

Bartłomiej Czarski  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9461-9060>

University of Warsaw

bczarski[at]wp.pl

Lemmas in the Old-Polish Armorial Poetry as a Manifestation of Genre Hybridisation*

Abstract

One of the most popular panegyric forms in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was the so-called “stemmata”. Similar to emblems, these visual works consisted of an illustration presenting a coat of arms and an epigram, often featured on the reverse side of the title card of texts printed in the old-Polish period. This paper discusses selected cases in which, influenced by emblems, lemmas are incorporated into the structure of stemmata. The study explains how the lemma is introduced in a stemma and how it affects the latter’s meaning. Particular attention is paid to cases in which mottos are treated as the title of a combination of a coat of arms and a poem.

Another subject analysed here is “academic stemmata”, a sub-genre of the heraldic poem that consists of several features characteristic of emblems. The presence of lemma in the structure of stemmata is recognised as the consequence of a trend to liven up this visual form. Making the emblem more attractive was a way to draw the attention of readers, increasing its author’s chance of communicating a panegyric message. This effect was desired not only by the authors of stemmata but above all by their powerful patrons. The presence of lemma in the structure of heraldic poems also relates to the role of mottos in the Jesuit educational system. Mottos and

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verba aurea were treated by Jesuit teachers as a very useful medium for presenting moral and parenetic subjects, and it was fairly easy for authors of stemmata to use them for panegyric purposes.

The lemma's role within the stemma's structure was twofold; it created a special connection between the stemma and the main text and simultaneously linked the fictional world of literature with the real one. The popularity of "classic stemmata" in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth led to the creation and popularisation of other hybrid forms composed of a coat of arms and other textual elements.

Keywords: emblems, early-modern literature, Polish literature, heraldry, stemma

The rich old-Polish tradition of combining words and images includes the so-called "stemmata". In principle, this concept contains various poetic forms, whose construction is based on references to heraldic images. This study focuses on stemmata whose structure was enriched by an additional element, namely a lemma, understood as a sentence or motto specific to emblems. So far, stemmata have not been given much attention in research on the literature of the past, and therefore it is worth starting with a brief description of the phenomenon we are interested in, especially since the term is used in a relatively broad meaning.

Usually, the term "stemma" refers to epigrams built around an allusion to a motif visible in the coat of arms of a particular person or family.¹ Texts of this type were written by, among others, Andrzej Krzycki,² Andrzej Trzeciecki,³ or Clemens Ianicius.⁴ They can also

¹ This is how the term "stemma" is understood by, among others, Janusz Pelc, see J. Pelc, *Słowo i obraz. Na pograniczu literatury i sztuk plastycznych*, Cracow 2002, p. 15.

² One could mention here a satirical work on the coat of arms of Bona Sforza, see A. Krzycki, *Carmina*, ed. K. Morawski, Cracow 1888, p. 87.

³ According to Franciszek Pilarczyk, the best work of this type by Trzeciecki is a poem dedicated to Hiacynt Młodziejowski, of *Ślepowron* coat of arms, see F. Pilarczyk, *Stemmata w drukach polskich XVI wieku*, Zielona Góra 1982, p. 68.

⁴ One of the stemmata of this prematurely deceased poet is the epigram *In stemma Ravitarum*, see *Antologia poezji łacińskiej w Polsce. Renesans*, ed. I. Lewandowski, Poznań 1996, p. 182.

be found in the collections of later authors, e.g. in *Epigrammatum libellus* by Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski.⁵

Apart from the type of epigrams mentioned above, verbal and visual compositions created in the milieu of the University of Cracow to honour newly promoted masters or doctors are also referred to as “stemmata”. Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa notes many such publications in her bibliography of emblematic works.⁶ Such compositions usually consist of three elements. The most important role in their structure is played by a print that depicts a fictional coat of arms of the scholar and a poem based on it. It is worth noting that the print imitating a coat of arms in such works was usually composed of symbolic representations that referred to the cult of knowledge and intellectual life, and they were usually drawn from the rich resources of emblematics and hieroglyphics.⁷ As a consequence, these structures are, in many respects, very close to emblems, as will be discussed below.

Most often, however, the term stemma denotes a composition consisting of a print that depicts an authentic coat of arms and an epigram that refers to it.⁸ They had panegyric functions

⁵ Aleksander Wojciech Mikołajczak believes that as many as thirty-two works from this collection should be treated as stemmata, see A. W. Mikołajczak, *Studia Sarbieviana*, Gniezno 1998, p. 72.

⁶ See P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Emblematy w drukach polskich i Polski dotyczących XVI–XVIII wieku. Bibliografia*, Wrocław 1981, pp. 51–52.

⁷ See A. Dzięcioł, *Książka jako symbol w kulturze polskiej XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1997, pp. 57–88.

⁸ See J. Niedźwiedz, *Nieśmiertelne teatru sławy. Teoria i praktyka twórczości panegirycznej na Litwie w XVII i XVIII w.*, Cracow 2003, p. 217. Foreign researchers also occasionally pay attention to stemmata. Two items in Lithuanian are particularly worth noting: J. Liškevičienė, *XVI–XVIII Amžiaus knygu grafika: Herbai senuosiuose lietuvos spaudiniuose*, Vilnius 1998; E. Patiejūnienė, *Brevitas ornata: Mažosios literatūros formos XVI–XVII amžiaus Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės spaudiniuose*, Vilnius 1998. Some aspects of the relationship between emblematics and heraldry were discussed by Alan R. Young, see A. R. Young, “The Emblem and Flags”, in *Companion to Emblem Studies*, ed. P. M. Daly, New York 2008, pp. 469–473.

important for the literary and publishing life of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Additionally, they constituted an attractive complement to dedications and were intended to contribute to the achievement of the objectives of a patron who possessed the necessary financial capital.⁹ The popularity of this genre in the lands of early-modern Poland was enormous. Stemmata, which should be noted, did not usually constitute independent works but functioned as one of the elements of a larger whole. For instance, they could be part of a collection of panegyrics, diversified in terms of form. *Leopardus*¹⁰ dedicated to Henryk Firlej, Archbishop of Gniezno, discussed by Janusz Pelc, is an example of this type of volume.¹¹ This work contains a total of fourteen prints and accompanying texts, which together make up separate wholes related to *Lewart*, the addressee's coat of arms. This collection, however, consists of a wide variety of forms, including emblems, stemmata, and hieroglyphic images. However, *Leopardus* is not the only panegyric book of this type. Paulina Buchwald-Pelc,¹² for example, notes other similar editions.

