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## Horacjan Imitation in the Latin Work of Jan Kochanowski

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### Abstract

The aim of this study is to show how Kochanowski imitated Horace in various ways and at different levels of his poetry. As to this moment, the matter has been discussed, mainly in regard to the *Lyriconum libellus*, by Zofia Głombiowska and Józef Budzyński. In this paper, the author briefly summarises their statements and comments upon them expressing her own view. She also mentions some other publications dealing with the Horatianism of the Polish poet to a lesser degree.

The text is divided into four sections. In the first one, the author makes a brief comparison between Kochanowski and Petrarca in the context of their mental kinship with Horace that resulted in poetry which is “Horatian” not only in terms of the *verba* but also some ideas.

The second section is devoted to the Horatianism of Kochanowski’s collection of odes (*Lyriconum libellus*). The author begins with a brief summary of the previously mentioned scholars’ views. She also demonstrates that some of these views may oversimplify the question of Horatian imitation in case of at least several of Kochanowski’s poems. To illustrate this, she presents an analysis of ode XI (*In equum*) in the context of its Horatian models; the conclusion is that in this poem, as well as in the entire collection, Kochanowski imitates Horace in a sophisticated and polyphonic way.

The third part of the text, after a brief mention of the “loci Horatiani” in Kochanowski’s elegies, shows the interplay of ideas between Horatian poetry and Kochanowski’s *Elegy* III 1. The author puts emphasis on the fact that Kochanowski adapted some of the elegiac themes to the Horatian rhetoric.

Concluding her disquisition, the author argues that Kochanowski's Horatian imitation is neither superficial nor confined to the *imitation verborum*, but reaches deep in the structures of Horace's poetry.

**Key words:** NeoLatin poetry, Horatian imitation, Jan Kochanowski's poetry

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Regem te lyrici carminis Italus  
Orbis quem memorat, [...]  
Te nunc dulce sequi [...].  
Sic me grata lyre fila trahunt tue, Sic mulcet calami dulcis acerbitas.  
(Petrarca, *Fam.* XXIV 10, 1–2; 7; 137–138)

## 1. Latin sweet-sounding threads<sup>1</sup>

It will not be any discovery to say that the lyrical Horacy has become a particularly popular (both quoted and quoted) ancient author in the Renaissance era. Moreover, despite the overwhelming authority of Vergilius, appointed by Julius Caesar Scaliger as the creator of “second nature”, Horacy rather than Vergiliusz became a representative Latin poet of humanism<sup>2</sup>. They admired and tried to imitate Vergilius as a model of lofty style, a masterpiece of a dignified narrative. Not only did “Roman Homer” not lose the respect he enjoyed in the middle ages, but he even gained more of it. His poetry appealed both to the ear and to the imagination. No attempt was made to take Horace over Vergilius. Rather, the time has come to appreciate the advantages of Horace's poetry, which was characterized by maturity and intellectualism, precise art of words and suggestive speech of

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<sup>1</sup> The Polish version of the paper: E. Buszewicz, *Horacian Imitation in the Latin work of Jan Kochanowski* *Terminus* 16 (2014), 2 (31), p 151–168.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. Showerman, *Horace and His Influence*, Boston 1922, p. 105.

feelings<sup>3</sup>. The ideas of Horacjan began to penetrate human minds, which certainly paved the way for Petrark to a large extent. Kochanowski, an insightful reader of his Latin works, certainly gained in it one of the “subsoil” of his horacjanism. Other inspirations could have been provided by the first university experience in Krakow, and then by staying in the reading circle of New Latin poets working on Italian soil (Pontano, Marullo, Flaminio, Carbone, Navagero, etc.), as well as the poets of Plejada or George Buchanan<sup>4</sup>. Nowhere in his Latin oeuvre does Kochanowski speak of Horacy or address Horace. Only in a Polish metapoetic poem did he call the Venezuelan poet the perpetrator of “Latin, sweet-sounding threads”, and his songs “over gold more expensive”. Note that “grata lyrae fila” also mentions Petrark in his letter of poetry to Horace (*Fam.* XXIV 10). Although Kochanowski never set out such a programme of horacian imitation in his works as Petrark points out, in his imitation practice he seems to follow precisely this programme. His lyricism, both Polish and Latin, is simply imbued with the spirit of Horace. As we know, the values of *aequa mens* or *aurea mediocritas* were woven by Kochanowski not only into Polish songs and a cycle of Latin boats, but also into *Psalterz*, *Szachów*, *Suzanna*, etc. The values of the *aequa mens* or *aurea mediocritas* were also incorporated into the Polish songs and cycle of Latin boats. In<sup>5</sup> addition, in various Polish works by the Black Forest master (*Zgoda*, *Satyr*, *Proporzec*, *Chess*, *Dziewosłq̄b*, *Fraszki*, *Pieśni*, *Treny*, etc.) one can find horacjan “inlays<sup>6</sup>” - short quotations

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. C. Maddison, *Apollo and the Nine. A History of the Ode*, Baltimore 1960, pp. 39-141 (*Humanist Ode*).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. E. Buszewicz, *Quadrupedum pudor, or what Sarbiewski could learn from Latin Kochanowski*, [in:] *Studia Classica et Neolatina*, vol. VIII, Gdańsk 2006, p. 175-183.

