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Polish culture in the Renaissance

Studies in the arts, humanism and political thought

edited by
Danilo Facca, Valentina Lepri

FIRENZE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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– 21 –

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2013

Polish Culture in the Renaissance : Studies in the arts, humanism and political thought / a cura di Danilo Facca, Valentina Lepri. - Firenze : Firenze University Press, 2013. (Biblioteca di Studi slavistici ; 21)

http://digital.casalini.it/9788866554905

ISBN 978-88-6655-490-5 (online PDF)
ISBN 978-88-6655-489-9 (print)
ISBN 978-88-6655-512-4 (online EPUB)

Front cover: drawing by Antoni Facca, freely derived from Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia*, 1544

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Università degli Studi di Firenze
Firenze University Press
Borgo Albizi, 28, 50122 Firenze, Italy
http://www.fupress.com/
Printed in Italy

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τίς γῆ; τί γένος;

(*Prometeus,* 561)

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Introduction

Danilo Facca and Valentina Lepri

In the course of the 2013 Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, which was held in San Diego, the attention of those attending was attracted by two panels dealing with the Renaissance in Poland[1]. This was a novelty in the history of the prestigious Conference and, we might even be permitted to suggest, one that was surprisingly late in view of two factors. On the one hand, the undeniable importance of the Renaissance in Poland, well known to scholars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who are fully cognisant of the fact that the culture of this country must be placed on a par with those of the leading players on the European stage in the period that marked the passage from the Middle Ages to the modern world. On the other hand, there is the extraordinary scope and significance of the Polish tradition of historical studies on the Renaissance: a sector of research which is not only fundamental to the historic knowledge of this country, but also boasts studies and publications of outstanding quality that frequently succeed in garnering just recognition even on the international academic scene.

In our capacity as organisers of the panels, we are therefore delighted to have contributed to giving Polish Renaissance studies this undoubtedly timely official acknowledgement, and arguably of no slight significance considering the presence at the Conference of an international audience of specialists. The papers presented during the session touched aspects that are important, if not crucial, for an understanding of the historic-intellectual dynamics of 15th-17th century Poland within the broader European context. Consequently we have asked the contributors to revise their contributions, bearing specifically in mind the viewpoint of the "external" reader. Indeed, such readers need to be introduced to an intellectual universe with specific, and even unique, features which are not easy to relate to those we are accustomed to encounter in the history of closer cultures. This means that we are now able to present the papers from the two Polish panels in an enriched form, substantially revised in line with the conventions of the academic article. Clearly, we make no claims here to offer an exhaustive overview of the cultural and intellectual is-

[1] The Conference was held from 4 to 6 April 2013. The title of the panels was "The Polish Renaissance: Paths, Books, Ideas".

sues of the *Rzeczpospolita* in the Renaissance. Rather, what has driven us is the conviction that all the contributors have sought, each according to his or her expertise and research perspective, to focus the pivotal issues underlying the historic and cultural development of Poland at this time, avoiding secondary aspects or those spurred by a more or less erudite *curiositas*. It appears to us that the result is a collection of articles not devoid of a certain organic consistency, despite the variety of topics addressed. These include, for example: the "creative" reception of western cultural patterns through models of literature and patronage; the confrontation with the "other" – the Near and Far East – and the definition of Europe; the adoption of classical philosophical and ideological models to interpret the political struggle of the time; the intellectual crisis ushered in by the Reformation and the political and social conflicts that it triggered. Furthermore, many other issues, while not explicitly addressed, are touched upon, glimpsed in passing or intuited by reading between the lines.

The aim that we set ourselves in presenting these issues at the Conference was to offer a rudimentary compass to readers specialised in the Renaissance of western Europe to help them find their bearings within the sphere of issues characterising the intellectual world of 15th-17th century Poland.

We were essentially guided by the conviction that making better known the Polish perspective on the era of passage to the Modern Age could contribute to a more polyphonic vision of the European Renaissance in its various geographical and thematic expressions. The intention is to correct an "Italo-centric" bias that has become widespread in this field of studies, which tends to consider the Renaissance – however this historical concept is understood – as a phenomenon in which ideas and models irradiated from the peninsula towards the "periphery". We instead favour a notion of the flowering of "local" forms in all – or almost all – the countries of Europe, that find their expression in the new languages of that historic period.

We are fully aware that a collection of case studies such as this certainly cannot suffice to illustrate such an image of the Renaissance. Nevertheless, our aim is to allow the reader to appreciate the richness and potential inherent in what we have just defined as the Polish perspective.

The hope is that our work may introduce a fertile season of studies, involving academics from different disciplinary fields both in Europe and in the rest of the world.

Poland's Artistic Development through its Exchange with Western Europe in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Robin Craren

The area we now refer to as modern day Poland existed as a much larger state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Before the Middle Ages, its domain was situated beyond the borders of the Holy Roman Empire and not easily accessible through the Carpathian Mountains to the south and rivers heading north, making it unattractive to settlers from the Mediterranean countries[1]. However, when trade and Christianity[2] opened up its borders during the Middle Ages, its domain became more vast and far reaching. Poland's capital, Cracow, along with other major cities in Poland, hastened the economic and political development of the country as a whole, largely due to Cracow's geographical significance and its place along major trade routes as it was situated in the south along the Vistula River.

While Cracow began to develop as an urban center during the Middle Ages, by the thirteenth century this development began to move throughout the region, with cities and towns forming as more organized variants of their former selves, reflecting the importance of trade within the economy of the empire as a whole. Due to its significance as the political center of the Polish government and its importance within the trade of Poland[3], Cracow emerged as the center of artistic development throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

It is because of this cultural, economic, and dynastic significance that this paper focuses on the artistic development of Cracow as an example of Poland's ties with Western Europe through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Cracow was an intermediary city where merchandise flowed from Western to Eastern Europe, as well as beyond the confines of the continent to the Near and Middle East[4]. Its importance as the capital of the state and seat of the monarchy contributed immensely to its more rapid artistic development.

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1 Ostrowski 2011: 11.

2 Christianity was introduced into Poland with the Baptism of Poland in 966. For more information on this topic, see Reddaway 1971.

3 Carter 1994: 42-62.

4 Carter 1994: 6.

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The rise of Poland as a formidable state, governed by a dynasty that grew in power and prestige between the 15th and 16th centuries, coincided with the reign of the Jagiellonian kings who became the rulers of Poland after the death of the childless King Casimir the Great in 1370[5]. The king left Poland to his sister's son, King Louis of Hungary, to keep the kingdom under a Piast ruler. However, the king spent little time in Poland and ruled through regents during his reign. Not concerned with the kingdom, he allowed radical concessions to the nobility, securing their favor and the assurance that one of his daughters would succeed to the throne. In 1384, his daughter Jadwiga was crowned in Cracow at the age of ten. The Polish nobility, wanting to secure a permanent connection with Lithuania, set out to arrange the marriage between Jadwiga and the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Ladislaus Jagiellon, beginning a close connection between the two states that continued for generations[6]. Upon Jadwiga's death in 1399, Ladislaus Jagiellon became king of Poland, beginning the dynasty of Jagiellonian kings that would last until the death of King Sigismund II in 1572.

While two Jagiellonian kings preceded him, Casimir IV Jagiellon was by far the most influential of the fifteenth century, reigning from 1447 until his death in 1492. The latter half of the fifteenth century was a period of prosperity in the capital city[7], flourishing intellectual life, contacts with foreign countries, and a maturation of artistic skills, in painting, sculpture, and craftsmanship[8].

While the Renaissance, in its pure Italian form, was not introduced to Poland until the beginning of the sixteenth century, it is important to discuss what came before it as it relates to the development of this new style. The Gothic style, as related through mostly German artists in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was the predominant style used by the Church, the leaders in artistic and architectural patronage after the conversion of Poland to Christianity in the tenth century, due to the fact that they were erecting the most prominent structures in towns and cities across the empire. The church was also responsible for Poland's integration, although slowly, into Western

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[5] The reign of the Jagiellonian kings began with Ladislaus Jagiellon in 1399 and ended with the death of King Sigismund II in 1572.

[6] The Polish nobility wished to create a stronger connection with Lithuania and were able to do so with the marriage of Ladislaus to Jadwiga. In order to secure the throne of Poland, Ladislaus agreed to "accept Christian baptism, to convert his pagan subjects to Roman Catholicism, to release all Polish prisoners and slaves in his possession, to coordinate operations against the Teutonic Knights, and to associate the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with the Kingdom of Poland in a permanent union". For more information, see Davies 2005: 86-122.

[7] Carter 1994: 64-69.

[8] Wyrobisz 1982: 154.

European culture[9]. After the Mongolian invasion in the thirteenth century, Poland was left vulnerable to the immigration of considerable amounts of German workers, merchants, and artisans with strong contacts to the region's culture and peoples, its closest neighbors to the West[10]. This German migration[11] laid the foundation for the introduction of the Romanesque and Gothic styles into Poland during the Middle Ages and contributed to the Church's usage of German models and the introduction of the German guild structure to Poland[12].

By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the dominant position of the church yielded to the emergence of a more important secular society[13] and the power of the nobility and monarch. Secular buildings – castles, town halls, royal residences, noble homes, and urban mansions – began to be erected using the same brick making methods as had been applied to churches in the past century. These buildings were accompanied with sculpture, paintings, and decorative arts[14] that fit the needs of a new patron, one concerned with how they were portrayed spiritually, materially, and politically. Within this application and that of the church, a native Polish mode within the framework of the International Gothic Style emerged in wood. Initially in the fourteenth century, the figural style of Polish sculpture tended to be oriented to Central Europe, as it did in architecture, notably the visual culture of Bohemia, sharing with it the idealization of the figure in the Beautiful Madonna style that was used in both painting and sculpture. Among the earliest and most numerous wood sculptures in Poland were small devotional figures of the Pietà made for individual worship for the secular household[15].

By the middle of the fifteenth century the Gothic style had a strong hold within the empire, especially city centers. When Casimir IV Jagiellon, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, was crowned King of Poland in 1447, he brought the two nations physically together under the same ruler. His marriage to Elizabeth of Austria, a member of the Hapsburg family, in 1454, established a connection to Nuremberg promoted by the queen's relationship with the city and her desire to establish a connection to German centers of art, seen through her gifts and bequests to churches within Cracow[16].

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9 Wyrobisz 1982: 153.

10 Lepszy 1992: 21.

11 In this paper, when Germany is mentioned, I am referring to German-speaking territories, those part of the Holy Roman Empire.

12 Wyrobisz 1982: 153; Lepszy 1992: 44.

13 Wyrobisz 1982: 154.

14 Wyrobisz 1982: 154.

15 Marcinkowski, Zaucha 2007: 16.

16 Lepszy 1992: 30.

The height of this Gothic style arrived with the introduction of Veit Stoss, known in Polish as Wit Stwosz, to Cracow in 1472, commissioned to erect the monumental Marian Altarpiece in the Church of Saint Mary located off the town square of Cracow. Although not representative of a Renaissance style, this iconic example of sculpture is worth mentioning because of its impact on both Polish wood sculpture and painting[17]. The Italian Renaissance style was proliferated within Poland mainly through sculpture and architecture. Although paintings of Renaissance themes can be found in the late sixteenth century, the medium of painting largely continued to represent the Gothic style and reflected the presence of Stoss's style in the decades following his arrival in Cracow[18]. Given the long-standing connections between Poland and Germany and the existence of a German burgher population, it is understandable why the German Gothic style continued to hold strong even while Italian models were becoming more predominant, giving the city of Cracow a medieval appearance.

While the Renaissance in its artistic form did not take root until the reign of King Sigismund I who ruled from 1506 until 1548, the introduction of Renaissance intellectual ideals came almost a full century before. It is easier to understand the proliferation of classical humanism in Poland given the intellectual center established in 1364 in Cracow with the foundation of the Jagiellonian University[19]. The Councils of Constance and Basel[20], attended by Polish delegates, clergymen, and scholars from the university, established an initial contact with humanist thought and the interest in ancient writings and learning[21]. Gregory of Sanok, a lecturer for the university, held lectures on classical authors at the university in 1428 after his return from Constance. The travels and studies of Polish scholars in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries strengthened Poland's ties with the literary, philosophical, and scientific currents of Western Europe.

The introduction of the Italian Renaissance needed an enthusiastic and wealthy patron to proliferate its forms, which was not found until the turn of the sixteenth century with King Sigismund I[22]. While it was introduced through an intermediary, Hungary, Hungary's associations with Italy were more direct, partly because of geography and partly because of King Matthias Corvinus's marriage to an Italian, introducing him to a style that he became

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17 For more information, see Craren 2012: 46-60, 102-108.

18 Marcinkowski, Zaucha 2007.

19 Białostocki 1976: 6.

20 Reddaway 1971: 220-222, 239.

21 Lewalski 1967: 51.

22 For more information on Sigismund, see Segel 1989: 191-226; Lewalski 1967.

quite intimate with[23]. Although Sigismund's visit was after Corvinus's death, he developed an interest in what the king had left behind, prompting him to model his artistic patronage after the former king, utilizing Italian artists in royal commissions[24].

Sigismund had been educated by the Italian humanist Filippo Buonaccorsi, known as Callimachus, not as a future ruler but as a man of artistic and literary culture. Being the youngest of five sons, it was not expected that he would succeed to the throne of Poland. However through a series of events, the appointments of his brothers, one as a cardinal, one as the king of Bohemia, and the early deaths of his two brothers (John I Albert who died in 1501 and Alexander who died in 1506), he was given the opportunity to reign over the empire.

As a prince, Sigismund spent three years in the court of Buda, the court of his brother Ladislaus Jagiellon, the king of Hungary and Bohemia, where he was exposed to the artistic patronage of the former king, Matthias Corvinus, an avid patron of the arts who was not only interested in patronage but the actual application of many architectural models. Corvinus commissioned works by Italian artists in Florence while also bringing artists and humanists from Italy to his court. Although Ladislaus and his successor, Louis II, were not responsible for this development, economic and cultural ties with Florence and other Italian cities remained strong during the rule of the Jagiellonian kings[25]. Through this exposure, Sigismund's own appreciation for the arts developed, burgeoned by the humanist ideals taught to him by Callimachus, he was well prepared to meet the visual form of the classical ideals taught to him through literature[26].

Upon the death of his brother John, Sigismund returned to Cracow in time for the coronation of his brother, Alexander. At this point Sigismund seems to have taken over the artistic matters of the Polish court[27]. Sigismund took over the installation of the tomb of his brother from his mother, the widowed Queen Elizabeth, who favored the German style of the previous generation. The figure of the late king had already been executed at this point, possibly by Jörg Huber, a follower of Veit Stoss who assisted in the creation of the tomb of King Casimir in the 1490s. Huber's style would not have fit in with the artistic ideals that Sigismund had developed in the court of Hungary, therefore he brought a new artist with him from Hungary to finish the tomb[28], but kept the static Gothic figure of his brother, reflecting

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23 Lewalski 1967: 54.
24 Lewalski 1967: 54-55; Waldman 2011a: 427-501l.
25 Waldman 2011b: 677.
26 Białostocki 1976: 9-10.
27 Lewalski 1967: 56-57; Białostocki 1976: 10.
28 Lewalski 1967: 56; Lepszy 1992: 10; Kaufmann 1995: 52.

a trend within Poland to incorporate differing styles within the same monument, something that will be discussed in further detail later in this paper. Franciscus Florentinus, an Italian artist who had worked in the court of Hungary, was given the remainder of the tomb to erect[29]. The Gothic figure of the king was inserted into the new architectural framework of the artist's creation. The tomb is recessed into a wall of Wawel Cathedral, the burial place of Polish kings located on the same hill as the royal castle, with an arched frame covering the Gothic effigy of the late king. Double pilasters, decorated with signs of war and peace, frame the deep niche of the arcade. The whole tomb is decorated with garlands, wreaths in plinth, cornucopias, and ornate entablatures. The use of an arched frame, recalling a triumphal arch, suggests Poland's intentions to affirm its strong royal power and to extend its political and cultural influence over the surrounding areas[30], seen through the lens of their former king's permanent place of death, thereby ensuring the propagation of their king as a victorious and virtuous ruler to anyone who might visit the tomb.

A similar stylistic structure is seen in a tomb erected by Benedetto da Rovezzano in the Florentine church of Santa Maria del Carmine from around 1509. Although not identical, the overall composition reflects the same style, with similar decorative elements on the pilasters and base, while coffers decorate the ceilings of both arches. The tomb of the Polish king shows the coat of arms above his effigy along with the Polish eagle within a laurel wreath. When compared to this Italian example in Florence, the tomb seems to be quite up to date with current fashions given the geographical distance between the two cultural centers[31].

This tomb marked the introduction of the Italian Renaissance style. Although through an intermediary the new style reflected a rather unchanged, pure form. The Jagiellonians continued to reign over Hungary, Bohemia, Lithuania, and Poland until 1526 with the death of Ladislaus's son, Louis II. At this point in Poland's history, the Jagiellonians' reach was quite far and exhibits the importance of their empires. Sigismund's interest in and connection to Western Europe came at a time in which his empire was able to showcase itself as a rival to others, intellectually and now artistically, as this new style represented a semblance of prestige. This new style elevated the status of the king, creating a direct comparison to Western Europe that was on par with his own political and dynastic aspirations.

Upon Sigismund's succession to the throne and his eventual marriage to Bona Sforza, belonging to the prominent Milanese Italian family, the cultural

[29] Reddaway 1971: 287-288; Lewalski 1967: 55-57.

[30] Kaufmann 1995: 54; Miłobędzki 1988: 292; Glomski 2007: 12-14; Białostocki 1976: 10.

[31] Białostocki 1976: 10-11.

and intellectual ambitions shifted from the university to the royal court on Wawel hill[32]. A larger number of foreign residents, added to with his marriage to the Italian queen, established a more cosmopolitan atmosphere and receptivity to these new artistic tastes. The proliferation of the Renaissance style outside of the monarchy is seen in the tombs of the nobility and bishops[33], and in the residences of magnates, wishing to emulate the social prestige that the king had achieved with this new style.

As Sigismund created a cultural center, magnates erected architectural monuments as their own political centers[34], as instruments of propaganda and as a medium to transmit their political ideas and aspirations to the masses through the iconography of sculpture and architecture. Until the eighteenth century, the nobility collected art as a means of social prestige rather than for genuinely aesthetic or historical interest as for the most part, the nobility were convinced of the superiority of Poland as both a social and political system and preferred Polish customs and manners to that of any foreign entity[35]. However, an exception was made in regard to the promotion of the nobility's own power or prestige as a means to further their role within the political society of Poland, made more important by the new powers relinquished by the two monarchs that preceded Sigismund[36], restricting the power of the crown and giving legislative powers to the Diet[37].

While previous monarchs had diminished Sigismund's dynastic power, he recognized that the hostile neighbors of his kingdom deserved his attention, the Teutonic Knights in the north, the invasion of Lithuania by Ivan III in the east, and the protection of Hungary and Bohemia from Moldavian, Tartar, and Turkish incursions, eventually ensuring his own political hegemony within the monarchy through his successes. By 1525, he had defeated the Muscovites to the east, signed a treaty with Maximilian II that created an alliance with the Hapsburg ruler and opened up cultural and mercantile exchange between the two empires, and had ended Poland's con-

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[32] Wawel hill, a limestone outcrop situated on the left bank of the Vistula River, afforded its inhabitants fortification through its height and easy access to the river below. Because of these advantages, people have settled on the hill for centuries, and since the forming on the Polish Kingdom, Wawel hill has served as the residence to the kings of Poland. For more information on this topic, see Ostrowski 1996.

[33] Kaufmann 2001: 54; Białostocki 1976: 48-58.

[34] An example of this is Baranów Sandomierski Castle attributed to Santi Gucci. For more information, see Wyrobisz 1982: 160-163.

[35] Wyrobisz 1982: 157, 165.

[36] The Statute of Piotrkow (1496) and the *Nihil Novi* provision in the Constitution of Radom (1505) restricted the power of the king. For more information see, Sedlar 2011: 293; Reddaway 1971: 270.

[37] Lewalski 1967: 57-8.

flicts with the Teutonic Order[38]. These political victories earned Sigismund laudation in Poland for the importance he placed on building alliances and the way he manipulated his balance of power with the nobility while consolidating his kingdom into both an effective and powerful national state. With his new political image, he became more financially stable through the support of the wealthy burghers of Cracow who supported the crown financially so as to align themselves politically with its power and through his own successful means of taxation[39]. This political connection also explains the importance that Sigismund placed on using both Italian and local artists in his commissions.

Wawel Castle's renovations, undertaken by Franciscus Florentinus, began soon after the completion of the monument of the late king was finished in 1505. It eventually incorporated Italian, local, and German styles, representing the political importance of foreign representations and the continuing connections with the burgher class and nobility. While the remodeling was suspended in 1516 with the death of the artist/architect, the chapel in Wawel Cathedral, now called the Sigismund Chapel, took priority, motivated by the death of Sigismund's first wife and his desire to create a mausoleum for his dynasty.

The chapel's construction was undertaken by Bartolomeo Berecci, an Italian architect and sculptor born near Florence. Berecci submitted a design for the construction of the chapel to the king in 1517. Its construction began in 1519 and would last until 1526. The elaborate interior decoration was executed by Giovanni Cinni of Siena, although supervised by Berecci, and was completed by some thirty workmen; Italian stonemasons, sculptors from Hungary, Germany, and Scotland, and five Polish sculptors[40]. The chapel, a gold dome emerging from the side of a Gothic church, represents the coexistence of the Gothic style with the emergence of the new Renaissance style. The centrally planned chapel, reflecting sepulchral traditions of antiquity as well as the cosmological symbolism of the dome rediscovered by humanists[41], was appropriate for the resting place of a Polish dynasty. The building is square at the base surmounted by an octagonal drum pierced by oculi, culminating in a dome crowned with a lantern. The ribbing on the dome is ornamented with rosettes. The composition of the four interior walls, founded on the pattern of the triumphal arch, is surmounted by a thermal window on one side, not allowing any light into the chapel except from the oculi overhead. The rich decoration of the interior represents differences in style and artistic quality as it was undertaken by a number of different sculptors of varying talents and

[38] Lewalski 1967: 58-59; Glomski 2007: 12-13; Reddaway 1971: 300-321.
[39] Stone 2001: 79-80; Lewalski 1967: 59-61; Białostocki 1976: 35-44.
[40] Lewalski 1967: 63-65; Mossakowski 1993: 67-85; Mossakowski 2012.
[41] Miłobędzki 1988: 291-292.

backgrounds and represents the interest of Sigismund to incorporate both the new Italian style and its artists with that of the established German workshops of the city and its local and foreign artists. The use of red marble within the chapel of the king creates a dynastic connection between Sigismund and his predecessors as red marble can be seen used in the tombs of Poland's former rulers, laid to rest within the same cathedral[42].

After the completion of the chapel, Sigismund's attention returned to his castle (Figure 1). Although work had not ceased, it had been under the control of a Polish architect, Benedict of Sandomierz, who followed the original plans of the architect, Franciscus Florentinus. Berecci took over the project in 1530, completing the east and south wings of the courtyard before he died in 1537[43]. These renovations, particularly the triple-tiered loggia of the courtyard, transformed the former Gothic castle into an Italian palace. Sigismund continued to decorate the castle after Berecci's death, employing a Polish painter, Dionysius Stuba, in 1544 to execute a fresco[44] in the arcade depicting the life of the Caesars. The employment of a Polish artist in the medium of painting again represents the importance placed on the established German painting style within Poland and the general importance of German representation in royal commissions. The decoration of the interior of the palace represents the coexistence of German, Polish, and Italian commissions, creating an environment in which each was important within the representation of the dynasty. Sigismund's artistic patronage was unparalleled in Poland until the eighteenth century and the impact that he made on the artistic development of Poland rivals that of Matthias Corvinus, the ruler for which he may have modeled his own artistic interests.

The Italian Renaissance, developed through the patronage of the king and proliferated by magnates, nobility, and clergymen, was represented in its pure form. What made its representations in Poland so interesting was the continued importance of previous artistic styles and the placement of multiple styles within the same setting, as they represented the diverse, mercantile network of Poland and the king's interest in fostering relationships and networks with multiple western powers and within his own country's nobility and burgher class. Still more differences can be seen when its styles were then used by the nobility and clergymen to establish their own power and dynastic connections between themselves and the ruling king[45], incorporating stylistic modes to achieve a level of prestige. The Renaissance style continued to develop through the sixteenth century, carried out by Polish artists who had studied with Italians, and by Italian artists, but continued to be represented

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42 I discuss this topic in more detail within my thesis. Craren 2012: 32-35.
43 Lewalski 1967: 64; Białostocki 1976: 18-27.
44 Lewalski 1967: 64; Reddaway 1971: 293.
45 Białostocki, 1976: 48-58.

with Gothic monuments and objects in cities and the countryside, and never entirely replaced the previous century's interest in Gothic models. As in the sixteenth century, at the turn of the seventeenth century a new style emerged, the southern baroque style[46], used again to proliferate the power of both the nobility and the monarchy, establishing a pattern of artistic patronage with the West as a means of gaining social and political prestige within an empire in which the power struggle between the nobility and the monarchy continued to develop and change into the seventeenth century.

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[46] Krasny, 1999: 81-97.

Fig. 1

Courtyard of Wawel Castle, Franciscus Florentinus, Benedict of Sandomiersz, & Bartolommeo Berecci, 1504-35, Cracow, Poland (Photograph by Robin Craren)

Marcinkowski, Zaucha 2007: W. Marcinkowski, T. Zaucha, *Art of Old Poland: The 12th-18th Century*, Cracow 2007.

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Popularizing Erasmus's *Lingua*: The Case of Its Polish Translation (1542)

Maria Kozłowska

The first and only Polish translation of Erasmus's *Lingua*, by an anonymous author, was published in 1542 in Cracow at Hieronim Wietor's printing shop. Its title was *Księgi ktore zową Język*[1], which literally means *The Books which People Call the Tongue*.

