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Horatian Imitation in Jan Kochanowski's Latin Poetry*

Abstract

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

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

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

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

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

Keywords: neo-Latin poetry, Horatian imitation, Jan Kochanowski’s poetry

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

1. Sweet-sounding Latin threads

It is well known that the lyrical Horace became a particularly popular (both referred to and quoted) ancient author in the Renaissance era. Moreover, despite the overwhelming authority of Virgil, called by Julius Caesar Scaliger the creator of “second nature,” Horace rather than Virgil became a representative Latin poet of humanism.¹ Virgil was admired and imitated as a model for lofty style, a masterpiece of dignified narrative. Not only did the “Roman Homer” not lose the respect he enjoyed in the Middle Ages, but he even gained greater respect. His poetry appealed both to the ear and to the imagination. No attempt was made to praise Horace over Virgil. Rather, the time had come to appreciate the advantages of Horace’s poetry, which was

¹ See G. Showerman, *Horace and His Influence*, Boston 1922, p. 105.

characterised by maturity and intellectualism, a precise art of words and evocative expression of feelings.² Horatian ideas began to penetrate human minds, for which the way was certainly paved to a large extent by Petrarch. Kochanowski, an insightful reader of Horace's Latin works, surely gained from them one of the "subsoils" of his Horatianism. Other inspirations could have been provided by his first university experience in Kraków, and then by reading the neo-Latin Italian poets (Pontano, Marullo, Flaminio, Carbone, Navagero, etc.), as well as the poets of La Pléiade or George Buchanan.³ Nowhere in his Latin oeuvre does Kochanowski speak of Horace or address Horace. Only in a Polish metapoetic poem did he call the Venusian poet the perpetrator of "sweet sounding Latin threads," and described his songs as "worth more than gold." Let us note that Petrarch also mentions "grata lyrae fila" in his poetic letter to Horace (*Fam.* XXIV 10). Although Kochanowski never set out in his works a programme of Horatian imitation such as that suggested by Petrarch, in his imitation practice he seems to follow precisely this programme. His lyrical poetry, both in Polish and Latin, is simply imbued with the spirit of Horace. As we know, the values of *aequa mens* or *aurea mediocritas* were woven by Kochanowski not only into his Polish songs and a cycle of Latin odes, but also into his *Psalterz*, *Szachy*, *Zuzanna*, etc.⁴ In addition, in various of his Polish works (such as *Zgoda* / *The Accord*, *Satyr* / *The Satyr*, *Proporzec* / *The Banner*, *Szachy* / *Chess*, *Dziewosłab* / *The Matchmaker*, *Fraszki* / *Trifles*, *Pieśni* / *Songs*, *Treny* / *Laments*, etc.) one can find Horatian "inlays"⁵—short quotations from Horace translated into Polish, sometimes slightly transformed and in-

² Ibidem.

³ See C. Maddison, *Apollo and the Nine. A History of the Ode*, Baltimore 1960, pp. 39–141 (*Humanist Ode*).

⁴ See E. Buszewicz, "Quadrupedum pudor, czyli czego Sarbiewski mógł się nauczyć od łacińskiego Kochanowskiego," *Studia Classica et Neolatina*, vol. 8, Gdańsk 2006, pp. 175–183.

⁵ This is how they were described and scrupulously listed by Andrzej Lam, "Horacy Kochanowskiego" [aneks], in: Horacy, *Dzieła wszystkie*, tłum. i oprac. A.

roduced into new, independently developed contexts, often with an altered function.⁶ The dialogue with the Latin master takes place, as in Petrarch's case, on many levels and planes.

Petrarch's "programme" was based, however, principally on intellectual and emotional closeness, and only then on structural and formal closeness. Horatianism is born out of a charm which, under the pen of Petrarch, acquires the features of an almost erotic fascination—the feelings generated by the poetry of the Venusian have been described as *dulcis acerbitas*, 'sweet bitterness' (which brings to mind the pleasures of this world) or 'sweet anguish' (which strictly corresponds to Petrarch's idea of love). Now, for Renaissance humanists, and for Kochanowski in particular, Horace is above all a close fellow poet: "Virgil remained the admired, but Horace became the friend. Virgil remained the guide, but Horace became the companion. 'Virgil,' says Oliver Wendell Holmes, 'has been the object of an adoration amounting almost to worship, but he will often be found on the shelf, while Horace lies on the student's table, next his hand.'⁷

2. *Lyricorum libellus*. Polyphony and finesse

A newer philological discussion on the volume *Lyricorum libellus* mainly includes works by Janusz Pelc,⁸ Józef Budzy-

Lam, Pułtusk–Warszawa 2010, pp. 470–480. *Psalterz Dawidów* was excluded from these works, even though it is not entirely devoid of such inlays.

