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Finis Ianitii?

Mikołaj Lubomirski's *supplementum* to Klemens Janicki's *Vitae regum Polonorum*

Abstract

This contribution provides an edition of Mikołaj Lubomirski's epigrams on Polish-Lithuanian rulers. It consists of three major parts. Firstly, a preliminary study establishes the connection between Janicki's *vitae* and Lubomirski's work. Janicki's *vitae* were written around 1542 and printed as late as 1563. Many subsequent editions and Polish paraphrases introduced changes, such as the pieces on the rulers who were not covered by Janicki. A few examples of such additions (for example, two versions of Andrzej Trzeciecki's epigram) and of Janicki's *vitae* editions (Gdańsk 1621, Kraków 1631, Stendal 1670) are discussed.

Between 1621 and 1632, Lubomirski composed four additional (Latin) epigrams, which he included in a notebook that is partially preserved in: Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ms. 5575 (*codex unicus*). The poems are collected in a separate unit (*supplementum*) and placed directly after the handwritten copy of Janicki's *vitae*. It is argued that Lubomirski aimed to reveal the theme of Jagiellonian succession, mostly through the symmetrical composition of his cycle. Its framework is constituted by the first and the last epigram on the figures who are connected to the Jagiellonian dynasty, Sigismund II Augustus (supp. I) and Sigismund III Vasa (supp. IV). Within this arrangement, the second and the third poems are devoted to the first kings elected in the so-called free election, Henri de Valois (supp. II) and Stephen Báthory (supp. III). Both pieces contrast with each other, however: Henry's image is clearly negative, while Stephan is depicted overall positively, and thus his profile is similar to those of Jagiellonians. Other intersections between the poems, which exceed the frame and inset composition, can be observed as well.

After the critical edition of Lubomirski's epigrams (second part) the commentary (third part) is structured not according to the chronology of the rulers, but in order to acknowledge the established theme of Jagiellonian succession. In addition to a few textual and philological issues, the commentary notes internal connections between the pieces in the *supplementum*. Some essential similarities and differences to other *vitae* cycles and texts are remarked, although the focus is on Janicki's epigrams. Finally, the historical context is explained and the events, places, and figures that the poems refer to are identified.

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Introduction: Janicki's *Vitae regum Polonorum*¹

Among the confessions made by Klemens Janicki (Janitius, 1516–1543) in his autobiographical elegy (1541) shortly before his death, he mentions two prospective projects.² He reassures his homeland that future poets will celebrate Polish history, rulers, lands, and also the marriage of Sigismund II Augustus (Zygmunt August) with Elisabeth of Austria (Elżbieta Habsburżanka), which eventually took place on 6 May 1543.³ Fortunately, before his passing, Janicki himself managed to compose an epithalamium that was, however, printed posthumously.⁴ In around 1542, he finished the *Vitae regum Polonorum*, a cycle of forty four epigrams, in six elegiac couplets each, on Polish(-Lithuanian)⁵ rulers and iconic figures from legendary times to the reign of Sigismund the Old (Zygmunt I Stary, 1506–1548).⁶ The cycle takes a chronological and biographical approach to the historiography, and thus it follows Janicki's *Vitae archiepiscoporum Gnesnensium* (created 1536–1537, printed 1574).⁷ The poet

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to Maria Maciejewska, to whom this contribution owes a great deal. I also thank an anonymous reader for valuable suggestions.

² On Janicki and his *œuvre*, see e.g.: H.B. Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland: The Rise of Humanism, 1470–1543*, Ithaca 1989, pp. 227–249; B. Miązek, *Polnische Literatur des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Frankfurt am Main 1993, pp. 105–107; G. Urban-Godziek, “Two Polish Renaissance Elegiac Cycles (by Klemens Janicki and Jan Kochanowski) in the Light of the Contemporary European Practice”, in *Renaissance and Humanism from the Central-East European Point of View: Methodological Approaches*, ed. by *ead.*, Kraków 2014, pp. 261–276; *ead.*, “The Topos of *de se aegrotante* in Humanistic Elegiac Autobiography: The Relation of Clemens Janitius’ ‘Tristia’ to Petrus Lotichius Secundus’ ‘Elegiarum Libri’”, in *Civitas Mentis*, vol. 1, ed. by Z. Kadłubek and T. Ślawek, Katowice 2005, pp. 92–109.

³ Ian. trist. VII 133–139: “. . . Et pereo ante diem nec iam, mea patria, possum,/ Qualibus optavi, te celebrare modis// Et populi vetera acta tui regumque tuorum/ Et de temporibus non reticenda meis,// Augusti imprimis thalamos, quos destinat illi/ Cum Ferdinando rege paratque pater.// Hoc alii post me poterunt tamen. . .”. All quotations from Janicki's works are derived from: K. Janicki, *Carmina. Dzieła wszystkie*, ed. by J. Krókowski and J. Mosdorf, transl. by E. Jędrkiewicz, Wrocław 1966; cf. K. Janicki, *Carmina*, ed. by L. Ćwikliński, Kraków 1930.

⁴ K. Janicki, *Epitalamii . . . Sigismundo Augusto a Clemente Ianicio . . . uita iam functo, scripti aeditio posthuma*, Kraków: vidua Floriani [Helena Unłgerowa], 1543.

⁵ The term ‘Poland-Lithuania’ stands for the Polish term ‘Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów’ (‘Commonwealth of Both Nations’). It applies to the real union between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which was established in 1569 in Lublin to replace the former personal union between both lands (1385), and lasted till 1795.

⁶ See: L. Ćwikliński, *Klemens Janicki. Poeta uwieczniony (1516–1543)*, Kraków 1893, pp. 135–138; M. Cytowska, “Nowe uwagi o ‘Żywotach Królów Polskich’ Klemensa Janickiego”, in *Europejskie związki literatury polskiej*, Warsaw 1969, pp. 77–88; I. Lewandowski, “Janickiego epigramy o polskich królach”, in *Litteris vivere. Księga pamiątkowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Andrzejowi Wójcikowi*, ed. by I. Lewandowski and K. Liman, Poznań 1996, pp. 105–114; R. Krzywy, *Poezja staropolska wobec genologii retorycznej. Wprowadzenie do problematyki*, Warsaw 2014, pp. 73–77.

⁷ K. Janicki, . . . *Vitae archiepiscoporum Gnesnensium per Andream Tricesium . . . aeditae . . .*, Kraków: Stanisław Scharffenberg, 1574; cf. I. Lewandowski, “Janickiego epigramy o arcybiskupach gnieźnieńskich”, in *id.*, *Polonia Latina. Szkice o literaturze łacińskiej w dawnej Polsce*, ed. by K. Dominas, M. Miązek-Męczynska, and A.W. Mikołajczak, Gniezno 2007, pp. 88–104; Ćwikliński, *Klemens Janicki*, pp. 30–31; B. Milewska-Ważbińska, “‘Vitae archiepiscoporum Gnesnensium’ Klemensa Janickiego – geneza i wczesna recepcja”, *Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium* 27 (2017), issue 1, pp. 83–91.

is therefore said to have introduced the *icones* of the rulers to Neo-Latin literature in Poland and Lithuania.⁸

The *vitae regum* were published as late as 1563 by Wilhelm Silvius in Antwerp.⁹ In the *editio princeps* they are placed (A3^r–B5^v, fol. 3–13) between editor's preface (A2^r–A2^v, fol. 2) and the satirical poem *In Polonici vestitus varietatem et inconstantiam dialogus* (fol. 14–16).¹⁰ According to the preface,¹¹ the manuscript of the epigrams was brought to Antwerp by Marcus Ambrosius, a printer from Nysa, who received it from noble man Jacobus Zalevius.¹² In a typical way, Silvius encourages the dedicatee Zalevius to present an examination of the poems and wishes that they had included one more item: apparently, the reign of Sigismund II Augustus exceeded the abilities of Janicki's usual twelve verses.¹³ Admittedly, neither a commentary nor a poem by Zalevius can be specified. Nevertheless, the *vitae* experienced a long-lasting success, including in the didactics and as an instrument of moral instruction,¹⁴ hence the poet's reassurance from the elegy became even more true than he could have predicted.

⁸ Krzywy, *Poezja staropolska*, p. 75. The *icones* mean the image poems or a catalogue poem (*ibid.*, p. 73); cf. M. Hawrysz, "Językowa kreacja wizerunku władców w średniopolskim piśmiennictwie hagiograficznym – przyczynek do badań dyskursu tożsamościowego", *Studia Językoznawcze* 14 (2015), p. 213; *ead.*, "Mitologizacja przeszłości w katalogach monarchów z okresu I Rzeczypospolitej, czyli o konstruowaniu tożsamości narodowej", in *Mitologizacja kultury w polskiej i iberyjskiej twórczości artystycznej*, ed. by W. Charchalis and B. Trocha, Zielona Góra 2015, pp. 189–190. However, such terms do not reflect the structure of Janicki's work, which constitutes a coherent cycle of separate poems, as it is rightly referred to in: Cytowska, "Nowe uwagi", *passim*; Lewandowski, "Janickiego epigramy o polskich królach", *passim*. In turn, the catalogues (of rulers) as literary motif are known to form just a part of larger poems, as in the ekphrasis of the tapestry in Joachim Bielski's *Istulae convivium* (1576), v. 188–320; *id.*, *Carmina latina nunc primum in unum volumen collecta*, ed. by T. Bieńkowski, Warsaw 1962, pp. 83–87.

⁹ K. Janicki, *Vitae regum Polonorum . . .*, Antwerp: Wilhelm Silvius, 1563.

¹⁰ On the poem, see: Janicki, *Carmina*, pp. VI–VII; Janicki, *Carmina. Dzieła*, pp. XX–XXI; Ćwikliński, *Klemens Janicki*, pp. 110–116; I. Lewandowski, "Janickiego miłość ojczyzny i jego poezja patriotyczna. Wspomnienie w 500-lecie urodzin poety", *Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium* 26 (2016), issue 2, pp. 119–120.

¹¹ The composition of the *editio princeps* is dissolved in the most recent edition, which gives the dialogue after the *vitae* as a separate piece (Janicki, *Carmina. Dzieła*, pp. 248–255), contrary to the editor's preface that properly introduces the epigrams (*ibid.*, pp. 210–212). In the previous edition, it is separated even further and placed among the writings on the condition of the Polish-Lithuanian state (Janicki, *Carmina*, pp. 158–163).

¹² See: Janicki, *Carmina. Dzieła*, p. 435 (on Marcus Ambrosius); *ibid.*, p. 455 (on Jacobus Zalevius).

¹³ Ian. vitae reg. prol. 18–27: "Quae cum supra modum placerent, non potui facere, quin (ne apud nos tantorum principum res praeclare gestae ignorentur) illa sub amplissimi nominis tui auspicio in lucem dare, quae . . . ad te reditura putavi . . . Superest, ut eo vultu, animo ac candore hos versus amplectare, quo bona ac honesta studia prosequi ac favere consuevit admirabilis illa tua humanitas. Optarem etiam optimi Principis, divi Sigismundi Augusti Patris res praeclare gestas eodem calamo ac vena descriptas esse; verum existimo tantas ac tam amplas fuisse, ut eas tam anguste, duodecim videlicet versiculis posse constringere ipse Ianicius dubitarit".

¹⁴ See: K. Słomka vel Słomiński, "Epigramat 'Boleslaus II Audax' z cyklu 'Vitae Regum Polonorum' Klemensa Janicjusza jako tradycja", *Meluzyna* 5 (9) (2018), pp. 5–18; R. Kusek and W. Szymański, "Kings as 'Queens' – Textual and Visual Homophobic Fabrications of Two Polish Kings: The Curious Cases of Bolesław the Generous and Henry I of Poland", *Royal Studies Journal* 6 (2019), issue 2, p. 138.

Remarks on the reception of Janicki's cycle

Starting with the 1565 Kraków print,¹⁵ the structure of the *editio princeps* was usually repeated in the subsequent editions until the 18th century.¹⁶ The *vitae* complemented the prose cycles on the rulers in more complex works, such as in Alessandro Guagnini's description of Sarmatia.¹⁷ Polish paraphrases appeared in a similar context, which might have modified the content slightly or continued the *vitae* with the poems on later rulers, as in Marcin Paszkowski's Polish version of Guagnini's work¹⁸ or in volumes by Jan Bielski.¹⁹ Conversely, Polish paraphrase in a separate print was published by Jan Achacy Kmita.²⁰ Sebastian Fabian Klonowic (Acernus, around 1545–1602) is said to have written a comparable cycle in Polish, which was somewhat inspired by the *vitae*, since the form of one couplet in the poems is drastically short.²¹ Further cycles are also attributed to him: the dedicatory epigrams in the 1639 and 1674 editions regard the *vitae* as the next point in the continuum of the works on Polish(-Lithuanian) succession. It begins with the mediaeval chronicle of Wincenty Kadłubek and includes, among others, Janicki's name – Klonowic is left out.²² The unique use of Janicki's *vitae* is found in Jan Głuchowski's *Ikones książąt i królów polskich*,²³ which consist of three parallel cycles: engravings depicting the

¹⁵ K. Janicki, *Vitae regum Polonorum* . . . , Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1565.

¹⁶ For an overview, see: Janicki, *Carmina. Dzieła*, pp. XIII–XXI; cf. K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska*, vol. 18, Kraków 1901, pp. 445–448.

