

The Teaching of Lyric Meters and the Reception of Horace in Kyiv-Mohylanian Poetics

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1. Introduction

The present article stems from my analysis of the way metrics was presented in the poetics teaching manuals composed and used at the Kyiv Mohyla College/Academy (hereinafter KMA). My intent is to analyze how the variety of poetic examples presented by the poetics teachers to practically exemplify metrical lines and systems, whether quotations, remakes, or 'original' metrical poems, reflects the conception of poetry propounded in their manuals¹.

Given the importance of Horace in Latin metrics, his poetry naturally occupies a prominent place. I will show how its presence is both direct, through quotations of his odes, and indirect or mediated, through remakes of his odes, paraphrases of psalms and composition of poems using his meters. After a brief summary of the main stages of the history of metrics, I will concentrate on the most important metrical patterns and the most meaningful poetic examples. My findings will then be correlated to the overall conception of poetry, which was used as an important educational tool at the KMA; this was in line with the principles of Jesuit education, according to which poetry was to mold "educated and eloquent piety" (*docta et eloquens pietas*)². Therefore poetry was called upon to convey definite religious and moral attitudes by displaying suitable examples and encouraging the audience to follow them. This explains the marked emphasis on didacticism and *paraenesis* displayed by numerous poetical compositions in the Mohylanian poetics. The moral function of poetry was also the criterion that guided the selection of poetic examples from Latin and Neo-Latin poets.

Regarding Latin metrics, we know that Horace himself in the AP (ll. 73-85) had provided a succinct illustration of meters, their inventors and the topics suitable to each of them; he was thus the 'creator' of a good number of meters in Latin poetry, which he 'imported' from Greek poetry. In Pseudo Acro's commentary on Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes*, each ode is provided with the relative meter³. Horatian metrical forms were handed down to posterity thanks to their use by Boethius and

¹ As a rule, the authors of poetics do not justify their quoting poetic examples of definite single metrical lines or metrical systems as exemplifications of peculiar rules or exceptions, but they generally provide the graphic metrical scheme of a line or a strophe followed by a poetic example composed using that metrical scheme. That is why I will not go into the metrical analysis of each line quoted, but only into the variety of examples provided to exemplify them.

² Cf. Zaborowska-Musiał 2006: 143.

³ Cf. Boldrini 1999: 115.

to the numerous elaborations by late Latin grammarians, such as Caesius Bassus (*De metris Horatii*), Maurus Servius Honoratus (*De metris Horatii* and *De centum metris*, end of the fourth century), the relevant section of Diomedes's *Ars grammatica*, and others⁴. Neither should we forget the treatment of Horace's meters, which Keller called *Expositio metrica*, with which the latter prefaced his edition of the aforementioned pseudo-Acronian scholia. These treatises were the basic source of subsequent knowledge about lyric meters. Bede's *Liber de arte metrica* (seventh-eighth century) was also quite influential. The humanistic authors of *artes versificandi* later referred to treatises by late Latin grammarians and by Bede too. Among the tracts devoted to Horace's meters in the fifteenth century a prominent place belongs to Nicola Perotti's treatise *De generibus metrorum quibus Horatius Flaccus et Severinus Boetius uti sunt* as well as his *De metris*. First published in 1471, *De generibus metrorum* together with *De metris*, was reprinted several times, on its own and together with other works on the subject, as well as, in the sixteenth century, in a volume containing various grammatical works also of ancient authors⁵. As for the part dealing with Horatian verses, its popularity was even greater, since, as Boldrini states, as from 1498 it was included in numerous editions of Horace's works. The fact that Perotti's metrics manuals were apparently used at Kraków university in the late fourteenth-early fifteenth century is not devoid of interest for us, since the best Mohylanian graduates, some of whom would later become teachers at their alma mater, further pursued their studies in Polish and Western academies and universities. It also seems probable that one or more editions of Horace's oeuvre provided with Perotti's metrical tract *De generibus metrorum*... was available to Mohylanian poetics teachers, because their presentation of Horace's lyrical meters reflects knowledge (whether first or second hand) both of Servius's and Perotti's treatise, as well as of *Expositio metrica*.

As to treatises on Latin and Greek metrics printed until about 1600, Jürgen Leonhardt's study on Latin prosody from late antiquity to early Renaissance lists 164 of them.

Nearly all Mohylanian authors of poetics exemplify each metrical line and metrical system they present with one or more poetic examples. The device of using mnemonic verses to sum up a rule and of drawing examples from ancient writers had already been adopted by the first treatises on poetical meters, and was followed by some Renaissance manuals; Mohylanian poetics teachers were thus familiar with it⁶. Here I will dwell particularly on the Sapphic and Alcaic metrical systems, since they are the most widely exemplified in the poetics. Alongside Horace, or in his place, Mohylanian teachers willingly quote poems, stanzas or single lines by M. K. Sarbiewski, the 'Christian' or 'Sarmatian' Horace,

⁴ As for the iambic and trochaic meters of Roman comedy, particularly of Terentius, let's not forget the contribution of Priscian and Rufinus, whose works were both printed in Venice in 1471. The former, besides composing the comprehensive *Institutiones grammaticae*, was the author of the short treatise *De metris fabularum Terentii*, while the latter composed a *Commentarium in metra Terentiana*.

⁵ Boldrini 1999: 105-106.

⁶ Cf. also Ford 1982: 15.

as he was called later, especially drawn from his Christian parodies of Horace's odes. All the richness and multiformity of Sarbiewski's poetic output⁷ cannot be summarized in just a few lines (he was the author of over 130 odes collected in his *Lyricorum Libri* [first edition 1625] and of 145 epigrams)⁸. We may say that Mohylanian poetics teachers were attracted by all of its main features, as briefly outlined by Urbański in this volume, but what certainly appealed to them most was its Christian Horatianism, that is its adoption and adaptation of Horace's vocabulary, metrics, syntax, and values to a new religious and moral content. As to the themes of Sarbiewski's lyrics, they are quite diversified, spanning from praises of pope Urban VIII and his nephew Cardinal Francesco Barberini to biblical paraphrases and Marian hymns and odes, from reflections on the fluidity of human destiny and on the vanity of human actions to thoughts addressed to his friends. They also include moral and political reflections, from anti-Turkish poems addressed to European rulers (emperor Ferdinand II, pope Urban VIII, as well as to Sigismund III and Vladislas IV) to those addressed to different social groups (Polish knights, European rulers, Italian and European princes). Particularly congenial to the Mohylanian teachers' way of thinking about poetry were Sarbiewski's reflections on the fugacity and uncertainty of life, on the vanity of all human things, as couched in the two forms of parody and palinode. During the Baroque the former was a poetic composition created by transferring semantic structures from Classical poems to Neo-Latin ones in the spirit of Christian devotion. In such poetical composition the linguistic-stylistic and thematic components and often also the metrical scheme of the original are used to express contents that are different and extraneous, or totally opposed to those of the original poem. Consequently, in the new context these elements acquire different religious-Christian meanings. There are many such examples in Sarbiewski (cf. Budzyński 1975)⁹. As for the Horatian palinode, it was a poetic composition in which the author polemicized with the chosen pagan model¹⁰.

2. The Alcaic Metrical System: Exemplifications

I will start with the Alcaic metrical system, which is the most exemplified in the Mohylanian poetics¹¹. It is also called "carmen horatianum" by nearly all

⁷ For a detailed study of Sarbiewski's literary production and its sources of inspiration see Buszewicz 2006.

⁸ Cf. Urbański's article in this volume.

⁹ Cf. among them, Sarbiewski's *Lyr.* II, 26 "Aurei regina Maria coeli", modeled on Horace's *Carm.* I, 30 "O Venus regina Cnidi Paphique"; Sarbiewski's *Lyr.* II, 18 "Reginam, tenerae dicite virgines" modeled on Horace's *Carm.* I, 22 "Dianam tenerae dicite virgines". In both cases the place of the pagan goddess (Venus, Diana) is taken by the Virgin Mary.

¹⁰ As an example of palinode we may recall Sarbiewski's epod III *Laus otii religiosi*, in which the author refutes Horace's message of epod II ("Beatus ille qui procul negotiis").

¹¹ Unless otherwise indicated, all the manuals that I refer to and quote are held at the Manuscript Section (*Instytut Rukopysu*, IR) of the National Library of Ukraine in

Mohylanian poetics teachers due to its being the most widely used metrical system in Horace's odes. And indeed, in the exemplification of this metrical pattern Mohylanian authors display a great variety of modes.

After having explained this metrical system, the author of *Camoena in Parnasso* chooses the first two stanzas of Horace's *Carm.* II, 3 (lines 1-8) as an exemplification of it:

Aequam memento rebus in arduis
servare mentem, non secus in bonis
ab insolenti temperatam
laetitia, moriture Delli,

seu maestus omni tempore vixeris
seu te in remoto gramine per dies
festos reclinatum bearis
interiore nota Falerni.