The term "stemma" also refers to textual and heraldic compositions placed on the other side of the title page. Apparently, such a use of the term under discussion is most frequent. This is due to a very simple reason: the tradition of placing stemmata on the verso of the title page of materials published in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was well established.¹³ It was shaped in the middle of the sixteenth century and remained in existence until the end of

⁹ See R. Ocieczek, *Sławorodne wizerunki. O wierszowanych listach dedykacyjnych z XVII wieku*, Katowice 1982, p. 18.

¹⁰ See *Leopardus illustrissimi ac reverendissimi . . . Henrici Firley archiepiscopi Gnesnensis . . . Gnesnensem primum archidioecesim ingredientis*, Kalisz 1624.

¹¹ See Pelc, *Słowo i obraz*, pp. 180–181.

¹² See Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Emblematy w drukach polskich*, pp. 47–51.

¹³ Franciszek Pilarczyk, the author of the only monographic work devoted to this phenomenon, noted a strong link between the stemmata and the printed book, see Pilarczyk, *Stemmata*, p. 6.

the Polish-Lithuanian state. During this time, stemmata naturally underwent various changes dictated by various factors. Undoubtedly, the visual and textual elements of these compositions were influenced by successive or coexisting aesthetic currents and various cultural formations, such as Renaissance, Baroque, or Classicism. An important factor was certainly also the need to diversify the classical form of a two- or three-piece stemma. The first variant consisted of a heraldic image and an epigram, while the other one contained the same elements, supplemented by a superscription which served as a title often informing about the addressee of the work, his family of origin or the coat of arms that he bore. These superscriptions may have taken the following forms: *In stemma* [On a coat of arms], *In stemma perantiquum* [On an ancient coat of arms], *In stemma perillustris maecenatis* [On the coat of arms of a famous patron], *Ad insigne gentilitium* [On a family's coat of arms], and very similar ones in Polish: *Na starodawny klejnot* [On an ancient crest], *Na herb patrona* [On the coat of arms of the patron], *Na herb jego miłości* [On the coat of arms of His Grace], etc. As already mentioned, they were usually supplemented with the name of a particular coat of arms or family.

With time, stemmata, which appeared in large part of printed materials published in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, became very common, and their panegyric potential was eventually exhausted. The authors of this type of composition used various ways of diversifying the hackneyed form in order to restore its attractiveness. For example, care was taken to ensure that the graphic element of the stemma had the greatest possible aesthetic value. This undoubtedly increased the decorative function of the textual and heraldic forms, which in those days played a role of illustration in a book. A common way to enliven the textual and heraldic compositions, which were part of paratexts, more epigrams were also placed under the picture. They could all refer to the same motifs visible in the coat of arms, or each of them could refer to an individual element separately and independently of the others. It is worth mentioning that the number of these additional songs could vary

from a few to several.¹⁴ Thus, this approach significantly increased the author's inventive abilities and allowed him to freely comment on various motifs, sometimes difficult to connect within a single text. The form of stemmata was also diversified by using quotations from other people's works instead of one's own poems. It should be added that such borrowings could have been taken from poetic as well as prose works. Most often, however, classical poets were used, e.g. Horace, Virgil, Ovid, or Silius Italicus. The Bible was equally popular, especially the Book of Psalms. The works of modern authors have been used in this way much less frequently, but there are examples of such texts in stemmata; for instance, it seems that Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski was particularly popular.¹⁵

Another way to make old-Polish textual and heraldic works more attractive, which is worth mentioning even briefly, was to connect them with the current of *poesis artificiosa*. The popularity of artistic poetry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries led to the appearance of such literary forms as acrostics, telestics, centos, polyptota, and *carmina figurata* in stemmata. Such solutions certainly attracted the attention of contemporary readers and allowed authors to demonstrate their artistry in creating compositions that were unusual in terms of form.

¹⁴ An example of a stemma that consists of a greater number of epigrams is the composition included among the preliminaries to Antoni Gliński's panegyric poem, see A. Gliński, *Trybut uprzejmej życzliwości od obowiązanego wdzięcznością klienta. Dobrodziejowi swemu wielmożnemu jegomości panu Stanisławowi Sokołowskiemu podkomorzemu inowrocławskiemu, przy dorocznej wielkiego imienia solennizacji oddany. Roku Pańskiego 1750, Leszno 1750, ff. A₁v.–A₂v.* The reader will find as many as fifteen texts under the heraldic image.

¹⁵ An example of a stemma in which fragments of Sarbiewski's work were abundantly used is the composition published before Cherubino Gorkowski's funeral speech, see Ch. Gorkowski, *Sława godnego imienia, heroiczných w ojczyźnie zasług, o przykądneho cnotami życia, nieśmiertelna po śmierci . . . Jana Chryzostoma Zboży Radojewskiego kasztelana inowrocławskiego . . . na ukojenie serdecznych żalów . . . przy solennym pogrzebie . . . kazaniem . . . ogłoszona roku . . . 1752. Dnia 28. marca, [s.l., c. 1754].*

The above enumeration of many, but not all, alternative variants of the textual-heraldic constructions is intended only as a prelude to further considerations. They will concern stemmata whose structure was enriched with one more element—a lemma. Certainly, the same factors that led to the development of the above-mentioned forms of alternative heraldic poems are behind this diversity. Therefore, it served to make the classical version of the textual-heraldic composition more appealing to the senses and to attract the attention of the reader in order to convey a panegyric message. As it will turn out, however, these are not the only reasons for enriching the formal side of stemmata in this way. However, the full picture of the phenomenon we are interested in will be easier to present in a few examples. It will turn out that lemmata occupied a different place in the structure of the stemma and performed various functions in it.