¹⁷ A. Guagnini, *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio* . . . , Kraków: Maciej Wirzbięta, [1578]; cf. M. Kuran, “Kronika Aleksandra Gwagnina jako kompendium wiedzy historycznej i geograficznej”, *Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny* 7 (2010–2011), pp. 45–51.

¹⁸ M. Paszkowski, *Kronika Sarmacji Europejskiej* . . . przez Aleksandra Gwagnina . . . wydana, a teraz zaś z przyczynieniem tych królów, których w łacińskiej nie masz . . . przełożona, Kraków: Mikołaj Lob, 1611; cf. M. Kuran, *Marcin Paszkowski – poeta okolicznościowy i moralista z pierwszej połowy XVII wieku*, Łódź 2012, pp. 44–45.

¹⁹ J. Bielski, *Widok Królestwa Polskiego* . . . , vol. 1, book 2, Poznań: Drukarnia Jezuitów, 1763; cf. M. Mieszek, “Rodowitym rytmem pracy Janickiego dopełniam” – ‘Vitae Regum Polonorum’ Klemensa Janickiego w przekładzie Jana Bielskiego”, *Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica* 3 (25) (2014), pp. 241–256.

²⁰ J.A. Kmita, *Żywoty królów polskich*, Kraków: Mikołaj Scharffenberg, 1591; cf. F. Peplowski, “‘Vitae regum Polonorum’ Klemensa Janickiego w przekładzie Jana Achacego Kmity”, *Pamiętnik Literacki* 71 (1989), issue 4, pp. 201–215.

²¹ However, the poet's name does not occur in the print: *Królów i książąt polskich . . . króciuchne porządku zawarcie i opis nowo uczyniony*, [s.l.] [s.n.], 1576.

²² K. Estreicher (*Bibliografia Polska*, vol. 19, Kraków 1903, pp. 304–305) attributes another six cycles to Klonowic, which have other titles and contain his name, such as *Pamiętnik książąt i królów polskich* ([s.l.] [s.n.] [s.a.]), and *Historia książąt i królów polskich* ([s.l.] [s.n.] [s.a.]). In both prints, each poem has four verses, and so exceeds the length and content of the pieces in the 1576 print asserted to be authored by Klonowic, which gives enough reason to question their connection. Additionally, according to Estreicher, the dated editions of the *Pamiętnik* and *Historia* did not come out until the poet's death. The aim here is to not clarify either the relationship between all these cycles nor their connection to Klonowic or Janicki, but both aspects surely need to be investigated. On Klonowic and his cycles, see e.g.: [introduction to:] *Pamiętnik książąt i królów polskich*, in *Dzieła Fabiana Sebastjana Klonowicza*, vol. 1, ed. by J.N. Bobrowicz, Leipzig 1836, pp. 141–144; H. Wiśniewska, *Renesansowe życie i dzieło Sebastiana Fabiana Klonowicza*, Lublin 1985, especially p. 42–43, 217–221.

²³ J. Głuchowski, *Ikones książąt i królów polskich* . . . , Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1605 – printing privilege already from 1575.

rulers (and first two interregna), Janicki's *vitae*, and Głuchowski's poems in Polish.²⁴ The *vitae* cycle is supplemented (in different places) with seven poems that are signed with the initials of Andreas Loeaechius (Andrew Leech, died about 1637), a Catholic Scot who lived in exile in Poland-Lithuania.²⁵

The earliest Latin addition to Janicki's cycle occurred in 1573 edition of the *vitae*, and was signed with the initials of Andrzej Trzeciecki (Tricesius, around 1525–1584).²⁶ He did not respect Janicki's framework, and needed as many as ten elegiac couplets to describe the time of Sigismund II Augustus. His piece was shortened to the proper, apparently canonical, length of twelve verses in the handwritten folio added belatedly to the 1565 exemplar of the *vitae*.²⁷ In fact, the folio contains three epigrams, each in six elegiac couplets, which were rewritten from the 1631 Kraków edition²⁸ – the epigrams on Henry III of France (Henri de Valois; Henryk Walezy) and Stephen Báthory (Stefan Batory) follow the abbreviated piece by Trzeciecki.²⁹ The 1631 print introduced some changes: apart from the additions, it concludes with Janicki's Marian elegy;³⁰ instead of Silvius's preface, there is an address to young prince Władysław Dominik Zasławski, whose coat of arms appears on the title page. One Ioannes Cesari, a colleague from the academy in Kraków, sought Zasławski's patronage with this edition – the *vitae* should have been a proper source of moral and political instruction for the prince.³¹ Regrettably, the editorial approach is not justified; the inclusion of the elegy and additions is not even remarked.

²⁴ See: B. Górka, "Wstęp", in J. Głuchowski, *Ikones książąt i królów polskich. Reprodukacja fototypiczna wydania z 1605 r.*, Wrocław 1979, pp. V–XVI; cf. Krzywy, *Poezja staropolska*, pp. 73–84; K. Słomka vel Słomiński, "O knocie w 'Ikones książąt i królów polskich' Jana Głuchowskiego, *Meluzyna* 6 (11) (2019), pp. 35–52; Kusek and Szymański, "Kings as 'Queens'", p. 138.

²⁵ See: A. Borysowska, "Andrzej Loeaechius i jego twórczość poetycka (XVI/XVII w.)", *Slavia Occidentalis* 54 (1997), pp. 17–28; D.J. Vitkus, [introduction to:] A. Loeaechius, "Sir Robert Sherley his Entertainment in Cracovia", transl. by T. Middleton, ed. by D.J. Vitkus, J. Limon, in T. Middleton, *The Collected Works*, ed. by G. Taylor et al., Oxford 2007, pp. 670–672.

²⁶ K. Janicki, *Vitae regum Polonorum . . .*, Kraków: Stanisław Szarffenberg, 1573, fol. D2^r–D2^v; cf. A. Trzeciecki, *Carmina. Wiersze łacińskie*, ed. by J. Krókowski, Wrocław 1958, pp. 410–413.

²⁷ Janicki, *Vitae regum* (1565) Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, St. Dr. Cim. 435, between the fol. 13^v (D^v) and 14^r (D2^r).

²⁸ Janicki, *Carmina. Dzieła*, p. XIV; cf. K. Janicki, *Vitae regum Polonorum . . .*, Kraków: Franciszek Cezary, 1631.

²⁹ The handwritten copy of Sigismund II Augustus's epigram (as its source, 1631 Kraków edition) differs slightly from the original version by Trzeciecki (*Carmina*, pp. 411–412) – it reads: "Unio Lithuanos inter facta atque Polonos/ Illius est et erit non leve quippe decus . . .", while the long one has in the pentameter: ". . . Illius est certe non leuidense decus . . .". The attribute *leuidense* is in this case *lectio difficilior* – the adjective (found in Cic. fam. IX 12, 2) was not used commonly.

³⁰ *Elegia ad Beatissimam Virginem Mariam, in qua tolerantiam in febris quartana sibi impetrari precatur* = Ian. trist. II; cf. Janicki, *Carmina. Dzieła*, pp. 20–27.

³¹ Janicki, *Vitae regum* (1631), fol. A2^r–A2^v (the numbers of the A-folios seem to be disturbed – correctly, it should be A^v–A2^v): ". . . ad te venio cum regibus, quorum regimini a multis retro seculis Lechici nominis inhaerebat amplitudo. . . . Habebis hic, quod imiteris; habebis etiam, quod caueas, neque enim historia quaeuis recte muneris sui partes obiret, si id tantummodo promeret in lucem, quod [in the print: quid] reipublicae profuit et supprimeret quod nocuit. . . . Ut igitur hic libellus mole licet exiguis, at personarum celsitudine magnus, ex tuo adhuc amplissimo nomine commendationem sortiatur eundem, summisse rogo, patrocinij tui . . .".

The structure of Janicki's cycle had already been modified in the 1621 Gdańsk edition prepared by Jakob Gadebusch.³² According to the reader address (between the *vitae* and the *dialogus*), it complements the editor's own *Encomium regni Poloniae* in prose.³³ The poems, which originally followed the work of Maciej Miechowita, were rearranged according to Joachim Bielski's chronicle. Two pieces on mediæval bishops are lost, but ten pieces are added, which continue the cycle up to Gadebusch's time and supplement it in the chronologically relevant places. Significantly, Gadebusch, who considers the entire modified version of Janicki's *vitae* to be his own work, pursues the connection neither to the *poeta laureatus* nor to his own encomium, but to Bielski's work.³⁴ This goal is evident in the new title: the *vitae* turned into the *chronicon*, which might be useful for the study of Polish history; the mnemonic *decastichon* and the chart showing the lineage of the rulers were added.

The last separate edition came out in 1670 in the printing house of the Güssow family in German city of Stendal.³⁵ The editor, who is known only by the initials 'C. P.', replaced Silvius's foreword with his own preface.³⁶ His goal was to make Janicki's work available to recipients outside Poland-Lithuania. To facilitate the reading, he first discusses important phases in the succession of the rulers, and only afterwards comments on the *vitae*; he also adds a genealogical chart at the end. The edition is based explicitly on the *editio princeps*: with the exception of Silvius's foreword, the inner structure of the *vitae* cycle is untouched; there are minor interventions in the phrasing. Both epigrams on the bishops are preserved, although their content is claimed to be disturbing – the criticism, which must apply to issues of sanctity, might indicate the editor's Protestant background.³⁷ Seven pieces are included on the rulers from Sigismund II Augustus to Michael (Michał) Korybut Wiśniowiecki

³² K. Janicki, *Chronicon dynastarum regni Poloniae . . . recensitum a Jacobo Gadebuschio*, Gdańsk: Georg Rhete, 1621.

³³ J. Gadebusch, *Encomium regni Poloniae . . .*, Gdańsk: Georg Rhete 1621; cf. T. Bienkowski and W. Voisé, "Jakuba Gadebuscha 'Pochwała Królestwa Polskiego'", *Kwartalnik Historii Techniki i Nauki* 16 (1978), issue 1, pp. 91–108.

³⁴ Janicki, *Chronicon*, [fol. D3^r]: "Denique addidimus chronicon dynastarum Poloniae . . . auctum . . . et digestum. Incepit illud Clemens Ianitius . . . , ut illum in praefatione . . . appellat Guilhelmus Sylvius . . . Maximeque secutus est in eo poeta ordinem Matthiae Mechovij, vetustioris historiographi. Nos illud in ordinem a Ioachimo Bielskio, regio secretario, observatum in Chronico Polonico redigentes, decem articulos partim in principio et medio, partim in fine affiximus. Ita namque putavimus fore, ut poematum hoc majoris esset emolumenti: siquidem hac ratione instar compendij, ante et post polonicam Bielskij lectionem inspicere posset atque adeo subsidium esse historiam citius apprehendi et felicius retinendi". The print clearly uses the abbreviation 'Ioh.' for 'Johannes', which cannot be correct, since it was Joachim, who re-edited (1597) the chronicle by his father, Marcin Bielski.

³⁵ K. Janicki, *Vitae regum Polonorum . . .*, Stendal: Andreas Güssow, 1670.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. A3^r–A3^v: "Haec brev[is] est delineatio principum et regum Poloniae. Eos singulos ad Sigismundum usque primum (inclusive) hexastichis sic satis eleganter descripsit Clemens Ianitius Polonus, quem post Antwerpiensem editionem . . . typis iterum exscriptum esse haut equidem scio, quare illum typographo denuo vulgandum commisi adjectis eadem ratione reliquis regibus (qui Ianitio per aetatem noti esse non potuerunt) nec hodierno serenissimo rege praetermisso. In ipso autore nihil immutandum duxi, ne quidem ea, quae reperiuntur in Adalberto et Stanislao episcopis, quamvis superstitionem sapere videantur . . .".

³⁷ Janicki, *Carmina. Dziela*, pp. XIX–XX.

(1669–1673). The editor's objective of disseminating Janicki's *vitae* is metaphorically outlined in an epigram that is signed with the initials 'I. G.' and placed between the preface and the first *vita*. It dwells on the pragmatics of literary works by comparing them to gold and other metals, which are of no value if they remain hidden or forgotten. They need to be brought into the light and allowed to shine – this is exactly what happens to Janicki's cycle, which in the current edition is restored from alleged oblivion.³⁸

Lubomirski's *supplementum*: between continuity and discontinuity

In the first half of the 17th century, the *vitae*, with a few additions, were included in the codex: Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ms. 5575 (henceforth BJ 5575). It combines handwritten and printed materials. Together with the manuscript: Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ms. 5576, it represents several of the more or less coherent, textual and thematic units of the first volume of the notebook (*raptularius*) that belonged to Mikołaj Lubomirski, whose hand dominates in handwritten materials.³⁹ His profile can only be partially reconstructed. Mikołaj was born to Sykstus Lubomirski (from the collateral line of the family) and Anna Palczowska after they had married around 1576. Until around 1598, he was a student of Johannes Klinger at the Jesuit college in Olomouc, with whom he was in contact after his return to Poland-Lithuania;⁴⁰ in 1599, he apparently attended the academy in Kraków. In 1612, he became a canon of the Wawel Cathedral chapter. He is known to have composed the *poesis artificiosa*, which was quite often used as occasional poetry – abundant explanations and examples are included in BJ 5575. Estreicher's bibliography specifies eight prints under Mikołaj's name, in Latin and Polish,⁴¹ but some have not so far been found extant. Among these titles are two gratulatory poems for the bishops of Kraków (Marcin Szyszkowski and Piotr Tylicki), a propemptikon for cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł, two Polish poems on the occasion of funerals (for Stanisław Kochanowski and Joachim Lubomirski), and one Latin epithalamium (for Janusz Ostrogski and Katarzyna Lubomirska). Mikołaj also wrote Latin poems for his fellow students (in Olomouc and Kraków) and prepared an edition of Klinger's work. His *œuvre* also includes poems in manuscript version, such as the four epigrams on Polish rulers

³⁸ Janicki, *Vitae regum* (1670), [fol. A4]: "Janitii Musae longum latuere repostae,/ Quae referunt reges, terra Polona, tuos, // Ast opera sudioque tuo, perchare, in apricum/ Prolatae: scriptum plenius hocce paras. // Laudo conatus et queis non laeva futura est/ Mens illos justis laudibus usque ferent".

