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## The Poetical Map of Europe: Jan Kochanowski's Ode II 24 and Its Cartographical Dimensions<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

The paper deals with the problem of the cartographic imagination in Polish Renaissance literature. The other problem discussed is the impact of cartographic reason on establishing the early-modern national and European identity of the Poles. The methodological approach of the paper is inspired mainly by critical cartography (J.B. Harley). Map is defined here in its relatively wide meaning. It is not limited only to material representations, but it is also understood as a performance, a gesture and a form of thinking (D. Woodward, J. Pickles). The main text examined here is the ode II 24 by the Polish Renaissance poet Jan Kochanowski (1530–1584). The poem concludes his lyrical cycle published posthumously in 1585 and it is a Polish imitation of the Ode II 20 by Horace (*Non usitata nec tenui ferar*). In the first part of the paper the author exhibits the context of the sixteenth-century use of maps. The cartographic revolution of that time made a great impact on art, literature, philosophy etc. Renaissance humanists all over Europe lived within the maps and used them as a tool or as a means of expressing, defining and shaping their ideas. In this part of the paper it is shown when and where Kochanowski would have consulted

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or watched and read the maps. The second part of the texts compares the poem by Kochanowski and its Horatian model. The author recalls the results of previous interpretations by J. Ziomek, L. Szczerbicka-Ślęk and others. Kochanowski's version is almost a translation, but the Polish poet rewrote Horace's ode in a specific way. He swapped the ancient names of places and put in their place the names of the regions of sixteenth-century Europe. In the consequent analysis, the author argues that it is not only a sample of Renaissance metonymy, but it shows the more complex process of replacing one cartographical imagination with another. While the cartographic imagination of Kochanowski was based on the Ptolemaic tradition and its early modern transformations, the ode by Horace evokes the tradition of maps similar to the Porticus Vipsania in Augustan Rome and copies the *Tabula Peutingerina*. Therefore, the metacartographies of the poets should be seen as different. The final part of the paper shows yet another difference between the two poems. While the gaze of the Roman poet trespasses the *limina* of the Roman Empire, Kochanowski is looking only at the European and not very distant Mediterranean regions. The author concludes with the hypothesis that this European orientation became typical for Polish poetry of the 16th and 17th centuries. This Europocentric focus is one of the distinct features of Polish literature that made it different from literatures of the countries interested in overseas colonial endeavours. Keywords: Renaissance cartography, Polish Renaissance poetry, Jan Kochanowski, imitation, early modern national identity, Europocentrism, cartographic reason

**Key words:** Renaissance cartography, Jan Kochanowski, Horace, Polish Renaissance poetry, imitation

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## 1. Prologue: humanist and map<sup>2</sup>

Did Jan Kochanowski<sup>3</sup> use the map? We do not know the inventory of his library, in fact we do not have his correspondence, and the dic-

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<sup>2</sup> The Polish version of the paper: J. Niedźwiedź, *Humanistyczna mapa Europy Jana Kochanowskiego (Song of 24 Secondary Books)*, w: *Literatura renesansowa w Polsce i Europie. Studia dedykowane Profesorowi Andrzejowi Borowskiemu*, red. J. Niedźwiedź, Kraków 2016, s. 251–273 („Terminus”. Bibliotheca Classica, series 2, no. 6).

<sup>3</sup> Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584) - the most important Polish Renaissance poet. He played a huge role in the creation of the modern Polish poetic language. His

tionary created on the basis of his works does not record the word. But Kochanowski knew contemporary maps for himself and was a man formed by cartographic thinking.

He probably used the war maps of Stanisław Pachołowiecki and Maciej Strubicz, writing his poems and poems related to the Batorian wars, which will be discussed in the following chapters<sup>4</sup>, and could also have access to maps of Russia prepared by Wieda, Gastaldi, Herberstein or Jenkinson. He certainly used the map of the sky, preparing the Latin edition of the poem *Aratus* (based on Cicero) and translating into Polish the *Phaenomena* by Aratos. This last edition was also provided with a map of constellations<sup>5</sup>. The number of cartographic sources available to Kochanowski must have been much wider, but at this point in time it is a secondary matter, to which he had access and to which he did not have access.

During his life the most famous cartographic works of those times were created - Ortelius and Mercator. For over a hundred years, humanists have been passionate about cartography, incorporating it into their daily reading practices. Renaissance humanism was based, among other things, on imagining the world by means of maps. Intellectuals from the 15th century did not actually use the

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main works include Latin elegies (1561 and 1584), *Zuzanna* (1562), the tragedy of the *Odprawa posłów greckich* (1578), the *Psalterz Dawidów* (1579), *Treny* (1580; contemporary translation into English: S. Heaney and S. Brańczak); *Songs and Frasches* (published in 1585).

<sup>4</sup> The possibility that Kochanowski used maps was indicated several decades ago by Tadeusz Ulewicz (*Świadomość słowiańska Jana Kochanowskiego. Z zagadnień psychiki polskiego Renesansu*, [in:] idem, *Świadomość słowiańska Jana Kochanowskiego. Europejskie oddziaływanie Jana Kochanowskiego*, Kraków 2006, p. 123). Apart from these two cartographers, the researcher mentioned Bernard Wapowski, Sulimowski and rancus, and summed up the issue of Kochanowski's relations with the map: "Not the time and place here to go into these details". Since then, this issue has not been developed further.

<sup>5</sup> Its reproduction from the collections of the Jagiellonian Library was included in Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba's book, *Czcionką i piórem. Jan Januszowski w roli pisarza i tłumacza*, Krakow 2007, pp. 202-203.

map, or at least not the one to which we and the Renaissance people are accustomed. Over the course of two centuries, a radical change in the perception of space has taken place.<sup>6</sup> In the 16th century maps were already everywhere, published in tens of thousands of copies in all European countries, and this process of mapping our thinking about the world continues to this day.

