

EDITORS' NOTES

The title of the 2021 issue of “Studies in Polish Literature”: *Old Polish Literature. Traditions of Old Texts* alludes to the conference that we organised in Pobierowo two years ago (on 16–28 September 2019). In the Call for Papers we listed the following thematic areas of interest: new readings of old texts; traditions of old-time culture; the reception of Western literature; historical readings of old texts; new editions as new sources of knowledge about the past; old editions of Old Polish texts and their impact; new connections between different works, people, events, and places; and continuations – encounters with the tradition of old literature. The research conducted by the conference participants helped approach Old Polish literature and its tradition from a novel perspective. Not all of the above-mentioned thematic areas received equal attention. At the same time, the participants introduced us to a number of new ideas, texts, and problems. When compiling this issue, we decided to add fresh topics and thematic threads, and invite more contributors from outside Poland, which helped broaden our initial perspective to include new areas connected with the cultures of Southern and Northern European countries.

The articles are divided into four comprehensive sections: “Traditions”, “Literature and Religion”, “Rhetoric and Literary Communication”, and “Literary Adaptation”, and three shorter ones: “Revisions”, “Images”, and “Reverberations”. All of them to a larger or lesser extent concentrate on the understanding of literary tradition in the corpus of Old Polish literature and on its European connections with the Scandinavian literature on the House of Vasa as well as texts written in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which have recently been studied by scholars from Austria and Lithuania. The issues addressed by the authors largely focus on religious literature and culture, or on interrelated problems, such as the relations between different religions or denominations. These include: attempts

at reconstructing fragments of proto-Slavic, pre-Christian sacred texts, the methods of studying Old Polish literature written by Protestants, the image of Jews in Polish late medieval apocrypha, the Christianization of ancient motifs, the arguments supporting or disproving the thesis that *Bogurodzica* was sung at Grunwald, references to the New Testament in Jan Kochanowski's oeuvre, the functions of fables and the ways they were used in preaching, and the relationship between an original text and its Old Polish imitation. The articles that discuss more secular texts address such problems as: the use of ethnonym "Vandals" in Old Polish literature, allusions to courtly culture in "sowizdrzał" literature, the correspondence of the members of the Swedish House of Vasa in the sixteenth century, the theoretical self-awareness of the orators of the Old Polish period, the image of the Radziwiłłs as orators, the representation of George II Rákóczi in Polish seventeenth-century literature, seventeenth-century heraldic emblems from the Polish-Ukrainian borderlands, as well as more contemporary issues: the relationship between the concepts of Neosarmatism and modernity, and the impact of an Old Polish description of Iceland on contemporary journalistic reports of journeys to the island. The diverse research material that has been gathered helps us approach Old Polish literature and its tradition through the works of selected authors, both from the "inside" and "outside", and from various perspectives (that of the literary genre, various literary phenomena, the evolution of ideas, and the authors' views of their culture).

The first section entitled "Traditions" includes two studies: Adam Krawiec's article which discusses the meaning of the ethnonym "Vandals" in Polish medieval historiography (pp. 47–73) and Paweł Bohuszewicz's comprehensive text which closely examines the relationship between Neosarmatism and modernity (pp. 75–93). Taking recourse to creative geography, Krawiec highlights that Wincenty Kadłubek introduced the link between Vandals and Poles to the Polish historical tradition. At least since the eighth century, the term "Vandals" was used in Western Europe as an alternative name for Slavs, who were mostly referred to as "Sclavi" (some other variants of the term were used as well) or "Wends" (which alluded to the ancient Veneti) (p. 48). Kadłubek, as Krawiec argues, sought to reinforce the imperial position of Poland: he described Poles as most "Vandalic" and most "Slavic" of all Slavs and Vandals (p. 55). In the fifteenth century the tradition of Poles' "Vandalic" identity was in a way confronted with a new idea that linked Polish people with the Sarmatians, which helped underscore their ancient heritage. Krawiec further claims that in creative geography the terms "Sarmatia" and "the Sarmatians" clearly referred to an area in Eastern Europe (p. 63). They thus pointed to the area of political interest to the Jagiellons (as well as to the "political nation" of the gentry) and helped legitimise their claims (p. 63). Consequently, this new approach (present e.g. in texts by Długosz

who uses the term “the Sarmatians” when referring not only to Poles, but also to the Ruthenians) has a significant advantage over the “Vandalian” tradition initiated by Kadłubek. Mostly in the Late Middle Ages, the Vandals were rather associated with areas located to the west of Polish borders. In other words, the term referred to Western Pomerania and, in particular, to Polabia (already in the twelfth century the term “Vandals” was used specifically to denote Polabian Slavs) (p. 63). Krawiec’s study concludes with a reflection on the origins of the Polish “political nation” in the context of the transition from the Middle Ages to early modernity. This transition coincided with the introduction of the Sarmatian nomenclature which gradually superseded the earlier, “Vandalian”, self-perception of Polish elites. This happened after a transitional period of the co-existence of both traditions which merged in various ways. In this respect, the transformations in the field of creative geography also reflect the distinct aims of political elites: the “Sarmatian” theory served as a foundation for “Sarmatism” – a cultural phenomenon that is specific to Polish gentry (p. 68).

