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## The Species Form of the Ode in the Latin Poetry of the Jan Kochanowski (*Lyricorum libellus*)

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### Abstract

The aim of this study is to establish the place of Jan Kochanowski's *Lyricorum libellus* (1580) in the history of Polish Renaissance NeoLatin ode presented against a wider European background. The development of this genre in this historicoliterary period in Poland has received only fragmentary reporting, e.g. in relation to Horatianism in literature or as a background for the vernacular ode. Yet, as Carol Maddison argues in her *Apollo and the Nine*, the Neo-Latin ode is, in a sense, a new genre revived and newly "devised" by Renaissance humanists. In her fundamental work, Maddison also presents the development of the ode and its variations in Italy and France. According to ancient patterns used by poets, Horatian odes (including Kochanowski's odes) can be divided into the "pindaric" and the "anacreontic-sapphic." To some extent this division coincides with the classification of odes as "political" or "private." Similar categorisation criteria adopted by various researchers (Zofia Głombiowska, Jacqueline Glomski, Józef Budzyński) may result in individual odes being assigned to several different categories. The first part of the paper, therefore, emphasises the identity of the NeoLatin ode and its status as a new genre strongly related to Renaissance Humanism. In the second part, the author attempts to assign particular poems from *Lyricorum libellus* to patterns indicated by Maddison, and deals with previous attempts at classification based on differentiating between political and private odes. She also underlines that Kochanowski frequently imitated both pindaric and anacreontic patterns through Horace. In the third part, the author analyses the strophic organisation of individual odes and their metre as well as their logicalrhetorical structure. The odes are here classified with regard to these

criteria and interpreted in accordance with their historical context. The author pays close attention to the genre's borderline between ode and hymn, stylistic "nobilitation" of lyrical poems and the outright Horationism of the collection. Lastly, she presents conclusions concerning the role of *Lyricorum libellus* in the development of the ode. Before Kochanowski, a significant role in the evolution of the genre was played by the so-called "university ode," which was popular in Silesian and German poetic circles, as well as in odes by Paweł z Krosna. Kochanowski's odes, however, bear little resemblance to this stage of the development of the genre in Poland. Imitating Horace in the spirit of such poets as Michal Marullus or Giovanni Pontano, Kochanowski demonstrates a mature awareness of the NeoLatin ode, formed at the meetingpoint of ode and hymn and constituting an element of a cycle organised in accordance with a certain idea.

**Key words:** Neo-Latin poetry, works of Jan Kochanowski, Horatian imitation, poetic genres, ode and its variations

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## 1. The Neo-Latin Ode - the "invention" of Renaissance humanists<sup>1</sup>

The monographer of the genre in Poland, Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, treated the history of the Neo-Latin ode as a "necessary context", a kind of subsoil preparing the development of the peak form of the vernacular form, as which she considers the ode of the Enlightenment day. This is due to the adopted assumptions, according to which "the subject of interest and description are primarily the history of the species in its Polish language realization"<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, the researcher does not discuss Latin forms in too much detail, believing that there are significant differences in the ways in which this spe-

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<sup>1</sup> The Polish version of the paper: E. Buszewicz, *Species form of the odew Latin poetry by Jan Kochanowski. (Lyricorum libellus)*, "Terminus" 16 (2014), 1 (30), pp. 21-38.

<sup>2</sup> T. Kostkiewiczowa, *Oda w poezji polskiej. Dzieje gatunku*, Wrocław 1996, p. 29.

cies is realized in the Latin and Polish current of our poetry, which require “evoking different contexts and even research tools”<sup>3</sup>. This suggests - despite the long history and noticeable continuity of tradition - a certain genre separateness of the neo-Latin ode, which would therefore demand a separate monograph for poets connected with Poland.

Carol Maddison *Apollo and the Nine*<sup>4</sup> is an ever-increasingly instructive work (although probably not always in line with the contemporary paradigms of philologist thinking, and especially with the research perspective embracing Central Europe) devoted to New Year’s clothing. The argument is based on the observation that this genre form was “invented” anew by Renaissance humanists, and its name (ὠδή), taken from Greece, suggested elevating the more popular Latin word of the same meaning - *carmen* (“song”). The Renaissance humanists, however, called the ode a special song, which was the current, contemporary reality according to the taste and rules of antiquity. Both ideological contexts and metric paradigms were determined especially by the influence of three ancient poets - first Horace, then Pindar, and finally Anacreon. This genre was characterized by greater formal rigorism and greater officiality than the free popular song. In a word:

The form was concentrated and packed with allusion to all branches of human experience. It was the poem that glorified man, his experience, and his works. It was learned, formal, and public, rather than private or personal. With its constant allusion in metre and turn of phrase to the glorious past which was now set up as the classic or norm, the ode became a completely new type of poem<sup>5</sup>.

Even before Pindar spread its patronage over the New-Latin ode tradition, Pindaric elements penetrated into its ideological structure

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 28.