When things are troublesome, always remember,
keep an even mind, and in prosperity
be careful of too much happiness:
since my Dellius, you're destined to die,

whether you live a life that's always sad,
or reclining, privately, on distant lawns,
in one long holiday, take delight
in drinking your vintage Falernian¹².

Indeed, the fact that he quotes two stanzas of this ode, and not just one (which would have been enough by way of exemplification, and which other poetics teachers do) is probably to ascribe to their content. In fact, as we will shortly see, the frequency with which this ode was mentioned tells us that it was particularly dear to Mohylanian authors. The ode is split into three structural blocks: the first (lines 1-8) contains a more general admonition (ll. 1-4) that de-

Kyiv (*Nacional'na Biblioteka Ukraïny*, NBU). These are their respective call numbers: 657 / 448 C. and 658 / 449 C. (the two copies of *Camoena in Parnasso*); 665 / 456 C. (*Rosa inter spinas*); Д C / П 235 (*Cytheron Bivertex*); 674 / 463 C. (*Lyra Heliconis*); 501 П / 1719 and 664 / 455 C. (the two copies of *Lyra variis praeceptorum chordis... instructa*); 509 П / 1718, t. I (*Libri tres de arte poetica*); Д C / П 245 (*Arctos in Parnasso Mohilo Mazepiano exorta...*); 322 П / 101 (*Via lactea*); Д C / П 239 (*Fons Castalius*); 316 П / 119 (*Fons poeseos*); Д C / П 252 and 509 П / 1718, t. II (*Parnassus*); Д C / П 233 (*Poeticarum institutionum breve compendium*); Д C / П 254 and 682 / 481 C. (the two copies of *Via poetarum ad fontes castalidum*); 687 / 477 C. and 320 П / 118 (the two copies of *Via ingenuos poeseos candidatos...*); 691 / 682 C. (*Liber de arte poetica*); 499 П / 1729 (*Cunae Bethleemicae*); Д A / П 420 and 505 П / 1721 (the two copies of *Idea artis poeticae*: the second manuscript is incomplete).

¹² All translations of quotations from Horace's *oeuvre* in this article are by A.S. Kline and drawn from the website <<http://www.poetryintranslation.com>> (accessed August 30th 2014).

spite the use of the imperative, as Nisbet and Hubbard observe, "fulfils the same purpose as an opening *sententia*" (Nisbet, Hubbard 1978: 52). Quintus Dellius, the addressee, was a man known for his problematic, incident-prone political career. He actually was an opportunist politician, and Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus called him *desultor bellorum civilium* (horse changer of the civil wars). He was given this name because of his many desertions: indeed, he deserted Publius Cornelius Dolabella for Gaius Cassius Longinus in 43 B.C., Cassius for Mark Antony in 42 B.C., and lastly Antony for Octavian in 31 B.C. The gnomic motif of the first part is that of the imperturbability of the human soul faced with the adversities of life as well as a warning about the hybris generated by prosperity. The central part (ll. 9-16) contains an invitation to a banquet and marks the gradual passage from the first part to the last, which contains reflections on the universality and the ineluctability of death.

As already remarked, most Mohylanian lecturers display first-hand knowledge of Horace's poetry, which in some cases makes them choose for exemplification those lines of Horace that besides serving their didactic purposes, were consonant with their aesthetic tastes. And thus the author of *Rosa inter spinas* exemplifies the *carmen horatianum* by quoting lines 21-24 of this same ode by Horace (*Carm.* II, 3). Cf.:

Divesne prisco natus ab Inacho
nil interest; seu [sic!] pauper et infima,
de gente sub dio [sic!] moreris,
victima nil miserantis Orci;

Whether you're rich, of old Inachus's line,
or live beneath the sky, a pauper, blessed with
humble birth, it makes no difference:
you'll be pitiless Orcus's victim.

The stanza quoted, the penultimate, is the second of the last three, which are centered on the theme of death. In the previous one the poet had reminded his addressee, the hedonist Dellius, that he would have to relinquish all his luxury possessions one day and that an heir would subsequently benefit from them. In this stanza, instead, the theme is that of the equality of all human beings before death, regardless of their origin or wealth. Inachus was the earliest king of Argos, and thus here he symbolizes antiquity from time immemorial. Finally, the last stanza is used to exemplify the Alcaic metrical system by the author of *Elementa latinae poeseos*, a manual of poetics that is now kept at the L'viv National Library, although it belonged to the KMA¹³. And thus, his pupils through this example (ll. 25-28), were masterfully reminded of death,

¹³ The manuscript is kept at the Scientific Library of L'viv National University I. Franko (*Naukova biblioteka L'vivs'koho nacional'noho universytetu im. I. Franka*), Manuscript Section (*Viddil rukopysiv*), call number Rukopys n. 407 I.

of its ineluctability whatever one does in life and whatever their station in this world. The last strophe concludes the poet's reflection on the theme of death, which is developed in the two previous stanzas, and had been foreshadowed in the beginning by the future participle *moriture* of line 4, referred to his addressee Dellius. Cf.:

Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
versatur urna serius ocus
sors exitura et nos in aeternum
exilium impositura cymbae.

We're all being driven to a single end,
all our lots are tossed in the urn, and, sooner
or later, they'll emerge, and seat us
in Charon's boat for eternal exile.

The popularity of this ode among Mohylanian and other authors is also testified by its manifold use, since it is variously quoted also when they deal with lyric poetry.

As mentioned above, the author of *Camoena in Parnasso* provides a second example next to Horace's ode quoted above. Indeed, he adds the first stanza (lines 1-4) of Sarbiewski's ode *Lyr. II, 11*, written in the same Alcaic metrical system, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. Cf.:

Huc o, beatis septa cohortibus
Regina mundi, sidereos, age,
molire passus: huc curuli
nube super Zephyroque praepes
[descende].

To this place, o Queen of the world, surrounded
by the blessed retinue, come, lead your starred
steps: to this place from the curule cloud and
flying straight ahead over Zephyr
[come down].

This ode has as its 'starting point' Horace's *Carm. III, 4*, of which it constitutes a type of parody¹⁴. Horace's ode is the first of the second trilogy that forms the cycle of the Roman odes (as the first six odes of Book III are called), the proemial function of which is underlined by the invocation to the Muses and by the autobiographical theme of its first part¹⁵.

¹⁴ Cf. Budzyński 1975: 98-99.

¹⁵ Horace's *Carm. III, 4* can be divided into two major parts: the first (ll. 9-36), preceded by the two proemial stanzas with the invocation to the Muses, is dedicated to the protective power of the Muses, which the poet experienced both in his childhood and in his adult life and which he will probably experience in the future. At line 37 Horace shifts

Sarbiewski's ode *Lyr.* II, 11 is a prayer to the Virgin Mary, queen of the earth and the sky. Sarbiewski does not intend to imitate Horace's *Carm.* III, 4 either in length or in the treated themes. As Buszewicz states, the incipit of Horace's ode "Descende caelo [...] regina" seems to suggest the possibility of a Christian imitation, with a few changes, of this expression. And thus in the first two stanzas of his ode Sarbiewski borrows the words from Horace's first stanza: "regina" – in the same position, at the beginning of the second line, "age", "descende". However, while in Horace "dic" refers to the wish for creative inspiration, in Sarbiewski the accent is first of all on the fact that the Virgin Mary governs the world, then on her protective powers, and subsequently on the act of invocation "Huc, [...] huc [...] descende". Cf. Horace's and Sarbiewski's first stanzas, in which Horace's invocation to the muse Calliope becomes Sarbiewski's invocation to the Virgin Mary¹⁶:

Descende caelo et dic age tibia
regina longum Calliope melos,
seu voce nunc mauius acuta
seu fidibus citharave Phoebi.

Huc o, beatis septa cohortibus
Regina mundi, sidereos, age,
molire passus: huc curuli
nube super Zephyroque praepes
[descende].

O royal Calliope, come from heaven,
and play a lengthy melody on the flute,
or, if you prefer, use your clear voice,
or pluck at the strings of Apollo's lute.

To this place, o Queen of the world, surrounded
by the blessed retinue, come, lead your starred
steps: to this place from the curule cloud and
flying straight ahead over Zephyr
[come down].

Sarbiewski's poetry will also recur in other exemplifications of the Alcaic stanza, as we can observe in the example chosen by the author of *Fons Castalius* to exemplify the Alcaic metrical system. Indeed, he presents two Alcaic stanzas, which he defines "Carmina gratulatoria alicui patrono" ("Congratulatory verses to some protector"). The author does not specify whether the quoted lines are his own or not. However, we might assume that he is their author or "remaker", so to say. Indeed, the first stanza looks like a remake of the first strophe of Sarbiewski's *Lyr.* III, 18, a poem devoted to the praise of Francesco Barberini, cardinal, nephew of a more famous Barberini, pope Urban VIII. The celebratee was a quite remarkable person: he was highly cultured and in 1623 he was accepted

his discourse from personal to political themes: ll. 37-42 constitute a sort of link between the first and the second part and expound on the concept of *consilium* (that is the benign influence of the Muses), which is necessary for physical strength, might (*vis*), because the latter without the former would be disastrous. The second part thus contains the myths that exemplify the victory of *consilium* over *vis*, that is the power of poetry to civilize and pacify. Among the mythological exemplifications we find "the most systematic account of Gigantomachy that has survived in Augustan literature" (Nisbet, Rudd 2004: 55).