<sup>6</sup> Andrzej Lam, *Horacy Kochanowski*, annex, [in:] Horacy, *Dzieła wszystkie*, Otto Vaenius, *Emblematy horacjaniskie*, przeł. i oprac. A. Lam, Pułtusk-Warszawa 2010, p. 470-480. *Psalterz Dawidów* was excluded from these works, not devoid of inlays at all.

from Horace translated into Polish, sometimes slightly transformed and introduced into new, independently developed contexts, often with a changed function<sup>7</sup>. The dialogue with the Latin master takes place, as in Petrarra's case, on many levels and planes.

The Italian artist's "programme" assumed, however, first of all intellectual and emotional closeness, and only then structural and formal closeness. Horacianism is born out of a charm which, under the pen of Petrarki, acquires the features of an almost erotic fascination - the feelings generated by the poetry of the Venezuelan have been described as *dulcis acerbitas*, 'sweet bitterness' (which brings to mind the pleasures of this world) or 'sweet anguish' (which strictly corresponds to the Petrarra's idea of love). Well, for Renaissance humanists, and for Kochanowski in particular, Horacy is above all a close poet: Vergilius remained the one you admire, but Horacy became a friend. Vergilius remained a guide, but Horacy became a companion. "Virgil remained the admred, but Horace became the friend. Virgil remained the guide, but Horace became the companion. 'Virgil - says Oliver Wendell Holmes - has been the object of an adoration amounting almost to worship, but he will often be found on the shelf, while Horace lies on the student's table, next his hand'<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, s. 470. "It seems obvious that Kochanowski knew Horace's works, at least a significant part of them, by heart, and used this resource freely, at one time maintaining a faithfully chosen formula, at other times transforming it according to the preferences and needs of his own text; each time an extraordinary linguistic invention suggested to him a multitude of Polish formulas, which put these echoes into words".

<sup>8</sup> G. Showerman, *op.cit.*, pp. 105-106.

## 2. Lyricorum libellus. Polyphony and finesse

A newer philological discussion on the *Lyricorum libellus* volume includes mainly works by Janusz Pec<sup>9</sup>, Józef Budzyński<sup>10</sup>, Andrzej Wójcik<sup>11</sup>, Zofia Głombiowska<sup>12</sup>, Jacqueline Glomski<sup>13</sup> and Albert Gorzkowski<sup>14</sup>. However, not all of them reveal the face of the horacjanism<sup>15</sup> that appears in this collection to the same degree. Janusz Pelc does not deal with this phenomenon as such; Jacqueline Glomski sees Horace's influence primarily from a structural and formal perspective. Albert Gorzkowski, following rhetorical *topoi*, associates Horacy mainly with poetic measures and sporadically captured motifs (such as *otium sub arbore*) or ideas (e.g. inscribing the "Eolian song" in the Latin poetry stream)<sup>16</sup>. Elements of a serious discus-

<sup>9</sup> J. Pelc, *Jan Kochanowski. Szczyt renesansu w literaturze polskiej*, Warsaw 1980, pp. 333-377. The comparative approach to the *Songs of Two Books* and *Lyricorum libellus* treats Polish poetry much more extensively; *Lyricorum libellus* dies in its shade. The researcher draws attention to some of the characteristics of the Latin volume, e.g. a smaller proportional number of erotic families and a larger number of specific addressees that can be described as the poet's friends.

<sup>10</sup> J. Budzyński, *Horacjanizm w liryce polskolacińskiej renaissance i baroku*, Wrocław 1985, pp. 53-90 (chapter *Jan Kochanowski horacjanist*).

<sup>11</sup> A. Wójcik, *Jan Kochanowski Lyricorum libellus (Social-political Ode and Ode to friends)*, "Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium" VII (1988), pp. 213-228.

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

<sup>13</sup> J. Glomski, *Historiography as Art. Jan Kochanowski's „Lyricorum libellus” (1580)*, [w:] *Renaissance Culture in Context. Theory and Practice*, ed. J.R. Brink, W.F. Gentrup, Aldershot 1993.

<sup>14</sup> A. Gorzkowski, *Bene atque ornate. Jan Kochanowski's Latin works in the light of a rhetorical reading*, Krakow 2004, p. 173-189.

<sup>15</sup> G. Showerman, *op.cit.*, pp. 105-106 ("Virgil remained the admred, but Horace became the friend. Virgil remained the guide, but Horace became the companion. 'Virgil - says Oliver Wendell Holmes - has been the object of an adoration amounting almost to worship, but he will often be found on the shelf, while Horace lies on the student's table, next his hand').