³⁹ For a more detailed discussion (with bibliographical notes) of Mikołaj Lubomirski, his codex, and works, see: J. Kwapisz, *The Paradigm of Simias: Essays on Poetic Eccentricity*, Berlin 2019, pp. 150–165; P.M. Ryczkowski, "'Paraphrasis historiae de Susanna' by Adamus Placotomus Silesius and the 'raptularius' (notebook) of Mikołaj Lubomirski", *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 23 (2021), pp. 180–187, 196–204.

⁴⁰ On Klinger, see: J. Kwapisz, "Deciphering 'Ne Luscinia Segnior'", *Prace Filologiczne. Literaturoznawstwo* 5 (8) (2015), pp. 167–182; cf. the version in *id.*, *The Paradigm*, pp. 138–150.

⁴¹ K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska*, vol. 21, Kraków 1906, pp. 468–469; S. Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska*, vol. 30, Kraków 1934, p. 369 – with recourse to: Estreicher, *Bibliografia*, vol. 21, p. 45.

preserved in BJ 5575. Considering their content, they must have been composed between 1621, after the Battle of Khotin (Chocim), and 1632 (before Sigismund III Vasa's death), and thus they are Mikołaj Lubomirski's last works and signs of activity so far determined.

BJ 5575 commences with a handwritten copy of Janicki's *vitae* (fol. 1^r–10^r), which is claimed to correct some errors in the *editio princeps*, but still to contain plenty of misreadings.⁴² It also omits six epigrams (II. *Posteritas Lechi*; III. *XII palatini*; V. *Lechus II*; VII. *XII palatini iterum*; XIX. *Sanctus Adalbertus episcopus*; XXIII. *Sanctus Stanislaus episcopus*); some headings are changed. The title is also refashioned: *Clem[entis] Ianitii, poetae elegantissimi, duces et reges Polonici* – in comparison to the usual phrasing, it lost the word *vitae* and added the *duces* to the *reges*. After the last item (XLIV. *Sigismundus*) and a small flourished line follows the *sup[p]lementum regum Poloniae a Nicolao Lubomirio additum* (fol. 10^r–11^v). The supplement consists of four poems, each in six elegiac couplets, devoted to Sigismund II Augustus, Henri de Valois, Stephen Báthory, and Sigismund III Vasa, who ruled at author's time. Eventually, the *subscriptio* announces: *Finis Ianitii*.

Similar to other editors and poets, Lubomirski indulged himself with the need to bring Janicki's cycle up to date. He exceeds the intentions of Trzeciecki or Loeaechius, however, who signed their pieces only with their initials and inserted them among Janicki's poems and at the end of his cycle, and competes with the modified versions in Stendal print or in Gadebusch's *chronicon*. While all these authors contributed to the widely disseminated editions of Janicki's work, Lubomirski formed a new work in two parts and pursued a self-orientated strategy. His own poems follow directly after Janicki's *vitae*, yet they are put into a separate unit with his own name in the heading. It also includes the term *supplementum*, which indicates the continuation of the preceding part and so points out Mikołaj's objective. In fact, it compares to the literary approach that was quite popular in early modern times and aimed to complement ancient works, both in prose and verse, with new elements;⁴³ the supplements to Virgil's *Aeneis* are well-known example.⁴⁴ The additional material was always adapted due to the author's particular intention – a more concrete conclusion might be misleading.⁴⁵ Since the *supplementum* is re-

⁴² Janicki, *Carmina. Dziela*, p. XX.

⁴³ For an overview, see: C. Kallendorf, "Neo-Latin Supplements to Classical Latin Works", in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World: Micropaedia*, ed. by P. Ford, J. Bloemendal, and Ch. Fantazzi, Leiden 2014, pp. 1118–1119. For a broader context, including vernacular pieces, see: *Brill's Companion to Prequels, Sequels, and Retellings of Classical Epic*, ed. by R. Simmis, Leiden 2018.

⁴⁴ See e.g.: P.G. Schmidt, "Neulateinische Supplemente zur 'Aeneis'. Mit einer Edition der 'Exsequiae Turni' von Jan van Foreest", in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis*, ed. by J. Ijsewijn and E. Keßler, Leuven 1973, pp. 517–555; C. Schindler, "Das 'Aeneis'-Supplement des Claude Simonet de Villeneuve – Ein Anti-Supplement?", in *Supplemente antiker Literatur*, ed. by M. Korenjak and S. Zuenelli, Freiburg im Breisgau 2016, pp. 39–58.

⁴⁵ See: P.G. Schmidt, *Supplemente lateinischer Prosa in der Neuzeit. Rekonstruktionen zu lateinischen Autoren von der Renaissance bis zur Aufklärung*, Göttingen 1964, pp. 46–51; cf. a draft about open questions in the research: M. Korenjak and S. Zuenelli, "Vorwort", in *Supplemente*, pp. 7–15.

trieved only from BJ 5575, it was determined to be for private use in the limited circle of family and acquaintances who were familiar with Lubomirski's notebook; any further reception cannot be confirmed.

Considering the content of the *editio princeps*, which underlies the copy of the *vitae* in BJ 5575, Lubomirski wanted to be more precise than the *poeta laureatus*. He omitted figures who he apparently did not regard as legitimate rulers: pieces about the bishops and about the time of the *palatini* are both missing. The epigram about Lech's offspring is also excluded, which describes the period of power dilution and reflects on the role of literacy in preserving knowledge about the past (or rather in maintaining the wealth of the state). The epigram on Lech II, which is also lacking, concerns his death and becomes a pure moral instruction, which Lubomirski generally avoids in his poems. In turn, he concentrates strictly on the succession and accomplishments of the rulers. This focus is emphasised in the changed heading of Janicki's unit: the addition of the *duces* to the *reges* and the loss of the *vitae* suggest that Lubomirski, as the author of the copy and thus the selection from the *vitae*, focuses instead on the series of the rulers. This perspective justifies not only the exclusion of the *dialogus* and Silvius's preface, but also the insertion of the *supplementum*. Admittedly, the succession theme must be inherent in Janicki's chronologically structured cycle, and indeed is explicitly noted at some points.⁴⁶ However, the *poeta laureatus* was instead concerned with the problem of the leadership and moral qualifications of the leaders. Consequently, the succession theme becomes lost in the collection of forty four epigrams on the figures from legendary times to the poet's own lifetime. Conversely, Lubomirski dwells on only four rulers from very different backgrounds: he begins with the son of the last figure in Janicki's cycle and the last Jagiellon of direct descent, and continues with three kings elected from foreign houses. Compared to the *vitae*, the succession line thus plays a more significant role in the *supplementum*, both as literary material and leading motif.

Nevertheless, the restricted range of four figures allowed the creation of a supplementary cycle based on the symmetrical composition, which was developed from the principle of (dis)similarity. Sigismund II Augustus (supp. I) is presented in laudatory tones as a good ruler, and therefore he is missed after his death by his lands and people. The poem suggests that he was the last Jagiellon – until the time of Sigismund III Vasa (supp. IV), who is said to indirectly continue this royal line (his mother Catherine was Augustus's sister).⁴⁷ Thus, as Augustus, he enjoys a positive image and stays firmly linked to the Polish-Lithuanian throne – both pieces

⁴⁶ For some examples, cf. Ian. vitae reg. II 1: "Crescentem Lechi populum tenuere nepotes . . ."; V 1: "Cracus erat patris ad Craci iam scepra vocatus . . ."; XXVI 1–2: "Quattuor in natos regnum diviserat [Vladislaus II] aequis/ Partibus egregia cum ratione pater"; XL 1–2: "Vladislae, tibi regale Polonia sceptrum/ Contulit ob proprii splendida facta patris"; XLI 1: "Post fratrem Casimirus [Quartus] adest . . ."; cf. XLIV 7–8: ". . . solus [Sigismundus]/ Deque Jagellona stirpe superstes erat".

⁴⁷ On the dynastic proliferation and memory of the Jagiellonian family, see: N. Nowakowska, "Introduction: Time, Space and Dynasty", in *Remembering the Jagiellonians*, ed. by ead., London 2019, pp. 4–21; cf. A. Bues, *Die Jagiellonen. Herrscher zwischen Ostsee und Adria*, Stuttgart 2010, p. 11.

build a framework which is based on the theme of Jagiellonian succession. It is this frame and this motif that specifically link the *supplementum* to the last piece of Janicki's *vitae*. On the other hand, both Henri de Valois (supp. II) and Stephen Báthory (supp. III), the first kings elected in the so-called free election, are presented as foreigners. The negative profile of the former strongly contrasts with the positive image of the latter – the contrast is a principle of the inset epigrams. The form of the poems (third person narrative in supp. II and protagonist's monologue in supp. III) contributes to this opposition, which also is evident from the account of reported facts. Even personal background matters here: Henry was of royal descent, Báthory had (only) noble origins. As a result, Stephen's poem, which enhances the profiles of Jagiellonian rulers, is a counterpart to Henry's piece. Furthermore, there are other strains that combine the poems into two groups, and compromise the constitutive composition of frame and inset epigrams. The pieces on Sigismund II Augustus and Henri de Valois (supp. I–II) are connected by the concept of fear (*metus*): it overwhelmed the Polish people and lands after Augustus's death and marked Henry's attitude when he was back in France, eventually leading to his death. In turn, the pieces on Stephen Báthory and Sigismund III Vasa (supp. III–IV) explore the motif of prolonged life: Báthory's poem concludes with the prospect of future war, which happened under his successor, and Sigismund III Vasa's poem ends with wishes for his further, and therefore still lasting, rule.

In BJ 5575, the compatibility between both parts of the new *vitae* cycle is owed to the form of six elegiac couplets, which was developed by Janicki. The poems can be divided into three units: an introduction or general remark, which should intrigue the recipient; a short summary or rather highlights of the reign; concluding remarks, mostly with an assessment of universal value. Lubomirski undoubtedly benefits from Janicki's phrasing, his employment of the *topoi* typical for a ruler's *vita* in general, and from his poetic techniques.⁴⁸ For instance, Báthory's epigram (supp. III) is shaped like the monologue by the protagonist. It is directed at the extradiegetic recipient: in the last couplet, there is an apostrophe to the *fors Turca* (before the writer's self-correction: *perfidus Moschus*; cf. supp. III 11–12). The apostrophe to a ruler, who is not the protagonist, occurs in the epigram on Henri de Valois (*rex Ludovicus*; cf. supp. II 5–6). In the same piece, the last couplet (supp. II 11–12) includes a simile comparing Henry's death to the fortune of Caesar. The first couplet on Sigismund II Augustus (supp. I 1–2) also alludes to the Roman past, since he is another Octavian Augustus, lover of the peace. Such references to the idealised state of the Romans are features of historiography in general, however.

Lubomirski avoids direct expressions of moral judgements or instructions, which are provided willingly by Janicki, and focuses on the facts and tendencies representative for the protagonists. Obviously, the *poeta lauretans* wrote such summaries as well; however, they frequently just illustrate ethical comments, instructions or

⁴⁸ On Janicki's poetic techniques, see: Lewandowski, "Janickiego epigramy o polskich królach", pp. 109–113.

aphorisms and so present the ruler as an example for the recipients. Conversely, some moral aspects are tackled indirectly in the *supplementum*, and need to be construed from singular terms, which are used relatively rarely to characterise the protagonists. While Sigismund II Augustus is said to be *charus* to his people (supp. I 10), Henri de Valois is *durus atroxque* (supp. II 8) – the accumulation of attributes, which is unusual in this cycle, makes author's disfavour more than clear. The *Moschus*, with whom Poland-Lithuania shares a troubled history, always appears in the negative context, as *iniquus* (cf. supp. I 7–8), *trux* (cf. supp. III 7; IV 3), and *perfidus* (cf. supp. III 12, before correction). Interestingly, the weapon of the Cossacks is also called *perfida arma* (cf. supp. IV 7), since they are similar to the enemies in the rebellions against their land. Justice is a reference point: a simile is used to compare Caesar's *iniustum ius* (supp. II 12) to the attitude of Henry. In turn, the involvement of God indicates a moral dimension (supp. I 8; II 9): God supported the *iusti* under Sigismund II Augustus (cf. supp. I 8); Sigismund III Vasa suppressed the Cossack rebellion *iusto ense* (supp. IV 8). The *virtus*, which singles out Báthory (cf. supp. III 3), means not only his bravery, but also moral virtue. His opponents arise in the circumlocution that is built from the negative terms, as in *furiae rebelles* (cf. supp. III 5). This undertone decreases to some extent in the attribute *rebellantes* for the Swedes, who are still the *haeretici feri* (cf. supp. IV 9–10). Even if Lubomirski uses the terms with moral or emotional connotations, he therefore applies negative phrases to the figures acting against the interest of Poland-Lithuania and does not directly draw any moral conclusions. This principle also affects Henri de Valois, who is depicted negatively due to his escape back to France – Lubomirski attributes positive terms to other rulers, which simply complement the positive image that emerges from the described facts. Consequently, the negative profile of Henry is placed at the compositional centre of the *supplementum*.