The popularity of the term, especially in recent decades, is examined by Paweł Bohuszewicz, who polemicalizes with fragments of Adam Kubiak’s book *Rzeczy mniejsze. Dysformia i fiasko: semi-peryferyjne formy kultury* which criticises his own earlier work (*Pożytki z prawicowego neosarmatyzmu. (Nie-prawicowa) obrona Krzysztofa Koehlera*) and his concept of Neosarmatism. The author argues that contemporary allusions to Sarmatism, understood as a cultural construct, are an “invented tradition”: discovering the past is usually less important than other identity-related goals which are strongly determined by the circumstances of a given historical period. The article thus seeks to answer the question of why the term nevertheless makes sense (in various areas of social debate) and to examine the relationship between Neosarmatism (and Sarmatism itself) and modernity: “Neosarmatism is a project that is part of a uniquely Polish version of modernity, which could be called semi-peripheral capitalist democracy, and which is a source of texts that belong both to elitist and to popular culture” (p. 75–76). As Bohuszewicz concludes, “[s]ome elements and phases of this evolving structure [Sarmatism] do not so much have an easy relationship with modernity, but rather contribute to creating its Polish version” (p. 90).

The next (and the most voluminous) section, entitled “Literature and Religion”, includes: Dorota Vincûrková’s article about the representation of Jews in late medieval Polish apocrypha (pp. 97–119), Dariusz Chemperek’s text about a research method that helps examine the works of Old Polish literature written by Protestant authors (pp. 121–132), Radosław Rusnak’s study of Jan Kochanowski’s religious profile in light of the complete absence of references to the New Testament in his works (pp. 133–154), Ewa Cybulska-Bohuszewicz’s article about the role of Catholic saints whom Piotr Skarga presented as the guardians of faith and fighters against

heresy (pp. 155–171), Dariusz Dybek's texts about the heavenly paths trodden by the angel Gabriel on his way to the Blessed Virgin Mary (pp. 173–183), and Magdalena Kuran's study of the characteristic features of the manuscript of collected sermons by Antoni Węgrzynowicz, entitled *Syllabus Marianus* (pp. 185–214).

The section opens with Vincůrková's study, which starts with a quote: "Pochwycili ji między sie, jako wilcy owieczkę" ("They surrounded and captured him like wolves that capture a sheep") and covers: *Rozmyślenia dominikańskie*, *Rozmyślenie przemyskie*, and *Sprawa chędogo o męce Pana Chrystusowej*. The author analyses the narrative construction of the Jewish characters in these late medieval Polish apocrypha in the context of the emotional spirituality of the Late Middle Ages (which was strongly conspicuous in the spiritual trend that focused on the Passion) (p. 109). What had a key role in the construction of these characters, as Vincůrková argues, was the juxtaposition of Christ and his oppressors who were depicted as unclean (exuding *foetor judaicus*) (p. 99). Thus, the author investigates such aspects of this contrast as: the hyperbolised aggression of the perpetrators (their cruel and violent acts are juxtaposed with the victim's humility for a dramatic effect), animal metaphors (Jews described, for instance, as "poisonous dogs", which served as a topos in late medieval texts about the Passion), and accentuating the oppressors' uncleanness (a concept that clearly alludes to images derived from humoral theories). Jews are also described as blood-thirsty creatures. Thus, Christ becomes a victim of the "appetite" of his abhorrent oppressors. As Vincůrková notes, "[s]ince blood was associated with the Passion of Christ, as well as the Eucharist [...], it cannot be in any way connected to Jews who are unworthy of it. At the same time, deprived of this precious humour, Jews are possessed by a desire to shed the blood of other, innocent beings (the Messiah in texts about the Passion, or Christians in blood legends)" (p. 104). In this context, what serves as a correlative of emotional Christian piety is the "cognitive" effort focused on Christ's antagonists. Another important issue in this context that Vincůrková briefly indicates is the strategy of presenting Jews (rather than Roman soldiers) as the "physical" perpetrators who crucified the Saviour (which was also conspicuous in the late medieval European context) (pp. 113–114).

Dariusz Chemperek, who studies Old Polish literature written by Protestants, opens his article with an analysis of the early-seventeenth-century painting *Cucina opiniorum*, which – much like Vincůrková's text – suggests that "old literature" cannot be fully understood outside the context of visual arts. Mocking contemporary competing denominations, the painting introduces the main thesis of the article: "if a contemporary scholar wishes to respect the autonomy of a literary work and avoid the traps of presentism, they need to adjust their methodology to the strategies used by the author" (p. 124). Thus, Chemperek

presents four types of texts that were (most probably) written by Polish Protestants in the Old Polish period and connects them with distinct methodological approaches or interpretative practices that are appropriate for each group. The first approach consists in the reconstruction of the author's theological (religious, ethical) programme and applies to works by a writer who openly identifies himself as an Evangelical or anti-Trinitarian. What serves as a liminal case are, according to Chemperek, funeral texts about highly placed people addressed to Christians in general – here Protestant authors used the rule of “denominational modesty”, a different rhetoric in terms of *inventio* than Catholics (pp. 124–125). The second approach seeks to uncover the religious background of ludic or satirical texts (e.g. epigrams) with the use of cultural hermeneutics – the analysis of symbolism, and moral and historical references (pp. 125–126). The situation seems much more complicated in the case of the third group of texts (pp. 126–128) – i.e. when one studies parenetic or didactic works (addressed to general readers) that promote the Protestant ethos, usually in a subtle and consistent manner. The authors accentuate “the attractiveness of the ethos, rather than the denomination” (p. 127). The fourth method is used when studying anonymous poems (from the seventeenth century) or those in which the declaration of the author's religious affiliation is vague or absent (pp. 128–129). These texts can be successfully examined using the philological method (proposed by Leszek Kukulski) of tracking phrases from denominational Bibles and songs from popular Protestant hymn-books (“biblical and song pebbles” inlaid into the mosaic of the work) (pp. 128–129). The researcher also needs to pay attention to subtle theological allusions (sometimes in Aesopian speech) that are characteristic of Protestantism. The author describes all that the four groups of texts (and four interpretative practices) have in common in the following way: “the texts that they [the Protestant authors] wrote resonate with either the theology or the ethics of work, marriage, or everyday life that differs from the Catholic one” (p. 130). Chemperek's article, which focuses on literature written in Polish, may serve as an inspiration for a comparative study of the ways in which the authors' religious denominations manifested themselves in Czech or German literature of the times under discussion.