<sup>4</sup> C. Maddison, *Apollo and the Nine. A History of the Ode*, London 1960.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 2.

through Horace. It was thanks to him that a certain type of speaking subject, the creation of a bard, was formed. Not without significance was also the writer's conviction that the object of reflection was of universal importance, a specific generality of the object of reflection, perceiving even individual events as a part of a universal *continuum*.

A certain amount of formality, then, a presumed audience, a sense of responsibility on the part of the poet, and imagery that relates the immediate subject to a larger context and adds fitting dignity and weight to the poem are all characteristics that are intrinsic to the ode, and all characteristics that were acquired from Pindar<sup>6</sup>.

The anacreontic poetry could have enriched the inventive space of the modern ode, as it was erudite, imitative and ceremonial. It inscribes the range of individual feelings into the dimension of the universal experience of mankind<sup>7</sup>, sanctified by tradition. Above all, however, the canon of Latin lyricism was shaped by Horace, in whose poetry the motifs taken from Pindar and Anacreon as well as from Alkaios and Sapho meet.

In this way, as Maddison observes, the structural and ideological patterns of the new genre, starting with its development in the Renaissance, have become "the poet-priest Pindar, *bonvivant* Anacreon and the pagan moralist - Horace"<sup>8</sup>. Stella Revard adds one more observation, perhaps surprising at first glance: Pindar's poetry has also contributed to raising the style of the so-called light ode - among

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<sup>6</sup> Ibidem, s. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, s. 20. "They are imitations, ceremonious and learned, and not the impulsive expression of individual emotion but the traditional expression of universal human experience".

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, s. 38. "These, then, were the men, Pindar the poet-priest, Anacreon the *bonvivant*, and Horace the pagan moralist, whose works served as models for the new ode genre developed by the Renaissance".

the epinique and other poems of Pindar we find fragments testifying that he was also, like Anacreon, the songwriter of the charms of life<sup>9</sup>.

## 2. Kochanowski's ode and structural and ideological patterns of the species

Kochanowski's Odyses have not been analysed too often according to such a paradigm of patterns, because it is not often indicated in Polish historical and theoretical literary research. An attempt to look at *Lyricorum libellus* in such a context is brought about by Jacqueline Glomski<sup>10</sup>'s study (still little known on our grounds). The author points out that the main structural model of Kochanowski's Latin lyrical works was *Carmin* Horace, and in terms of content individual ode can be classified as "Pindaric" or "anacreontic-Saphic"<sup>11</sup>. Pindarism has been attributed by Glomski to six works on political and patriotic themes, whose character seems quite official, and poetic depiction is majestic and rich. These are (according to the classification proposed by her) ode: 1. (*Ad Henricum Valesium*), 3. (*In conventu Stesicensi*), 4. (*In Concordiam*), 5. (*Ad Nicolaum Firleum*), 6. (*In conventu Varsaviensi*) and 12. (*De expugnatione Polottei*). The "anacreontic" verdicts have been shown as lyrical statements of a more personal character, despite which a restraint and generalizing tendency consistent with the requirements of the species can be

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<sup>9</sup> S. Revard, *The Graces in their Merriment. Pindar and the Light Ode*, [in:] *eadem, Pindar and the Renaissance Hymn-Ode. 1450-1700*, Tempe 2001, pp. 277-317. Apart from examples taken from epinique, the researcher emphasizes the work addressed to Teoksenos, described in schools as the beloved boy in whose arms Pindar died (p. 281).

<sup>10</sup> J. Glomski, *Historiography as Art. Jan Kochanowski's Lyricorum libellus (1580)*, [w:] *Renaissance Culture in Context. Theory and Practice*, edited by J.R. Brink, W.F. Gentr up, Aldershot 1993.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 147.

clearly seen. Thus, *In deos falsos* (2) is to be a statement on “reconciling pagan humanism with Christian tradition”, *Ad Andream Patricium* - a warning to a friend starting his ecclesiastical career, *In villam Pramnicanam* (10) - an idyllic description of an idyllic *otium* in a rural estate, *Ad Vener* (9) - an erotic and philosophical discourse, *In equum* (11) - an expression of personal feelings which, however, have been “rhetorized by means of a sequence of diaries”.