⁶ Ibidem, p. 470. "It seems obvious that Kochanowski knew Horace's works, or at least a significant part of them, by heart, and used this resource freely, at one time faithfully maintaining a chosen formula, at other times transforming it according to the preferences and needs of his own text; each time an extraordinary linguistic invention suggested to him a multitude of Polish formulas, which put these echoes into words."

⁷ G. Showerman, *Horace and His...*, pp. 105–106.

⁸ J. Pelc, *Jan Kochanowski. Szczyt renesansu w literaturze polskiej*, Warszawa 1980, pp. 333–377. The comparative approach to the *Pieśni, księgi dwoje* [The

ński,⁹ Andrzej Wójcik,¹⁰ Zofia Głombiowska,¹¹ Jacqueline Glomski,¹² and Albert Gorzkowski.¹³ However, not all of them reveal the Horatianism that appears in this collection to the same degree.¹⁴ Janusz Pelc does not deal with this phenomenon as such. Jacqueline Glomski analyses Horace's influence primarily from a structural and formal perspective. Albert Gorzkowski, following rhetorical *topoi*, associates Horace mainly with poetic measures and sporadically captured motifs (such as *otium sub arbore*) or ideas (e.g. inscribing the "Eolian song" in the Latin poetry stream).¹⁵ Elements of a serious discussion on the Horatian character of the collection *Lyricorum libellus* occur mainly in Józef Budzyński and Zofia Głombiowska. Budzyński sees in *Lyricorum's* Horatianism a realisation of Pietro Bembo's poetic *credo*, which recommends "choosing one model for a particular literary genre, imitating it without refraining from borrowing and acting with the freedom of a true artist."¹⁶ He calls this collection "an exceptional

second book of songs] and *Lyricorum libellus* discusses Polish poetry much more extensively. *Lyricorum libellus* dies in its shade. Pelc draws attention to some of the characteristics of the Latin volume, e.g. a proportionally smaller number of erotic poems and a larger number of poems with specific addressees that can be described as the poet's friends.

⁹ J. Budzyński, *Horacjanizm w liryce polskolacińskiej renesansu i baroku*, Wrocław 1985, pp. 53–90 (chapter "Jan Kochanowski horacjanista").

¹⁰ A. Wójcik, "Jana Kochanowskiego *Lyricorum libellus* (Odyspołecznonpolityczne i ody do przyjaciół)," *Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium* 7 (1988), pp. 213–228.

¹¹ Z. Głombiowska, *Łacińska i polska muza Jana Kochanowskiego*, Warszawa 1988.

¹² J. Glomski, "Historiography as Art. Jan Kochanowski's "Lyricorum libellus" (1580)," in: *Renaissance Culture in Context. Theory and Practice*, ed. by J. R. Brink, W. F. Gentrup, Aldershot 1993.

¹³ A. Gorzkowski, *Bene atque ornate. Twórczość łacińska Jana Kochanowskiego w świetle lektury retorycznej*, Kraków 2004, pp. 173–189.

¹⁴ G. Showerman, *Horace and His...*, pp. 105–106.

¹⁵ See A. Gorzkowski, *Bene atque ornate...*, pp. 187–189.

¹⁶ J. Budzyński, *Horacjanizm w liryce...*, p. 54. See also P. Bembo, *De imitatione ad Picum Mirandulam*, Basileae 1518. In the context of the whole discussion between Bembo and Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, discussed more extensively by Agnieszka Fulińska, *Nasładowanie i twórczość. Renesansowe teorie imitacji, emu-*

chapter in Renaissance-humanistic imitation” in the work of Kochanowski.¹⁷ He sees one of the manifestations of Horatianism in the alternation of thematic groups (occasional-patriotic, reflective and erotic-festive odes), and the book IV of the *Carmina* seems to him to be the closest to the concept of Kochanowski’s cycle.¹⁸ Reflecting on the Horatianism of the collection, Budzyński sometimes departs from the main issue, indicating e.g. “linguistic and stylistic elements of patriotism” (p. 67) or by venturing to evaluate the poet’s range of elocutionary skills. However, here we repeatedly find attempts to indicate Horatian models imitated more or less freely by Kochanowski, often the so-called thematic analogies, such as between Ode 1, summoning Henry III of France to Poland, and C. IV 5, *Divis orte bonis*, urging August to speed up his return to Rome (p. 67). The example of this ode allows us to observe a fine polyphony of imitation, defined by Budzyński as “Kochanowski’s significant literary culture,” which allowed him to maintain his originality in the context of *imitatio antiquorum*.¹⁹ Ode 4 seems to be similarly polyphonic, although pat-