In his study, which contributes to the discussion of the absence of references to the New Testament in Jan Kochanowski's works and the confessional aspects of his poetry, Radosław Rusnak lists all mentions of characters from the New Testament in the works of the Master from Czarnolas. These include: Jesus Christ, Saint Peter, and Lazarus. Thus, the study follows the second or third methodological approach to analysing the religious context of confessional texts, proposed by Chemperek. The absence concerns not only Jesus (the lack of addresses to Christ), but also other characters from the New Testament (what serves as a context of Kochanowski's

oeuvre are Luther's or Calvin's Christ-centred teachings). Kochanowski does not mention any of the apostles (apart from Peter and John). Neither does he make any references to Mary Magdalene, the Samaritan woman, or Nicodemus. Saint Paul and the blessed Virgin Mary are also conspicuous by their absence (pp. 139–140). In this way, Rusnak's study of the confessional aspects of Jan Kochanowski's oeuvre alludes to the research on the religious dimension of these texts by such scholars as Aleksander Brückner, Wilhelm Fallk and, more recently, Alina Nowicka-Jeżowa. The elegy (always overlooked in various editions, starting from *Elegiarum libri quattuor* of 1584) from the Osmólski Code (I 10) has a key role in the author's study of Kochanowski's attitude to the Catholic (papist) religion. The scene of Judas's betrayal is used as a warning to the bellicose pope Paul IV who intended to reclaim his family estates in Campania, including Naples (where the House of Carafa comes from). In the late 1550s, Kochanowski in an Erasmian spirit supported political and religious peace in Europe. The article also points to the fragments where references to Christ may be seen as desirable or even necessary and yet they remain absent. This particularly applies to *Laments*, as the collection completely ignores the Christian perspective on the redemptive power of suffering – Christ and his sacrifice are never mentioned. *Laments* have an important role in Rusnak's analyses (pp. 143–149). The scarcity of references to the New Testament in Jan Kochanowski's works is even more striking when compared to the multiple references that they make e.g. to David's psalms, and in the light of the fact that "psalms had a decisive influence on Kochanowski's religious sensibility" (p. 150). The article speculates on the reasons for Kochanowski's preferences for specific topics as well as contributes to a broader discussion of the confessional aspects of Kochanowski's poetry, still highlighting the fact that the absence of a given character should not be seen as reflective of the Master from Czarnolas's denominational inclinations (pp. 149–151).

In her study of saints as proponents of the fight against heterodoxy and guardians of the unity of the Church, as depicted in *Żywoty świętych* by Piotr Skarga, Ewa Cybulska-Bohuszewicz presents Skarga's characters as those who combat the so-called "new heretics". The saints are shown as protecting "Catholic values" and entering discussion with the proponents of heterodoxy to restore the desired unity of the Church, or – in a more minimalist version – to prevent the "new heretics" from winning more souls which will surely perish in the fires of hell (p. 160). According to Skarga, one of the main tasks of the saints – and especially hermits and monks – is to combat heterodoxy. Written in Polish, and at the same time rich in the persuasive artistic devices that influence the reader's imagination (hence the author uses so many quotes in her article), Skarga's book turned out to be an extremely popular and effective tool of re-Catholicization in

the Counter-Reformation era. Skarga in a vivid, captivating way describes the stories of God's chosen ones, showing them as agents in the eternal battle with Satan (in the text embodied by the "dissenters"). By the power of parenesis and allegoresis, even characters as distant as Moses or the Desert Fathers prefigure Skarga's model of a saint: the Soldier of Christ, who protects the unity of the Church (p. 161).

In his article, which examines what various writers knew about the route that the angel Gabriel took to visit the Blessed Virgin Mary, Dariusz Dybek analyses the presentation of ecstasy in *Posel niebieski* by Andrzej Dębołęcki. The author indicates that *De partu Virginis* (1526) by Jacopo Sannazaro served an inspiration to many authors writing about the Annunciation. One of them, Grzegorz Czeradzki, the author of *Rytmu o porodzeniu przeznaczystszym Bogarodzice Panny Maryjej*, paraphrased the first part of the Italian poem. He described the route that the angel Gabriel took to visit the Blessed Virgin Mary on the basis of Sannazaro's text. However, as in the case of many other writers who explored this theme, his description was short and lacked details. In fact, he only mentioned the destination – the house of the future Mother of God in Nazareth. Two other baroque authors, Andrzej Dębołęcki (*Posel niebieski, to jest Archanioł Gabryjel nowinę z nieba do Panny czystej Maryjej o wcieleniu Syna Bożego w żywot jej sprawujący*) and Aleksander Obodziński (*Poważna legacja w Konsystorzu Trójce Przenaświetszej*), expanded on the motif. The latter plagiarised the work of the former who described the geographical names of specific places in order to delineate the angel's route. Neither of them indicated where he had learnt these geographical details from. What served as the source of this information, according to Dybek, was the writers' poetic creativity, which fits in with the literary and cultural standards of the times under discussion (pp. 180–181).