This is, of course, one of the possible proposals for reading. The Horacian paradigm is paramount here, and in its space there is also a place for the influence of Pindar or Anacreon. And indeed the spiritual patronage of Pindar can be seen in the “political” roofs, but is the division of the “political” and “non-political” (called “private” by Zofia Głombiowska<sup>12</sup>) applied by Glomski unquestionable? Oda V, addressed to Mikołaj Firlej, raises the most doubts in this respect. Glomski considers it to be a “political” poem, and therefore ideologically rooted in the Pindaric tradition. Głombiowska treats it as a “private” work. And more rightly so. “Oda V - as the aforementioned researcher aptly observes - is a moment of respite, a moment of exclusion from difficult political matters”<sup>13</sup>. And also: “No public affairs dominate the work [...]. The whole work is [...] an incentive for rest, wine and song”<sup>14</sup>. We find here, therefore, to a large extent, anacreontic content, filtered very clearly by the ideas and motives of Horacjan: “Custos sepositi villica Massici/ Fumoso prope deme picem cado,/ Et rorantibus hauri/ Divinum laticem scyphis” (v. 17-20)<sup>15</sup>. From Horacjan imaging we can find here not only uncorking amphora and wafering with wine, but also an encouragement known

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<sup>12</sup> Z. Głombiowska, *Łacińska i polska muza Jana Kochanowskiego*, Warsaw 1988, s. 80.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, p. 87.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, p. 83.

<sup>15</sup> “Rural guardian of the reserves of Masculine wine,/ Calp yourself to take off the pivot from the mossy barrel/ and pour the divine drink into the powdered/ cups”. All quotations from the families of Jan Kochanowski according to the first edition: I. Cochanovii, *Lycorum libellus*, Cracoviae 1580.

from the ode to *Deliusz* to celebrate on the grass, among the fragrances and flowers of a rose, in the shade of a tree, called *platanus*, which can probably be considered as a classic addition of a native “sycamore”, in the shadow of which Kochanowski ordered to set the table in the Sarmatian version of the ode of *Ad Delium*. A careful reading of the stanza about the plane shadow allows us to believe that Kochanowski is also close to the Horacjan idea, later referred to by literary scholars as “semiotic landscape”, in which the images of nature correspond to human behaviours and emotions<sup>16</sup>. In *Do Deliusza’s* clothing, Horacy mentions pine and poplars, which lovingly intertwine their branches in order to enlarge the shade - this makes one think not only of soothing respite, but also of physical closeness, and perhaps even physical love of people<sup>17</sup>. In Kochanowski’s V clothing, the *platanus* “ictus calidi sideris igneus/ parvipendit, amicta/ spisso tegmine frondium” (v. 10-12) “dense leaves, neglects the fiery heat of the sun”, which perfectly harmonizes with the proposal to give in to a carefree *otium* in an uncertain political situation, when in the near unexpected future (how suggestive *traces*) a combat readiness may prove necessary, depicted by a military readiness, illustrated by an image of a dense leaf, may prove necessary. The example of this ode also shows Kochanowski’s finesse in combining different traditions, the ability (probably inspired by Horacym) to intertextual “travel” in the space of the genological universe: the second stanza also incorporates the bucolic key - we are dealing here with elements of Wergiliusz’s second eclog.<sup>18</sup>

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16 The basic context for this term is the work of U. Eco, *Semiotic Landscape*, transl. A. Weinsberg, Warszawa 1972. See also: J. Danielewicz, *Pejzaż semiotyczny w Pieśniach Horacego*, “Eos” 63 (1975), p. 297-302. About the ambiguity of the code

<sup>17</sup> Cf. L.P. Wilkinson, *Horace and His Lyric Poetry*, Cambridge 1951, p. 129.

<sup>18</sup> This can be seen in the description of the heat of the south and the cicadas noisy among the bushes. Cf. Verg, *Ecl.* II, 13: ‘sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis’.

In this example it can be stated that Kochanowski's *Lyricorum libellus* ode is difficult to classify as directly "Pindaric" or "anacreontic". Kochanowski's odes are "horacjan" not only formally. Their horacianism is a kind of prism or filter through which ideas close to the poet from Viotia or Theos, as well as the whole polyphonic richness of lyrical attitudes and genetic alternatives are passed through.<sup>19</sup>

Similarly, according to the rules shaped by Horace, the patronage of Pindar is revealed. According to Maddison, its main manifestation is the manifestation of the subject of the statement as a priest in the prophet. We see this clearly in clothing I, in which Kochanowski declares his readiness to sing the future triumphs of Henryk Waleze: "Tum me nec Orpheus, nec fidicen Linus/Vincat canendo"<sup>20</sup> (v. 37-38). The attitude of the "tensioner of the hope" can be seen in the end of *Ode* III: "Minas furentis ne nimium, o viri,/ Horrete, sed nec temnite, barbari" (v. 41-42)<sup>21</sup>, here you can also see the echoes of "Absiste, vulgus", a sort of selection of the auditorium, which are to be *cives integri*, good-looking, noble citizens. The creation of the lyrical "I" as priest of Muses and Apollo - in the beginning of *Ode* VI: "Musarum et Clarii cultor Apollinis" (1st century). The bard summoning the Muse is also the subject of the utterance in *Ode* XII. It is also possible to indicate a specific space of invention resulting from the spirit of epinique. We can say that this is a political reality, behind which there is a certain socio-ethical and religious order.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Gregson Davis, *Polyhymnia* draws attention to this polyphonic lyricism of Horace. *The Rhetoric of Horatian Lyric Discourse*, Berkeley 1991, *passim*. On the Wergilian and Bucolic motifs, and on the other hand - elegiac ones, cf. p. 181-188. The most important thesis of this work is the rejection of the stereotype of superficiality and simplicity of Horace's song. The author reveals their multi-layered nature, built on rhetorical toposes, recurring motifs and genological conventions.