<sup>16</sup> Cf. A. Gorzkowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-189.

sion on the horacjanism of the collection *Lyricorum libellus* occur mainly in Józef Budzyński and Zofia Głombiowska. Budzyński sees in *Lyricorum's* horacjanism the realization of Piotr Bemba's poetic credo, which recommends "choosing one model for a particular literary genre, imitating it without refraining from borrowing and acting with the freedom of a true artist"<sup>17</sup>. He calls this collection "an exceptional chapter in Renaissance-humanistic imitation" in the work of John of Chernobyl<sup>18</sup>. He sees one of the manifestations of horacjanism in the alternation of thematic groups (occasional-patriotic, reflective and erotic-bearers' families), and the book IV *Carminum*<sup>19</sup> seems to him to be the closest to the concept of Kochanowski's cycle. Reflecting on the horacjanism of the collection, the researcher sometimes departs from the main issue, indicating e.g. "linguistic and stylistic elements of patriotism" (p. 67) or by denying the evaluation of the poet's eloquent workshop. However, we often

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<sup>17</sup> J. Budzyński, *op.cit.*, p. 54. Cf. P. Bembo, *De imitatione ad Picum Mirandulam*, Basileae 1518. In the context of the whole discussion Bembo with Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, discussed in more detail by Agnieszka Fulińska, *Imitation and creativity. Renaissance theories of imitation, emulation and translation*, Wrocław 2000, pp. 116-131, it is difficult to identify Kochanowski's attitude with the directives of Bembo, a proponent of Ciceroonianism and Vergilianism, for whom the basic assumption of imitation is "the writer's direct relationship with the imitated model, but a relationship based not on spiritual kinship, as in Pica, but on literal - physical - contact with the text" (p. 125). For Bembo "there is [...] nothing more absurd than an attempt to include various forms and genres of pronunciation in one", which seems to be extremely different from the attitude of Horace himself, as well as Kochanowski. Kochanowski's vision of imitation/emulation with a metaphor of bees, created by Pico, seems to be much more akin to the vision of imitation/emulation, according to which "[about those who draw from their own minds and who make one body out of the many advantages of others' pronunciation, one can say that they imitate the best and do not steal or beg]" (p. 129).

<sup>18</sup> J. Budzyński, *op.cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 64-65. On the other hand, he argues (pp. 88-89) that the main imitation model of the Black Forest poet in the so-called Roman canopies, which was the inclination of e.g. Tadeusz Sinko, followed by Bronisław Nadolski or Waclaw Walecki.

find here attempts to indicate Horacian models imitated more or less freely by John of Chernolas, often the so-called thematic analogies, such as between *Ode* 1, calling on Henryk Walesa to Poland, and *C. IV 5, Divis orte bonis*, urging August to speed up his return to Rome (p. 67). Already on the example of this ode we can observe a fine polyphony of imitation, defined by Budzyński as a “big literary culture of the creator”, allowing to maintain the originality of the author in the context of *imitationis antiquorum*<sup>20</sup>. Similarly polyphonic, although having a basic pattern in the anthem for the Antonian Fortune, seems to be *Oda* 4 (p. 70-71)<sup>21</sup>. Even if the work has an easily identifiable model in *Carminum* books, it is often enriched with many other, dictionary or thematic, Horacjan elements, which results in a novelty and a specific originality of the work (Budzyński emphasizes this especially in *Lyr. 5*, s. 71–73)<sup>22</sup>. In some cases (*Oda* 7) the imitation technique is called horacjan contamination. Sometimes it is difficult to point out more distinct Horacjan models for the *Lyriconum* families, which have only a few affinities and some *nescio quid* - as in *Fear* 6<sup>23</sup>. As a peculiarity of the cycle he perceives Budzyński *Ode* 2 (*In deos falsos*), woven mainly from Horacjan vocabulary, but allowing to speak “the language of the Romans, but not like the Romans, and even this time not like a typical Renaissance humanist[?]”. Generally speaking, Budzyński considers the *Lyriconum* cycle to be a work characterised by the imitation technique typi-

<sup>20</sup> Apart from relations with “Romanes” and other from Horace from all four books of the cycle, *similia* from Propertius, Ovidius, Vergilius and Seneca were recorded here (cf. J. Budzyński, *op.cit.*, p. 67).

<sup>21</sup> Likewise *Lyr. 8* imitates *C. I. 29*.

<sup>22</sup> By the way, another characteristic feature of *Lyriconum*'s horacjanism, also present in Polish *Songs*, was pointed out here, namely thematic parallelism, i.e. the appropriateness of images of nature in relation to human reality, called “semiotic landscape” by other researchers after Umberto Eco. Cf. J. Danielewicz, *Pejzaż semiotyczny w pieśni Horacego*, “Eos” 63 (1975), pp. 297-302.