By 1542, Polish printing presses had already been in full swing for more than half a century. Still, a book in the vernacular was rather an exception, as Latin dominated as the language of the printed word. Suffice it to say that the most thorough chronological bibliography of Old Polish books notes that of the 35 new titles published in 1542 only *Księgi* and a couple of medical treatises were in Polish (Estreicher 1887: 32)[2]. This means that the translation of *Lingua* was perhaps the only literary work published in Polish that year. Thus, *Księgi* can be regarded as part of a period which can be called the slow beginning of Polish prose, dating from the late 13th century[3]. It may sound paradoxical, but after that many years this didactic treatise on the use of the tongue can still be named among early and comparatively rare examples of longer, rhetorically and artistically organised texts written in the Polish language. Also, only a few works by Erasmus were translated into Polish during

[1] I know of four copies surviving in Polish libraries: The Czartoryski Library in Cracow (Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich), shelfmark: cim. 987. The National Library in Warsaw (Biblioteka Narodowa), shelfmarks of the two copies: SD XVI.O.205 and SD XVI.O.6453, the latter being preserved only in fragments, and The Ossolineum in Wrocław (Biblioteka Ossolineum), shelfmark: XVI.O.209.

[2] This chronological listing of Polish prints from the beginning of printing to the 19th century is not complete, but it is a good tool to draw approximate conclusions on the character of Polish printing production at the time.

[3] The symbolical beginning of literary prose in vernacular Polish is marked by *The Holy Cross Sermons*, surviving in a copy from the mid-14th century but written half a century earlier. Cf. the most recent critical edition of the text with a thorough scholarly introduction (Stępień 2009). Fragments are available in English online (*The Holy Cross Sermons* n.d.).

Danilo Facca, Valentina Lepri (edited by) *Polish Culture in the Renaissance. Studies in the arts, humanism and political thought* ISBN 978-88-6655-490-5 (online PDF) ISBN 978-88-6655-489-9 (print) ISBN 978-88-6655-512-4 (online EPUB)

the 16th century[4]. For these reasons, *Księgi* forms an important element of Polish literary culture of the time.

This paper is a comparative analysis of the translation and the original. This subject has already been covered by Maria Karpluk in her article (1971). Here, however, the observations gathered by Karpluk will be reinterpreted. The translator's clear strategy to popularize the Latin text, which did not go unnoticed by Karpluk, will be emphasized, looked at in greater detail and, what is most important, shown as consistent with the content of *Lingua* and the publisher's (Hieronim Wietor) idea of his projected readership. In this context, an analysis of multiple meanings of the term "popularity" will be attempted.

Even a brief comparison of the original with the translation shows that the former is much shorter than the latter. This is not due to any structural differences between the languages. It is not so, at least in most cases, that more words were needed to express the same issues in Polish than in concise Latin. The difference is due to the fact that the translator, to a great extent, amplified his text with deliberation. What was the reason for this? No single answer can be given with regards to every change, but I am sure that at least one of the main reasons must have been the author's intention to make the Polish version more understandable and more easily accessible to less educated readers.

The first mode of amplification was by adding synonyms instead of using a single equivalent of a term or phrase. It occurs on literally every page of *Księgi*. This way of dealing with the original is characteristic not only for this text. However, none of the reasons indicated by scholars with regards to this method seemed convincing enough for me. Francesco Tateo (2009: 19), while analyzing Pontanus's translation of Ptolemy's *Sententiae* into Latin, points to *varietas* as a motif that prompted the Italian author to add extra equivalents of numerous words. This explanation is, however, so general that it does not really solve the problem. Both Tateo and Karpluk argue that synonyms had to do with lack of equivalents in the target language but both agree, at the same time, that this is true only in certain examples. Karpluk's claim, finally, that synonyms had to do with the "translator's incompetence"[5] is even more unlikely if we see exactly the same method in a text deliberately amplified by one of the most accomplished Italian humanists.

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[4] Maria Cytowska (1962: 195) lists six of them: *Precatio dominica* (1533), *Querela pacis* (1545), *Enchiridion militis christiani* (1558), *Senatulus* from *Colloquia familiaria* (1566-1567), *Civilitas morum puerilium* (late 16th century), *Uxor mempsigamos* from *Colloquia familiaria* (early 17th century?) (which perished in World War II and is known only from a 19th century copy; Cf. editor's introduction by R. Leszczyński to Wężyk Widawski 2006: 7-8).

[5] Unless otherwise indicated, translations of Polish texts are the author's own.

One of innumerable instances of this phenomenon will be analysed in the search for another solution of this problem. The passage in question goes in the Latin original as follows:

> Ac pyxidem quidem eiusmodi si quis possideret, liceret vel in pelagus abiicere, sic vt nec laederet quenquam mortalium nec iuuaret, at linguae thesaurum velimus nolimus, nobiscum circunferimus. Quo religiosior est adhibenda cura, vt sobria moderatione quam minimum mali nobis inde nascatur, sed quam plurima ad omnes dimanet vtilitas (Waszink 1989: 26)[6].

A single phrase: "cura religiosior"[7] is replaced by five expressions in the Polish version, four consisting of an adjective and a noun, and one – of two adjectives and a noun ("z wielką pilnością, z wielką ostrożnością, z wielkim a dobrym rozmyślenim a bożą bojaźnią"[8], *Księgi* 1542: B3v-B4). It is clear especially in this example, where more than two equivalents of a Latin term are given, that this kind of amplification must have had a persuasive aim. Apart from that, such abundance of words makes the meaning less dense and thus easier to absorb. It is much more difficult to skip an important phrase in such a case. Finally, a choice of vocabulary is given to the reader who may not understand all the expressions well but can still follow the sense of the whole passage. All the mentioned functions have to do with greater accessibility of the text.

An objection may be raised that a similar method would be used in non-translated works of didactic quality, aimed at the less educated reader if the above argument was correct. It is certainly true that the very nature of translating, which has to do with searching for a given word, makes rows of synonyms more likely to occur in a translation. Still, this does not undermine the fact that they may function as help in the process of reading. A translator has to work with a text already given – so his methods of making it easier will be determined by this circumstance. Whereas, a writer of an original

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[6] "Now if anyone owned such a container, he would be free to hurl it into the sea, so that it would neither harm nor help any living person, but we have to keep the treasury of our tongue with us, whether we like it or not. So we must be even more scrupulous to ensure that by care and restraint our tongues cause us the least possible harm and extend the greatest possible advantage to all men" (*The Tongue* 1989: 263).

[7] The Polish equivalent is in positive instead of Latin comparative.

[8] The text added by the translator is spaced-out here and everywhere in this article. Quotations from *Księgi* are given always in transcription. The approximate English version will be given, each time using E. Fantham's translation as a base: "So we must be even more scrupulous, even more cautious, even more thoughtful and fearing the Lord to ensure that…" (*The Tongue* 1989: 263).

work, aiming at popular readership, will be creating his argument from the very outset in a simple manner, so he will not need to explain his own words that frequently. Still, one can find similar repetitions in original prose, even if with lesser density[9].

Another mode of amplification was explaining the Latin text. A typical example is adding what can be compared to a modern footnote (Karpluk 1971: 128). *Lingua* is for the most part a collection of *exempla* and therefore abounds in names of people and places. In *Księgi*, information on profession or nationality of a given individual is often provided. For example, where Erasmus mentions the tyrant Dionysius it is reminded in the Polish text that he ruled over Sicily. The translator found it necessary even to indicate that Hippocrates was a famous doctor. For Erasmus, it seemed apparently very obvious who these figures were.

Explanation may be given in yet another form. Namely, what in Latin text was only implied or said between the lines was added in the translation (Karpluk 1971: 128-129). For instance, where Erasmus refers to the bodily diseases and contrasts them with the diseases of the soul he points to the fact that the former are less dangerous as they do not occur everywhere and do not affect everybody equally. He gives an example of the plague (*pestilentia*): "Iam si par est ex contagii noxa morbum aestimare, a pestilentia tuti sunt senes, si Plinio credimus, nec ea quouis demigrat, sed ab austrinis regionibus orta fere demigrat ad occidentales" (Waszink 1989: 21)[10]. What is implied here, is that the plague usually does not affect the east and the north and this was, in particular, added in the text of *Księgi* (1542: +8r): "[…] też powietrze

[9] Of course, one would have to look at a wider sample of texts to be able to draw some definite conclusions. This example from Mikołaj Rej's *Life of an Honest Man* may be meaningful though: "Azaż nie rozkosz, jeśliże czytać umiesz, układszy sie pod nadobnym drzeweczkiem miedzy rozlicznemi pięknemi a woniającemi kwiateczki, albo także zimie na nadobnym a rozkosznym łożeczku swoim, iż sie rozmowisz z onemi staremi mędrcy, z onymi rozlicznemi filozofy, z ktorych najdziesz wielkie pociechy starości swojej, w których najdziesz wielką naukę ku każdej rozważnej sprawie swojej?" (Rej 1568: Ff4v-Gg; text in transcription). Here is the English translation: "Isn't it a pleasure, if you can read, having made yourself comfortable under a nice little tree, surrounded by many beautiful and fragrant little flowers or in winter on your delightful and pleasant bed, to hold a discourse with those ancient sages, with those numerous philosophers, from whom you will find great joys in your old age, in whom you will find a great lesson for each matter you consider?" (Rej n.d.; repetitions are spaced-out in both versions).

[10] "Furthermore, if we should estimate the seriousness of a disease by the danger of infection, then, if we believe Pliny, old men are immune from the plague; nor does the plague spread at random, but arises in the south and generally travels westward" (*The Tongue* 1989: 258).

nie wszędzie zaraża, ale z południa przyszedszy, ku zachodu przychadza, to jest wschodu a pułnocy nie zarazi"[11].

Finally, I would like to look at how the Erasmian metaphors are dealt with in *Księgi*. Karpluk (1971: 137) mentioned that the translator "felt obliged to explain Latin periphrases and metaphors to the reader". She does not notice, however, how profoundly the text may have been affected by such a strategy. A good example is a larger passage in which Erasmus writes about his future death as follows:

> Ridiculus essem, si nunc ambirem dignitates aut opes propediem hinc emigraturus. Sarcinae sunt ista, quae grauant euolare meditantem nec tamen comitantur exeuntem. Si quid lucubrationibus meis, si quid per bonos viros nostris hortatibus extimulatos iuuimus vel honesta studia vel pietatem christianam, hoc viaticum lubens mecum extulero (Waszink 1989: 24)[12].

He develops here, of course, a well-established commonplace by depicting death as a journey. What is particularly interesting, however, is his consistency in using only travel metaphors throughout the whole passage. The Polish author with the same consistency destroys each one of these metaphorical expressions. Where Erasmus uses verbs "to go away" ("emigraturus") or "to carry something away" ("mecum extulero") one sees words "na on świat" (*Księgi* 1542: A4; "to the other world") added twice in the translated text. Then, where Erasmus writes simply about "flying away" the Pole states precisely that what is meant here is the flight of the soul leaving the body. He does it by inserting the phrase: "od ciała" (*Ibidem*; "from the body"). The most interesting element of this passage is probably the Latin participle "exeuns" (in Acc.), which also forms a metaphor but one rooted in language rather than literary. "Exeuns" means both 'dying' and 'the one who goes out'. This petrified metaphorical dimension of the word, however, as well as its double-meaning is clearly enlivened by Erasmus in the given context. The choice made by the translator is, in turn, also in this case consistent with his attempt to clarify the text as much as possible. He simply replaces this expression with concrete "umarłego" (*Ibidem*: "the dead"). All this shows that the Polish author held

[11] "[…] nor does the plague spread at random, but arises in the south and generally travels westward, that is: it won't affect east and north". For other examples cf. Karpluk 1971: 128-129.

[12] "I would cut a sorry figure indeed if I were still seeking offices and benefactions for myself, when I am so soon to leave […]. Such gifts are mere burdens; they weigh a man down when he is preparing […] to take flight, and cannot follow him when he is gone. If I have been of any help to the humanities or to the Christian faith by my studies, or by the good men whom my exhortations have aroused, then this will be my prize, and I shall gladly take it with me as provision for the journey" (*The Tongue* 1989: 261).

tangibility and straightforwardness of description more dearly than not only single metaphors but also well-thought and elaborate literary concepts based on them which he, no doubt, must have understood.

Usually, Latin texts are said to have been popularized simply through putting them into a native and thus known language. Here we observe, though, a higher level of popularity, obtained through the translator's deliberate strategy. Yet, a third kind (apart from vernacularization and facilitation) of popularity can be named in connection with this treatise and this is the potential present in the content of the Latin original to appeal to the general public. It becomes clear in those fragments in which Erasmus addresses his projected readership. He clearly indicates that the subject of the book is important for all people, belonging to all states when he writes:

> Verum vt febres ac pestilentiae quaedam, quum nunquam prorsus intermoriantur, tamen aliquando ex interuallo velut erumpentes inundatione latius et acrius saeuiunt, perinde quasi internicionem humano generi minitentur, ita videmus nunc hunc fatalem linguae morbum miro contagio totum orbem occupasse seseque per aulas principum, per domos idiotarum, per scholas theologorum, per sodalitates monachorum, per collegia sacerdotum, per militum cohortes, per agricolarum casas sparsisse […] (Waszink 1989: 22)[13].

Erasmus also finds his treatise apt for both men and women. With typical irony, he reveals that he would address his work primarily to women if he did not see around him so many men that were even worse in their talkativeness than the former[14]. He concludes then: "Par est igitur, vt parem attentionem in re tam necessaria cognitu tamque ad omnes pertinente requiram ab omnibus" (Waszink 1989: 28)[15].

Apart from that, *Lingua* is filled with plebeian characters, like barbers or soldiers[16], who, with their comical features, belong clearly to the realm of

[13] "Some fevers and plagues never die out, but erupt from time to time like a flood and rage more violently than before, and over a wider region, threatening the human race with annihilation. In the same way we can now see how this deadly sickness of a malicious tongue has infected the whole world with its awful venom, pervading the courts of princes, the homes of commoners, theological schools, monastic brotherhoods, colleges of priests, regiments of soldiers, and the cottages of peasants" (*The Tongue* 1989: 259).

[14] "Hortarer hic potissimum mulieres, quae vulgo male audiunt hoc nomine, nisi viderem vbique tot esse viros nocentissimae linguae, vt prae his mulieres sobriae moderataeque videantur" (Waszink 1989: 28).

[15] "Hence it seems fair that I should claim equal attention from all in this crucial matter, which does indeed concern us all" (*The Tongue* 1989: 264).

[16] Cf. e.g. Waszink 1989: 38-39, 41, 44.

non-heroic, low literature and are rightly associated with the opposite of what is heroic or virtuous.

Thus, the treatise on the tongue can be seen in the context of Erasmus's planned reform of popular culture. The aim of this endeavour was to make evangelical wisdom accessible for everyone. Peter Burke (1978: 220) reminds:

> On the Catholic side, the tradition of Geiler and Savonarola had its followers in the first half of the sixteenth century. There was Erasmus, much stricter than Luther where popular culture was concerned, and among active reformers there was Gian Matteo Giberti, the bishop of Verona.

The scholar states what he means by popular culture when he writes (*Ibidem*: 213):

> The ethic of the reformers was in conflict with a traditional ethic which is harder to define because it was less articulate, but which involved more stress on values of generosity and spontaneity and a greater tolerance of disorder.

It is interesting how opposing this culture meant getting in touch with it at the same time.

This clear didactic intention of Erasmus was, interestingly enough, noticed by the publisher of *Księgi*, Hieronim Wietor, who wrote in his preface:

> Przeszłych dni napadłem na książki Erazma Rotherodama, Miemca dolnego sławnego i uczonego, przed kielkiem lat umarłego, o języku, z łacińskiego na polskie dosyć dwornie a foremnie wyłożone, ktore, iż są barzo pożyteczne ku czcieniu, nie telko uczonem, ale i prostem ludziom, mężczyznom i też białem głowam, ktore językiem więcej niżli rękoma zwykły pracować, żeby wiedziały jako języki swoje mają sprawować (*Księgi* 1542: +3)[17].

In this context, it may seem surprising that *Księgi* has never had another edition since 1542. There is, however, an explanation to this. It lies in the differentiation between "common" and "widely known"[18] which both mean 'popular' but in their own way. Polish version of *Lingua* is a common reading. Such a text has a wider readership but only locally. A real bestseller of inter-

[17] "Some time ago I found these books on tongue by Erasmus, a famous and learned Dutchman, who died a couple of years ago, translated from Latin into Polish quite elegantly and accurately, which are a very useful reading, not only for learned, but also for simple people, men and women alike, who [i.e. women] are used to work more with their tongue than with their hands, so that they know how to govern their tongues".

[18] I owe this clarification to Professor Andrzej Borowski (the Jagiellonian University, Cracow).

national scope would have to have been written in Latin. Only Latin works by Polish authors were comparatively well-known in other countries. Paradoxically, a wider readership does not have to be more numerous.

The popular potential in *Lingua* described above may explain why this book by Erasmus was chosen, in particular, for translation into the vernacular[19]. An attempt has been made to show how this common aspect of the treatise was widened and made use of in *Księgi ktore zową język*.

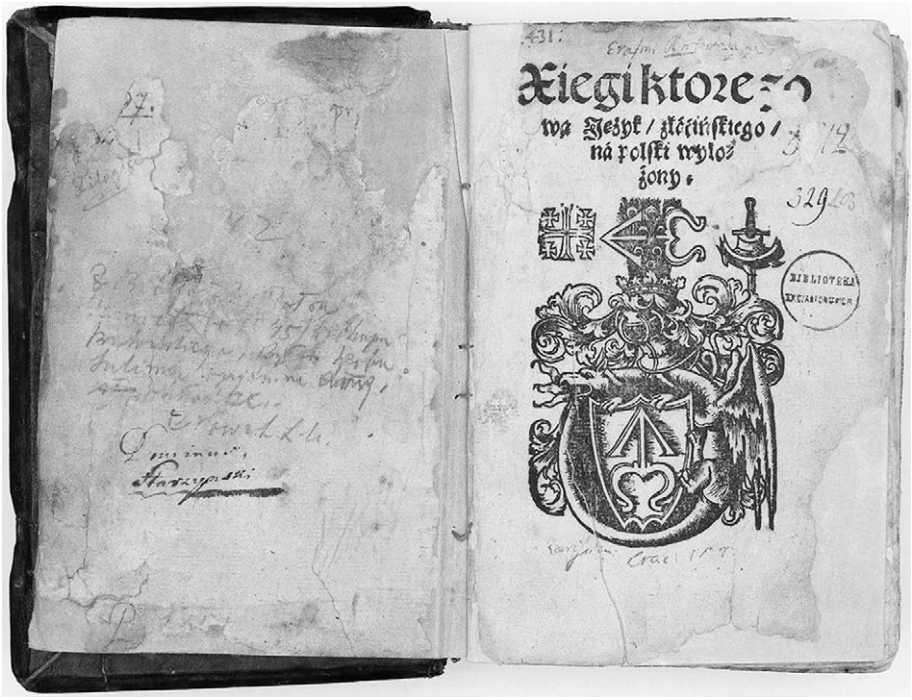
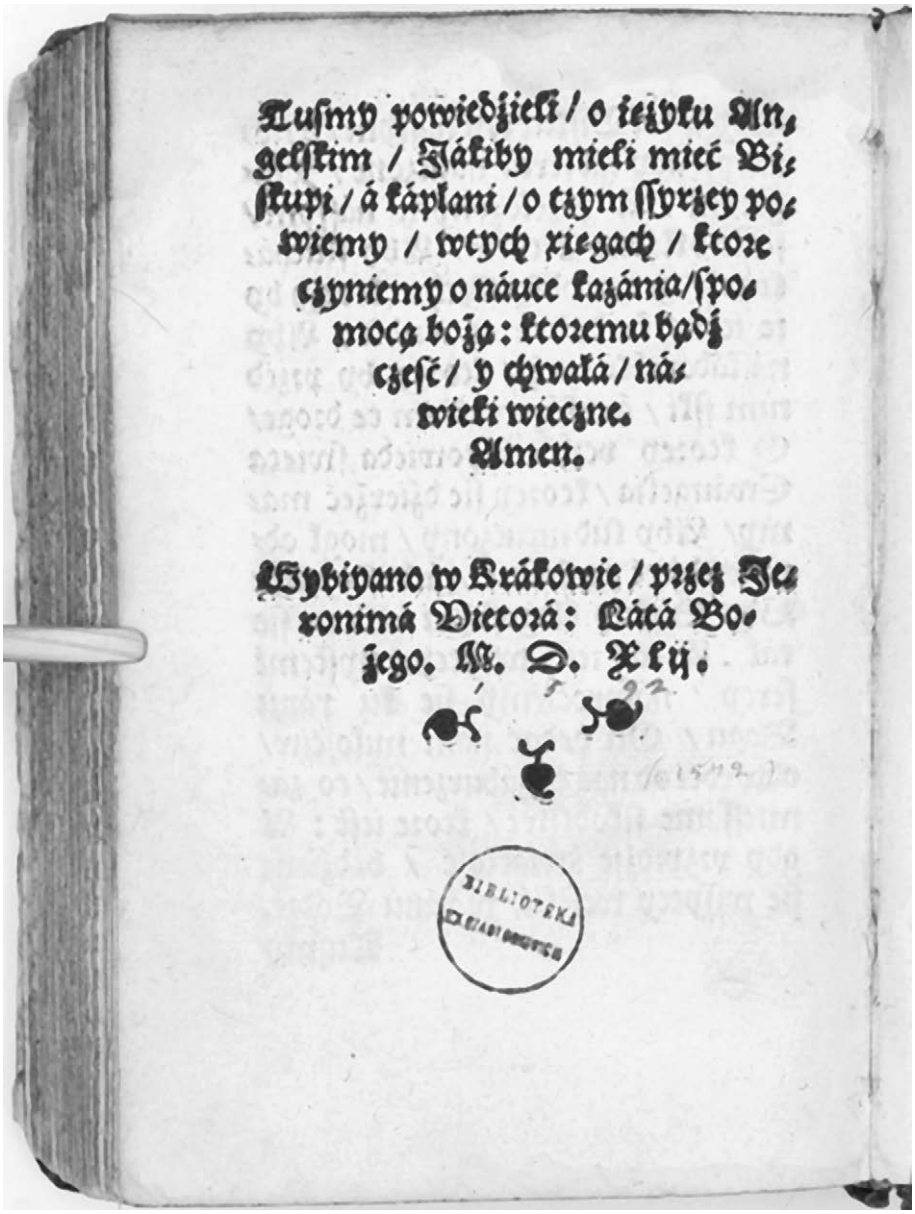


Fig. 2

The title page of the only edition of *Księgi ktore zową język* with Krzysztof Szydłowiecki's coat of arms (copy from The Czartoryski Library, Cracow)

[19] Another reason might have been the fact that *Lingua* was dedicated by the author himself to a Polish nobleman, politician and Erasmus's patron, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki. For more on their relationship cf. Backvis 1975: 564-566.


Tuſmy powiedzieli / o ięzyku An,
gelſkim / Jákiby mieli mieć Bi,
ſkupi / á káplani / o tym ſſyrzey po,
wiemy / wtych ziegach / ktore
czyniemy o náuce kazánia/ſpo,
mocą bożą: ktoremu bądź
czeſć / y chwałá / ná,
wieki wieczne.
Amen.

Wybiyano w Krákowie / przez Je,
ronimá Wietorá: Kátá Bo,
jego. M. D. XLij.

Fig. 3

The colophon, which states: "printed in Cracow by Hieronim Wietor A.D. 1542" (copy from The Czartoryski Library, Cracow)

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Polish Religious Toleration and Its Opponents: The Catholic Church and the Warsaw Confederation of 1573

Charles Keenan

Early modern Poland became a bastion of the Counter-Reformation church, yet until about 1600 it had been one of the most tolerant countries in Europe. The Warsaw Confederation of 1573 stood at the heart of this shift. The pact affirmed Poland's commitment to religious peace and tolerance, and by requiring all Polish kings to uphold its terms, it theoretically protected religious freedom in Polish lands. As such, it defied the Catholic Church's desires to limit the spread of Protestantism. This chapter investigates, first, how the Roman church opposed the confederation, and to what extent the curia was successful in implementing its policies in far-off Poland. Second, I ask why Rome opposed the Warsaw Confederation. That the Counter-Reformation church did not want to tolerate religious minorities is unsurprising, but what, specifically, did the Catholic Church find so objectionable in the confederation? Although there were straightforward theological reasons why Catholics insisted on doctrinal unity, when they protested the Warsaw Confederation, more often than not Catholic prelates either declared that the confederation violated Polish custom, or that its policies would prove harmful for the Polish commonwealth. Unlike *politique* thinkers who believed religious differences had to be tolerated for political stability, the Catholic Church argued the opposite: only by protecting one religion in their kingdom could Polish kings be assured of peace and stability. In the end, although Catholic clerics were unsuccessful in repudiating the confederation, their protests shed light into why the church feared the advent of religious toleration.

First, we need to understand what the Warsaw Confederation was[1]. In Polish parlance, a "confederation" (*konfederacja*) was simply an agreement drawn up among nobles for specific ends, such as to arrange a regency or to confirm a military alliance[2]. During interregna, especially, the nobility would

[1] For a review of the literature up to 1975, which includes most of the material written in honor of the 400th anniversary of the confederation, Schramm 1975. See also Maciuszko 1984.

[2] Fedorowicz *et al.* 1982: XIII; Madonia 2002: 137 n4.

Danilo Facca, Valentina Lepri (edited by) *Polish Culture in the Renaissance. Studies in the arts, humanism and political thought* ISBN 978-88-6655-490-5 (online PDF) ISBN 978-88-6655-489-9 (print) ISBN 978-88-6655-512-4 (online EPUB)

attempt to limit the powers of the monarchy through confederations[3]. Following the death of King Sigismund II Augustus in July 1572, the Polish nobility gathered in Cracow at the end of January 1573 to decide upon the date and time of the next royal election. At that assembly, however, the senators and clerics also agreed to a new confederation on January 28, 1573. The text of agreement itself is brief[4]. With the violence directed against Protestants in France during the St. Bartholomew Day's Massacre fresh in their minds, the Polish nobles swore that:

> As there is wide disagreement in our State on matters related to the Christian religion, and in order to prevent any fatal outburst such as has been witnessed in other kingdoms, we, who are *dissidentes de Religione*, bind ourselves for our own sake and that of posterity in perpetuity, on our oath, faith, honor and conscience, to keep the peace among ourselves on the subject of difference of religion and the changes brought about in our churches; we bind ourselves not to shed blood, not to punish one another by confiscation of goods, loss of honor, imprisonment or exile; not to give any assistance on this point in any way to any authority or official, but on the contrary to unite ourselves against anyone who would shed blood for this reason, even if he pretended to act in virtue of a decree or decision at law[5].