<sup>20</sup> "Then neither Orpheus nor the Linus players will beat me in singing.

<sup>21</sup> "Husbands! Don't be afraid of the threats of a raging barbarian, but don't underestimate them either.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. A. Szastyńska-Siemion, *Introduction*, [in:] Pindar, *Wybór poezji*, Wrocław 1981, p. XXIII-XXVI (BN II 199).

Pindar is the best inspirer of official, occasional poetry, for which, starting from the Renaissance, it has also become a formal model<sup>23</sup> - we still remember two metrically binding works by Kochanowski, *Epinikion* for Stefan Batory and *Epithalamion* for the wedding of Jan Zamoyski and Gryzelda Batorówna. These were works which made one think of the tradition of choral lyricism, which, as it seems, required musical setting and a public show. In the case of *Lyricorum libellus*, however, it is particularly interesting to penetrate the spirit of dirrecyan poetry into Horacian measures. According to Stella Revard, Pindar's influence can be seen not only in the forms of occasional political poetry, but also, and perhaps above all, in the development of the anthemic tradition and the formation of the form of the anthem. The same Italian poets - says Revard - who took over from Pindar the cult of Muses and Apollo (Giovanni Pontano, Michele Marullo, Pietro Crinito), began to write hymns to pagan gods and embodied and divinized allegories, they finally started humanistic hymns to God and Christian saints.<sup>24</sup> This tradition, also partly mediated by Horace, does not seem to be of little importance in Kochanowski's Latin lyrical work, since among the twelve nations we can find as many as three such forms of hymnasia; the hymn of *Ad Concordiam* and *Ad Vener* is indisputable, and the ode *In deos falsos* in the last two stanzas is a prayer - a miniature hymn of praise in honour of the Judeo-Christian One God. The stylistic garment taken over from Horace and Vergil covers the biblical matter, related to Psalm 51 (50)<sup>25</sup>. Perhaps in Kochanowski's mind the concept of the psalm maintained in the paradigm of the passage of the horacian song crystallizes more clearly (under the influence of Buchanan?); this genre, however, under Kochanowski's pen has acquired a na-

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, p. LVI.

<sup>24</sup> S. Revard, *Pindar and the Renaissance HymnOde...*, p. 121.

<sup>25</sup> J. Budzyński, *Horacjanizm w liryce polskiej i łacińskiej renesansu i baroku*, Wrocław 1985, p. 79, associates the apostrophes of this work with the hymn of *What You Want From Us, Lord*.

tive figure, not a Latin one. The “hymnic” character in the typically Horacian style is also present in Ode X, in which the structure of the hymn (first covering the entire stanza of the apostrophe, then the development of the laudation initiated in it, and finally prayer/wishes) is attributed not to the deity or the general concept, but to the work of human hands - here: the villa erected by Samuel Maciejowski, which is the residence of Piotr Myszkowski.

Maddison speaks pictorially about Pindar’s “palette of colours”, which includes almost exclusively “gold, silver, bronze, white and purple”<sup>26</sup>. Kochanowski, about whom it is often said that his epithets are conventional and his sense of painterly quality is weak, apparently holds on to this palette in “official” eaves. A golden crown, a silver spur and a triumphant quadrant harnessed in white steeds (only blue waters break this scheme) appear in *Fear I*; in *Fear VI* - golden sun, golden chariot of fame, purple - although stigmatized as foreign splendour and contrasted with domestic wool - in *Fear XII* - lute of ivory and heat of flames. White and gold are also manifested in hymnic, “official” (*Ad Concordiam*), which brings associations with the *Hymn to Horace’s Antiquity Fortina*, and “private” (*Ad Venérer*), which is a translation of Safona’s poem. Interestingly, gold and purple can also be found in “private” roofs (often with negative emotional traits, as in the clothing addressed to Andrzej Patrycy).