Conclusion: Lubomirski's *supplementum* and Janicki's *Vitae regum Polonorum*

Mikołaj Lubomirski seeks a connection to Klemens Janicki's *vitae* by exploring the everlasting continuity of rule in Poland-Lithuania in his epigrams, yet only addresses limited group of the recipients who could have been reached through copies of his poems in BJ 5575. The *supplementum* should also be read as a separate, internally coherent unit: it concentrates particularly on the succession within the (direct and indirect) members of Jagiellonian family, which is shown as a contemporary and specifically Polish-Lithuanian house. This objective is served by the cycle's composition: firstly, there are two pieces on Jagiellonian kings, Sigismund II Augustus and Sigismund III Vasa, who are positively associated with Polish-Lithuanian own rulers. They frame, secondly, epigrams on two foreign rulers, who are shown, however, in contrast to each other. Henri de Valois personifies the misfortune that was undone by his successor, Stephen Báthory; the latter thus fits perfectly into the Jagiellonian context. From this perspective, Lubomirski's *supplementum* overcame the limitations

of Janicki's *vitae* and, in fact, of all *vitae* cycles. It surpasses the poetic (or generally artistic) mode of Jagiellonian memory, which is claimed to be typical of the *vitae* and to place all rulers within the "... unbroken continuum of Polish kings stretching back to the mythical founder Lech. In this 'national monarchy' mode, invocation of the Jagiellonians served principally to celebrate the broader institution and political community of the Polish monarchy itself."⁴⁹ This continuity is stressed in *supplementum*'s last poem, which must have been composed after the Battle of Khotin (Chocim) in 1621 and before the king's passing in 1632. The wishes for the further reign of Sigismund III Vasa, the ruler associated with the favourable period of the Jagiellonians, are an optimistic element related to the fortune of Poland-Lithuania: no *finis Ianitii* could be set as long as there were Polish-Lithuanian rulers.

Editorial principles and annotations

The text of the *supplementum* is based on the manuscript copy in: Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ms. 5575, fol. 10^r–11^r. It was written, as it seems, by Mikołaj Lubomirski, the codex's owner; the handwriting is not ornamental, but it is cursive. Considering that this *codex unicus* is the author's autograph, the spelling is not adopted to the classical Latin but left as presented. Some characteristics of humanist and Baroque Latin are preserved, such as *-ij* instead of *-ii* (e.g. *patrijs*; supp. II 11), *ch* instead of *c* (e.g. *charus*; supp. I 10), and *y* instead of *i* (e.g. *inclytus*; supp. I 1). A distinction was made between the consonantal *u*, however, which in this edition is given as *v/V*, and the vocal *u/U*, since the codex does not distinguish between them regularly. All abbreviations and ligatures have been dissolved; the markers of word stress and length have been omitted. The change of folios is marked by a slash with the number of the new page in brackets; the verse numbers were added. The punctuation and capitalization were restricted and adapted to the modern usage. The sentence parts quite often connected with each other by *-que* are not separated by a comma.

The interventions in the wording are listed in the *apparatus criticus* following each piece separately; the change in the title is noted after the first poem. The *apparatus similitum* is not included, since no notable similarities to the model works of (ancient) poetry could be traced. The (lexical) analogies to Janicki's epigrams and a few references to the *vitae* by other poets are mentioned in the commentary, however, which also gives cultural and historical explanations. A comparative analysis with other *vitae* cycles is not included, since it would go beyond the intent of this contribution. The commentary is divided into four paragraphs, each concerning one ruler. Importantly, the paragraphs are structured not according to the order of the rulers, but to the principle of the inset (supp. II–III) and frame poems (supp. I and IV) in order to emphasise the constitutive ideas of the *supplementum* that is discussed in the

⁴⁹ N. Nowakowska, "An Ambiguous Golden Age: The Jagiellonians in Polish Memory and Historical Consciousness", in *Remembering*, p. 52.

preliminary study. The relevant verses are always marked; only meaningful phrases and the fragments being compared to other texts are quoted.

Considering the metrics of the epigrams (elegiac couplets), the poet uses slightly unusual forms of proper names in some cases. Accordingly, the manuscript uses in supp. I 1 *Sigsmundus*, and in supp. IV 2 there is *Sismundus* instead of *Sigismundus*. In supp. I 1 the name was emended to *Sigismundus* (cf. Ian. vitae reg. XLIV 4); the additional syllable does not disturb the hexameter. The pentameter would be disturbed by the emendation in supp. IV 2, therefore the form *Sismundus*, which is not unusual, is left as the poet intended. Supp. IV 4 has *Slesio* instead of *Silesio* – an emendation would be possible, but it would make the prosody of the word unusual. In supp. III 2 (pentameter), the second *-a-* in the word *palatinus* needs to be unusually short.

Supplementum regum Poloniae a Nicolao Lubomirio additum

I. Sigismundus Augustus

Inclytus Augusti Sigismundus nomine gaudet, (fol. 10^r)
Semper enim augustae pacis amator erat.
Livonem solo compressit nomine fortem
Adque suos fecit procubuisse pedes:
Inque Borussiaci Marianam littore gentem 5
Extinxit Prussis constituitque duces.
Deinde lacessitus toties prostravit iniquum
Moschum, pro iustis nam tulit arma Deus.
Caetera totius vixit per tempora vitae
In pace et cunctis undique charus erat, / (fol. 10^v) 10
Tandem defunctus magno maerore Polonos
Implevit, magno haec inclyta regna metu.

supplementum] suplementum *ms.* 1 Sigismundus] Sigmundus *ms.* 7 iniquum] iniquum *ms.*

II. Henricus Gallus, huius nominis II

Praetulit hic nostris patriae telluris honores
Et pro Sarmatica lilia cepit ave.
Ille quidem forti poscit dare iura Polono
Et Gallo, bina ut scepra tenere queat,
Non potis at populos esset moderare remotos, 5
Quod docet exemplum, rex Ludovice, tuum.
Deinde miser patrijs misere est occisus in arvis,
Dum patriam infestat durus atroxque suam,
Namque Deum, impingens, iussu in praecordia cultrum,
Eripuit monachus seque suosque metu. 10
Occidit a patrijs fortis sic Iulius armis,
Dum cupit iniustum ius dare Romulidis.

7 deinde] diende *ms.*

III. Stephanus, princeps Transylvaniae

Quamvis regali non sim de semine cretus,
 Dacorum tantum nam palatinus eram,
 Attamen ingentes propria virtute triumphos
 Regale et peperit post diadema mihi.
 Sed primum studui furias fraenare rebelles, 5
 Invidit factis nam fera turba meis.
 Moschoviosque truces domui captasque recepi
 Arces atque eius quae ditionis erant.
 Hoc mihi erat studium fines augere Polonos,
 Ut magnum fieret nomen in orbe meum, 10
 At mihi si vitam longam fera fata dedissent, / (fol. 11^r)
 Sensisses dextram, fors quoque Turca, meam.

12 fors quoque Turca] *supra primum scriptum et deinde deletum* perfide Mosche

IV. Sigismundus tertius

Ob Iagellonae stirpis memorabile nomen
 Sismundus regni sceptrum superba capit.
 Austriaco Moschoque truci praefertur et inde
 Austriacum Slesio cepit in orbe ducem.
 Subiecitque sibi Valachos totiesque Getarum 5
 Agmina repressit Marte iuvante procul;
 Perfidaque in patriam captantes arma Cosacos
 Arcuit et iusto sustulit ense caput.
 Deinde rebellantes docuit parere Suecos:
 Abstulit haereticis plurima regna feris. 10
 Hunc ut fata diu regem foveantque iuventque,
 Hoc semper superos terra Polona rogat.

2 Sismundus] *scl.* Sigismundus 4 Slesio] *scl.* Silesio

The commentary (supp. II): Henry III of France (Henri de Valois; Henryk Walezy)⁵⁰

A negative image of Henry III of France (1551–1589) must be made central in order to recognise the composition and intention of Lubomirski's cycle. He was the first king designated in the free election in the spring of 1573 and crowned on 21 February 1574.⁵¹ His foreign origin is highlighted in the heading by the attribute *Gallus*, which points out France as his *patria* (cf. supp. II 1; II 8). In the first couplet (v. 1–2) he appears as a foreigner in contrast to the speaker, who identifies himself with the recipients by the plural form of the pronoun (*nostris*). The verses metaphorically outline Henry's famous contribution: on the night of 18 to 19 June 1574, he secretly rushed to France to succeed his late brother, Charles IX. The metaphor employs the opposition between the heraldic symbols of both lands: Henry appreciated French lilies more than the Sarmatian eagle. Given that *Gallus* is a geographical term, the expression *avis Sarmatica* emphasises Henry's remoteness, since it combines two Polish origin legends, which correspond to Latin terms for Poland-Lithuania: *Sarmatia* and *Lechia*. The first refers to Sarmatian ancestry;⁵² the latter alludes to the eponym Lech, who saw the eagle – this is the theme of Janicki's first *vita*, which places Sarmatia in world history.⁵³ In this way, by implying the legendary or rather indigenous descent of Polish-Lithuanian people that opposes the foreign *Gallus*, Lubomirski additionally seeks a connection to the *poeta laureatus*.

⁵⁰ For Henry's impact on politically engaged literature in Poland-Lithuania and France, see: J. Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce. Pierwsi królowie elekcyjni*, Warsaw 1969, pp. 39–86.

⁵¹ For an overview of Henry's time, see e.g.: D. Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386–1795*, Seattle 2001, pp. 116–122; U. Augustyniak, *Historia Polski 1572–1795*, Warsaw 2008, pp. 532–547; M. Markiewicz, *Historia Polski 1492–1795*, Kraków 2002, pp. 384–396. For a general overview of Polish history, shaped, however, as a narrative, see: J. Lukowski and H. Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland*, Cambridge 2001.

⁵² An issue discussed in the contemporary sources was whether both Polish and Lithuanian or just Polish nobility descended from the oriental tribe of ancient Sarmatians, who lived on the coast of Black Sea. This legend resulted in Sarmatism culture, which was typical of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility especially in the Baroque period; see e.g.: Stone, *Polish-Lithuanian State*, pp. 211–214; H.-J. Bömelburg, "Sarmatia – Sarmaten – Sarmatismus: Gelehrtes Konstrukt, politisches Programm, unifizierende Elitenkultur, politischer Bewegungsbegriff", in *Polen in der europäischen Geschichte*, vol. 2: *Frühe Neuzeit*, ed. by *id.*, Stuttgart 2017, pp. 843–861; N. Kersken, "Geschichtsbild und Adelsrepublik. Zur Sarmatentheorie in der polnischen Geschichtsschreibung der frühen Neuzeit", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 52 (2004), pp. 235–260; cf. U. Świdarska-Włodarczyk, "Litwa i Litwini jako integralna część Rzeczypospolitej w polskiej świadomości epoki nowożytnej (XVI–XVII w.)", *Spółczesność i Polityka* 60 (2019), issue 3, pp. 64–65.

⁵³ According to the legend of three eponyms for Slavic lands (Lech for Poland, Czech for Czech lands, and Rus for Ruthenia), Lech, while resting, saw the eagle in the nest and took it for a good omen. He therefore established a new city there, which was said to be the beginning of the Polish state – Gniezno is a derivate from 'gniazdo' ('nest'); cf. Ian. vitae reg. I 1–10: "Quae modo Sarmatia est, . . . // Primus in haec Lechus populum deduxit agrestem . . . // Colle super pulchro properatae moenia Gnesnae/ Struxit et a nidis nomen habere dedit// Omine permotus, multas ibi namque videbat/ Per vicinum aquilas nidificasse nemus".

Furthermore, the graphic representation of Henry's rule is exploited. His coat of arms depicted an eagle with lilies placed centrally on its breast; or an eagle next to Lithuanian Pahonia (Pogoń), with the lilies in the centre. Lilies were commonly associated with Henry's name (and with his escape) in the poetry.⁵⁴ Their connection with the eagle can be traced in the literary sources,⁵⁵ and also in Jan Kochanowski's foricoenium *In aquilam*:

Augurii mater, volucrum regina vagarum,
Corde enata tuo quid spondent lilia? Spondent
Sarmatiam Henrico florentem rege futuram (Coch. foric. C).⁵⁶

[Mother of divination, queen of roving birds – what do the lilies promise, which sprout from your heart? They promise that Sarmatia will blossom under Henry's future rule.]

Responding to the occasional architecture which decorated the coronation setting,⁵⁷ Kochanowski's poem merges the lilies into the eagle's heart to display an expectation of good wealth under Henry's rule. Despite this enthusiasm, the disappointment caused by the king's escape made the poet engage in a discourse about the failed encounter between France and Sarmatia.⁵⁸ Conversely, Lubomirski, who was born sometime after this troublesome election, dissociated both symbols in the

⁵⁴ J. Bielski (*Carmina*, p. 87), *Istulae convivium* (1576), v. 310–313: “Nec deerat Lachicae nuper spes maxima gentis/ Lifer Henricus, regni qui sede relicta/ Sarmatici gelidam numquam rediturus ad Arcton/ Gallorum patriis iterum se reddidit oris”.