¹⁶ For the other similarities between this ode of Horace's and Sarbiewski's *Lyr.* II, 11, in particular the similarity between Sarbiewski's sixth stanza and Horace's second stanza, see Buszewicz 2006: 327-329.

by the famous Roman Accademia dei Lincei, founded in 1603; he was also a powerful protector of *littérateurs* and artists and possessed a large library. The mentioned *Lyr.* III, 18, as Buszewicz states, “stresses or tries to stress the search for humanistic values linked to *otium*”¹⁷. Sarbiewski illustrates the dilemma of power through the lyric fiction of navigation¹⁸. The poet-sailor, who emerges on the wide waters of praise of the cardinal, dedicates a good deal of poetical energy to the introductory allegorical image that creates that fiction: the little boat of the pen with the eloquent Muses at the oars, should be generated in the ocean of Glory and Praise. Apollo, who governs the Pegasean waters, is invited to captain the ship. As regards the second Alcaic stanza provided by the author of *Fons Castalius*, it is either modeled on a different poem or he wrote it himself. Cf. on the left the two Alcaic stanzas presented in *Fons Castalius*, and on the right the first stanza of Sarbiewski’s *Lyr.* III, 18:

Laudum tuarum diffuat alveus
plenis carinis ite polaria
per prata facundisque Musae
carmina deproperate remis.

Huic e prophanis Echo sororibus
carmen canoris concine vocibus,
et plena per rerum profundo
ore tenuis iterando vivat.

The river bed of your praises may flow
of full ships; go through broad polar water
expanses, and prepare hastily, o Muses,
poems with eloquent oars.

To this one sing, o Echo, a poem among the
prophane sisters with melodious voices,
and by the fullness of things from the
depth of the lips may it live [in] repeating.

Hic ille plenis Oceanus patet
laudum carinis: ite, loquacia
per transtra, facundisque, Musae,
carmina deproperate remis.

Here that ocean stands open to the ships
full of praise. Go through loquacious rower’s
seats, and prepare hastily, o Muses, poems
with eloquent oars.

And thus in the first Alcaic stanza our teacher transformed Sarbiewski’s images in a curious way: the wide ocean has become a more modest river bed (or channel). The expression “per loquacia transtra” (“through loquacious rower’s seats”), which is in line with the allegory of navigation, and especially with the simile between the poet and a sailor, has been transformed into “per prata polaria” (“through the broad polar water expanses”); this maintains the image of water and the vastness of the sea, but weakens the association between the poet and a sailor, which is instead kept in the last two lines of the first stanza (“facundisque

¹⁷ “Poszukiwanie humanistycznych wartości związanych z *otium* uwydatnia czy raczej pragnie uwydatniać *Lyr* III 18.” (Buszewicz 2006: 233).

¹⁸ As Buszewicz recalls, Francesco Barberini had made a very quick career thanks to his influential uncle and had accumulated a significant amount of wealth in just a few years.

Musae / Carmina deproperate remis”), which reproduce Sarbiewski’s words verbatim. As to the following stanza, the setting is not that of navigation through the sea, but a generic one, more probably the woods, because of the presence of the nymph Echo. She is chosen for her faculty of repeating the last words of every sentence: and thus through her, the poet expresses the wish that the praises of the celebratee may be repeated over and over in a sort of everlasting life.

It is clear that almost all poetics teachers choose examples from Horace’s poetry or from his imitators to exemplify the Alcaic system. And thus, the author of *Cytheron Bivertex* on his part exemplifies the *carmen horatianum* by quoting lines 9-12 of Horace’s *Carm.* II, 11; cf.:

Non semper idem floribus est honor
vernīs neque uno luna rubens nitet
vultu: quid aeternis minorem
consilij animū fatigat [sic!]?

And the glory of spring flowers won’t last forever,
and the blushing moon won’t always shine, with that
selfsame face: why weary your little
mind with eternal deliberations?

This ode is addressed to a certain Quintius, about whom little is known and whose identification is not certain (cf. Nisbet, Hubbard 1978: 167-168); however, the unfolding of the ode is independent of its addressee. The ode is structurally divided into two parts: the first (ll. 1-12) contains a paraenesis to Quintius: the poet enjoins him not to worry about events happening far from him or concerning distant times. The second part (ll. 13-24) constitutes the preparation of the symposium and the poet’s tone suggests he is urging his addressee to hurry since there is little time left to enjoy life.

In the quoted stanza, the initial words “Non semper” introduce a comparison between human and natural events: unlike *Carm.* I, 4 and IV, 7, where there was a tragic gap between the two, here man and nature share the same destiny of temporality and decay. The comparison between the brevity of youth and that of flowers is one of the commonest in Greek and Latin poetry. The second comparison is with the moon, whose phases are an indication of the law of natural changes; the adjective *rubens* could metaphorically refer to the bloom of youth. As Nisbet and Hubbard assert, verbs, adjectives and substantives used in this stanza to define phenomena of the natural world can also be applied to human beings, such as the adjective *rubens*: “similarly *honor* is applicable to people as well as flowers, *nitet* reminds us of human *nitor* (I. 5. 13, I. 19. 5), and the personified *vultu* is preferred to the scientific *facie*” (Nisbet, Hubbard 1978: 172). And thus, if both man and nature are subject to constant change and final decay, why trouble our minds with thoughts of eternity as if our lives were everlasting? The concept expressed here by the locution “aeterna consilia” is the same as “*spes longa*” of *Carm.* I, 4, 15 and as the exhortation “*inmortalia ne speres*” of *Carm.* IV, 7, 7, both of which are quoted by Mohylanian authors to exemplify other metrical patterns.

The lines that reminded pupils about the brevity of life and the mortality of man, interpreted in a Christian key, as a *memento mori* implicitly urging them to repent of their sins and to lead an irreproachable life, were among the most preferred by Mohylanian poetics teachers. The fact that words that were interpreted as ethical recommendations and moral principles had been expressed by a Classical authority greatly reinforced their message. And thus the same lines 9-12 from Horace's *Carm.* II, 11 are quoted by the author of *Lyra Heliconis* to exemplify the Alcaic metrical pattern. Next to these lines, however, this same author also quotes another Horatian Alcaic stanza depicting the cold winter around mount Soracte in Sabine, which opens *Carm.* I, 9:

Vides ut alta stet nive candidum
Soracte nec iam sustineant onus
silvae laborantes geluque
flumina constiterint acuto?

See how Soracte stands glistening with snowfall,
and the labouring woods bend under the weight:
see how the mountain streams are frozen,
cased in the ice by the shuddering cold?

This stanza, together with the next one, is modeled on an ode by Alcaeus (338), and by the "new" Sappho¹⁹. Horace, however, varies its models, introducing typically Roman elements, and particularly experiencing the winter landscape as a state of the soul, a metaphor, a symbol. Indeed, the ode is centered around the fundamental Epicurean motif of enjoying the present, in this case one's youth, and not worrying about what the future will bring. And thus the poet passes from the oppressive winter atmosphere of the beginning to the vitality of the last scene, from the sadness caused by a winter day to the serenity and joy of the last stanza. Mohylanian authors, however, also regarding this ode, were both aware of and attracted by its main motif as expressed in line 13:

Quid si futurum cras, fuge quaerere, et
Don't ask what tomorrow brings, [...]

This invitation not to worry about tomorrow, and implicitly to enjoy the present day is quoted by the author of *Lyra variis praeceptorum...*, who lists it as its fifth example in the section on four feet lines. Other authors refer to the Alcaic metrical pattern by quoting only the first line of this poem (*Libri tres de arte poetica*, *Arctos in Parnasso...*, *Via lactea*, *Fons Castalius*, *Fons poeseos*, *Parnassus*). The author of *Poeticarum institutionum breve compendium*, on his part, quotes lines 1-2 of this ode.

¹⁹ Cf. Dirk Obbink's article on the two newly found poems by the seventh-century B.C. poetess Sappho: <http://www.the-tls.co.uk/tls/public/article1371516.ece> (accessed August 30th 2014).

A different picture of nature is chosen by the author of *Via poetarum ad fontes castalidum*, who exemplifies the Alcaic metrical system by presenting Horace's *Carm.* I, 17, 1-4: these lines are not quoted by other authors. Here they are:

Velox amoenum saepe Lucretilem
mutat Lycaeo Faunus et igneam
defendit aestatem capellis
usque meis pluviosque ventos.

Swift Faunus, the god, will quite often exchange
Arcady for my sweet Mount Lucretilis,
and while he stays he protects my goats
from the midday heat and the driving rain.