<sup>23</sup> J. Budzyński, *op.cit.*, p. 72-73. The originality is also recognised by the researcher in *Lyr. 10* (s. 84).

cal of mature classicism (Renaissance), encompassing not only versification efficiency, but also creative linguistic and stylistic imitation, making it possible to place the Horacian thematic, structural and stylistic elements in a new social and ideological<sup>24</sup> context; we would add - making them a means of expressing one's own voice. However, this voice is revealed in Budzyński's opinion in Latin odes much more "artificially" than in Polish *Songs*, whose horacianism seems more "natural" and "free" to the researcher (p. 87).

As it seems, although not without a certain schematic approach, he perceives the horacian imitation of *Lycorum* Zofi and Głombiowska, in no way entering into a dialogue with Budzyński's proposals. According to the researcher, an important feature of the Horacianism of the Latin collection of boats is the spirit of originality, manifested in such a way that despite the existence of equivalents in certain Horace's odes for some *Lycorum* counterparts, there are actually no alterations, paraphrases or parodies, or contamination<sup>25</sup>, there is not even an excess of characteristic Horacian phrases introduced so often signalled by New<sup>26</sup> Latin poets. It is a horacianism of spirit, not a letter. *Carmina* Horacy is treated as a model indicating "how to shape a ode of the character of a lyrical monologue, how to combine in one work two addressees, how to bind different types of language structures within one ode"<sup>27</sup>, all this while maintaining Horace's basic tendencies - striving for concreteness here (through his own names precisely defining the place, time and situation) and using a form of return to another person.

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 89-90.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Z. Głombiowska, *op.cit.*, p. 200.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 177-179. The researcher refers to the poetic practice of Stefan Dolet, Geronim Alessandro, Ioannes Secundus, Konrad Celtis, Andrea Navager.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 196-197. Attention is paid, for example, to combining narration with prayer or description with a rhetorical speech to citizens and a call to God. Examples of various addressees in one ode are e.g. horse and nymph (*Lyr.* 11) etc.

Since both Budzyński and Głombiowska paid some attention to *Odzie 11 (Na konia)* - and on this basis we can distinguish two quite divergent visions of Kochanowski's horacjanism in *Lyricorum* - I will try to use this ode as a model example highlighting the accuracy of Głombiowska's insights. Budzyński sees in this work a wealth of mythological references, a free and infrequent reference to dictionary and stylistic reminiscences of the Horacjans, a reference to several songs of the Roman poet, with particular emphasis on C. II 13. He also looks for a part of "Horacjanska" (inspired by C. II 13) and "original" (devoted to the "nymph of life"). He sees here a rather artificial and not very skillful imitation of the pattern, an excess of "learned lyricism" and a glaring return to the starting point, while "in Horace's clothes a turn to the cursed tree [...] obscured by the exposure of the "gardener", who planted this tree in such disgrace, is not striking with naivety and artificiality, especially as it continues to pass - after an unexpected possibility of visiting the underground shadows and the inevitable meeting of spirits of poets - in expressing the power of Alkajos'<sup>28</sup>songs.

Głombiowska also emphasizes the abundance of mythological erudition in the aforementioned clothes, and also states that it can be described as a variation on a Horacian theme. However, as the researcher emphasizes, referring to Genesis II 13 and III 8, Kochanowski does not borrow more clearly from these texts, what is more, "there is like a desire to demonstrate independence through a different approach to the same motif [...], a demonstrable marking of one's own otherness and own erudition"<sup>29</sup>. The scientist found herself here close to defining the essence of the subtle game led by Kochanowski with horacian motives and ideas. As a seasoned reader, Horacy Kochanowski knew the rules of the game very well, as the Venezuelan poet used to enter into intertextual games not only with others, but also with his own work.

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<sup>28</sup> J. Budzyński, *op.cit.*, p. 82-83.

<sup>29</sup> Z. Głombiowska, *op.cit.*, p. 200-201.

In order to try to understand the technique of Horacjan Kochanowski's imitation, let us first perform (under the leadership of Gregson Davis<sup>30</sup>) a rhetorical analysis of the structure of C. II 13.