⁵⁵ See e.g.: [J. Solikowski], *Probi et Galliae ac Poloniae amantis viri ad Gallos et Sarmatas oratio. Accessit . . . vaticinium de liliorum et aquilae septentrionalis coniunctione*, Basel: [s.n.], 1575. The prophetic connection between the lilies and the eagle stems here from the vision of Bridget of Sweden and was taken from the *Prognosticatio* by J. Lichtenberg, who wrote about the conjunction of France and German lands at the expected end of all time. The German eagle was therefore transformed into the Polish one; see: E. Kociszewska, “‘Vaticinium de coniunctione Liliorum cum Aquila’. Przepowiednia z ‘Prognosticatio . . .’ Johanna Lichtenberga i jej interpretacja dla Henryka Walezego (1575)”, *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 54 (2010), pp. 161–177.

⁵⁶ J. Kochanowski, *Elegiarum libri IIII. Eiusdem foricoenia sive epigrammatum liber*, Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1584, p. 162. All English translations are the author's own.

⁵⁷ R. Krzywy, “Zmysł wzroku w poezji Jana Kochanowskiego – rekonstrucja badawcza”, *Ruch Literacki* 60 (2019), issue 2 (353), p. 148; cf. M. Hartleb, *Estetyka Jana Kochanowskiego. Część I: Stosunek poety do sztuki plastycznej*, Lviv 1923, pp. 45–46.

⁵⁸ Two pieces are representative: Kochanowski's elegy *Gallo crocitantis* responds to the poem *Adieu à la Pologne* by Philippe Desportes, which was translated into Latin as the *Valedictio Poloniae* and served as a French satirical farewell to inhospitable Sarmatia. On the discourse, see e.g.: W. Weintraub, “Kochanowski versus Desportes: A Sixteenth-Century French-Polish Poetic Duel”, in: *Symbolae in honorem Georgii Y. Shevelov*, ed. by W.F. Harkins, O. Horbatsch, and J.F. Hursky, Munich 1971, pp. 463–473; R. Fieguth, “Francuskie i polskie gniewy, żale i śpiewy. O erotykach Philippe'a Desportes'a i ‘Lyricorum libellus’ Jana Kochanowskiego”, *Pamiętnik Literacki* 104 (2013), issue 3, pp. 39–67; R. Finnin, “Attendants to the Duel: Classical Intertexts in Philippe Desportes's ‘Adieu à la Pologne’ and Jan Kochanowski's ‘Gallo crocitantis’”, *Comparative Literature Studies* 44 (2007), issue 4, p. 458–483; Z. Głombiowska, “‘Tere de France, mult estes dulz pais’. Jana Kochanowskiego spotkanie z Francją”, in *ead.*, *W poszukiwaniu znaczeń. O poezji Jana Kochanowskiego*, Gdańsk 2001, pp. 63–104.

metaphor that illustrates Henry's escape. He neither is deprived of the honour of the election, however, nor condemned for his choice, but just presented as a foreigner, who longed for his native land.

Nevertheless, the indirect condemnation follows on from the description of Henry's intention to rule both distant countries (v. 3–4). According to the apostrophe to the king of France, Louis IX (1214–1270), this ambition was impossible to fulfil and had severe consequences (v. 5–6). Louis ascended the throne in 1226; he organised and participated in the seventh crusade (1248–1254) and died at the beginning of the eighth crusade (1270). He was canonized in 1297 owing to these pious efforts. From Lubomirski's political perspective, however, the crusades kept him away from the matters of his country (embodied in the metonymy *sceptra*; v. 4),⁵⁹ to which he was eventually lost in remote lands. He serves therefore as a negative *exemplum* (v. 6) from the past, which proved to be true in Henry's case. This topicality also appears on a grammatical level. The phrase refuting his plan ("non potis at populos esset moderare remotos . . ."; v. 5) relates to the present form of the verb *poscit* (v. 3), which formulates Henry's wish – the conjunctive form *esset*, which suits the hexameter, needs to be a *coniunctivus irrealis*. Additionally, the distance between both lands must be regarded as a cultural rapprochement that failed on both sides.⁶⁰ A political divergence also contributed to the distance: Poland-Lithuania, where all nobility played a leading role and the king had less power, could not be ruled in the same way as France.⁶¹

Back in his homeland, Henry did not enjoy good fortune (v. 7–8). The accumulation of the word *patria*, already appearing in the poem's first verse, and its derivative (*patrijs*; v. 7) in the current couplet makes his devotion to France even more striking, and, since he was killed there, his death even more pathetic (*miser* and *misere occisus*; v. 7). Eventually, as he had already been separated from Sarmatia, Henry hardly turned out to be a righteous or pious ruler (*durux atroxque*; v. 8), and therefore the pious king Louis might also have offered him a positive example. This dissenting conclusion is the only negative opinion about a ruler in the *supplementum*, in which negative terms are applied instead to enemies. Interestingly, Lubomirski exploited

⁵⁹ The word *sceptra* is the usual term for the kingdom in the *supplementum* (*sceptra superba*, supp. IV 2; cf. *regale diadema* in supp. III 4 and furthermore *diadema* in Ian. vitae reg. XXXIV 1, XL 3) and in Janicki's verses – Ian. vitae reg. V 1: "Cracus erat patris ad Craci iam sceptra vocatus . . ."; XIII 3: "Non pudit proceres homini [Piaŝto] dare sceptra Polonos . . ."; XXXIII 6: ". . . Nam cui legitime sceptra darentur, erat [Henricus Probus]"; XL 1–2: "Vladislai, tibi regale Polonia sceptrum/ Contulit . . ." However, Boleslaus the Valiant (Boleslaus the Brave, Bolesław Chrobry), who was the first ruler to be crowned (1025), speaks about *regia stemmata* that he received from the emperor Otto I and that are to be treated with due respect by all his successors (XVIII 9–12).

⁶⁰ See: D. Półciwiarzek-Dremierre, "Pierwsze polsko-francuskie rendez-vous kultur. Polski epizod Henryka Walezego", *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 63 (2015), issue 1, pp. 205–223; cf. M. Serwański, *Henryk III Walezy w Polsce. Stosunki polsko-francuskie w latach 1566–1576*, Kraków 1973.

⁶¹ On the political system in Poland-Lithuania, see e.g.: Stone, *Polish-Lithuanian State*, pp. 177–189; K. Li-chy, "Vom dynastischen Unionsreich zur parlamentarischen Union von 1569", in *Polen*, pp. 169–203, M. Rhode, "Wahlkönigtum und Ständepolitik. Adelsdemokratie oder Magnatenoligarchie?", in *Polen*, pp. 205–217.

Henry's theme to its very end and dwelled on his miserable death in the two last couplets. The explanation (*namque*; v. 9) for the king's death (v. 9–10) needs to be construed in the context of French religious wars. Since Henry was childless, the crown should have passed after his younger brother, François d'Anjou (who died in 1584), to the next closest relative, Henry of Navarre (later Henry IV of France), who, however, was a Huguenot. The issue escalated, as the troops of the Catholic League entered Paris in May 1585; the king escaped the city. Thereafter, he summoned the parliament to Blois, which was attended by the leaders of the League – on 23 December 1588, he had them executed, including his main opponents from de Guise family. This caused many of his supporters to turn away from him, and the papacy to express disapproval. The assassination described in the epigram took place under such circumstances. As Henry tried to restore his rule in Paris, he was approached by the Dominican Jacques Clément on 1 August 1589 on the pretext of delivering letters: the monk put a knife in his chest.⁶²

In the poem, Clément is said to rescue himself and his fellow countrymen from the fear that resulted from the king's tyrannical attitude, as mentioned above (“... eripuit monachus seque suosque metu”; v. 8),⁶³ thus his act appears to have a positive outcome. Given the composition of the *supplementum*, the *metus* is a connector, as it links the current piece to the cycle's first epigram on Sigismund II Augustus (cf. supp. I 12 and relevant commentary). There is no strong evidence, including occasional prints,⁶⁴ that the monk acted in accordance with the League, and therefore the ablative form *iussu* (supp. II 9) belongs with the word *Deum* (v. 9), which needs to be a poetic, abbreviated, genitive form of the plural – the assassin worked ‘on God's command’.⁶⁵ The edition preserves the interpunction found in BJ 5575 – the participle *impingens* is separated from both surrounding words (*Deum* and *iussu*) by commas, and so it belongs with the expression *in praecordia cultrum* (v. 9). God stands here as the metonymy for the Catholic religion, the Catholics, and the papacy condemning Henry – the reference to God sets the murder in the context of ultimate justice and develops moral judgment. The couplet also delivers the details that are ignored in the epigrams from other *vitae* cycles, which might imply Henry's

⁶² For the background, see e.g.: C. Zwierlein, *Der Mörder als Held? Jacques Clément als ligistischer Staatsgründungs-Held und Märtyrer-Heroe des Papsttums, 1589*, <https://freidok.uni-freiburg.de/data/167872> (accessed on 17 June 2021). For the abbreviated version, see: “Der Mörder als Held? Jacques Clément als ligistischer Staatsgründungs-Held und Märtyrer-Heroe des Papsttums, 1589”, in *Gewalt und Heldentum*, ed. by O. Götz and C. Brink, Baden-Baden 2020, pp. 47–66.

⁶³ Apart from the context, which was changed from killing to rescuing, the verse is structured similar to the remark on the death of Leszek the White (Leszek Biały) in *Jan. vitae* reg. XXX 8: “... Dat [Pomeranus] non speratae meque meosque neci”.

⁶⁴ See e.g.: K. Cameron, *Henri III: A Maligned or Malignant King? Aspects of the Satirical Iconography of Henri de Valois*, Exeter 1978, especially pp. 89–112; A. Schäfer-Griebel, *Die Medialität der Französischen Religionskriege. Frankreich und das Heilige Römische Reich 1589*, Stuttgart 2018, especially pp. 185–196.

⁶⁵ Considering Janicki's phrasing, the genitive plural form *deum* refers typically to God in the circumlocution for Casimir the Just (Kazimierz Sprawiedliwy) – *Jan. vitae* reg. XXIX 12: “... Delicias hominum deliciasque deum”.

death.⁶⁶ The assassin is known by name, however, and the results of his act in the Stendal edition (1670).⁶⁷ Lubomirski thus seems to be influenced by the occasional literature which was available in Poland-Lithuania and in Polish, commenting in satirical and moral overtones on the king's death.⁶⁸

The moral approvability of the assassination is stressed in the concluding simile to the fortune of Caesar, who betrayed the ideals of just rule in Rome (v. 11–12)⁶⁹ – such allusions to antiquity, and also Rome, are common in the historiography and also mark Janicki's *vitae*.⁷⁰ The verb *cupio* suits Henry's greedy wish to rule both countries (*poscit*; v. 3). By evoking the iconic rulers from the past (Louis and Caesar), the epigram therefore presents Henry as a monarch who was unsuccessful because of his attitude, which applies to his regrettable position towards both Sarmatia and France. His death is therefore the work of justice: he was a negative figure, or rather a bad king who disregarded God, not only to the Sarmatians, but also among his own, chosen, people. He accomplished nothing and, on the contrary, lost everything, including his life. Strikingly, Lubomirski's other epigrams do not directly mention any loss owed to the protagonists but present their achievements and advantages. Although the piece on Sigismund II Augustus alludes to the misfortune due to the war with the Muscovy, the adversities are shown as a chance for the provoked ruler to prove himself (cf. supp. I 7–8 and relevant commentary); a positive reinterpretation of the failure also fits Sigismund III Vasa's involvement in Sweden (cf. supp. IV 9–10 and relevant commentary).

Henry's unfavourable treatment is based on the notion of his remoteness to Sarmatian matters, which includes his foreign origin and justice, or rather legal issues. The background to his profile might be found in Janicki's *vita* of Louis the Hungarian (Ludwik Węgierski, reigned 1370–1382). As in the case of the *Gallus*, Louis's foreign descent is mentioned in the heading in the attribute *Hungarius*. The poem reads:

⁶⁶ Just a few examples: the piece by Loeaechius (Głuchowski, *Ikones* (1605), p. 96) asserts: “. . . Quaelibet at tellus exitiosa malo// Est regi. Frustra fidei malecallidus hostis,/ Et si haeres, spondes prospera regna tibi:// Fata viam inuenient. Gaus est custodia vitae,/ Si spretis superis, in scelus ater abis”; similar thought appears in Polish poem (*ibid.*, p. 97). The Polish poem in Paszkowski's *Kronika* (p. 171) is also concerned with the death, even if it reduces its moral aspect. He and Głuchowski, however, both see Henry punished for leaving Poland-Lithuania, which in fact evokes Lubomirski's mention of the greed to rule two distant countries. The epigrams in the 1631 Kraków and 1621 Gdańsk editions conclude with the escape and its moral evaluation.

⁶⁷ Janicki, *Vitae regum* (1670), [fol. D5^v]: “Clementem forsannullum Polona tulisset/ Gens, qui Valesium sustulit omne genus”. These final verses comment on the king's escape from the preceding couplet.