Cartography historians have been asking questions for a long time: what happened during the two centuries between the beginning of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries that maps have become so common? What were the circumstances of the cartography? These questions are closely related to Renaissance literature, because it is in it that we will find a clear reflection of the process of disseminating maps. Their appearance implies a new way of talking about space (mapping it) and, above all, placing oneself in this space. The aim of my article is therefore to try to answer the question of how the main Polish poet of the pre-partition period confronts these changes. I would like to answer the questions of how Kochanowski maps his world and how he uses his own cartographic writings to place himself and his nation in the world.<sup>7</sup> No less important question is what his answer to the then mapping practices was.

Since the end of the 15th century, Krakow's humanists have actively participated in the process of creating new European and global spaces, including by defining the eastern parts of Europe. In the second half of the 16th century the process of placing Poland and the Republic of Poland on the global map was basically completed, but it was still an open question to negotiate a place for Poles in Europe that would meet their aspirations. Sometimes this negotiation

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. P.D.A. Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England*, Chicago 1994, p. 7; D. Buisseret, *The Mapmakers' Quest. Depicting New Worlds in Renaissance Europe*, Oxford 2003, p. XIV; J. Pickles, *A History of Spaces. Cartographic reason, mapping and the geocoded world*, London and New York 2004, p. 77; R.W. Unger, *Ships on Maps. Pictures of Power in Renaissance Europe*, New York 2010, p. 1-3.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. T. Conley, *Self-made Map. Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France*, Minneapolis 1996, p. 3.

took the form of a counter-map<sup>8</sup> to texts created in other parts of the continent.

A new metagraphy of Europeans<sup>9</sup> emerging in this period was created under the influence of the reception of the works of Ptolemy, Strabon, Tacyt and Pliny<sup>10</sup>. In addition to scientific works by Alexandria and Roman authors, historical texts were also important sources, e.g. “The Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God”. Liviusza and Caesar, and poetry. Geography and space played an important role in the work of leading Augustinian poets: In the past, the city of Wergiliusz, Horacy and Owidius. A large proportion of their works reflect the metadageography of the times in which they lived, especially *Eneida*. Humanists who imitated Roman poetry had to confront their own experiences with Roman spatial images and translate such images into their own mental maps.

## 2. Kochanowski imitates a poem by Horace

An example of such a translation is Kochanowski's song II 24 about the incipitation “Unusual and not a pen-led”. It has been analyzed

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<sup>8</sup> See J. Pickles, *A History of Spaces...*, p. 179-194 for *countermapping* as a form of defence against mapping imposing the interests of groups and institutions with economic, political, military and symbolic power; D. Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps*, New York and London 2010, pp. 111-155.

<sup>9</sup> Metagraphy is defined as ‘the set of spatial structures through which people order their knowledge of the world: the often unconscious frameworks that organize studies of history, sociology, anthropology, economics, political science, or even natural history’, M. Lewis, K. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents. A Critique of Metageography*, Berkeley 1997, p. IX.

<sup>10</sup> See J. Miziołek, *In search of a vision of a better world. Notes on the reception of culture and science of ancient Greece in the Italian Renaissance*, [in:] *World of Ptolemy. Italian Renaissance cartography in the collection of the National Library. Wystawa w centlecia urodzin Jana Zamoyskiego*, ed. T. Łóciennik, M. Baliszewski, Warsaw 2012, pp. 54-65.

and mentioned many times in the last hundred and fifty years, and is one of the more famous lyrics of the poet.<sup>11</sup> The researchers of this text discussed eight main problems: the question of translation, imitation and emulation; Kochanowski's horacjanism; the meaning of verses 5-6 ("that I" - how *many ego*); the poet's metamorphosis into the Apollo bird; the replacement of Roman realities with Polish ones (metonymasia); Kochanowski's poetic programme, especially in the context of *Muses*; the definition of the poet's role as an orphan bard; Kochanowski's relations with Myszkowski.

Song II 24 was published posthumously in 1586 in Jan Januszowski's *Oficyna Łazarzowa* in Kraków together with *Fraszki*. It closes a cycle of two books of songs, although it is followed by an *Anthem* entitled *Song*. Song II 24 can be treated as a summary of the cycle, and the *anthem* as an addition. We do not know when it was created, but researchers are willing to associate it with the Black Forest period.<sup>12</sup>

The song 24 *Secondary Books* could be called a translation of the verse II 20 Horacego *Non usitata nec tenui ferar*, if not for a few sig-

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<sup>11</sup> Ode has been discussed many times by researchers. The fullest and deepest analysis was presented by Jerzy Ziomek, *Niezwykłe i nie leda pióraro*, [in:] *Jan Kochanowski. Interpretations*, edited by J. Błoński, Kraków 1989, pp. 95-107. songs were also written by, among others: S. Tarnowski, *Studia do historii literatury polskiej. Wiek XVI. Jan Kochanowski*, Kraków 1888, p. 314; S. Windakiewicz, *Jan Kochanowski*, Warsaw 1947, p. 182; J. Ziomek, *Renesans*, Warsaw 1977, p. 276; J. Pelc, *Jan Kochanowski. Szczyt renesansu w literaturze polskiej*, Warsaw 1980, p. 227-228, 240, 376-377; M. Cytowska, *Komentarz*, [in:] J. Kochanowski, *Dzieła wszystkie*, vol. 4, *Pieśni*, ed. M.R. Mayenowa, K. Wilczewska, B. Otwinowska, M. Cytowska, Warsaw 1991, p. 475-476; J. Abramowska, *Poeta zgody - Jan Kochanowski*, [in:] *Pisarze staropolscy. Sylwetki*, vol. 2, ed. S. Grzeszczuk, Warsaw 1997, p. 141; Wilczek, *Songs*, [in:] *Lektury polonistyczne. Jan Kochanowski*, edited by A. Gorzkowski, Kraków 2001, p. 312; J. Sokolski, *Jan Kochanowski*, [in:] *Historia literatury polskiej w dziesięciu tomach*, vol. 2, *Renesans*, ed. A. Skoczek, Bochnia 2002, p. 286; T. Ulewicz, *Świadomość słowiańska...*, p. 129; L. Szczerbicka-Ślęk, *Introduction*, [in:] J. Kochanowski, *Songs*, ed. L. Szczerbicka-Ślęk, Wrocław 2008, p. XXVII-XXVIII.