Magdalena Kuran's study of collected sermons by the baroque preacher Antoni Węgrzynowicz, entitled *Syllabus Marianus* focuses on the manuscript housed in the archive of the Franciscan (FPO) monastery in Cracow. As the author notes, Węgrzynowicz "had artistic talents and interests. He was a painter, sculptor and an engraver. He designed altars, confessionals, shrines, Holy Sepulchres, and nativity scenes" (p. 196). The analysis of the manuscript sheds light on some aspects of the writer's workshop which had an influence on the final editorial (and aesthetic) shape of the work. Having in mind the spiritual duties of the preacher, the manuscript gives an insight into the work of a predicant who was a member of the Franciscans of Primitive Observance in the early eighteenth century. Based on the changes that the preacher made to the epigrams (which are a typical element of sermons), the article argues that Węgrzynowicz himself was their author (so far, these works have been regarded as fragments of Marian hymns) (pp. 194–199). Kuran also notes that the

textual analysis of the works reveals some details of Węgrzynowicz's biography. The manuscript includes two pages that are unrelated to the collection. One of them features an outline of the sermon ("materia pro sermone") that Węgrzynowicz preached to his confreres on the feast of Christmas in 1715. Kuran discusses the role of *divisio* in the structure of the sermon. The information that the second sheet contains illustrates everyday life in an eighteenth-century Franciscan (FPO) monastery. It describes Anna Tarło Cetner's gift to the Franciscans of Primitive Observance, which consisted of fish for the Christmas eve dinner (pp. 199–207). The author concludes: "[t]he manuscript of Węgrzynowicz's sermons gives an insight into non-obvious issues and helps examine things, phenomena, processes, and facts that otherwise remain unknown" (p. 208).

The next, large section that focuses on tradition is entitled "Rhetoric and Literary Communication". It opens with an article by Anu Lahtinen and Terhi Katajamäki, which discusses material and social aspects of a royal letter sent by Countess Palatine Anna (Vasa), the wife of George John I, Count Palatine of Veldenz (pp. 217–235). In the article that follows, Mariola Jarczykowa presents the members of the House of Radziwiłł as orators in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (pp. 237–255), while Maria Barłowska studies Polish secular speeches from the period between the seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth centuries in order to determine the role of custom and tradition in these texts (pp. 257–292). The last text in this section, by Ramunė Šmigelskytė-Stukienė examines the identities of Lithuanian nobility on the basis of ego-documents of the Ogiński and Plater families.

Anu Lahtinen and Terhi Katajamäki's case study reveals that the Swedish Royal Archives house many letters sent by the five daughters of Gustav Vasa (d. 1560). As part of their upbringing, the women were prepared for marriage to foreign members of princely dynasties and in due time they fulfilled their parents' expectations. After they moved abroad, they exchanged letters with their close and distant relatives, and strived to promote the interests of their brothers Eric, John and Charles, who one by one succeeded to the Swedish throne (pp. 217–218). Referring to the studies of the sixteenth-century Swedish writing and of the House of Vasa, the authors closely examine the content as well as the structure and context of a letter by Countess Palatine Anna (Vasa) (1545–1610). Anna was the third daughter of Gustav Vasa and the wife of George John I, Count Palatine of Veldenz. The letter was written in 1592, when she was already a widow, and it was addressed to the queen of Sweden (the wife of king John III, Gunilla Bielke [1568–1597]), who back then was in her twenties. Anu Lahtinen and Terhi Katajamäki's case study shows that a royal letter may be examined both from the verbal and the material perspectives. It is thus perceived as an object that opens a discussion on

the material and social significance of the correspondence of Countess Palatine Anna (Vasa), who was born in Sweden and yet resided far from her homeland. The letter is also studied in the context of early-modern correspondence (the authors highlight the lasting influence of the medieval *ars dictaminis*) (pp. 222–224), as a physical (material) object that was supposed to communicate (as well as hide) a message not only in the text of the letter, but also through its outward appearance (letters were often written by scribes and delivered by messengers, so the privacy of correspondence was not guaranteed). The article analyses a specific letter (pp. 225–228) and the way in which it reveals the author's personal intentions as well as tensions in the family – Countess Palatine Anna accentuates her position as a defenceless mother who is concerned about her children and their future. The comprehensive study of the letter and its context thus sheds light on the difficult situation of a widow who lived far away from her family of birth.

Mariola Jarczykowa investigates speeches that were printed or preserved in diaries and copiers of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As she argues, the Radziwiłłs “played an important role in the public life of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which was related not only to their high position among Polish and Lithuanian nobility, but also to their contribution to Polish literary culture and the rhetorical skills of the representatives of the Nieśwież and the Birża lines of the family” (p. 237). Many orations of Mikołaj “the Black” (1515–1565), who often delivered speeches at the parliament meetings (e.g. about the Lublin Union), have been preserved till this day. In his speeches he made many references to proverbs, literature, and the Bible. Prince Krzysztof of the Birża line (1585–1640) was the most famous orator of the seventeenth century. He not only delivered speeches about state affairs, but also spoke at funerals and weddings. As Jarczykowa notes, Prince Krzysztof “took inspiration from Seneca's sententious style” (p. 243). His oratory skills were recognised and praised by many contemporary panegyrists, such as Samuel Dowgird of Pogowie, Wojciech Cieciszewski, and Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski. Prince Krzysztof also educated his son Janusz and his nephew Bogusław in rhetoric. Both of them gave public speeches when they were still very young. Yet, their speeches – with some minor exceptions – as Jarczykowa notes, did not enjoy much popularity. Chancellor Albrycht Stanisław (1593–1656) was another well-known orator of the Nieśwież line. He delivered a number of public speeches and evaluated other orators' skills in his diary. Many speeches by Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł have survived, preserved in a manuscript, and some of his Latin speeches were printed in 1713 by Johann Christian Lünig (in *Orationes procerum Europae*). Jan Ostrowski-Daneykowicz (*Swada polska i łacińska*) preserved, among other things, the oration of Michał Kazimierz's son delivered upon stepping down from the position of the Marshal of the Sejm. At the turn of the eighteenth century, the following members