This ode is considered one of Horace's most original and subtle. It has a clear structure: it is divided into two groups of strophes (ll. 1-12 and 17-28) with at its center one strophe (ll. 13-16) that marks the passage from the first part, in which Faunus's frequent visits to his Sabine estate are described, to the second part, which contains the invitation to Tyndaris to come and enjoy the pleasures of Horace's Sabine villa. The central theme of the ode is the Horatian conception of the unity of poetry and wisdom as well as a sincere yearning for nature, his almost religious feeling of nature, which identifies the ideal landscape of wisdom, and especially the place of his privileged relationship with the divinity, in the bucolic landscape.

Yet another exemplification and example of the Alcaic stanza is that provided by the author of *Arctos in Parnasso*: he chooses Horace's *Carm.* III, 6, 45-48, maybe as an admonition to his pupils not to stray from the moral principles they had received as part of their education. Cf.:

Damnosa quid non inminuit dies?
Aetas parentum, peior avis, tulit
nos nequiores, mox daturos
progeniem vitiosiore.

What do the harmful days not render less?
Worse than our grandparents' generation, our
parents' then produced us, even worse,
and soon to bear still more sinful children.

The lines quoted constitute the last stanza of an ode pervaded by an atmosphere of anxiety and dominated by a pessimistic attitude, an obscure foreboding of decay that is also found in a few epodes. At the same time, the prevailing feeling is that of a sin to be expiated, of a generational curse, of moral decay progressing from age to age, and this motif had been a commonplace of poetry since Hesiod. The ode has a tripartite structure: in ll. 1-16 the central theme is that of *pietas*, that is the prosperity of Rome is linked to her obedience to divine will, while its decay is linked to the decline of religion; these statements are

in line with Augustus's program of reasserting traditional Roman beliefs. The second part (ll. 17-32) links national decline with the corruption of mores, especially envisaged in the adultery of married women but not in that of married men. In the third part (ll. 33-48), Horace delineates the contrast with the customs of archaic Rome, particularly underlining the peasant virtues of former times, which are implicitly contrasted with the urban corruption and immorality of his time. Finally, the last stanza depicts Rome in constant and continuous decline in which each generation is worse than the one before.

This same stanza is cited as an example of *carmen horatianum* (Alcaic) also by the author of the course *Via ingenuos poeseos candidatos...* (1729): evidently through the mouth of Horace Mohylanian poetics teachers intended to warn their pupils against corruption of mores, and to urge them not to disregard the moral principles they had received, lest the same worsening from one generation to the next, of which Horace speaks, happens to them.

It is precisely with such an aim that the author of *Liber de arte poetica* exemplifies the Alcaic metrical pattern by quoting lines 1-12 of Horace's *Carm.* III, 3. The structure of this ode is quite complex and not easy to summarize: its central part is occupied by Juno's speech (ll. 17-68), the central theme of which is the concept of the supremacy of Rome as the center of power vis-à-vis the Eastern world (cf. the prohibition to rebuild Troy), which was one of the main lines of Augustan culture. The core of the ode is articulated in three parts: Romulus's ascension to the sky (ll. 17-36); Rome's ecumenical dominion (ll. 37-48); the conditions on which Rome's empire will prosper further. The central part is preceded by two strophic couples, respectively on the righteous man (ll. 1-8) with a Stoic colouring, and on Augustus's apotheosis (ll. 9-16), and it is followed by a final strophe containing a *recusatio* (ll. 69-72). Here are the quoted lines:

Iustum et tenacem propositi virum
non civium ardor prava iubentium,
non voltus instantis tyranni
mente quatit solida neque Auster,
dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae,
nec fulminantis magna Iovis manus:
si fractus inlabatur orbis,
impavidum ferient ruinae.

Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
innixus arces attingit igneas,
quos inter augustus recumbens
purpureo bibet ore nectar.

The passion of the public, demanding what
is wrong, never shakes the man of just and firm
intention, from his settled purpose,
nor the tyrant's threatening face, nor the winds,
the stormy masters of the troubled Adriatic,
nor Jupiter's mighty hand with its lightning:

if the heavens fractured in their fall,
still their ruin would strike him, unafraid.

By these means Pollux, and wandering Hercules,
in their effort, reached the fiery citadels,
where Augustus shall recline one day,
drinking nectar to stain his rosy lips.

It is precisely the depiction of the righteous man, whose steadfastness cannot be broken either by men (the people, the tyrant), or by natural and supernatural forces (the wind, Jupiter's force) that appealed to the ethically-didactic stance of Mohylanian teachers of poetics and rhetoric. The reference to justice links this ode to the preceding one, the central theme of which is *virtus*: indeed, justice is the utmost virtue; as to the man of the first stanza, Horace probably alludes to Socrates, who refused to commit the unjust deeds required of him by a people's regime and the thirty tyrants. The Stoic image of the wise man's imperturbability when threatened by tyrants as well as his certainty amidst a collapsing world probably hints at Cato. In ll. 9-12 Horace resumes the eschatological theme of the preceding ode, and presents a review of heroes who have been deified thanks to their virtue: Pollux, one of the Dioscuri, who according to tradition was a model of virtue, justice and *pietas*; Heracles, who represented not only the man able to endure any labour, but also epitomized the struggle against tyrants; and finally Augustus, whose apotheosis had been affirmed by the new constitutional order of 27 B.C.²⁰

The popularity of the initial lines of this ode among Mohylanian lecturers is testified by the frequency with which they are quoted, particularly in the section on lyric poetry (by the authors of *Cunae Bethleemicae* and *Rosa inter spinas*), or as an example of *amplificatio* (in the course *Idea artis poeticae*), or as an example of *carmen polycolon* (which is constituted by more than one species of verse or metrical pattern) in *Parnassus*. And thus these lines lent themselves to being used as an example of more than one precept of poetics, in addition to being taken as an illustration of the steadfastness of righteous men.

A different Roman ode is chosen by the author of *Via lactea*: he exemplifies the Alcaic metrical system by quoting Horace's *Carm.* III, 1, 1-8, which he defines as follows: "Exemplum sit ex Horatio libro tertio oda prima in qua dicit non odibus [sic!]²¹ aut honoribus, sed animi tranquillitate vitam beatam effici" ("As an example may it be the first ode of the third book of Horace, in which he says that a happy life can be accomplished not by riches and honours but by the tranquility of the soul"). Indeed, the core of this ode, which has both an ethical and a political import, is the theme of luxury and the fear of death that is strictly linked to it, since according to Epicurean morals, such fear leads to ambition and greed. In tackling these themes, Horace recalls traditional Roman attitudes that were also at the basis of Augustan ideology; and thus, he gives Epicurean

²⁰ Cf. Nisbet, Rudd 2004: 41-42.

²¹ Probably a *lapsus calami* for "opibus".

motifs a political resonance, since they assume a particular value in the light of Augustus's program of ethical re-foundation of *res publica*. However, the first two stanzas have both a different tone and content, and for the sublimity of their style they differ from the rest of the ode, which appears as a gnomic reflection on themes of private ethics. Probably the author quoted them in order to refer his pupils to the whole ode. Here they are:

Odi profanum volgus et arceo.
Favete linguis: carmina non prius
audita Musarum sacerdos
virginibus puerisque canto.
Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
reges in ipsos imperium est Iovis,
clari Giganteo triumpho,
cuncta supercilio moventis.

I hate the vulgar crowd, and keep them away:
grant me your silence. A priest of the Muses,
I sing a song never heard before,
I sing a song for young women and boys.
The power of dread kings over their peoples,
is the power Jove has over those kings themselves,
famed for his defeat of the Giants,
controlling all with a nod of his head.

In the first stanza Horace uses a variation on a sacred formula with a sacral-mystic language to frame the image of the poet-*vates* who has been invested with his mission by the Muses (according to a tradition that harks back to Hesiod). As to the words “*carmina non prius / audita*”, they refer to the Roman odes in general, in that this ode is the first of the cycle and has the function of a proemium. Moreover, as Nisbet and Rudd stress, “in the religious context *carmina* suggests sacred chants, and the assonance of *carmina ... canto* suits the sacral style”, and “*sacerdos* [...] emphasizes the authority and dignity of the poet's pronouncements” (Nisbet, Rudd 2004: 7-8). Also the fact that Horace is addressing himself to young girls and boys is not only due to their aptness to receive a new discourse and to carry out the moral and political renewal that the Roman odes want to promote, but needs to be seen also in the context of a cult. The second stanza marks the beginning of the gnomic reflection, full of literary echoes (cf. Orazio Flacco 1991, I/2: 724-725): Horace states that even the feared kings have to submit to the power of Jupiter, who rules over everything. The sense is that no mortal can escape fear, since for everybody there is someone to fear, so even the rich and the powerful have to submit to the laws of the universe.