As we know, the style of a lyrical work depended on its theme; depending on it, it could be high or medium, sometimes even going down towards the lower one. Kochanowski raises the style of the ode, taking into account the dignity of the addressee; they are often *personae gravis* (a deity, a ruler, a gathering of nobility). However, even those texts in which the style should be reduced, and indeed this is the case, have a counterbalancing counterpoint register. In *Na konia* clothes it is, for example, a description of the beyond worlds or the praise of a mysterious nymph (Muses? epitome of Poetry?), and in *Do Like* clothes it is a reference to Amor and Venus “abandoning”

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<sup>26</sup> C. Maddison, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

an aging woman. The poet from Czarnoleski, like Horacy, elevates ordinary matters. In this spirit, Juliusz Cezar Scaliger interpreted the lyricism of Horace, appreciating both the lofty works of Flakel in high style (e.g. *Carm.*

1-3), which was above Pindara due to the lively sentences as well as charming songs maintained in a lower style (e.g. *Vitas hinnuleo....*,

*Maecenas atavis, Quem tu, Melpomene semel...., Donec gratus eram tibi...*), and expressing his praise very eloquently: "I would have preferred to lay out similar to them rather than to many Pythic and Nemesian Pindar, I would have preferred to lay out similar to them rather than to be the king of all of Spain<sup>27</sup>. This could confirm Revard's suggestion of the universal effect of such a "filtered" pindarism on the shape of the Renaissance ode, including the "light" one.

In spite of their different functions, origins and destiny, all the odes of *Lyricorum libellus* can be found in Horace's poetic cosmos both thematically and structurally, through which inter-species relations<sup>28</sup> and traditions associated with the Great Names of antiquity permeate through Horace.

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<sup>27</sup> J.C. Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem*, Lugdunum (Lyon) 1586 (Liber VI, qui et Hypercriticus. Iudicium de aetatibus poeseos Latinae), p. 880. "Quarum similes malim a me compositas, quam Pythioniarum multas Pindari et Nemeoniarum, quarum similes malim composuisse, quam esse totius Tarraconensis rex". This peculiar cult of Horace is also visible a bit earlier (p. 879): "Carminum igitur libri vel iucunda inventione, vel puritate sermonis, vel figurarum novitate maiores sunt omni non solum vituperatione, sed etiam laude; neque solo dicendi genere humili, quemadmodum scripsit Quintilianus, contenti, verum etiam sublimi maxime commendandi". He treats lyrical works by Konrad Celtis in a similar way, though without adding any Pindaric eminence: "Lyrical poem (*poema lyricum*). In it, girls' games and feasts of young men from royal families are sung. He took his name from the lyre - because during the feast the guitar and the lyre are delivered. Waleriusz Marcjalis, Cassius Bassus and Horacy wrote in this genus - nobody can be compared with him; he was not neglected by Prudentus in *Hymnas*" (translated: "Prudentius in the *Hymnasium*"). J. Mańkowski, [in:] *Poetics of the Renaissance*, selection, introduction and elaboration. E. Sarnowska Temeriusz, Wrocław 1982, p. 16.

<sup>28</sup> The relationship with the bouquet and the anthem has already been mentioned, it is worth adding the influence of the facade (paraklausithyron) and

### 3. Structures and forms

The smallest structure determining the formal shape of Kochanowski's boats is the verse (or stanza). As has been stressed many times, in the versification of *Lyricorum*.... we find only the forms present in the poet from Venezuela. In this cycle the Alcetic stanza occurs four times, the Ascleiadean stanza II - three times, the saficka smaller - two times, the Ascleiadean one bigger, the Ascleiadean I and the Ascleiadean one time<sup>29</sup>. Kochanowski does not experiment within

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epigrama in clothes to *Like*.

<sup>29</sup> The influence of the metric of classical poets on Kochanowski's Latin work was mainly dealt with by nineteenth-century researchers, e.g. Piotr Par ylak, *Jan Kochanowski's O elegiach i odach łacińskich z uwzględnieniem poetów klasycznych*, [in:] *Raport Gimnazjum w Stanisławowie*, Lwów 1880, p. 3-15. A relatively recent look at Kochanowski's Latin versification through a rigorous "glass and eye" is Mieczysław Brożek's text, *Jan Kochanowski's Latin versification. Characteristic test*, included with *Cracovia litterarum* conference materials. *Kultura umysłowa i literacka Krakowa i Małopolski w dobie Renesansu. Księga zbiorowa Międzynarodowej Sesji Naukowa w czterechsetlecie zgonu Jana Kochanowskiego (w Krakowie, 10-13 października 1984 r.*, ed. T. Ulewicz, Wrocław 1991, p. 335-348. Lyrical patterns (Alceanian, Safic lesser, Asclepian I-II, Asclepian greater, Asclepian) are discussed on pp. 343-344. The opinion is convergent for the majority of varieties of Latin lyric poetry by Kochanowski: the works are technically correct, according to the Horace pattern, but they draw attention to.... too much ellipsis! On pp. 344-347, the characteristics of Pindaric works (in which again with some exaltation a multitude of ellipses was noticed) were made. For example, the researcher is very surprised why *Epithalamion* arranged Kochanowski in verses imitating Pindar and not in one of the available paradigms of Latin poetry. This should not come as a surprise if one takes into account the above mentioned (underlined in the Revard work) Renaissance postulate of pindarizing official works, and thus also occasional ones, connected with the life of important public personalities. Kochanowski introduced an epinion and an epitalamium to this lyric poetry, while he omitted the epicium which will appear together with Szymon Szymonowice (to the death of Jakub Górski) and Andrzej Schoen (to the death of Stanisław Sokołowski). Cf. W. Ryczek, *Rhetorica christiana. Teoria pronounciation kościelnej Stanisława Sokołowskiego*, Kraków 2011, p. 282-369.

the framework of Horacian forms, he transfers the entire poetic and strophic patterns without making any melange.