lacji i przekładu, Wrocław 2000, pp. 116–131, it is difficult to identify Kochanowski’s attitude with the directives of Bembo, a proponent of Ciceronianism and Virgilianism, for whom the basic assumption of imitation is “the writer’s direct relationship with the imitated model, but a relationship based not on spiritual kinship, as in Pico, but on literal—physical, one could say—contact with the text” (p. 125). For Bembo “there is [...] nothing more absurd than an attempt to include various forms and genres of elocution in one,” which seems to be extremely different from the attitude of Horace, as well as Kochanowski. The vision of imitation/emulation much more akin to Kochanowski seems to be the one with a metaphor of bees, created by Pico, according to which “[about those] who draw from their own minds and who make one body out of the many advantages of others’ elocution, one can say that they imitate the best and do not steal or beg” (p. 129).

¹⁷ J. Budzyński, *Horacjanizm w liryce...*, p. 63.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 64–65. On the other hand, he argues (pp. 88–89) that the main imitation model used by Kochanowski should be found in the so-called Roman odes, which was also supported by e.g. Tadeusz Sinko, followed by Bronisław Nadolski and Waław Walecki.

¹⁹ Apart from relations with “Roman odes” and other odes by Horace from all four books of the cycle, *similia* from Propertius, Ovid, Virgil and Seneca were recorded here (see J. Budzyński, *Horacjanizm w liryce...*, p. 67).

tered after the hymn to the Antonian Fortune (pp. 70–71).²⁰ Even if the work has an easily identifiable model in books of the *Carmina*, it is often enriched with many other, lexical or thematic, Horatian elements, which results in the novelty and specific originality of the work (Budzyński emphasises this especially with regard to *Lyr.* 5, pp. 71–73).²¹ In some cases (Ode 7), Budzyński calls the imitation technique Horatian contamination. Sometimes it is difficult to point out more distinct Horatian models for those *Lyricorum* odes that have only a few affinities with Horace's legacy and some *nescio quid*—as in Ode 6.²² Budzyński perceives Ode 2 (*In deos falsos*), woven mainly from Horatian vocabulary, as a peculiarity of the cycle but one that allows to speak “the language of the Romans, but not like the Romans, and even this time not like a typical Renaissance humanist[?]” Generally speaking, Budzyński considers the *Lyricorum* cycle to be a work characterised by the imitation technique typical of mature (Renaissance) classicism, which encompasses not only versification efficiency, but also creative linguistic and stylistic imitation, which makes it possible to place the Horatian thematic, structural and stylistic elements in a new social and ideological context,²³ and, as we should add, making them a means of expressing one's own voice. According to Budzyński, however, this voice is revealed in Latin odes much more “artificially” than in Polish *Pieśni* [Songs], whose Horatianism seems more “natural” and “free” to him (p. 87).

As it seems, Zofia Głombiowska perceives the Horatian imitation of *Lyricorum* more aptly, although not without a certain schematic

²⁰ Likewise *Lyr.* 8 imitates *C.* I 29.

²¹ Incidentally, another characteristic feature of *Lyrice*'s Horatianism, also present in Polish *Songs*, was pointed out here, namely the thematic parallelism, i.e. the appropriateness of images of nature in relation to human reality, called “semiotic landscape” by other researchers after Umberto Eco. See J. Danielewicz, “Pejzaż semiotyczny w pieśniach Horacego,” *Eos* 63 (1975), pp. 297–302.

²² J. Budzyński, *Horacjanizm w liryce...*, pp. 72–73. The originality is also recognised by Budzyński in *Lyr.* 10 (p. 84).

²³ *Ibidem*, pp. 89–90.

approach, and in no way entering into a dialogue with Budzyński's proposals. According to her, an important feature of the Horatianism of the Latin collection of odes is the spirit of originality, manifested in such a way that despite the existence of counterparts in certain Horace's odes for some *Lyricorum*, there are actually no alterations, paraphrases or parodies, or contaminations,²⁴ there is not even an excess of characteristic Horatian phrases so often signalled by neo-Latin poets.²⁵ It is a Horatianism of the spirit, not of the letter. Horace's *Carmina* are treated as a model indicating "how to shape an ode to be a lofty lyrical monologue, how to combine two addressees in one text, how to bind different types of language structures within one ode,"²⁶ and all this while maintaining Horace's basic tendencies—striving for concreteness (through proper names that precisely define the place, time and situation) and using a form of addressing another person.