Other examples of the exemplification of the Alcaic metrical pattern remind us once again of the Christian character of the teaching of poetics, as well as of all other subjects at the KMA. Lavrentii Horka, author of *Idea artis poeticae*,

chooses a very curious way to exemplify the *carmen horatianum*. At first he selects the first stanza of Horace's *Carm.* I, 35, which is a hymn and a prayer to the goddess Fortune together with Faith, Hope and Necessity, asking her to assist Augustus in his impending campaign against the Britons²². Cf. *Carm.* I, 35, 1-4:

O diva, gratum quae regis Antium,
praesens vel imo tollere de gradu
mortale corpus vel superbos
vertere funeribus triumphos

O goddess, who rules our lovely Antium,
always ready to lift up our mortal selves,
from humble position, or alter
proud triumphs to funeral processions

The first stanza has been picked by the author very attentively: indeed, apart from the specification "gratum quae regis Antium", it could easily be the *incipit* of a prayer to the Virgin Mary. Horace conveys the topical motif of the unpredictability and violence of Fortune's changes. In the image of the goddess's power to lift up mortals from humble positions, critics see a clear allusion to Servius Tullius, the son of a slave who became king of Rome and the founder of many of the Fortuna cults. On the other hand, in the image of the goddess's power to transform proud triumphs into funeral rites, critics see a reference to the two sons of Aemilius Paulus, who died precisely during the celebration of the latter's triumph over Perses. Indeed, the image of the goddess who is able to lift up the humble and to overthrow the powerful from their positions very closely reminds us of the canticle from the first chapter of the Gospel according to Luke, in which the Virgin Mary praises and gives thanks to God because he has freed His people, better known as the *Magnificat* (Luke 1, 46-55).

Right after these lines come another three Alcaic stanzas that constitute the paraphrase of verses 21-23 of *Psalm* 49 (50) by the Scottish poet George Buchanan. The latter (1506-1582) is considered the 'father' of the Baroque variant of parodic imitation of Horatian lyric. He is the author, among others, of *Paraphrasis Psalmorum*, a work conceived in the Horatian spirit, and in which he uses mostly Horatian meters, the first complete edition of which was published around 1565, and republished many times after that²³. Ford broadly iden-

²² For the chronology of this ode see Nisbet, Hubbard 1989: 387-388.

²³ A selection of the psalm paraphrases had been published in 1556 (see Ford 1982: 77). G. Buchanan's paraphrases of the psalms inspired numerous poets, among whom Jan Kochanowski. For an overview of the influence of Latin poets on Buchanan's paraphrases of the psalms (primarily of Horace and Catullus), see Ford 1982: 76-102. The composition of hymns and other poetical works on Christian topics using Horatian meters, which probably began with the one who is generally considered the first Christian poet, Prudentius (Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, 348-ca. 413), has enjoyed lasting

tifies the three groups of psalms in Buchanan's collection – "those praising God, those outlining the righteous life, and those expressing the particular feelings of the psalmist" (Ford 1982: 82). It is not easy to attribute Psalm 49 (50) to any of these three categories. In fact, in this psalm God is depicted speaking to his people and expressing a judgment on them. In particular, in the lines quoted God is addressing the wicked man, recalling his evil deeds, which contrast starkly with the words that come out of his lips, which proclaim God's decrees and His alliance, but then are not followed by behaviour that complies with God's laws. Quite the contrary. And thus, after having reproached him, God turns to those who behave likewise and urges them to abandon their evil ways and come back to Him, so that they be saved from His wrath. The last verse contains a recollection on the men who are pleasing to God: those who sing his praise and who behave righteously; to them God promises his salvation.

And thus, because of its stress on the contraposition of what is pleasing to God and what is not, Psalm 49 (50) may be said to be closer to the second category identified by Ford. And thus, through the mouth of the psalmist and the pen of Buchanan, Lavrentii Horka reminds his pupils of the conduct they should follow to be true Christians and to pursue the road to salvation.

The quoted lines of Buchanan's paraphrase are preceded by the writing "Item Psal 50" ("Similarly Psalm 50"), which indicate that Horace's *Carm.* I, 35, 1-4 and the paraphrase of verses 21-23 of *Psalm* 49 (50) are not to be considered as a whole text. Here are the quoted stanzas of the Psalm:

Item Psal 50

Et arbitraris me similem tui,
quod perpetrata haec dissimulaverim?
Ne crede: tecum expostulabo,
ante oculos tua facta ponam.

Considerate haec, vos quibus excidit
de mente caeca mentio Numinis:
ne, quum praeheandam, nemo sit qui
de manibus mihi praensa tollat.

Si victimam vis magnificam mihi
mactare, laudes canta, age gratias.
Hac itur ad certam salutem
haec superos via pandit axes.

And you have considered me to be like you
for I have concealed the accomplishment of such things.
do not believe: I will demand you;
before [my] eyes I will place your actions.

Do consider these things, you from whose blind
mind the mention of the divinity has disappeared
lest, when I will take, there be no one who
may take away from my hands the things I have taken possession of.

If you want to sacrifice for me a sumptuous
victim, sing the praises, give thanks:
through this way one reaches a sure salvation
this way opens the lofty skies.

In order to allow for a comparison let us now look closer at the lines quoted²⁴. Buchanan elaborated each verse of the psalm in one stanza. I will quote below the original (from the Latin *Vulgata*) and its remake so as to facilitate a comparison. Cf.:

21 Haec fecisti, et tacui. (Vulgata)
Existimasti quod eram tui similis.
Arguam te et statuam illa contra faciem tuam.

Et arbitraris me similem tui, (Buchanan)
quod perpetrata haec dissimulaverim?
Ne crede: tecum expostulabo,
ante oculos tua facta ponam.

22 Intellegite haec, qui obliviscimini Deum, (Vulgata)
ne quando rapiam, et non sit qui eripiat.

Considerate haec, vos quibus excidit (Buchanan)
de mente caeca mentio Numinis:
ne, quum praehendam, nemo sit qui
de manibus mihi praensa tollat.

23 Qui immolabit sacrificium laudis, honorificabit me; (Vulgata)
et, qui immaculatus est in via, ostendam illi salutare Dei.

Si victimam vis magnificam mihi (Buchanan)
mactare, laudes canta, age gratias.
Hac itur ad certam salutem
haec superos via pandit axes.

For a comparison, this is the King James Bible version of verses 21-23 of Psalm 50.

21 These things hast thou done, and I kept silence; thou thoughtest that I was altogether such a one as thyself. But I will reprove thee and set them in order before thine eyes.

22 "Now consider this, ye that forget God, lest I tear you in pieces and there be none to deliver:

²⁴ In the Mohylanian poetics George Buchanan is particularly mentioned for his remake of Psalm 137.

23 Whoso offereth praise glorifieth Me; and to him that ordereth his manner of living aright, I will show the salvation of God."

As we can see, Buchanan is at the same time more descriptive and more explicative than the original, which is to be expected in a paraphrase, as Ford states. And thus, the simple and straightforward "qui obliviscimini Deum" ("ye that forget God") of line 22 has become the much more rhetorically elaborate "vos, quibus excidit de mente caeca mentio Numinis" ("you from whose blind mind the mention of the divinity has disappeared"). Again, the synthetic "et non sit qui eripiat" ("and there be none to deliver") is made thoroughly clear in the sentence "nemo sit qui de manibus mihi praensa tollat" ("there be no one who may take away from my hands [the things] I have taken possession of"). *Amplificatio* is used by Buchanan to make verse 23 more explicit too: the conciseness and the semantic incisiveness of the expression "Qui immolabit sacrificium laudis", in which the matching of "sacrificium" and "laudis" aptly conveys the positivity of the sacrifice, is 'diluted' and made personal by the imperatives "Laudes canta, age gratias". At the same time, the meaning expressed by the verb "honorificabit me" is amplified in the explicative locution "Si victimam vis magnificam mihi mactare" where the positive effect of the sacrifice is conveyed by the adjective *magnificam*; however, at the same time, the adjective *immaculatus* following right after, remains unexpressed in Buchanan's remake.

3. *The minor Sapphic Metrical System: Exemplifications*

After the Alcaic stanza, the second most exemplified metrical system in the Mohylanian poetics is the minor Sapphic strophe. The numerous odes (25) that Horace wrote using this metrical system offered a good variety of lines that could be quoted to illustrate it. Among them, *Carm.* I, 22 was the most popular. And thus, the author of *Tabulae praeceptorum poeseos*... chooses the first stanza (lines 1-4) of Horace's *Carm.* I, 22 to illustrate the minor Sapphic strophe, seemingly with moralizing intents. Cf.:

Integer vitae scelerisque purus
non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu
nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
Fusce, pharetra

The man who is pure of life, and free of sin,
has no need, dear Fuscus, for Moorish javelins,
nor a bow and a quiver, fully loaded
with poisoned arrows

The same lines are quoted to exemplify the minor Sapphic strophe by the authors of *Idea artis poeticae*, *Libri tres de arte poetica*, and by Sylvestr Dobry-

na, author of *Liber de arte poetica*. The main motif of this ode, i.e. the protection from dangers that the uncorrupted man enjoys, was evidently particularly dear to the mindset of Mohylanian poetics teachers. This ode, and particularly its first stanza, is quoted by some Mohylanian poetics teachers in the section on lyric poetry more than once in different functions.

