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“NO ONE TOUCHED THE STRINGS
OF THE CITHER MORE BECOMINGLY”:
*THE FIRST EULOGY OF MATHIAS CASIMIRUS SARBIEVIUS*¹

ABSTRACT. Hulszenboom Paul, “*No one touched the strings of the cither more becomingly*”: *The first eulogy of Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius* („Nikt nie dotknął strun harfy z większym wdziękiem”: Pierwszy poemat pochwalny napisany do Macieja Kazimierza Sarbiewskiego).

THIS paper discusses the first laudatory ode addressed to the Polish Jesuit poet Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius, by the Frenchman Gilbertus Joninus. The composition is an appraisal of the many different topics which Sarbievius’ poetry covers, beginning with his odes to the pope, followed by patriotic lyrics, poems with an aeronautical theme, compositions about chaste, heavenly love, and finally that which the Pole wisely omits. Additionally, a comparison is made between the 1630 and 1632 editions of Joninus’ eulogy.

Keywords: Gilbertus Joninus, Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius, Jesuit poetry, Plantin-Moretus.

When Balthasar Moretus (1574–1641), grandson of the famous Christoffel Plantin (ca. 1520–1589) and owner of one of the most important printing houses in Europe, in 1632 first published the poetical works of the Polish Jesuit Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius (Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, 1595–1640)², he decided to add luster to the tiny volume: none other than Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) fashioned the issue’s title-page, and a collection of poems in the Pole’s honour, a so-called *Epicitharisma* written mainly by Flemish Jesuits³, was placed at

¹ This paper is an adaptation of a chapter from my 2013 MA thesis, entitled *The Sarmatian Horace in Antwerp: Three authors praise Sarbiewski*. I am grateful to my supervisor dr. Vincent Hunink for his valuable guidance, and to prof. dr. Andrzej Borowski and prof. dr. Dirk Sacré for kindly supplying me with books and articles. I furthermore owe special thanks to prof. dr. Piotr Urbański, and to Wouter van Gorp MA and Wouter Rozing MA, whose keen observations have aided me repeatedly.

² *Mathiae Casimiri Sarbievii e Soc. Iesu Lyricorum Libri IV. Epodon Lib. Unus Alterq. Epigrammatum*.

³ The term “epicitharisma” features only once in Classical literature, in Tertullian, *Adv. Valent.* 33.1, where it denotes a (musical) “finale” or a short “extra” to a tale or performance. Tertul-

its end⁴. No fewer than five thousand copies were subsequently printed of the second 1634 edition, albeit with a different frontispiece, yet with the *Epicitharisma* still in place, after which the two Plantin-Moretus volumes became the standard editions of Sarbievius' poetical oeuvre until well into the 18th century.

This paper will investigate one of the contributions to the *Epicitharisma*, by the French Jesuit Gilbertus Joninus (Gilbert Jonin, 1596–1638). He and the Polish Nicolaus Kmicic (Mikołaj Kmicic, 1601–1632) were the only contributors to the *Epicitharisma* who were not from the Low Countries, and they were also the only ones who were omitted by Sarbievius in his own thank you-poem, *Lyr.* III, 29⁵. More importantly, Joninus' ode is the only composition in the collection which had been published before, in 1630, only in a slightly different version, making it the first eulogy of Sarbievius. The aim is to examine what Joninus had to say about the Sarmatian Horace and his lyrics, and to study what differences there are between the 1630 and the 1632 versions of his laudatory poem⁶. First, however, a thing or two should be said about Joninus and his oeuvre.

lian furthermore says that his "epicitharisma" is a compilation of different texts, much like the collection of poems in honour of Sarbievius.

⁴The *Epicitharisma* counts 15 poems by 14 poets, eleven of whom were Antwerp Jesuits: Maximilianus Habbequius (1580–1637), Joannes Tolenarius (1582–1643), Jacobus Hortensius (1586/8–1633), Lucas Dierix (1593–1639), Joannes Bollandus (1596–1665), Michael Mortierus (1594–1636), Jacobus Wallius (1599–1690), Sidronius Hosschius (1596–1653), Guilelmus Hesius (1601–1690), Guilelmus Boelmannus (1603–1638) and Jacobus Libens (1603–1678). Not from Belgium were the Frenchman Gilbertus Joninus (1596–1638) and Sarbievius' Polish friend Nicolaus Kmicic (1601–1632). The only non-Jesuit was Erycius Puteanus (1574–1646), the famous humanist and successor of Justus Lipsius at the University of Louvain. In their poems, Sarbievius is often compared to the likes of Horace, Pindar or even Orpheus and Apollo. High praise is also given to pope Urban VIII (1568–1644), former patron of Sarbievius, dedicatee of the volume, and a prolific poet himself. See: A. Borowski, *Iter Polono-Belgico-Ollandicum. Cultural and literary relationships between the Commonwealth of Poland and the Netherlands in the 16th and 17th centuries*, Kraków 2007, p. 103–108 and D. Sacré, 'Etiam in tuas laudes totum conspiret Belgium'. *Aspects of Sarbievius's Nachleben*, [in:] E. Ulčinaitė (ed.), *Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius in cultura Lithuaniae, Poloniae, Europae. Materies conventus scientifici internationalis anniversario quadringentesimo a die natali Poetae dedicati Vilnae, 19–21 Octobris, A.D. MCMXCV, Senosios literatūros studijos*, Vilnius 1998, p. 109–133 for a general overview of the relation between Sarbievius and the Low Countries, and J. Starnawski, *Sarbievski i jego Belgijscy przyjaciele*, "Meander" 50, no. 1–2, 1995, p. 45–66 for concise information about the poems that make up the *Epicitharisma*.

⁵When quoting Sarbievius, the numbers will be preceded by *Lyr.*, or occasionally *Epod.* or *Epigr.* When quoting Joninus or Horace, this will be *Od.* The standard edition of Sarbievius' poems is M.K. Sarbiewski, *Liryki oraz Droga rzymska i fragment Lechiady*, trans. T. Karyłowski, ed. M. Korolko, Warszawa 1980. Information about editions of Joninus' odes will follow below.

⁶Apart from Joninus' ode, there are two other compositions in the *Epicitharisma* with two distinct versions: the poems of both Sidronius Hosschius and Jacobus Wallius were reprinted in 1656, displaying numerous notable deviations from the 1632 and 1634 Plantin-Moretus editions. Together with Joninus' composition, these poems formed the main focus of my MA thesis, mentioned above.

GILBERTUS JONINUS

Unfortunately, there is not a lot one can say about the person of Gilbertus Joninus. Carlos Sommervogel’s agonisingly brief account is still the most comprehensive description of Joninus’ life, and his is also the only enumeration of the Frenchman’s works and their editions⁷. Joninus was born in 1596, in the town of Saint-Flour, in present-day Cantal, Auvergne, in France⁸. In 1613, at the age of 17, he became a Jesuit novice. Later, he taught rhetoric, philosophy, and theology, and he studied the Holy Scripture. He died in 1638, in Tournon-sur-Rhône, in modern-day Ardèche, Rhône-Alpes, France, at the age of 41.

It is surprising that so little is known about Joninus, especially since he was a prolific author, whose works were printed several times during his life. The interest in his oeuvre, however, seems to have died with him. Joninus wrote four books of odes and one of epodes, just as Sarbievius had done or was doing at the same time. He also composed a separately published book of epigrams, and numerous collections of poems in varying metres. Many of his works have a Greek translation facing the Latin text.