Several points bear mentioning. First, the confederation was only binding on the signatories of the treaty, meaning the nobles themselves. No mention was made of the peasants living on their lands or the residents of cities, nor did it speak to the legal status of Protestant ministers. Second, even though contemporaries understood that the confederation protected freedom of conscience, there is no mention of this explicitly in the text[6]. The only stated goal was to maintain peace among religious dissidents. Finally, historians have shown that even to contemporaries the meaning of the confederation was ambiguous[7]. Despite these limitations the confederation was a remarkable document for its time, and scholars have argued that it was broader in its implications than the Peace of Augsburg of 1555[8]. The majority of the assembled

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[3] See the Venetian ambassador to Poland's report from 1575, Alberi 1862: 286.

[4] The most recent critical edition of the Polish text is in Korolko 1974: 173-75. See also the French translation in de Noailles 1876: 251-254. (Though Noailles incorrectly gives the date as 28 February instead of 28 January 1573). Three copies in Latin also exist in the Vatican: Archivio Segreto Vaticano [hereafter "ASV"], Segr. Stato, Polonia 3, fols. 48r-50r; Polonia 4, fols. 149r-150r; and Polonia 9, fol. 196rv.

[5] This is the English translation provided in LeCler 1960: 398.

[6] Tazbir 1973: 91, 98, 106; Madonia 2002: 170-171.

[7] Sobieski 1930: 4-6.

[8] Madonia notes that unlike the Peace of Augsburg, the Warsaw Confederation was not meant to end a war, but to prevent one. Tazbir, meanwhile, compares the confederation to Maximilian II's edict of 1568, which granted religious freedom

Polish nobility signed the confederation, including many Catholic senators, but with one exception – Francis Krasiński, the bishop of Cracow – none of the Catholic bishops signed the confederation[9].

The Catholic leaders in Poland – the legate, Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Commendone; the nuncio, Vincenzo dal Portico; and Commendone's secretary, Antonio Graziani – reacted swiftly to the confederation. Immediately after the confederation was signed on January 28, Graziani sent word to Commendone of what had transpired, and Commendone in turn sent a letter to Rome on January 31 with a copy of the confederation[10]. Commendone's initial understanding of the document was framed negatively: he understood the confederation to be repealing longstanding laws against heresy rather than granting new religious freedoms. He also pointed out possible procedural mistakes that would invalidate the confederation. Not only had the assembly only met to determine the time and place of the election, not make new laws, Commendone noted that by Polish custom no law could be approved without the consent of both the secular and ecclesiastical estates. Therefore, since the Catholic bishops had not given their consent, the confederation could not be legal[11]. Still, he feared the confederation would "stabilize" the religious divisions of that realm, rendering it permanently divided, and he was especially concerned by the number of Catholics who had

> […] not only agreed to and signed [the confederation], but urged others to do the same, interpreting it to be in favor of the Catholics because with this [confederation] the heretics [would] agree to elect a Catholic king, which they otherwise would never have done[12].

Meanwhile, the ecclesiastical estate, led by Jacob Uchański, the archbishop of Gniezno, immediately protested the confederation during the assembly of January 28[13]. Their protest, like Commendone's letter, gives a

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to Lutheran nobles in Austria without mentioning residents of cities. Tazbir 1973: 98; LeCler 1960: 399-400; Madonia 2002: 139. However, Stanisław Grzybowski has argued the Polish nobles consciously drew upon other examples of religious peace agreements when writing the confederation, thus reducing its originality. See Grzybowski 1979: 75-96, especially 78 and 96.

[9] The exact number and names of signatories remains unknown. Grzybowski 1979: 76; Schramm 1965: 262. For the signing of the confederation, Maciuszko 1984: 138-149.

[10] Commendone to Gallio, 31 January 1573: ASV, Polonia 3, fols. 63r-65v.

[11] *Ibidem*, fols. 63r, 64r. This is following the Polish constitution *Nihil novi* of 1505.

[12] *Ibidem*, fol. 64r.

[13] ASV, Polonia 3, fols. 52r-53r; Polonia 4, fols. 155r-156r. A printed edition is in de Noailles 1876: 254-256.

useful window into how Catholic prelates initially understood the confederation. Like Commendone the bishops began by noting that the nobility had only met to establish the time and place of the election[14]. But the bigger danger was that the confederation would permit all kinds of heresies to come easily to Poland, "not only those which are currently here, but also others that are most horrid and foul, such as Adamites, Turks, and others, which can easily drive us to atheism"[15]. The clerics believed that it would be impossible to grant legal toleration only to a specific group. The bishops admitted that they had no desire for Christian blood to be spilled, and especially not Polish blood, but because of the dangers inherent in the confederation they could not agree to it.

The next months saw Commendone arrive in Cracow and direct the Polish bishops in protesting the confederation[16]. Though the Polish bishops had made the protest of January 28 on their own, afterward the Catholic opposition was organized by the papal representatives in Poland: Commendone, dal Portico, and Graziani[17]. On April 5, for example, Commendone gathered the bishops in his house and spoke with them at length regarding both the election and the confederation, and the bishops promised that they would be united with the pope's wishes[18]. In addition, Commendone went before the diet in April to voice another protest of the confederation himself. Besides urging the diet to elect a Catholic king, Commendone criticized the impossible idea of having multiple religions living together in one kingdom, using the Biblical example of Samson, who tied together the tails of foxes, lit them on fire, and set them loose to burn the crops of Philistines[19]. Even though the confederation had been signed to avoid any religious violence, Commendone believed that the opposite was true. "I truly fear that it puts everything in disorder and if we do not come to a civil war […] we will have an even worse peace, more pernicious than any war"[20].

Despite his and dal Portico's best efforts, however, the Italian prelates could not count on the support of all Polish Catholics. A number of Catholic senators who signed the confederation refused to withdraw their support,

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[14] ASV, Polonia 3, fol. 52r; Polonia 4, fol. 155r; de Noailles 1876: 255.

[15] *Ibidem*.

[16] Commendone to Gallio, 18 March 1573: ASV, Polonia 3, fol. 99v.

[17] Of these three, Commendone held precedence. Cardinal Gallio instructed dal Portico to be "sempre ben unito et d'accordo col legato". Quoted in Bues 1998: 121. On dal Portico's reluctance to accept a lesser role, see de Cenival 1916: 158-159.

[18] Commendone to Gallio, 5 April 1573: ASV, Polonia 3, fol. 106r.

[19] Pastor 1930: 387-388. The scene with Samson comes from Judges 15: 4-5.

[20] Commendone to Gallio, 10 March 1573: ASV, Polonia 3, fol. 94r. The legate had also referred to "qualche pace peggiore di ogni guerra et per la religione, et per il Regno" in his letter of 6 March, *ibidem*, fol. 87r.

since they believed that only by granting the confederation could they count on Protestants' assent for the election of a Catholic king[21]. After the meeting held in his house, Commendone also lamented the differences that existed between the Polish bishops[22]. But most troubling for the Italians was the obstinacy of the bishop of Cracow, Francis Krasiński, the only Catholic bishop who had signed the confederation in January. Krasiński went to Commendone in April and apologized for having signed the confederation, promising to remain united with the legate and the other bishops, but his actions remained problematic for the Catholics[23]. When the cathedral chapter of his church asked for permission to protest the confederation, Krasiński denied the request on the grounds that it might offend Protestants[24]. Moreover, Krasiński refused to protest the confederation himself and did not help the other bishops in doing so either. Some noted how "that wicked bishop" of Cracow's promises were empty, since "by not opposing the confederation, he tacitly seems to agree to it"[25]. Commendone agreed, reporting the bishop was merely trying to stay on good terms with the heretics[26]. Krasińki's excuses rang hollow to the legate, especially when at one point the bishop claimed that his eyesight was so poor, he could not actually read what he had signed and did not realize it would be beneficial to Protestants[27].

In short, the first half of 1573 saw Catholics continue to voice protests of the confederation with little result, until May, when the diet met again to elect a king. At that point both the Catholics and Protestants realized that the implementation of the confederation – or lack thereof – hinged on the election. Both sides shifted their focus accordingly. For the Protestants, this meant inserting a clause into the articles the new king would swear to uphold stating that he would honor the "peace among religious dissidents", meaning the confederation[28]. The Catholics, for their part, moved to protest these articles. Because the Protestants never succeeded in getting their new version of the oath approved by the diet, the Catholics' protests centered on that procedural point. Once again the archbishop of Gniezno led the way, and again his chief protest was that the new articles were invalid since they had been formulated

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[21] Czarnowski 1939: 376-377.

[22] ASV, Polonia 3, fol. 106v.

[23] Commendone to Gallio, 6 April and 29 April 1573: ASV, Polonia 3, fols. 109r and 149r, respectively.

[24] Commendone to Gallio, no date: ASV, Polonia 3, fol. 267rv.

[25] Archivio di Stato di Modena [hereafter "ASMo"], Roma 85, 11 March 1573.

[26] Commendone to Gallio, 15 September 1573: ASV, Polonia 3, fol. 439r.

[27] Graziani to Commendone, 10 May 1573: ASV, Polonia 3, fol. 176v.

[28] These are known as the "Henrician articles", named after Henry of Valois, who was the first king to agree to them. Copies of the articles can be found in de Noailles, 1876: 437ff; ASV, Polonia 3, fols. 202r-204r; and Polonia 4, fols. 226r-229r.

in private[29]. It bears repeating this was not an attack on the idea of tolerating other religions in the kingdom, or the text of the confederation itself. Instead the Catholic clerics focused on the legality of modifying the electoral articles without the consent of the entire senate.

Once the Polish diet elected Henry Valois, Duke of Anjou, on May 18, 1573, eleven Polish nobles were sent as ambassadors to greet the new king in France[30]. At this juncture the Catholic Church's international diplomatic network sprang into action to combat the hopes of Polish Protestants. Commendone and dal Portico both wrote to Rome, asking the cardinal-nephew Gallio to send word to the nuncio in France, Antonio Maria Salviati, of what had happened in Poland[31]. The prelates thought that if Salviati could convince Henry to leave France immediately, the new king would miss the arrival of the Polish ambassadors, thereby avoiding a confrontation over the new oath until he arrived in Poland. They were playing for time, hoping that it would allow them an opportunity to prepare. Gallio did write to Salviati, and he also dispatched Serafino Olivier, auditor of the Rota, from Rome with orders to tell Henry not to agree to anything until he arrived in Poland, since once there, the king could "with greater ease re-order and establish those things necessary for the service of God, religion, and the realm"[32]. In addition, Vincenzo Lauro had been selected as the next nuncio to Poland in 1572, but the pope had decided to wait to send him to Poland until after the royal election[33]. Now, in June 1573, Gallio instructed Lauro to travel to Paris, meet with Henry and to convince him to leave for Poland as soon as possible, since upon the king's arrival depended "not only the establishment of his election, but the health and the peace of the same realm and the benefit of the Christian religion"[34].

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[29] Two copies of the archbishop's protest can be found in the Vatican: ASV, Polonia 4, fols. 221r-22r, and Polonia 6, fols. 273r-74r. The relevant passages here are on Polonia 4, fol. 221v; and Polonia 6, fol. 273v. Cfr. Graziani's letter to Commendone of 13 May 1573: Polonia 3, fol. 221r.

[30] The choice of the Duke of Anjou was a surprise and disappointment to Rome, since the pope had favored Ernest, the Archduke of Austria: Gallio to Ormanetto, 31 May 1573: ASV, Fondo Borghese, Serie II, 462, fol. 160v. However, there is some evidence the pope had considered Anjou an acceptable candidate as far back as September 1572, especially if Ernest could not be elected. Gallio to Commendone, 6 September 1572: ASV, Polonia 172, fol. 34. See also Bues, 1998: 121n38.

[31] Dal Portico to Commendone, 28 May 1573: ASV, Polonia 6, fol. 276v; Commendone to Gallio, 30 May 1573: ASV, Polonia 3, fol. 261rv; idem, 13 June 1573, fol. 276r; idem, 19 June 1573, fol. 280rv.

[32] Gallio to Olivier, 1 June 1573, in *Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae* [hereafter "ANP"]: 22-25, here at 24.

[33] Gallio to Vincenzo Lauro, 28 December 1572: ANP IX/1, 16-17; and 1 June 1573: *ibidem*, 18-19. See also ASMo, Roma 85, 21 March 1573.

[34] Gallio to Lauro, 16 July 1573: ANP IX/1, 51.

Olivier and Lauro joined the nuncio Salviati and cardinals Flavio Orsini and Luigi d'Este at the French court. Together these men interceded with the French royal family to ensure Henry would protect the Catholic faith in Poland, and specifically argued that the electoral articles would cause unrest against the new king. Olivier met with Charles IX and the queen mother, explaining that "these articles [were] not only against the honor and service of God and the Catholic religion, but also against the peace and tranquility of that realm and against the authority of His Majesty"[35]. Salviati advised Charles IX to counsel his brother not to agree to the articles, since doing so would increase the strength of the heretics in Poland[36]. Meanwhile, Pope Gregory wrote to Charles directly, urging him to give "counsel and aid" to Henry in the face of the heretics[37]. By July 23, Lauro had also arrived in Paris and immediately gone to find Salviati. Together they went before the queen mother to ask her to impede the ratification of the articles, to which Catherine de' Medici promised that her son would approve "nothing that would bring damage to the Catholic religion and disturb that kingdom"[38].

We can thus see that the Roman curia used every means possible to block Henry from approving the articles and the confederation. In addition to sending Olivier and Lauro from Italy, Gallio was relaying information to Lauro that came to Rome via Commendone's reports in Poland[39]. Moreover, the eleven Polish ambassadors sent to France included Adam Konarski, the bishop of Poznań. Rome leaned heavily upon the bishop as another means of opposing the articles. Before leaving Poland and even during his journey to France, Konarski recieved instructions from dal Portico and Graziani on what to do and how to protest the confederation in France[40]. Once Konarski arrived in Paris, Lauro met frequently with the bishop to organize the Catholics' opposition, again emphasizing that not all the Polish diet had agreed to the confederation and articles[41]. As the only Polish Catholic cleric in the party, Konarski was in

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35 Olivier to Gallio, 7 July 1573: ANP IX/1, 44.

36 Salviati to Gallio, 22 July 1573: ANP IX/1, 347-349.

37 Gregory XIII to Charles IX, 15 July 1573: ASV, Arm. XLIV, 22, fol. 11r. Similar briefs were sent to Catherine de' Medici, Henry Valois's queen Elenora, and Henry of Navarre, *ibidem*, fols. 11r-13r.

38 Lauro to Gallio, 23 July: ANP IX/1, 52-53.

39 For example, Gallio's letters to Lauro of 29 June, 14 July, and 16 July 1573 explicitly mention Commendone's letters: ANP IX/1, 39, 47, and 51, respectively.

40 Dal Portico to Commendone, 28 May 1573: ASV, Polonia 6, fols. 276r-279r. There is also a list of "Alcuni avvertimenti per Monsignor di Posnania", in ASV, Polonia 4, fols. 278r-279v. Though it has no author, I would suggest it was compiled by dal Portico on the basis of the aforementioned letter of 28 May. For Konarski writing to dal Portico during his journey to France, see dal Portico's letter to Commendone of 24 July 1573: ASV, Polonia 6, fol. 300r.

41 Lauro to Gallio, 27 August 1573: ANP IX/1, 71, 75.

a difficult position, and Konarski confessed to Lauro that he feared for his life, saying that the Protestants had threatened to kill him[42].

Despite the continuous urgings of the Catholics that he depart immediately, Henry lingered in Paris, and the arrival of the Polish ambassadors meant that the dispute over the articles would come to a head. When Henry moved to agree to observe the "peace between religious dissidents" in the cathedral of Notre Dame in September, the bishop of Poznań stood and loudly read a protest that had been given to him by the archbishop of Gniezno, declaring that the diet in January had only met to elect a new king, and that anything else the diet had done was invalid[43]. The bishop's protest led to "great controversy" between the ambassadors in the cathedral, but in the end Henry agreed to the articles presented to him[44].

The next chance to oppose the confederation and articles would be when the new king arrived in Poland to be crowned. Gallio thus instructed Lauro to travel as quickly as possible to Poland by way of Venice, where he hoped Lauro would cross paths with Commendone, who was returning to Italy, so that the two might bring each other up to speed[45]. Lauro arrived in Poland in February 1574 and met with Graziani, the archbishop of Gniezno, and many other bishops. All these men promised to use every effort to ensure no changes would be made to the traditional oaths during the king's coronation. The bishop of Cracow, however, only gave "conditional" support to Lauro, saying that he would cooperate if it could be done "without danger of sedition or civil war"[46]. Lauro complained that the bishop pretended to be neutral, but in effect was supporting the confederation, and noted that none of the other bishops or ecclesiastics trusted Krasiński at all – they refused to talk with him about religious matters for fear that he would pass that information on to the Protestants[47]. By this point even the pope wrote to Krasiński, reprimanding him for his actions[48].

Even though Henry had agreed to honor the electoral articles in Paris, no one was sure whether he would confirm this decision in Poland. On February 21, 1574, during the coronation ceremony, the archbishop of Gniezno, Uchański, made the king kneel and swear the customary oaths of the

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[42] *Ibidem*, 73.

[43] Graziani to [Commendone?], 30 October 1573: ASV, Polonia 3, fol. 475r.

[44] Idem, 19 October 1573: ASV, Polonia 3, fol. 457r; Salviati to Gallio, 14 September 1573: ANP IX/1, 355; Skwarczyński, 1958: 113-115.

[45] Gallio to Lauro, 12 December 1573: ANP IX/1, 112.

[46] Lauro to Gallio, 16 February 1574: ANP IX/1, 133.

[47] Lauro to Gallio, 20 April 1574: ANP IX/1, 187; idem, 20 February 1575: ANP IX/2, 165.

[48] Gregory XIII to Krasiński, 19 June 1574: ANP IX/1, 381. Cfr. Gallio to Lauro, 4 December 1574: ANP IX/2, 74.

kingdom. But when the king rose, three Protestant senators demanded that Henry also agree to the oaths he had sworn in Paris, to which Uchański replied that "in no way" could anything be added to the traditional oaths. The disagreement among the senators and clerics led to unrest among the crowd gathered as well. Eventually a compromise was reached: a senator proposed that the king only agree to "preserve peace and tranquility among religious dissents", with no mention of the confederation, which the king did[49]. The archbishop then added to this the phrase, "save for your [the ecclesiastical estate's] laws" (*salvis iuribus vestris*), to which the king also agreed. At this point both Catholics and Protestants were content, and proclaimed Henry the rightful king[50].

In writing to Rome to explain what had transpired, Vincenzo Lauro offers some fascinating explanations for the Catholics' actions. He notes that before the ceremony had occurred, Uchański had been fully aware of the dangers inherent in the phrase "peace among religious dissidents", stating that if the king agreed to this, "he would consequently and tacitly permit all sorts of heresies" in Poland. But even though the archbishop and nuncio both realized the danger in this phrase, the Catholics thought they had no choice but to tolerate it (*nondimeno parve a tutti per manco male tollerarla*), because without this phrase, the Protestants would never agree to Henry as king, leaving the commonwealth without any viable candidate[51]. "It was necessary to tolerate the addition [to the oath]," Lauro reasoned, because "without this toleration there is a strong opinion that the coronation would surely be prolonged and unruly, with danger of some upheaval or of the confirmation of the oath [sworn to] in Paris"[52]. This ambiguously worded addition, then, was the lesser evil: certainly undesirable, but the best option available for the Catholic cause. Far from a hard line against any negotiations with the heretics over the confederation or the choice of king, Lauro recognized the need to choose the best option available in that situation. Even before the coronation, in fact, Lauro had written that "when one cannot obtain everything one desires for the glory of God, for the conservation of the Catholic faith

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[49] The phrasing is very similar, but the original articles refer specifically to the Warsaw Confederation. Compare with de Noailles, 1876: 438: "[…] confoederatione singulari inter se facta, ut hoc nomine dissidii, scilicet religionis, pax illis servetur, quod etiam Nos illis spondemus, atque confoederationem ipsam juxta eius contenta perpetuis temporibus Nos servaturos promittimus".

[50] The entire description of the ceremony is in Lauro to Gallio, 26 February 1574: ANP IX/1, 138-145. See also a letter from Stanislaus Karnkowski, bishop of Włocławek, to Commendone, 15 March 1574: ANP IX/1, 363-365, that describes the tumult in the cathedral.

[51] Lauro to Gallio, 26 February 1574: ANP IX/1, 140.

[52] *Ibidem*, 140-141.

and the peace of the king and kingdom, it is necessary to avoid the greater evil, and choose the lesser one"[53].

Over a year had passed since the Warsaw Confederation was signed, and Henry had finally agreed to preserve "peace among the religious dissidents," but this was not the end of the Catholics' attempts to repudiate the confederation. When Charles IX of France died in May 1574, Henry left Poland to take the French crown for himself, leading to another election in Poland. The Polish diet selected Stefan Bathory, who had been prince of Transylvania, where, to the dismay of the Catholics, multiple religions were tolerated[54]. Worse, Bathory immediately agreed to the electoral articles and to observe the Warsaw Confederation[55].

Over time the Roman curia warmed to Bathory, and indeed the pope repeatedly praised the king's piety, but Bathory refused to budge regarding the confederation, and not for want of Catholics' protests[56]. In a national synod convoked at Petrikov in May 1577, the Catholic bishops of Poland, led by Lauro and Uchański, once again attacked the Warsaw Confederation, declaring that it "gave license for anyone to believe anything they wished in this kingdom without any coercion"[57]. As such, the confederation stood against divine law, against the sacred canons, and against the previous constitutions of the kingdom, as well as against God and against the peace and unity of the Christian faith. Along with the theological assertions, we find the notion that the confederation reversed previous positions of Polish law, and by implication, was invalid. Moreover, as they had done in their earlier protests, the Catholics turned the argument of the confederation on its head. If in 1573 the Polish diet believed the confederation would help Poland secure peace and avoid war, by 1577 the Catholics argued that this was a false peace, which would cause unrest of its own. Finally, the synod condemned any Catholic cleric who supported or defended the confederation in any way and declared him anathema[58]. In addition, the bishops wrote to Bathory himself in 1578, asking him to repeal the Warsaw Confederation. The king refused[59]. In 1586 Bathory died, and Sigismund III Vasa was elected king. Sigismund would prove to be

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[53] "Et ala fine, quando non si possi ottenere tutto quello che si desidera a gloria di Dio, per la conservatione dela fede cattolica et per la quiete del Re et del Regno, bisognerà, per evitar il maggior, elleger il manco male…" Lauro to Gallio, 16 February 1574: ANP IX/1, 135.

[54] Bues, 1998: 127; Pastor, 1930: 389.

[55] LeCler, 1960: 403.

[56] Gregory XIII to Bathory, 6 November 1576: ASV, Arm. XLIV 23, fol. 243r; Schramm, 1965: 277.

[57] ASV, Polonia 9, fols. 216r-223r, here at 216v-217r. See also Lauro's speech to the synod, "Oratio Nuncii Apostolici ad Synodum": *ibidem*, fols. 276r-278r.

[58] *Ibidem*, fol. 217r.

[59] LeCler, 1960: 404.

a fervent Catholic and supporter of Rome, but he too agreed to the Warsaw Confederation upon being elected[60].

By the 1590s, the confederation had existed for nearly twenty years, yet the Catholics continued to make their protests. This time the duty fell to Peter Skarga, the Jesuit who served as royal confessor to Sigismund III. It would not be an exaggeration to say that Skarga detested the Warsaw Confederation, and had since 1573, calling it the "supreme peril" for the Catholic faith[61]. In 1595 he published a tract entitled *The Legal Prosecution of the Confederation*, and when an anonymous Protestant author published a pamphlet in response, Skarga revised and expanded his treatise and published a new edition in 1596[62]. Skarga also made a series of speeches, or sermons, in front of the Polish diet in 1597 where he urged the senators to defend the Catholic faith. In these, we can see how Skarga repeats many of the same arguments against the confederation that Catholics had been voicing since the 1570s. He maintained that the confederation had never been a law of the commonwealth given that it had never received the consent of both the secular and the ecclesiastical estates, and because it went against previous decrees of the kingdom[63]. Moreover, not only did the confederation try to banish Christianity from the realm, it actively fostered atheism[64]. And like earlier protests, Skarga cautioned that the confederation's peace would be "false and fatal"[65].

Yet Skarga went further than his predecessors and made a succinct case why it was in the best interests of the Polish king and senate to repeal the confederation. Skarga argued that every state had an obligation to maintain peace and to create good, virtuous citizens, and by permitting heresy to enter, a state failed those obligations, since heresy sows discord and weakens the state from within[66]. Skarga also established a clean divide between the effects Catholicism and heresy have on kingdoms. The Catholic faith can conserve and grow kingdoms, while heresy is like poison that destroys them[67]. But more importantly, "the Catholic religion wonderfully turns men to the good and makes them good citizens"[68]. Skarga continued – speaking directly to the Polish senators – that the Catholic religion cultivated piety and virtue in

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60 Fox, 1924: 81n79.

61 Berga, 1916: 240.

62 The titles of the two in Polish are *Proces Konfoederacyjej* and *Proces na Konfoederacyjej z poprawą i odprawą przeciwnika*, respectively.

63 Berga, 1916: 182.

64 On banishing Christianity, see Skarga, 1916: 115. For the atheism remark see Berga, 1916: 239.

65 Berga, 1916: 140.

66 *Ibidem*, 238.

67 Skarga, 1916: 122.

68 *Ibidem*, 131.

citizens, and taught "humility and submission to authorities"[69]. The argument thus progressed piece by piece: religious unity was beneficial to a kingdom, and if the senate protected the Catholic faith as the one faith in a kingdom, the benefits would be immediate. Far from being only a religious problem, the confederation was a serious threat to the stability of the Polish commonwealth, and for that reason, Skarga said, the Polish senate could not afford to support its liberties. In his words, while "the Catholic religion not only poses no threat to civil power, but is a great aid for it," heresy was just the opposite. Heretics were "inhuman by nature, cruel and inclined to bloodshed, tearing society apart"[70]. The juxtaposition was clear, but once again, the Polish diet took no action regarding the confederation.