The majority of Renaissance poets (including Scaliger) divided *the carminas lyrica* also into other structures, showing the variety of metric arrangements and the strophic organization of the text. A piece in which only one metric sequence repeats regularly (e.g. a smaller Askleplyadean poem, a larger Askleplyadean poem) was called *monocolos*, a piece in which the poem is arranged in alternating distant districts of different metric structure - *dicolos distrophos* (if two metric sequences were arranged in a four controversial stanza - *dicolos tetrastraphos*), if there were three types of poem, arranged in a four controversial stanza - for example two lines of ascleplyadic lines - e.g. two lines of ascleplyadic poetry. According to such a classification, Kochanowski's ode would be described as follows: I, II, III, V, VIII, X, XII - *from tricolos tetrastraphos*; IV, VI, IX - *dicolos tetrastraphos*, VII - *monocolos*, XI - *dicolos distrophos*.

The logical structure of Kochanowski's ode, like Horace's song, sometimes reaches the three-part structure of the Pindaric ode, and sometimes the finesse of the epigram. Examples are best shown in short forms, which in the second case is obvious. An example of epigrammatic finesse is, of course, *Ad Lycen's* ode, stylistically maintained in the lower zone of the middle states, with an emphasis on the blunt point: "Scilicet ut satur ructet carnem alius, reliquis pascar ego ossium"<sup>30</sup>. Three-participation can be observed in *In deos falsos* clothing. The equivalent of "strophes" would be the first three verses of asclelexion-glycone devoted to the pagan religion of the past, the equivalent of "antistrophe" could be a fragment (one versus) corresponding - through the antithesis - to the Christian present, which all these deities buried in the darkness of Eagle, while a kind of "episode" - a two verses anthem to the Only God, which at the same time lectures the idea of true piety.

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<sup>30</sup> "Probably in order for me to bite the remains of bones when another one has already saturated myself with meat".

The rhetorical structure of the species grown by Kochanowski is visible on different levels. We can indicate here the efficient use of antithesis, anaphora, alliteration, hyperbaton, elaborate apostrophe, metaphor, irony - both figures of words and thoughts, as well as tracers. *Lyricorum libellus* should be considered against the background of Renaissance treatises in the field of poetry. Scaliger devoted a lot of attention to poetic figures, and the value of poetry (not only lyrical, but poetry in general) was determined, according to him, by four virtues: *prudencia, varietas, efficacitas, suavitas*<sup>31</sup>.

According to Scaliger, thought figures and rhetorical genres are also associated with the functions of whole works. Thinking about the matter that can be captured in lyrical measures, Scaliger shows that the treasury of invention hides *implicit* figures of persuasion, praise or reprimands. In the centre of the lyrical plot stands the poet, his decisions, views, willingness to preach moral doctrine or to present a more general situation:

Whatever is appropriate for a short poem, it is right to include it in lyrical measures. Praise, feelings of love, controversy, scoffing, *commensatoria*, reprimands, wishes, encouragement to be free [or] on the contrary - recommendations of sobriety, general explanations of deeds, desires, regrets, explanations of places and times, new resolutions, thinking, undertaking matters, rejection undertaken, invitations, rejections, distractions, and if there are any other. He likes this kind of spiritual freedom [...]. It requires a large number of sentences [...]. Horacy enjoyed the conciseness and we also recommend it as much as possible. For nothing is more pleasant than to taste many dishes<sup>32</sup>.

Scaliger points here to certain rhetorical functions: *laus, vituperatio, recusatio, accusatio*, etc. Such a distinction was probably at

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<sup>31</sup> J. Mańkowski (*op.cit.*, p. 265) explains them: prudence, diversity, effectiveness, sweetness. It is worth mentioning that in Scaliger's *prudencia's* argumentation is actually erudition and substantive correctness, while *efficacy* is the power and energy of words manifested, among other things, in imaging skills.

<sup>32</sup> Translated by J. Mańkowski, *ibidem*, pp. 295-296.

the basis of the division of boats according to the<sup>33</sup>*dicendi genera*, which we are still eagerly using today, which was formulated, among others, by Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski. However, we generally do not treat the form *vituperatio* or *dirae* as a separate accusatory *genus iudiciale*<sup>34</sup>, but as a possibility set out by the *genus demonstrativum* (reprimand as a mirror image of praise). Representing the *genus demonstrativum* of enkommune odami are therefore IV, IX, X, XII, ganning, cursing or mockery - II, VII, XI. The *genus deliberativum* belongs to the *genus deliberativum*: AND, III, V, VI, VIII. Sometimes these rhetorical functions can be defined more precisely, for example in *Ode I - invitatio*, in VII - *recusatio*, in XI - *maledictio*, etc. They often have antithetical (usually) counterpoints within the works. In *Clothing I invitatio* is saturated with laudation, in II - “unmasking” of false gods was contrasted with the burial of the Supreme, in XI - scoffing curse of the horse gives way to the burial place of the mysterious nymph.