The author of *Idea artis poeticae*, however, after having quoted Horace's aforementioned lines adds to them a strophe from the elaboration of Psalm 5 by George Buchanan. Of the three groups of psalms that Ford broadly singles out in Buchanan's collection, which I mentioned above, – those praising God, those outlining the righteous life, and those expressing the particular feelings of the psalmist, Psalm 5 seems to mix features of all three, although it particularly leans toward the third category. The lines quoted (33-36), which elaborate verses 10 and 11 of the psalm, appear as an appeal that a Christian "integer vitae scelerisque purus", who does not need poisoned arrows, turns to God, asking Him to be protected from evil men, and to do justice and destroy those who commit evil. Cf.:

Lingua adulatrix tacito veneno
blandiens, caecos meditatur ictus.
O Deus, rerum o Pater alme, gentem
perde nefandam.

The flattering tongue with silent poison
by alluring, meditates obscure blows
o God, o great father of things, destroy
impious people.

Sylvestr Dobryna proceeds in a similar way in his course *Liber de arte poetica*. After having quoted Horace's *Carm.* I, 22, 1-4, he adds a poem consisting of six minor Sapphic strophes, built on the sentence "boni moriuntur laeti" ("good men die happy"), which he defines as an imitation of Horace's quoted verse lines. Of course, basically all authors who quote *Carm.* I, 22 limit themselves to the first stanza: in fact, the rest of the poem takes a different way from the 'moralizing' incipit, and from the third stanza it becomes personal, a declaration of self-sufficiency and of love toward his Lalage, a fictional character. And thus the poem by Sylvestr Dobryna, just like the quotation of the elaboration of Psalm 5 by Buchanan, necessarily has to take as its starting point only the first stanza of *Carm.* I, 22. The author does not specify who the author of the poem is, and so we may assume that it is his own. Here it is:

Qui fuit cultor pietatis almae
non sibi visit placidis sed astris
namque per spinas
ibat ad illam.

He who was a worshiper of the propitious piety
did not look at himself but at the placid stars
and indeed he was going toward it
through thorns.

Triste non vitae miserae periculum,
nec dolor carnis tremefecit illum,
ipsa nec turpis tremebunda saevae
mortis imago.

Not the sad danger of a miserable life,
nor the pain of the flesh caused him to tremble,
nor the very repulsive trembling image
of cruel death.

Totus est laetus moribundus atque suavis
aspectû, placidusque vultû:
explicat linguâ, licet oris impos
verba sonora.

Quicquid effatur canit triumphans;
iam videt caelos patriam futuros
sperat aeternum cito ter beatum
vivere tempus.

Spiritû gaudet quia vicit hostes
carnis et mundi insidias iniqui;
salvus ut passer laqueo maligni
avolat altum.

Spernit atrocis violenta fata
mortis, est cuius medijs in umbris
clarus ex umbris animivè compos
currit ad astra.

The dying man is all happy and with an
agreeable appearance and with a peaceful face:
although not in control of his mouth, he
expresses with his tongue resounding words.

Anything he says, he sings it triumphing;
he already sees the skies that will be his homeland
he hopes to live soon time eternal
three times blessed.

He rejoices in spirit since he defeated the enemy
of the flesh and the traps of an unjust world;
like a sparrow safe from the snare of the evil one
flies away on high.

He despises the violent fates of a dreadful death,
among whose shades he shines brightly
and from the shades, being in control of his soul
he runs towards the stars.

Horace's thought, as expressed in the first two stanzas of *Carm.* I, 22, is that the (Stoic) good man, who refrains from committing evil deeds and leads a pure life, does not need to carry weapons to defend himself from the dangers of nature, and thus it is as if he were protected by the gods. However, as is made clear in the following lines, and especially in the last stanza, the *integer vitae* is revealed as his lover, and thus, Horace "is applying to himself, not without amusement, the elegists' commonplace that the lover is a sacred person under divine protection"²⁵. A totally different, reversed idea is expressed in the poem quoted: here the man free from sin becomes the incarnation of the true Christian, the one who has overcome the temptation of flesh and has embraced the cross and therefore is not afraid of suffering, nor of corporal death. Such a man has his eyes fixed on life after death and hopes in the resurrection of the body and in life everlasting. And thus our poem definitely moves away from the affirmation of the joys of love in Horace's last stanza (cf. ll 23-24: "dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo / dulce loquentem" – "I'll still be in love with my sweetly laughing, / sweet talking Lalage")²⁶.

4. School Exercises with Horatian Meters

Finally, imitation of Horace takes the form of school exercises written using the Greek lyric measures that Horace introduced into Latin poetry, in the first

²⁵ Nisbet, Hubbard 1989: 262.

²⁶ As stated in Nisbet, Hubbard 1989: 263, although in other places Horace claims to enjoy special protection, which might hark back to the ancient idea that poets were sacred, and affirms the happiness and security that poetry gave him, here he alludes to love poetry and in the last two lines emphasis is rather on love than on poetry.

place the Alcaic stanza. Although this type of exercise was already mentioned in the course *Rosa inter spinas*²⁷, it is mainly after the appearance of Prokopovyč's course *De arte poetica libri tres*, which contains a detailed chapter on the different types of linguistic-literary exercises, that Mohylanian authors introduce this section into their courses more often, particularly following Prokopovyč's exercises, and at times introducing their own²⁸. The exercises that Prokopovyč proposed to his students resembled very closely those propounded by the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*, the study plan that regulated the pedagogical and didactic work of the Jesuits, on whose school system the curriculum of the KMA was modeled²⁹. They are well exemplified by the chapter on poetical exercises (chapter 9 in the first book) of *Poeticarum Institutionum Libri Tres* (Ingolstadt 1594), by the Jesuit Jacobus Pontanus (Jakob Spanmüller), one of the most influential Latin theories of poetry in the sixteenth century. Pontanus's manual is followed by the *Tirocinium poeticum*, which contains an abundance of poetic examples from various genres³⁰.

As an example of the rewriting of a poetical composition using a different meter, Prokopovyč rewrites lines 4-6 of Catullus's ode V on the temporality of human life: at first he uses the Sapphic stanza and then the Horatian (Alcaic) stanza, and finally elaborates the same idea and expresses it in 12 lines instead of the three of the original, this time using the same Phalaecean verse as Catullus. As to this type of use of Horace's meters, which I illustrate here, they neither constitute a paraphrase of the contents of a particular Horatian ode, nor do they take one or more lines by Horace as their starting point. They are school exercises, linked to Horace only in the use of 'his' lyric meters. And thus, their interest resides mainly in showing us the types of exercise the pupils were engaged in.

The first example is found in the manuscript with call number 509 II / 1718 (t. III). The manuscript opens with the title *Carmina lyrica per omnia genera ab Horatio usurpata* ("Lyric poems of all genres usurped from Horace"), which however promises more than it delivers. Indeed, the poems are only three. The *genus* of the title refers to the different metrical systems, which were one of the criteria according to which poetry was classified. And thus the adjective "horatiana" refers to the different meters used by Horace and introduced by him into Latin poetry. All of the poems are of a religious character and revolve around

²⁷ Call number 665 / 456 C.; in the section *De medijs comparandae poeseos* the author, among the different types of imitation, lists the remaking of a poem by using a different meter, and as one of the examples of this exercise adduces Statius's remake of ll. 9-14 of Horace's *Carm.* I, 3 using the hexameter.

²⁸ The exercises presented by Prokopovyč concerned different means of poetical expression and imitation: among them synonymy, which was followed by the paraphrase of a poetical text by using a different meter, translation exercises, exercises of exposition of the same content in a more extended or more concise way; finally exercises on how to convert a poetical text into prose.

²⁹ Its full title is *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu*.

³⁰ It consists of two books of elegies, one of epitaphs, two books of miscellaneous poems, and the plays *Immolatio Isaac* and *Stratocles sive bellum*.

the birth of Christ, as indicated by the subtitle *De Natali Christi Domini* ("On the birth of Christ the Lord"). The poems deal with three moments of Christ's birth, respectively with the song of the angels, the apparition of the star and the parturition of the Virgin. Christian themes in Neo-Latin poetry, first and foremost the life of Christ, were so popular that it is virtually impossible to find a definite source for these poems³¹. The episodes of the first two poems are narrated respectively in the Gospel according to Luke, and in the Gospel according to Matthew.

Here is the first, written in the first Asclepiadean meter (minor Asclepiadeans):

1

De Angelorum cantu.

Asclepiadea.

Ad Cunas Domini dulcisoni melos
custodes Genii dant modulamina
pastores veluti pervigiles gregis.
Grex illis, Deus est Agnus, ovis Parens.
Flentem sic Genii vociferi vocant
his ex tristitiis astra petat retro.
An quod Pastor adest fistula fors opus
caelos voce replent fistula ceu Geni.
Nunc in carne colit tactibus Angelus
tactus carnis erit passio post brevi.
E caelis Dominus strata solo via
monstrant tactibus id cum Genii canunt.