For approximately thirty years after the Warsaw Confederation was signed, the Catholics' repeated protests bore little fruit. But the effort expended by the church had no relation to the "success" of Protestantism in Poland. If anything, the church's efforts seem out of sync with the reality in Poland, where the Counter-Reformation was steadily gaining traction, particularly after the arrival of the Jesuits. Despite the fact that the confederation was never repealed and that each successive king swore to uphold it, we cannot speak of any real execution of the agreement's principles. Historians agree that the confederation lacked any means of enforcement, especially given the fact that it was originally an agreement only made among the nobility during an interregnum. Protestant communities in Poland were keenly aware of the lack of protection the confederation provided. Mobs sporadically attacked Protestant churches and shops and interrupted funeral processions, but despite the Protestants' repeated pleas that Polish kings intervene or reaffirm their commitment to the confederation, this never happened[71]. Meanwhile, Janusz Tazbir has argued time may have been the biggest enemy of the Protestants in Poland, not the confederation. Over time Protestant nobles died, leaving fewer magnates to protect Protestantism on their lands[72]. Additionally, Sigismund III may have had more success curbing Protestantism by refusing to give offices or titles to anyone who was not Catholic[73].

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[69] "La religion catholique prend grand soin d'enseigner l'humilité et la soumission aux autorités; elle appelle ses disciples *des enfants d'obéissance*, et c'est cette vertu que soutient le mieux la République, et qui fait prospérer les gouvernements; car, là où la soumission des sujets à l'autorité est sincère et prompte, tout facilite la tâche de ceux qui gouvernent, et leur permet de parer facilement aux dangers qui menacent la République". *Ibidem*, 131-132.

[70] *Ibidem*, 133.

[71] Tazbir, 1973: 100, 104-106; Schramm, 1965: 280, 285; Dyboski, 1950: 53; Müller, 1999: 125-126.

[72] Tazbir, 1973: 203-204.

[73] Tazbir, *ibidem*; Friedrich, 1999: 259-260. On the ability of kings to exercise this power as a means of effectively bypassing the senate, Wyczański, 1982: 91-108.

Thus, although the Catholic Church's success in Poland had little to do with the Warsaw Confederation, the Roman church's efforts to oppose the confederation still reveal much about what the church feared in tolerating religious minorities. This chapter has argued that Catholic protests emerged because of different reasons, from different people, at different times. Catholics could oppose the confederation on religious grounds, saying it fostered atheism. They could oppose it on procedural grounds, saying it violated Polish custom. Or they could oppose it on political grounds, saying it weakened the commonwealth from within. Moreover, Rome's fervent attempts to influence the Polish situation suggest the curia believed it had the right to intervene in other states, especially in matters of religion. We can also see the limits of what Rome could accomplish, including the inability to keep the bishop of Cracow in line, or Lauro's belief that Catholics needed to accept the lesser evil of the confederation in order to secure a Catholic candidate for the crown. In sum, the Catholic protests of the confederation go well beyond an objection to heresy *qua* heresy, and reveal how Catholic leaders adapted their opposition to religious tolerance for political leaders in early modern Europe.

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Discovering Eastern Europe: Cartography and Translation in Maciej Miechowita's *Tractatus de Duabus Sarmatiis* (1517)

Katharina N. Piechocki

1. Introduction

In 1517, Polish historian, astronomer, and physician Maciej Miechowita (1457?-1523), the author of the first printed history of Poland, *Chronica Polonorum* (1519)[1], published a treatise on the geography, history, and culture of Eastern Europe titled *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis asiana et europiana et de contentis in eis*[2]. Published in Cracow, then capital of the Polish kingdom, the treatise circulated in Europe in Latin editions as well as in German, Polish, Italian, and Dutch translations[3]. In 1521, it appeared under the title *Descriptio Sarmatiarum Asianae et Europianae et eorum quae in eis continentur*[4]. The 1535 translation of the *Tractatus* into Polish by Andrzej Glaber of Kobylin makes the treatise one of the first secular texts published in the Polish vernacular[5]. Furthermore, the *Tractatus* was the first work of a Polish author translated into Italian. Published as *Historia delle due Sarmatie* in Venice in 1561[6] in a translation by Annibal Maggi, the *Tractatus* was reprinted in 1583 in Giovanni Battista Ramusio's seminal travel anthology,

[1] Miechowita 1519.

[2] If not indicated otherwise, I use the following edition: Miechowita 1517. All translations from the *Tractatus* into English are mine.

[3] The Tractatus was printed in Latin in 1517, 1518, 1521, 1532, 1537, 1542, 1555, 1582, 1588, 1600. It appeared in a German translation by Johannes Eck in 1518 and 1534 and in Polish in 1535, 1541, and 1545. The *Tractatus* translated into italian by Annibal Maggi and was published in Italy in 1561, 1562, 1584, 1606, and 1634. See Poe 2000. Cornelis Ablijn translated the *Tractatus* into Dutch in 1563. See Miechowita 1563. The Dutsch translation is based on an edition of the *Tractatus* published in Simon Grynaeus and Johann Huttich's travel anthology *Novus orbis regionum* (1532).

[4] Miechowita 1521. This edition was used for subsequent translations into European vernaculars such as Polish and Italian.

[5] Miechowita 1535.

[6] Miechowita 1561. A revised version was reprinted again in 1584 and 1634. See Miechowita 1584.

Danilo Facca, Valentina Lepri (edited by) *Polish Culture in the Renaissance. Studies in the arts, humanism and political thought* ISBN 978-88-6655-490-5 (online PDF) ISBN 978-88-6655-489-9 (print) ISBN 978-88-6655-512-4 (online EPUB)

Navigazioni e Viaggi[7]. Miechowita's *Tractatus* is an important, albeit often overlooked, milestone in the history of early modern translation and offers a particularly valuable insight into the difficulties of toponymic translation during the Renaissance period. This contribution centers on the toponym Sarmatia, an ill-defined territory in ancient geographical writings, which Miechowita – still relying on Ptolemy's terminology – tried to translate into the geopolitical boundaries of early modern Europe. Miechowita's was not a linguistic translation – he used Latin as the language of his treatise – but a cultural and geographic one; a translation across time and space, germane to the semantic breadth of the German word "*Übersetzung*", which not only embraces linguistic translation but also marks geographic displacement, the "ferrying across" (bodies of water); a marker of geographic displacement. It is my intention to trace the geographic and conceptual displacement that the term **"**Sarmatia", extensively chronicled in Miechowita's *Tractatus*[8], underwent from antiquity to the Renaissance period.

Immediately after its publication, Miechowita's *Tractatus* became a blueprint for European cosmographers, historians, travelers, and politicians to rethink the topographies, languages, and cultures of Eastern Europe and to conceptualize Europe's Eastern boundaries. Highly invested in a study of both ancient and medieval geographies, most importantly Ptolemy's *Geography*, and of cosmographers' descriptions of the origins and migrations of European and Asian peoples, Miechowita investigated the continuous shifts of territorial and continental borders between Europe and Asia. His treatise is not only pivotal for the early modern understanding of Eastern Europe's boundaries, but also, I argue, crucial for the early modern invention of Eastern Europe[9], whose boundaries emerged, as the *Tractatus* shows, as a process of toponymic translations and (re)locations of an obsolete ancient nomenclature and terminology such as "Sarmatia" in a radically new historical, political, and geographic context.

The *Tractatus* was indebted to Ptolemy's topographic nomenclature and territorial dichotomy: European and Asian "Sarmatia", which Ptolemy discussed in his *Geography*[10]. The treatise is divided into two books ("libri") of

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[7] For a modern edition of Ramusio's *Navigazioni e viaggi* see Ramusio 1978-1988.

[8] Prior to Miechowita, Polish historian Jan Długosz had written about "Sarmatia" in his *Annales*, which cover the history of the Polish kingdom from its beginnings to 1480, the year of Długosz's death. While written prior to the publication of Miechowita's *Tractatus*, Długosz's *Annales* were published. For a modern edition in English translation see Długosz 1997.

[9] For the invention of Eastern Europe as an Enlightenment project see Wolff 1994.

[10] For Ptolemy, Europe's Eastern boundaries end with a region split into a European and an Asian part, Sarmatia: "European Sarmatia is terminated on the north by the Sarmatian ocean adjoining the Venedicus bay and by a part of the un-

uneven length: the first book, significantly longer than the second book, is dedicated to "Sarmatia Asiana" and subdivided into three "Tractatus", which contain nine, five, and three chapters each[11]. The second book, consisting of merely two "Tractatus", divided into three and two chapters each, centers on "Sarmatia Europiana".

The centerpiece of the first book is the definition and description of different Western Asian peoples, which Miechowita subsumes under the broad ethnonym "Tartars", and their territorial expansion. The first "Tractatus" starts with the Tartar invasion of Poland in the first half of the thirteenth century, proceeds to the conversion of the Tartarian Chans to Islam, and describes the customs of the Tartars. In the second "Tractatus", Miechowita emphasizes that all the different peoples nowadays known as Tartars, among whom he counts the Goths ("Gothi"), Alans ("Alani"), Vandals ("Vandales"), Swabians ("Svevi"), and Hungarians ("Iuhri"), were known as "Scythians" in ancient times. Miechowita thus attempts to find terminological equivalents for ancient peoples such as the Scythians and to insert them in a modern geographic and ethnographic setting. Chapter three continues with the catalogue of Tartars: Turks, Ulanian, Prekopian as well as Kazan ("Kosanenses") and the Noghay ("Nahaienses") Tartars. As becomes visible in book one, dedicated to Asian Sarmatia, Miechowita moves between Asia (*tractatus* one and three) and Central Europe (tractatus two) and discusses peoples, who inhabit Asia as well as Europe.

In the tradition of late medieval German proto-ethnographic treatises, Miechowita discusses Alans and Vandals as close relatives of the Poles. In fact, the year Miechowita published his *Tractatus*, German historian and theologian Albert Krantz (1448-1517) was preparing a treatise titled *Vandalia* that was posthumously published in Cologne in 1519[12]. For Krantz, "Vandalia" is

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known land". While European Sarmatia's Eastern boundaries are determined by the Don river, also known by its Greek name Tanais, "[…] it is terminated in the west by the Vistula river and by that part of Germania lying between its source and the Sarmatian mountains but not by the mountains themselves". Ptolemy's description of "Asian Sarmatia" was an even more inadequate guide for Renaissance cartographers, and rendered the humanists' task of visualizing and depicting the region rather difficult: "Asiatic Sarmatia is terminated on the north by unknown land; on the west by European Sarmatia from the sources of the Tanais river along the Tanais to its outlet in the Maeotis lake (Sea of Azov), and by the eastern part of this lake from the mouth of the Tanais river to the Cimmerius Bosphorus". Ptolemy 1991: 120-122.

[11] For a modern online text version of the 1517 edition of Miechowita's *Tractatus* see: <http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost16/Miechow/mie_tra0.html> [11/13].

[12] Krantz was a professor of philosophy and theology, who subsequently became the rector of the University of Rostock. Entangled between ancient geography and contemporary nomenclature, Krantz's work is a major attempt to translate and

the "umbillicum Germaniae": German's navel. In delineating the dwelling of the "Vandals", Krantz states that,

> […] nam quicquid est a mari Sarmatico & Baltheo, ad Pontum usque ad Adriaticum mare, nec non a Thanaide fluvio, usque ad umbilicum Germaniae, cum tota Sarmatia, Europea ac magna parte Asiaticae, necnon Boemia, Dalmatia et Illiria sua repleverunt multitudine[13].

Although Miechowita never explicitly mentions Krantz, both works bear strong resemblances in their search for a clear delimitation of space and toponyms. In fact, in Miechowita's treatise, the Vandals become synonymous with Poles. While Krantz translate the term **"**Vandalia" as **"**Germania", for Miechowita the Vandals are synonymous with the Poles and inhabit the territory of the Polish kingdom.

Book two of the *Tractatus*, dedicated to European Sarmatia, charts a definition of Lithuania and Samogitia, parts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and then turns to Muscovy and the regions "per ducem Moskovie subiugatis": the Scythian territories of "Perm, Baskird, Iuhra and Corela". While the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was under the rule of the Polish king at the time Miechowita was writing his treatise, Miechowita's description of the territories occupied by the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, regions situated in Asia according to Miechowita's own criteria, create a shift back to Asia in the book dedicated to Europe. The geographic division between European and Asian Sarmatia, as discussed in Ptolemy, collapses in Miechowita's treatise. The book's chapters undermine the continental division that the book's title announces. While the *Tractatus* exemplifies the porosity and permeability of the continental boundaries based on Ptolemy's obsolete, and ultimately untranslatable, nomenclature, it raises questions about the possibility of establishing criteria to rethink continental divides.

While Miechowita mentions "Polonia" *en passant* in the course of the *Tractatus* when he compares it with Vandalia, Poland remains the great absent-present throughout the treatise. No chapter is specifically dedicated to "Polonia", and the question emerges whether Miechowita uses "Sarmatia" and "Polonia" as synonyms, as many scholars have argued, or whether "Sarmatia" and "Polonia" are distinct territorial entities that do not necessarily overlap. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Miechowita was writing his *Tractatus*, "Sarmatia" was a word suspended between its ancient, geographically ill-determined meaning and its modern geographical and po-

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delineate the word "Vandalia" couching it in contemporary cartography and ethnography. See Krantz 1519. *Vandalia*, Köln, Ioannes Soter alias Hei. Krantz's work was reprinted in Frankfurt: Ex officina Andraeae Wecheli, 1575.

[13] *Ibidem*, s.p.

litical use by historians such as Miechowita himself and Długosz who were writing in the service of the king of Poland, Sigismund I. It was a word in translation, suspended between antiquity and modernity and between ancient and modern conceptions of geography. It marked a series of transformations: from a merely geographic use in Ptolemy's *Geography* to a politically charged one; from antiquity to early modernity; and from Asia to Europe. Miechowita's vague and contradictory use of the term "Sarmatia", which travels across time, territories, and continental boundaries, emphasizes the *Tractatus*, productive relationship among geography, cartography, and translation.

Furthermore, Miechowita's focus on Asian Sarmatia situates the *Tractatus* within the context of a programmatic *translatio imperii* of the Polish kingdom to the East. Miechowita's omission of "Polonia" and its exclusion from the overall economy of the work are, I argue, a conscious authorial choice to leave the Polish kingdom geographically undefined and potentially unlimited. In Miechowita, the term "Sarmatia" does not coincide with the actual extension of the Polish kingdom – "Sarmatia" extends beyond the kingdom's actual boundaries. The vagueness and openness of **"**Sarmatia" is employed programmatically, as I will show later, to gesture toward the kingdom's potential for a territorial expansion to the East. Rather than coinciding with "Polonia", in Miechowita's treatise the term "Sarmatia" undoes the limits that the geopolitics of "Polonia" impose.

In his standard book on Polish Sarmatia titled *Sarmacja,* Tadeusz Ulewicz has pointed out that,

> A[nother] striking thing that is difficult to assess – and at the same time very telling and crucial for the topic in question – is that the author fails to discuss… Poland. […] Did the scholar [Miechowita], who knew about the de facto outlook of Eastern Europe, intend to return to Sarmatia in its previous, classic "proper" meaning? […] [H]ow can we explain this silence in the writing of this Polish scholar and humanist?[14]

Ulewicz touches upon the crucial distinction between the "proper" and, implicitly, the "improper" use of the term "Sarmatia". He understands the "proper" use of the word "Sarmatia" in its geographic dimension, as described by ancient cosmographers such as Ptolemy. The "new" and "improp-

[14] "Uderza natomiast rzecz inna, trudna do rozwiązania a równocześnie bardzo dużo mowiąca, zasadnicza dla omawianego zagadnienia, mianowicie, że autor pominął w nim… Polskę. […] Czyżby uczony zdający sobie dobrze sprawę z faktycznego wyglądu Europy wschodniej chciał nadać (czy też przywrócić) nazwie Sarmacja jej dawne klasyczne, "właściwe" znaczenie […]? Cóż stało sie w takim razie z Polakami, a przede wszystkim dlaczego takie milczenie na ten temat w dziele wychodzącym spod pióra polskiego uczonego i humanisty?" Ulewicz 1950: 63. My translation.

er" use is the term's cultural translation from antiquity to sixteenth-century Poland, when "Sarmatia" acquired a new cultural, geographical, and political meaning. This distinction is crucial for an understanding of what Miechowita undertakes in his treatise. Ulewicz states that

> Although [Miechowita] himself took as the basis for his discussion the classical, ancient sense of the term in its geographic meaning […], he undertook this topic specifically because of the collision of antiquity […] and his contemporary times, a collision, which he wished to work on by taking as his point of departure the contemporary state of the "Sarmatian" states and peoples. The omission of the Poles among the inhabitants of classical Sarmatia can be, at the end, interpreted and understood in different ways[15].

Ulewicz's assessment of Miechowita's motivation to omit "Poland" in his description of Eastern Europe is quite revealing: Miechowita seems to have engaged with the description and definition of Sarmatia specifically because of what Ulewicz calls a "collision", a suspended translation of sorts, between two different time periods and cultural contexts. Ulewicz touches upon the tangible internal contradiction of Miechowita's treatise and opens up the question, whether Miechowita's point of departure was the "proper" (i.e., the ancient geographical) meaning of the word "Sarmatia" or, rather, its "improper" (early modern political) use. A close reading of the treatise shows that the slip between the proper and improper use of "Sarmatia" is the centerpiece of Miechowita's treatise and the author's most pressing question. The fact that Miechowita ultimately neither defines Poland nor "Sarmatia" offers a unique window into the workshop of a Polish humanist, who reflected upon and used contemporary political events, territorial expansions, and cartographic knowledge to formulate his own, as I claim, expansionistic project based on the focus on one single word: Sarmatia.

2. Translating Ptolemy's "Two Sarmatias"

Since Antiquity, the boundary between Europe and Asia had been defined by the Don river (also known under its Greek name, Tanais). In his *Geography* (written in the middle of the second century A.D.), Ptolemy had

[15] "I chociaż [Miechowita] sam za podstawę rozważan przyjął klasyczny, antyczny sens terminu jako określenia geograficznego […], to jednak tematem zajął sie właśnie ze względu na kolizję antyku i […] współczesnością kolizję, którą pragnął rozwikłać biorąc za punkt wyjścia stan aktualny krajów i ludów "sarmackich". Samo pominięcie Polaków wśród mieszkanców klasycznej Sarmacji można ostatecznie rożnie interpretować i rozumieć". *Ibidem*, p. 64. My translation.

named the territory on both sides of the Don river "Sarmatia"[16]. In Ptolemy's description, European Sarmatia stretches between the Vistula river in the West and the Don river in the East. Characteristic of Ptolemy's description of Sarmatia is the territory's alleged internal division by numerous (and fictitious) mountain chains that Renaissance cartographers, artists, and illuminators represented in beautifully edited maps in Italian and German scribal workshops and monasteries, hubs for the creation of competing and often contradictory perspectives on topography, cosmography, and cartography. One of the cartographers was "Donnus" Nicolaus Germanus, the author of a *Cosmographia*, who, while living in Italy, created maps for several editions of Ptolemy. His 1467 map of "European Sarmatia", which circulated in Poland in the sixteenth century and is now at the National Library of Warsaw[17], inscribes Ptolemy's catalogue of mountain chains into the Sarmatian landscape (see Figure 4).

On Nicolaus Germanus' map, the mountains permeate Sarmatia like a tightly knit web of knotted ropes forming the map's centerpiece and becoming a distinctive visual attraction. The mountain chains span the region diagonally, from Northeast to Southwest; from the sources of the Tanais river that, according to the imagery of the ancients, originated in the Riphean mountains, to the Sarmatian Mountains, creating, together with the Vistula river, a somewhat forced and arbitrary "natural" border with Germany (*Germania*); a border that curiously coincides with and is determined by the map's frame. Compared to the actual shape of Eastern Europe, here, Sarmatia is represent-

[16] "European Sarmatia is terminated on the north by the Sarmatian ocean adjoining the Venedicus bay and by a part of the unknown land. […] The terminus of Sarmatia, which extends southward through the sources of the Tanais river is 64 63. It is terminated in the west by the Vistula river and by that part of Germania lying between its source and the Sarmatian mountains but not by the mountains themselves […]. Sarmatia is divided by other mountains, which are called Peuce mountains […], Amadoci mountains […], Bodinus mountains […], Alanus mountains […], Carpathian mountains as we call them […], Venedici mountains […], Ripaei". In Ptolemy 1991: vii.

[17] See *Cosmographia Claudii Ptolomaei Alexandrini*, Latin, 1467, Biblioteka Narodowa, BN BOZ 2 /I. As the catalogue description of Germanus' map, part of a series of maps illustrating Ptolemy's *Geography*, suggests, this "volume contains 30 maps, 27 of which are based on information provided in Ptolemy's text. Three are new (Spain, Italy and Northern Europe), elaborated in accordance with the state of knowledge in the middle of the 15th century. For several centuries the layout of the maps served as a model for geographical atlases. The manuscript belonged to Crown Chancellor Jan Zamoyski in the 16th century, and then to the Zamość Academy Library. It was transferred to the National Library together with the bequest of the Zamoyski Library". See <http://www.polona.pl/dlibra/collectiondescription2?dirids=16> [11/13].

ed as a rather narrow strait between the Baltic and the Black Sea, functioning almost as a bridge between Central Europe and Asia[18].

Miechowita was the first European humanist who questioned the veracity of the ancient cosmographers' claim that lofty mountain chains such as the mythical Rhiphean and Hyperborean Mountains, cut through Europe's Eastern regions dividing not only the different Northeastern peoples but also the inhabited and uninhabited zones. In the preface as well as several times later in the treatise, Miechowita writes: "We know and we have seen for sure that what one calls the Hyperborean, Riphean, and Alan mountains do not exist"[19]:

> Montes Alanos Hiperboreos et Ripheos in orbe terrarum nominatissimos, in illis regionibus septentrionis [veteri] affirmaverunt. & ex eis non minus famosa erupisse flumina, per cosmographos et vates celebres scripta atque decantata, Tanaim, Boristenem maiorem & minorem, Volhamque maximum fluminum declararunt, quod cum alienum sit a vero, non abs re (experientia docente quae est magistra dicibilium) confutandum et reijciendum est, tanquam prophanum, inexperteque provulgatum. […] Montes autem Hiperboreos, Riphaeos & Alanos nuncupatos illic non existere certo certius scimus et videmus, et iam praedictos fluvios ex terra plana consurrexisse ac emersisse conspicimus[20].

Miechowita claims that Europe's East is entirely flat and has only few, fully accessible hills at the very most. This explains, so Miechowita, the appropriateness of the name Poland, which stems from "pole", the Polish word for "field".

Miechowita's rejection of the Riphean mountains received attention from Europe's humanists, geographers, and politicians alike, not only because he dared to reject ancient authorities, but also authoritative near-contemporaries and influential Italian humanists such as Enea Silvio Piccolomini and Flavio Biondo. Emperor Maximilian I sent his delegate Siegmund von Herberstein,

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[18] Nicolaus Germanus inscribes the "arae Alexandri" into the map to underscore the limits between Europe and Asia. On this map, Alexander's altars are cast into the mythical Riphean Mountains, which, in turn, function as the source of the Tanais river, which, in turn, functions as the dividing line between Europe and Asia. Alexander's altars acquired a symbolic value similar to that of the Columns of Hercules: they served as markers of geographic boundaries as well as a point of departure to chart the unknown. In fact, Alexander's altars were often referred to as "Gades Alexandri", the boundaries of Alexander, in analogy to the Spanish city Cádiz (in latin "Gades") . "Gades", a toponym, which "in Medieval Latin, […] became a common noun, with the meaning 'marker', 'fence', 'border post' and "Gades Alexandri" thus create a symmetrical image of Europe's Western and Eastern boundaries. In Chekin 2006: 35.

[19] My translation.

[20] Miechowita 1517: s.p.

who had already been on a diplomatic mission to Muscovy in 1517, back to the Grand Duchy in order to verify Miechowita's geographic claims. Von Herberstein returned with an affirmation of Miechowita's findings and with a new travel account, *Rerum Moscovitarum commentarii* (1549)[21], the first sustained description of the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, highly indebted to Miechowita's *Tractatus*[22]. At the end of the sixteenth century, Abraham Ortelius and Richard Hakluyt used details from the *Tractatus* for their works when, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570) and *Principal Navigations* (1589-1600), respectively[23], describing the boundaries of Muscovy.

Ptolemy's description of "Asian Sarmatia" became an even more complex terminological riddle for Renaissance cartographers and rendered the humanists' task of visualizing and depicting the region quite difficult[24].

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[21] Von Herberstein 1549.

[22] Irena Grudzinska Gross notes that Siegmund von Herberstein's "mission was to end the war between Poland and Muscovy, in order to free the two countries to fight the Turks". While the mission was "partially successful", Herberstein's "true success was the book, which was issued many times in Latin and in German". In Grudzinska Gross 1991, 50(4): 989-998 (990). Before von Herberstein, Swedish bishop and geographer Olaus Magnus, relied on Miechowita's *Tractatus* for his in-depth discussion of Northern Europe published in his treatise, *Sea Map and Description of Northern Regions* (1539). Miechowita corresponded with Magnus' brother, who lived in Rome, immediately after the publication of the *Tractatus*. See Poe 2000: 33.

[23] Such as Miechowita's description of the "golden woman" ("złota baba") in book two: "Accipiat quinto, quod post terram Viatka nuncupatam in Scythiam penetrando iacet magnum idolum *Zlota baba*, quod interpretatum sonat aurea vetula, quod gentes vicinae colunt et venerantur, nec aliquis in proximo gradiens aut feras agitando et in venatione sectando vacuus et sine oblatione pertransit, quinimo si munus nobile deest, pellem aut saltem de veste extractum pilum in offertorium idolo proicit et inclinando se cum reverentia pertransit". Miechowita 1517, II, ii, Chapter one "De Moscovia", s.p. Ortelius depicted the "aurea vietula" in the first modern atlas, the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* and Hakluyt described the *aurea vetula* in his *Principal Navigations* in the chapter of Muscovy. See Ortelius 1570, Hakluyt 1598-1600.