A frequent way to introduce a lemma into the structure of a panegyric stemma was to replace the superscription, which in tripartite textual-heraldic compositions used to be placed as a title. Thanks to such a procedure, a stemma looks much more like an emblem, and it is sometimes possible to distinguish it from this latter form only after a closer look at the remaining elements of the composition. After all, not every coat of arms is a stemma, even though each of them combines the textual and the visual. The visual part of a stemma, which depicts a coat of arms, often appears in emblematic works too, and many such examples can be found in the collections of the first creators of the genre, with Andreas Alciatus at the forefront. He began his collection with a composition that consisted of an image depicting the coat of arms of the Sforzas, rulers of Milan in the times of Alciato's work. Further on, in *Emblematum libellus*, he mentions other symbols that could be considered heraldic: the owl used as a sign of Athens¹⁶ and the elk as a symbol of the Alciato family.¹⁷ Authors who created stemmata followed the father of the genre. In the collection

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

of the Hungarian humanist Ioannes Sambucus, there is a work that consists of an image in the form of a heraldic depiction: it is an emblem with a lemma that says *In labore fructus* [Labour brings fruits].¹⁸ The same image was later used by Hadrianus Junius in a work dedicated to Sambucus and provided with the lemma *Eruditionis decor concordia, merces gloria* [Concordance is the ornament of erudition and glory is its reward].¹⁹

There are more similar examples. This makes it clear that the use of a heraldic image or a coat of arms in a textual composition does not necessarily make it a stemma. It may be even more difficult to distinguish between the two forms in the case mentioned at the beginning of the previous paragraph, i.e. when the superscription in the structure of a stemma is replaced with a phrase imitating a lemma characteristic of an emblem. And this anything but rare. One such example can be found in a work published in 1636 on fish farming written by Stanisław Strojnowski. The text is entitled *Opisanie porządku stawowego* [The organisation of pisciculture]²⁰ and dedicated to Aleksander of Brzezie Brzeski who bore the *Oksza* coat of arms, Dean of Włocławek. In connection with this dedication, on the back of the title page of the edition we are interested in, the *Oksza* badge was printed: a battle-axe with a blade directed to the right. The image is placed on a decorative escutcheon with a floral ornament. Therefore, it is not a full coat of arms because it lacks the crest, helmet, crown of nobility, or mantling. Above the discussed figure, a superscription was printed that read: *Arti et Marti utilis* [Useful in work and war]. This phrase is very similar to lemmata and can be easily imagined as an element of an emblematic composition. Here, the Latin phrase refers to the heraldic axe. On the one hand, it emphasises its usefulness in armed combat (*Mars*), and on the other hand, its use in various

¹⁸ J. Sambucus, *Emblemata cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis*, Antwerp 1564, f. N₄v.

¹⁹ J. Hadrianus, *Emblemata ad D. Arnoldum Cobelium*, Antwerp 1565, f. B₆r.

²⁰ S. Strojnowski, *Opisanie porządku stawowego i przetróg niektórych domowego gospodarstwa . . . teraz znowu z pilnością przedrukowane*, Cracow 1636.

types of crafts (*Ars*). The emphasised universality of the axe should probably be transferred to the person that this emblem belongs to, i.e. Aleksander Brzeski. Such an understanding of the title of the stemma is suggested by the fact that it is considered in the context of the entire edition and corroborated by the dedication in the *Opisanie porządku stawowego*. It is worth mentioning that the phrase used as the title of the work in question is additionally distinguished by the fact that it was written in Latin, while the epigram—in Polish:

Gdzie teraz złota Wiersza, mężni Wierszowcowie,
 którą wam za herb dali czescy monarchowie?
 Jeśli Okszę za Wierszą na frymark wam dano,
 bez pochyby żelazem złoto oszukano.
 Nie zginęło oboje. W Czechach wojowali
 szczęśliwie, z Wiersze złotej fortunę obrali.
 W Polsce tak się ich cnota z szczęściem pasowała,
 aż ta Oksza jak węda w ich rękę została.²¹

[Where is the golden Wiersza now, oh valiant sons of Wierszowiec,
 that the Czech monarchs gave you as your coat of arms?
 If you were offered to trade Wiersza for Oksza,
 you were tricked into selling gold for iron.
 Not both of them died. In Bohemia, they fought
 fortunately, they chose the fortune of the golden Wiersza.
 In Poland, their virtue competed with happiness
 until Oksza stayed in their hand like a fishing rod.]

This epigram refers to the legend of a coat of arms and the circumstances in which it was granted for the first time. It is important for the structure of the stemma, however, that the poem contains the name of the coat of arms, which did not appear in the superscription that took a form similar to a lemma. The information given in the poem, to some extent, compensates for the shortcomings of the title, which was given a shape more appropriate for an emblem.

²¹ *Ibid.*, f. A, v.

A similar composition can be found in another seventeenth-century print, *Podarek na sławne wesele zacie urodzonych oblubieńców* by Marcin Czaplic Klec,²² published in Poznań in 1622 and dedicated to Stefan Żabiński and Anna Chrościewska on the occasion of their marriage. According to tradition, on the verso of the title page, there is a stemma based, interestingly, not on the bridegroom's emblem, but on the Chrościewski family's coat of arms (to which no other family was entitled). The engraving—a textual and heraldic composition—shows an escutcheon divided across (horizontally), with a swan in the bottom part and half a swan with spread wings in the upper part.²³ This time the representation was complemented by a crest, helmet, and mantling. The crest depicts swans' wings with the initials of Sigismund Augustus between them, above which there is a crown. The textual part of this stemma is, as in the previous example, heterogeneous in terms of language. The superscription, which took on a form similar to that of a lemma, was again written in Latin, and the epigram printed below the engraving was in Polish. The first of these elements reads as follows: *Satis est ornamento filii decus parentum* [Children are decorated by the fame of their parents]. And the other one:

Iż zawsze szczerłość w domu Chrościewskich mieszkał<a>,²⁴
 przetoż cnota za klejnot Łabędzia mu dała.
 Szczęśliwyś, cny Żabiński, że się dziś z nim bracisz,
 bo na jego przyjaźni nigdy nie utracisz.²⁵

²² M. Czaplic Klec, *Podarek na sławne wesele zacie urodzonych oblubieńców, szlachetnego pana Stephana Żabińskiego i szlachetnej panny, Anny Chrościewskiej . . .*, Poznań 1622.