<sup>12</sup> See S. Tarnowski, *Studia do historii literatury polskiej...*, p. 314; J. Pelc, *Jan Kochanowski...*, p. 227.

nificant shifts in meaning. So it will be safer to call it an imitation or emulation.<sup>13</sup> Kochanowski proves with his text that the then Polish language was probably already able to bear the ideas and artistry of Roman poetry of the Augustinian times. Certainly, however, Kochanowski is able to successfully face such a task. At the same time, he repeats in his song the gesture of Horace - at the end of the cycle he includes a commentary on his work.

It is a poem about the passing, death and immortality of the poet, which is ensured by his poetry. Death is depicted as a metamorphosis in the swan - the bird Apollo, which will fly into the sky and, circulating above other regions, will make his fame spread widely. Having a double nature, mortal and immortal, material and immaterial, the poet "not all shall die". Its better part will not be absorbed by the black arms of the "Impassionate Styx", because it will survive in his work. The funeral, described in the last stanza, will therefore be futile, as the poet will still be alive.

The toposes of the immortality of poetry, flight, meaning of creativity, etc. have been entirely taken from Horace's ode and in this respect one could speak of song 24 as a translation. At the same time, however, Kochanowski introduced four fundamental changes. First of all, the poem was addressed to Bishop Piotr Myszkowski (ca. 1510-1591), Kochanowski's friend and protector, to whom the poet also dedicated his paraphrase *Psalterza* and several other works. His name replaced the name of the Patron present in Horace's clothes. Secondly, the poet pointed out that he is "born with equal happiness", unlike Horace, who mentioned his low origin and promotion thanks to the support of Patron. Thirdly, Kochanowski crystallised his version: the poet's double nature can mean the double nature of a man composed of an immortal soul and a mortal body. In addition, the funeral from the last stanza, with the "mourning voice of the acorns by singing", clearly has a Catholic character. And fourthly, the regions mentioned in the fourth and fifth stanza, above which

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. J. Ziomek, *Niezwykły i nie leda pióra...*, p. 98.

the poet, transformed into a bird, is to fly, are different from those in the poem of the poet from Venezuela. And it is precisely these last differences that I would like to take a closer look at, and on the basis of them I would like to try to answer the question: what cartographic image of Europe Jan Kochanowski<sup>14</sup> could have had.

Let's start with the flight of Horace and his meta-cartography. When I write about meta-cartography, I mean a term resembling the meta-cartography mentioned above. It is an externalized set of cartographic images which serve to interpret and structure space in an imaginative and symbolic way. It is based on writing - it requires at least elementary knowledge of the map, in other words, the ability to use the map (*cartolitaracy*) and the ability to use the "mind" or "*cartographic reason*"<sup>15</sup>. The function of metacartography and cartographic reason can be not only to operate in the world with a real map, but also "alternative mapping"<sup>16</sup>, for example with the use of poetry.

In order to locate the beginning of Horace's flight, one has to go back to the beginning of the second stanza, in which Horacy writes:

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<sup>14</sup> This problem has so far escaped the attention of most researchers. Probably the first scientist who noticed the connection between this song and the map was Andrzej Borowski (*The concept and problem of the "Northern Renaissance". Contribution to the geography of historical-literary Northern Renaissance humanism*, Cracow 1987, p. 6). Other authors wrote about the "flight landscape" (J. Ziomek, *Niezwykłe i nie leda pióro...*, p. 105), names that "refer already to the sixteenth-century reality" (P. Wilczek, *Pieśni...*, p. 312), "naming nations" (T. Ulewicz, *Świadomość słowiańska...*, p. 129), "the space of sensed fame", unlimited only "to the centre of Europe, which indicate "the territories distant from this centre" (L. Szczerbicka-Ślęk, *Wstęp...*, p. XXVII). This issue is interesting in that most of the interpreters of song II 24 thoughts with the use of a map, while not referring to this phenomenon in their lyrics. This is probably a testimony to such a strong externalization of the map as a certain principle of structuring thinking that there is no need to point it out.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. J. Pickles, *A History of Spaces...*, p. 77.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. E. Rybicka, *Geopoetyka. Space and place in contemporary literary theories and practices*, Krakow 2014, p. 149.



“urbis relinquam”<sup>17</sup>, which evokes associations with Urbs - Rome and other cities on the Apennine Peninsula. In stanza 4 and 5 we find references to nine lands. At the beginning of the fourth stanza the names Dedal and Icarus point to Crete and Greece as a whole. From this Greek perspective, the poet looks at the nearby Bosphorus coastline. Then he looks south, towards the Syrtas in the Ghetto, i.e. the Berberian areas north of the Atlas Mountains in Africa. In the next verse the poet's eyesight turns to the far north, i.e. to *Hiperborea campos* - hyperborean fields.

In the first two lines of the stanza of the fifth wing, the fame of Horace goes east and flies over the lands around the Black Sea: Colchid, i.e. the eastern shores of the Black Sea, and today the territory of Georgia; over the Danube, i.e. the Roman province in today's Romania. Finally, the *ultimi Geloni* are mentioned at the end, according to Horace, a people who are at the very ends of civilisation. Gelons, as Herodot writes, lived in north-western Scythia, i.e. areas east of modern Kiev in Ukraine<sup>18</sup>. The last two lines of this stanza show a flight westwards. The poet's work will be known to the Spanish (*peritus Hiber*) and a resident of the Gallery (*Rhodani monor*).

