plain epigram but an example of *poesis artificiosa*. I suppose, however, that not only transformations of this kind determine whether a text is pattern or not.

It seems that in the print from 1695 all the texts: the triumphal arch, the elogium, the ode, the poem in a shape of Mazepa's coat of arms, the poem written in octave and an obelisk are equally considered pattern literature. As it was the case in many other anthologies of the time, the constitutive feature of this panegyric anthology is that it comprises a major number of minor texts of praise, each of which requires high poetic skill (*ars*), considerable amount of effort, ingeniousness and making use of the visual qualities of text.⁴⁶

43 Michałowska (*Staropolska teoria genologiczna*, 140) quotes such an imprecise definition: "Nomine carminis artificiosi intelligitur carmen iuxta artem speciale scriptum, quod plus de arte, cum labore habet quam ingenio." (Biblioteka Czartoryskich in Kraków, MS 2373 I, fols. 99–100).

44 It is not provided in the before-mentioned study of Paschasius, although a major part of it is focused on the pattern poetry.

45 I would very much like to thank all these people who filled in the questionnaire and patiently answered my numerous e-mails.

46 Pattern literature exposes visual qualities of a text and spatial understanding of poetry in general. Cf. Alastair Fowler, *Triumphal Forms: Structural Patterns in Elizabethan Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1970), IX–XI. Thus pattern poetry anticipates one of the main features of the contemporary understanding of poetry in general. Cf. Hollander, *Vision and Resonance*, 3 and 270–279; Bradford, *The Look of It*, 1 and 27–28.

ARCUS TRIUMPHALIS
 z zholdowaney Ottomańskiej Luny
 D E F L E X V S

Triumphatori Ottomanorum
 Iainie Wielmożnemu Jego Mości Panu
 HETMANOWI Waszk Zaporożskieb

Izmariyski Planeto Coś cwe rozpostr Zenil.
 AN wernowe iskrzyśk byś splendor wyplenil A
 Nieba ----- Roskie^o,przez zład złaCynthi A
 M arfu pod nogi CAR Smałe swe rogi
 A Rzutć, gdy zgromiona Muzulmańska zmija;
 Zarktur swoich KIEP gagańcę wznosi lub nad Rhodo P
 ZĘ guba wyniosła dumę dnak ściga wtropy, Ony
 Pmpir tuż mściw gniewem rozdrażni Ony
 Piorun przelzyć, przez harda szyć,
 gdy się w cholerze froza Orła szpony,
 ALCIDESV Roskiemu Cymmerijski koło R
 AHyperborem iatrzonny w ARCUS przegni polon R
 AEdońska Luna ni. Ich Twoie splend Ory
 ATriumfy wznieca, Swoie gdy micca Ory
 na Ottomany krwawe niepozory,
 MAZEPIE walecznemu fortuna to zdar Z
 AN str łaskawych,żew Two- WIEJ Luna wściekła twarzy Z
 AN achili A R C V S triumfalne Szala
 W Marfowey wrzawie Niech ku Twey stawie
 Wodzu, Lawry się z Bistonicy wala.
 O rde w Bessarabi EY zwalczył słyszćie wie Ki.
 OY cy co w twardo EY kryiesz Marpezie powiecki, I
 S warliwe Echo z Welpomeny Twem I
 K rzykni Pżana gdy Ottomana
 MAZEPA zgromil czyny Marfowepi. O.
 I dżez idż przegni ARC V S Threicki Księży O.
 I zasiaz petami brząka. Bistoniski Dziedzicu, O.
 CHERK V LES ROSK I siedmiłby kark zbil H
 Ten y Twey sfery Złote miucry
 Stambulika Luna birnym Marfem wydrze.

Figure 29: A triumphal arch of Ivan Mazepa: Filip Orlik, Alcides rossyjski...

Each of them undertakes the same subject (praise of hetman Mazepa) and presents it in a new way. In this case not only is the coat-of-arms poem a pattern one, but also the ode and the one composed of octaves may be called so. Writing the latter two, as I have said before, requires as much skill as composing an acrotelestic. But it is our subjective decision,

if an octave belongs to *poesis artificiosa*. Thus visual poem is only a particular, very clear and easy to identify example of pattern poetry, while a cycle of twenty epigrams praising the virginity of the Mother of God with the use of fancy conceits can become pattern as a result of further explanation.