Since both Budzyński and Głombiowska paid some attention to *Ode 11 (On a horse)*—and on this basis we can distinguish two quite divergent images of Kochanowski's Horatianism in the *Lyricorum libellus*—I will try to use this ode as a model example that highlights the accuracy of Głombiowska's observations. In this work, Budzyński sees an abundance of mythological references, a free and infrequent reference to the lexical and stylistic reminiscences of Horace, as well as a reference to several of his songs, with particular emphasis on *C. II 13*. He also discerns in this text a "Horatian" part (inspired by *C. II 13*) and an "original" part (devoted to the "nymph of life"). He sees here a rather artificial and not very skilful imitation of the pattern, an excess of "learned lyricism" and a glaring return to the starting

²⁴ See Z. Głombiowska, *Łacińska i polska...*, p. 200.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 177–179. Głombiowska refers to the poetic practice of Étienne Dolet, Geronimo Aleandro, Ioannes Secundus, Conrad Celtes, Andrea Navagero.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 196–197. Attention is paid, for example, to combining narration with prayer or description with a rhetorical speech to citizens and a call to God. Examples of various addressees in one ode are e.g. the horse and the nymph (*Lyr. 11*), etc.

point. In Horace's ode, however, "an apostrophe to the cursed tree [...] obscured by the exposure of the 'gardener,' who planted this tree to such disgrace, does not strike one with naivety and artificiality, especially as later, after an unexpected opportunity to visit the underground shadows and the inevitable meeting of poets' spirits, it turns into a praise of the power of Alcaeus' songs."²⁷

Głombiowska also emphasises the abundance of mythological erudition in these odes, and also states that it can be described as an original take on a Horatian theme. However, as she emphasises, referring to Odes II 13 and III 8, Kochanowski does not borrow more clearly from these texts. Furthermore, "there is a sort of desire to demonstrate independence through a different approach to the same motif [...], an ostentatious demonstration of one's own distinction and erudition."²⁸ Here, Głombiowska was close to defining the essence of the subtle game played by Kochanowski with Horatian motives and ideas. As a seasoned reader of Horace, Kochanowski knew the rules of the game very well, as Horace used to engage in intertextual games not only with others, but also with his own work.

In order to try to understand Kochanowski's technique of imitating Horace, let us first undertake (following Gregson Davis)²⁹ a rhetorical analysis of the structure of C. II 13.

Horace's *carmen* cursing the tree amounts to ten Alcaic stanzas. It can be divided into two five-stanza parts (A, B), within which it is possible to divide it into three-stanza (A1, B1) and two-stanza units (A2, B2). In parts A and B, there is a contrast between *pietas* and *impietas*. The *impietas* is represented by a wicked tree grower, while *pietas* is represented by the host. This applies to part A1. Part A2 is gnomic. In part B, the boundary line between *pietas* and *impietas* runs between units B1 and B2. B1 shows the dignified shadows

²⁷ J. Budzyński, *Horacjanizm w liryce...*, pp. 82–83.

²⁸ Z. Głombiowska, *Łacińska i polska...*, pp. 200–201.

²⁹ G. Davis, *Polyhymnia. The Rhetoric of Horatian Lyric Discourse*, Berkeley 1991, pp. 78–89.

of poets in the Underworld, B2 shows the condemned convicts. In this way, despite the polarisation, the composition acquires a framed and closed character: at the beginning there is an alleged patricide who planted a tree, while at the end there are reprobates from Tartar, including Tantalus, described here with the use of antonomasia “Pelopis parens” (“the father of Pelops.”) Therefore, Kochanowski’s aspiration for a closed composition in the ode *In equum* does not seem “blatant,” although the poet rejected such a precise strophic structure in favour of the Alcmanian stanza. This seems to be in line with the game of meanings undertaken here by the poet; the horse’s gait was called “an alternating step” (*alternare pedem*), probably referring at the same time to metric alternation. The use of such a pattern could also be associated with the awareness that the tetrameter “breaks” the hexameter, just as a stumbling of the horse interferes with the even beat of the hooves.³⁰ Also the disposition in the ode *On a horse* remains all the time in dialogue with Horace. *Maledictio* to the unfortunate steed encompasses the first 12 verses. The vision of the possible expedition to the Underworld—the next eight verses, the gnomic section (“golden thoughts” about the inevitability of death)—the subsequent six, while thanksgiving to the mysterious nymph—14 and the verdict for the horse—4. Thus, there are five segments. In the first one, just like Horace, Kochanowski plays with the topic of invective. In the second one, he remains in the sphere of *impietas*, sketching an image (demonstratively different from the case