Sommervogel mentions Lyons as the place where Joninus had a teaching post in rhetoric, and it was at Lyons that the first dated edition of Joninus’ *Odorum Libri IV. & Epodon I.* was printed, by Jacobus, Andreas and Matthias Prost, in 1630⁹. The approbation for the book was signed, however, both in Lyons in September 1630, and in Rome in November 1629¹⁰. And, since Joninus opens his dedication to Pierre Fenovillet, bishop of Montpellier, with the notification that his “novus libellus” was “Romae natus”, we may safely presume that the French Jesuit composed his poetry while staying in Rome, somewhere in the 1620s. Perhaps this is also where he first came across the name and works of Sarbievius, who had left the Eternal City in 1625. Whether the Frenchman published (some of) his poems in Rome we cannot be sure¹¹, but it is interesting to

⁷C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. IV, Bruxelles/Paris 1893, p. 817–819.

⁸Ibidem p. 817 says that the unknown town of “Casetensis”, in Clermont, is also given as Joninus’ birthplace.

⁹The full title reads *Gilberti Ionini Arverni è Societate Iesu Odorum Libri IV. & Epodon I.*

¹⁰The 1630 approbation was signed by a man named Stephanus Binetus, of the Lyons Jesuits, the 1629 version by Mutius Vitellescus, general of the Roman Jesuits. J. Starnawski, *Sarbievski*, p. 46 discusses a Cologne volume with the same Roman approbation, but according to Sommervogel, this edition was undated (this can also be concluded from Starnawski’s choice of words: “the tome was doubtless printed in 1630”). It is only logical, therefore, to take the Lyons edition to be the first issue of Joninus’ poems.

¹¹A “very rare” Roman edition is mentioned by K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska*, vol. VIII, Kraków 1901, p. 612, quoting K. Zubowski, *Zebrane wiersze* [...], vol. I, Warszawa 1786, p. 16–44, which was supposed to be in existence in the library of the Vilnius Academy. It is not spoken of by Sommervogel. Vide infra: n. 19.

note that a Cologne edition of his odes and epodes, which bears the same Roman approbation as the Lyons volume, but which is not dated on the title-page, was issued by Bernard Gualtier (or Gualthier, Gualter, or Gualther), the same printer who published the first large collection of Sarbievius' lyrics, in 1625. It may be that Joninus became acquainted with Gualtier's printing house through the Cologne edition of Sarbievius' poems, and that he therefore had his own works published by Gualtier as well, but this is all no more than speculative. Whatever the reasons for the printing of Joninus' poetry in Lyons and Cologne, his odes and epodes were in circulation by 1630, and were re-issued in Paris in 1635¹². Some of his poems also found their way into other collections, such as the *Parnassus Societatis Iesu* of 1651, the *Parnasse latin moderne* by Brunel d'Arles of 1808, and, naturally, the *Epicitharisma* of the Antwerp editions of Sarbievius' lyrics¹³.

Joninus' odes open, just as Sarbievius' poems, with a composition addressed to pope Urban VIII (born Maffeo Barberini, 1568–1644), another indication that Joninus had written his poetry while in Rome¹⁴. Several odes applaud other members of the Barberini family, such as the pope's cousin cardinal Francesco (1597–1679), whom Sarbievius praised as well. Most of Joninus' poems in book I, however, address Louis XIII (1601–1643), king of France since 1610. The remaining three books of odes and the single book of epodes do not appear to have a single addressee, but cover a wide variety of themes, for example drunkenness or avarice, and many different people, such as the Spanish Jesuit cardinal Juan de Lugo (1583–1660), or the Italian saint Luigi Gonzaga (1568–1591).

The collection has been called a *polonicum* in the past¹⁵, and not without reason. Just like the ode addressed to Sarbievius, numerous other poems also have a distinctly Polish flavour. *Od.* III, 16, concerning the conversion of St. Barbara, is entitled *Ad B. Barbaram in Turri clausam, Poloniae nomine*¹⁶. *Od.* III, 17, also about St. Barbara, frequently refers to Polish or Eastern European geography, and *Od.* III, 21 tells how the Polish Jesuit Stanisław Kostka

¹²C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, vol. IV, p. 817 mentions that this Paris edition, by Adrian Taupinart, had several additions, compared to the Lyons volume. This means that Joninus was still actively engaged in his odes and epodes in the early 1630s, at the time when the Antwerp Jesuits inserted his *Od.* III, 13 into the *Epicitharisma*.

¹³How and why exactly Joninus' ode to Sarbievius came to be included in the *Epicitharisma* remains unclear, yet the fact that he was a Jesuit addressing the Pole may in itself be a satisfactory explanation.

¹⁴It is also interesting to find that none of Joninus' odes are addressed to bishop Pierre Fenovillet, to whom the entire 1630 volume was dedicated. Perhaps this is why, in his dedication, Joninus seems so apologetic and perhaps genuinely surprised that Fenovillet was willing to grant him his patronage.

¹⁵See: J. Starnawski, *Sarbiewski*, p. 46.

¹⁶"To the Blessed Barbara, locked in a Tower, [written] in the name of Poland".

(1550–1568) received the Holy Communion from St. Barbara herself¹⁷. *Epod.* XII, lastly, is also addressed to St. Barbara, and bears the title *Ad Beatam Barbaram, ut fulmen avertat. Scripta Polonorum nomine*¹⁸. Apparently, then, Joninus associated St. Barbara with Poland, probably because of the fame of Stanisław Kostka, who had died in Rome and had been beatified in the early 1600s, and who had greatly contributed to St. Barbara's general popularity. Additionally, *Od.* IV, 15 addresses the Polish Jesuit Albert Miciski, who travelled to Japan.

The most striking connection with Poland, however, comes in the form of five odes in honour of Zygmunt III Wasa (1566–1632), king of Poland from 1587 until his death, and, to a lesser degree, crown prince Władysław Wasa (1595–1648) (*Od.* II, 4–8). These poems will prove important in the discussion of Joninus' ode to Sarbievius, but they are interesting for another reason as well. Their authorship, namely, has remained questionable to this day. Apart from turning up in Joninus' book, the odes were also attributed to the Polish Jesuit Jan Mikołaj Smogulecki (1610–1656), whose name appears in the odes' Roman collection, printed in 1629 by the printer Francesco Corbelletti¹⁹. Furthermore, at some point they even found their way into the posthumous works of Sarbievius himself. These days, the five poems are no longer ascribed to Sarbievius, but it remains uncertain whether they were composed by Joninus or Smogulecki²⁰. As I hope to show conclusively in the following section, however, I believe that there can be no question as to the odes' authorship²¹.

Be that as it may, the presence of these 'Polish' odes in Joninus' published works proves that the Jesuit Frenchman had an interest in Poland and its key heroes of the time. It is in this context that we must understand Joninus' ode to Poland's most celebrated contemporary poet: Sarbievius.

¹⁷The ode is a description of Kostka's vision, which he had in 1565, in which he was administered the Holy Communion by St. Barbara and two angels. Sarbievius' posthumous *Epod.* V, or *Epod.* XVII, is also addressed to Kostka.

¹⁸"To the Blessed Barbara, that she might avert the lighting. Written in the name of the Poles".

¹⁹This may well be the "very rare" Roman edition Zubowski referred to. Vide supra: n. 11. The book is accompanied by a flattering letter by Smogulecki to the Polish king, in which he states that he is responsible for the printing of the volume. He does not, however, claim that the poems are his own.

²⁰The odes were first attributed to Sarbievius by Franciszek Bohomolec, in 1769, and have subsequently been ascribed to either Sarbievius, or Joninus, or Smogulecki. See: K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska*, vol. VIII, p. 611–612 and J. Starnawski, *Sarbievski*, p. 46. According to both the latter and K. Stawecka, *Adresaci liryków Sarbievskiego*, „Meander” 30, no. 1, 1975, p. 38, Sarbievius' authorship should be ruled out.