When we move the flight of a poet transformed into a swan on a map, its center will be located in Rome and Greece, while the next verses will mark out the four sides of the world: south (Sirty), north (Hiperboreans), east (Colchida, Dacja and Geloni) and west (Iberian and Gal). The poetic map of Horace determines the range of influence of his poetry and thus immortality<sup>19</sup>. This immortality is geographically conditioned, extending as far as Latin language and the Roman Empire reach. Similarly, Horacy writes about his legacy

<sup>17</sup> Quotations from Horace's ode following: Q. Horatius Flaccus, *Opera*, Vol. 2, ed. F. Klingner, Leipzig 1970, p. 64.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Herodot, *Dzieje*, transl. S. Hammer, Warsaw 2007, p. 262.

<sup>19</sup> Commentators of Horace's work did not write about the cartographic dimension of his poetry, but they paid attention to all directions of the world in which the poet's posthumous fame is to spread, cf. R.G.M. Nizbet, M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horaces: Odes Book II*, Oxford 1978, p. 347.

in the last garment closing the original three-book edition, namely the famous III 30 *Exegi monumentum* garments. There, however, immortality was not limited territorially, but temporally. The fame of Horace is to last as long as Rome exists.

### 3. Kochanowski imitates the map of Horace

Kochanowski repeats Horace's gesture, but in a different space. The poet writes in the fifth verse: "Cities of contempt," but unlike the Venezuelan, it is not easy for us to identify these cities: although it is difficult to suppose that he was concerned with Rome, one cannot say that it was Krakow. We should rather understand this phrase as another gesture of Horace, a contempt for large groups of envy people. It can be assumed, however, that Kochanowski, who writes in Polish, starts his flight in Poland.

Where is the bird from Kochanowski's poem flying? In Strophe 4 he follows the same path as the Horacian bird: Greece, Bosporus, Syrty Cyrinths and Tritons, although the names have been slightly changed. Cyrena (Kyrene) is a city in North Africa, in the territory of today's Libya. The area geographically corresponds to the Ghetto Syrtom of the Horace region. In turn, the Horacian hyperborean lands were replaced by Tritons, the polished version of Septemtriones - seven stars from the constellation of the Great or Little Bear. In both cases it is far north.

Kochanowski used the equivalents of the original names and thus began an emulatory game with Horace. It is not the first time in my work that I seem to speak: I can write in Polish what Horace wrote in Latin, that is, I can translate Horace into Polish. However, the equivalent of the names in stanza 4 has a different meaning: I can write in Polish as if it could be written by Horace. In stanza five Kochanowski proves, however, that his emulation can go even further: I can express in Polish what Horace could have written if he had lived in my times. The Polish poet changes the map of the Roman poet:

Moscow and the Tatars will know about me,  
 And various inhabitants of the world Englishmen,  
 I am a German and a brave Spaniard, they get to know me,  
 Which deep stream Tiber drink.<sup>20</sup>

On the face of it, Kochanowski's map is disordered, and the directions of his poetic fame's spread have been determined accidentally. Nevertheless, we find order in it. The suggestion is the location of Poland not mentioned in the poem: it is in the centre. The bird flying from it first visits the Slavs closest to Poles - Moscovites. The easiest way to get to know the poet's works is because of the similarity of language.

Kochanowski used his time to understand space. The scales are therefore not in the east, as we used to locate them today, but in the far north. So they are a reflection of the Horacian Gelons. Then the poet lists the Tatars, which according to sixteenth-century ideas were placed in the east. It is followed by the north-western Englishmen and Germans, western Spaniards and southern Italians. They replaced the rhododendrophiles-Galas from Horace's ode.

#### 4. Counter-mapping by Kochanowski

Kochanowski's cartographic activity apparently boils down only to exaggerating the Horacian map. Apparently, it consists in shifting the centre and setting directions in a new way. In Horace's clothing we have the Mediterranean ecumenus<sup>21</sup>, whose central places are

<sup>20</sup> I based the quotations from the song 24 from *Księgi wtóre* and the *Hymn* on the first printing: J. Kochanowski, *Pieśni księgi dwoje*, Kraków, Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1586, pp. 54-55. The transcription was done in accordance with the recommendations for B-type text editions.

<sup>21</sup> The word *ecumenus* is used here in the original Greek sense. Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski explains it in this way: "what applies to the whole earth is common,

Rome and Greece. The known world is limited to the Roman Empire and its *limes*. In Kochanowski's song the Mediterranean ecumenus has been replaced by Europe. While Horace's gaze is Romocentric, Kochanowski's gaze is Eurocentric<sup>22</sup>. In this limitation to "their" territories, a certain common feature can be seen. Poetic mapping of the ecumenus by both poets serves not so much to describe it, but rather to create a community and define the foundations of geographical and cultural identity.

Kochanowski's poetic mapping in stanza 5 is not, however, a palimpsest. He does not put his more or less modified version on the map of Horace, as it happens in stanza 4, and he does not even correct it, but - as I mentioned earlier - he changes the Horacian map of his own, or actually counter-maps it. The last two lines of the fifth stanza are crucial: "They recognize me, / Who are drinking the deep stream of Tiber". The swan from Horace's poem looks from a distance at the "hyperborean lands", and its fame reaches the "furthest" Gelons (*ultimi Geloni*), i.e. where in the future the territory of, among others, the Republic of Poland will be located. Their inhabitants are on the verge of ecumenism or even, as in the case of the Hyperboreans, beyond the borders of civilisation.

Meanwhile, in Kochanowski's song, it is precisely those distant and unrecognized lines or places outside the *limes of the empire that the Romani* take over the central position. The author of song 24 moves the areas from the Vistula and Dnieper to the middle of his map. In cartographic rhetoric, the position of an object, its graphic size, the type of font used to sign, the placement or omission of an object or toponym is of fundamental importance for the interpreta-

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and *oikumene* means the whole world, that is, the whole inhabited earth". A. Frycz Modrzewski, *O poprawie Rzeczypospolitej* (IV, 3).