Horace's song cursing the tree counts ten Alcetic strophes. It can be divided into two five-profile parts (A, B), within which it is possible to perform another division into three-profile integrals (A1, B1) and two-profile integrals (A2, B2). In parts A and B there is a contrast between *pietas* and *impietas*. The *impietas* affair is represented by a wicked tree grower, *pietas* - the host. This applies to part A1, A2 is gnomic. In part B, the boundary line between *pietas* and *impietas* runs between B1 and B2 - B1 shows the dignified shadows of poets in the Underground, B2 shows the condemned convicts. In this way, despite the polarization, the composition acquires a frame character and is closed - at the beginning there is an alleged patricide who planted a tree, at the end - condemnants from Tartar, including Tantalum, described here as the "Pelopis parens" ("father of Pelops") antonomasia. Kochanowski's aspiration for a closed composition in *In equum* clothes does not seem "blatant", although the poet resigned from such a precise strophic structure in favour of an Alkman's poem. It seems to be in line with the game of meanings undertaken here by the poet; the horse's walk was called "alternating step" (*alternare pedem*), probably referring to metric alternation at the same time. The use of such a pattern could also be associated with the awareness that the tetrametre "breaks" the hexameter, just as a stumbling of the horse interferes with the even hoof<sup>31</sup>tetting.

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<sup>30</sup> G. Davis, *Polyhymnia. The Rhetoric of Horatian Lyric Discourse*, Berkeley 1991, pp. 78-89.

<sup>31</sup> Horacy experimented in a similar way in C. I. 3. As L.P. Wilkinson observes, Horacy accustoms us through 28 verses to the fact that the term in a sentence or some part of it falls at the end of the distance, after the asclexian poem. However, he breaks this rhythm when he starts talking about death. Here the sentence ends with a glycated sentence. The poem seems to imitate the transformation of human fate after Prometheus's bold progress and Pandora's unwise deed. Life, once long, became much shorter; death brutally broke through and shortened the perspective,

Also the disposition for a *horse* remains in dialogue with Horacy all the time. *Maledictio* to the unfortunate steed includes the first 12 verses; the vision of a possible expedition to the Underground - eight more, the gnomic section (“golden thoughts” about the inevitability of death) - six more, thanksgiving to the mysterious nymph - 14 and the sentence on the horse - 4. So we have five segments. In the first one, just like Horacy, Kochanowski plays with the topicality of the invective. In the second, he remains in the sphere of *impietas*, sketching (demonstratively different than in the case of the Venezuelan) an image of the Underground, in which the heroes, unhappily associated with the horse (Faeton, Bellerofon, Hipolit, etc.) are staying first of all. Very interesting is the gnomic section, devoted to death and (as in Horace’s poetry) including mortality among the topics accepted by the capacious lyrical species:

Omnibus inque locis passim natura dolosi  
 Insevit small only leti,  
 Quae mortalis ubi pes institute, host saevo  
 Confestim nova sternitur Orco<sup>32</sup>.

These verses, in an extensive metaphor, neatly combine the Horacian image of a hypothetical death due to a tree, i.e. “from seed” (or from seedling), with the Black Forest vision of possible death on the road, due to an unfortunate “occurrence”. The fourth segment seems to be a kind of “implant” into the tissue of the text, but it is highly justified in the context of the main idea of C. II 13, in which, as Davis states, the avoidance of premature death and the image of Underground are only a pretext to present a vision of one’s own im-

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“accelerated the step”, as did the poem: “Post ignem aetheria domo / Subductum macies et nova februm / Terris incubuit cohors / Semotique prius tarda necessitas / Leti corripuit hail”. Cf. L.P. Wilkinson, *Horace and His Lyric Poetry*, Cambridge 1968, p. 145.

<sup>32</sup> In translation: “Everywhere, in all places, nature has sown the seeds of insidious death; when a human leg treads on them, a new sacrifice is offered to the severe Orcuse. Underlining - E.B.

mortality as a poet. This is where the image of being saved by a mysterious nymph appears, and this is where the real game with the Horacian ideas begins. This is associated with various “autobiographical myths” of the Venezuelan, especially the image of the poet’s exaltation by Mercury from the battlefield of Filippi, outlined in *C. II 7*, the care of the Faun in *C. II 17*, as well as the care of the Muses spread over their bard, depicted figuratively in the form of pigeons in *C. III 4*. Kochanowski’s final reflection is a projection of the sacrifice of a mysterious goddess (which again inevitably leads to associations with Horace’s altars in honour of Venus, e.g. *C. I 19*). One can see here a very mature understanding of Horace’s poetry because, as Davis states, “Mercury (with Faune), Kalliope (with Muses) and Bacchus are interchangeable within the rescue functions and each episode acquires meaning only in relation to its emblematic character”<sup>33</sup>. The end of the work, on the other hand, seems to return to such a characteristic distance for Horace, and at the same time, as Głombiowska has already noted, places the stylized whole in a specific Polish context (a salt mine)<sup>34</sup>. In *Clothing 11* we get a sample of an elaborate, polyphonic and finesse horacjan imitation, which in fact characterizes the whole volume of *Lyrlicorum*.