Idzie w pizicamc A wrony cienne N cirona Dywłany,
 Mawry i bora, Arca zloza, ZEPPEZAN Di A ny,
 H trocziar zbrodzien, Fiedu godzien, I ca dila ogilana pili,
 Mawrol w obudzie A relined waudie N iabeniawil,
 W Mawry i bora, Olyp Artury, Y ca S ianob, K i,
 I tunc coby, Conibit w Gedy, Hercules z Iubali,
 Cel tu wam stancie,
 Aprzytym gancie
 Rossyjskim Kolosie
 Swe Praxitele, K torych w popiele Iawni Eprz Y Molossie
 Perzyna zuie, Radamant truce ZE wxfelw dekretem,
 Sadz iakchecz Momic, W Mazepow domie, I E st ten Gabinet
 Trwasym Krzyz Slawie,
 Nie w sforney wrzawie
 Encelladow kruz Y,
 Mars za Pa iz em
 Owymze Krzyzem
 * Sa Cianow duszy.
 Zlozyl tu Lawry Alcides, Mawry PO lozyszy wtrupie
 Rossyjskie Klawy, Oto Mars krwawy, Zawiesil wrym slupie
 Smercia wybladla K loto zlad ziadla I az precz ni krew CH cwa.
 MAZEPOW chwaly nickryia skaly, Ktora zawsze zywa

Figure 30: The coat of arms of Ivan Mazepa: Filip Orlik, Alcides rossyjski...

It is likewise when it comes to a number of "genres" that old rhetors and current experts would class with pattern poetry without hesitation. Anagram, *versus rapportati* or acrostic are nothing, if not figures of words. Lithuanian theoreticians in the second half of the seventeenth century regarded them precisely thus, as rhetoric figures, in majority considering them subgenres of epigram. In terms of classically understood poetics or rhetoric most of pattern forms can be discussed within deliberations on invention (e.g. elogium) or elocution (anagram, acrostic, leonine verse etc.). When it comes to the genre theory, the majority of such texts were seen as subgenres of epigrams or a kind of technical solution entirely subordinated to *ars epigrammatica*.

Nevertheless, the eighteenth-century rhetoricians decidedly separated these forms from epigrammatic poetry, thereby making a creative gesture: "what you see, is *poesis artificiosa* which has a different status than the former poetry."

Yet, at the same time, elements attributed to pattern poetry remained a part of traditionally described poetic order that assumed a division of poetry into lyric, epic and drama. Furthermore, many other elements from this traditional order could have become text of *poesis artificiosa* in favourable circumstances, as it happened to the panegyric for Mazepa, when epic forms (octaves) and lyric ones (odes) were considered alike acrostic or figural poem. Thinking in terms of *poesis artificiosa* had a tendency to include all the genres and kinds of literature in the range of patternness. Every text could become pattern, if the context favoured such a conversion. The gesture bringing a new kind of literature (*genus*) into being consisted in establishing a new way of thinking of poetry, alternative to neoclassical system, which was recommended by Jesuits in *Ratio studiorum*.⁴⁷

In Lithuanian poetics and rhetorics it is noticeable that the attempts to describe pattern poetry cannot remain within the former way of thinking of poetry. In other words, the Jesuit course of poetics basing on classical assumptions was unable to include the new ways of practising poetry and yet stay coherent. This is the reason why in Jesuit poetics there are two ways of describing poetry that exclude one another. The attempt to grasp *poesis artificiosa* a bit more theoretically was, at the same time, an attempt to respond to innovative formal experiments in Polish and Latin

literature of the time. Therefore, school textbooks of poetics in the first half of the eighteenth century had to function as both normative and descriptive poetics simultaneously. It seems that their authors were not aware of the significance of the attempts to resign from the neo-classical poetics based on the rules of imitation. It is also hard to find, whether these efforts were successful: yet in the 1740s they began to be thought a symptom of deterioration by the supporters of the aesthetics of Enlightenment classicism, like Konarski, and in a dozen or so years were completely abandoned as infantile, old-fashioned and devoid of taste.

Translated by Kaja Szymańska

⁴⁷ While the two orders were not coherent, they existed in parallel. Such was the case of the literary practise as well: in many branches of the literary output, despite practising the pattern literature, yet in the mid eighteenth century we come across adhering to ciceronianism and horatianism.