²³ *Ibid.*, f. A, v.

²⁴ The first line of the original text probably contains a typographical error and lacks the last syllable. Adding it is necessary to obtain the Polish alexandrine measure present in the remaining lines. In the quoted passage, the proposed added syllable is given in angle brackets.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, f. A, v.

[As honesty has always lived in the house of the Chrościewski family,
 virtue gave them Łabędź²⁶ for the crest.
 You are lucky, respectable Żabiński, that you associate with it by marriage,
 because you will never lose on account of this friendship.]

At first glance, there are no connections between these two textual elements. The lemma that begins the whole composition should rather be associated with the content of the title work, which has the character of an epithalamium. In this situation, one can get the impression that the title is addressed to the offspring of the young couple, and the panegyric accent characteristic of stemmata was replaced by a parenetic one. This should be emphasised here, as it seems that often a lemma was added to the structure of a stemma in order to change the spirit of its content from laudatory to instructive. We will return to this thought later.

Although it referred to the bride's coat of arms, the epigram was addressed to her spouse. This text, however, in no way refers to the lemmatic superscription but only concentrates on the praise of the Chrościewski family, convincing the addressee that after the marriage he will have a share in the virtue of the wife's descendants as well. In this example, the replacement of the traditional title of a stemma with a form more appropriate to emblems distorts the order of the composition under discussion. Its individual elements do not correspond well to each other. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the superscription does not in any way refer to the heraldic depiction and does not explain the symbolic meaning of its elements. The previous example based on the *Oksza* coat of arms gave the impression of being coherent and homogeneous. This effect was achieved at least partly because of the phrase *Marti et Arti utilis*, which can be easily connected with the axe visible in the emblem. Here, however, the lemma is independent of the stemma but contributes to the general panegyric-parenetic message of the whole work. Its presence may therefore give the impression of inconsistency.

²⁶ Polish for swan.

In both examples, the superscription in the function of lemma was written in Latin, which distinguished it from the epigram in the vernacular language. Perhaps this was to emphasise that the title of the composition also serves as a motto or maxim. The use of a different language was probably supposed to inform the reader that he or she should pay more attention to this particular fragment and devote more time to its interpretation. However, not always did the creators of laudatory compositions try to distinguish the lemmatic title of the stemma from its epigrammatic part. Many such works were written entirely in Latin.

One example can be found in another occasional print from the seventeenth century. It was created not for a wedding but for a funeral. It is a speech printed in 1646 in Krzysztof Schedel's printing house and delivered during the burial of Kazimierz Markiewicz.²⁷ On the verso of the title page, i.e. in the place traditionally reserved for stemmata, there is a print that depicts the coat of arms of the deceased. The badge placed on an escutcheon is an arrow pointing upwards, and in the crest, there is a similar arrow, but turned downwards. A helmet with a crown and mantling around it were additionally put above the escutcheon. The stemma discussed has a tripartite composition and contains a versified part (two epigrams) and a superscription. The latter element, as has already been suggested, resembles the emblematic lemma *Alta decora Parentum* [The noble fame of the parents]. This phrase read outside this context is generally laudatory and refers to the common belief that the achievements of past generations are of great value and should be respected. It should also be added here that this phrase is a modified fragment from the *Aeneid*, where it reads *veterum decora alta parentum*.²⁸ The reference to Virgil strongly

²⁷ W. Kupczewic, *Iusta feralia seu Oratio in funere nobili ac generosi domini d. Casimiri Markiewicz Wazgilowic, eloquentiae ac iurisprudentiae in Academia Cracoviensi studiosi unici nobilis ac generosi domini d. Petri Markiewicz Wazgilowic de Bukszewice S. R. M. curruum praefecti filii ab Alberto Kupczewic, eloq. ac philosophiae in eadem unisersitate studioso, extremi affectus declarandi gratia exhibita*, Cracow 1646.

²⁸ Virgil, *Aeneis*, II 448.

emphasises the lemmatic character of this title and refers to the practice used by many creators of emblems. However, when discussing the stemma devoted to Kazimierz Markiewicz, attention should be paid not only to the superscription, but also to other elements. It turns out that the whole composition also refers to emblems in some other respects. The Latin epigram placed under the heraldic image is also worthy of quoting here:

*Mirum? Quis celeres subvertit turbo sagittas?
 Posterior terras, sed petit astra priorità.
 Parca ferox? Quid? Sed fusum tum stamina tractat?
 Crediderim Lethes plena liquore furit.
 Quidquid id est,²⁹ furor iste bonus, nam frigida membra
 dat terris. Sed mens sidera clara subit.³⁰*

[Strange? What kind of wind turned the flying arrows? One is headed for the ground and the other for the stars. Is that a ruthless Parca? But does she still put a thread on the spindle? I could believe it is Lethe, who runs riot, full of water. Whatever it is, this wildness has proved good, for it passes the cool flesh on to the earth, while the soul rises up to the bright stars.]

The text quoted above suggests that the author used the heraldic image as a universal symbol of death. This interpretation is influenced by the statement that the body belongs to the earthly world and the mind to the heavenly world, which is to be symbolised by two arrows, one directed upwards and the other one downwards. Markiewicz's coat of arms was therefore detached from its original context. This was certainly facilitated by the fact that the image of two arrows pointing to each other signifies two oppositions. Such a hieroglyph was

²⁹ It is worth noting that this line also refers the reader to the *Aeneid*, cf. Virgil, *Aeneis*, II 49: *quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentes* ["Whatever it may be/ I fear Greeks, even when they bring gifts"]. All the quotations from the *Aeneid* in English come from Virgil, *The Aeneid of Virgil: A Verse Translation*, transl. and introd. by A. Mandelbaum, Berkeley 2007.