²¹In his address to the reader, Joninus mentions the poems to the Polish king, saying they were written to be accompanied by music. This may not prove that Joninus composed the odes, but it does speak in his favour. One should also keep in mind that, in 1629, Smogulecki was supposedly only 19 years old.

CAESARS AND CUPIDS

Joninus' poem to Sarbievius first appeared as *Od.* III, 13 in the 1630 Lyons volume of his works²², but in 1632 again turned up, slightly altered, in the *Epitharisma* accompanying the Plantin-Moretus edition of Sarbievius' lyrics. But what exactly did the Frenchman have to say about his Polish fellow Jesuit? And why did he write just what he wrote? In this section, the ode will be analysed following its own structure.

The poem, which in the 1630 Lyons volume is entitled *Mathiae Sarbivio, Poëtae Lyrico Polono. Ode XIII*, and in the 1632 Antwerp edition *Gilberti Ionini e Societate Iesu ad Math. Casim. Sarbievium*²³, was written in the second Asclepiadean metre, a metre used also by Horace and Sarbievius²⁴. It opens with a typical laudatory passage (1–9), extolling Sarbievius' poetical genius. Next, Joninus draws attention to many of the themes which Sarbievius addresses, but also to that which the Polish poet wisely omits (10–54/52)²⁵. Finally, the conclusion returns to the typical general appraisal, comparing Sarbievius, probably for the first time, with Horace (55/53–74/72).

In fact, the ancient Roman lyricist is central to the entire ode. For not only does Joninus end by referring to Horace, the poem actually contains several (nearly) literal quotes from Hor. *Od.* IV, 3, including in the opening two verses. Joninus starts by addressing Sarbievius, using Hor. *Od.* IV, 3.17–18:

O testudinis aureae
Qui fila ingenuo pollice temperas²⁶

²²In the following, the Lyons volume will be taken as the standard 1630 edition, since the Cologne volume lacks the year of publication on the title-page. J. Starnawski, *Sarbiewski*, p. 46–48 quotes the Cologne version of the poem, which appears to be almost identical to the Lyons version (save for a few small differences in spelling or interpunction). I have not been able to verify the Cologne text, however. Copies of the Cologne edition can be found in the Vatican Libraries and in the National and University Library of Ljubljana.

²³“To Mathias Sarbievius, the Polish Lyric Poet. Ode XIII” (1630), “To Math. Casim. Sarbievius by Gilbertus Joninus of the Society of Jesus” (1632). See the Appendix for the two versions of the poem. The Latin texts have been copied literally, including the (sometimes confusing) punctuation and spelling. There are no differences between the 1632 and 1634 Antwerp editions. All translations are my own.

²⁴Horace uses it in *Od.* I, 3, 13, 19, 36, III, 9, 15, 19, 24, 25, 28 and IV, 1, 3. Sarbievius uses it more frequently still, in *Lyr.* I, 2, 7, 11, 13, 17, 19, II, 9, 13, 20, 23, 25, III, 2, 8, 20 and IV, 10, 13, 16, 23. It is interesting to note that nearly all poems written in the second Asclepiadean in the first book of Sarbievius' odes have a philosophical edge to them. Additionally, the metre is almost never used by Sarbievius to handle military or patriotic themes, nor is it often applied in his laudatory poems.

²⁵The number before the slash refers to the verse number in the 1630 edition, the number behind the slash to the 1632 edition. The difference is caused by the lack of verses 35–36 in the 1632 text.

²⁶“Oh, you who touches the strings of the golden lyre with a native thumb”.

Horace’s original is an appraisal of the Muse Melpomene, to whom he owes his own poetical skills²⁷. His *dulcem quae strepitum, Pieri, temperas*²⁸, however, is here replaced by *qui fila ingenuo pollice temperas*, saying that Sarbievius plays in a “native” or “innate” way. These verses can therefore be read in a twofold manner: either Sarbievius is simply presented as a pupil of Horace, to which Joninus is drawing attention by quoting the ancient master, or Sarbievius is compared to Melpomene, the Muse, who has no need for divine inspiration, but is herself the source of poetical genius. If we follow this second interpretation, Horace is replaced by Joninus himself, who takes Sarbievius as his example²⁹.

The introduction then mentions two typical elements of Eastern European geography, the Rhodope mountains (3) and the “Sarmatian” Vistula river (4)³⁰, as places where Sarbievius plays his “learned cither” (5). However, Joninus also connects the Pole with Rome, saying that the Tiber “forgot to flow down” when it “so often” heard Sarbievius’ song (6–7). Joninus thus shows his knowledge of Sarbievius’ poetry, in which the Rhodope mountain range, the Vistula, and the Tiber feature frequently³¹, but he may also be indicating that he indeed became acquainted with the Polish Jesuit’s works while staying in Rome himself.

This reading becomes more likely still, when Joninus goes on to say that “the Romulean echo did not just once extol you [Sarbievius] from the sevenfold hills” (8–9), thereby introducing the main body of the ode, in which the Frenchman describes several of the most important themes in Sarbievius’ lyrics.

The first of these themes has a distinctly Roman flavour: Joninus speaks of the pope’s “sacred fillets” (10–11) and “the Bees [...] which season the honey-sweet ages” (13–15)³². Sarbievius wrote numerous odes in honour of Urban VIII,

²⁷ See: D.H. Garrison, *Horace. Epodes and Odes, A New Annotated Latin Edition*, Norman 1991, p. 347–348 and T.S. Johnson, *A Symposium of Praise. Horace Returns to Lyric in Odes IV*, Madison 2004, p. 51–54 for brief analyses of Horace’s poem.

²⁸ “Muse, who moderates a sweet sound”.

²⁹ This interpretation could have some interesting consequences: in Horace’s original, Melpomene is praised, but the actual protagonist of the ode is Horace himself, who has become Rome’s most important poet. See: T.S. Johnson, *A Symposium*, p. 53–54. It would stretch too far, however, to apply this reading to Joninus’ ode. Joninus may look to Sarbievius for inspiration, just as Horace relied on Melpomene, but in this case all attention is focused on Sarbievius, not Joninus.

³⁰ The Rhodope mountains lie in present-day Bulgaria and Greece. The river Vistula flows through Poland.

³¹ See for the Rhodope mountains *Lyr.* I, 3.26, I, 20.22, II, 22.1, II, 24.46, III, 31.16, for the Vistula *Lyr.* I, 15, 33, II, 22.10 and multiple times in book IV. Sarbievius addressed an ode to the Tiber (*Lyr.* III, 17), asking it to slow down. In another of Sarbievius’ lyrics, a river is also called *immemor* (*Lyr.* III, 28.6). It is interesting to note, moreover, that several elements from the introductory passage are reflected in Sen. *Herc. Oet.*, 1032–1034, where Orpheus plays his *Pieriam chelyn* underneath the *Rhodopes iugis*. Many of Joninus’ verses allude to specific poems by Sarbievius or other authors. The scope of this article, however, allows for mentioning only a selection of such references.

³² The phrase *Coeli/Caeli roribus ebrias* is reminiscent of Sarbievius’ own *Caeli roriferis ebria lacrimis*, in *Lyr.* IV, 23 *Ad Cicadam* (line 2).

referring frequently to the bees on the Barberini coat of arms³³, and Joninus himself had also addressed the pontiff in several of his poems, most notably in the opening ode of his collection. The theme is concluded by the mentioning of the poetic “First (or first) laurel” that the Polish Jesuit had received from the pope in 1625 (16–17)³⁴. If we accept that Joninus wrote his odes while he was in Rome, it comes as no surprise that he tried to gain favour with Urban VIII, both by dedicating the first of his compositions to the pope, and by drawing attention to the fact that he was, in a way, repeating the praise that Sarbievius had won from the pontiff a few years ago. In addition, Joninus would probably not have refused the poetic laurel himself, should the pope have decided to grant it to him as well.