The basic postulates of the lyrical form are: *brevitas* and *varietas*, quite important in the cyclic composition. *Lyrlicorum libellus* is certainly the first collection of Horaceans in the history of our poetry, consciously arranged with the application of these principles. *Brevitas* can be determined with mathematical precision: the length of in-

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<sup>33</sup> M.K. Sarbiewski, *Characteres lyrii seu Horatius et Pindarus - Lyrical Characteristics, i.e. Horacy i Pindar*, [in:] *Praecepta poetica - Lectures of Poetics*, translated by M. K. Sarbiewski, *Characteres lyrii seu Horatius et Pindarus*. S. Skimina, Wrocław 1958, p. 22: “One genus is s p e c t a c u l a r, and its content gives rise to the name of encomiastic odes, or praiseworthy [...]. Others are called “ethical”, which are full of sentences and moral teachings and either advise or discourage. The third type is similar to the judicial one, which contains bullying. This kind of curses includes curses, such as those littered in Book II 13 on a tree, which by its fall did not kill the poet in the estate of Sabine, and moreover in Epoch 3, where the poet cursed garlic”.

<sup>34</sup> However, in a sense, despite all the finesse of *Ode XI*'s construction, the elements of this *generis dicendi* are contained in it. A reference to the accusatory speech could, for example, be suggested by a final proposal of the sentence of the deportation of an unfortunate steed to the mine...

dividual boats generally remains between 20 and 48 verses; the only exception is the last ode to conquer Polotsk, which has 100 of them, but it also does not sin with excessive length, which is a frequent defect of neo-Latin imitations of Horace<sup>35</sup>. *Varietas*, clear and conscious, concerns both the subject matter and the metric. Ode written in the same metre never neighbours here. Józef Budzyński discussed in detail the composition of the collection in terms of subject matter, its affinity with the Fourth Book of Horacius' Genesis and the principle of *variatio* of harmonious sequences of thought.<sup>36</sup> In any case, we have a great variety here, which is not so easy to achieve by placing only twelve songs in the collection. Kochanowski intertwines praise with praise with ganating, "political" personal, persuasive prayer and hymn. Let us try to be fully aware of this *varietas*. *Oda* I is advisory, political; II - showpiece, hymnasium, with a social context; III - political, advisory; IV - hymnatic, showing off, with a political context; V - advisory, private, with political context; VI - advisory, political; VII - private, showing off; VIII - private, advisory; IX - private, hymnasium; X - private, quasihymnic; XI - private, showing off; XII - political, showing off. It also seems important in terms of composition to close the whole cycle within two political families, each of which is sponsored by a different ruler: the first - the unfortunate Valentine, the last - the triumphant Batory. In the middle of the cycle is *Ode* VI, which expresses the mood of unregnosis and the desire to devote oneself to the rule of a good ruler. We can therefore speak of a precisely composed cycle (also according to the chronological principle,

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<sup>35</sup> Cf. L.P. Wilkinson, *op.cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>36</sup> J. Budzyński, *op.cit.*, p. 63-90. The researcher (p. 63) calls this collection exceptional a chapter of Renaissance-humanistic imitation in the work of John of Chernobyl. O koncepcji cyklu szereg Z. Głombiowska, *op.cit.*, p. 71-90. Apart from the *varietas* rule (metrically, thematically, functionally), the researcher also indicates the principle of chronology (p. 85) and "action" (86-88), both external (political events) and internal (emotions of the subject).

as Głombiowska wants, and the associated external and internal “action”), forming an emblematic record of both the historical process and changes of consciousness.

#### 4. Space location

It is time to close these observations with a few remarks sealing the place of *Lyricorum libellus* collection in the genological universe, and especially in the history of the New Latin ode in Poland (against the European background).

Kochanowski's ode shows almost no relation with the initial stage of development of this species on our land, especially in the area of German culture radiation, while in our country more clearly in the activity of Konrad Celtis, Paweł from Krosno or Wawrzyniec Korwin. In this context, the ode could be called a “university” genre<sup>37</sup>, combining prayer, laudation or education with the teaching of linguistic and metrical norms (e.g. in the case of Paweł of Krosno<sup>38</sup> these could be poetic paraphrases of the Lord's Prayer and Angels Greetings,

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<sup>37</sup> Cf. W. Salmen, *European Song: 1300-1530*, [in:] *The New Oxford History of Music*, v. 3, edited by D.A. Hughes, G. Abraham, London 1970 (1960 reprint), p. 370; G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, New York ca. 1959, p. 705; cf. also: T. Kostkiewiczowa, *op.cit.*, p. 82-84, A. Gorzkowski, *Paweł from Krosno. Humanistic Peregrinations of the Cracow professor*, Cracow 2000, pp. 246-250.