⁶⁸ For the Polish version, see e.g.: *Skuteczne opisanie śmierci Henryka III Walezjusza . . . Wszystko teraz nowo z łacińskiego i niemieckiego języka na polski krótko z pilnością zebrano i przełożono*, Kraków: Stanisław Szarffenberg, 1590.

⁶⁹ However, Mikołaj regards Caesar's engagement differently to Ian. *vitae reg.* XXV 11–12: “Pompeium Caesar bello prostravit aperto;/ Fraus potuit nostrum vincere sola duces [Boleslaum Crivoustum]”.

⁷⁰ See e.g. Ian. *vitae reg.* III 9–10: “Afflixere [XII palatini] diu patriam, velut ante tyranni/ Triginta muros, Attica terra, tuos”; VI 9–10: “Bactra Semiramidem, Tomyrin Scythaue ornet, utrique/ Quam [Vandam] meus anteferat laude Polonus habet”; XXIV 1–2: “Plurima rescidit fratris decreta tyranni/ Hermanus Latio par pietate Numae”; XXXIV 11–12: “Hac Cyrus interiit, Macedo interiitque Philippus,/ Hac est Argolicis Troia cremata regis”.

Non quia vir fuerit nequam Ludovicus et ultro
 Crudelis, nostras non bene rexit opes,
 Sed quia, Pannoniae dum plus amat arva paternae,
 Linquebat saevis istud ovile lupis. . . .
 Illo rege quidem leges crevere, sed illo
 Rege tamen robur non habuere suum.
 Lex nisi tutores habeat contra arma potentum,
 Est quod araneolus sub trabe nectit opus (Ian. vitae reg. XXXVIII 1–4, 9–12).

[Louis cared badly for our matters not because he was a depraved and cruel man, but because he loved his native Pannonia more than anything else and he consequently left his local flock to the mercy of fierce wolves. Although more laws came into being under this king, they did not have any effect during his reign – if the law has no one to defend it against the troops of the powerful people, it means no more than a spider’s web woven under a roof.]

Further intersections with Lubomirski’s piece are obvious: as a king, Louis showed himself depraved and most cruel (*nequam, ultro crudelis*) to Polish people, as Henry was rough and cruel to his subjects (*durus atroxque*). Because of his attachment to homeland, which is described similarly to France in the *supplementum* (*Pannoniae arva paternae – patriae telluris honores* and *patrijs in arvis*), Louis neglected Poland, while Henry put his native land above his elective one. The next two couplets in Janicki’s poem (v. 5–8) comment on the problem of an absent ruler and on the lack of leadership that Poland had to face before Louis. In the concluding two couplets, the theme of law arises: the bills issued in Louis’s time had no actual effect and were questioned by mighty people, which is metaphorically compared to the value of a spider’s web under the roof. In Henry’s case, his attitude, which led him to death, is compared to Caesar’s *iniustum ius*. What makes Henry’s connection to Louis even more appealing is the fact that Louis’s daughter, Hedwig (Jadwiga), became a ruler (crowned in 1384) and married Jogaila (Władysław Jagiełło), the founder of the Jagiellonian dynasty, which plays an essential role in the *supplementum*’s framework and supports Henry’s placement at the centre of the cycle.

The commentary (supp. III): Stephen Báthory (Stefan Batory)⁷¹

An immediate response to Henry’s piece makes the epigram on Stephen of the Transylvanian house Báthory (1533–1586). He was elected at the end of 1575 and crowned on 1 May 1576.⁷² Coming from the royal house, his predecessor might have

⁷¹ For Báthory’s effect on politically engaged literature in Poland-Lithuania, see: Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce. Pierwsi*, pp. 89–198.

⁷² For an overview of Báthory’s time, see.g.: Stone, *Polish-Lithuanian State*, pp. 122–127; Augustyniak, *Historia*, pp. 547–585; Markiewicz, *Historia*, pp. 396–415.

felt entitled to power due simply to his origin. In turn, Báthory advocates for himself in a monologue and makes no such privileged claim (supp. III 1–4). He confesses his noble, not royal, origin and foreign descent (*Dacorum palatinus*, v. 2;⁷³ cf. *princeps Transylvaniae* in the heading), but does not mean it as a disadvantage. Moreover, his background resembles Polish-Lithuanian political system, a so-called noble democracy, where the state was ruled by the *bracia szlachta*, all equal brothers in the nobility, from which each and any one could be, in principle, elected as the king (cf. supp. II 3–4 and relevant commentary). To the electors, who had a negative experience with Henry, Stephen's origin appealed more than that of other candidates from the houses of Habsburg and Vasa.

In the first two couplets, Báthory shows the modesty of a brave warrior, who earned the throne through his own accomplishments. When Zápolya family was extinct, he was elected in 1575 as the next prince of Transylvania, but had to defeat his competitor Gáspár Bekes, supported by the Habsburgs. Until the election in Poland-Lithuania, however, he used the title of the palatine (both terms, *dux* and *palatinus*, are used in the *supplementum*). These struggles, which took place shortly before the election, are generally said (*ingentes propria virtute triumphi*; cf. supp. III 3) to have brought Stephen the *regale diadema* (v. 4). Apparently, they promised the electors similar successes against their own enemies. With his election as the king, the change in Báthory's status to royalty was fulfilled. Nevertheless, the theme of lacking entitlement, paired with modesty, continues: after the election, Báthory was forced to ensure the stability of his rule by defeating opponents (v. 5–6). At first, the couplet might refer to the resistance shown by the citizens of Gdańsk (1576–1577), but instead it concerns the situation before the coronation: the crowd (*fera turba*; v. 6) questioning the elect's military performance relates to the *furiae rebelles* (cf. v. 5), which the adverb *primum* (v. 5) refers to his rivals in the election. Consequently, Stephan speaks about the fight against Maximilian II Habsburg, an entitled competitor from the royal family, who eventually lost.

Next, Báthory is proud of his victorious fight against the Muscovy and the extension of the Polish-Lithuanian borders (v. 7–10). In fact, the phrase *captasque arces* (v. 7–8) means the recovery of Polotsk (Połock) in 1579;⁷⁴ the circumlocution *eius quae ditionis erant* (v. 8) means Livonia.⁷⁵ The Muscovy occupied both regions formally after the truce in 1570, which ended the Livonian War (1558–1570). Under Báthory's rule, and due to the Truce of Yam Zapolsky (Jam Zapolski) (1582), they returned to Poland-Lithuania. According to the king's words, it is a reason for his fame:⁷⁶

⁷³ The term *palatinus* is explained in (omitted by Lubomirski) *Ian. vitae reg. III 3–5*: “Bis senis datur ergo viris rerum aequa potestas/ (Terra Palatinos nunc quoque nostra vocat),// Publica qui regerent”.

⁷⁴ For the symbolic output of this victory, see: G. Franczak, “*Polotia recepta*. Mapa Księstwa Połockiego – teksty i preteksty sporu o władzę”, *Terminus* 23 (2021), issue 2 (59), pp. 97–133.

⁷⁵ The phrase resembles *Ian. vitae reg. XLI 9–10*: “Hunc [Casimirum Quartum] quoque Choinitium . . . / Sensit et illius quae ditionis erant” (referring to the lands of the Teutonic Order).

⁷⁶ Admittedly, Báthory's war with the Muscovy was an important campaign, since it was celebrated in the epic poem *Stephaneis Moschovitica* by Daniel Hermann (1582); see e.g.: A. Rosińska, “Stefanei-da' Daniela Hermann”, *Studia Classica et Neolatina* 2 (1995), pp. 131–155; A. Witczak, “Inwokacje

“... Hoc mihi erat studium fines augere Polonos,/ Ut magnum fieret nomen in orbe meum . . .” (v. 9–10).⁷⁷ There are further differences in Henry’s depiction: Báthory demonstrates a concern for the land that was entrusted to him, and thus he binds its wealth to his own fortune and reputation – unlike the *Gallus*. He is proud of his military efforts, while Henry was not known (at his time in Sarmatia) for military virtue. In contrast to the French king, the king from Transylvania therefore satisfied the expectations that granted him the crown. The literary form contributes to this self-confident counterpresentation. The speaker in Henry’s poem distanced himself and the recipients from the foreigner; Báthory speaks in the first person and gives the Sarmatian perspective.⁷⁸ From the poet’s point of view, he thus compensates for Henry’s failed rule.

In the last couplet, shaped as an apostrophe, Báthory proactively projects what he could have done for his kingdom if death had not already taken him (v. 11–12).⁷⁹ The vocative form *fors quoque Turca* (v. 12) is directed at Turkish lands (Ottoman Porte). In BJ 5575, this is the writer’s self-correction and replaces the phrase *per-fide Mosche*, which is crossed out. It improves neither the syntactic nor metrical structure of the verse. Instead, it shifts the angle of political elaborations from the Polish-Lithuanian archenemy, the Muscovy, to the major threat to all Europe. The project of the Turkish war, which was indeed barely in the planning stages, fits into the long confrontation with the Porte that is discussed further in Sigismund III Vasa’s epigram: “. . . totiesque Getarum/ Agmina repressit Marte iuvante procul . . .” (supp. IV 5–6).⁸⁰ This fragment denotes the Battle of Khotin (Chocim) fought from 2 September to 9 October 1621 – after the Polish-Lithuanian defeat in the previous year at Cecora, this clash became a symbol of victory over the Turks, even if it only

w ‘Stefaneidzie’ Daniela Hermanna”, in *Epika antyczna i jej kontynuacje do XVIII wieku*, ed. by ead., Gdańsk 2015, pp. 166–177. It was also discussed in the occasional literature, such as in the dialogue *De pace* by Gaspar Petkowski written at the academy in Vilnius for the king, who visited the city on his way back; see: A. Soczewka, “Gaspari Petkowski S.J. Dialogus ‘De pace’ ad regem Stephanum Batory”, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 21 (1972), pp. 197–220. On the panegyric impact of the war, see: R. Krzyw, “Polska epika bohatera przed i po ‘Gofredzie’”, *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Historicolitteraria* 20 (2020), pp. 104–106.

⁷⁷ The couplet might be inspired by *Ian. vitae reg. XL 7–8*: “Nec piguit Macedum fines vastare remotos,/ Nomini ut fieret gloria nota tui [Vladislai Quinti] . . .”.

⁷⁸ Although it seems unlikely that Lubomirski’s epigrams enjoyed any reception beyond his direct circles, the monologue form and course of thoughts in Báthory’s epigram correspond with the piece authored by Gadebusch (Janicki, *Chronicon*, fol. D^o). There, the protagonist stresses his noble descent and attributes his elevation to the royalty (*regni sceptrum*) to the *virtus*, which means military bravery that he demonstrated in Transylvania. Similar to Lubomirski’s poem, Báthory discloses his devotion to the land, which elected him as a ruler, and internalises the Sarmatian perspective. In the next, and last, couplet he highlights his fame in the allusion to the planned war with the Turks, which he additionally sets in the context of God’s favour.

⁷⁹ The apostrophe to Siemowit expresses a similar thought in *Ian. vitae reg. XIV 9–10*: “Quattuor annorum tua sunt haec omnia; quid si/ Non abrupta tibi tam cito vita foret?”.

⁸⁰ The latter verse, which shows the victory as Mars’s favour (v. 6), is structured similarly to *Ian. vitae reg. XXI 9*: “Maslaum domuit [Casimirus Primus] civili Marte furentem . . .” – Mars stands here, however, for the domestic war; cf. *XLII 8*: “. . . Et fudit [Dacus] populos Marte iuvante tuos” – the phrase means John I Albert’s (Jan Olbracht’s) loss in the Battle of Cosmin Forest against the Moldovia in 1497.

postponed the threat.⁸¹ Báthory's apostrophe thus envisions a war project, which came true under his successor. Accordingly, Lubomirski, who clearly was familiar with the outcome of the battle, must have belatedly adjusted the wording of Stephen's epigram to current developments.⁸² The 9 October 1621 is therefore the *terminus post quem* for the composition of his cycle (or the copy in BJ 5575).

The image of the ruler who intimidates the Turks is a substitute for mentioning his death, which is paraphrased as the long life taken by untamed fate (*fera fata*; supp. III 11).⁸³ The same attribute that stands by the rebels (*fera turba*; v. 6) and evokes the *truces Moschovi* (cf. v. 7), both restrained, underlines Stephen's fierce attitude and ability to combat all the threats – he just has to submit to the ultimate instance. On the one hand, his death contrasts with Henry's passing, although it correlates with his self-praise and so supports the antithetical structure of the inset poems, which demonstrate Báthory's inculturation. On the other hand, the motif of his prolonged life connects Stephen's epigram to the next and last one, devoted to Sigismund III Vasa, which ends with wishes for further time for the currently still ruling king: "Hunc ut fata diu regem foveantque iuventque,/ Hoc semper superos terra Polona rogat" (supp. IV 11–12). The primary principle of (dis)similarity in the *supplementum*, which allows the frame (supp. I and IV) and inset epigrams (supp. II–III) to be distinguished, seems to be compromised by the subsidiary connections between the pieces which follow each other: the *metus*-link combines first two epigrams (supp. I–II) and the motif of long life connects the last two pieces (supp. III–IV). In addition, the latter motif indicates the similarity of Báthory's image to the frame profiles of the rulers associated with the Jagiellonian family, Sigismund II Augustus and Sigismund III Vasa. Stephen's distance to Henry thus additionally increases and the notion of being foreign, typical of Henry, decreases.