1

On the Angels' song

Asclepiadeans

At the cradle of the Lord the sweet sounding
guardian angels offer songs, melodies
as pastors who keep watch over the flock.
For them the flock is God, the Lamb is the Father of the sheep.
Thus the guardian angels with a loud voice call to him who is crying,
so that from these sad things he may rise again to the stars.
Maybe because there is the shepherd, a reed is needed
the guardian angels fill the skies with [their] voice as with a reed.
Now the angel adores in flesh with touches,
the touch of the flesh shortly after will be the passion.
From heaven the Lord is the way laid out for the earth,
the guardian angels show this to the touch, when they sing.

³¹ Frequently quoted among the religious poetry on Christ's birth in Kyivan poetics, was Jacopo Sannazaro's epic poem *De partu virginis*. Other authors, whose religious poetry was certainly known were J. Balde and of course Sarbiewski. The birth of Christ was the topic of many examples of orations. On the diffusion and popularity of religious poetry in Poland and its European context, see Urbański 2006.

The episode of the apparition of an angel (followed by the heavenly host) announcing the birth of the Messiah to the shepherds who were keeping watch over their flock is narrated in the Gospel according to Luke (chapter 2). Here, the poetical elaboration of this theme is a school exercise built according to definite rhetorical strategies, the goal of which is to challenge the reader's intellect. This is done mainly with the construction of *acumen* (conceit) and the use of figures of word and of thought, which according to Sarbiewski we should call *argutiae*³². While generally the *acumen* was recommended in the conclusion (*clausula*) of the epigram, some authors call it the soul of poetry and attribute to it the function of *delectare*³³. This opinion was evidently shared by our author too.

The main simile is that between the angels and the pastors: while the pastors keep watch over an earthly flock, for the angels the flock consists of the son of God, who is the lamb. Thus, line 4 contains an *acumen* that plays with the polysemy of the metaphors of the lamb and the shepherd in the Bible. On the one hand, since it was the shepherds who found Jesus, he is a lamb³⁴; however, being God, he is also the 'father' of the sheep, the shepherd of the people (cf. Psalm 23). The poem is also built around a few words, repeated through the figure of polyptoton: besides the flock, they are touch (*tactus*) and flesh (*caro*); their material nature contrasts with the immateriality of the dominant motif run-

³² In his tract *De acuto et arguto* Sarbiewski provides a list of the traditional classifications of the forms of *acumen* and *argutia* and proposes his own definition, which aims at originally reinterpreting the precepts of rhetoric manuals. For Sarbiewski *acumen* is a sort of faculty of the mind that is able to create, through a *discors concordia* or a *concors discordia* a conceptual contradiction that delights subtle intellects. On its part, in Sarbiewski's conception *argutia* is a simple verbal ornament of the *acumen*, cf.: "And thus *argutia* will not be entirely the same thing as *acumen*, but [it is] a decoration and almost a sort of garment of the *acumen*" ("Atque ita non ipsum omnino *argutia acumen* erit, sed ornamentum et quaedam quasi vestis *acuminis*"; Sarbiewski 1958: 30). Most Mohylanian authors do not make a distinction between *acumen* and *argutia*, although Sarbiewski's distinction is probably reflected in their differentiation between *acumen in verbis* (when two similar words have an opposed meaning) and *acumen in sensu* (a play of concepts, when from the previous exposition a *ratio ingeniosa* is derived unexpectedly or against the reader's (listener's) expectation). However, the notion of *argutia* in Sarbiewski is much more than a simple *acumen in verbis*, in that he lists, explains, and provides examples for thirteen "ways to find *argutias*, which consist in a play of words" ("modi inveniendi *argutias*, quae in lusu verborum consistunt" (*ibidem*: 32)).

³³ Thus, for instance the author of *Parnassus* (call number ДС / П 252, f. 9 v.) speaks about *acumen*: "The poet delights then when he adds to his verses *acumen* or an ingenious conceit, which is the soul of poetry" ("Delectat poeta tunc cum adhibet suis versibus *acumen* vel conceptum ingeniosum qui est anima poeticae"). The same definition with slight variations is found in *Officina artis poeticae* and in *Hortus poeticus* by Mytrofan Dovhalevs'kyj.

³⁴ Cf. also the prefiguration of Jesus as the sacrificial lamb in Isaiah 53:7: "He was treated harshly and afflicted, / but he did not even open his mouth. / Like a lamb led to the slaughtering block, / like a sheep silent before her shearers, / he did not even open his mouth."

ning through the poem, that of sound. The latter takes the form of both spoken voices, singing and musical instruments. Thus “custodes genii [...] dant modulamina dulcisoni melos”; then “flentem [...] vociferi vocant” (the loud voice is stressed here by the alliteration), where “flentem” also evokes an acoustic impression. Further on the sound is evoked in the image of the “fistula” (reed or shepherd’s pipe) which, matched with the angels’ voices, fills the skies. The metaphor of the lamb implicitly reappears in line 10, which alludes to Jesus Christ’s passion. Finally, the metaphor of the way prepared from heaven for the (inhabitants of the) earth unites the divine and the human nature of Jesus.

The following poem is centered around the miraculous apparition of the star (narrated in Matthew, chapter 2) that leads the wise men to the place where Jesus was born so that they may worship him. In this poem the author uses a different Horatian meter, the minor Sapphic. Here it is:

2

De Apparitione Stellae.
Saphica [sic!].

Dum velut calcar stimulans, polorum
cernimus stellas radiis micantes;
calcar ad Christum stimulans dicatum
regibus astrum.

Natus in terrâ Deus en supremus
astra cui servi radiis corusca
en velut servus sequitur per oras
stella supremum.

Nemo supremum venerans polorum
lampadem succendit agendo grates;
ergo de caelis datur ut lucerna
stella corusca.

2

On the apparition of the star
Sapphics

While, as an inciting spur, we examine
the stars of the skies that twinkle with [their] rays,
a spur inciting toward Christ, is a star
dedicated to the kings.

Behold is born on earth the greatest God,
whom the lightening stars with [their] rays serve,
behold, as if a servant the star follows through
the regions the greatest God.

No one who venerates the greatest of heaven
sets a lamp on fire giving thanks;
therefore from the skies is given as a lamp
a lightening star.

In this poem the dominant image is that of light, and it is expressed by the words "stella" ("astrum"), "lampas", "lucerna". The metaphor of light, applied to Jesus Christ is the central trope in the gospels, cf., for instance John, 8:12, where Jesus declares: "I am the light of the world; he who follows me will not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life". In turn, the star is then metaphorized and materialized: in the first quatrain it is a "calcar stimulans ad Christum", particularly dedicated to the wise men ("regibus"); in the second stanza, it is a servant of God, who faithfully follows Him. Finally it is a lamp, called from on high to lighten the greatest of heaven, and the source of life; indeed, the centrality of the image of the star is evidenced also by the fact that the final line of each stanza contains the word "stella" or "astrum". In this poem, as in the previous one, different figures of repetition are used to stress the key concepts: cf. "calcar stimulans", "calcar ad Christum stimulans" (with *amplificatio*), "servus", "servi", "supremus", "supremum". At the same time the contrast and the movement earth/sky and vice versa (and by implication human/divine) runs through the poem: in the first stanza the action of the humans ("cernimus") is directed first from the earth to the sky, and then from the skies to the earth ("astrum [...] regibus dicatum"). In the second stanza Jesus Christ unites in himself both earth and sky (heaven), in that he is God in human flesh. And thus the One who belongs to the heavens is on earth, while his servant (the star) is in the sky. Finally, because those who venerate Christ on earth do not ignite a lamp to give thanks, the light is given from on high.

Finally, the third poem is written in the first Asclepiadean strophe, in which the Glyconic verse alternates with the minor Asclepiadean. Although it is titled *De partu virgineo* ("On the Virgin's delivery"), it is mostly a collection of tropes that play with the divine and human nature of Jesus Christ and of his mother the Virgin Mary. Here it is:

3

De Partu Virgineo.

Glyconica mixta cum Asclepiadeis.

Caelum Virgo Deîpara
IESVS est Phaeton Justitiae Sacrae
in Caelo velut ortus hic
in Sacra Mariâ Criminis inscia.
Virgo, Soles, Parens Sacra
verum Sole Deo tecta reviseris
qui tunc vestis erat tibi
cunis carne simul vestis eum modo.

3

On the Virgin's Delivery

Glyconics mixed with Asclepiadeans

You are the heaven, Virgin God-Bearer
Jesus is the Phaethon of Divine justice,

as if born in the sky is this one,
 in the holy Mary who did not know sin.
 Virgin, days of sunlight, holy parent
 in truth you will be seen again covered by God, who is the sun;
 he who was then your cloth
 now you clothe him in flesh in the cradle.