³⁰ Kupczewic, *Iusta feralia*, f. A₁v.

described by the Italian humanist Pierio Valeriano, popular in the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.³¹

Thanks to the device described, the work lost most of its panegyric spirit but gained an additional element that makes the reader reflect. Undoubtedly, it fits well with the general content of the title text, which is, after all, a funeral speech. It is worth mentioning that the discussed textual-heraldic composition can also be read as a consolatory work. A consolation for the descendants of Kazimierz Markiewicz is that the soul of the deceased found its way into the heavenly world, and only its carnal part, i.e. the *frigid membra* mentioned in the epigram, remained on earth. This stemma is therefore connected with the emblematic tradition not only by the lemma-like phrase that replaced the title. More importantly, the badge in Markiewicz's coat of arms was treated as an image that belonged to the universal language, which was the domain of Alciato and his successors.

At the end of the part devoted to the introduction of lemmata instead of the title of stemmatic compositions, it is worth mentioning a work that dates back to the end of the seventeenth century and differs from the previous examples in that it was not based on the coat of arms of an ordinary nobleman. Instead, it refers to a drawing that depicts the royal arms of the Polish King, Augustus III of Poland (also known as Frederick Augustus II, Elector of Saxony—K. S.). The composition in question was placed, like the previous ones, on the verso of the title page and included in a reissue of Stanisław Orzechowski's work entitled *Subditus Fidelis*.³² This work was originally dedicated to Sigismund Augustus, but in the second edition the dedication was changed and the text was addressed to the first Wettin

³¹ See e.g. P. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* 17, 14; I used the edition from 1678 (Frankfurt am Main).

³² S. Orzechowski, *Subditus fidelis Stanislai Okszyz Orzechowski Roxolani, quondam ad Sigismundum Augustum I, nunc ad serenissimum Augustum II in obsequium sacrae R. M. a Fr. Paulo Antonio Radzynski Gvardiano Sanocensi Ordinis Minorum sancti Francisci Conventualium destinatus. Anno in reparationem humanam destinatae salutis 1698*, Warsaw 1698.

to rule Poland. Therefore, the verso side of the title page featured the royal arms with an epigram and a superscription.³³ In the graphic part of the stemma, the eagle of the Kingdom of Poland is depicted with an inescutcheon placed on its chest and containing a badge used by both Wettins on the Polish throne. It depicts the coat of arms of Prince-Elector of Saxony—two crossed swords and a green crance-lin placed in a horizontally-partitioned field of ten stripes—with the augmentation granted to the Arch-Marshal of the Holy Roman Empire, that is two crossed swords in a black and white field halved horizontally. Naturally, the engraving does not reflect the tincture, nor does it show that the stripes in the coat of arms of Saxony were alternately black and gold. Above the heraldic image, there was the lemma *Felix et Liberum Regnum* [A Fortunate and Free Kingdom]. The author probably wanted Wettin's badge to become the emblem of a happy and free country, that is the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This is an interesting use of the heraldic eagle, which often connotes war and triumph over opponents. In this case, reference was made to values that were of particular interest to the nobility of the Commonwealth at the end of the seventeenth century.

In the context of the textual-heraldic composition from the reedition of *Subditus fidelis*, I should mention that the connection between the quoted lemma and the epigram under the print is not obvious. The epigram reads as follows:

*In solio Lechia primorum gloria regum,
 rex Auguste, nitens subdita corda regis.
 Haec inter numerandus adest de stirpe fidelis
 subditus Orchovia, Tullius ore tonans.
 Cinxisti gemino Lechicam mucrone coronam,
 non satis, hanc fidis cinge monarcha viris.*³⁴

³³ It is worth mentioning as a curiosity that in the edition of this text published a year earlier, on the back of the title page, there was a stemma based on the coat of arms of Franciszek Orzechowski, i.e. *Oksza*. The text was also dedicated to him at that time.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, f. A_v.

[King Augustus! In Lech's country, his faithful subjects were his shining glory. Among them, we should mention the thunderous Tulusz, a devoted servant from the Orzechowski family. You have added two swords to Lech's crown, but that is not enough. Lord, add faithful men to it too.]

The epigram evidently contains advice for the newly elected Augustus. According to the author, the King should rely on his faithful subjects, who will prove more helpful than solutions based on the force of arms, symbolised here by the two swords. This is the only place in the epigram that refers to a heraldic motif depicted in the image above it—these swords are shown in the Arch-Marshal's coat of arms. The poem is an abstract, so to speak, of the whole *Subditus fidelis*, which is a treatise on state governance. Therefore, one can guess the connection between the epigram and the lemma—if the King follows Orzechowski's instructions, the state he rules will become *felix et liberum*. However, there is no denying that this connection is very distant. The relationship between the lemma and the graphic part is much clearer. It is a suggestion that the eagle from Wettin's coat of arms should be seen as the emblem of the perfect state. Undoubtedly, this composition is primarily panegyric thanks to the emblematisation of the stemma. And it is an interesting device indeed.

Lemmata or phrases similar to them, which can also be described as mottoes or watchwords, are also introduced into the structure of stemmata in other ways. They do not necessarily replace the traditional superscription, as they are often put in the vicinity of a heraldic image, usually on both sides and sometimes on one side of it. If this is the case in a three-part composition, the title of the stemma remains intact, and if the stemma consists only of a graphic part and an epigram, it does not appear at all.