Next, Joninus spends quite a few verses dwelling on Sarbievius’ many military and patriotic odes, in which Poland’s leaders are often portrayed as glorious victors, crushing the menacing Ottomans. The passage can be conveniently divided into two separate segments, each extolling another military commander and his victory. However, since the first of these commanders is not mentioned by name, the entire passage could be about king Zygmunt III Wasa, who is explicitly named in the second segment.

The first commander is simply called “Caesar, black with the battlefield’s dust” (20–21)³⁵, who “leads the armies” (21) and who “is seen rejoicing amidst his enemies” (22). His “passionate right hand [...] makes the boldness [...] flash” (23–25), a boldness that equals the heroes of old, referring probably to that other, Roman Caesar. Then king Zygmunt is mentioned, who “presses the backs” (28) of the hen-hearted Tatars and prevents “the blood red splendour of the Scythian Moon” (30–31) to retreat.

Sarbievius wrote just one ode dedicated to the Polish king (*Lyr.* II, 22), but it is enough for Joninus³⁶. After all, Zygmunt was a beloved character of the Frenchman, provided that the five odes in his collection are indeed by him. This passage strongly suggests, in my view, that they are.

The battle with the “Tatars” and the “Scythian Moon” that Joninus mentions is probably a reference to the Battle of Chocim, in which Poland won a resounding victory over the Ottomans, in 1621³⁷. The “Scythian Moon” is a metaphor

³³ See for Sarbievius’ poems praising the pope in the first three books of his odes: *Lyr.* I, 1, 3, 5, 10, 21, 22, III, 15. This last ode is addressed entirely to the Barberini bees.

³⁴ This poetic laurel is mentioned in virtually every biography of Sarbievius. Józef Warszawski, however, has expressed doubts as to whether it was actually given to him. See: J. Warszawski TJ, “Dramat Rzymski” Macieja Kazimierza Sarbiewskiego TJ (1622–1625). *Studium literacko-biograficzne*, Rome 1984, p. 224–225.

³⁵ This metaphor is also applied in Hor. *Od.* I, 6.14–15, *Sil.* III, 407, and *Stat. Silv.* IV, 3.53, and *Theb.* 589 and 827.

³⁶ See: E. Buszewicz, *Sarmacki Horacy i jego Liryka: Imitacja – Gatunek – Styl. Rzecz o Poezji Macieja Kazimierza Sarbiewskiego*, Kraków 2006, p. 263–271 for a detailed analysis of this ode.

³⁷ Zygmunt himself, however, had no part in the military operations.

for the Ottoman flag, which bore a moon in its centre³⁸. Either way, Zygmunt is praised, and in much the same way as in the five odes addressed to him in Joninus’ collection. In each of these poems, the king is presented as a fearless general, while the eastern enemies are mostly described as cowardly runaways, often in quite similar words as in Joninus’ ode to Sarbievius³⁹. The “Scythian Moon” also makes a regular appearance⁴⁰, and so do the already mentioned Rhodope mountains and Vistula river⁴¹. The phrases *terga fugacium* and *sanguineum iubar*⁴², moreover, feature in both the ode to Sarbievius (28, 30) and *Od. II, 6.15* and *II, 7.68*, and *II, 7.44*⁴³. It would seem, then, that Joninus was re-using some of his own ideas and habitual vocabulary, while dealing with essentially the same theme in all of these poems.

But what of this “Caesar”? Could Joninus be talking of Zygmunt here as well? Zygmunt was king during the victory at Chocim in 1621, and the association with the “leading of armies”, or *acies ducere*, as it reads in the ode to Sarbievius (20), is also expressed in Joninus’ *Od. II, 4*, both in the title and in the text: *Virtutum Acies sub Sigismundi signis pugnat* and *tanta VIRTUTUM tibi dum Polonis / militat CASTRIS ACIES* (53–54)⁴⁴. Or perhaps the Frenchman is referring to the king’s son and heir, crown prince Władysław Wasa? In Joninus’ odes in honour of Zygmunt, Władysław is often described as an equally valiant and skilled commander as his father, and the verb *fulgurat*, “makes flash”, which accompanies the hand of “Caesar” in the ode to Sarbievius (25), is in two cases associated with Władysław (*Od. II, 4.112*, and *II, 7.69*). Furthermore, Sarbievius wrote numerous poems dedicated to the young prince, in which his victory at Chocim is often highly praised (even though Władysław himself did not partake in the fighting, since he fell seriously ill)⁴⁵. Could Joninus be tying in with Sarbievius’ awe for the Polish crown prince?

It is possible, yet there is another alternative. Neither Zygmunt, nor Władysław is ever called “Caesar”, not by Sarbievius, and not by Joninus. The only real “Caesar” around at the time was Ferdinand II (1578–1637), emperor of the Holy Roman Empire from 1619 until his death. He is the addressee of, or

³⁸ Sarbievius mentions this moon, or its “horns”, several times. See: *Lyr. I, 10.73*, *II, 22.33*, and *III, 19.59*. The combination of *luna* with *cornua*, often present in descriptions of the Ottomans, also features in, e.g., *Ov. Am. II, 1.23*, *Met. II, 453*, *III, 682*, *VIII, 11*, *X, 479*, *IX, 783–4*, and *XII, 264*.

³⁹ See, e.g.: *Od. II, 5.46*, *59*, *67–68*, *II, 6.79*, *II, 7.22–23*, and *II, 8.40*.

⁴⁰ See, e.g.: *Od. II, 5.74*, *94–95*, *II, 7.69*, and *II, 8.43–44*.

⁴¹ See, e.g.: *Od. II, 5.61*, *99* (Rhodope), *100* (Vistula), and *II, 6.39* (Rhodope), *44* (Vistula).

⁴² “The backs of the runaways” and “blood red splendour”.

⁴³ The phrase *turba fugacium* is also used, in *Od. II, 5.55*, and *II, 6.19*. Furthermore, Joninus notably divides the words *Septem* and *Trionibus/Triones* in both the ode to Sarbievius (19) and *Od. II, 7.74*.

⁴⁴ “The Battle Line of Virtues fights under the banners of Zygmunt” and “while a BATTLE LINE of VIRTUES that large fights for you with the Polish ENCAMPMENTS”.

⁴⁵ See: *Lyr. I, 15*, *20*, *II, 18*, and *III, 10*.

associated with, several odes by Sarbievius, figuring as another Christian and Counter-Reformation (and therefore pro-Jesuit) champion, who is often called “Caesar”⁴⁶. It may thus be that Joninus is in fact first speaking of emperor Ferdinand II, before turning to king Zygmunt III Wasa, as both monarchs were extolled by Sarbievius as well.

The military passage is followed by several shorter sections, each with a different theme. First, Joninus briefly deals with the odes in which Sarbievius soars above the earth in a poetic flight, sometimes riding the mythological horse Pegasus, observing the lands and people below (33–38/36)⁴⁷. The Frenchman wonders where Sarbievius is going, flying through the skies, while bringing down “wisdom” (or “Wisdom”) with his poetry (37/35)⁴⁸.

Next, attention is paid to Sarbievius’ poems about heavenly love (42/40–48/46). The “weapons of the heavenly Cupid” (42/40)⁴⁹, who “extinguishes the Idalian torches with his own” (48/46), refer not to bodily, earthly love (which is represented by the “Idalian torches”, typical of the love goddess Venus), but to Sarbievius’ love for the Virgin Mary, Christ Crucified, or other saints⁵⁰.