[24] "Asiatic Sarmatia is terminated on the north by unknown land; on the west by European Sarmatia from the sources of the Tanais river along the Tanais to its outlet in the Maeotis lake, and by the eastern part of this lake from the mouth of the Tanais river to the Cimmerius Bosphorus […]. It is terminated on the south by a part of the Pontus Euxine thence as far as the Coras river and the line limiting Colchis, Iberia and Albania, thence extending to the Hyrcanium or the Caspian sea; […] Of the mountains running through Sarmatia, among those which are named, are the famous Hippici, the Cerauni, the corax, and those running along Colchis and Iberia which are called the Caucasus; […] Its cattle feed in the Sarmatian meadow lands in the region near the unknown land of Hyperborean Sarmatia; and below these are the Basilici Sarmatians; and the Modoca race; and the Hippophagi Sarmatians; and below these are the Zacatae Sarmatians, the Suardeni and the Asaei. […] Between the

Ptolemy defines Asian Sarmatia in the West and in the South by natural boundaries, while the region remains open and undefined in the Northeast. Asian Sarmatia "is terminated on the north by unknown land", while the East seems to extend limitlessly into undisclosed territories. Unlike European Sarmatia, whose plethora of peoples Ptolemy enumerates in a Homeric-like catalogue, Asian Sarmatia is inhabited by a variety of "Sarmatians", differing from each other only in their fanciful predicates (Hyperborean, Hippophagi, etc.)[25]. Paradoxically, while in Ptolemy the territory of "Sarmatia" stretches across two continents, the Sarmatian peoples are confined to Asia – the toponym "Sarmatia" and the ethnonym "Sarmatians" do not overlap.

A tribe of steppe dwellers and nomads, the Sarmatians were "repeatedly placed to the east of the Scythians by ancient authors"[26]. While in both Herodotus and Ptolemy the Sarmatians dwell east of Scythia, the region on the northern shore of the Black Sea, in Herodotus the Tanais river marks a division between the Sarmatians and the Scythians: the river's "upper course begins by flowing out of a great lake, and enters a yet greater lake called the Maeotian, which divides the Royal Scythians from the Sauromatae"[27]. East of the Tanais, writes Herodotus,

> […] is no longer Scythia; the first of the divisions belongs to the Sauromatae, whose country begins at the inner end of the Maeotian lake and stretches fifteen days' journey to the north, and is all bare of both forest and garden trees"[28].

In Ptolemy's terminology, the dwelling of Herodotus' Sauromatae overlaps with "Asian Sarmatia", while Scythia takes on a novel term: "European Sarmatia".

Between Herodotus and Ptolemy, a *translatio* takes place: while in Herodotus the Tanais river separates Scythia in the West from Sarmatia in the East, Ptolemy continues to use the river as a dividing line between two continents, but he bridges the continental divide by using the toponym "Sarma-

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Rha river [Volga] and the Hippici mountains is the Mithridatis region; below which are Melanchlani, then the Amazones; […] between the Caucasus mountains and the Cerauni mountains are the Tusci, and the Diduri", In Ptolemy 1991: 121-122.

[25] *Ibidem*.

[26] In her discussion of the Sarmatians, Valentina Mordvintseva claims that the Sarmatians and Sauromatians might be less connected then scholars usually assume. She points out that "there are no grounds for applying the information about Sauromatian customs and legends described by Herodotos to the tribes with similar sounding names located in the same region in later periods". In Mordvintseva 2008: 47-65: 53.

[27] Herodotus 1995: Book IV, 57, p. 257.

[28] *Ibidem*, p. 221.

tia" for both the European and Asian banks that flank the Tanais. However, while Ptolemy expands the term "Sarmatia" across the Tanais to European territories, the "Sarmatian" peoples remain on the Asian side of the river: the Scythians in Ptolemy dwell in Europe, while the Sarmatians inhabit Asia.

Miechowita's 1517 *Tractatus* marks another ethnonymic *translatio* and major terminological shift. Taking Ptolemy as his point of reference and as the basis for his division of Sarmatia into a European and an Asian part, Miechowita inverts the location of the Scythians and the Sarmatians: in his treatise, the Sarmatians dwell West of the Tanais, in European Sarmatia, while the Scythians are relegated beyond the river to Asian Sarmatia. In Miechowita, Asian Sarmatia becomes synonymous with Scythia, and Scythia, in turn, with the nomadic and Muslim Tartar tribes. While the Scythians – as a nomadic tribe – are relegated beyond Europe's boundaries, the Sarmatians are translated from Asia to Europe. Unlike his ancient predecessors, Miechowita describes the different nomadic "Sarmatian" tribes as a sedentary and, moreover, autochthonous Slavic community.

Philologist Anna Krasnowolska has pointed out that Poland

> […] [a]s a result of its union with Lithuania at the end of the fourteenth century, […] for about 400 years came into the immediate neighborhood of Muslim states the Golden Horde, the Khanate of Crimea and, last but not least, Ottoman Turkey. Poland's relations with her Eastern and Southeastern neighbors, though often hostile, were not limited to wars; diplomatic and economic contacts were maintained, and Eastern provinces of the country became a territory of symbiosis and mutual cultural influence. Oriental minorities living within the borders of the Polish state – Armenians, Tatars, Karaites – assumed the role of mediators between the Christian and Muslim realms. Thus, Poland's contact with the Islamic world was relatively close in this period[29].

The Polish kingdom was, from its Union with Lithuania in 1386, when the Lithuanian Grand Duke Jogaila embraced Christianity and translated his name into the more Polish sounding Władysław Jagiełło, "theoretically a Roman Catholic kingdom". Jagiełło's territory included all Ruthenian lands (what is now Belorussia and the Ukraine), and along the Baltic shore the Polish-Lithuanian Union was gradually enlarged through the inclusion of the German colonial states in Prussia and Livonia either directly or in the form of fiefs. In the Black Sea region, the Danubian principalities, particularly Moldavia, and temporarily the Crimean Peninsula, were in the Union's sphere of influence. At the height of the power of the Jagellonian rule in the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, members of the dynasty were also kings of

[29] Krasnowolska 1987: 179-221 (179).

Bohemia and Hungary[30]. The Polish-Lithuanian union increased the prestige of the dynasty in Eastern Europe, and the Jagiellonians became, in terms of geographic extension, the most important dynasty after the Habsburgs. After the death of Hungarian king Albert II of Habsburg in 1440, Władysław, king of Poland, the son and successor of Jagiello, was elected king of Hungary.

The Polish kingdom was multinethnic and multicultural. Adam Zamoyski points out that "large numbers of Christian Slavs living within its borders practised the Orthodox rite, acknowledging the Patriarch of Constantinople", while "another group of Christians […] were the communities of Armenians living in the major cities of south-eastern Poland"[31]. From the moment of his coronation, Jagiełło ruled as the king of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania over "terras suas Lithuaniæ et Russiæ Coronæ Regni Poloniæ perpetuo"[32]. The expansion of the Jagiellonian dynasty corresponded to an incorporation of its diverse cultures, languages, and religions. The Polish-Lithuanian Union consisted of Catholics, Russian Orthodox, Jews, Muslims, and, after the Reformation, Protestants. "A significant proportion of the population", according to Zamoyski,

> […] [w]as not Christian at all. The Jewish community multiplied each time there was an anti-Semitic witch-hunt in other countries, and its numbers soared in the decades after the expulsions from Spain in 1492 and Portugal in 1496. If visiting foreign prelates were shocked to see synagogues in every Polish township, they were hardly less so to see mosques standing on what was supposed to be Christian soil. These belonged to the descendants of Tatars who had settled in Lithuania in the fifteenth century and become loyal subjects of their adopted country. Many of them had been admitted to the ranks of the shlachta but clung to the Islamic faith. By the mid-sixteenth century there were nearly a hundred mosques in the Wilno, Troki and Łuck areas[33].

3. "Translatio Imperii"

Miechowita published the *Tractatus* in a time, when Europe was expanding its boundaries not only to the West but also to the East. By 1517, the year in which the Habsburg Empire coined the expansionist formula "Plus ultra",

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[30] See Halecki 1952: 117. Historians have noted that after the Jagiellonian dominance, Poland "remained a power during the sixteenth century until its gradual decline after 1650" ending in its complete disintegration in 1795. In Török 2007: 1806-1851 (1806).

[31] Zamoyski 2009: 58.

[32] See Halecki 1952: 118.

[33] Zamoyski 2009: 58.

information about the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries and conquests was being propagated, shared, and commented upon by Polish humanists. It is, therefore, not a coincidence that in the *Tractatus*, Miechowita fashions the Polish king Sigismund I, known as Zygmunt "Stary" or Sigismund "The Old" (1467-1548), as a conqueror of territories in the East, analogous to the territorial conquests of the Portuguese king Manuel I[34]. In the dedicatory epistle to Stanislas Turzo, bishop of the Bohemian town of Olomouc and member of a powerful banker family related to leading political figures in Cracow as well as the Fugger in Augsburg, Miechowita writes:

> I wrote the subsequent Treatise on the two Sarmatias, which the Ancients referred to by less-known names than our contemporaries to tell you, most learned patron, truthfully about these and many other things contained in the Sarmatias [*in Sarmatijs*]. I write to you briefly, my dearest master and patron, as the topic demands, and will make sure [*curabo*] to encourage others, who have discovered greater things to write more freely and in more elegant words. Just like the Portuguese king discovered the southern hemisphere with peoples adjacent to the ocean as far as India, so the Polish king shall venture into the northern hemisphere and reveal and illuminate, through the discoveries undertaken by his army and wars, peoples oriented toward the East living close to the northern ocean[35].

Miechowita juxtaposes and concomitantly parallels the territorial conquests and colonizing endeavors of the Portuguese king and the Polish monarch's expansionist aspirations to the East. Miechowita's treatise establishes an analogy between the discoveries of India and the southern hemisphere by Portuguese king Manuel I and the new territorial discoveries of Northeastern Europe under the aegis of Polish king Sigismund I. He fashions the Polish king as a conquistador and powerfully launches the discussion about "Sarmatia's" boundaries, which, as he hopes, will be discovered and defined by Sigismund I. Miechowita suggests that the Polish king shall venture into and disclose (*aperta*) the hitherto unexplored northern hemisphere by means of military campaigns and wars (*per milita et bella*). Similar to Manuel I,

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[34] Manuel I (1469-1521), king of Portugal 1495-1521.

[35] "Quare ut haec & complura alia in Sarmatijs contenta, tue doctissime presul amplitudini vera veraciter enarrarem. Subsequentem tractatum de duabus Sarmatijs ab antiquoribus minus cognitis nominibus, quibus temporibus nostris nominantur. Tibi domino et patrono meo semper colendissimo, scribere breviuscule, ut res expostulabit, ad incitandum alios, qui maiora noverunt, & elegantiori stilo scribere facile poterunt curabo. Utque sicut plaga meridionalis cum gentibus adiacentibus oceano usque ad Indiam, per regem Portugalie patefacta est, sic plaga septemtrionalis cum gentibus oceano septemtrionis imminentibus, & versus orientem spectantibus, per militia et bella regis Polonie aperta, mundo pateat et clarescat". Miechowita 1517: s.p., dedicatory epistle to Stanislaus Turzo. My translation.

who discovered and colonized the southern hemisphere, Sigismund I shall illustrate (*clarescat*) the northern hemisphere, inhabited by peoples bordering on the northern ocean facing the east, in order to make this unknown part of the globe accessible to the world (*mundo pateat*). Miechowita's use of a wide range of verbs that denote openness[36] such as the participle "aperta" or the verbs "clarescat" and "pateat" gestures toward the discovery and disclosure of the northern hemisphere, beyond Poland's actual political boundaries.

After his victory over Vasili III, the Grand Duke of Muscovy and father of Ivan IV, better known as Ivan the Terrible, in the Battle of Orsha in 1514, Sigismund indeed expanded the boundaries of his kingdom to the East, while competing with the Grand Duke for the title of "emperor". The underlying motivation for this title was the creation of an Eastern Empire analogous to the Holy Roman Empire, a bid that the king of Poland ultimately lost to Ivan IV. The *Tractatus* thus opens up questions of imperial expansion and *translatio imperii*, which Miechowita weaves into the subtext of the treatise by revisiting and culturally translating Ptolemy's terminology into early modernity. Miechowita offers a definition and delimitation of the "two Sarmatias" by bridging Europe and Asia. His *Tractatus*, then, functions as a productive fulcrum that allows the author to explore the question of *translatio imperii* to the East at a time of Europe's concomitant expansion to the West.

It is a reconsideration, retranslation, and resemantization of the pivotal word "Sarmatia" that allowed Miechowita to imagine a *translatio imperii* of the Polish kingdom to the East. With Miechowita's *Tractatus*, a significant change occurs: Miechowita's disclosure of a territory that was hitherto obstructed, in the imagery of early modern geographers and cartographers, by mythical mountain chains triggered not only the emergence of new cartographies of Europe's East, but affords us new insights into translational processes such as the early modern *translatio imperii* to the East. While a *de facto translatio imperii* of the Polish kingdom to the East failed, Miechowita's efforts to interpret, translate, and reimagine Ptolemy's terminology serves as a powerful reminder that during the Renaissance Europe's boundaries expanded not only to the West, but also to the East.

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[36] In the above-quoted passage, Miechowita uses three other words, besides "aperta", that denote disclosure and openness: "patefacta", "pateat", and "clarescat". "Patefacio" means "to make visible, reveal, uncover, lay bare," "to make or lay open, to open," and, more specifically, "to open the way as a discoverer or pioneer; to be the first to find". "Pateo" denotes "to stand open, lie open, be open", especially in the context of doors, gates, and buildings. It further means "to stretch out, extend; to be accessible, attainable". Of a road and of a space, it signifies "to offer unimpeded passage" and "to extend in space, stretch or spread out". See *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. 2012, ed. P.G.W. Glare, Oxford, Oxford University Press, entry "patefacio"; *Harpers' Latin Dictionary*. 1907, New York – Cincinnati – Chicago, American Book Company, entry "patefacio" and "pateo".

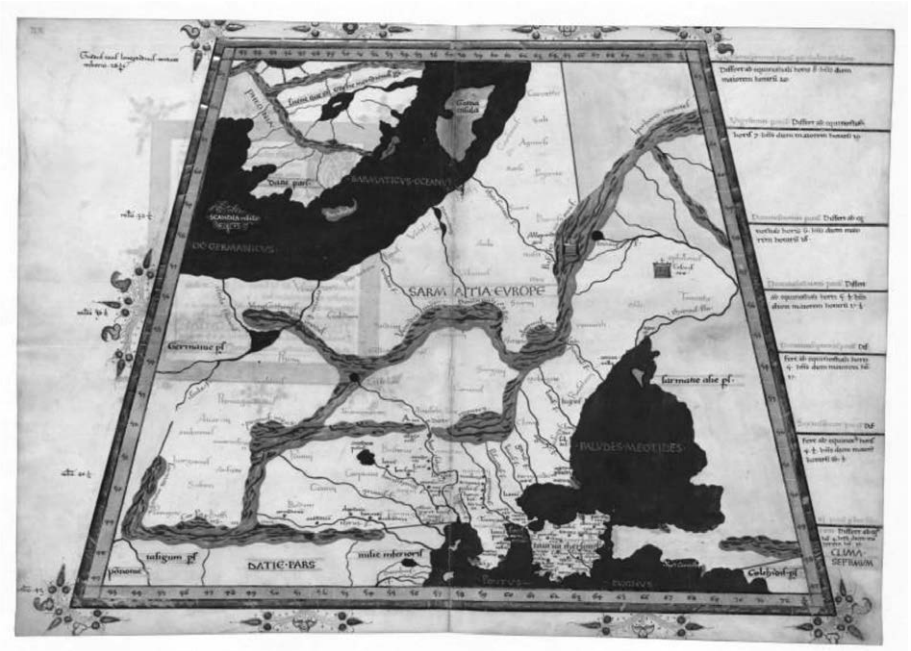

Fig. 4

Germanus, N. 1467. *Cosmographia Claudii Ptolomaei Alexandrini*, "Sarmatia Europe" (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, BN BOZ 2 /I)

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Borderlands and Political Theories: Krzysztof Warszewicki Reader of Machiavelli

Valentina Lepri

Scholars of Machiavelli are well aware that the first Latin editions of his works were dedicated to various Polish nobles. The Latin *princeps* of *Il Principe*, for example, which was printed in Basel in 1560, is dedicated not to Lorenzo de' Medici, as Machiavelli intended, but to the Polish knight Abraham Sbąski[1]. The circumstances are similar also for the Latin version of *Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio*, which was published in Monbeliard in 1591 by Jacques Folliet and dedicated to the aristocrat Jan Osmólski[2]. While on the one hand it is possible that these nobles provided financial support for the printing of the Latin Machiavelli, on the other the people who prepared these editions clearly thought that the contents would be useful to the dedicatees. Why were Machiavelli's works considered appropriate reading to propose to the Polish establishment?

The Italian philosopher Tommaso Campanella can help to shed light on the answer to this question. Indeed, in his *Aforismi politici* he notes: "Every community is dominated either by one, like the king in Spain; or by many like the nobles in Venice; or by all like the Athenians and the Swiss; or by one and many together, as in Poland"[3]. The philosopher grasped the most fascinating aspect of the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth at the end of the sixteenth

[1] The Italian Dominican friar Pietro Perna was the publisher of Machiavelli's text. Perna devoted his career to promoting Renaissance culture: he printed Latin versions of works by Machiavelli, Francesco Guicciardini and Jean Bodin. Classical texts such as Paracelsus's works and the editio princeps from Plotinus's Enneads are just a few examples of his large and important editorial production. His printing projects involved a team of outstanding editors, such as Thomas Erast, Lodovico Castelvetro, Celio Secondo Curione. In 1551 Celio Secondo Curione dedicated to Sbąski his edition of Giovenale's works. On Perna and Curione see Cantimori 1939, Perini 2002 and D'Ascia 2004.

[2] In 1586 Theodore Zwinger dedicated to him the third volume of his *Theatrum humanae vitae*. See Procacci 1995: 133-134, 138. Kaegi 1940: 175-176, 190-195.

[3] "In ogni comunità o domina uno come il re in Spagna; o molti come i nobili a Venezia; o tutti come gli ateniesi e gli Svizzeri; o uno e molti insieme come in Polonia", Campanella 1941: 94.

Danilo Facca, Valentina Lepri (edited by) *Polish Culture in the Renaissance. Studies in the arts, humanism and political thought* ISBN 978-88-6655-490-5 (online PDF) ISBN 978-88-6655-489-9 (print) ISBN 978-88-6655-512-4 (online EPUB)

century: it was an elective monarchy in a Europe in which there were only hereditary sovereigns, in which the power of the king was not absolute but, to borrow Campanella's expression, of "one and many together". From 1572, that is from the death of the last representative of the Jagiellonian dynasty, Sigismund Augustus, the monarchy became elective and the power of the sovereign was limited by the assembly of the nobility, known as the *Sejm*, which decided on matters of economics and foreign policy[4]. The nobility that participated in the life of the State was largely Protestant, and had to coexist with a weighty presence of the Catholic church which had established in these parts its most eastern bulwark against the Turks. Indeed, the boundaries were under constant threat from the Ottoman Empire, which naturally influenced the internal political equilibrium. In a country with such complicated dynamics of power, the reception and fate of Machiavelli's writings was particular too and they were interpreted in an original manner. Among the various Polish writers who addressed Machiavelli's work, I intend to present here the one that scholars have actually dubbed the Polish Machiavelli: Krzysztof Warszewicki[5].

Warszewicki is a decidedly intriguing figure, because he was not only one of the most influential diplomats of his time and counsellor to various sovereigns of the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth. This writer, this Polish Machiavelli, was also a man of the church, a Jesuit and the stepbrother of Stanisław Warszewicki, rector of the University of Vilnius which at the end of the sixteenth century was one of the most prestigious universities of Eastern Europe[6].

The main aim of this essay is not to find the Machiavelli sources in the work of Warszewicki; this has already been done, at least in part. Instead it intends to look at various issues addressed by both writers to point up the similarities and differences between them. Through these examples it is possible to see how some of Machiavelli's ideas were utilised by his 'special' interpreter on the basis of the specific political situation of Poland. Within Warszewicki's vast literary production scholars have found references to Machiavelli's thoughts in two works in particular: the *Paradoxa* (1579) and the *De optimo statu libertatis* (1598). The essay shall refer to these only in passing, since it will be concentrate on another work, the *De legato legationeque liber*, which has been less studied. Here, rather than reporting on his lengthy experience as an ambassador, Warszewicki ponders the management of foreign policy, weighing up the thought of Machiavelli and also appraising the approaches of classical and Italian writers[7].

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[4] See Opaliński 1995.

[5] See Barycz 1946, Lesnodorski 1949: 257-279 and Malarczyk 1969.

[6] Warszewicki studied in Germany and in Italy spending two years in Bologna (1557-1559).

[7] Such as Alberico Gentili, Francesco Guicciardini and Torquato Tasso. See Tamborra 1965 and Quirini-Popławska 1973.

1. The identity of the ambassador-sovereign

First published in Cracow in 1595 by the Officina Lazari, the *De legato* is presented in the form of a humanistic *Institutio*, enumerating the qualities that an ambassador ought to possess. The good diplomat is a man of many parts, among which he is required to be mature in years, of handsome appearance and most importantly to be endowed with a special talent for prudent dissembling. The most important qualities are contained in the following passage:

> […] finally, in any case, a sincere love of the Catholic religion must be striven for, just as the ambassador must pursue loyalty, as he must pursue prudence, as he must pursue temperance and finally as he must pursue strength, which is like a wall of steel and is never sufficiently praised[8].

The entire passage recalls not only the cardinal virtues but also obviously the second book of Cicero's *De inventione.* The aspect that should be to stress in particular is that, for Warszewicki, these qualities characterising the diplomat are the same that ought to be possessed by the sovereign[9]. In the *De legato* the close connection between these two figures emerges right at the start, in the dedicatory letter to Stanislao Mincio. In the preface the author uses the famous Aristotelian image of the state represented as a human body, with the ambassador embodying the eyes of the state, observing the world on behalf of the prince[10].

In the sixteenth-century treatises the notion of the identification of the sovereign with his emissaries is common, and is also to be found in Machiavelli. For example, this concept is expressed in chapter XXII of *Il Principe*,

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[8] "Religionis porro Catholicae sincerum ubicunque studium, sequatur necessario in legato fides, sequatur prudentia, sequatur temperantia, et ipsa denique, quae murus adamantini est instar, nunquam satis laudata sequatur fortitudo". Warszewicki 1595: 250.

[9] "Legati tam eius in quo nati sunt populi, quam ipsiusmet, a quo mittuntur, magistratus simulachra". Warszewicki 1595: 246. For an outline of Cicero's influence on Polish culture see Otwinowska 1973, Axer 2007 and Gaj 2009, among others.

[10] "Alia enim aliorum in nostro corpore membrorum; soli illi legati in imperio similitudinem referunt oculorum. Quibus cum non in aliquo alio theatro, sed in oculis orbis terrae", Dedication letter, Warszewicki 1595: 243. See Facca 2010: 7-35. See also the link with Cicero's *Orations*: "[…] ita quaestor sum factus ut mihi illum honorem tum non solum datum, sed etiam creditum et commissum putarem; sic obtinui quaesturam in Sicilia provincia ut omnium oculos in me unum coniectos esse arbitrarer, ut me quaesturamque meam quasi in aliquo terrarum orbis theatro versari existimarem, ut semper omnia quae iucunda videntur esse, ea non modo his extraordinariis cupiditatibus, sed etiam ipsi naturae ac necessitati denegarem". Cicero 1891: II, 5, 35.

where naturally the argument is addressed *ex parte principis*: "the choice of his ministers is not of small importance to a prince. These are good, or not, depending on the prudence of the prince. And the first conjecture that is made about the mind of a lord is in seeing the men that he has around him. And if they are capable and faithful one may always reckon him wise, since he has known how to recognize that they are capable and to maintain them faithful"[11].

In this passage, the "ministers" are not the "eyes" of the sovereign, but become a sort of mirror of his "mind" and the good reputation of the prince is also dependent on their loyalty: indeed, in sending his ambassadors out into the world the prince displays his personal worth.

Warszewicki's meditation on the representative value of the ambassador explores this role in greater depth than Machiavelli; it is no longer simply a two-way relationship between sovereign and diplomat, other figures are also involved. Warszewicki writes that the ambassador: "is the image both of the people who gave him birth and of that very authority which has sent him"[12]. The author's specification is triggered partially by his awareness of the 'mixed' nature of the Lithuanian-Polish Confederation in which the different powers are distributed between the king and the assembly of nobles. But in his reference to the birth and origins of the ambassador, we can also grasp a deep sense of belonging to a community, almost a bond of blood, that gives even more weight to the ambassadorial role.

The diplomat who represents the king and the people, and to a degree embodies it, becomes, as Warszewicki sees it, a pivotal element in the governance of the sovereign. Indeed, to administer the state, the prince needs two things, "duo ad gubernandum necessaria", "a knowledge of the laws […] and as precise a notion as possible of the customs and the natural tendencies of the peoples"[13]. This precious knowledge of the peoples can come to him only through the offices of the ambassador, since the diplomat knows his own people through birthright and he knows other peoples because he is also "the eyes" of the sovereign abroad.

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[11] Machiavelli 2005: 34. The original version is: "Non è di poca importanzia a uno principe la elezione de' ministri: li quali sono buoni o no, secondo la prudenzia del principe. E la prima coniettura che si fa del cervello d'uno signore, è vedere li uomini che lui ha d'intorno; e quando sono sufficienti e fedeli, sempre si può reputarlo savio, perché ha saputo conoscerli sufficienti e mantenerli fideli". Machiavelli 1995: 180, See also Vivanti 2001: 27-28.

[12] "[…] legati tam eius in quo nati sunt populi, quam ipsiusmet, a quo mittuntur, magistratus simulachra". Warszewicki 1595: 246, see also Tamborra 1965: 90.

[13] "Multas ego magnasque res, sed vel has potissimus duas, desiderari animadverto gentibus nationibusque gubernandis, unam quidem legum maxime vero municipalium scientia; populorum altera, quibus aliquis preafuerint, morum et ingeniorum cognitionem exactissimam". Warszewicki 1595: 245.

2. Political dynamism and religion

Another aspect worth dwelling on is the insistence with which the Polish writer stresses the political dynamism that ought to characterise the good diplomat.

The ambassador must "indulge little or not at all in idleness, but devote himself increasingly to action"[14]. Certain scholars have attributed Warszewicki's emphasis on a life of action to the influence of Protestant ideas, and to the impact of Calvinist culture in particular. Without wishing to rule out such an interpretation *tout court*, we could however suggest the presence of various Italian and Machiavellian works on Warszewicki's desk as he was composing the *De legato*.

In the first place, the works of the Florentine humanists who, in the management of the modern Republic wished to revive the ancient ideals expressed in the *Somnum Scipionis*, the story with which Cicero ends the *Republic*. The model of political life as commitment and action, as against the solitary life of contemplation, is sustained by Coluccio Salutati, Leonardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini and later by Leon Battista Alberti and Matteo Palmieri. Like Cicero, the Florentine humanists exalt the political dynamism that confers an almost divine character upon the rulers of states. For Warszewicki too, the sovereign and his ambassador are virtuous, in the sense that they act politically and through their constant engagement become a reflection, albeit imperfect, of God. As Warszewicki writes: "the figure of the ambassador is, and must be, something sacred"[15].