³⁰ Horace experimented in a similar way in C. I 3. As L. P. Wilkinson observes, through 28 verses, Horace accustoms us to the fact that the cadence of a sentence or some part of it falls after the longer, Asclepiad verse. However, he breaks this rhythm when he begins talking about death. Here the sentence ends after the glyconic verse. The poem seems to imitate the transformation of the human fate after Prometheus’ bold action and Pandora’s unwise deed. Life, once long, became much shorter; death broke in brutally and shortened the perspective, “accelerated the gait,” as did the poem: “Post ignem aetheria domo / Subductum macies et nova febrium / Terris incubuit cohors / Semotique prius tarda necessitas / Leti corripuit gradum.” See L. P. Wilkinson, *Horace and His Lyric Poetry*, Cambridge 1968, p. 145.

of the Venusian) of the Underworld, whose inhabitants comprise, first of all, the heroes unhappily associated with the horse (Phaethon, Bellerophon, Hippolytus, etc.). Very interesting is the gnomic section, devoted to death and (as in Horace's poetry) including mortality among the topics accepted by the capacious lyrical genres:

Omnibus inque locis passim natura dolosi
 Insevit mala semina leti,
 Quae mortalis ubi pes institit, hostia saevo
 Confestim nova sternitur Orco.³¹

These verses, in an extensive metaphor, neatly combine the Horatian image of a hypothetical death due to a tree, i.e. "from seed" (or from seedling), with Kochanowski's vision of possible death on a road, due to an unfortunate "tread." The fourth segment seems to be a kind of "implant" in the tissue of the text, but it is highly justified in the context of the main idea of *C. II 13*, in which, as Davis states, the avoidance of premature death and the image of the Underworld are only a pretext to present a vision of one's own immortality as a poet. This is where the image of being saved by a mysterious nymph appears, and this is where the real game with the Horatian ideas begins. This is associated with various "autobiographical myths" about Horace, especially the image of the poet's being raised by Mercury from the battlefield of Philippi, described in *C. II 7*, the care of the Faunus in *C. II 17*, as well as the care of the Muses over their bard, depicted figuratively in the form of pigeons in *C. III 4*. Kochanowski's final reflection is presented in the sacrifice of a mysterious goddess (which again inevitably brings to mind associations with Horace's altars in honour of Venus, e.g. *C. I 19*). One can see here a very mature understanding of Horace's poetry because, as Davis states, the rescue functions of Mercury (with Faunus), Kalliope (with Muses) and Bac-

³¹ In translation: "Everywhere, in all places, nature has sown the seeds of insidious death; when a human foot treads on them, a new sacrifice is offered to the severe Orcus." Emphases—E. B.

thus are interchangeable and each episode acquires meaning only in relation to its emblematic character.³² The end of the work, on the other hand, seems to return to a distance characteristic for Horace, and at the same time, as Głombiowska has already noted, places the anciently stylised whole in a specific Polish context (a salt mine).³³ In *Ode* 11, there is a sample of elaborate, polyphonic and finesse Horatian imitation, which in fact characterises the whole volume of the *Lyricorum libellus*.

3. Between genres

In the *Lyricorum libellus*, Kochanowski follows in the footsteps of the Venusian master not only in terms of the imitation of forms, but also of ideas. He also turns out to be an excellent disciple in terms of his free handling of genre conventions, as a result of which his lyrical works absorb bucolic, epic, epigrammatic and other motifs.³⁴ Why, then, should we not expect Horatianism in Kochanowski's Latin works other than odes? As Głombiowska emphasises, "Horace potently influenced Kochanowski's poetry and the Polish poet reached for his *Carmina* at almost every step."³⁵ Not only in Polish, let's add, but also in Latin. Horatianism (in a very elaborate form) manifests itself in Kochanowski's Latin works, also in *Elegies* and *Foricenia*. Some of its aspects have already been mentioned by Albert Gorzkowski, who drew attention to, for example, a number of Horatian motifs and *topoi* in *El. II* 2, headed by "Vita brevis longam spem non

³² G. Davis, *Polyhymnia. The Rhetoric...*, p. 89.