<sup>22</sup> Another humanist and Polish writer Jan Dantyszek (1485-1548) approached European ecumenism in a similar way, see A. Borowski, *Iter Polono-Belgo-Ollandicum. Cultural and Literary Relationships between the Commonwealth of Poland and the Netherlands in the 16th and 17th centuries*, Kraków 2007, p. 38-52.

tion of space.<sup>23</sup> Above all, this involves expressing dominance and identifying centres and peripheral areas. On the map of Europe, Jan Kochanowski's central position is occupied by the Republic of Poland, while the peripheral position is held by Rome. At the very end, Kochanowski's swan will arrive at the place from which Horace's swan started its flight. The Polish poet reverses the Horacian order of things by reorganising spatial relations, i.e. counter mapping. Kochanowski shows that the world has changed and the map of the Venezuelan is no longer up to date. The very gesture of mapping the ecumen remains, but ecumen means something else. The topos of mapping remains unchanged, but the language of poetry and metagography are completely different. Kochanowski's mapping is therefore immersed in history because it reflects the variability of the map. Jerzy Ziomek noted that the Polish poet's gesture of swapping places of future fame is based on historical thinking: for Kochanowski, the future of Horace was a past time. It is therefore necessary to come up with a new territory for the future. It is the territory of nations.

Kochanowski expresses the view that there is a certain community of early modern Europe, which is at the same time a Europe of states and nations. Kochanowski's poem once again harmonizes with the sixteenth-century cartography. According to contemporary researchers, the main drivers of its development were the beginnings of a modern nation state and capitalist economy.<sup>24</sup> In Kochanowski's

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<sup>23</sup> See J.B. Harley, *Maps, Knowledge, and Power*, [in:] idem, *The New Nature of Maps. Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. P. Laxton, introduction by J.H. Andrews, Baltimore-London 2001, pp. 66-71.

<sup>24</sup> "Although the details of the development and use of maps are very complex and regionally differentiated, we can say that there have been major changes in Europe between 1400 and 1600 in terms of map form, use and accessibility. What is more, these changes - resulting in a radical change in cartographic awareness - had a significant impact on the formation of a new national state consciousness (and in turn were themselves subject to its influence). Its constitutive features were the concern for the establishment, defence and management of the national territory and the administration of the national economy. J. Pickles, *A History of Spaces....*, p. 77 (ed. J. Bear). Cf. D. Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps....*, p. 9.

poem, however, the determinants of these kingdoms are not borders, as on contemporary maps, but the names of countries and the rivers and cities identified with them, as on the map of the world of Gerard Mercator. Regardless of the spatial determinants used, Kochanowski's European ecumenus radically differs from Horace's imperial ecumenus.

## 5. Two different meta-cartographies, i.e. imitation impossible

The meta-cartographies of both poets have another fundamental difference. At first glance, the replacement of names in Kochanowski's poem is an example of Renaissance metomazion, i.e. "the transfer of a name from one nomenclature system (a given time and space) to another nomenclature system (a different time and another space)"<sup>25</sup>. It seems, however, that change is much more important. We can only see it from our contemporary perspective of readers living in the 21st century.

It doesn't matter whether we put Kochanowski's poetic map on today's Google Map or on the Mercator map. The result will be more or less the same: a clear European outline with countries and peoples, major rivers and the same major urban centres: Budapest, Vienna, Moscow and Krakow. The meta-cartography of humanists living in the 16th century and humanists later by five hundred years is convergent in many points. Nevertheless, the metacartography of Horace and his Polish imitator differ diametrically. The reason for this difference is, first of all, the fact that probably the maps that Horace knew had a completely different form than those used by humanists in the Renaissance. Probably Horace would not recognize our maps and wouldn't be able to use them. This is related to the cartographic

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<sup>25</sup> J. Ziomek, *Niezwykłe i nie leda pióro...*, p. 103.

revolution that took place about one hundred and fifty years after his death.

Responsible for this revolution was one of the most influential researchers in the history of science, Alexandria's scholar Klaudiusz Ptolemy (about 100-about 168)<sup>26</sup>. Among his main works is *Geography*, written in Greek, which explains the ways of representing the spherical world on a plane, i.e. the principles of cartography. Ptolemy most probably mapped in his work the whole world known to him. His conical representation, based on geometric construction, aroused fascination with 15th-century humanists. The reception of the Treaty of Ptolemy is reminiscent of the reception of other ancient texts that were discovered in the 15th century: The *Institutio oratorios* of Kvintilian, the poetry of Katullus, *Geographica* Strabona and *Germania* Tacyta, but the significance of the treatise of the Alexandrite scholar was incomparably more important: historians of science even use the term "Ptolemaic revolution"<sup>27</sup>. After the introduction of Ptolemy's *geography*, representatives of the European intellectual elite began to imagine the world in a completely different way than their predecessors living in previous centuries.

Ptolemy's treatise, translated into Latin, repeatedly rewritten and then printed, found itself in the centre of humanists' interest. Every

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<sup>26</sup> See O.A.W. Dilke with additional material supplied by the editors, *The Culmination of Greek Cartography in Ptolemy, The History of Cartography*, vol. 1, *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, eds. J.B. Harley, D. Woodward, Chicago-London 1987, p. 177-200; A. Jones, *Ptolemy's Geography: Mapmaking and the Scientific Enterprise, Ancient Perspectives. Maps and Their Place in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece and Rome*, ed. R.J.A. Talbert, Chicago and London 2012, pp. 109-128.

<sup>27</sup> See J. Babicz, *La Résurgence de Ptolémée*, [in:] *Gerard Mercator cosmographe: The temps and the espace*, ed. M. Watelet, Antwerp 1994, p. 50-69; Ch. Jacob, *The Sovereign Map. Theoretical Approaches in Cartography through History*, transl. T. Conley, ed. E.H. Dahl, Chicago and London 2006, pp. 62-63; .G. Dalché, *The Reception of Ptolemy's Geography (End of the Fourteenth to Beginning of the Sixteenth Century)*, [in:] *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, Part 1, ed. D. Woodward, Chicago-London 2007, pp. 285-286.

educated man living in the second half of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century knew Latin translations of Ptolemy's texts or at least their university discussions<sup>28</sup>. The mathematical, geometrised projection of the world by Ptolemy was based, among others, on the sixteenth-century cartographers<sup>29</sup>. The map of Europe of Alexandria, a scientist in manuscripts and prints from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, does not differ too much from the maps forming cartographers at that time. This is a direct result of the fact that they learned to reproduce the world on *Geography*. Most of them, such as Waldseemüller, Beneventano, Wapowski, Ortelius or Mercator, had experience in preparing maps of Ptolemy. However, they paid little attention to such ways of cartographic representation as Horace might have come into direct contact with - perhaps because they knew little or nothing about it.