The subject of political dynamism also brings out an interesting parallel between Machiavelli and Warszewicki, since for both political action is bound up with a civil use of religion. Certainly, in some ways they are an odd couple: on the one hand Machiavelli, who was the first to conceive a policy to which considerations of a moral or religious kind were alien, and on the other a Jesuit. For Warszewicki religious unity is necessary to curb the expansion of the Turks, and this subject is constantly addressed in his works: we find it in the *Paradoxa*, in *De optimo statu libertatis* and also in *De legato*. He writes in the *Paradoxa*: "just as the discord of the Christians was the source and origin of evils, so from modest and obscure beginnings the Turkish people has risen to majesty and greatness"[16]. In composing his reflections, it is possible

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[14] "[…] parum aliud aut nihil temporis otio, plus semper tribuamus negotio". Warszewicki 1595: 312.

[15] "[…] sunt namque et debent esse legati corpora sancta". Warszewicki 1595: 246.

[16] "[…] quantum malorum fons et origo Christianorum dissensiones fuerint et quam a modicis et obscuris principiis ad tantam amplitudinem et maiestatem gens Turcica pervenerit". Warszewicki 1589: A1r-v.

that Warszewicki also had in mind the view expressed by Machiavelli not so much in *Il Principe*, as in several passages dealing with the Roman religion in *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio*. Here one of the most famous:

> Ancient religion beatified only men fully possessed of worldly glory, such as the leaders of armies and the rules of republics. Our religion has more often glorified humble and contemplative men rather than active ones. […] Although it appears that the world has become soft and heaven has been disarmed, without a doubt this arises more from the cowardice of men who have interpreted our religion according to an ideal of freedom from earthly toil and not according to one of exceptional ability. For if they would consider how our religion permits us to exalt and defend our native land, they would seet that it also wants us to love and honour it and to prepare ourselves in such a way that we can defend it[17].

Republican Rome, as an antique model of mixed government where the power was divided between the Senate and the consuls, is a political example that offers a fitting comparison with the Lithuanian-Polish Confederation[18]. It is possible that, while writing the *De legato*, Warszewicki may have turned more readily to a reading of the *Discorsi* than of *Il Principe*. Machiavelli theorises a religion at the service of the necessities of the state, an *instrumentum regni*, and as we know he was pessimistic about the Italian situation, predicting that the papacy – as a state within a state – would never have the strength to unify the country.

Warszewicki too conceives religion as an *instrumentum regni*. It ought to play a role in foreign policy, giving rise to a religious hegemony between Catholic countries that would in this way be able to conquer the fearful common enemy: the Turks. But for Warszewicki religion also has another role: it is religious inspiration that guides the construction of the state, since it is in relation to the other-worldly that the birth of the state takes place. The state emerges at the moment when the sovereign takes God – we might say – platonically as model. This is why the ambassador who represents the prince is, as cited above, himself "something sacred". This is a dimension

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[17] Book II, chapter II in Machiavelli 1997: 159. See the original version in Machiavelli, 1984, vol. I, par. 30-36, pp. 318-319: "La religione antica […] non beatificava se non uomini pieni di mondana gloria, come erano i capitani di eserciti e principi di republiche. La nostra religione ha glorificato piú gli uomini umili e contemplativi che gli attivi. […] E benché paia che si sia effeminato il mondo e disarmato il cielo, nasce piú, sanza dubbio, dalla viltà degli uomini, che hanno interpretato la nostra religione secondo l'ozio, e non secondo la virtú. Perché, se considerassono come la ci promette l'esaltazione e la difesa della patria, vedrebbono come la vuole che noi l'amiamo e onoriamo, e prepariamoci a essere tali che noi la possiamo difendere". On religion in Machiavelli's thought see Cutinelli-Rendina 1998.

[18] See Stacy 2007.

alien to Machiavelli, since for the Florentine religion is not involved in the genesis of politics. The notion of the almost divine nature of the sovereign shared by the humanists Salutati, Bruni and Bracciolini is validly relevant for Warszewicki but not for Machiavelli. Or rather, it is precisely the Jesuit's acceptance of the moral conscience and sacred aura proper to politics that opens up a huge chasm between the position of Warszewicki and that of Machiavelli.

To get a better understanding of the use of Machiavelli's thought in the *De legato*, and the general objectives that spurred the writer, we have to set his work within a broader perspective.

The *De legato* was printed in 1595 together with two other works bound in the same volume: the *Turcicae quatuordecim*, consisting of 14 orations dealing with the expansion of the Turkish Empire, and Warszewicki's Latin version of the *Concejo y consejeros del Príncipe* by the Spanish humanist Fadrique Furió Ceriol[19]. In this very work, Ceriol draws extensively on Machiavelli's thought: he sustains that the complexity of events can be controlled by political science and proposes himself as a counsellor to the young sovereign Philip II. Possibly Warszewicki too is putting himself forward as a counsellor to the prince, pointing out the path to be followed. The book containing these three works – the *Turcicae*, *De legato* and *Concejo* – does indeed appear to be addressed by Warszewicki to Sigismund III Vasa, who just a few years before it was printed, in 1592, brought the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth and Sweden together under his crown. This new state was the largest in the world after the Grand Duchy of Moscow, and called for an innovative model of government provided in the *Concejo*, an accurate analysis of foreign policy given in the *Turcicae*, and a pondered *institutio* for those who were to be engaged in future negotiations furnished by the *De legato*.

And so is Warszewicki or is he not the Polish Machiavelli? In the *De legato* Warszewicki emerges as a reader of Machiavelli, but also of Cicero and several Italian *autoritates*, such as the leading intellectuals of the civil humanism of the fifteenth century[20]. His concept of politics appears to fuse two models of reference: first of all a policy that is bounded, institutionalised and governed by rules, in which the stakeholders – sovereign, ambassador, Catholic countries – collaborate by virtue of a reciprocal incompleteness. Then there is another policy, of Machiavellian inspiration, that is not guided by an ideal or a norm but is conceived in terms of strength and efficiency. The general impression is that Warszewicki drew on certain of Machiavelli's ideas to address a situation of great emergency within the Lithuanian-Pol-

[19] Previously published in Antwerp in 1559. On Ceriol's thought see D'Ascia 1999a and 1999b.

[20] See Quirini-Popławska 1973.

ish Commonwealth. He indeed witnessed not only the transformation of the monarchy and the division of power between the king and the assembly of nobles, he was also a concerned observer of the western expansion of the Ottoman Empire. If Warszewicki did take in some of Machiavelli's lessons, it may be because he had to address a situation of crisis, and precisely the extraordinary nature of the circumstances make the adoption of extreme and radical stances such as those of Machiavelli appear legitimate, even to a Jesuit such as Warszewicki.

Appendix

The following are the letters of dedication written by Krzysztof Warszewicki and contained in the volume *Turcicae quatuordecim [...] L. Friderici Ceriole, De concilio & consiliariis principis, ex Hispanico in Latinum versum, & De legato legationeque*, published by Łazarz Andrysowicz, in Cracow in 1595[21].

The letters were inserted at the beginning of *Turcicae quatuordecim*, Ceriol's *Concejo* and *De legato* and the contents provide additional details about the author's aims and his cultural milieu.

Serenissimo principi, et domino, domino Sigismundo III regi Poloniae et Sveciae S.P.

Cum una ex Svecia tecum, Sigismunde rex, Dantiscum appulissem, et de maiori quotidie Europae a turcis incendio accepissem nuncium, ut minora omnia, quae summa hic requiruntur, habeam, pro antiquioris parentis patriae charitate, facere non potui, ac nec debui quidem, quominus prioribus Turcicis meis tribus, quibus olim Turcam Persico bello occupatum urgendum suadebam, undecim alias adiungerem, et Philippicarum Ciceronis instar, dispari licet ingenii et eloquentiae laude, sub tuo sacrato nomine pervulgarem. Utinam saltem alium quam olim M. Tullii exitum (quae tamen in lucem veritatis proferri debuit) mea sortiatur commentatio. Sed utcunque tandem evenerit, modo Respublica salva sit, non laborabo. Omnia quippe omnium regnorum comitia, sed Polonici maxime, perpetuam belli Turcici meditationem continere est necesse, utpote cum pleraque christianorum bella, pax et ocium, solum illud Turcicum immature et intempestive gestum, servitus et exitium consequatur. Qua etiam de causa, magnus ille Tarnovius Comes[22], Polonis suis perpetuo vigilandum et Turcae foederibus nunquam fidendum esse censebat, cum ille Polonos tanquam in quodam vivario ad certam praedam sibi servaret, ne interim binis in locis simul bellum gerere cogeretur. Quod quam firmis rationibus adductus tum suaderit, cum et Solymanus aliis Otthomanis foederibus colendis constantiorem, et Hungariam adhuc integriorem viderat, non facile dixero; nae haud quidem et parum ille vidisse, et in artibus tam bellicis quam urbanis exercitatum fuisse, dubitanter affirmabo; loquebatur enim ut multi, sentiebat ut pauci, quod illius solidae, rerum dominae argumentum erat sapientiae. Atque idem ille, cum propter Rhodum tanquam nidulum quendam Ionio mari inclusum, a Solymano Turca captum, cum Sigismundo suo Rege abiectis ornamentis, vestem pullam induit, hacque ratione dolorem suum maximum prae se tulit, quid

[21] I have seen exemplar BN BOZ 375 in the National Library in Warsaw.

[22] Jan Tarnowski (1488-1561).

iam faceret vicino Hungariae regno, decore et praesidio christiani nominis et Polonici regni patrimonio, annon eaque subsidio ambusto, et ceu quodam mortuo cadavere intuendo? Omnis profecto arcendis malis procrastinatio periculosa est, sed vicino ardente pariete periculosissima. Quo etiam magis, dum his tot tan[4]tisque, quae nos manent, malis medicinam disquiro et quae ad rem quadrare possint, mecum ipse attentius considero; adieci his Turcicis, vel opuscula, alia duo, L. Friderici Ceriole, de Concilio et Consiliariis Principis: unum ex Hispanico in Latinum versum, quod inter tot et tantos praestantes Senatores tuos, quem, unum alteri hac in parte praeposuissem, nescius; tandem Illustrissimi Principi Cardinali Radiuilo[23], utpote Hispanicae linguae, morum et institutorum gnaro, inscribere placuit: et de legato, legationeque meum opusculum alterum, perillustri viro Stanislao Mincio[24], Palatino Lancisciensi, qui tanta cum dignitate, tuo nomine, obiuit legationem Romae dedicatum; ut quoniam haec dubia et formidolosa Reipublicae tempora, ad res quasque maximas tractandas, et conficendas, consiliaris et legatis idoneis opus habeant. Abeant interim leviora negotia alia. Et tu, qui sicuti praeesse, sic et debes omnibus virtute praeivisse, quoad eius fieri per occupationes magis poterit, hos consiliaros mutos, tuis aliquando consultationibus etiam adhibeto, quos olim ille Alphonsus Arragonum et Neapoleos Rex[25], vere appellatus sapiens, optimos et veracissimos esse censebat: praesertim cum Ceriola ex media virorum Principum orbis terrae luce, salutarium consiliorum et institutorum doctis praeceptionibus et appositis exemplis, tantus auctor fuerit, tantum dici et haberi maximus hac tempestate potuerit. Quem biennio ante Ioannes Cevenbilerus, Caesareus in Hispaniis legatus, vir summus in eas navigaturus, diem suum obiisse, iussit mihi nunciari. Quod ideo commemoro, ne aut falsam apud mortus venari gratiam, aut transferendis idiomatibus in latinum externis ostentare velle videar industriam; quorum alterum stuporis, alterum esse vanitatis. De meis interim monimentis aliorum esto iudicium, et inprimis, Rex optime, tuum, cui pro mea tenui et infima parte, ad hoc tamen necessarium bellum aliis quoque excitandis, immo et laborioso genere et instituto vitae, ad posteri temporis memoriam, hanc quantulacumque meam, cum aliis, quae mox et plures et graviores sequentur, relinquam lucubrationem, testem meae perpetuae erga te observantiae et constantissimae in Rempublicam voluntatis, quam omnibus in rebus perspicies, quae ad eius tuamque amplitudinem maxime pertinebunt. Quod reliquum esr felix et augustum, aequabile diuturnumque imperium, et de hereditariis christiani nominis et seminis hostibus desideratam victoriam divinitus tibi precor.

Cracoviae Idibus Februarii Anno 1595.

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[23] Jerzy Radziwiłł (1556-1600).
[24] Stanisław Miński (1561-1607).
[25] Alfonso I, king of Naples (1396-1458).

Sacrae Maiestatis vestrae Regiae
Devotissimus et fidissimus subiectus et servus. C. Varsevicius.

Illustrissimo Principi et Reverendissimo Domino, Domino Georgio, miseratione divina, tituli S. Sixti, S.R.E. presbytero cardinali Radivilo nuncupato, perpetuo administrationi Episcopatus Cracoviensis Ducatusque Severiensis, nec non Olicae et Niesviez Duci, etc. Etc. Domino semper colendissimo.

Qui non modo suo marte edendis, verum etiam aliorum bonis convertendis desudant libris, nae haud illi inepte fecisse et oleum (quod aiunt) operamque videntur mihi amisisse. Alienae enim lucubrationis versio fidelis, cum utili est multis, tum tuae ipsius opinionem praebet omnibus, et argumentum navitatis. Quo magis hunc Ceriolam Hispanum, latine a me versum et sub tuo, Illustrissime Princeps, prodeuntem nomine, si non omnibus, sanioribus saltem probatum iri spero, opto quidem certe. Verbo enim verbo redditum est, quidquid in materiam tam gravi et ardua, breviter et succincte ab eo est exaratum. Quod sane, multis multorum vel longissimis commentationibus est praeferendum. Sic enim respondet acumen ingenii pectoris candori et disputandi subtilitas sententiarum gravitati, ut tales Ceriolae consiliarii, omni aevo optari quam sperari videantur mihi magis potuisse. Sed utinam quidem, vel aliqua aliquando extet eorum similitudo, cum Catones praeturis, et non hae illis, sint fuerintque semper magis quaerendae, minus fortasse his moribus et temporibus Respublica laboraret. Quod tamen ego assequi si vellet, velle autem debet, principum posse dicerem non neminem, vel hoc uno Ceriola per otium lectitando. Est enim rectus et tectus dandis consiliis, sic ut, licet ab alio quodam etiam conversum audierim, viderim quidem nunquam, non poenituerit me in eo vertendo laboris et obitae, si quae sunt, difficultatis, uno illo excepto, quod in Polonicis quibusdam hallucinatus est rebus et nimis magnam in candidatos dedisse licentiam, aulae pesti videtur, obrectatoribus. Quod tamen ipsum non maligno animo illum fecisse, et hos si [196] qui fuerunt naevos, praeclaris aliis consiliis obscurasse et ab Hispanico nomine tyrannidis suspitionem falsam, quam alienae felicitatis comes invidia, et civiles, inciviles admodum, inter Christianos discordiae gignere consueverunt, quantum in eo fuit amovisse, quis ignorat? Quae una (pace aliarum dixerim) natio inter tot tantasque alias haud scio si obtinuerit in multis principatum, sive imperii quam habet amplitudinem sive religionis spectes constantiam sive denique morum prae aliis firmiorum et monetae (licet minimum id fuerit) non suspectae cudendae intueare rationem. Quae peraeque omnia non ita ubique inventu sunt facilia et vel ipsa adeo monimenta, qualia ex Hispaniis prodeunt scriptorum, afferunt nostro seculo lucem et nomen genti existimationemque singularem. In quibus hunc unum Ceriolam, Illustrissime Princeps, dedicare postissimum placuit tibi, quod et Hispanicae linguae gnarus et in omnibus Hispaniarum regnis summa cum pietatis tuae et sanctimoniae laude versatus, proptereaque et in aula illa a summo regum imprimis honoratus, et a me, antequam haec ede-

rem, quasi alter Ceriolae consiliarius semper fueris existimatus. Quem Deus Opt. Max. florentem et quam diutissime servet incolumem. Ego, quod reliquum fuerit, me servitutemque meam offero et commendo tibi sempiternam. Vale. Cracoviae xxvii Iunii, Anno 1595.

D[ominationi] Vestrae Illustriss[imae] et Reverendiss[imae]

Addictiss[imus] servitor C. Varsevicius.

Illustrissimo Domino, Domino Stanislao Minscio Palatino Lanciciensi Capitaneo Livensis etc. etc. Domino suo observandissimo S.P.

Mitto tibi librum de legato et legatione meum, cuius tu quidem lineamenta (quod aiunt) omnia, non verbis, sed rebus expressisti ipsis inque ipso docuisti te virtutis quam aetatis cursus esse celeriorem. Quo nomine, ut debeo, gratulor vel plurimum tibi et haec, quantulacumque ingenii mei monimenta, dico consecroque lubens, non tam ex aliorum eruta libris, quam ex usu prompta observationeque communi. Quo etiam magis utilitatem vel aliquam alicui, tibi certe uni, qui quae et quomodo gesseris ipse in iis, tecum recognosces, legenti voluptatem spero allatura. Cui quidem pro tam praeclaere navata Reipublicae opera, nulla fere digna a nobis gratia referri facile potest, nec ulla non debet. Multa ego multarum video ornamenta gentium, sed illud unum vel maximum, legatorum et legationum, cum publica totius regni dignitate; alia enim aliorum in nostro corpore membrorum, soli illi legati in imperio similitudinem referunt oculorum. Quibus cum non in aliquo alio theatri, sed in oculis orbis terrae et sacrario religionis Romae, in omni genere laudis, de principatu certavisti et illud nimirum in tot tantisque aliis consecutus es, ut beatus Hiacynthus a Clemente octavo Pont. Opt. Max. divorum in numerum referretur, summa cum tua Polonicique nominis laude et Ecclesiae Dei religionisque catholicae splendore et maiestate. Etenim nihil quam sanctitas et Pontificum Maximorum vera illa et legitima ab Apostolorum principe profecta successio, et quae semper et ubique et ab omnibus uno ore et pectore culta est religio, demum vero miracula in ea edita, Christi Opt. Max. Ecclesiam firmam et insignem magis reddiderint. Cui rei et orthodoxae doctrinae notarum claritati, quoniam ex hoc nostro Aquilone, tu quoque vel aliquid intulisti lucis, laetatus profecto hoc nomine magnopere sum omniaque opum et honoris insignia et ornamenta dignitatis deberi tibi agnosco gratulorque ex animo, cum dubium fuerit nemini quantum in splendidis scienterque obitis legationibus regnis et provinciis positum sit semperque fuerit et quanta non adumbrata, sed expressa vestigia Romae reliqueris virtutis, pietatis, prudentiae et [244] humanitatis tuae singularis, digna tali tantoque viro mihi fuisse ut videatur legatio et vir ipse legatione memoranda. Quo ipso ornato reverteris summa ad nos gloria et a duobus Pontificibus Max. Innocentio et Clemente, utrisque octavi nomen

sortientibus, ea refers munera qualia maiorum tuorum praestantium ossa et imprimis matris tuae optimae et speciatissimae foeminae pietas et reliqua ornamenta requirunt. Quibus omnibus utinam quam diutissime perfruare. Hanc ego quidem non solum veram, sed unam dixero nobilitatem atque gloriam, quae et maiorum imaginibus clara et luculentissimis haereditatibus aucta et obitis honorificis legationibus insignita et omni denique ornamentorum genere est illustrata. Sic ut tu tuique similes legationibus quaerendi et non tam ambientibus, quam refugientibus ille dandae, nec tam pompa, quam rebus instructi legati ad exteros dimittendi potius videantur. Bene vale, decus et ornamentum patriae. Varsaviae Calendis Decembri 1595.

Dominationi Vestrae Illustrissimae

Addictissimus servitor C. Varsevicius

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Platonic and Neo-Platonic Inspiration behind the Debate on the State in *Dworzanin polski* by Łukasz Górnicki and *De Optimo Senatore* by Wawrzyniec Goślicki

Marta Wojtkowska-Maksymik

The following two works will be the subject of my article: *Dworzanin polski* (*The Polish Courtier*) by Łukasz Górnicki and *De optimo senatore* by Wawrzyniec Goślicki. The first of the mentioned works was published in 1566 in Cracow. In his literary debut, Górnicki attempted to translate *Il Libro del Cortigiano* (1528) by Baldassarre Castiglione[1] into Polish. Goślicki's second work, written in Latin and published in Venice two years later than *Dworzanin polski* (1568)[2], was meant to crown its author's studies at the universities of Padua, Bologna and Rome[3].

In his version of *Il Cortigiano* (cf. figure 5), Górnicki resigned from accurate translation and entirely changed the narrative framework of the Polish dialogue. He transferred the action from Urbino to Prądnik, a village near Cracow, where bishop Samuel Maciejowski had his residence and estate. This is the place where, without the company of women, the discussions about a perfect courtier take place. Górnicki also modified the Italian original by rewriting the parts that were too difficult, obscene or frivolous[4]. When making his changes, Górnicki referred to the same sources as Castiglione, that is Cicero's writings (mainly *De oratore*, *Ad Marcum Brutum orator*, *Pro Archia*, *Cato maior de senectute*, *Laelius de amicitia*), the Latin translations of Plato's dialogues by Marsilio Ficino and Ficino's commentary to *The Symposium* by Plato[5]. Górnicki dedicated his work to Polish king Sigismund II Augustus

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1 Cf. *Dworzanin Lukassa Gornickiego polski*, Cracow: Maciej Wirzbięta. 1566. For the Polish translation of Castiglione's book cf. Gallewicz 2006; Wojtkowska-Maksymik 2007.

2 Cf. Laurentii Grimalii Goslicii *De Optimo Senatore Libri Duo. In quibus magistratuum officia, civium vita beata, Rerumpublicarum foelicitas explicantur*…. Venetiis: Apud Iordanum Zilettum. 1568.

3 For the treatise by Goślicki cf. Bałuk-Ulewiczowa 2009.

4 Cf. Górnicki, Ł. 1961: 52-62.

5 Ivi, pp. 54-60. For sources of the Italian original cf. Stäuble 1985. L'inno all'amore nel quarto libro del *Cortegiano*, *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, 162 (520): 481-519; Cox, V. 1992. *The Renaissance Dialogue. Literary Dialogue in Its Social and Political Contexts. From Castiglione to Galileo*, Cambridge: Cam-

Danilo Facca, Valentina Lepri (edited by) *Polish Culture in the Renaissance. Studies in the arts, humanism and political thought* ISBN 978-88-6655-490-5 (online PDF) ISBN 978-88-6655-489-9 (print) ISBN 978-88-6655-512-4 (online EPUB)

(he was the only son and heir of king Sigismund I the Old and queen Bona Sforza)[6]. *Dworzanin polski* was not as successful in Poland as *Il Cortigiano* in Italy and Europe[7], which is evidenced by the fact that its second edition was issued in the first half of the 17th century[8], and its third edition – in the second half of the 18th century[9].

A two-book treatise by Goślicki (cf. figure 6) was also dedicated to king Sigismund Augustus, and had its second release in Basel in 1593. The remarkable popularity of Goślicki's work was evidenced by English editions and versions of the two books[10]. At the beginning of the first book we can read that Goślicki regards Plato himself with his work *The Republic*[11] as his master.

Both Górnicki and Goślicki explain in their works what the specific character of the Commonwealth's political system consists in. Górnicki discusses this matter in the first parts of his fourth book. As opposed to Castiglione, Górnicki gives mainly examples of ancient kingdoms and republics, with the only exception made for the Republic of Venice[12].

Goślicki describes the Polish political system at the beginning of his treatise and compares other – ancient and his contemporary – republics and kingdoms to Poland[13]. Górnicki refers to the political system when considering the proper purpose of a courtier's actions and the qualities of a perfect ruler. Those considerations are to crown the discussion on the idea of a perfect "courtly man" ("dworny człowiek"), which, as Górnicki emphasizes, should become an example to follow not only to courtiers, but also to each citizen of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth[14]. So, the main duty of a courtier, according to Górnicki, is to be the ruler's tutor; *cortigiano* should teach his master virtues and encourage him to be guided by them in his ruling[15]. Such purpose of a courtier's actions is justified by the fact that rulers

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bridge University Press; Paternoster 1998. Cf. also A. Quondam's commentary on his critical edition of *Il Cortigiano*: Castiglione 2002.

[6] For this Polish king cf. Cynarski 2004.

[7] For the European popularity of Castiglione's book cf. Ossola 1987; Burke 1995; Domenichelli 2002: 77-150.

[8] Cf. *Dworzanin polski Łukasza Górnickiego. Teraz na nowo przedrukowany.* Cracow, Andrzej Piotrowczyk, 1639.

[9] Cf. *Rozmow o dworzaninie przez JMćPana ŁUKASZA GORNICKIEGO Starostę Tykocińskiego y Wasiłkowskiego.* Cz. I-II, Warsaw: druk. J K. M y Rpltey XX. Schol. Piarum. 1761-1762.

[10] Cf. Bałukówna 1981, 63-80; Id. 1988: 258-277; Stępkowski 2009: 157-178.

[11] Cf. Goślicki 2000: 15.

[12] Górnicki 1961: 390-421.

[13] Goślicki 2000: 95-105.

[14] Cf. Górnicki 1961: 49-53.

[15] Cf. Quondam 2000: 424-428.

themselves often make mistakes. Those mistakes come from rulers' haughtiness and inability to oppose to flatterers and liars. Succumbing to such people leads to moral corruption, excessive pride and, consequently, to the calamitous, law-breaking wilfulness[16]. Rulers who are deprived of the light of virtue and the truth and good implied by it are condemned to downfall and make mistakes that show their inability to rule over others. Such mistakes cast a shadow not only on the person of the ruler, but also on the whole community over which he rules. Therefore, the prosperity of the state depends on the moral value of the man ruling over it: the greater his value is, the more prosperous the state becomes.