³³ Z. Głombiowska, *Łacińska i polska...*, p. 201.

³⁴ See S. Harrison, "The Literary Form of Horace's Odes," in: *Horace, l'oeuvre et les imitations. Un siècle d'interprétation*, ed. by W. Ludwig, Vandoeuvres 1993, pp. 131–162. See also S. Harrison, *Generic Enrichment in Virgil and Horace*, Oxford 2007, pp. 168–206.

³⁵ Z. Głombiowska, *Łacińska i polska...*, p. 167.

amat, abice curas, / Qui sapis; effusis labitur annus equis.”³⁶ It is indeed a peculiar *epitome* of C. I 11 with an admixture of C. IV 7. Similar notes may strike us even in the sympotic epigram *In Bacchum* (*For.* 15): “Cui fas futura scire est? / Incerta vita nostra est”³⁷ etc.

However, one does not only have to notice that there are “loci Horatiani” in the *Elegies* in order to say that they are evidence for, for example, Kochanowski's good knowledge of Horace's lyrical poetry even in his earlier Paduan period.³⁸ Let us try to find a more sophisticated inspiration by Horace's lyrics and refer to the elegy that opens the third book of *Elegiarum libri IV* (*Rursus ad arma redis...*). The intertextual game with Horace seems obvious from the first verses:

³⁶ A. Gorzkowski, *Bene atque ornate...*, pp. 120–121.

³⁷ In translation: “Who can know the things to come? Our lives are uncertain,”

³⁸ See e.g. J. Budzyński, *Horacjanizm w liryce...*, p. 62. A “locus Horatianus” in *Foricinium* 80, compared to C. III 1, 3, was also indicated there. It is worth noting that in *Foricenia* researchers rarely look for “loci Horatiani”—a recently published paper by Monika Szczot “*Foricoenia* Jana Kochanowskiego – w kręgu gatunkowej i tematycznej *varietas*,” in: *Klasycyzm. Estetyka – doktryna literacka – antropologia*, red. K. Meller, Warszawa 2009, pp. 161–173, does not refer to this context at all. Horatian topoi, motifs and inspirations are occasionally motioned by the authors of *Dobrym towarzyszom gwoli. Studia o Foriceniach i Fraszkach Jana Kochanowskiego*, oprac. R. Krzywy, R. Rusnak, Warszawa 2014, e.g. E. Buszewicz, “Wielcy i mali poeci w *Foriceniach* Jana Kochanowskiego” (pp. 51–80); F. Cabras, “W dialogu z tradycją. Łacińskie źródła foricinium 42 i 52” (pp. 81–92); W. Ryczek, “«Domi et foris cenare». O jednej z gier językowych Jana Kochanowskiego” (pp. 25–50). A meticulous list of the Horatian loci in the *Elegies* is provided by A. Lam, “Horacy Kochanowskiego,” pp. 480–485. He lists 28 such inspirations, noting that “in the elegies [...] Kochanowski rarely takes literal expressions from Horace's poetry, but often paraphrases them and uses similar compositional devices. [...] Horatian models appear here as templates which entertain the master of fine poetic art often having a different functional application, as a practice then called “parody.” It consisted in changing the relationship between the style and the object in an intentionally aesthetically “inappropriate” way, or in introducing content that did not fit within the horizon of the original, but was elevated thanks to its authority” (ibidem, pp. 480–481).

Rursus ad arma redis, pharetrati mater Amoris,
 Nulla tibi mecum pax diuturna placet.
 Vix bene convaluit primo de vulnere pectus,
 En iterum saevus cor mihi fixit Amor.
 Parce, precor, primae ludum revocare iuventae,
 Insanisse semel sit, Cytherea, satis.³⁹

Although the presentation of love as a fight is in accordance with the conventions of the love elegy, in which the topos of *militia amoris* appears in various ways,⁴⁰ and in Tibullus there is a supplication addressed to Venus: “At mihi parce, Venus: semper tibi dedita servit / Mens mea: quid messes uris acerba tuas?”⁴¹ the introductory part of Kochanowski’s elegy follows Horace’s C. IV 1 (both works are also come first within the book)⁴² both in terms of invention and argu-

³⁹ In translation: “Again, you stand up to battle, mother of Amor armed with arrows. You do not like long-lasting peace with me. My heart barely healed from the first wound, and here again fierce Amor pierced my breast. Please abandon repeating the games of the first youth. Cytherea, may one madness be enough.”