### 3. Between species

In *Lyrlicorum libellus*, Kochanowski follows in the footsteps of the Venezuelan master not only in terms of imitation of forms, but also in terms of ideas; he also turns out to be an excellent pupil in terms of free handling of genre conventions, as a result of which his lyrical works absorb bucolic, epic, epigramatic motifs, etc. He is also

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<sup>33</sup> G. Davis, *op.cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>34</sup> Z. Głombiowska, *op.cit.*, p. 201.

an excellent pupil.<sup>35</sup> Why, then, shouldn't we expect horacjanism in John of Chernobyl's Latin works other than *Ode*? As Głombiowska emphasizes, "Horacy's poetry was influenced by Kochanowski, the Polish poet reached for his *Carmina* at almost every step"<sup>36</sup>. Not only Polish, let's add, but also Latin. Horacjanism (in a very elaborate form) manifests itself in Kochanowski's Latin work also in *Elegy* and *Forications*. Albert Gorzkowski referred to some of its aspects in his research, drawing attention to, for example, a number of Horacian motifs and topos in *El. II 2*, headed by "Vita brevis longam spem non amat, abice curas, / Qui sapis; effusis labitur annus equis"<sup>37</sup>. It is indeed a *peculiar epitome of C. I. 11* with a mix of *C. IV. 7*. Similar notes may strike us even in the symphonic epigram *In Bacchum (For. 15)*. "Cui fasura scire est? / Incerta vita nostra est."<sup>38</sup>

However, it is not only about noticing that there are "Horatiani loci" in *Elegy*, in order to say that they testify for example to the good knowledge of the lyric poetry of Horace already in the Padevskoye-<sup>39</sup>period. Let's try to find a more sophisticated inspiration in Horace's

<sup>35</sup> Cf. S. Harrison, *The Literary Form of Horace's Odes*, in: *Horace, l'oeuvre and imitations. Un siècle d'interprétation*, ed. W. Ludwig, Vandoeuvres 1993, p. 131-162. See also idem, *Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace*, Oxford 2007, pp. 168-206.

<sup>36</sup> Z. Głombiowska, *op.cit.*, p. 167.

<sup>37</sup> "A. Gorzkowski, *op.cit.*, p. 120-121.

<sup>38</sup> In translation: "Who can know the things to come? Our lives are uncertain.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. e.g. J. Budzyński, *op.cit.*, p. 62. The "Horacian place" in *Foricoenium* 80, compared to *C. III 1, 3*, was also indicated there. It is worth noting that in *Foricocje* researchers rarely look for "loci Horatiani" - recently published article by Monika Szczot "*Foricoenia*" by Jan Kochanowski - in the species circle and thematic varietas, [in:] *Classicism. Estetyka - doktryna literacka - antropologia*, oprac. K. Meller, Warsaw 2009, pp. 161-173, does not refer to this context at all. Occasionally, the authors of some of the studies collected in the volume *Good Companions because of their topos, motives and horacian inspirations* recall them. *Studia o „Foriceniach” i „Fraszkach” Jana Kochanowskiego*, oprac. R. Krzywy, R. Rusnak, Warsaw 2014, e.g. E. Buszewicz, *Wielcy i mali poeci w „Foriceniach” by Jan Kochanowski* (pp. 51-80); F. Cabras, *In dialogue with tradition. Latin sources of foricinium 42 and 52* (pp. 81-92); W. Ryczek, "*Domi et foris cenare*". *On one of Jan Kochanowski's language games* (pp. 25-50). He meticulously mentions the Horacjan places in *Elegy* A. Lam,

lyrics and refer to the facade opening the third book of *Elegiarum libri IV (Rursus ad arma redis....)*. Intertextual game with Horacym seems obvious from the first verses:

Rursus ad arma redis, pharetrati mater Amoris,  
Nulla tibi mecum pax diuturna placet.  
I am delighted to convince you, first of all, of the vulnerabilities,  
Iteratively, I should like to fix the Amor.  
First of all, I would like to thank you for your visit,  
Insanisse semel sit, Cytherea, satis<sup>40</sup>.

Although the presentation of love as a struggle is in accordance with the conventions of the elegy of love, in which the topos *militia amoris*<sup>41</sup> appears in various ways, and in Tibullus we find a supplication addressed to Wenera: “At mihi parce, Venus: semper tibi dedita servit / Mens mea: quid messes uris acerba tuas?”<sup>42</sup>, the introductory part of Kochanowski’s elegance follows both inventive and argumen-

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*op.cit.*, p. 480-485. He lists such inspirations, noting at the same time that “in elegies [...] Kochanowski rarely takes over literal expressions in Horace’s poetry, but often paraphrases them and uses similar compositional tricks. [...] Horacjan patterns appear here as templates which entertain the adept of high poetic art, often in a different functional use, as a practice then called “parody”. It consisted in changing the relationship between the style and the object in an intentionally “aesthetically inappropriate” way, or in introducing content that did not fit within the horizon of the original, and thanks to its authority elevated” (*ibidem*, pp. 480-481).