Even the authors of antique pseudo-Pythagorean treatises emphasized that entire communities, just as a single man, are part of the universe, and therefore they should be subject to the same principles that ensured harmony to all the world[17]. Consequently, the reflections on the cosmic order were combined with the image of hierarchy and desirable social order. The Renaissance Neo-Platonists perceived aiming at reflecting the divine unity as pursuing the concord, beauty and good[18]. This pursuit could be successful only if the community conformed to supreme laws. If, as Marsilio Ficino assumed, the sky, harmoniously built and harmoniously set into motion, makes everything in the harmony of sound and movement, then it is clear that thanks to the harmony not only people, but also all small things are ready to accept the divine gifts according to their own capabilities[19]. Belief in the parallels between the macro- and microcosm also justified the social inequality in the state: the inequality reflected, in the earthly aspect, the divine, eternal order of nature. Such assumption resulted in the idea of a perfect ruler at the head of a strictly hierarchical state system, generously providing people with all kinds of goods and preserving the social order.

Górnicki compares the state to the body, a large organism, whose members are subordinated to the head, that is to a prince or a king. In a principality or kingdom formed like this, there is no place for equality, which, more importantly, would be against the principles sanctioned by God Most High. Taking account of the parallels between the macro- and microcosm, the dominance of the ruler over the gentle folks and the mob ("chasa") is rightly compared to the dominance of God ruling over the universe. The foregoing assumptions lead to the notion that the cosmic order, confirmed by God's power, is related to the harmony in an earthly state, confirmed by a prince or a king and associated with the ruler's virtue. In the opinion of Górnicki, the

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[16] Cf. Górnicki 1961: 370-373.

[17] Cf. Kurdziałek 1996: 275 and Garin 1976.

[18] For the popularity of the philosophy of Pythagoras in the Renaissance cf. Celenza 1999: 667-711. Cf. also Hankins 1999: 77-95.

[19] Cf. Ficino 1989.

ruler should cooperate with two councils: one consisting of the best representatives of the gentry, and one made up of members of the common people[20]. Such a mixed form of government would enable a combination of three forms of good government: kingdom, the reign of *optimates* (aristocracy) and the common people[21].

Law and order in the microcosm of a state can be established only by virtuous monarchs. Górnicki sees the role of the king (or prince) as the emanation of the common people, therefore the influence of the ruler radiates to all the nation, and everything that arises in or grows out of the state, is directed towards the ruler. Such a context gives a new meaning to the role of a perfect courtier: by guiding the monarch into the path of virtue, the courtier contributes, in the first place, to the ruler's moral growth and inner excellence, which wins him the love of his subjects and the grace of God. The work of the "courtly man" ("dworny człowiek") allows the king or prince to gain full dignity interpreted as pursuing the angelic reality. Therefore the ruler, thanks to his courtier – his ethical *alter ego* – can guard the common good in a proper way, lavish divine gifts and bring his subjects to the path of virtue. It is no wonder that a courtier who does not teach his master how to lead a virtuous life should be condemned and severely punished. Such a servant directly – whereas the ruler only indirectly – is responsible for the calamities striking the state, being a result of disturbance in the divine harmony and order[22].

In Górnicki's opinion, one of the most important attributes of a perfect courtier is the ability to love in a proper way. The Polish translator covers the topic of love (as the author of the original did) at the end of the fourth book, which was written from the angle of the Neo-Platonic philosophy in Marsilio Ficino style[23]. A courtier who loves in a proper way, that is through reason, learns the truth about himself. The source and medium of this truth is the knowledge that the human soul comprehends a few "human cases" ("ludzkie przypadki"), a bigger amount of "animal qualities" ("źwirzęce przymioty") and only "a tiny spark of the divine nature" ("iskierka jakaś maluczka niebieskiej natury")[24]. When making a choice of the way of life, a man either descends to the level of animals (as a result of succumbing to his senses) or rises to the level of angels by "imitating the reason" ("naśladując rozum")[25]. Górnicki also contended that human dignity results from the position of human beings in the hierarchy of beings and from the specific ontological situation: human beings have the features of all creatures, but at the same time

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20 Cf. Górnicki 1961: 405-406.
21 *Ibidem*.
22 Cf. Górnicki 1961: 376.
23 Cf. Wojtkowska-Maksymik 2007: 205-291.
24 Cf. Górnicki 1961: 436.
25 *Ibidem*.

surpass them thanks to reason, which other beings do not have. But humanity is not determined by reason alone, but rather by using it in the right way. Human dignity, greatness and heroism manifest themselves only in rational actions and are associated with abandonment of what is the strongest in the man, that is the "debauchery of senses" ("rozpusta zmysłów"), in favour of what is the weakest and hardest to notice, that is "a tiny spark of the divine nature"[26]. According to Górnicki, people are not so much born human beings as become human beings throughout their lives, especially through rational self-improvement[27].

Górnicki compares love to climbing up the ladder, where rungs are the symbols of successive levels of beauty. At the bottom there is earthly beauty, the beauty of body and soul, perceived with superior senses: sight, hearing and "thought" ("myśl")[28]. At the top there is divine beauty and good coming from God. Love, according to the author of *The Polish Courtier*, is therefore equated with the cognition process, whose goal was to incorporate a man into the cycle of beauty and love (*circuitus spiritualis*), thus ensuring continuance and harmony to the world[29]. Love becomes also a test of human dignity and its ultimate verification, but only when it is based on superior senses (and only at the first, initial stage) and when it aims at supreme cognition by activating the mind first, and then intellectual skills of the man. If the man stops at the level of inferior senses, he becomes similar to a wild beast and unworthy of his name. Górnicki made fighting off the danger of "lewd love" ("miłość gruba", "miłość sprosna") dependent on age and the related state of the soul. In youth, strong human body and hot blood stimulate senses and weaken the soul trapped in the body; so a favourable time to perfect love is old age, which – thanks to the weakness of the body – restrains debauchery and allows the person to attain a higher level of love and perception of beauty[30]. According to Górnicki, a man – if he knows well his nature, his possibilities and limitations and yields to the corrective effect of time – can love in a perfect way. In this view, the categories of body and soul are not opposed but rather complement each other, although undoubtedly, a more important part of the man is the soul, which is predestined to rule over the body, which serves the soul[31].

Goślicki, as we can read at the beginning of his treatise, wants to propose an ideal of a senator by referring to the legacy of Plato's school, as well

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[26] Cf. *ivi*: 436-437.

[27] Cf. *ivi*: 436. For the Neo-Platonic sources of the idea of dignity cf. Dougherty 2008: 114-151.

[28] Cf. *ivi*: 451-453.

[29] Cf. *ibidem*.

[30] Cf. *ivi*: 434-437.

[31] Cf. *ivi*: 453.

as to the observations of many different state systems, his civil experience and historical knowledge[32]. Just as Górnicki, he chooses the best virtues, morals, principles and duties that should define a senator. At the beginning of his treatise, Goślicki presents his thesis that "among all creatures embraced by the earth" ("Animantium omnium, quaecunque terrae continentur ambitu […]")[33] the upmost place is occupied by the man. He was created by "God ruling over heaven and earth" ("[…] caelum terramque regente Deo […]")[34] not only as a dweller and citizen of the globe or its lord and master, but also as a companion of the Creator. For this reason the man is endowed with the supreme dignity, whose basic determinants (except a special status of human beings in the cosmic hierarchy) are "thought and reason" ("mens et ratio") considered as "the cause of communion between people and God" ("Societatis vero inter ipsum hominesque causa est […]")[35]. Those determinants allowed the man to know the mysteries of his hybrid nature (having its place in the classification of all creatures between animals and God) and decided confirmation or negation of his dignity. Thus people gained dignity by "not forgetting about their nature and duties" ("[…] naturae, munerisque sui non immemores […]"), that is

> […] valuing the divine gift of reason the most and becoming similar to God by inquiring into divine and human matters as well as through actions […][36].

They lost dignity by

> […] being oblivious to their nature and humanity, indulging only their senses and either disregarding or completely abandoning that brisk and vivacious part of their soul […][37].

Writing about the choice faced by the man, Goślicki used a metaphor of divine seeds planted in human bodies, which is also present in *De hominis dignitate* by Pico[38]. Those seeds, if properly cultivated by a good gardener, "will then produce fruit similar to their nature and origin" ("[…] naturae et origini suae similem fructum propagant […]"), but if a bad farmer takes care of them "they will die, as in barren soil producing thorns instead of

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[32] Cf. Goślicki 2000: 15.

[33] *Ivi*: 16.

[34] *Ibidem*.

[35] *Ivi*: 18.

[36] "[…] hoc divinum rationis, donum ante alios excolunt, et tam contemplandis rebus divinis et humanis, quam agendo […]". *Ivi*: 54.

[37] "[…] naturae humanitatisque suae obliti, solisque sensibus adhaerentes, et acrem illam, vigentemque mentis partem […]". *Ivi*: 56.

[38] Cf. *De hominis dignitate [...] Oratio* 1572: 139.

fruit" ("[…] non minus quam in solo sterili, vepres pro frugibus effundente intereunt […]")[39].

The thoughts about a senator require, as pointed out by Goślicki, a description of the most common and the most righteous state system of all, where a senator's wisdom and counsel controls the authority of the king and the power of nation. Goślicki's cogitations on political systems are based on the belief that earthly states reflect the kingdom of heaven identified with Plato's idea of the state and that there is a close relationship between the universe, i.e. the macrocosm, and the human world, the space for human life and activity, the little world – the microcosm[40]. The laws ruling in the universe and on the earth correspond to each other, because their author is God. Only philosophers can understand the divine and cosmic laws, because their soul is able to free itself from the power of the body. Therefore philosophers should govern states, since their knowledge becomes useful only when it can be used in practice and for other people's good[41]. Goślicki, referring to Plato's *The Republic*, glorifies not only the reign of philosophers, but also, like Plato, combines three kinds of political systems with the structure of the human soul. In Goślicki's opinion, God divided the soul into three parts. The first part, corresponding to Plato's logical soul, has its place in the head and is superior to the other two parts, that is why it resembles the king. Just as reason in the soul, the king guards his state and is the basis of the regal political system. The second part is close to the heart and corresponds to Plato's spirited soul; it willingly obeys orders and unites with reason in amity, and therefore resembles the aristocratic political system. Goślicki defines the third part, corresponding to Plato's appetitive soul, having its place under the pericardium, the stupid one, insolent and indulged in pleasures, as a "slothful mob" ("iners multitudo") and relates it to the democratic political system[42]. Through the analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of each political system, the author of *De optimo senatore* concludes that the best kind of government is a mixed government composed of the king, senators and the common people[43]. And the senate in the state acts as an intermediary, therefore it is more useful than the king, because it counsels the king as well as the state[44]. Similarly to a courtier, a senator guards the king's virtue because the king's mistakes make other people bad and become a source of anarchy and the downfall of the state. As opposed to a courtier, a senator fulfils one more function: the function of an intermediary and peacemaker between the king and the nation, between the insatiable lust for power and the mob's tyranny,

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[39] Goślicki 2000: 18.
[40] *Ivi*: 24-25. Cf. also Wayman 1982: 176-180.
[41] Cf. Goślicki 2000: 17-25.
[42] Cf. *ivi*: 36-39.
[43] Cf. *ivi*: 72-73.
[44] Cf. *ivi*: 74-75.

intensified by unlimited liberty[45]. So, as a matter of fact, the senator is responsible for the fate of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its good fortune, which is based on concord and harmony and can be ruined by the rivalry between the king and the nation. For this reason members of the senate should be selected from the best citizens, that is the wisest, the most virtuous and acting jointly with the king[46]. Such cooperation becomes a guarantee of well-being of the state, where the reason of the head of the state (the rational part of the state's soul) is supported by the counsels and the teachings of the heart, that is senators (the spirited part of the state's soul).

In conclusion I would like to mention that the discussed topics, to which Górnicki and Goślicki referred to in their works, also appeared in other works of the 16th century which concerned political matters[47]. First, the idea of mixed government and of philosophers' state also reappears in the works of Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (*Commentariorum de republica emendanda libri quinque*, 1551, 1554) and of Stanisław Orzechowski (*Policyja Królestwa Polskiego na kształt Arystotelesowych Polityk wypisana – The Policy of the Polish Kingdom Following the Example of Politics by Aristotle*, written in 1566; *Mowa do szlachty polskiej – The Speech to the Polish gentry*)[48]. Modrzewski postulated that the results of philosophers' thinking should be implemented by the king, the senate and the parliament[49] and that the good fortune of the Commonwealth should be based on perfect morals being a product of virtuous and rational souls of citizens[50]. When proposing the model of a citizen in their writings, the authors who wrote in the Polish-Lithuanian Commnwealth of the 16th century, such as Jan Kochanowski, Mikołaj Rej, Modrzewski and Orzechowski, emphasized the citizen's virtue and wisdom, because the well-being of the Republic was to depend on such attributes. These attributes were to manifest themselves in decent life and in fulfilling two civic duties: defending the homeland and guarding the law that secured concord in the Commonwealth. The concord, identified with the cosmic harmony and ensuring good fortune to the state, was mentioned by Jan Kochanowski in his poem *Concord* (1564)[51]. And Frycz Modrzewski in his third book of *De republica emendanda* pointed out that kingdom can be endangered by internal contention and wars with the neighbouring countries, which destroy harmony and lead to destruction[52].

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[45] Cf. *ivi*: 264-265. The same idea appears in the work of Stanisław Orzechowski (cf. Orzechowski 1972: 104).

[46] Cf. Goślicki 2000: 78-79.

[47] Cf. Karpiński 2007: 66-142.

[48] Cf. Modrzewski 1953: 139-141; Orzechowski 1849: 44-47; Id. 1972: 103-104.

[49] Cf. Modrzewski 1953: 591-592.

[50] Cf. *ivi*: 102-105.

[51] Cf. Kochanowski 1972: 389-393.

[52] Cf. Modrzewski 1953: 304-307.

DWORZANIN

Łukaßá Gornickiego

Polſki.

Jeſt roſkazánie liſtowne Krolá Jego Miłoſći/ áby żaden mimo Mácieiá Wirzbiete tych kſiążek do lat dzieſiáci nie drukował/ áni indziey drukowánych w páńſtwie Jego Krolewſkiey M. przedawał. A ktho ſie nád roſkazánie Krolewſkie tego poważy/ then kſiegi thákowe co ich kolwiek bedzie miał/ ſtráci wßytki/ y nád to dzieſieć grzywien złotá winy záplácí.

Figure 5:

The title page of the first edition of *Dworzanin polski* by Łukasz Górnicki (copy from the Library of the Warsaw University, Warsaw)

LAVRENTII
Grimalii Goslicii
DE OPTIMO SENATORE
LIBRI DVO.
In quibus Magiſtratuum officia, Ciuium uita beata, Rerumpub. fœlicitas explicantur.
OPVS planè aureum, ſummorum Philoſophorum & Legiſlatorum doctrina refertum, omnibus Reſpu. ritè adminiſtrare cupientibus, non modò utile, ſed apprime neceſſarium.
Acceßit locuples rerum toto Opere memorabilium Index.
A·ZALVSKI
BIBLIOTEKA GŁÓWNA W WARSZAWIE
CVM PRIVILEGIO,
VENETIIS, Apud Iordanum Zilettum,
M D LXVIII.

Figure 6:

The title page of the first edition of *De optimo senatore* by Wawrzyniec Goślicki (copy from the Library of the Warsaw University, Warsaw)

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Poland observed by Aristotle. Some remarks on the political Aristotelianism of Bartholomaeus Keckermann and Sebastian Petrycy

Danilo Facca

As it might be expected, in the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* the Polish juridical and constitutional system offers a substantial validation to the author's thesis on the boundaries of the king's power in face of *consiliarii*, *optimates*, *maiores regni* (modern versions of ancient magistrates called "ephors"), who are repositories of the *summa reipublicae* and legitimate guardians of the state. The Polish case, however, in the eyes of the pseudonymous author is nothing but only one among many examples evoked in the *Vindiciae*, confirming the theories on the nature of sovereignty; kingdoms of the past (Israel, Greece, Rome and so on) and of present time prove that the supreme power is merely committed to the kings, but not owned by them[1]. Few years later, in a similar way, Johannes Althusius, a German Calvinist jurist and political philosopher, considered the oath taken by Henry de Valois in the presence and by acceptance of "the representatives of the people" to have been a necessary step in order to legitimate his election. This formal act revealed the true nature of the regal power as a political function, the highest office in the state, delegated and revocable like other ones, as one can deduce from the Bible, ancient political thinkers, medieval and modern jurists and especially from the historical experience of the European peoples[2]. The focal point of those

[1] These theoretical premises can be synthetized by the formula *Deus regem eligit, sed populus constituit*, clarifying the nature of the political power according to the leaders of the Chosen People (*Vindiciae*: 70 ff.). The author's remarks on Poland are usually introduced by expressions like: *consimiliter*, *non secus*, *idem observatur*, *simili ratione*, to homologate this study case to other, viz. the kingdoms of Spain, England, Hungary, Bohemia and so forth. Of course, the *Vindiciae*, pays much attention to the election of Henry de Valois' to the Polish throne in 1573 (see pp. 112, 114, 132, 135, 140, 151, 186, 270).

[2] See Althusius (1610: 239). For Althusius and his source the king Sigismund III Vasa bound himself by an oath, which was stricter than his French predecessor's. The consequence was that even a partial violation of the *pacta conventa* by the Swedish king might legitimate the ephors to an active revolt. On the Western Europe representations of Polish political regime in the XVIth century see the classical essay of Stanisław Kot 1919.

Danilo Facca, Valentina Lepri (edited by) *Polish Culture in the Renaissance. Studies in the arts, humanism and political thought* ISBN 978-88-6655-490-5 (online PDF) ISBN 978-88-6655-489-9 (print) ISBN 978-88-6655-512-4 (online EPUB)

"republican" theoreticians was, of course, the threat of an evolution towards absolutism in the greatest West European states viz. France, England, and the Habsburg Empire. In this context, Poland is only a case study or an example confirming universal rules.

A different awareness, however, was predominant among Polish political writers and elites of the time, commonly convinced that the Polish Commonwealth should be considered something exceptional, even unique (the only possible comparison being in case the ancient Greek *poleis* and Roman Republic or, in recent times, the Republic of Venice). This firm belief of belonging to a very specific history, and more precisely, of being the nation which realizes the political idea of the "mixed constitution" with its mechanisms of checks and balances, was common among the writers more endowed with theoretical leanings – Goślicki, Frycz-Modrzewski or Orzechowski – but was widely shared also by the minor political literature, a myriad of commentaries, opinions, polemics, *pampleths*, in general anonymous papers written in response to the current events of Polish policy, like king's elections, local or central diets, domestic or foreign wars. When taking a closer look at this issue, it might be incorrect to maintain that this proud assumption was founded simply on the alleged peculiarity of the constitutional form of the Polish kingdom, with its harmonized mixture of the democratic, oligarchic and monarchic factors, since numberless examples of tempered forms of government occurred throughout Western history. Far more important was the belief that the political constitution of the *Rzeczpospolita* (*Republic)* of Poland had successfully granted until then – and it should have to grant thereafter – the fruition of political rights and "liberties" to a large number of Polish citizens as never seen in the world's history before. Polish people enjoyed a regime of political freedom at the same time when modern Europe was progressively falling into the machinery of absolutism, let alone a grim spectacle of "tyranny" offered by Muscovites and Ottomans. On the other hand, this pride commonly shared by political writers, statesmen and diplomats (sometimes the same persons), can barely veil the well-known fact that the "people" who held rights were actually the *szlachta*, minor nobility, really an *unicum* from the social and political point of view in Europe and the factor which was ultimately decisive for the Polish exceptionality.

With reference to the Polish political thought of 17th century, Zbigniew Ogonowski (1999: 86-87) made some interesting remarks, which can be considered valid also for the preceding period. To summarize, all who look at the political life of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were aware that its alleged superiority had been simply a matter of political organization, since at the same time nobody doubted that from a social, economical, cultural and technological viewpoint Poland kept backward, if compared with other countries of Western Europe – an insufficient urban development, a low density of population, semi-slave conditions of peasants, the predominant role of agriculture in economy (all those factors intensified from West

to East), which means a picture of underdevelopment to be deplored by any sound observer on condition he had not been confounded by ideological or cultural prejudices (the "Sarmatic myth"). This picture was yet aggravated by the consideration of the immense territory and the plethora of ethnic, linguistic and confessional variants, making an impression of lack of homogeneity and fragility, and actually being a silent premise of many political and historical reflections[3].

Nonetheless, the peculiarity of the political formula secured to many people (in Poland in general the *szlachta* amounted to around 10% of the population, in Mazovia up to 20%) some liberties and truly democratic procedures through a complex system of peripheral and central assemblies. To designate the aggregate of those institutions and the underlying political ideology, the definition of *demokracja szlachecka* is commonly used.

I believe that in such a general context it could be interesting to consider a contribution to this Polish ideology offered by the political thought directly inspired by Aristotelian philosophy. In my opinion, such a question is both legitimate and relevant, if we only refer to the diffusion of Aristotelian practical philosophy in the culture of Polish elites of the time, especially due to its predominance in the school *curricula*, but not only. The interest in Aristotle's works crossed through the ethnical and linguistic, cultural and confessional divisions, since they became the basis for teaching ethics and politics in the colleges of Jesuits, the Reformed, anti-Trinitarians and also at an unique university like the Academy of Zamość (a "school for citizens")[4]. A well known fact is that the Polish intellectual and political elites found an inspiration in a Ciceronian-Aristotelian set of theories, focused on the idea of mixed regime or monarchy, which actually had their origin rather in Plato's political writings than in Aristotle's works[5]. Anyway, the constitutional formula apart, I think that some specific and genuine Aristotelian element, that is to say, directly descending from Stagirite's practical philosophy, can be indicated as a typical ingredients of this ideology.

The two authors I'm going to consider in order to confirm this hypothesis are Bartholomaeus Keckermann (1572-1609) and Sebastian Petrycy

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[3] Also a parliamentary device like the *liberum veto* (necessity of unanimity in the political assemblies), at first sight paradoxical and at length – in the XVII and XVIII century Europe at war – anachronistic, were not unreasonable at the time when the *Respublica* was safe from external aggression, motivated as it was by the necessity to offer political guarantees to all the components of this extended and composed state organism. See Ogonowski, 1999: 9-57 (on A.M. Fredro and his definition of Poland as a *respublica provincialis*, p. 31).

[4] Dąmbska 1978.

[5] Opaliński 1995; Pietrzyk-Reeves 2012. On the platonic origin (from the *Laws*) of the theory of the mixed constitution see Berti 2008.

(1554-1626), who belong to the group of the most famous and renowned Polish philosophical writers of the first decades of the 17th century. Their joint testimony is of particular importance, since they represent two different milieus and two distinct intellectual orientations. The former was a professor of the *Gymnasium Academicum* or *Illustre* of a semi-independent Town like Danzig, an heir of the German 16th century academic tradition, a "reformed" regard to the confession, and personally a man of stabile and hard work. The latter was a Catholic, Polish writing humanist, academically irregular, with a troubled biography and some experience in the court life. Keckermann is here considered as the author of the *Systema disciplinae politicae*[6], one of his famous treatise expounding a school subject matter in a systematic arrangement and at the same time expressing a philosophical thought, which is generally considered original enough. Petrycy, in turn, deserves a durable position in the canon of Polish history of philosophy as the author of vulgarizations of Aristotelian (or pseudo-Aristotelian, like *Economics*) "practical" works and commentaries on them, intended to employ the Aristotelian teaching in the analysis of the contemporary political and social situation. Petrycy's works are commonly praised as a monument of Polish philosophical literature and have rare parallels in other vernacular languages of the epoch.

I hope that a juxtaposition of these two authors could help the reader not only to grasp the variety of intellectual orientations coexisting over the territory of the Polish *Res Publica* in the early modern period, but also, despite this variety, to understand the deeper reasons of those frequent or even general reference to the Aristotelian practical philosophy.

Before considering the two authors we've selected for our analysis, it is necessary to advance few general remarks on the Aristotelian-peripatetic formula of "practical philosophy"[7], i.e. the canonical triad of ethics, politics and economics, which by itself presents some implication of particular relevance for the historical and cultural context of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in its *siglo de oro.*

First of all, "practical philosophy" recalls the pre-modern, pre-Machiavellian conjunction between politics and ethics[8]. This means that to be sought is no pure science of politics, understood as an art of mere taking

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[6] Keckermann 1606.

[7] This is the collective name which has been adopted in the tradition, whereas Aristotle for the same concept employs more often expressions such as *he peri ta anthropina philosophia*, *he politike episteme*, *hai epistemai praktikai*. Berti 2004: 17 ff.

[8] This implication is set by Aristotle in some important passages, e.g. at the very end of the *Nichomachean Ethics* (X, 10) and at very beginning of the *Politics* (I, 1, 1252a 1-6), which echoes the first sentences of the *Nichomachean Ethics*.

over and maintaining the power (in its turn, conceived as coercion exerted by a sovereign). The claim of autonomy of the political theory from ethics in a Machiavellian or post-Machiavellian sense is actually an oversimplification of the complexity of the philosophy of Man as "social animal". In other words, at its very start, the acceptance of the Aristotelian theoretical frame implies the refusal to reduce politics to a technic of domination, aiming at best at the stability or the simple survival of the body politic and its institutional structures. Secondly, not a lesser implication in a modern historical context is that practical philosophy is not compatible with an absolutistic theory of the legitimacy of the power. Nothing is more distant from the classical "republican" concept of political power – as we can find it in Aristotle and Cicero – than the modern idea of power as flowing from "sovereignty" in a Bodinian sense as God-given, free from law, timeless and boundless.

For the outstanding authors living in territories under the crown of the king of Poland the said anti-absolutistic orientation, inspired by the adhesion to the Aristotelian paradigm, was fully adequate to understand and to legitimize the political and social situation of the *Rzeczpospolita* at the beginning of the 17th century. For them, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth followed in the footsteps of the ancient models of the *polis* or of the Roman republic, by respecting the liberties of citizens and balancing the different forces inside it, for fear of tyranny on one hand, or demagogy on the other[9]. Let us now consider in detail the way Keckermann and Petrycy made good use of the classical pattern.

1. Bartholomaeus Keckermann

From a cultural and social viewpoint, Keckermann belongs to the economic elites of Danzig, a German-speaking class of rich merchants. As regards to the religion, he is a reformed (more precisely, a "crypto-Calvinist", as is usually called this confessional orientation). In his works Keckermann disputes against Lutherans, Catholics and Anti-Trinitarians, the main religious options represented in the Baltic city. Moreover, Keckermann is an early son of the *Schulphilosophie*, the academic philosophy of the post-Melanchthonian Germany. Danzig, in turn, benefits from a special political status within the Polish-Lithuanian Federation: formally, it was a part of it, actually being a semi-independent body, as testified by its vast autonomy, several prerogatives and privileges. Such a particular status was a matter of long lasting controversies, their culmination being the war in 1577, when the Town was besieged by

[9] Pietrzyk-Reeves 2012: 190-198 and *passim*.

the troops of the king of Poland[10]. This is in brief the general context, in which we have to situate his *Systema disciplinae politicae*.