of the Radziwiłł family gave speeches at the parliament: Dominik Mikołaj and Karol Stanisław. They both actively participated in the parliamentary sessions of the Warsaw Sejm in 1690. In their speeches they not only supported the policy of King Jan III Sobieski, but also defended and praised the Radziwiłł family. Janczykova's article concludes with the following observation: "in monographs on individual members of the House of Radziwiłł, their oratory works are only briefly mentioned as reflections of their political views and little attention is devoted to their rhetorical aspects. The analysis of the nobles' rhetorical skills will help draw a more comprehensive image of the literary culture [of the times under discussion]" (pp. 249–250).

Maria Barłowska, in turn, examines the particular way in which authors of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Polish speeches (the examples of which have been taken from manuscripts and printed anthologies) referred to custom. This strategy was used not only to reinforce an argument by referring to the positively valued tradition, but it also served as a commentary on oratory rules and strategies. In this way, the orators sought to attract their audience's attention and win their approval. Barłowska thus writes about the specificity of Old Polish "unique rhetorical rules founded upon the repetitive character of custom" (p. 267). References to custom were present already in the introduction aimed at winning over the audience. Such mentions of "custom" can, as Barłowska argues, be defined as *causam actionis* (analogously to *causam scribendi*): "I speak because custom demands that I should do so" and "I say what it demands that I should say". The texts under discussion offer many remarks on decorum and expressing praise. They present detailed rules of conduct, e.g. a different set of rules applies to a speech delivered in the presence of the king or the queen. The fact that the orators were particularly willing to refer to custom in their ceremonial speeches was obviously a result of the nobility's traditionalism which also found a reflection in frequent allusions to Roman standards (p. 261). Traditionalism caused that references to custom were seen as being of utmost importance.

Written by Ramunė Šmigelskytė-Stukienė, the last article in this section focuses on the civic and cultural identities of two aristocrats who played important roles as members of the elite of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the end of the eighteenth century: Kazimierz Konstanty Plater (1749–1807), the last vice-chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and Michał Kleofas Ogiński (1765–1833), the last treasurer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a diplomat, and an economist. Plater was well familiar with contemporary economic ideas (including fiscal concepts). He was, for instance, interested in credit policies and economic development. Plater, as Šmigelskytė-Stukienė notes, was also a political writer, historian, bibliophile, physiocrat, and a citizen of the world. Ogiński promoted the economic development of the country. He also participated in a few diplomatic missions,

actively supported the idea of granting political rights to the Third Estate, and was a proponent of the Constitution of 3 May 1791. Šmigelskytė-Stukienė introduces these two figures in the context of identity studies (especially the ideas put forward by Manuel Castells). She argues that Castell's approach is a useful and convenient tool that may be of help when analysing the self-perception of Polish and Lithuanian nobility and defining the civic and cultural identities of this part of society (p. 276). After the fall of the Commonwealth (1795), the question of civic identity became even more complex and ambiguous for representatives of all social groups than ever. The analysis of multilingual ego-documents of the Ogiński and Plater families: their memoirs, diaries (as in the case of Plater and Ogiński) as well as personal and official letters kept in family archives (esp. in Ogiński's case), sheds light on their political and social choices. These documents help answer the question of why the two aristocrats, who supported the ideas of the Enlightenment (which shaped their civic and cultural identities), after 1795 chose different paths and forms of activity. Plater adapted to the new situation and supported the Russians (in 1792 his foremost concern was to avoid the stationing of Russian military units in his manors), while Ogiński participated in the Kościuszko Uprising (and thus his property was sequestered). Ogiński emigrated to Italy where he developed close ties with the cultural elite of Florence but never abandoned the idea of active struggle (six years after the fall of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, he returned to his country), while Plater chose to remain in Lithuania (as he had envisaged his future in close connection with Russia already before the third partition). Plater made compromises with the partitioners in order to have an impact on the governing mechanisms of the Russian Empire, trying to secure protection and support from the new government. What serves as a symbolic act in this respect is the fact that as the vice-chancellor of Lithuania, Plater personally handed over the Lithuanian Metrica into the hands of the Russian general Nikolai Repnin (p. 286). As Šmigelskytė-Stukienė argues, an answer to the questions concerning the political choices of the two aristocrats can be found in their different political beliefs and aspirations (visible before the fall of the Commonwealth). Ogiński supported the pro-Prussian faction, while Plater was a pro-Russian politician since the beginning of his career (p. 286).

The section "Literary Adaptation" includes two articles. The first one is Michał Kuran's study of the adaptation strategies used in *Krwawa ofiara Jezusa Chrystusa Syna Bożego* by Wawrzyniec Chlebowski and *Pamiętka krwawej ofiary Jezusa Chrystusa Syna Bożego* by Abraham Roźniatowski (pp. 293–333). What follows is Dorota Gacka's text about the Christianization of ancient motifs in *Historia wojny między Pompejuszem i Julijuszem*, which focuses on the literary strategy adopted by Fr. Tomasz Nargielewicz (pp. 335–363).