Lemmata could also be added to a textual-heraldic composition as a separate element. This is how it was used in a work on the reverse side of the title page of the sermon preached at the funeral of Mikołaj Krzysztof Chalecki, Governor of Navahrudak, who had his own personal coat of arms. This sermon, entitled *Strzała wiecznej szczęśliwości*

*kresu dopędzająca*³⁵ [The arrow of eternal happiness at the close of its way], was printed in Vilnius in 1654. It was written by Antoni Mikołaj Gałęcki, but it is not known whether he was also the author of the stemma that precedes the funeral speech, as this composition remained unsigned. It consists of three basic elements: a superscription, an image, and an epigram, as well as two maxims printed on both sides of the coat of arms. The title of this stemma has a rather classic form and can be classified as a superscription that refers primarily to the coat of arms: *Arma CHALCZ Domus Illustrissimae*. Naturally, it also indirectly points to the family itself because it belongs only to the Chaleckis. The picture under the superscription shows an escutcheon with a *Łękawica*, an ordinary in the shape of the letter “W”, and an arrow attached to it. Above the helmet and the crown, there is a crest in the form of a vulture’s wing pierced with an arrow directed to the right. On both sides of the coat of arms, the author of the composition placed the two aforementioned maxims, which can be considered very similar to emblematic lemmas. On the right side, there is the phrase *Celer virtutis cursus* [Virtue runs fast], and on the left side *Sic itur ad astra* [This is how you reach the stars]. The first one was a rather popular maxim quoted at funerals. The author of the stemma could also have known it from various compendia and textbooks. It was included, for example, in the repeatedly reprinted work *Orator extemporaneus*, in the part that discusses depiction of death.³⁶ Deciphering the origin

³⁵ A. M. Gałęcki, *Strzała wiecznej szczęśliwości kresu dopędzająca w wybornym biegu pobożnego życia jaśnie wielmożnego jego mości pana p. Mikołaja Krzysztofa z Chalca Chaleckiego wojewody nowogrodzkiego, wolkinickiego lepuńskiego etc. Starosty, podobieństwem jego herbownej habdankowej, wystawiona, w kazaniu pogrzebowym dnia 11. września roku 1653, w cudownym loretańskim wolkinickim Panny Naświętszej domeczku od niego fundowanym i zakonowi braciej s. Franciszka conventualium oddanym, przez wielbnego ojca Mikołaja Antoniego Junosza Gałęckiego doktora Pisma s., regenta i kaznodzieję ordynariusza holszańskiego tegoż zakonu za dozwoleniem pasterskim jaśnie wielmożnego . . . biskupa wileńskiego i przełożonych zakonnych, do druku podana, Vilnius 1654.*

³⁶ I used the following edition: M. Radau, *Orator extemporaneus seu artis oratoriae brevium bipartitum, cuius prior pars praecepta continet generalia, posterior*

of the second maxim is naturally much easier—it is taken from the *Aeneid*.³⁷ On the one hand, the addition of lemmata may result from the fashion for various sentences and *verba aurea*, and on the other hand, it undoubtedly diversifies the traditional form of the textual and heraldic composition. Such additions are also panegyric in nature, as their presence in the structure of a stemma suggests that they express principles or guidelines for the representatives of a given family. In the case just discussed, this remark naturally applies only to the phrase from Virgil's poem. The first lemma has a general meaning and describes the universal truth about life and its passing. In this way, however, it is perfectly connected with the content of the sermon delivered after the death of Mikołaj Krzysztof Chalecki. It indicates a strong link between stemmata, as a part of the paratexts, and the title text in the book. Lemmata, as it turns out, can also be used to mark this relation.

The variety of the well-known and frequently encountered textual-heraldic form is also a tribute to the viewer and makes reading a panegyric work more pleasant. On the other hand, the often emphasised similarity between stemmata and emblems makes it easier to incorporate elements typical of the latter into the structure of the former. It seems, however, that in the example cited, the two maxims are only a variation added to the conventional stemmatic composition. The fact that lemmata are only an adjunct and are closely related to the other elements of the stemma is evidenced by the epigram in the bottom part of the composition, which in a very simple way refers to the representation depicted in the image:

Złota złotu przydaje Habdank z wspaniałości,
znacząc się być obrońcą cnej polskiej wolności.
Lecz do niego hartowna strzała gdy przydana,
obroną skuteczniejsza słusznie ma być znana.

praxin ostendit in triplici dicendi genere, praesertim demonstrativo . . ., Amsterdam 1661, p. 341.

³⁷ Virgil, *Aeneis*, IX 641.

Z postronnych gdy kto polskiej nie sprzyja wolności,
 z Chalcza strzały wychodzą męstwa i dzielności,
 którymi bronią wiary, ojczyzny i pana,
 stąd obrona skuteczna z Chalcza jest doznana.³⁸

[Habdank adds gold to gold because of its grandiose,
 assuming the title of the defender of Polish sovereignty.
 But when a hardened arrow is added to it,
 it is rightly to be known as the more effective defence.
 If any foreigner does not respect Polish sovereignty,
 arrows of bravery and courage come out of Chalcz,
 that defend the faith, the homeland and the Lord,
 hence Chalcz's defence proves effective.]

This composition is also heterogeneous in terms of language. The poem was written in Polish, while the superscription and the maxims on both sides of the picture are in Latin, which undoubtedly emphasise their apophthegmatic character and make it easier to see their connection with the broadly understood classical culture (especially the phrase taken from the *Aeneid*).

Quotations do not necessarily have to be introduced in a stemmatic composition only as lemmata, although it often seems that they have a function similar to them. It is worth quoting at least one example here. It is among the preliminaries to the text entitled *Pobudka na obchodzenie nabożne świętości rocznej triumfu i pompy Ciała Bożego*.³⁹ It is a poem dedicated to Bishop Benedykt Woyna, written by a preacher and missionary Walenty (Jan) Bartoszewicz. Interestingly, the attached stemma was not placed on the verso but on the recto of the title page. This textual-heraldic composition consists of

³⁸ Gałecki, *Strzała wiecznej szczęśliwości*, f. A₁v.