In this work, Keckermann discusses some ideas of a group of 16th century authors who dealt with the issues of the state, the sovereignty, the legitimacy of the political power and the right to resist a tyrant; in short, Bodin and the Huguenot literature. Since he represents a denominational minority of a Town which, at its turn, was proud of its semi-independence within the Kingdom of Poland, Keckermann's lack of congeniality for absolutism in a political theory or as a solution of current political conflicts is not surprising, and – I think – this is the fundamental motive of the *Systema disciplinae politicae*. Even more remarkable is the fact that, whenever Keckermann seeks a theoretical ground for his anti-absolutistic ideas or whenever distances himself from modern political thought, he systematically appeals to the Stagirite and his foundation of Politics. Here follow two samples of this attitude, one on the topic of the *virtutes*, the other regarding the foundations of the political community.

a) The virtues and the state

The question Keckermann is facing is a traditional one: which kind of virtue has to be practiced in, or encouraged by the *polis*? Should the civic community promote only the "ethical" virtues or also the "dianoethical" or intellectual ones, namely the studies, the sciences, the arts and all the activities the practice of which enriches the human spirit[11]? It is well-known that Aristotle in the tenth book of *Nichomachean Ethics* and in the seventh of *Politics* argued for the latter alternative since intellectual virtues are the means leading man to the excellence of human life – intellectual happiness.

The most relevant aspect of Keckermann's explanations of this Aristotelian topic is his intention to prevent a possible misunderstanding about the sense of the "theoretical virtue" or the "theoretical happiness" the *polis* is called to support. This is a true teaching – points out Keckermann – if we understand by it that the *polis* promotes the intellectual and spiritual advancement of the citizens, in a general sense, e.g. fostering education and sciences. On the contrary, everyone who explains the Aristotelian doctrine as meaning that the *polis* is solicited to promote a well-defined religious cult, even at the cost of uproot confessional pluralism, pleading as justification the sake of political unity and social stability, radically misrepresents

[10] See Tazbir 1976 (on the peculiar confessional status of Danzig); Bogucka 1982 (on political situation of the Town).

[11] Keckermann: 23-29.

it[12]. Needless to say, Keckermann is here targeting the Jesuits, whose efforts to bring into Poland the Counter-Reformation were endorsed by the king Sigismund III Vasa, as a part of his pro-absolutistic reforms of the constitutional order[13].

By recalling to the Calvinist jurist and theologian Lambert Daneau, to the moderate Catholic jurist Pierre Gregoire (*alias* Tholosanus) and to the Catholic bishop and humanist Francesco Patrizi of Siena, Keckermann stresses that the political power has not the right to interfere in matters of conscience[14]. To avoid any misuse of the Aristotelian theories, Keckermann finally recommends the following solution, being a kind of compromise from the point of view of Aristotelian orthodoxy: not any city or republic can attain the "contemplative perfection", which is the highest (*eminens ac principale*, in Keckermann's post-Ramist terminology) goal of the civic community. Nonetheless, a city or a republic is fully legitimated even if it achieves only the "absolute" end (*absolutum* and *minus principale*), i.e. the *honestas* of its citizens, which is rather an ethical or practical end. In the case of Danzig, it means a peacefully coexistence of different confessions, the lack of religious and social conflicts, the flowing thereof economic prosperity and the leadership on the commerce on the Baltic sea. In other terms, Keckermann, at the cost of suspending the cardinal point of the practical philosophy, i.e. the primacy of the *bios theoretikos*, what is hardly Aristotelian, warns against the attempt to elicit a justification of confessional homogeneity as a condition of political stability from the Stagirite.

b) The ratio existendi of the political community

Another classical principle of the practical philosophy is the anthropological foundation of the civil life. Keckermann repeats after Aristotle that the city (*urbs*) is the perfect society, since only in it the man attains his highest end, the fulfillment of his capabilities as a man. Smallest and less complex communities (the household, the village), for the same reason, are not comparable to the *polis*. This a standard Aristotelian topic, repeated by countless commentators and interpreters. However, stimulated by the con-

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[12] Keckermann: 24 (note to the passage beginning by: "Sunt nonnulli qui opinantur […]").

[13] Tazbir 2008: V-XXVIII (on the pro-absolutistic ideology of Jesuits and their influences on the political struggle around the 1600).

[14] Keckermann: 523, quotes a famous sentence of the King Stephan Bathory, who declared "I don't wish to dominate on consciences, since God reserved for Himself these three matters, namely, the creation of something out of nothing, the foreseeing of the future events and the domination on consciences".

temporary theoreticians of the state (the so-called "politicians", a galaxy of authors, on which soon) Keckermann argues upon an issue, which has a clear modern flavor: is the fear (*metus*) among the main factors of the political life? Does the men gather primarily for the sake of safety of their lives and properties? In that case, to differentiate an *urbs* from other forms of community one could point at the presence or not around the city of defense walls, moats and similar[15].

Keckermann's answer is pretty Aristotelian in spirit: the *polis* is not made primarily for the sake of safety. On the contrary, the city is in its essence the community which provides the *bene vivere* or the *commodius vivere*, i.e. the full realization of the human nature, especially in its top faculties. We can admit that safety is a political end, but a "secondary end" (*scopus secundarius*)[16].

I think that these two examples highlight the general strategy adopted in the *Systema* by Keckermann: at the core of the science of politics in a modern sense lie the topics of the state, the legitimacy of the power and the technics of managing conflicts, in a formula, the *gubernatio status politici*. Very helpful in this case is a handful of authors like Daneau, Althusius, Lipsius, Bodin, Hotman, Buchanan, chiefly concerned with the problem of preventing the social, political and confessional collapse within the body politic. However, if we want that modern science of politics avoids the temptation of favoring absolutism and tyranny, putting stability and order at the top of the scale of goals the political power is keen to attain, the only warranty is to embed this new science in the frame of the *principia* of the practical philosophy, in a classic, Aristotelian sense.

2. Sebastian Petrycy

As recalled above, the other author we are to discuss, Sebastian Petrycy, owes his fame mainly to the Polish version of the triad of the Aristotelian or pseudo-Aristotelian works, forming the canon of the practical philosophy: *Nichomachean Ethics*, *Politics* and *Economics*[17].

As we have remembered, highly remarkable is Petrycy's contribution to the constitution of a Polish philosophical language and terminology in a field,

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[15] Keckermann: 20. Also the following complain on the increasing human aggression sounds quite modern: "Since in human society human malice grow up progressively, so that one town lust after the goods of another and men fear themselves reciprocally like enemies (*una civitas inhiaret alterius civitatis bonis et homo ab homine sibi metueret tamquam ab hoste*), then towns differentiate from villages by being surrounded by moats, walls and fortifications.

[16] *Ibidem*.

[17] Petrycy 1956 I: 5.

the ethical and political thought, which traditionally was predominant in the Polish culture (less interested to theoretical speculation, to metaphysics, for example). From this perspective, Petrycy could be put alongside of Łukasz Górnicki and Mikołaj Rej, the authors of free translations, respectively of Castiglione's *Cortegiano* and Palingenio Stellato's *Zodiacus Vitae*, all these works aiming at demonstrating the potentialities of the Polish language, fully adequate to receive the conceptual-lexical apparatus of the Western philosophical and intellectual tradition in an original and creative way. To quote Dante, Petrycy showed "what our language was capable to", stressing at the same time that the Polish language and culture belong to the Western tradition as represented mainly by the Latin humanism. It is worth mentioning that Petrycy translated Aristotle not from the original Greek, but from two Latin versions, viz. Leonardo Bruni's – in the case of the *Politics* and Giovanni Bernardo Feliciano's as far as the *Nicomachean Ethics* is concerned[18].

A more substantial aspect for us is that by means of his monumental works on Aristotle's writings, Petrycy shows the same concern as the major contemporary Polish writers (Orzechowski, Goślicki, Frycz Modrzewski, Warszewicki) for the problem of the fragility of Polish political and social model, challenged by domestic and external threats, pointing simultaneously at the necessity of reforms.

The titles added by Petrycy to the translations and commentaries of the Aristotelian *Politics* and *Ethics*, actually the "abstracts", shed much light on his agenda. Let us see the first work, published in 1605:

> Politics of Aristotle, that is to say the government of the Republic, eight books. First part, valuable not only for the common man, who in this way will know how to behave in the Republic, how to submit himself to the superiors, how to help the common wealth by means of his private deeds, but also useful for many who hold a power and should know how to behave with the subordinates, how to avoid revolts and discords, how to prevent excesses and shortages, how to make the Republic rich and peaceful […]. Second part, book fifth on the causes of corruption of the common wealth. Book sixth, an instruction on the bad Republics. Book seventh, on the best Republic. Book eight, containing samples of good administration for the youth and a brief lesson on war affairs […][19].

A point, which should be noticed first, is Petrycy's tendency to make use of some pedagogical texts of the Aristotelian works, by emphasizing their prescriptive and utilitarian character. On the one hand, this marks a difference

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[18] Wąsik, the editor of these Petrycy's works, fails to identify the Aretinus – the author of the version used by Petrycy – with Leonardo Bruni (Petrycy 1956 II: 116). Bruni's translation of the *Politics* was completed by the 1438 and had several edition in the 16th century. On Petrycy as an humanist, see Petrycy: 2006.

[19] Petrycy 1956 II: 115.

from the Aristotelian "political philosophy", if we consider the latter's "epistemic" character, i.e. the undeniable fact that it is basically a form of philosophical knowledge (as results for instance from the methodological remarks in the first book of *Nichomachean Ethics*, see esp. I, 1, 1094 a 24 – b 8). As a consequence, the *Nicomachean Ethics* is neither a set of moral rules everyone is required to implement in his life nor the *Politics* is a handbook-like guide teaching the art of government. On the other hand, this didactical-pedagogical switch serves quite well the educational purpose Petrycy has in mind. But, who should be educated? Here, is necessary to distinguish two categories, aimed at, respectively in Petrycy's *Politics* and in the *Ethics*, since these works were printed at thirteen years of distance, in two different historical moments. The *Politics* appeared in the 1605, on the eve of the outbreak of an epochal riot (*rokosz*) of the nobility against the king Sigismund III Vasa. Among the outstanding men (the *przełożeni*, i.e. superiors having the responsibility for command[20]) the Petrycy's work is dedicated to, we can enumerate not only Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, the magnate who led the riot, but also Jan Zamoyski (died in the same year of the publication, just before the riot), a great politician, military leader, patron of arts and letters and the most prominent of the "politicians", who aimed at a religious and social appeasement between the parties in conflict. Finally, the entire work is dedicated to the king Sigismund himself (whose portrait follows the title page in a beautiful drawing) charged by his opponents of the wrong will to turn the Polish regime in an absolute monarchy[21].

In my opinion, the overall sense of this dedication consists, on the one hand, in an exhortation to those leaders, in a time critical for the Polish Commonwealth, to avoid the extremes of both anarchy and tyranny, and on the other – in an incitement to the same persons to collaborate one with another within the frame of the existent constitutional form, a "mixed" regime, where the power of the king, however strengthened, has to be balanced by the prerogatives of the great "magnates" and the nobility. Like the majority of Polish political writers of the 16th century, Petrycy could be ranked among the representatives of the classical republicanism, an orientation deep-rooted in the political and ethical philosophy of Aristotle and Cicero, and prosecuted in the Renaissance by Machiavelli, as the author of the *Discorsi*[22]. Whatever we

[20] Petrycy 1956 II: 115.

[21] More precisely, the dedication to the "memory of the rare virtue" of Zamoyski seems to have been added at the last moment before the printing (i.e. after the latter's death at the beginning of June of 1605) and lies just after the preface to the reader (which follows the preface to the king) and the index of the "difficulties around the Commonwealth" discussed by Aristotle. To Zebrzydowski is dedicated the fourth book. See Petrycy 1605. Also Estreicher 1891: 214-215.

[22] Pietrzyk-Reeves: 132 ff. On republicanism in modern political thought see Skinner & van Gelderen 2002.

might understand by the quite generic term of republicanism, in any case, it refers to the teleology of the political life, its ethical and anthropological dimension: the *Res Publica* is to be understood as a political subject, founded on virtues and securing liberties, not merely as the structure of government or the offices in the state. In consequence, according to the spirit of republicanism, the constitutional formula is a secondary question, since the numberless variants of mixed regimes the well-ruled *Republica* can adopt depend on historical circumstances and legitimate themselves inasmuch as they provide the common wealth[23].

In the second great Petrycy's work, issued in 1618 and including the translation and the commentaries of the first five books of Aristotle *Nichomachean Ethics*, the target changed, although the pedagogical and reformatory strategy of the author is now even more apparent than before. Here follows the title:

> Ethics of Aristotle, that is to say how everyone should behave in the world. First part containing the first five books. Profitable not only for everyone [who whishes] live honestly in the world, but also in order to make sure for everyone how to arrive to the highest good and to the highest happiness in the life. To which are added at the end of each chapter warnings [*przestrogi*], exposing in brief the most difficult matters. Supplements [*przydatki*] are added at the conclusion of each book […] for a better understanding of the most fundamental things […] in part necessary for the sharpening of the most lively wits[24].

This new target – now, we are facing the kernel of Petrycy's ideology – is the above mentioned *szlachta*, viz. the minor nobility, very numerous in some regions in Poland and politically highly relevant, being the holder of full political rights, especially freedom of religious belief. Crucial as it was from a political, social and military point of view, the *szlachta* displayed a natural tendency to anarchy and a likewise natural aversion to any sort of control on it from above or outside, let alone a centralization of the power and absolutism. Petrycy stresses the destabilizing potential hidden in the *szlachta*, due chiefly to two constitutive features: first, this country gentry exploits the work of the peasants, showing no qualms in keeping them in a semi-slave condition. The second point consists in a thorough disapproval of the country noblemen lifestyle, criticized as a sad sample of a lack of respect for written and unwritten

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[23] Petrycy has been associated to the followers or sympathizers of a semi-absolutistic solution of the constitutional form of the Polish Commonwealth, mainly because of his claims in favor of the reinforcement of royal power by means of a dynastic rule in king's succession (Grzybowski 1956). On this point some substantial caution has been justly put forward by Ogonowski (1999: 183-185), here I limit myself to recall Petrycy's acceptance of the right of resist the sovereign who doesn't respect the pacts to which he committed himself by the oath.

[24] Petrycy 1956, I: 3

rules, especially the gold maxim of the "just middle". A typical *szlachcic* feels attraction for excesses of any sort: no moderation in drinking and eating, violence both against the subordinates (the peasants) and even against the peers, unrestrained pride, impulsive desire of vengeance after the smallest offense. The freedom of choice (*wolność*, *wolna wola*), the North Star of the ethical system of a Polish nobleman, has currently and largely degenerated into a sort of libertine affirmation of oneself uncontrolled will (*swawola*). Last but not least this intemperance, opening the way to moral perversity, is secured by law privileges, granting the noblemen *de facto* the juridical immunity[25].

Needless to say, for Petrycy the compass is to be found in Aristotle's theory of the virtue, especially one virtue, the *roztropność*, a term which conveys the key ethical concept of *prudentia*. From an Aristotelian point of view, noteworthy is the fact that *prudentia-phronesis*, one of the dianoethical-intellectual habits, by means of which "the soul attains truth" (it's originally the habit, by which we take right decisions in a particular context in choosing the means leading to a good end set before[26]), in Petrycy's moralistic and pedagogical revision of the Aristotelian ethical theory becomes the capacity to restrain the passions and put under control the blind and anarchic energy of the soul. Petrycy makes of the *prudentia* the main, even the sole actor of the moral life. According to his words it is the "*hetman* of human thing"[27], a strong and vaguely ominous metaphor, since the *hetman* in the polish and eastern martial tradition is the commander in chief, provided in case of war of extended prerogatives.

3. Conclusions

As we have seen, such a moralization of the Aristotelian practical philosophy (quite often at the epoch) has a cost from the viewpoint of literal fidelity to the Aristotelian theories. Nonetheless, the genuine Aristotelian character of Petrycy's program (and Keckermann's likewise) should be seen primarily in the acceptance of a programmatic and epistemological presupposition, namely, the mutual implication between ethics and politics, considered as the two sides of an unique discourse on human life in society. Not less important is that this premise is deeply rooted in some fundamental aspects of the practical philosophy of Aristotle, even of his philosophy in general, to which both Keckermann and Petrycy explicitly turn, such as the natural openness of man to the dialogue or the idea of society as the "natural" domain of human life. I think that it could be a mistake to underestimate the occurrence of this philo-

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[25] Petrycy 1956 I: 287-289 (*On the freedom of few today in Poland*).
[26] *Eth. Nic.*, VI, 3, 1139b 15. Aubenque 1963.
[27] Petrycy 1956 I: 215.

sophical pattern as a simple phenomenon of intellectual inertia or a lazy Aristotelian neoclassicism, if we only consider that classical practical philosophy is at variance with the foundations of the modern theory of the state, with its ideas of the power as expression of "sovereignty" and of the *civis* transformed in a "private" or in the contractor of a pact of mutual safeguard. The two authors mentioned and examined here show no indecision on those essential points of practical philosophy, displaying at the same time an open and conciliatory attitude in the attempt to integrate the modern political science of government into the Aristotelian theory. By doing this, they demonstrate that Polish practical Aristotelianism, so typical for the academic milieu and outside it, is sufficiently vital to adapt itself to the historical circumstances and to inspire the peculiar tradition of the Polish republicanism.

Appendix

The constitutional form of the Polish Commonwealth according to Bartholomaeus Keckermann.

I have placed in sequence several passages from Keckermann's *Systema disciplinae politicae*[28], regarding the appropriate definition of the political system of the Polish Commonwealth. Clearly, it ought to be classified as a "mixed regime", the difficulty arising with Keckermann trying to fit it into a more specific category. Firstly, he proposes a "temperament" of two elements, monarchy and aristocracy, which he then broadens to encompass monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. Further on, Poland is described as a "democracy in its better form", and, in the conclusion, Keckermann appears to employ Botero's formula (a third temperament of monarchy and aristocracy, where none prevails absolutely, but only *secundum quid*), although Kromer's formula (a threefold regime) could also be accepted. However it may be, in Keckermann's opinion, Bodin's' definition of Poland as an aristocracy is mistaken.

[p. 559]
Liber II
Caput IV. De mixta Republica in genere, et in specie de temperamento Monarchiae cum Aristocratia

[p. 571] **De statu in quo praedominatur aristocratia** […]

[p. 572] Atque haec quidem etiam de diversa temperatura monarchiae et aristocratiae, qua nempe fit ut interdum praevaleat monarchia, interdum praevaleat aristocratia, quamvis et tertia ratio addi possit, sive tertia temperies, quae videtur omnium adhuc temperatissima, in qua nempe secundum quid praevalet monarchia et secundum quid aristocratia. Ad quam tertiam rationem et temperiem exempli loco non incommode afferri potest Poloniae regimen, de quo ita Boterus in libro cui titulo est *De imperiis mundi*, ubi de Poloniae regimine sic inquit: *Poloniae regimen potius reipublicae quam regni est, quod nobiles qui magnam autoritatem in comitiis regni obtinent regem eligunt dantque ei autoritatem quam volunt, ita tamen ut ipsorum potestas maior sit.* Et postea addit: *Etsi a regis autoritas ita ab electione dependeat, tamen autoritas ista cum electus est rex in multis rebus absoluta est. Ipsius enim muneri est convocare dietas, id est, conventus publicos, assignare tempus et locum, ut ipsi placet. Eligit consiliarios, nominat episcopos, est absolutus executor decreto* [p. 573]*rum in conventibus factorum; est supremus iudex*

[28] The book was published by Wilhelm Antonius in Hanau in 1607.

nobilium in causis criminalibus; habet in manu omnes modos remunerandi, beneficio afficiendi, quos ipsi placet[29].

[p. 585] **Caput ultimum**
De statu temperato ex tribus formis simplicibus, et simul de statu mixto minus principali […].

[p. 586-587] *Plerumque hic status in rebuspublicis ortus est ex eo, quod subditi pertaesi sint pura et absoluta monarchia aut etiam pura aristocratia*

<The latter is the third *canon* of the chapter. A *canon* is a sort of a general rule, which is illustrated with several examples>.

Confirmatur hic canon duobus exemplis, quorum prius sumitur a republica Lacedaemoniorum […]. Alterum exemplum habemus in republica Polona, quae etiam initio fuit monarchia, aliquando etiam pure aristocratica, donec tandem ex omnibus tribus mixta est, ut quidem vult Cromerus, lib. 1 de magistratu et respublica Polonorum, ubi ordine exponit quomodo ex statibus simplicioribus in hunc statum mixtum Respublica Polonorum progressu temporis fuerit devoluta[30]. Quod autem diximus hunc statum esse multis locis apprime accomodatum et valde utile ac laudabilem, id memorabilibus verbis declarat Caspar Contarenus lib. 1 de Republica Venetorum, pag. 96[sic][31].

<*Supra* Contarini praises the "temperate/mixed Republics", which turned out to be more stable than monarchies. The paradigmatic states of this kind are, needless to say, Sparta and Venice.>

[…] Caeterum id quoque breviter moneo, κατ' ἐξοχὴν respublicas dici eas quae tali statu reguntur; unde Boterus loco supra citato dicit Poloniam non tam regnum esse, quam rempublicam.
[p. 590-592]

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[29] See Guido de Bruecqs' latin version of part (II, 1) of Botero's *Relazioni universali* in *Mundus imperiorum sive de mundi imperiis libri quatuor, complectentes universale theatrum omnium regnorum et magnorum imperiorum totius universi [...]. Opus novum in rerum novarum cupidorum et magnorum studiososrum gratiam a Guidone de Bruecqs, ex Ioannis Botteri Benesi Italicis relationibus latine factum, Coloniae Agrippinae excudebat Bertramus Buchholtz 1598 (regimen Poloniae*).

[30] *Polonia sive de situ, populis, moribus, magistratibus et republica regni Polonici libri duo. Authore Martino Cromero [...], Coloniae apud Maternum Colinum 1577.*

[31] *Caspari Contareni patricii veneti, de magistratibus et republica venetorum libri quinque, Basileae Froben. 1544*, p. 25-26.

<However, Polish Commonwealth fits also the model of "democracy in its better version"; Keckermann sets up a *canon*, followed by several remarks on ancient and contemporary political writers:>

[…] *Status democratiae eminentior est, in quo praeter monarcham et aristocraticos, partem status ac regiminis habet etiam populus, sed non omnis, verum pars solummodo populi eminentior et genere ac possessionibus praestantior.*

[…] Aristoteles 3 Politicorum cap. 5 […]

[p. 591] Et sic etiam intelligo Casparem Contarenum, qui dicit Venetam Rempublicam esse mixtam ex tribus formis, nempe ex monarchia, aristocratia et democratia, et tamen addit Venetiis in senatum non admitti nisi nobiles et patritios, qui annum aetatis 25 excesserunt[32]. Est ergo Venetiis democratia mixta cum reliquis formis, sed democratia eminentior et quae ad aristocratiam propinquo gradu accedit. Quibus ita explicatis, iudicari rectius poterit de statu regni Poloniae, an nempe status ille mixtus sit ex duabus tantum formis, videlicet ex monarchia et aristocratia, an vero ex tribus, nempe ex monarchia, aristocratia et democratia. Bodinus in Methodo historica dicit Polonorum imperium esse aristocraticum, pag. 269[33] […].

<The main point is that, according to Bodin, the King of Poland does not have the right to try a nobleman for criminal offences. Keckermann claims that this is not the case:>

cum tamen in comitiis rex iudicet causa criminales nobilius, tamquam summus iudicii criminalis praeses, qui etiam sententias pronunciat. Quod vero [Bodinus] dicit *Polonorum esse aristocratiam*, nempe *simplicem*, id etiam falsum est; ante enim ex Botero verissima verba citavimus, quod rex habeat partes absoluti dominii, non paucas nec parvas, in quibus sane supra aristocraticos eminet. Sin vero per aristocratiam intelligimus eiusmodi reipublicae statum in quo eminentiores democratici, qui ob magnam cognationem cum aristocratici etiam aristocratici dici possint, cum rege simul praedominantur, utique hoc sensu aristocratia Polonorum dici potest. Et sane si status nobilium referatur ad statum aristocraticum, non ita abiecte habebuntur civitates etiam reliquae praeter Cracoviensem in Polonia, nec pro mancipiis censebuntur ii, qui non sunt nobiles, ut quidem Cromerus in libro de magistratu Polonorum dicit, reliquam plebem pro mancipiis haberi[34]. Et denique minor etiam erit

[32] *Ivi*, p. 28.

[33] *Io. Bodini methodus historica, duodecim eiusdem argumenti scriptorum, tam veterum quam recentiorum commentariis adaucta* […], Basileae ex Petri Pernae officina 1576, p. 269.

[34] *Polonia*..., p. 91.

nobilium licentia in reliquam populi partes et maiores erunt poenae caedium, quae in eos patrantur, qui nobiles non sunt. Nec interim tamen repugnarim Cromero, qui in citato libro statum regni Poloniae mixtum esse vult ex tribus formis, eumque cum statu reipublicae Lacedaemoniorum comparat[35].

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[35] *Ivi*, pp. 103 and 106.

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REFERENCE MATERIAL

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Danilo Facca, Valentina Lepri (edited by) *Polish Culture in the Renaissance. Studies in the arts, humanism and political thought* ISBN 978-88-6655-490-5 (online PDF) ISBN 978-88-6655-489-9 (print) ISBN 978-88-6655-512-4 (online EPUB)

Index of places*

* The word "Poland" is not included in the index in view of the frequency with which it appears in the text.

Danilo Facca, Valentina Lepri (edited by) *Polish Culture in the Renaissance. Studies in the arts, humanism and political thought* ISBN 978-88-6655-490-5 (online PDF) ISBN 978-88-6655-489-9 (print) ISBN 978-88-6655-512-4 (online EPUB)

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Danilo Facca, Valentina Lepri (edited by) *Polish Culture in the Renaissance. Studies in the arts, humanism and political thought* ISBN 978-88-6655-490-5 (online PDF) ISBN 978-88-6655-489-9 (print) ISBN 978-88-6655-512-4 (online EPUB)

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