Kuran argues that when writing *Krwawa ofiara Jezusa Chrystusa Syna Bożego*, Wawrzyniec Chlebowski (1616 and 1617) did not plagiarise *Pamiętka krwawej ofiary Jezusa Chrystusa Syna Bożego* by Abraham Roźniatowski (1610) or the short version of Roźniatowski's work entitled *Zwierciadło smutne*, which was published as late as in 1618 (so before Chlebowski wrote his work; thus, Chlebowski was not familiar with the text). In 1634 Stanisław Żeromski published the text authored by Chlebowski under his own name and in 1612 Roźniatowski's text was paraphrased by Marcin Paszkowski and transformed into a dialogue entitled *Dyjalog abo Rozmowa Grzesznego człowieka z Anjoły*. Having in mind these intertextual relationships, it can be argued that *Krwawa ofiara* provides examples of imitation and compilation techniques. Kuran also points out that, when juxtaposed with the earlier explorations of the same theme, Roźniatowski's ur-text has a strong meditative character. It serves as a guidebook of the paths of the Calvary that can be used therein as well as during personal prayer – to meditate on Christ's passion. *Pamiętka* found many imitators, e.g. Mikołaj Skarbimierz (*Kalwaria abo krótka historia o fundacyjej*, 1632), Stanisław Odymalski (*Wizerunek Męki Pańskiej*, 1700), Szymon Gawłowicki (*Jezus Nazareński*, 1686) and Wacław Potocki (*Nowy zaciąg*, 1697) (p. 300). Using the Open Anti-Plagiarism System (OSA) in his analyses, Kuran shows that Chlebowski imitated the general pattern set by Roźniatowski, but introduced a number of additions, shortened or reorganised some parts, and replaced some elements with others (p. 301). He also modified the original structure of the text to create a handy and up-to-date meditation prayer-guidebook of the paths of the Calvary. The imitation strategies are visible on both the micro and the macro levels of the text whose reader becomes an active witness (pp. 308–321), a co-participant in Christ's Passion and death. Chlebowski's work may largely be seen as a cento. Yet, as Kuran notes, the author imitates the ur-text in a creative manner, which is conspicuous not so much in shortening the account of Christ's martyrdom (which Chlebowski does), but in redefining the aims of the text and its message.

Dorota Gacka's article consists of two sections. The first – historical and literary – part offers information about the baroque Dominican writer Tomasz Nargielewicz (d. 1700), and about the Latin writer, Lucan, whose epic poem *Pharsalia* was translated into Polish prose by Nargielewicz (Nargielewicz's manuscript was never published as a whole) (p. 335–339). Nargielewicz entitled it *Historija wojny między Pompejuszem i Julijuszem*. His work is not a faithful translation, but a strong paraphrase, as Nargielewicz omits, elaborates, and rearranges many fragments of the original poem. The relationship between the above-mentioned works was first mentioned by Julian Krzyżanowski. Due to the fact that he was a Dominican, Nargielewicz added Christian elements to the text

(as opposed to Homer and Virgil, Lucan did not make any references to gods). He knew how to “amplify” the text by adding paraphrased fragments of the Holy Bible and works of Thomas Aquinas. Furthermore, this part of the article addresses the question whether in his work Nargielewicz made use of the translations of Lucan’s poem by two other baroque poets, John Alan Bardziński and Adalbertus Stanislaus Chrościński (pp. 342–344). The author argues that “[u]sing his imagination and literary knowledge, Nargielewicz »amplifies« the text. However, the historical works that he frequently refers to do not facilitate presenting a given problem in a reliable way, but rather serve as a source of anecdotes that help develop the romance plot” (p. 340). The second – analytical and editorial – part of the article presents excerpts from Nargielewicz’s work, such as the fragment that describes Cato the Younger and fragments containing speeches. The speakers who deliver them are: Vulteius (the captain of a Roman ship) (pp. 348–350), Cato (in the temple of Ammon) (pp. 350–352), Achoreus (at a feast at the court of Ptolemy Dionysus) (pp. 357–359), and Cleopatra (at the time of her death) (pp. 353–357). The author also analyses the final part of Nargielewicz’s work (p. 359), where the Christian flavour is most evident. Gacka notes that what might have served as a basis for Nargielewicz’s translation, apart from the Latin text, was a contemporary, possibly Italian, paraphrase of the original text.

Entitled “Revisions”, the next section addresses problems related to tradition. It starts with Jolanta Doschek’s article (pp. 367–378) which tackles the methods of reconstructing fragments of pre-Christian Slavic sacred texts. Doschek studies references to the Proto-Slavic oral tradition in medieval texts, using the etymological method. The next article, by Krzysztof Obremski, contributes to the vast existing research on *Bogurodzica*. The text opens with a provocative title: “[w] as *Bogurodzica* really sung at Grunwald?” (pp. 379–393).

Doschek’s article returns to the times discussed earlier in Adam Krawiec’s study. What serves as a starting point for the author are comparative analyses of Slavic myths. She takes inspiration from the comprehensive studies by Vyacheslav Vsevolodich Ivanov and Vladimir Nikolayevich Toporov. Taking recourse to etymology, Ivanov and Toporov “reconstructed” the Proto-Slavic myth of the god Grom and the Serpent god. Doschek notes that they showed that Slavic folk literature features fragments of Proto-Slavic sacred poetry, which survived in local folklore thanks to oral tradition. The reconstruction method devised by the Russian scholars helps determine how many elements of ancient phraseology have survived till the twentieth century, mainly thanks to folklore. Doschek states that “[t]he reconstruction is based on the etymological correspondence between expressions, words, and the relationships between them in traditional Slavic folk songs, and aims at reconstructing the oldest historical contexts of these songs” (p. 368). What

may serve as a good example of the application of this method (which derives from Ivanov and Toporov's school) are works by Radoslav Katičić (d. 2019), who mostly examined the major folk texts of the Southern Slavs and Ruthenian folklore, often in the context of the folklore of other Slavic countries, and who searched for traces of another Proto-Slavic myth – those of the Proto-Slavic god of harvest. Doschek also takes issue with Adrian Mianiecki (and to some extent with Dariusz Sikorski) regarding the overlap of two research areas: the reception and the reconstruction of pre-Christian beliefs and mythologies. Doschek highlights that “folklore should serve as a source for reconstructing native mythologies” (p. 369) and in this vein constructs the main argument of her article.