<sup>40</sup> In translation: “Again, you stand up to battle, mother armed with Amor’s arrows. You don’t like long lasting peace with me. My heart barely healed from the first wound, and here again a fierce Amor pierced my breast. Blast, please, summon the games of your first youth. Cyterejko, may one thing be enough madness.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. R.O.A.M. Lyne, *Propertius and Tibullus. Early Exchanges*, [in:] *idem, Collected Papers on Latin Literature*, New York 2007, pp. 251-282; on toposu *militia amoris* applications - especially pp. 261 et seq. An excellent comparison of love for military service was carried out by Owidiusz in *El. I 9* (‘Militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra Cupido ...’).

<sup>42</sup> *Tib. El. I 2*, 98–100. In translation: “But save me, Venus! My heart has always been dedicated to you. Why do you burn your own harvest in your sternness?”

tative way, after Horace's C. IV 1 (both works are also initial within the book<sup>43</sup>). What we have here is a signalling of an unexpected and inappropriate attack of the goddess of love, as well as emphasizing the maturity and stability of the lyrical self, defending itself against the power of feeling:

Intermessas, Venus, diu  
 rursus bella moves, parce, precor, precor.  
 not sum, qualis eram bonae  
 sub regno Cynarae, desine, dulcium mater saeva Cupidinum  
 circa mirrors decem flectere mollibus iam durum empii; abi,  
 that is why we need to revoke beforehand<sup>44</sup>.

The dialogue of both works is also indicated by verbal formulas (*rursus, parcels, precor, matter*), especially the whole formula of *parcels, precor* - very clearly referring to Horace and at the same time not reproducing his thoughts, because Kochanowski places the verb *parcere* in a slightly different semantic and syntactic context (not to 'spare, have mercy', but to 'abandon, stop' with an infinitive).

<sup>43</sup> The Horacian character of rhetoric in *El. III 1* is even clearer when one takes into account the elegance ending the second cycle of the *Elegiarum libri duo*. It is in this collection of *El. II 11*, goodbye to Venice and "Lydia": "Nil mihi sit tecum, Venus, amplius! En age vectes, / En age nocturnas accipe, diva, faces!". In the context of this "briefing" more rhetorically justified is the first verse of *El. III 1*: "Rursus ad arma redis, [...] mater Amoris..." Horacy, undertaking a new lyrical poetry of love, in *C. IV 1* begins with an apparent *recusatio*, referring to the humorous disassembly of weapons and at the same time lute, to the farewell to love wars and poems, to the props *militiae amoris* (torches, arches, crowbars) and also to the proud Chloe ("Vixi puellis puer idoneus / et militavi non sine gloria; / nunc arma defunctumque belloque bello defunctumque").

<sup>44</sup> Hor. *C. IV 1*, 1-8. "So again you want, Wenero, to start / interrupted long time ago war? Save, please, please, please, / I am no longer what I was, / under the authority of Cynara, so stop, sweet / mother cruel Cupid, / because it is not easy to succumb to delightful orders, / when the tenth Friday passes; go away, where the compassionate ones call you the requests of the youth"; Horacy, *Dzieła wszystkie*, przeł. i oprac. A. Lam, Warsaw 1996, p. 104.

Then, it would seem, the paths of the poets depart. In the second part of C. IV 1 Horace sends Venus to another address, to the home of the younger Paulus Maksimus; in the last part, after the ostentatious declaration of a lack of interest in love, it explodes with a lyrical confession of passion to the indifferent Ligurin; it finds solace only in dreams. Meanwhile, Kochanowski's elegia continues to bring reflection on the political situation and the possibility of a war with Moscow: the rhetorical strategy of "repelling the enemy" transfers the black-lesque poet to another addressee - the armed enemy not into an allegorical, but into a real weapon, "Moscow". It is to him, not to Wenery, that the call "flecte pedem retro" is addressed. However, it performs the same function as in Horace - deceptive retardation<sup>45</sup>. In the case of a Venezuelan, it leads to the unveiling of a love drama, in the case of Kochanowski - to the declaration of an inner conflict of heart, which is not necessarily doomed to failure: "At mihi nil opus est externum quaerere bellum, / Intus adest hostis, qui mea corda ferit. / [...] Tu tamen, o pro qua bellum gerit ipsa Dione, / Pasiphile, paci non inimica veni"<sup>46</sup>! The last part of the façade therefore contains declarations placed "against" or "against" Horace; there is a *quodlibet* of Tibullus motifs, ending with a vision of love reaching for and even beyond the grave, typical for this elegiac: "Tecum, Pasiphile, liceat mihi vivere et olim / In gremio vitam deposuisse tuo"<sup>47</sup>. In this way, the reflection fully in line not only with the elegiac convention, but also with the tradition of Tibullus (and partly Propertius) has been inscribed in the Horacian rhetorical scheme.

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<sup>45</sup> As regards C.IV 1, this was pointed out by N.E. Collinge, *The Structure of Horace's Odes*, London 1961, p. 81.