The commentary (supp. I): Sigismund II Augustus (Zygmunt II August)⁸⁴

Although the first epigram is inherently marked by the frame motif of Jagiellonian succession, the kinship of Sigismund II Augustus (1520–1572) is evident only in the

⁸¹ On the poetic recontextualisation of the battle, in the context of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski's *lyricum* IV 4, see: P.M. Ryczkowski, "A Farmer Who Does Not Want to Be a Poet: The Motif of *recusatio* in the Compositional Structure of Sarbiewski's Ode IV 4", in *Ars recusandi. Odmowa jako zabieg literacki w tekstach greckich i łacińskich od starożytności do końca XVIII wieku*, ed. by A. Brzozowska and M. Plago [forthcoming 2022].

⁸² Interestingly, Gadebusch's poem on Sigismund III Vasa (Janicki, *Chronicon*, [fol. D2^r]) was published in the year of the battle, but ignores the victory and neglects to mention the Turks at all. The most recent event that it refers to is the (failed) assassination of the king, which was undertaken on 15 November 1620 by the Calvinist, Michał Piekarski.

⁸³ Similar expressions are found in Ian. vitae reg. XLII 12: "... Te [Ioannes Alberte] rapuit iuvenem Parca severa ducem"; cf. XLI 12: "... Fata gravem nobis eripuerunt ducem [Casimirum Quartum]"; cf. IV 3–4: "... Siemovite, peris ... iustam mortuus ante diem".

⁸⁴ For Sigismund II Augustus's effect on politically engaged literature in Poland-Lithuania, see: J. Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce. Czasy zygmuntońskie*, Warsaw 1966, pp. 159–330.

chronological order.⁸⁵ He was the son of Bona Sforza and Sigismund the Old (Zygmunt I Stary), who is the last figure in Janicki's *vitae*: ". . . solus/ Deque Iagellona stirpe superstes erat" (Ian. vitae reg. XLIV 7–8). Accordingly, he seems to be the last Jagiellonian, but this understanding is unlikely to be true,⁸⁶ as when the cycle was composed, around 1542, Augustus had already been crowned *vivente rege* (1530). As the Great Duke of Lithuania from 1529, however, he had to wait until his father's death in 1548 to take over the crown – evidently he did not deserve a *vita* due to this transitional situation. Janicki was aware of Augustus's planned wedding with Elisabeth of Austria (Elżbieta Habsburżanka). Before he passed away, he had written an epithalamium and wished that Augustus would have a descendant who would please him as much as he himself pleases his father; the theme of line extension resounds in the background.⁸⁷ The *superstes* from Janicki's verses thus means Sigismund the Old (born in 1467) as the last son of Casimir Jagiellon (Kazimierz Jagiellończyk); the actual last son, Frederick (Fryderyk, born in 1468), pursued an ecclesiastical career and thus could not have prolonged the line.⁸⁸

Augustus's name, obviously indebted to his Italian mother, is a typical reference to Roman emperor Octavian Augustus.⁸⁹ His peaceful attitude is being revealed in this way (*augustae pacis amator*; supp. I 2), which also in his later life earned him the appreciation of the people: "Caetera totius vixit per tempora vitae/ In pace et cunctis undique charis erat . . ." (v. 9–10).⁹⁰ Apparently, it is not only a metaphorical declaration,⁹¹ but also reflects his handling and politics:⁹² in the poem, he is said

⁸⁵ For an overview of Augustus's time, see e.g.: Stone, *Polish-Lithuanian State*, pp. 51–66; Markiewicz, *Historia*, pp. 356–382.

⁸⁶ This interpretation marks the Polish translation: ". . . był on jedynym pozostałym z rodu Jagielly" [He was the last one from the house of Jogaila]; Janicki, *Carmina. Dzieła*, p. 247.

⁸⁷ Ian. epith. II 223–228: "Sic tibi nascatur, qui te pulchro exprimat ore,/ Te simul et magnum nomine reddat avum,// Quem videas, quod te genitor viditque videtque,/ Possit et ut multos quae so videre dies,// Rex regem, sceptrum gestans tua sceptrum gerentem,/ Consortem imperii participemque tui".

⁸⁸ See: N. Nowakowska, *Church, State and Dynasty in Renaissance Poland: The Career of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon (1468–1503)*, Ashgate 2007.

⁸⁹ Among other authors, Loeaechius uses a Roman reference (Gluchowski, *Ikones* (1605), p. 92): "Persuasum cunctis quondam regnata Latino/ secula et antiquos iam redijsse dies". On the reference to Augustus, also in the poetry, see e.g.: O. Rudenko, "Creating The Image of the King: The Early Modern Woodcut of Sigismund Augustus from 'Confessio Fidei' by Stanislaus Hosius", *Text and Image: Essential Problems in Art History* 1 (9) (2020), pp. 59–61.

⁹⁰ See similar phrasing in Ian. vitae reg. XLI 11: "Ducentem [Casimirum Quartum] reliquae felicia tempora vitae . . .".

⁹¹ However, a peaceful attitude may also be used in a typical way; cf. Ian. vitae reg. XV 1–6: "Quam pater invictis Siemovitus fecerat armis/ Pacem, . . . // Filius [Lesco Quartus] est illam miro complexus amore/ Et vitae summam fovit ad usque diem, // Vir, cuius mores nemo reprehendere possit, // Aut nisi quem pugnae, classica, bella iuvant". The moral aspect develops into an instruction about war, which can be legitimate only if it aims at establishing the peace (v. 6–12). For instance, Casimir the Restorer (Kazimierz Odnowiciel) enjoyed the peace after he had suppressed the domestic rebellion; cf. Ian. vitae reg. XXI 10: ". . . In reliquos mansit pax sibi [Casimiro Primo] grata dies".

⁹² Augustus's inclination for peace is also exploited in other epigrams. For instance, for Trzeciecki (*Carmina*, p. 412, v. 5–6), he is ". . . Pacis amans, patiens, et paulo lentior, unde/ Cras ex more frequens eius in ore fuit" (the couplet is omitted in the abbreviated version in BJ Str. Dr. Cim 435). Loeaechius (Gluchowski, *Ikones* (1605), p. 92) manages, within the same verse, to reconcile a peaceful attitude with martial spirit in the sense of acting while being provoked: ". . . Pacis amans, sapiens, promptus ad

to have suppressed Livonia with his powerful name alone, and brought the land to his feet (v. 3–4). Livonia is meant by the metonymy *Livonem fortem*, which might, however, pertain specifically to Gotthard Kettler, the Master of the Livonian Order (Fratres militiae Christi Livoniae). His order is seen in the poem as *gens Mariana* on the Prussian coast (v. 5). This description refers to the knights of Mary, the Teutonic Order (Ordo Sanctae Mariae Teutonicorum), which incorporated the Livonian Order in 1237. The *Prussi* and *Borussiacum littus* in the next couplet (cf. v. 5–6), as well as the connection of Livonia and Prussia is justified by Janicki's epigram on Casimir Jagiellon, where the terms *Marianis fratribus* (Ian. vitae reg. XLI 3) and *Prussiaci duces* (XLI 8) describe the (successful for Poland) conflict with the Teutonic Order (Thirteen Years' War, 1454–1466). The latter phrase occurs in Lubomirski's piece ("... Prussis constituitque duces"; supp. I 6) in the context of the Order's dissolution (*extinxit*) and its political transformation into the duchy. In fact, Kettler recognised the authority of Augustus by signing the Treaty of Vilnius (1561). As a result, he received a portion of secularised lands, henceforth the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia, as a vassal land, which was converted to Lutheranism and thereafter inherited by his descendants – unlike the (Catholic) rest of the Order's former region, which was also subjected as a vassal land to the Polish-Lithuanian king.⁹³

The agreement with Kettler was to strengthen the position of both parts in the Livonian War against the Muscovy and Scandinavian lands (1558–1570). The poem is concerned with the losses which Poland-Lithuania experienced due to the Muscovy – the occupation of Livonia from 1558 led to the secularisation of the Livonian Order; Polotsk (Połock), captured in 1563, had to wait until 1582 to be recovered by Báthory (cf. supp. III 7–8 and relevant commentary). Although the current epigram sees Augustus provoked to regain both of them (supp. I 7–8; *laccessitus toties*, v. 7),⁹⁴ it seems to be an exaggeration, as the victory of Lithuanians under Mikołaj "Rudy" Radziwiłł in the Battle of Chashniki (Czaśniki, 1564) did not bring any permanent solution;⁹⁵ eventually, a truce was signed (1570). Nevertheless, it is not the strategic but the moral aspect that is of value here – for the speaker, it is the king who was

arma vigil". Similarly states Gadebusch (Janicki, *Chronicon*, fol. D^r): "... Ipse/ Belli ductor erat sed mage pacis amans". Nevertheless, for both Trzecieski (also in the short version) and Loeaechius, and in the 1631 Kraków edition, the most important accomplishment of Augustus is the Union of Lublin (1569), which is discussed in neither Lubomirski's piece nor in Gadebusch's poem, nor in the 1670 Stendal edition. For the Union, see: R. Frost, *The Oxford History of Poland-Lithuania*, vol. 1: *The Making of the Polish-Lithuanian Union, 1385–1569*, Oxford 2015; Lichy, "Vom dynastischen Unionsreich"; Stone, *Polish-Lithuanian State*, pp. 59–64; Bues, *Die Jagiellonen*, pp. 193–197.

⁹³ See: E. Tarvel, "Die staatsrechtliche Lage der Provinz Livland im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert", in *Rußland, Polen und Österreich in der Frühen Neuzeit. Festschrift für Walter Leitsch zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. by Ch. Augustynowicz et al., Vienna 2003, pp. 107–117.

⁹⁴ A provocation in the war context mentions Ian. vitae reg. XXXII 11–12: "Multa in Christicolis nil laudum habitura fuerunt/ Bella, laccessitus sed quia vicit [Lesco Niger], habent".

⁹⁵ His engagement in the war with the Muscovy is covered in the epic poem *Radivilias* by Jan Radwan (1592); see: J. Malinowska, "Mikołaj Radziwiłł Rudy – bohater pozytywny w eposie Jana Radwana 'Radivilias'", *Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium* 19 (2009), pp. 355–361; *ead.*, "Epickie epicedium renesansowe w eposie 'Radivilias' Jana Radwana", *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 58–59 (2010–2011), issue 3, pp. 179–196; *ead.*, "Poezja ars divina – profetyczne przesłanie Muzajosa w epickim poemacie Jana

provoked and thus he is not to be blamed; instead, it is the provocateur who is the *iniquus*. The perspective of God's justice is also taken at the end, since he supported the alleged victors, who acted justly: ". . . pro iustis nam tulit arma Deus" (v. 8).⁹⁶ As a result, the compromised position of Poland-Lithuania, reinforced by gaining the *Livo fortis* as an ally, looks better than it actually was until the achievements of Báthory.

The concluding couplet (v. 11–12) must be read against the background of these pretentiously presented victories and Augustus's peaceful attitude. Augustus earned fame for both himself and his realm; the attribute *inclytus*, which stands with his name (v. 1), is repeated at the mention of his kingdom (v. 12); consequently, the epigram has a concentric composition. Augustus's death is moved into focus: for the Poles it was a robust reason for mourning, and it brought to Polish lands, somewhat enigmatically, fear – the popular motif of a land mourning for its ruler, also employed by Janicki, is being refashioned.⁹⁷ The *metus* (cf. v. 12) appears in contrast to the cheerful atmosphere of peace and God's favour during the lifetime of the protagonist. It might anticipate the continuation of the Muscovite War, of which the land, deprived of a leader, was afraid.⁹⁸ There is also a pragmatic aspect: since Augustus did not produce an heir, the expected free elections might lack the former stability granted by Jagiellonian continuity,⁹⁹ and thus the *metus* indicates the unpredictability of the future.¹⁰⁰

Radwana 'Radivilias', *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 61 (2013), issue 3, pp. 45–54; cf. Krzywy, *Polska epika*, p. 104. See also: J. Radwanas, *Radviliada*, ed. by S. Narbutas, Vilnius 1997.

⁹⁶ The expression reshapes *Ian. vitae reg. XXIV 4*: ". . . pius arma tulit pro pietate Deus"; cf. *XXI 11–12*: "Quod Deus innocuis adsit, quod corruat insons, / Maiori ut surgat laude, videre potes".

⁹⁷ See e.g. *Ian. vitae reg. XIV 3–4*: ". . . Siemovite, peris patriaeque relinquis acerbos / Maerores . . ."; *XXIX 11–12*: ". . . Trusit et in subitum patria plangente sepulcrum / Delicias hominum deliciasque deum [Casimirum Iustum]". For examples from mediaeval laments, see e.g.: T. Michałowska, "Lament Ojczyzny-Wdowy", in *ead.*, *Literatura polskiego średniowiecza wobec poetyki europejskiej (ornatus difficilis)*, Warsaw 2008, pp. 97–108; C. Cohen, "Les éléments constitutifs de quelques planctus des X^e et XI^e siècles", *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 1 (1958), issue, 1, p. 84. Furthermore, Trzeciecki (*Carmina*, p. 412, v. 17–20) closes his piece with two couplets (omitted in the abbreviated version) on king's three sisters (Zofia, Anna, and Katarzyna), who mourn for their late brother; on the sisters, see: Bues, *Die Jagiellonen*, pp. 208–218.