The poem is very skillfully constructed with a series of traditional Christian metaphors identifying the Virgin Mary with the sky (heaven) and Jesus with the sun. Here too, the motif of light runs throughout the poem. The identification of Jesus as the Sun of righteousness was mainly derived from the prophecy in Malachi 4: 2: "But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings". The theme of Jesus as the Sun of God, the Light of the World, is elaborated in the first chapter of the Gospel according to John: "In the beginning was the Word [...] All that came to be had life in him and that life was the light of men, a light that shines in the dark [...] The Word was the true light...". Jesus as the Light of the World is further spoken of in John 8:12, 9:5, and 12:46. From the earliest Christian times, Jesus was identified as the Sun of God, the Christianized Sun god, Phoebus/Apollo³⁵. Here, however, Jesus is called with an antonomasia "Phaeton of holy righteousness", i.e. with the name of the son of the sun, probably to stress his being the son of God and at the same time the son of Mary in the flesh. Indeed, if Mary is identified with heaven, Jesus, her son, comes from heaven as well and thus has a truly divine nature.

The motifs of light and the union of divine and human nature in Mary and Jesus, i.e. of material and immaterial are elaborated on in the second part of the poem. Line six alludes to the motif of the woman clothed with the sun in *Revelation* 18, traditionally identified with the Virgin Mary³⁶. It is followed in the last two lines by a conceit, constructed with a polyptoton (*vestis...vestis*): while Jesus, God the sun, was Mary's garment, now in the flesh he is clothed by her.

5. Conclusions

The poetical examples illustrated here, which Mohylanian poetics teachers present their pupils in order to practically illustrate single metrical lines and metrical systems (among which I have particularly dwelt on the Sapphic and Al-

³⁵ Cf. also the mosaic of the Vatican grottoes under St. Peter's Basilica (third century AD), on the ceiling of the tomb of the Julii (Pope Julius I), where Jesus Christ is represented as the sun-god Helios or Sol Invictus riding his chariot.

³⁶ The author probably knew Stefan Javors'kyj's poem "Ты облеченна в солнце, Деве Богоматі," constructed on the contraposition of the author's sinful human nature, and the overwhelming holiness and splendour of the Virgin Mary, where, among other appellations, she is called "raj". It is also possible that the name *Virgo Deipara* for Mary was suggested to our author by Javors'kyj's poem.

caic stanzas, which are the most widely exemplified and used, together with the dactylic hexameter, in the Mohylanian poetics and in contemporary Ukrainian Neo-Latin poetry) allow us to draw some conclusions.

The selective approach of poetics lecturers to Horace's and his imitators' poetry reflects the conception of poetry that they instilled into their pupils: poetry was called upon first of all to form and educate devout Christians, to imbue them with moral values, such as disdain for material goods and riches, the cultivation of virtue, love and care for one's neighbours and so on. Therefore, what we could call the aesthetic purpose of poetry was totally subordinate to its moral end. In poetry so conceived there could be no room for our contemporary conception of the poet's inner emotions and feelings, and to it are inapplicable the categories of 'originality' or 'sincerity' in our understanding of them. The poet's feelings were 'acceptable', so to say, inasmuch as they were the expression of those virtues or, as in the case of panegyric poetry, the expression of admiration for characters who embodied those virtues in an excellent way and were therefore proposed to the budding poets as models to be imitated. This approach will also emerge in the treatment of lyric poetry.

The true nature of the poet therefore revealed itself first of all in his ability to creatively imitate one or more chosen models. Indeed, *imitatio auctorum* was one of the four indispensable elements for composing 'good' poetry, and it was one of the ways in which aspiring poets could carry out *exercitatio*, which was another of the four elements for making a good poet, a fundamental one indeed³⁷. The choice of Horace and of his Christian 'interpreters', 'emulators', admirers was a natural one. Many reasons contributed to this choice, besides the fact that Horace's poetry constituted a model of lyric meters. Here, L.P. Wilkinson's considerations on Horace's lyrics are very helpful (see Wilkinson 1980: 123; Buszewicz 2006: 34-35). In the first place, what certainly attracted Mohylanian poetics teachers is the fact that Horace's poetry is not 'lyric' in the common comprehension of this word, which refers directly to the sphere of feelings; indeed, Horace's lyrics are poetry of thought, that spring from reflections rather than from direct emotions. This fact is also connected to the rhetorical orientation of Horace's diction, which is often addressed to a certain "you" and takes the tone of an admonition-exhortation. Which is exactly what Mohylanian poetics teachers were looking for. What also certainly appealed to them was the fact that the statements in Horace's poetry are often expressed not through elaborate metaphors, but rather with images simply taken from life.

Another feature of the Horatian lyric that certainly attracted Mohylanian instructors was the way it gave natural phenomena a symbolic meaning with reference to human life (cf. for instance *Carm.* I, 4; II, 3; II, 10). Moreover, at times the thoughts concerning human relationships that the poet leaves 'uncompleted' are expressed through the metaphoric representation of nature³⁸. Indeed, if we pay

³⁷ Cf. Pontanus 1594: 3, to whom Mohylanian authors often refer.

³⁸ Wilkinson argues his point of view with the analysis of the ode to Dellius (*Carm.* II, 3): the image of the trees intertwined in a hug and of the murmuring brook

attention to the fragments selected by Mohylian authors in order to exemplify the different metrical systems, we will see that nearly all of them display the aforementioned features. Moreover, Mohylian authors were also attuned to what Wilkinson defines as the oratorical features of Horace's language, its artistry, which expressed itself in a particular sensitivity "to sounds and rhythms and to the architectural construction of sentences" (Wilkinson 1980: 134).

As to Horace's teaching on the 'amicable' union of *natura* and *ars*, all the courses of poetics with their insistence on constant exercise are a practical demonstration of this necessity.

The other modes of Horatian imitation in Kyiv-Mohylian poetics entail his Christianization. In particular, the latter takes three forms: parody, the transformation of Horace's lyric in a Christian key, and the use of Horatian meters to compose poems on Christian topics. These three modes are in line with the Christian interpretation/imitation of Horace that began in Western Europe in the first centuries after Christ and continued in different guises well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed, for Jesuit pedagogy, to which education at the KMA harked back, poetry was a veritable 'spiritual exercise', a sort of poetic theology³⁹. Horace's poetry for its metrical virtuosity and its brilliant verbal craftsmanship provided an excellent model for the introduction of Christian contents (in the parodies and in quantitative Latin poetry that adopts Horatian meters). On the other hand, many motifs of Horace's poetry could be easily made to coincide with the ethical and religious tenets of education at the KMA: for instance, reflections on the brevity of human life, the impossibility of achieving complete happiness, the avoidance of excesses, contentment with little, love for virtue and the like.

And thus the particular mode of reception of *Latinitas* that took place at the Mohyla Academy passed through the Christianization of 'pagan' classics. The Mohylian poetics teachers and their pupils asserted their identity by implicitly denying the legitimacy of the pagan pantheon, to which they opposed a Christian one, depositary, together with religious-spiritual values, also of artistic-poetic ones. Further study of Neo-Latin poetry of the Mohylian circle, especially of those compositions that reflect local history and reality, will probably confirm the particular character of the reception of the Classics in Ukraine and of its specific *Latinitas*. At the same time, it will throw more light on the issue of forging a distinct Ukrainian cultural and national identity, which, as elsewhere, has in great part passed through schooling and literature.

that tries to rush down from its river-bed, suggests among the 'remedies' for the shortness of life the act of love, although this is not expressed patently in the text. Such a suggestion is clearly visible in the ode to Thaliarchus (I, 9).

³⁹ Cf. Li Vigni 2005: 28.

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Abstract

Giovanna Siedina

The Teaching of Lyric Meters and the Reception of Horace in Kyiv-Mohylanian Poetics

In this article, by analyzing the use of Horace's poetry in the teaching of metrics provided in the Kyiv Mohylanian poetics, the author shows how Latin poetry was used as a didactic tool to support the education of devout men and loyal citizens.

Siedina particularly dwells on the Sapphic and Alcaic metrical systems, as they were the most widely exemplified in the poetics. Next to the 'simple' quotation of Horace's lyrics, the author individuates other modes of Horatian imitation, all of which entail its Christianization: parodies, following the masterful example of M. K. Sarbiewski, the transformation of Horace's lyric in a Christian key, and the use of Horatian meters to compose poems on Christian topics (particularly appreciated were paraphrases of the psalms by the Scottish poet G. Buchanan). Such a Christianization of Horace and other classical authors was in line with the Christian interpretation/imitation of Horace that had begun in Western Europe in the first centuries after Christ and continued in different guises well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The author observes that many motifs of Horace's poetry could easily be made to coincide with the ethical and religious tenets of education at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy: for instance, reflections on the brevity of human life, the impossibility of achieving complete happiness, the avoidance of excesses, contentment with little, love of virtue and the like. In conclusion, Siedina asserts that the Christianization and moralization of Horace's poetry, next to denying the legitimacy of the pagan pantheon, to which a Christian one was opposed, was a way for people to implicitly assert their own worth and distinct cultural identity, which in early-modern Ukraine, as elsewhere, in great part passed through schooling and literature.