³⁹ W. Bartoszewicz, *Pobudka na obchodzenie nabożne świętości rocznej tryumfu i pompy Ciała Bożego dana, a jaśnie oświeconemu i najwielebniejszemu w Panu Chrystusie ojcowi i panu . . . Benedyktowi Woyni, z łaski Bożej biskupowi wileńskiemu, ofiarowana . . .*, Vilnius 1614.

an epigram in Polish and an image that depicts an escutcheon with the Trąba⁴⁰ charge, above which there are symbols of episcopal power: a pastoral, tiara, and sword. Additionally, it is accompanied by Latin phrases placed on both sides of the escutcheon, as well as above and below it. Thus, the reader has four such fragments in front of his or her eyes. However, these texts are not of equal rank. The most important one is placed directly over the heraldic shield—it takes the form of a command: *Laudate Dominum* [Praise the Lord]. The remaining sentences are only a supplement to this imperative. The one on the right-hand side of the escutcheon reads *In sono tubae* [With the sounding of the trumpet]; at the bottom—*In tubis ductilibus* [With trumpets]; on the left-hand side—*Et voce tubae corneae* [And the blast of the ram's horn].⁴¹ Each of them can be freely connected with the text at the top of the escutcheon, forming a meaningful and correct sentence, all from the Book of Psalms. The first and most important of the quotations is the phrase found in many works contained in this book, but it is worth noting that the *Laudate Dominum* formula also begins a few psalms: 116 (*Laudate Dominum, omnes gentes*), 146 (*Laudate Dominum, quoniam bonus est psalmus*), 148 (*Laudate Dominum de caelis*), 150 (*Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius*). It can be assumed that these texts served as the direct source of the phrase placed above the escutcheon since it is the beginning of the work both in their case and in the stemma under analysis. The remaining phrases mentioned in the graphic part of the composition come from Psalm 150 (*Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius*) and the last two from Psalm 96(95) or 98(97) (*Cantate Domino canticum novum*).

The author of the composition chose the biblical quotations so as to use the motif of the trumpet present in the coat of arms of Bishop Benedykt Woyna. On the one hand, it was an attempt to link Woyna's

⁴⁰ Polish for trumpet.

⁴¹ English version after: *The Holy Bible: New International Version*, transl. and published by International Bible Society, verified edition, Nashville and London 2011, available online at <https://www.biblica.com/online-bible/> (accessed on 29 Oct. 2019).

coat of arms with the content of the Holy Scriptures, which was probably supposed to add him and his whole family special prestige based on faith. On the other hand, it may be an allusion to Woyna's innate piety, which should be regarded as praise, given the office he held. The attempt to create an elaborate construction based on quotations from the Book of Psalms, the content of which calls to worship God, certainly has an evangelising purpose. Perhaps this is due to the activity of the author of the title text, Jan Bartoszewicz, who was known as a preacher. Fragments of psalms were incorporated in the above composition in a very similar way as it was done with maxims imitating emblematic lemmata. Probably this solution seemed very convenient to Bartoszewicz, as it was already established by convention and diversified the classical tripartite form of the stemma. Here, the maxims are not lemmata but only a reference to such elements in textual-heraldic compositions placed on the verso of title pages.

The above deliberations illustrate two ways of adding lemmata to stemmatic forms but they only include stemmata printed in old books as paratexts. It should be added, however, that the form of lemma was much more often used in stemmata created in the circles of the University of Cracow. They were called academic stemmata. As has already been mentioned, these compositions resembled emblems in many different ways. This was mainly due to the fact that they were based on fictional coats of arms, which were created with specific people in mind, choosing the most appropriate symbols and motifs. Naturally, emblematics and hieroglyphics, fully developed in the seventeenth century, determined how such compositions were created. Academic stemmata, therefore, used a universal system of symbols and were not limited to the representations offered by heraldry. Adding lemmata in their structure only seems a natural consequence of the deeper relationship between this type of compositions and emblems. It is worth emphasising that academic stemmata were governed by a completely different principle than the much more popular compositions that functioned as paratexts. Textual works based on fictitious coats of arms of academics usually make up entire collections, which means that they do not take on the character of preliminaries

but are part of the actual title text. It is worth illustrating the above with at least two examples.

One of such works is a stemma composed on the occasion of Sebastian Burski's obtaining a doctoral degree. This composition can be found in Wojciech Józef Dzielski's *Auspicatum laureatae sapientiae certamen*.⁴² Its graphic part is as follows: on the escutcheon, there is a dove that holds a blossoming rose in its beak and stands on a closed book; above the escutcheon, there is a crown with palm trees on both sides, which are also a frequent motif decorating a stemma based on real coats of arms. The image is accompanied by two inscriptions. The first one is a Latin description of the picture: *Liber, supraque columba tenens in rostro rosam, supra quam stella* [A book, above it, a dove holding a rose in its beak, yet above it, a star].⁴³ It could therefore be considered a redundant element, although a different interpretation seems more attractive. This description of the representation in the quasi-heraldic engraving is also reminiscent of the blazoning of a coat of arms, which may be an attempt to make this fictitious composition more dignified and to place it on an equal footing with real noble emblems.⁴⁴ However, there is a significant difference between the picture and the accompanying description. The text mentions a star that is missing from the graphic representation, although it does appear in the poem placed at the very bottom of the stemma.

⁴² W. J. Dzielski, *Auspicatum laureatae sapientiae certamen, solido labore et diligentia a XXX. VV. DD. secundae laureae candidatis sub felicissimis auspiciis illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini . . . de Małachowice Małachowski . . . episcopi Cracoviensis . . . peractum, et a perillustri et admodum reverendo Domino, D.M. Joanne Michalski . . . dum iidem VV. DD. candidati, magisterii in artibus et in philosophia doctoratus licentiam solemniter in amplissimo nobilissimorum hospitium, et senatus academici conspectu, sumerent, felici fine coronatum, ac in vim fraterni amoris et gratulatorii affectus ab Alberto Josepho Dzielski, eiusdem secundae laureae candidato, panegyrico applausu celebratum, anno . . . 1668, die 13. Maii, Cracow 1668, f. F₂r.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Similar descriptions of the graphic part of academic stemmata appeared in such works quite often. Alina Dzięcioł collected many examples of this, see Dzięcioł, *Książka jako symbol*, figs 22–29.