In his article, Krzysztof Obremski provides a negative answer to the question: “[w]as *Bogurodzica* really sung at Grunwald?”. He disputes a vast body of research (esp. by Andrzej Dąbrówka and Wiesław Wydra) to arrive at a conclusion that “*Bogurodzica* was not sung at Grunwald” (p. 376). It seems that Obremski's text takes issue with every argument starting with the word “undoubtedly”. The author suggests that the chroniclers claimed that *Bogurodzica* was sung twice in July 1410 only to praise the Polish army's piety, which was an important element of the propaganda war against the Teutonic Order. As the author asks with “a dose of suspicion”: “could not the »Polish national interest« provide a convincing explanation why the song that was never sung was mentioned in the reports?” (p. 380). In this way, the war-time “*carmen patrium*”, as Obremski further argues, counterbalanced the futile siege of Malbork as well as the disproportion between the triumph on the battlefield and the outcomes of the Toruń peace treaty. On the international stage, the mention of it mitigated the allegations of the sinful alliance between Poles and the “Saracens” (Tatars) and the schismatics (“[...] Ruthenians, Samogitians, Tatars and other barbarians and pagans”, as stated by Peter of Dusburg) (p. 383). Polish chroniclers treated the litany *Kyrie eleison* as *pars pro toto*: “in their accounts, the two words of the chorus were transformed into a native song” (p. 390). As Obremski states, “If *Bogurodzica* had ever been sung, then it must have been only in the chronicles and only »to raise people's spirits«” (p. 387). A more definite answer to the question posed by the author may be provided by a comparative study conducted by military scholars.

Entitled “Images”, the penultimate section of this issue of “Studies in Polish Literature” also contains two studies. The first one by Alois Woldan examines the polyphony of a text that present the image of L'viv of the early modern period (pp. 397–422). The second article, by László Tapolcai, reconstructs the image of

George II Rákóczi (Jerzy II Rakocy)¹ in Polish literature of the seventeenth century (pp. 423–446).

Woldan analyses texts written at the turn of the seventeenth century by Ukrainian, Polish, and German authors in Church Slavonic, Prosta mova, Latin, and German. He accentuates the interactions between texts which were written in various languages, which represent different genres (heraldic texts, lamentations, itineraria, topographical descriptions, etc.), and which express varying point of views or even ideographical stances. The names of some of the authors are known (e.g. Sebastian Fabian Klonowic and his *Roxolania*, or the German merchant and traveller, Martin Gruneweg), while others remain anonymous, as in the case of the author of a Ukrainian heraldic poem signed “ΛΕΟΠΟΛΙΣ” or the author of a “lamentation” (“Лямент албо мова до короля его милости”) presented in the parliament in 1609 and addressed to the Polish king (which served as a literary preface to the “literary” mandates). These texts have some common aspects – they underline the multinationality of the city as well as the coexistence of different religious denominations of various ethnic group (special attention is given to the Jewish population of the city, particularly in the context of the anti-Semitic stereotypes that are present in Klonowic’s text or in Ioannes Alembek’s *Topographia Civitatis Leopolitanae*). They represent conflicting points of view on privileges of various social and ethnic groups as well as their cultural and (especially) religious contexts. Thus, the texts serve as an example of polyphony as defined by Mikhail Bakhtin. They combine different voices representing various national ideologies (if one may use such terms when referring to the times under discussion) in one complex work, a “text” of the early modern city of L’viv (still, one should note that the Armenians and Jews do not have their own voice in this polyphony, and they are only objects rather than subjects in the discussion). In a Bakhtinian spirit, as Woldan argues, the text features no domineering voice that would express a single truth, but rather many competing views which share a number of similarities and differences. What all the voices mentioned by the author have in common is *laus urbis* – they all praise the city of L’viv using all the possible *laus Urbis* topoi. The citizens, as Woldan notes, contribute to its fame thanks to their virtues, the compatibility of the Orthodox and the Catholic points of view, and piety, when seen from the Ruthenian (or Ukrainian) perspective.

Oscillating around the following three keywords: “vine, garlic, and a dishonourable death”, Laszlo Tapolcai presents the image of George II Rákóczi, Prince of Transylvania, who led an unsuccessful armed invasion of the

¹ In his article, Tapolcai uses the Old Polish spelling of the name, which is consistent with the Hungarian spelling.

Commonwealth in 1657, in Polish seventeenth-century literature. So far Polish literary historians have not devoted much attention to Rákóczi (p. 425). Informed by such concepts as individual and collective memory (which is particularly conspicuous in the context of Rákóczi's war with the Commonwealth), the image analysed by Tapolcai was created by Rákóczi's contemporaries. Although somewhat stereotypical, it was richer than the one created in the following centuries because either the writers knew Rákóczi personally or they were dignitaries, officials, or soldiers who participated in the same events as he did. The literary texts that refer to Rákóczi and that Tapolcai studies (another topic studied by the author is George II and Sophia Bathory's wedding) can be divided chronologically into three groups; the first one includes texts written before Rákóczi's military invasion of the Commonwealth (e.g. fragments of *Diariusz legacyjnej* by Jerzy Bałaban), the second group covers texts written during the invasion (e.g. the famous *Pamiętniki* by Jan Chryzostom Pasek), and the third one – texts written after Rákóczi's defeat and his later death (e.g. epigrams by Waclaw Potocki). Tapolcai's study also addresses some issues related to individual and collective memory as well as the symbols used back then in the portrayals of Prince George.