⁴⁰ See R. O. A. M. Lyne, “Propertius and Tibullus. Early Exchanges,” in: R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Collected Papers on Latin Poetry*, ed. by G. O. Hutchinson, S. Harrison, Oxford 2007, pp. 251–282; on the use of the topos of *militia amoris*—especially pp. 261 et seq. An excellent comparison of love to military service was carried out by Ovid in *El. I 9* (“Militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra Cupido...”).

⁴¹ *Tib. El. I 2*, 98–100. In translation: “But spare me, Venus! My heart has always been dedicated to you. Why do you burn your own harvest out of your sternness?”

⁴² The Horatian character of the rhetoric in *El. III 1* is even clearer when one takes into account the elegy ending the second book of *Elegiarum libri duo* [this is the original manuscript version of Kochanowski’s collection of elegies, which was later broadened to consist of four books published in his later years. In this collection, it is *El. II 11*, a goodbye to Venus and “Lydia:” “Nil mihi sit tecum, Venus, amplius! En age vectes, / En age nocturnas accipe, diva, faces!” In the context of this “dismissal” more rhetorically justified is the first verse of *El. III 1*: “Rursus ad arma redis, [...] mater Amoris...” Undertaking lyrical poetry of love once again in *C. IV 1*, Horace begins with an apparent *recusatio*, referring to the grandiloquent ceasefire and the laying down of the lute, to parting with love wars and with the repository of *militiae amoris* (torches, arches, crowbars) and also with proud Chloe (“Vixi puellis puer idoneus / et militavi non sine gloria; / nunc arma defunctumque bello / barbiton hic paries habebit...” *C. III 26*).

mentation. What we have here is a signalling of an unexpected attack of the goddess of love launched at an inappropriate time, as well as emphasising the maturity and stability of the lyrical self, defending itself against the power of feeling:

Intermissa, Venus, diu
 rursus bella moves, parce, precor, precor.
 non sum, qualis eram bonae
 sub regno Cinarae, desine, dulcium
 mater saeva Cupidinum
 circa lustra decem flectere mollibus
 iam durum imperiis; abi,
 quo blandae iuvenum te revocant preces.⁴³

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

Then, it would seem, the paths of the poets depart. In the second part of C. IV 1 Horace sends Venus to another address, to the home of the younger Paulus Maximus, while in the last part, after the ostentatious declaration of his lack of interest in love, the text explodes with a lyrical confession of passion to indifferent Ligurinus. It finds solace only in dreams. Meanwhile, Kochanowski's elegy continues to bring reflection on the political situation and the possibility of a war with Muscovy. The rhetorical strategy of "repelling the enemy" is transferred by Kochanowski to another addressee—the enemy

⁴³ Hor C. IV 1, 1–8. "So, Venus, you want to start / the wars ceased long time ago? Save, please, please, / I am no longer what I was, / under the authority of Cinaras, so stop, / cruel mother of sweet Cupids, / because it is not easy to succumb to delightful orders, / when the tenth decade passes; go away, where the compassionate calls of the young summon you". Translated by Kaja Szymańska after Horace, *Dzieła wszystkie*, tłum. i oprac. A. Lam, Warszawa 1996, p. 104.

armed not with an allegorical, but with a real weapon, the “Muscovite.” It is to him, not to Venus, that the call “flecte pedem retro” is addressed. It has, nonetheless, the same function as in Horace: of deceptive retardation.⁴⁴ In the case of Horace, this leads to the unveiling of a love drama, while in the case of Kochanowski to the declaration of a conflict of the inner heart, which is not necessarily doomed to failure: “At mihi nil opus est externum quaerere bellum, / Intus adest hostis, qui mea corda ferit. / [...] Tu tamen, o pro qua bellum gerit ipsa Dione, / Pasiphile, paci non inimica veni!”⁴⁵ The last part of the elegy therefore contains declarations placed “against” or “in defiance of” Horace. There is a *quodlibet* of Tibullus motifs, ending with a vision typical for this elegiac poet, of love lasting until and even beyond the grave: “Tecum, Pasiphile, liceat mihi vivere et olim / In gremio vitam deposuisse tuo.”⁴⁶ In this way, the reflection fully in line not only with the elegiac convention, but also with the tradition of Tibullus (and partly Propertius) was inscribed in the Horatian rhetorical scheme.