Below the blazon and next to the picture, there is a lemma most interesting to us: *Praemia cuncta laboris* [All rewards for the effort]. A special formula that introduces this motto justifies its description as a lemma. This text was preceded by the phrase *Cum lemmate*. The author of the composition himself suggested to the reader how he or she should treat this fragment. It is remarkable that this was also the case for other academic stemmata, although the term “lemma” was not the only one used. Lemmata were also preceded by other synonymic words, for example, by the formulation *Cum epigraphe*.⁴⁵

In the stemmata created at the University of Cracow, both the lemmata and the entire textual-heraldic compositions referred mainly to the achievements accomplished through work, as well as to the work itself, here naturally understood as—first and foremost—scholarly activity. Maxims made the whole compositions resemble emblems because they added a universal and parenetic spirit. At the same time, however, it must not be forgotten that these mottoes were placed in works dedicated to specific people and so individualised. That being the case, they are panegyric in nature as they speak of a virtue that the addressee of the whole composition was supposed to be distinguished by.

The combination of a laudatory and parenetic character was something natural and common in seventeenth-century texts. This tendency evident in another example from the group of academic stemmata: a composition dedicated to Stefan Barwinkiewicz.⁴⁶ The emblem prepared especially for him depicts a wooden chest with a laurel wreath

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ F. K. Balicki, *Trophaeum victoriosis triumphis palmisque insigne, virtuti doctrinae et honori VV. DD. XXVII. secundae laureae candidatorum dum in alma Universitate Cracoviensi Regni . . . sub eximia protectione . . . Joannis Malachowski . . . episcopi Cracoviensis . . . et . . . Alberto Lancucki J.U.D. et profess . . . in magna Illustrium et nobilissimorum hospitem frequentia et amplissimi senatus academici consessu, post peractum rigidi examinis certamen magisterii in artibus et in philosophia doctoratus, licentiam ritu solenni consequerentur, in vim fraterni amoris et publicae gratulationis a Francisco Clemente Balicki, ejusdem secundae laureae candidato, concentu panegyrico dedicatum . . .*, Cracow [1681], f. Ev.

above it. The picture becomes fully understandable when one reads the description that accompanies the engraving, which this time does not resemble the language of blazoning as much as in the previous example. It reads as follows: *Laudabilem triumphum honorat Ilias Homeri in pretiosa Darii arca a Magno Alexandro deposita lauruque coronata* [The glorious victory is celebrated by Homer's *Iliad* deposited by Alexander the Great in Darius' precious chest and crowned with a laurel]. The reader was therefore referred to a popular story about a unique copy of the *Iliad*, which was in possession of Alexander the Macedonian and was stored in a special casket. The work was additionally supplemented by the lemma *Animi vis dignissima lauru* (The most worthy of the laurel is the power of the spirit). In this way, the qualities of spirit that characterise academics, in this case, especially Stefan Barwinkiewicz, were emphasised once again.

Lemmata included in the structure of old-Polish stemmata—whether in compositions created on the basis of real coats of arms or prepared with the use of popular emblematic motifs—were primarily supposed to diversify the conventionalised genre and enrich the content of a given work. On the one hand, they introduced a parenetic and universal element to the stemma, making it similar to the emblem, and on the other, they subordinated the general expression of such compositions to individual purposes, primarily of a laudatory nature. It should also be recalled that, in the case of stemmata on the reverse side of title pages, lemmata could also play another important role. Sometimes they linked a textual-heraldic composition with the title text, its spirit or message. In this way, they amplified the status of textual-heraldic compositions as preliminaries. This observation seems to be particularly pertinent in the case of stemmata added to funeral texts, especially in Jesuit circles or other organisations strongly connected with the old-Polish education system. The maxim was a form often discussed during various seminars in poetics and rhetoric.⁴⁷ In

⁴⁷ On the role of emblematics and maxims in the education system, see e.g. J. Loach, "The Teaching of Emblematics and Other Symbolic Imaginery By Jesuits

Jesuit schools, it appeared especially in the context of emblems, which naturally makes us associate it with a stemma. The presence of lemmata as an independent matter in the educational system is connected not only with its sporadic presence in stemmata, but above all with its strong roots in the early-modern culture.

The lemmata added to stemmata in paratexts were usually drawn from the rich ancient literature or the Holy Scriptures, especially if they were used in works based on coats of arms of the nobility, referred to in this text as “classical stemmata”. In the case of compositions created to commemorate newly promoted doctors, this element was rather written by the author of the whole work and original. It resembled a maxim or a motto but was not taken from any external source. Naturally, it referred to other, often popular maxims. This, however, was largely due to the graphic representations with which such a lemma coexisted because their creators drew, as has already been stressed, from the conventionalised resource of emblematics and hieroglyphics.

Undoubtedly, the introduction of lemmata into the structure of stemmata is also a testimony to the close relationship between stemmata and emblems. Both textual-visual forms were characterised by a similar structure and often even application. After all, emblematics in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at a very early stage was subject to panegyric tendencies and became, to a large extent, “applied art”, which rendered it similar to stemmata in terms of how they functioned in the publishing life of the time.⁴⁸ Authors of stemmata also

Within Town Colleges in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France”, in *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition: Selected Papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference 18–23 August, 1996*, ed. J. Manning and M. van Vaeck, Turnhout 1999 (*Imago Figurata*, vol. 1a), pp. 161–186; A. Saunders, *The Seventeenth-Century French Emblem: A Study in Diversity*, Geneva 2000, pp. 109–160; B. B. Awianowicz, *Progymnasmaty w teorii i praktyce szkoły humanistycznej od końca XV wieku do połowy XVIII wieku*, Toruń 2008, pp. 129–133, 140–141, 214–215.

⁴⁸ P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, “Na pograniczu emblematy i stemmatu”, in *Słowo i obraz. Materiały sympozjum Komitetu Nauk o Sztuce Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Nieborów 29 września – 1 października 1977 r.*, ed. A. Morawińska, Warsaw 1982, pp. 73–95.

began to include heraldic motifs, which were handy in constructing laudatory and occasional forms. Apart from their interesting functions, lemmata in the structure of stemmata blur the genre border between two visual-textual forms. This is particularly true for compositions in which a motto is added instead of a superscription, which makes the stemma even more similar to an emblem. Stemmata of this type are therefore located somewhere on the borderline of genre hybrids and are a clear example of the coexistence and interpenetration of various types of visual-textual compositions. This phenomenon probably led to the fact that until now stemmata were mostly discussed as part of emblematics and often treated as a variant of the emblem.

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