⁹⁸ The personification of the land is concerned about the succession in *Ian. vitae reg. IV 1–2*: "Eluctata iugo multorum Patria Cracum / Praefecit rebus laeta lubensque suis". For the role of the people and of personified land in making the kings, see: *Ian. vitae reg. XXIX 1–2*: "Tractus ad imperium [Casimirus Iustus] precibus lacrimisque suorum / Imperii fractas surgere fecit opes"; *XLIV 4*: ". . . Tota Sigismundum terra Polona cupit . . .".

⁹⁹ On the contrary, Jogaila's ability to prolong the line, which makes him a proper founder of the dynasty, is pointed out in *Ian. vitae reg. XXXIX 11–12*: "Et linquens gnatos ex iusta coniuge natos / Lucida fulgentis scandit ad astra poli".

¹⁰⁰ The end of the dynasty is discussed in other *vitae* cycles. Loeaechius (Gluchowski, *Ikones* (1605), p. 94) opens the epigram on the first interregnum with this issue ("Longa Jagiellonidum truncarat stamina Clotho . . .") without having mentioned it in Augustus's poem. Trzeciecki (*Carmina*, p. 412, v. 15–16; omitted in the abbreviated version) speaks only about lacking an heir: "E tribus haud ullam cum prolem uxoris ille / Susciperet, tandem tabe peresus obit"; similar thought arises in the 1670 Stendal edition ([fol. D5^r]). With the motif of Jagiellonian succession commences the epigram on Henri de Valois added to: Janicki, *Vitae regum* (1631), [fol. B6^r]: "Morte Sigismundi simul est extincta secundi / Mascula divorum stirps Jageloniadum" – the extinction of the direct Jagiellonians explains Henry's election. In turn, Gadebusch (Janicki, *Chronicon*, fol. D^r) announces the extinction of direct Jagiellonians in the

In this way, the background to the following epigram on Henri de Valois is set, the first freely-elected and failed ruler, who indeed fulfilled the fear. The same word form (*metu*), which is placed at the end of the couplets describing the death of each ruler and concluding the narrative part, speaks for this compatibility. In Augustus's case, where the *metus* ends the whole poem (cf. supp. I 12), it has negative connotations, whereas it stands for the positive outcome of Henry's death and precedes a simile for Caesar's fate (cf. supp. II 10). Henry mistreated his position through his cruelty, and consequently was killed by his own people; conversely, Augustus was a lover of peace, who himself was beloved by his subjects. The contrast involves a reference to God, who favoured Sigismund and contributed to Henry's death. Augustus is said to have died, but is remembered in the sorrow that overcame his people and land, which probably lasted throughout Henry's failed rule and will come to an end under Sigismund III Vasa, whose reign was ongoing when the cycle was composed, and is expected to endure (cf. supp. IV 11–12 and relevant commentary). The emotional emphasis placed on Augustus's death might therefore indirectly concern the consequences of Jagiellonian line reaching its end. The *metus*-connection between Augustus's and Henry's pieces thus surpasses the composition of the frame and inset epigrams. It also corresponds with the connection between the two last pieces (on Stephen Báthory and Sigismund III Vasa), which is granted by the concept of the prolonged, or rather long, life.

The commentary (supp. IV): Sigismund III Vasa (Zygmunt III Waza)¹⁰¹

Although Stephen Báthory had already changed the misfortune caused by the election of Henri de Valois, the former fortune of the land, which was shown in the epigram on Sigismund II Augustus, was not restored until the rule of Sigismund from the Swedish family of Vasa (Waza, 1566–1632). He was elected in the summer of 1587 and crowned on 27 December that year.¹⁰² Remarkably, he is not introduced as a foreign ruler in either the epigram nor in the heading,¹⁰³ which gives his name and leaves his origin unsaid.¹⁰⁴ On the contrary, given that his mother was Catherine,

first couplet of Augustus's poem: "Augustus sequitur Sigismundus; hic ultimus haeres./ Magne Iagello, tuo stemmate natus erat".

¹⁰¹ For Sigismund III Vasa's impact on politically engaged literature in Poland-Lithuania, see: J. Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce. Zygmunt III*, Warsaw 1971.

¹⁰² For an overview of Sigismund III Vasa's time, see: Stone, *Polish-Lithuanian State*, pp. 131–148; Augustyniak, *Historia*, pp. 586–629; Markiewicz, *Historia*, pp. 415–474.

¹⁰³ Among two another epigrams on Sigismund III Vasa, the respective approach differs. Gadebusch (Janicki, *Chronicon*, [fol. D2']) stresses foreign descent: "Suecia me gignit, me clara Polonia regem/ Sigismundum ingenti non sine laude legit". In turn, Stendal edition (Janicki, *Vitae regum* (1670), [fol. D7']) emphasises indirect connection to Polish kings: "Quem Polonia Suedo peperit Catharina Joanni,/ Admovet hunc sceptris Sarmata terra suis . . .".

¹⁰⁴ In the *supplementum*, the case of Henri de Valois, who was named *Gallus* in the heading, shows the importance of such identification helpers. Moreover, Janicki quite often exploits the attribute traditionally associated with the ruler; cf. Ian. vitae reg. XXXIII 10: ". . . [Henricus Probus] factis alter, nomine

Sigismund II Augustus's sister (Katarzyna Jagiellonka),¹⁰⁵ the indirect descendants of the Jagiellonian dynasty had returned, from the poet's point of view, to the Polish-Lithuanian throne.¹⁰⁶ This origin is implied in the epigram's first word (preposition *ob*; supp. IV 1) to be an advantage that prevailed over the candidatures of the Austrian Habsburg and the Muscovite tsar (v. 1–4). In this section, the poet highlights his contemporary perspective by presenting the election in the present time (*capit, praefertur*), as if it would have taken place when the poem was composed; later on, while discussing the elect's reign, he switches to the past tense.¹⁰⁷ The motif of the opponents is employed in a similar way to Báthory's case (cf. supp. III 5–6 and relevant commentary): a king-elect needs to consolidate his rule against rival claims. The phrase *Moschoque truci* (supp. IV 3) refers to tsar Feodor I, however, he was quite unsuccessful in the election. The real competitor was the Austrian archduke (*Austriacum ducem*; v. 4) Maximilian III (the Deutschmeister, son of Báthory's competitor with the same name), who was chosen by one segment of the electors. He tried to settle his rule by attacking Kraków, but being unable to capture the city, he eventually found himself in Silesia, just outside the Polish border. He was defeated in the Battle of Byczyna (Pitschen; 24 January 1588), on behalf of Sigismund III Vasa, by Jan Zamoyski, the Great Chancellor and Hetman of the Crown, who kept him prisoner afterwards. His release in 1589 was negotiated by the papal legate, cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini, later pope Clemens VIII (from 1592).¹⁰⁸

The following couplet is devoted to military challenges (v. 5–6). The victory over the Turks (*Getarum agmina*) at Khotin (Chocim) in 1621 induced the above-mentioned adjustment in Báthory's epigram (cf. supp. III 11–12 and relevant commentary), and is to be determined as the *terminus post quem* for the *supplementum*. In the context of the Turkish war, Valachia (*Valachos* as the metonymy) is also mentioned as the captured land (supp. IV 5). Jan Zamoyski intervened there (1595 and 1599–1600) to keep it as a buffer region between the Porte and Poland-Lithuania.¹⁰⁹ The next couplet reports the taming of the Cossacks rebellion (v. 6–7), either that led by Krzysztof Kosiński (1591–1593) or by Semen Nalewajko (1595–1596). The latter seems to be

et alter erat"; XXXVII 11–12: "Hunc [Casimirum Magnum] dici Magnum est iniuria magna, Poloni, / Iure suum nomen Maximus esse potest"; cf. XLII 1: ". . . Ioannes Alberte binominis . . .".

¹⁰⁵ On Katarzyna, see: S. Niiranen, "Remembering a Past Princess: Catherine Jagiellon and the Construction of National Narratives in Sweden and Finland", in *Remembering*, pp. 141–161; Bues, *Die Jagiellonen*, pp. 215–218.

¹⁰⁶ Nowakowska (*Ambiguous Golden Age*, p. 51) argues for the 'genealogical-dynastic' mode of Jagiellonian memory, which was cultivated by the successors of Jagiellonian rulers from the Vasa family.

¹⁰⁷ The present time could be justified by metrical reason: in *capit*, the *ca*-syllable is short, as it is needed at this place in the pentameter, whereas in the past form the syllable turns into *ce*- with a long *e*. However, given the contemporary perspective of the poem, the metrical issue is not the only explanation here.

¹⁰⁸ See: W. Leitsch, *Sigismund III. von Polen und Jan Zamoyski. Die Rolle Estlands in der Rivalität zwischen König und Hetman*, Vienna 2006, pp. 67–114.

¹⁰⁹ In the context of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski's *lyricum* II 22, see: E. Buszewicz, "The *imitatio antiquorum*: A Key to Discovering Meanings. Sigismund III in Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski's Laudatory Ode (Lyr II 22)", in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis*, vol. 1, gen. ed. A. Steiner-Weber, Leiden 2012, pp. 267–268.

meant, since the rebellion was fomented by the troops who were ravaging the Valachia, which had been referred to shortly before. In the poet's view, the Cossacks, who fought against their own land (*in patriam*; v. 7), were justly restrained (*iusto ense*; v. 8).¹¹⁰ This judgement can hardly allude to the national spirit or the Cossacks' attachment to the Sarmatians at this time, but rather simply indicates that they disturbed the internal peace of Poland-Lithuania, where they lived.¹¹¹ As such, they are presented in a negative light as rebels, or rather enemies of the state.

Coming from Sweden, Sigismund III Vasa was also engaged in Swedish politics (v. 9–10). In Poland-Lithuania, he strongly supported the Counter-Reformation; the Reformation thrived among the Swedes, however, who are conventionally called heretical beasts (*haereticis feris*; v. 10). The confessional issue interfered with the dynastic claims: after the death of his father, John III Vasa (1592), Sigismund moved to Sweden and eventually was given the crown in 1594. However, the opposition grew in power after he returned to Poland-Lithuania, and in a short time challenged his rule. Although he lost the Battle of Linköping (1598) and was consequently deprived of his Swedish title, he still used it until his death. The poet remains silent about this development; instead, he praises the capture of the crown as the success that was achieved in Sweden. Sigismund's homeland is seen in this context as a foreign land conquered by a Polish-Lithuanian ruler, so that the Sarmatian perspective evolves and casts a negative light on the Swedes. After all, Zygmunt gained their crown through the usual negotiations, not in fierce military intervention; the campaign in 1598 was a failure. The couplet is thus a clear exaggeration, which serves the pious and auspicious image that Sigismund enjoyed in Poland-Lithuania.

After reinforcing the Sarmatian perspective, the theme of Jagiellonian succession returns in the last couplet (v. 11–12). Considering the present form of the verbs at the poem's beginning (v. 2–3), the typical wishes for the long reign of Sigismund III Vasa make it clear that it is still his time as the poem is written. Moreover, the final verse is stylised to repeat the actual requests being currently made (*rogat*; v. 12) of the gods by the personified Polish land. It therefore contrasts with the last couplet in Sigismund II Augustus's epigram, where the Poles and Polish land, full of fear, mourn their ruler (cf. *supp.* I 11–12). Their laments will come to an end with the time of Sigismund III Vasa. As accomplished as he was, he indirectly extended the Jagiellonian line through the connection to Augustus on the distaff side – the contemporary angle of the poem makes clear that the line should continue in this way. Ultimately, the atmosphere of death and *metus*, which was created in the previous

¹¹⁰ The phrase echoes Casimir the Just's (Kazimierz Sprawiedliwy's) punishment for the partners in crime of his rebellious brother, Mieszko the Old (Mieszko Stary), in *Ian. vitae reg. XXIX* 3: "Percussit scelestum fratris iusto ense ministros . . ."; cf. *XXIII* 3 (omitted in the *supplementum*): ". . . pastor [sanctus Stanislaus] rabidi cadit ense tyranni . . ."; *XXXII* 9–10: "Hoc iam/ Interit nostro funditus ense genus [Iazygae]".

¹¹¹ The term 'Cossacks' is a general expression for multi-ethnic, socially diversified, and Christian orthodox groups that lived generally in the south and east of today's Ukraine and were organised in military formations; cf. Stone, *Polish-Lithuanian State*, pp. 144–147.

pieces, is replaced by valid accomplishments; the retrospective approach, which is typical of both the *supplementum* and the *vitae*, is replaced with a hopeful glimpse into the future. The *metus*-connection to Augustus's piece, which also worked for Henri de Valois, contributes to the frame motif of Jagiellonian succession and correlates with the motif of long life (as presented in the current piece) or prolonged life (as it closes Báthory's poem; cf. supp. III 11–12). Both last poems share additionally the reference to the defeated *Moschus*; it is, however, a result of lexical resemblance (*Moschoviosque truces domui*, supp. III 7 – *Moschoque truci praefertur*, supp. IV 3). As history showed, the blood affinity to the Jagiellonians endured until the death of Sigismund III Vasa's sons, Ladislaus IV (Władysław IV Waza, reigned 1632–1648) and John II Casimir (Jan II Kazimierz, reigned from 1648 until his abdication in 1668). As for Sigismund III Vasa himself, since he obviously had not passed away before the epigram was composed, the *terminus ante quem* for Mikołaj's *supplementum* must be fixed as before 30 April 1632 at the latest.

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