4. Between words, between lines...

The maturity of Kochanowski’s imitation of Horace lies precisely in the fact that it is not realised as mechanical substitution of verbal formulas, but through “thinking with Horace,” processing of ideas, adaptation of images. This is done in Kochanowski’s work through

⁴⁴ As regards C.IV 1, this was pointed out by N. E. Collinge, *The Structure of Horace’s Odes*, London 1961, p. 81.

⁴⁵ “It does not make sense for me to look for an external war—I have an enemy inside that hurts my heart. And you, Pasiphile, on behalf of whom Venus fights, come as a friend of peace.”

⁴⁶ “With you, Pasiphile, may it be given to me to live, and one day give the spirit on your womb.” On the concept of lifelong love in Tibullus, see R.O.A.M. Lyne, “Propertius and Tibullus...,” pp. 251–282.

a subtle play in both a serious and a humorous tone. The serious tone can be observed e.g. in the implantation of the allegory of a ship-motherland from *C. I 14* in *Lyr. 3*, which was already noted by Budzyński.⁴⁷ The humorous tone, e.g. in *Carmen macaronicum*, when a landlord participating in the paraenetic agon, entering into a dialogue with the Virgilian (*georgic*) and Horatian matter (*Epode II*), declares, tongue-in-cheek and with a manifest contrariness:

Nulli flecto genu, sum wolnus, servio nulli,
 Gaudeo libertate mea pewnoque pokojo.
 Non expono animam wiatris longinqua petendo
 Lucra neque occido biednum lichwiando człowiekum,
 Nec habeo wielkos, sed nec desidero, skarbos.
 Contentus sum sorte mea własnamque paternis
 Bobus aro ziemiam quae me sustentat alitque.
 Ipsi epulas nati cnotliwaque żona ministrat
 Omne gotowa pati mecum, quodcumque ferat sors.⁴⁸

The Horatianism of the Latin works of Kochanowski is deeply rooted in the ideas that permeate Horace's work. From the Horatian, and not only Horatian, material, from the linguistic matter available in the treasure of *latinitas*, the Polish poet builds new constructions, embracing most of the "Horatian loci" understood much more broadly than as *similitudo verborum*.⁴⁹ Thus, in a sense, he continues the programme of imitation that Petrarch had previously set out in

⁴⁷ J. Budzyński, *Horacjanizm w liryce...*, pp. 68–69.

⁴⁸ "I do not fall on my knees before anyone, I am free, I serve no one, I enjoy my freedom and sure peace; I do not entrust my soul to the winds in search of overseas profits, nor do I oppress the poor man with usury. I do not have great treasures, but I do not desire them. I am satisfied with my own destiny and with my father's oxen do I plough my own land, which maintains and nourishes me. My children serve at my table and my virtuous wife, ready to endure everything that happens to me." [emphasis—E. B.]. See *Hor Ep. 2*: "Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis, / ut prisca gens mortalium, / paterna rura bobus exercet suis, / solutus omni foenore."

⁴⁹ Z. Głombiowska, *Łacińska i polska...*, pp. 203–210, draws attention to this, speaking of Horatian themes and philosophical assumptions in *Lyricorum libellus*.

his poetic letter to the ancient master. He paid clear attention to the various functions of this poetry: praise, reprimand, scorn, confession of love, etc., and especially to the immortalising aspect of poetry:

Sculpunt que rigido marmore durius
 Heroas veteres sique forent, novos,
 [...]

 Sic vatum studiis sola faventibus
 Virtus perpetuas linquit imagines.⁵⁰

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

Non me proposito temporis aut loci
 Deflectet facies; ibo pari impetu
 Vel dum feta uterum magna parens tumet,
 Vel dum ros nimiis solibus aruit,
 Vel dum pomifero fasce gemunt trabes,
 Vel dum terra gelu segnis inhorruit.⁵¹

The lyrical space shaped by Horace seems to be the most appropriate image of reality, which “must change and decay.” Thus, it pen-

⁵⁰ “Which [poems] sculpt more permanently than in hard marble of old and new (if any) heroes [...] This is how, thanks to the efforts of poets, only virtue leaves permanent images.” See J. Kochanowski *Lyr.* 1 1–4; Z. Głombiowska (*Łacińska i polska...*, p. 207) noticed here an expression of the conviction that the task of poetry is to sing out men distinguished by virtue.

⁵¹ In translation: “No place or time will pull me away from my goal—I will go with the same enthusiasm, whether the womb of fertile Nature swells, the heat of the sun burns the dew, the pergola bends under a heavy branch of fruit, or the slothful earth is numb from the frost.”

etrates in various ways into the world not only of the Polish language, but also of the Latin output of Jan Kochanowski.

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