⁴⁶ See: *Lyr.* II, 1 T., 4, 8, 34, II, 12 T., II, 17 T., 1, and II, 23.8, 11. In the early 1620s, Ferdinand was actively involved in a struggle taking place in modern-day Hungary and Slovakia, centering around the Transylvanian prince Gábor Bethlen (1580–1629).

⁴⁷ See: *Lyr.* I, 3, 10, II, 5, 22, III, 11, 16, and 29, the ode addressed to Sarbievius’ Belgian friends. *Lyr.* II, 5 is best known for this theme. See: J.P. Guépin, *Casimirus Sarbievius, E rebus humanis excessus: Ode II 5*, “Bzzlletin” 144, 1987, p. 58–59, E. Schäfer, *Deutscher Horaz: Conrad Celtis – Georg Fabricius – Paul Melissus – Jacob Balde. Die Nachwirkung des Horaz in der neulateinischen Dichtung Deutschlands*, Wiesbaden 1976, p. 121–123 and A. Thill, *Sarbievius Höhenflug als Medium zwischen Horazischer und moderner Dichtung*, “Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten” 20, 1993, p. 28–33. Also see: J. IJsewijn, *Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius, Ad Amicos Belgas*, [in:] E. Ulčinaité (ed.), *Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius in cultura Lithuaniae, Poloniae, Europae. Materies conventus scientifici internationalis anniversario quadringentesimo a die natali Poetae dedicati Vilnae, 19–21 Octobris, A.D. MCMXCV, Senosios literatūros studijos*, Vilnius 1998, p. 31–32 about the Pegasus theme in *Lyr.* III, 29, and W. Ludwig, *Der Ritt des Dichters auf dem Pegasus und der Kuss der Muse – zwei neuzeitliche Mythologeme*, Göttingen 1996 for information about the Pegasus theme in general.

⁴⁸ Joninus may be speaking of Sarbievius’ philosophical poems, which often bear a Neo-Stoic message. See, e.g.: *Lyr.* I, 2, 4, 7, 13, II, 2, 5, 7, 8, 16, III, 4, 6, 12, 22. Also see: M. van der Poel and P. Tuynman, *Sarbievius – Hoofst – Horatius: Een lyrisch troostdicht?*, [in:] Z. von Martels, P. Steenbakkers, and A. Vanderjagt (eds.), *Limae labor et mora. Opstellen voor Fokke Akkerman ter gelegenheid van zijn zeventigste verjaardag*, Leende 2000, p. 145–157 for an analysis of *Lyr.* I, 2. Joninus’ *quo te rapit* (32) resembles both *Ov. Met.* XI, 676 and *Hor. Od.* III, 11.49. Vide infra for a brief discussion concerning the difference between “wisdom” and “Wisdom”.

⁴⁹ These *tela Cupidinis* are also mentioned in *Ov. A. A.* I, 261. They would also be used in Jacob Balde’s *Lyr.* IV, 24.42. Jacob Balde (1604–1668) was a German Jesuit, who became known as the German Horace. See: J.J. Mertz, J.P. Murphy, and J. IJsewijn (eds.), *Jesuit Latin Poets of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. An Anthology of Neo-Latin Poetry*, Wauconda 1989, p. 96–147 for a brief introduction to Balde’s life and works.

⁵⁰ Sarbievius’ religious compositions are quite numerous. See, e.g.: *Lyr.* I, 18, 19, II, 11, 14, 18, III, 2, IV, 19, 25, *Epod.* IV, 5.

Indeed, the Pole himself wrote about the *Amor Aethereus* (“Heavenly Love”) and the *Amor Vulgaris* (“Profane Love”) in his *Dii Gentium* treatise, and devoted a number of his epigrams, printed in the 1632 Antwerp edition, to *Amor Divinus* (“Divine Love”)⁵¹. Furthermore, Joninus’ description of this “heavenly Cupid’s” power highly resembles a passage in another of the French Jesuit’s poems, namely *Od.* III, 16, which concerns St. Barbara’s conversion to Christianity. In this ode, another, “Cyprian” Cupid is mentioned (28)⁵², who harasses poor Barbara with his “weapons” of bodily lust (28), and who collaborates with his mother Venus (34). Barbara is exhorted, however, to “extinguish” (35) the vile Cupid’s “Idalian torches” (26 and 32), since she is burning “with better flames” (25), just as the “heavenly Cupid” is using “better torches” in Joninus’ ode to Sarbievius (46/44). As was the case with the odes to king Zygmunt, then, the Frenchman is here again repeating a familiar pattern, which he in both cases apparently associated with Poland, even though his two “Cupids” are not the same⁵³.

The following passage is atypical, as it deals with topics Sarbievius does not write about (49/47–54/52). These would be “meretricious songs” (50/48), which would offend “Propriety” (52/50), “Moderation” (53/51), and “Chastity” (54/52)⁵⁴. Joninus may be referring to Sarbievius’ philosophically themed odes⁵⁵, which often have an admonishing or discouraging tone to them, but the Frenchman could also be thinking about several of his own compositions, pertaining to such vices as drunkenness, avarice, or resentment⁵⁶. Either way, Joninus praises Sarbievius’ piety (40/38), which was first addressed in the form of the “heavenly Cupid”, but which is now further demonstrated through the Pole’s omission of certain less favourable topics⁵⁷.

⁵¹ E.g. *Epigr.* 3, 4, 12, 15, 24, 29–31, 33, and 34. Several of these epigrams feature the “arrows” of the “Divine Amor”.

⁵² In some versions of the myth of Venus’ birth, she landed on Cyprus after being born from the sea. Idalium was a city on Cyprus, which was sacred to the love goddess. The “Idalian torches” are a reference to this city, and thus to Venus and her son Cupid.

⁵³ Additionally, Joninus addresses “Cupid” in *Od.* IV, 21, where he tells him he has been struck by “a better flame” (5), and that “a weapon” has been “struck in his chest” (7–8), much like the “heavenly Cupid” does in the ode to Sarbievius (47/45).

⁵⁴ *Pudor* and *castitas* (“propriety” and “chastity”) are not capitalised in the 1632 text, unlike *Modestia* (“Moderation”). In the earlier version, all three words are capitalised. The word *urit* in line 46/44 alludes to Sarbievius’ *Lyr.* I, 19 *Ad caelestem adspirat patriam*, in which *urit* is twice used (lines 1 and 2). In the poem, the author expresses his desire to enter the “heavenly fatherland”.

⁵⁵ Vide supra: n. 48. Of the three virtues Joninus mentions, however, only “Propriety” features in some of Sarbievius’ poems (*Lyr.* III, 1.9, IV, 29.120, and IV, 30.1).

⁵⁶ See: *Od.* II, 14 (drunkenness), 18 (avarice), 19 (resentment), and III, 18 (drunkenness). Neither “Propriety”, nor “Moderation”, nor “Chastity”, however, is mentioned in any of these odes.