We also know relatively little about the cartography of ancient Rome, especially during the Augustinian period. Sources say that the Romans used maps, but what they looked like, we can only suppose. Sources concerning Roman maps come only from the late Republic<sup>30</sup>. More information can be found in later sources, including Porcius Vipsania.

It was built by Wipsania Polla, sister of Mark Agrippa (63-12 BC), the Roman commander and minister who was Augustus. The con-

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<sup>28</sup> The commentators of Ptolemy at the University of Cracow at the turn of the 15th and 16th century included Jan from Głogów and Jan from Stobnica. The latter issued an introduction to *Comography: Introductio in Ptolemei Cosmographiam cum longitudinibus et latitudinibus regionum et civitatum celebriorum*, Cracoviae, Jan Haller, 1512. See T. Ulewicz, *Sarmatia. Studium z problematyki słowiańskiej XV i XVI w.*, Kraków 1950, p. 41-42; J. Bzinkowska, *Od Sarmacji do Polonii. Studia nad początku obrazu kartograficznego Polski*, Kraków 1994, p. 9; K.N. Piechocki, *Erroneous Mapping: Ptolemy and the Visualisation of Europe's East*, [in:] *Early Modern Cultures of Translation*, ed. K. Newman, J. Tylus, Washington, D.C. 2015, pp. 84-86.

<sup>29</sup> N.J.W. Thrower, *Maps and Civilization. Cartography in Culture and Society*, Chicago and London 1996, p. 58-59, 69-75, 81.

<sup>30</sup> See O.A.W. Dilke, *Maps in the Service of the State: Roman Cartography to the End of the Augustan Era*, [in:] *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1...., p. 204.



struction of the Leipzig Ports at Via Lata in Rome, the urban section of Via Flaminia, began even before Agrippa's death and was continued by Augustus after 12 BC. It was a remarkable monument to the authorities, containing a roadmap of the Roman state engraved on marble slabs. The importance of cartography in propaganda had already been appreciated several decades earlier, but it was only Julius Caesar and Octavians who commissioned the cataloguing and mapping of the territories<sup>31</sup> conquered by the Romans. The Port of Leipzig is probably one of the results of these activities. On the basis of the description of the building provided by Pliny the Elder in *Historia naturalis*, it is assumed that the map was similar to road maps or road<sup>32</sup> descriptions.

A much later example of a Roman road map is the *Peutingerian Tabula* stored in Vienna. It was preserved in a copy from the 13th century. There has been a dispute over the period of its creation for several decades, but most historians of cartography assume that it is probably a copy of the road map of the Roman Empire from the 4th century AD.<sup>33</sup>

We do not know if Horacy saw maps similar to those depicted in the Leipzig Harbour. Although it was opened to the public in 7 BC, i.e. one year after the poet's death and 16 years after the publication of Ode II 20 (23 years BC), the maps depicted on it were not created from scratch. They were based on earlier road maps, with which the Romans travelled around the empire. They are referred to as *itiner-*

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<sup>31</sup> See O.A.W. Dilke, *Maps in the Service of the State*..., p. 205.

<sup>32</sup> See *ibidem*, pp. 207-208.

<sup>33</sup> *Codex Vindobonensis*, Austrian National Library, Ref. 324. Cf. L. Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana. Una descrizione pittorica del mondo antico*, Rimini 1983, 150-162, . rontera, *La Tabula Peutingeriana nella storia della cartografia antica*, [in:] *Tabula Peutingeriana. Le antiche vie del mondo*, a cura di . rontera, Firenze 2003, pp. 17-23, R.J.A. Talbert, *Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered*, Cambridge 2010, p. 7.

*arium pictum*<sup>34</sup> as opposed to *itinerarium scriptum*, which contained only text. In both cases, it was a long coil on which the distances between particular towns, which were located by the main roads of the state, were marked.

A map from the National Library in Vienna, which reflects almost the entire world known to the Romans, i.e. areas from North Africa to the British Isles and from Spain to India, was depicted on a belt 6 metres long 75 centimetres long and only 34 centimetres wide. The size of the distortion is therefore large, as can be seen from the example of the Mediterranean Sea, which has been squeezed or stretched so that the horizontally depicted heel of the Italian shoe almost touches Dalmatia, and the Nile delta is located directly under Anatolia and Lebanon.

Although such cartographic representations might have been known to Horace, we do not know whether he had knowledge of mathematical, mesh divided meridians and parallel maps similar to those which he designed more than a hundred years after his garbage of Ptolemy. We do not even know whether the geographical coordinates given in Greek-language treatises were used to create a map in antiquity. Cartography historians have pointed out that antique books had the form of coils and that the physical creation of such a map as designed by Ptolemy was technically impossible without large distortions (as we are dealing with on the *Peutingerian Tabula*). Maps, which we know today as Ptolemy's, could not be created until after the invention of a book in the form of a code<sup>35</sup>.

Therefore, we are not sure whether Horace could have imagined the Mediterranean coasts in a similar way to Kochanowski or us. This is unlikely.

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<sup>34</sup> See O.A.W. Dilke, *Itineraries and Geographical Maps in the Early and Late Roman Empires*, [in:] *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1....., p. 238.

<sup>35</sup> A. Jones, *Ptolemy's Geography: A Reform that Failed, Ptolemy's Geography in the Renaissance*, ed. Z. Shalev, Ch. Burnett, London-Turin 2011, p. 18.