<sup>38</sup> In the poetry of Paul of Krosno, there was also a quite clearly formed hymn variety of the ode; apart from the anthem to Apollo, numerous anthems to Mary, etc. It is worth mentioning the safic *Hymnus in Diem Paschalem continens verni temporis description*; cf. Paweł of Krosno, *Carmina*, ed. M. Cytowska, Warsaw 1962, p. 181-182. Cf. also: E. Buszewicz, *Image of the Risen Christ in Polish neo-Latin poetry*, [in:] *Via pulchritudinis. Wątki biblijne w literaturze i kulturze polskiej. Materials of the scientific conference organized by the Committee of Theological Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Faculty of Theology, Polish Theological Society and Faculty of Polish Philology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow, 16-18 November 2010*, edited by A. Gorzkowski, Rev. Ł. Kamykowski and Rev. K. Panuś, Cracow 2010, p. 268-271.

a rhymed biography of Horace, etc.). The only link in some way connecting *Lyricorum libellus* with this current could be described as *In deos falsos* ode, in which one can see some “doctrinal” character. In the past the genre was constituted by the tradition of combining the ode with the epinicion, used by Kochanowski in clothing XII. In the first half of the 16th century we can see it, for example, in Jan from Wislica’s clothes for the victory under Orsza<sup>39</sup>.

Kochanowski’s Ode is part of a universal scheme shaped by New-Latin poets active in Italy in the 15th and 16th centuries (Marullo, Pontano), ordering to combine Ode (official and ceremonial works, and at the same time reflective and philosophical, emotional and suggestive<sup>40</sup>) into cycles<sup>41</sup> organized around an idea. One can also see the influence of French New-Latin poets, who combine occasional, religious and bucolic<sup>42</sup> motifs in their roofs.

The authors of Renaissance poetics usually spoke of “lyrical songs”, indicating the ode as one of the varieties of the lyrical genre, which only then constituted itself in the genological<sup>43</sup> consciousness. In the old system of literary genres and genres, lyric did not have the status of a genus, as depending on the proportion between the narrative of the author and the dialogue of the characters *genus imitativum* (drama, etc.), *enarrativum* (simple narrations) and *mixtum* (narration with elements of dialogue - both epic and lyric belonged here [!]); however, Antonia Minturna (*De poet*, 1559) already shows

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<sup>39</sup> T. Kostkiewiczowa, *op.cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>40</sup> C. Maddison, *op. cit.*, p. 44. Cf. T. Kostkiewiczowa, *op.cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>41</sup> Although Celtis had already composed *Libri quattuor Odarum, cum Epodo et Saeculari Carmine*, this work, as Lawrence V. Ryan bitinglly noted, can be compared with the output of Horace almost only in terms of quantity. Cf. L.V. Ryan, *Conrad Celtis’ Carmen Saeculare. Ode for a New German Age*, [in:] *Acta Conventus NeoLatini Bononiensis: Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of NeoLatin Studies Bologna, 26 August to 1 September 1979*, ed. R.J. Schoeck, Binghamton 1985, p. 594.

<sup>42</sup> T. Kostkiewiczowa, *op.cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 77–81.

a desire to give lyric *genus* status.<sup>44</sup> Reading Kochanowski's cycle makes one think of a mature awareness of the species form of the New Łącko ode, shaped on the borderline between the ode and the anthem<sup>45</sup>, but also manifesting other inter-genre relations, especially under the influence of Horace, as well as the interest in Pindare and Anaconta, characteristic for the second half of the 16th century. *Lyricorum libellus* is a thoughtful and carefully arranged poetic cycle.

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<sup>44</sup> T. Michałowska, *Staropolska teoria genologiczna*, Wrocław 1974, p. 68.

<sup>45</sup> One can notice here that in Kochanowski's time Latin psalm ode were created in our country. Such texts were created, for example, by Grzegorz of Sambor. So far there are two paraphrases of psalms included in the edition of the poetic panegyric in honor of St. Anna Szymon Gorycki (*Panegyricum Simonis Goritii Pilsniani De Diva Anna, Matre Virginis Mariae, Carmen*, Krakow 1568). These are Ps. 113 (112) *Laudate, pueri, Dominum...* and Ps. 15 (14) *Domine, quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo...* Cf. E. Buszewicz, *Between Eoban and Buchanan. Poetic psalmography of Grzegorz of Sambor*, „Rocznik Przemyski” XLVIII (2012), z. 2, pp. 21–34.

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