⁵⁷ To this may be related Pope Urban VIII’s own work on poetics: *Poesis probis et piis ornata documentis primaevo decori restituenda* (“Poetry must, furnished with good and pious examples, be restored to its ancient splendour”), in which the pontiff argued against abject worldly and

Finally, the conclusion is a rather lengthy general appraisal of Sarbievius' poetical genius (55/53–74/72). He is called “glory of the bright Phasis” river (55/53)⁵⁸, a “seer” (55/53)⁵⁹, and a “not unworthy descendant of Orpheus” (56/54)⁶⁰. Subsequently, Horace once more comes into the picture, when Joninus again quotes his *Od.* IV, 3, this time to say that Sarbievius is the *Romanae fidicen lyrae* (57/57) (Hor. *Od.* IV, 3.23)⁶¹, and in the 1632 Antwerp edition also *monstrandus digito praetereuntium* (56)⁶², a paraphrase of Horace's *quod monstror digito praetereuntium* (Hor. *Od.* IV, 3.22)⁶³. The addition of this second verse to the *Epicitharisma* version of the poem is significant, and its possible implications will be dealt with below, but suffice it to say now that the association with Horace and Melpomene is made once again. It is meant both to remind the reader of the first verse, and to simultaneously introduce the actual climax of the ode, which comes down to a comparison between Sarbievius and Horace.

After saying that “no one touched the strings of the cither more becomingly with a Romulean song” (63/61–64/62)⁶⁴, Joninus decides that the Polish poet “will yield/yields to Horace alone” (65/63)⁶⁵. Yet, at the very end of the ode, the Frenchman comes to a different conclusion, saying that even “the seer, born along the Aufidus” river might eventually “yield to your [Sarbievius'] strings and to the first honours of your cither” (72/70–74/72)⁶⁶. It thus almost seems

heathen poetry, and in favour of more spiritual and Catholic works. Naturally, words such as *pudor* and *castitas* fall into the latter category.

⁵⁸The Phasis river in Colchis (the modern-day Rioni river in Georgia) features also in Sarbievius' lyrics (*Lyr.* I, 23.28, II, 9.17, II, 22.2, *Epod.* XI, 48 and XI, 71). Joninus apparently associated it, not entirely incorrectly, with Eastern Europe, even though the region was under Ottoman rule at the time.

⁵⁹A “seer”, or *vates*, is a common title for great poets. Sarbievius called both Horace and himself “seers” (*Lyr.* I, 10.1–3 and II, 10.24). See for the significance of the word *vates*: N.T. Kennedy, *Pindar and Horace*, “Acta Classica” 18, 1975, p. 11–13.

⁶⁰Sarbievius actually named himself “Orpheus' descendant” (*Lyr.* II, 16.2–3).

⁶¹“Player of the Roman lyre”.

⁶²“Who must be pointed at with the finger by passers-by”.

⁶³“That I am pointed at with the finger by passers-by”.

⁶⁴Joninus adds an interesting remark between brackets, saying that “Rome may listen more sternly” (62/60–63/61). Could this be a hint at a troublesome relationship between Sarbievius and the pope, which may have caused the Pole to leave Rome in a haste in 1625? Some sources mention that Sarbievius may actually have rivaled with the pope. See, e.g.: D. Sacré, “*Etiam si*”, p. 113 and J. Warszawski TJ, “*Dramat Rzeczyski*”. Others argue that it is more likely that Sarbievius was simply summoned back to Poland by his fellow Jesuits. See, e.g.: K. Fordoński and P. Urbański (eds.), *Casimir Britannicus. English translations, paraphrases, and emulations of the poetry of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski*. London 2010, p. 18–19 and M. Korolko, *Sarbiewski i jego Liryki*, [in:] M.K. Sarbiewski, *Liryki oraz Droga rzymska i fragment Lechiady*, trans. T. Karyłowski, ed. M. Korolko, Warszawa 1980, p. x.

⁶⁵Joninus' *uni cedet/cedis Horatio* is reminiscent of Juv. *Sat.* VII, 38: *uni cedit Homero*.

⁶⁶Horace was born on the banks of the river Aufidus, the modern-day Ofanto, in Southern Italy. *Natus ad Aufidum* also features in Hor. *Od.* IV, 9.2, and in Jacob Balde's *Lyr.* I, 36.22, while *cedat honoribus* resembles Verg. *Aen.* III, 484, *Sil.* XII, 412, and Juv. *Sat.* I, 110.

as if Joninus is going out on a limb here, setting his personal high opinion of his fellow Jesuit against that of “fame”, which may yet come to “pluck his ear” (67/65–69/67)⁶⁷. Subtly, Joninus is telling us what he thinks of the Pole’s phenomenal poetical talents, calling Sarbievius superior to Horace.

DIVERSITY AND OBSCURITY

The differences between the 1630 Lyons edition and the 1632 Antwerp edition of the poem are few, but some are relevant nonetheless. How did these differences come about, and what are their implications for our understanding of the text?

Most differences are small, in which case it does not matter whether we read the 1630 or 1632 version⁶⁸. Two of these minor dissimilarities are worth mentioning, however, the first of which occurs in verse 16, where the Lyons text reads *URBANI arbitrio Sarmata Principem / cum laurum meruit lyra*, while the *Epitharisma* poem prefers *URBANI arbitrio Lechica principem / cum laurum meruit lyra*⁶⁹. Naturally, one cannot be sure why and by whom *Sarmata* was changed to *Lechica*, since both versions mean exactly the same thing⁷⁰, but it would probably be safe to say that an alteration of this sort was likely made by Joninus himself⁷¹, trying to bring some more diversity into his poem: he had used *Sarmaticae* before (4), and the metre allowed him to replace one three syllable word with another.

The second such difference shows up in verse 47/45, where *pectus figit arundine* has made way for *certus figit arundine*⁷². Again, the consequences of this are negligible, and the change may have to do with Joninus’ *Od.* IV, 21, *Ad Cupidinem*, which ends with the phrase *inque fixit Pectore telum* (7–8)⁷³.

⁶⁷ Joninus’ *capitis nive* (69/67) corresponds with Hor. *Od.* IV, 13.12, and Jacob Balde’s *Epod.* IX, 76, *vertice laureas* (70/68) is similar to, for example, Stat. *Silv.* IV, 4.47 and V, 5.28, and *iudice me* (72/70) is also used in, for instance, Ov. *A. A.* III, 491, and Juv. *Sat.* VIII, 188.

⁶⁸ I will name the smallest alterations here, which concern a few simple replacements. *Clarae* was changed to *clari* (55/53), since *Phasis* is in fact masculine, *cedes* was turned into *cedis* (65/63), possibly because the present tense delivers a stronger message, *tremulo* became *rigido* (70/68), perhaps because *rigido* better expresses the sternness of “fame”, and *dum* or *ac* were replaced by *et* (45/43 and 71/69). Differences in spelling or typography will be left out, since these have no real influence on the ode’s meaning.

⁶⁹ “When, according to the judgment of URBAN, the Sarmatian lyre deserved the First laurel” (1630), “when, according to the judgment of URBAN, the Lechic lyre deserved the first laurel” (1632).

⁷⁰ “Sarmatia” had since antiquity been the Latin name for the territory east of the Germans. Poland had associated itself with the word, since it had effectively come to rule nearly all the lands between the Baltic and the Black Sea. “Lech” is the name of the mythological first king and progenitor of the Poles.

⁷¹ Joninus was presumably still actively concerned with his poetry in the early 1630s. Vide supra: n. 12.

⁷² “Fixes the chest with a shaft” (1630), “fixes fast with a shaft” (1632).

⁷³ “And he fixed a weapon in the Chest”.

Additionally, the verse in question is preceded, in line 44/42, by the words *castis pectoribus vulnera destinat*⁷⁴. Perhaps Joninus here too meant to diversify his vocabulary.

There are several larger adjustments. The first is the removal of the entire verses 35–36 in the 1632 Antwerp edition: *dum gratam superis chelin / lucentem mediis sideribus locas*⁷⁵. Here again one might propose that Joninus could have been bothered by a word he had used before: *chelin/chelyn* (5), but similar words feature twice as well⁷⁶. There is no obvious reason why these verses should be omitted, save when one considers the fact that the surrounding verses are perhaps more coherent and could actually gain in strength when lines 35–36 are left out: the antithesis is between “being up there” and “bringing down wisdom/Wisdom”, not “being up there”, “placing your lyre amongst the stars” and “bringing down wisdom/Wisdom”. Joninus may have thought the second version more leveled and logical, leading him to remove lines 35–36 from his poem.