The final section entitled "Reverberations" includes Witold Wojtowicz's text on courtly culture as depicted in *Peregrynacja Maćkowa* (pp. 449–468) and Dariusz Rott's article about contemporary allusions to Daniel Vetter's *Islandia* in Sonia Rammer's and Piotr Milewski's works (pp. 469–483).

Referring to his earlier research, Wojtowicz analyses the parodic and satirical approach to the ideas characteristic of courtly culture in *Peregrynacja Maćkowa* (printed in 1612). Its author mocks the medieval chivalric romance, and Maciek's journey may be read as a satirical parody which challenges *roman d'aventure* (romance of adventure) conventions. The work also parodies travel novels and alludes to the theme of *Brautwerbung* (courtship). Wojtowicz shows how the ideas of courtly culture were travestied in a parodic manner. What serves as a starting point for his study are the analyses of courtly culture by e.g. Rüdiger Schnell (*Die höfische Kultur des Mittelalters zwischen Ekel und Ästhetik*). Wojtowicz accentuates the multidimensional game that the author plays with his audience who are aware of the conventions that he uses in his work. The readers are also made aware of the fictionality of the world depicted in the text and the way they are supposed to approach it.

The aim of Dariusz Rott's article is the analysis of the manner in which two contemporary authors used Daniel Vetter's seventeenth-century text *Islandia albo Krótkie opisanie wyspy Islandyi* which offers the first Polish description of a journey to Iceland. The book was published in Leszno in 1638 (the author settled down in Leszno and in October 1632 was ordained minister of the Unity of the Brethren).

As Rott notes, in recent years Polish authors have published a large number of books about Iceland. Many of them can be classified as travel literature, as in the case of books by Piotr Milewski (*Islandia albo najzimniejsze lato od pięćdziesięciu lat*) and Sonia Rammer (*Kroniki islandzkie* and *Kroniki islandzkie. Suplement* – complemented by her various artistic projects). What sets these works apart are: “their conceptual framework (they both creatively allude to Daniel Vetter’s journey of 1613) and an original representation of a lonely traveller who is mindful of their surrounding and who sets out on a self-reflexive journey and starts a deep dialogue with themselves” (p. 482).

The articles collected in this issue show that the topic of the 2019 conference: *Old Polish Literature. Traditions of Old Texts* has practically unlimited and diverse research potential. It offers ample space for case studies as well more comprehensive analyses of texts from the perspective of their genre, style, persuasive character, and the rhetorical skills of their authors. It gives an opportunity to investigate various familial, political, and monastic communities as well as cultural (and literary) backgrounds of various social groups. Last but not least, the articles examine the self-awareness of ethnogenetic identities, and different speculations about the origins of contemporary aficionados of the past (Neosarmatians). In geographical terms, the texts do not only tackle issues relevant to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but also reach far beyond its borders – to Iceland, the Palatinate, Scandinavia, and Hungary (of Rákóczi’s times).

The research results presented in the above-mentioned articles often address fundamental problems and open paths for further research, as – for instance – in the case of Kochanowski studies which can benefit from the examination of the reception of the New Testament by the Master from Czarnolas. The complete lack of references to this part of the Bible inspires questions about the reasons for this absence. Was Jan Kochanowski a proponent of a non-confessional attitude to religious life or perhaps an agnostic who referred to the Old Testament (translated the Psalter, paraphrased the story of Susanna, which was very popular among Protestants) not so much for religious reasons, but only for an artistic effect or because he was ordered to do so by his patrons? Did he treat such philosophies as Neoplatonism, Neoplatonism and Neostoicism, to which he referred in his works, as his religion?

The texts examined in this issue of “Studies in Polish Literature” show the importance of denomination to Old Polish writers, as it shaped not only their literary works, but also artistic and non-artistic self-awareness. This concerns both Protestant and Catholic circles. The articles we have gathered help trace the influence of confessional choices on the artistic methods, devices, and strategies used by writers. They investigate how religious literature persuades the readers to

adopt a given stance and gives shape to their religious experiences. Saints, angels, the cult of Christ's passion, the reading of the Holy Bible, or the way this reading was guided by religious teachings – these are the factors that shaped the Old Polish social consciousness – crucial elements determining people's everyday horizon of imagination. Religion also serves as a crucial point of reference for the "revisions" presented in this issue. The possibility of rediscovering evidence of proto-Slavic beliefs, which have remained hidden under thick strata of new and overlapping versions of folk songs, does not so much prove the power of Christianity, but rather shows the durability of certain primal cultural images. These images in Slavic texts serve as an evidence of an early community that existed in the areas inhabited by Proto-Slavs. The study of *Bogurodzica* centres on the power of the propaganda in the form of a religious song that may or may not have been sung at the battlefield. Thus, the song may be seen an effective tool that communicates both the desired and the unwanted message, a tool to fight for what remains in the public consciousness and often also in the unconscious (regardless of what one may think about its collective dimension) where the remains of tradition are stored. On the one hand, *Bogurodzica* is a religious device of national propaganda. On the other, it shows that which seems to be an uncomfortable evidence of the long forgotten past. This only exemplifies the fact that the persuasive element played a crucial role in confessional texts.

All in all, the studies presented in this issue show that tradition, rhetoric, and religion are the major elements that determined the shape of old literature.

Michał Kuran
Witold Wojtowicz

(translated by Katarzyna Ojrzyńska)