Unlike Horacy, Kochanowski was unlikely to see Roman road-maps, even though *Peutingerian's Tabula* was already known during his lifetime. He discovered it in Worms, Konrad Celtis, and passed it on to another well-known humanist, Konrad Peutinger (1465-1547), before his death. In the second half of the 16th century it was copied for Abraham Ortelius, who planned to publish it. The first edition was first published in part in 1591, and in its entirety in 1598, i.e. more than a decade after the death of the Polish poet<sup>36</sup>. It is therefore unlikely that Kochanowski knew this performance. Like every humanist, he had to do with the tradition of Ptolemy cartography. By the middle of the 16th century, 26 editions of *Geography* in a circulation of several thousand copies<sup>37</sup> were published, and, as already mentioned, the modern cartography was largely derived from the 15th century editions of this work. Based on Ptolemy and possibly also on the Eurocentric Plinyus (which Horacy also could not know and Kochanowski certainly read), the metacartography of the Polish poet was fundamentally different from Horacy's metacartography, which was based on narrative sources, chorographies and perhaps on some form of maps, such as *itineraria picta*. In the case of Horace the perception of space is essentially textual and perhaps linear, and in the case of Kochanowski - text-imagery (i.e. two-dimensional) and additionally probably still geometric. The differences between their representations are therefore not only due to changes in the political system and the shifting of cultural, political and economic centres to the north. The main difference was in the way of visual representation of space. Both poets thought using an internalised map, but the spatial relationships they expressed were completely different. Humanists have learned to pictorially think about space under the influence of publications in the second half of the fifteenth century and

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<sup>36</sup> M. van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps. An illustrated Guide*, 2nd ed., Houten 2011, pp. 668-673.

<sup>37</sup> See J. Bzinkowska, *Od Sarmacji do Polonii...*, pp. 106-108.

commenting on maps created on the basis of the Treaty of Ptolemy<sup>38</sup>. At the time of Kochanowski this process was already closed.

Traditional philological comparison of the song 24 *Secondary Books* with the ode II 20 reveals shifts mainly at the level of lexis. So it would be an example of the Renaissance meteorology that Ziomek wrote about. These shifts consist in “swapping” Latin names and other ingeniously and skillfully carried out imitation procedures in the Polish poem. They were so successful - in this and other of his poems - that Kochanowski gained the nickname “Polish Horace” from his descendants. His translation (if we consider it only philologically) took place in two spaces. It was the “transfer” or “resettlement” (*translatio*) of words and word associations from one language to another (i.e. translation). Moreover, it was also the “resettlement” of a set of ideas and poetic forms into a different cultural reality, which was itself transformed in this way. Polish poetry, after such inoculation of Horace’s words and thoughts, underwent a fundamental metamorphosis<sup>39</sup>. Philological comparisons of poems by the Roman and Polish poet allowed us to understand how the vaccination was carried out.

However, reading both poems in the context of cartography allows us to see semantic substitutions on deeper levels. The “Gothulian Sirts” are different from the “Cyrinth Sirts” not because of the changed epithet, but because the spatial imagination of the people living in the 16th century acted differently from the imagination of the Romans. This otherness was a derivative of the cartography developing in the 16th century. The swan of Horace, rising above the Mediterranean Sea - and with it the Augustów readers of the poem - “saw” a completely different shape of space than we, the readers of Kochanowski’s poem with cartographic imagination formed under the influence of Ptolemy’s reception. In other words, before Kocha-

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<sup>38</sup> See D. Woodward, *Cartography and the Renaissance: Continuity and Change*, [in:] *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3..., p. 3-6.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. J. Pelc, *Jan Kochanowski...*, p. 502.

nowski and his educated readers began reading or translating Horace's text, they already had certain cartographic and geographical assumptions (metacartography, metageography, cartographic mind).

These assumptions in the perception of space are the result of, among other things, education. They are obtained by everyone who in the course of their education acquires cartographic literacy (*carto-literacy*). It is a process similar to the acquisition of literacy or simply functioning in a written society. The mind of a man subjected to the technology of writing changes and differs from the mind of a man who has never come into contact with writing<sup>40</sup>. The same applies to meta-cartography. Whoever knows the idea of a map and learns about real maps, thinks about space and his place in it differently than a person who has never had to deal with a map. The way we imagine the world therefore depends on which mapping system we are in contact with.<sup>41</sup>

The technology available to Horace and Kochanowski (and other Christian Europeans) was similar. They read from left to right, used an alphabetical system, moreover, based on an alphabet with identical graphic bases, were familiar with similar handwriting techniques, etc. They also read from left to right, used an alphabetical system, moreover, based on an alphabet with identical graphic bases, were familiar with similar handwriting techniques, etc. They also shared a cartographic look, visualization of the space viewed from a bird's eye view or with the help of the "divine eye"<sup>42</sup>. However, the cartographic representations known to them were different and therefore their cartographic writings differed significantly.

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<sup>40</sup> See J. Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*, Cambridge 1977; idem, *Logika pisma a organizacja społeczeństwa*, przeł., Wstęp, red. G. Godlewski, Warsaw 2006.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. J. Pickles, *A History of Spaces...*, p. 61.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. T. Conley, *Self-made Map...*, p. 13; J. Pickles, *History of Spaces...*, p. 75, 80; D. Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision. Seeing, Imagining and Representing the World*, London and New York 2008, p. 25.

Thus, while in relation to the translation of concepts we can speak of meteorology, in relation to spatial imaging meteorology ceases to be functional. Under the names Horacy mentions, there is another meta-cartography, incompatible with Kochanowski's meta-cartography. Since the ways of thinking about the space of both poets were completely different, Kochanowski was not able to "translate" one map (Horacjańska) into another (his own). However, using his spatial imagination and words taken from Horace, he was able to construct his new European metacartography. And that's what he did.

## 6. Kochanowski's Europocentrism, i.e. counter mapping once again

However, there is one more feature that distinguishes Kochanowski from Horace. In his poem, the Roman poet maps the Roman Empire, but his gaze extends far beyond the borders of the recognized world - the lands of the Gelons and the Hyperboreans. Meanwhile, Kochanowski looks at nothing more than Europe and its close borders: Asia Minor and North Africa. Its geographical horizon is exactly within the same limits as can be seen in the famous cartographic image of *Regin* Johannes Putsch's *Europe* of 1537, later disseminated by Sebastian Münster.