Furthermore, the transformation of *sapientia* into *Sapientia* in line 37/35 appears to allude to the works of Sarbievius himself, who dedicated two of his compositions to so-called *Divina Sapientia*⁷⁷: *Lyr.* IV, 28 and *Epod.* 6. As both of these found their way into the 1632 Antwerp edition, it is possible that Joninus adjusted the spelling in his poem to match that of Sarbievius, thereby tying in with the Pole’s own poetry more clearly⁷⁸.

Moving on, we find that verse 54/52 has two versions. The 1630 Lyons edition reads *quae damnet niveo pollice Castitas*, the 1632 Antwerp text gives us *et verso iugulet pollice castitas*⁷⁹. Firstly, it should be noted that *niveo pollice* is used in Mart. VI, 3.5, while *verso pollice* has been borrowed from Juv. III, 36. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, *niveo pollice* also features in one of Sarbievius’ compositions, in *Lyr.* III, 10.7–8, where it is associated with “fame”. Neither Martial’s nor Juvenal’s text gives any insight into why *niveo* was replaced by *verso*, but it may well be that Joninus thought it inappropriate to cite Sarbievius in an ode addressed to the Polish Jesuit himself. Perhaps Joninus only noticed Sarbievius’ use of the phrase after the printing of the 1630 Lyons volume, which made him feel obliged to alter his poem for the *Epicitharisma* collection. Moreover, one might also argue that *verso pollice iugulet* is in fact a better expression of the verse’s meaning, since “a snow-white thumb” is

⁷⁴“He designs wounds for chaste chests”.

⁷⁵“While you put your pleasing cither, shining, amid the stars above”.

⁷⁶*Citharae* in 64/62 and 74/72, *lyra/lyrae* in 17 and 57/57, *pectine* in 18 and 63/61.

⁷⁷“Divine Wisdom”.

⁷⁸Sarbievius also wrote about *Divina Sapientia* in his *Dii Gentium* treatise, where it is interpreted as the Second Person of the Holy Trinity.

⁷⁹“That which Chastity condemns with a snow-white thumb” (1630), “and chastity would silence with a turned thumb” (1632).

not necessarily condemnatory. “A turned thumb”, on the other hand, produces a strong, negative image⁸⁰.

Lastly, Joninus has shifted a few lines and replaced one verse by another (57/55–59/57). Quoting the two versions side by side will serve the clarity of the argument:

Romanae fidicen lyrae	Et plectro et fidibus potens
Dicendus merito nomine posteris	Monstrandus digito praetereuntium
Et plectro et fidibus potens	Romanae fidicen lyrae
(1630) ⁸¹	(1632) ⁸²

As was mentioned above, *Romanae fidicen lyrae* and *monstrandus digito praetereuntium* are quotes from, or paraphrases of, Hor. *Od.* IV, 3.22–23. In the 1630 Lyons version, Joninus used only Horace’s verse 23, where the *fidicen* is in fact Melpomene. The verse is thus a reminder and confirmation of the poem’s opening lines, in which the connection between Sarbievius and Horace/Melpomene was first made.

In the 1632 Antwerp text, however, this connection has been made even stronger. *Dicendus merito nomine posteris* has been replaced by *monstrandus digito praetereuntium*, a paraphrase of Horace’s verse 22: *quod monstror digito praetereuntium*⁸³. In order to tie in with Horace even closer, Joninus apparently decided to swap *Romanae fidicen lyrae* and *et plectro et fidibus potens*, since Horace’s text reads *quod monstror digito praetereuntium / Romanae fidicen lyrae*, not the other way around.

But what are the implications of this alteration? By using both of Horace’s verses, Joninus is at once comparing Sarbievius to Horace (who is the one “being pointed at”) and to Melpomene (who is “the player of the Roman lyre”). Additionally, Horace’s poem is also about the recognition he is receiving from the people of Rome, who used to neglect or even mock him. Now, however, because of Melpomene’s help, he is being pointed at by passers-by, not because they dislike him, but because they have grown to appreciate him⁸⁴. Perhaps, then, Joninus’ addition of this second Horatian verse is to be read as a reference to Sarbievius’ situation and his relationship with Rome: he is either genuinely

⁸⁰The thumb may either be turned upwards or downwards. The idea of a down-turned thumb as an unfavourable sign, as opposed to an up-turned thumb, may be a modern notion. See: A. Corbeill, *Thumbs in Ancient Rome: Pollex as Index*, “Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome” 42, 1997, p. 1–21.

⁸¹“Player of the Roman lyre, who must be named by the right name by posterity, able with both plectrum and strings”.

⁸²“(Who is) able with both plectrum and strings, who must be pointed at with the finger by passers-by, player of the Roman lyre”.

⁸³“That I am pointed at with the finger by passers-by”.

⁸⁴See: T.S. Johnson, *A Symposion*, p. 53–54 for an analysis of the ode’s contents and meaning.

loved by the city and its pope, or he is in fact loathed by them, in which case Joninus wishes that to change for the better⁸⁵. The French Jesuit may thus have something to say about Sarbievius' life and public opinion, hidden between the lines of his and Horace's poetry.

To conclude, then, the first eulogy of Sarbievius was written by a fellow Jesuit who had not only a great admiration for, but also a vast knowledge of the Sarmatian Horace's works. Joninus' ode shows off both these aspects, and simultaneously proves the Frenchman's own poetical skill, referring as it does to a number of Sarbievius' favourite themes, as well as to works by various Classical authors, most notably Horace. It is to Horace, too, that Joninus compares the Pole, foreshadowing his later nickname. For the *Epicitharisma*, compiled specifically to applaud Sarbievius, Joninus made several adjustments to his composition, sometimes merely to diversify his vocabulary or to clarify his argument, but sometimes also to give his lyric a different twist: indeed, Joninus appears to speak even higher of Sarbievius in 1632 than he did two years before, and he may have meant for us to read something new into his ode entirely.

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⁸⁵ Vide supra: n. 64.

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“NO ONE TOUCHED THE STRINGS OF THE CITHER MORE BECOMINGLY”:
THE FIRST EULOGY OF MATHIAS CASIMIRUS SARBIEVIUS

Summary

The first eulogy addressed to the Polish poet Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius, printed in two different versions in 1630 and 1632, was written by Gilbertus Joninus, a Frenchman whose oeuvre shows he had a remarkable interest in Poland, sparked perhaps by the odes of Sarbievius, while both Jesuits were staying in Rome. In his ode to the Pole, Joninus displays a thorough knowledge of the addressee’s works, as he sums up the themes Sarbievius wrote about the most, such as the military victories of Poland’s leaders, or “the weapons of the heavenly Cupid”. Interestingly, these themes return in Joninus’ own works as well, which may imply that the Frenchman indeed was inspired by Sarbievius, much like, as Joninus writes, Horace was inspired by Melpomene. At the end of the ode, therefore, it is perhaps not surprising to find that Joninus feels the Polish Jesuit had actually surpassed his ancient example, and that he was a “not unworthy descendant of Orpheus”. Joninus’ comparison of Sarbievius with Horace, as well as his use of Hor. *Od.* IV, 3, would later be copied by numerous authors.