<sup>46</sup> "It doesn't make sense for me to look for an external war - I have an enemy inside that hurts my heart. And you, Pazyfilo, on behalf of whom Venus fights, come as a friend of peace.

<sup>47</sup> "With you, Pazyfilo, let it be given to me to live, and one day give the spirit in your womb. On the theme of the concept of love in Tibullus, cf. O. Lyne, *op.cit.*, pp. 251-282.

#### 4. Between Words, Between Lines...

The maturity of Horacjanska Kochanowski's imitation lies precisely in the fact that it is not realized on the plane of mechanical substitution of verbal formulas, but through "Horacym's thinking", processing of ideas, adaptation of images. This is done in Kochanowski's work through a subtle play in a tone as serious as it is humorous. The tone can be seriously observed e.g. in the implantation of an allegory of a navy from *C. I* 14 to *Lyr.* 3, to which Budzyński<sup>48</sup> has already drawn attention. A humorous tone, e.g. in *Carmen macaronicum*, when a man participating in the parenic agon of the Earth, entering into a dialogue with the matter of Vergilian (*Georgian*) and Horacian (*Epoda* II), declares with a pinch of salt and with a manifestative contrariness:

Nulli flecto gene, sum wolnus, servio nulli,  
 Gaudeo libertate certainly peacefully.  
 I do not expose the wind to long term violence  
 Lucra does not save the poor of usury of mankind,  
 There are no great things, so it is necessary to desert, treasures.  
 Contentus sum sorte mea sorte mea s u e p a t e r n i s n a m q u e p a t e r n i s  
 I would like to say a few words about it.  
 Ipsi epulas nati cnotliwaque wife of the ministry  
 The first time you've got a pati mecum, a quodcumque ferat sors<sup>49</sup>.

Latin Kochanowski's Horacjanism is deeply rooted in the ideas that permeate the work of the Venezuelan. From Horacjanski - and

<sup>48</sup> J. Budzyński, *op.cit.*, pp. 68-69.

<sup>49</sup> "I do not fall on anyone's knees, I am free, I serve no one, I enjoy my freedom and peace; I do not entrust my soul to the winds in search of overseas profits, nor do I oppress the poor man with usury. I don't have great treasures, but I don't want them. I am satisfied with my own destiny and the oxen of my own land, which keeps and nourishes me. They give me children and my virtuous wife, ready to endure everything that happens with me. Cf. *Hor Ep.* 2: "Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis, / ut prisca gens mortalium, / paterna rura bobus exercet suis, / solutus omni foenore".

not only Horacjanski - material, from *latinitatis* available in the treasury of language matter, the poet builds new constructions, embracing most of the “Horacjan places”, understood much more broadly than the *litudo verborum*<sup>50</sup>*simi*. Thus, in a sense, he continues the program of imitation that Petrark had previously set out in his poetic letter to the ancient master. He paid clear attention to various functions of this poetry - praise, reprimand, scoffing, confession of love, etc. - and especially to the immortalizing aspect of poetry:

Sculpture that we need to make more money  
Heroas veteres sique foretaste, new,  
[...]  
Sic vatum studiis sola faventibus  
Virtus perpetuas linquit imagines<sup>51</sup>.

Above all, however, he showed that under Horace's pen lyrical poetry has become a capacious, universal and perfect form, discovering various scenes of nature and literary landscapes, as well as placing man in a cyclical dimension of time and accepting the principle of *varietas* not only in its formal form, but also in relation to the world presented.

Non me proposito temporis aut loci  
Deflectet facies; ibo pari impetu  
Vel dum feta uterum magna parens tumet,  
Vel dum ros nimiis solibus aruit,  
Vel dum pomifero fasce gemunt trabes,

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<sup>50</sup> Z. Głombiowska, *op.cit.*, pp. 203-210, draws attention to this, speaking of Horacjan themes and philosophical assumptions in *Lyrlicorum libellus*.

<sup>51</sup> “Which [poems] sculpt more permanently than in hard marble of old and new (if any) heroes [...] This is how, thanks to the efforts of poets, only virtue leaves permanent images”. Cf. J. Kochanowski *Lyr.* 1 1-4; already Z. Głombiowska (*op.cit.*, p. 207) noticed here an expression of the conviction that the task of poetry is to sing out husbands distinguished by virtue.

Vel dum terra gelu segnis inhorruit<sup>52</sup>.

The lyrical space shaped by Horace seems to be the most appropriate image of reality, which “must be shimmering and prancing”. Thus, it penetrates in various ways into the world not only of the Polish language, but also of the Latin work of John of Chernobyl.

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<sup>52</sup> In translation: “No place or time will pull me away from my goal - I will go with the same enthusiasm, whether it swells in the womb of fertile Nature, whether the heat of the sun burns the dew, whether the pergola bends under a heavy branch of fruit, or the slothful earth is numb from the frost”.

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