Kochanowski knew about the new continents and their exploration, but his gaze is almost exclusively Eurocentric: unlike the French, Portuguese or English poets, he is not interested in colonial expansion. The only trace of geographical discoveries is the expanded epithet of the "various inhabitants of the world" with which he characterized the English. However, it is not the inhabitants of distant regions of the earth who will get to know the poetry of the author of *Trenów*. For him, what counts is only Europe and its European fame, as if it were the most important thing for him to establish his position vis-à-vis representatives of older European cultures. At the

same time, it is also the establishment of the position of the state - in this way Kochanowski's text is inscribed in the sixteenth-century cartographic practices, one of the main objectives of which was to serve the state. The shift of the centre from Rome to the Republic of Poland, visible in song II 24, can therefore be interpreted as negotiating Poland's place in Europe, which is also a form of counter mapping. The sixteenth-century authors (not only Kochanowski, but also Du Bellay) had to face in some way the Mediterranean heritage of Italy and antiquity. If Kochanowski looked at maps of Europe, such as Battista Agnesi's portola from the Zygmunt August's library,<sup>43</sup> he saw clearly that the coordinate grid always has an *axis* in the Mediterranean region, while Poland is just on the continent's border or does not exist at all.<sup>44</sup> Kochanowski's translation is therefore a correction of erroneous ancient and, to some extent, modern maps, which located Poland on the outskirts of European civilisation. In this way, Kochanowski repeated the gesture of Maciej of Miechów, who half a century earlier proved that there are no Ryfejskie Mountains in Mazovia and Lithuania.<sup>45</sup>

It seems that this limitation of geographical horizons by Kochanowski was characteristic of most of the later Old Polish writers, whose metagography was usually closed at the level of the countryside or city, county, Crown or Lithuania, the Republic of Poland or Europe, sometimes extending to Asia or North Africa (cf. the works of Miaskowski, Sarbiewski, Twardowski, Morsztyn, Potocki, etc.)<sup>46</sup>. This distinguishes them from writers of the times of Sigismund the Old. Wawrzyniec Korwin, the author of the *Epitalamium* for the wed-

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<sup>43</sup> Jagiellonian Library, mncs sign. 1886.

<sup>44</sup> C. Astengo, *The Renaissance Chart Tradition in the Mediterranean*, in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3..., p. 194.

<sup>45</sup> See K.N. Piechocki, *Erroneus Mappings...*, pp. 88-92.

<sup>46</sup> Janusz Tazbir (*The Nobility and the Conquistadors. Opinia staropolska wobec conquest Ameryki przez Hiszpania*, [w:] idem, *Prace wybrane*, vol. 3, *Sarmaci i świat*, Kraków 2001, p. 30) i Andrzej Borowski (*Pojęcie i problem...*, p. 103; *owrót Europy*, Kraków 1999).

ding of Sigismund the Old and Bona Sforza from 1518, ordered the winged heroine of his poem, Famie, to spread the fame of the Polish king wherever he got there. Like Kochanowski, he mapped Europe, but at the end of the poem, when Fama reaches Spain, he orders her to board a ship and sail to the New World<sup>47</sup>. Not less open to new geographical discoveries were Jan Dantyszek<sup>48</sup> and Marcin Kromer. It would be worth considering what cultural changes taking place in Poland in the 16th century caused the formation of a Eurocentric metagraphy of Polish writers and political elites. Probably one of the reasons was the inability to become independent from Roman and Italian literature throughout the 17th century. On the one hand, admiration, on the other hand, the willingness to manifest their otherness made Polish writers remain in a dichotomous relationship: they and Europe (= Mediterranean culture). It is possible that this was to some extent related to Pliny's reception, which, unlike other Greek and Roman writers, put Europe at the centre of its attention.<sup>49</sup>

It should be remembered that the Eurocentrism of Polish literature was different from the Eurocentrism of representatives of other early modern European literature: They belonged to nations that created their identity through imperial aspirations and overseas expansion, among others. However, it is probably not only in this fact that we should see the mentioned difference in the "creation of space, nation and self"<sup>50</sup>. In the case of Polish literature, this difference can be defined by the early modern system of literary metagraphy, defined not only by political and economic categories (e.g. colonial expansion) and historical and literary categories (e.g. evolution of poetic forms), but also by spatial ones. Speaking of spatial categories, I mean such juxtapositions of geographical oppositions

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<sup>47</sup> See W. Korwin, *Ad Famam / To Fame*, [in:] J. Niedźwiedź, *The Journey of Fame of Sigismund the Old to the New World. Wawrzyniec Korwina Ad Famam, 'Terminus' R. III* (2001), No 1-2, pp. 243-255.

<sup>48</sup> See J. Tazbir, *Szlachta a konkwistadorzy...*, p. 37, 71.

<sup>49</sup> T. Conley, *Self-made Map...*, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> A. Borowski, *Pojęcie i problem...*, p. 29.



as south-north, Mediterranean culture-alpine culture, the Italian Renaissance-North Renaissance and the translation of ideas present in the literature of the Apennine Peninsula and its aesthetics into literature in the basins of the Vistula, Niemen and Dnieper.

A new experience of cultural space, based on cartographic thinking, was formed in Polish literature during the 16th century. The experience shaped at that time settled in the language of Polish poetry and prose for a very long time, and the world most often closed (and still closes) within the borders that the Queen of Europe embraced, just as in the sixteenth-century woodcut. Kochanowski's song "Niezwykły i nie leda pióraony opatrzoney" ("Unusual and not leda pióraony"), which is multidimensional and not only in the sense of the two-dimensionality of the map, allows one to penetrate this process of forming "spatial myths verbalized in literary creation"<sup>51</sup>.

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<sup>51</sup> Ibidem.