What little differences there are between the 1630 and the 1632 versions of Joninus’ work mostly have to do with diversifying the author’s vocabulary, or else serve to make more sense of a given passage. The largest divergence, however, not only makes the poem refer to Hor. *Od.* IV, 3 more clearly,

but may also have genuine implications for our reading of the text. In the second edition, as opposed to the first, Sarbievius is compared to both Horace *and* Melpomene, and Joninus may furthermore be alluding to another aspect of Horace's ode, saying that the Pole is either loved in Rome, or despised there. Two years after the poem's first edition, Joninus seems to have had an even higher opinion of his Polish colleague, and he may have added an extra level of interpretation to his ode altogether.

APPENDIX

Metre: second Asclepiadean

– – – UU – U x

– – – UU – || – UU – U x

Lyons, 1630 (Prost)

MATHIAE SARBIVIO,
Poëtae Lyrico Polono.
ODE XIII (p. 96–98)

- 1 O, testudinis aureae
Qui fila ingenuo pollice temperas;
Et solis Rhodopes iugis,
Aut in Sarmaticae littore Vistulae
- 5 Doctam sollicitas chelin;
Quam pronò toties audiit alveo
Tibris defluere immemor,
Et septemgeminis non semel extulit
Echo Romula montibus:
- 10 Seu mundi dominas Principis infulas
Dicentem audierat pari
Tantis ingenio laudibus, aut Apes
Coeli roribus ebrias,
Quae cura artificii mellea condiunt
- 15 Puro nectare saecula;
URBANI arbitrio Sarmata Principem
Cum laurum meruit lyra.
Seu bellata gravi pectine dices
Septem bella Trionibus;
- 20 Audacemque acies ducere, Martio
Nigrum pulvere Caesarem, &
Gaudentem in mediis hostibus aspici.
Dum fatis melioribus
Iracunda parem dextra superbiam
- 25 Ferro vindice fulgurat.
Seu vinci faciles cedere Tartaros

Antwerp, 1632 (Plantin-Moretus)

GILBERTI IONINI
E SOCIETATE IESU
AD
MATH. CASIM. SARBIEVIUM
(p. 302–305)

- 1 O, testudinis aureae
Qui fila ingenuo pollice temperas;
Et solis Rhodopes iugis,
Aut in Sarmaticae littore Vistulae
- 5 Doctam sollicitas chelyn,
Quam pronò toties audiit alveo
Tibris defluere immemor;
Et septemgeminis non semel extulit
Echo Romula montibus:
- 10 Seu mundi dominas Principis infulas
Dicentem audierat pari
Tantis ingenio laudibus, aut Apes
Caeli roribus ebrias,
Quae cura artificii mellea condiunt
- 15 Puro nectare saecula;
URBANI arbitrio Lechica principem
Cum laurum meruit lyra.
Seu bellata gravi pectine dices
Septem-bella-trionibus;
- 20 Audacemque acies ducere Martio
Nigrum pulvere Caesarem, &
Gaudentem in mediis hostibus aspici:
Dum fatis melioribus
Iracunda parem dextra superbiam
- 25 Ferro vindice fulgurat.
Seu vinci faciles cedere Tartaros

Cogis indecori fuga,
 Dum victor rapido terga fugacium
 Sigismundus equo premit:
 30 Aut Lunae Scythicae sanguineum iubar,
 Formidabile regibus
 Curvari facili circuitu vetat.
 At quo te rapit insolens
 Ardor froena pati per vacuum aethera
 35 Dum gratam superis chelin
 Lucentem mediis sideribus locas:
 Dum coelo sapientiam
 In terras facili carmine devocas?
 Et caligine patria
 40 Coelari cupidam non pateris pie, &
 Praeclare temerarius.
 Cantas aetherei tela Cupidinis,
 Et quae non dubia manu
 Castis pectoribus vulnera destinat,
 45 Dum taedis melioribus
 Mentis virgineas urit, & aurea
 Pectus figit arundine,
 Extinguitque suis Idalias faces.
 Nec cantus meretricios,
 50 Musas virginea ludere barbyto,
 Et castis fidibus iubes:
 Quae torva trepidus fronte legat Pudor,
 Quae velata Modestia,
 Quae damnet nive pollice Castitas.
 55 Clarae gloria Phasidos,
 Nec vates patrio degener Orpheo,
 Romanae fidicen lyrae
 Dicendus merito nomine posteris;
 Et plectro & fidibus potens
 60 Sarbivi, & Latijs fabula nobilis
 Enarrande nepotibus:
 Dicam (Roma licet torvior audiat)
 Nemo pectine Romulo
 Tentavit cytharae fila decentius;
 65 Uni cedes Horatio,
 Qui Musas Latijs montibus intulit:
 Et ni aurem mihi vellicet
 Iam praeiudicio fama potentior,
 Et cani capitis nive,

Cogis indecori fuga,
 Dum victor rapido terga fugacium
 SIGISMUNDUS equo premit:
 30 Aut Lunae Scythicae sanguineum iubar
 Formidabile Regibus,
 Curvari facili circuitu vetat.
 At quo te rapit insolens
 Ardor fraena pati per vacuum aethera?
 35 Dum caelo Sapientiam
 In terras facili carmine devocas,
 Et caligine patria
 Celari cupidam non pateris, pie &
 Praeclare temerarius.
 40 Cantas aetherei tela Cupidinis,
 Et quae non dubia manu.
 Castis pectoribus vulnera destinat:
 Et taedis melioribus
 Mentis virgineas urit; & aurea
 45 Certus figit arundine,
 Extinguitque suis Idalias faces.
 Nec cantus meretricios
 Musas virginea ludere barbyto,
 Et castis fidibus iubes:
 50 Quae torva trepidus fronte legat pudor;
 Quae velata Modestia,
 Et verso iugulet pollice castitas.
 Clari gloria Phasidos,
 Nec vates patrio degener Orpheo,
 55 Et plectro & fidibus potens
 Monstrandus digito praetereuntium
 Romanae fidicen lyrae
 SARBIVI, & Latiis fabula nobilis
 Enarrande nepotibus;
 60 Dicam (Roma licet torvior audiat)
 Nemo pectine Romulo
 Tentavit citharae fila decentius.
 Uni cedis Horatio,
 Qui Musas Latiis montibus intulit:
 65 Et, ni aurem mihi vellicet
 Iam praeiudicio fama potentior,
 Et cani capitis nive,

70 Marcentes tremulo vertice laureas,
 Ac myrtum quatiens manu;
 Sarbivi, fidibus iudice me tuis
 Vates natus ad Aufidum,
 Et primis cytharae cedat honoribus.

Lyons, 1630 (Prost)

TO MATHIAS SARBIEVIUS,
 The Polish Lyric Poet.
 ODE XIII (p. 96–98)

1 Oh, you who touches the strings
 Of the golden lyre with a native thumb;
 And in the lonely heights of Rhodope,
 Or on the shore of the Sarmatian Vistula
 5 Moves the learned cither;
 Which the Tiber so often heard, unmindful
 To flow down in a downward bedding,
 And the Romulean echo did not just once
 Extol you from the sevenfold hills:
 10 Either it had heard you speaking of the sacred
 Fillets of the Lord, of the First of the World,
 With a quality equal to such praises,
 Or of the Bees, drunk on the heaven's dews,
 Which season the honey-sweet ages with
 15 Pure nectar, with an artist's care;
 When, according to the judgment of URBAN,
 The Sarmatian lyre deserved the First laurel.
 Or you would tell, with a heavy poem,
 Of the wars fought in the north;
 20 You would tell that the bold Caesar, black
 With the battlefield's dust, leads the armies,
 And that he is seen rejoicing amidst his enemies.
 While the passionate right hand, with iron as
 Protector, makes the boldness, equal to better
 25 Fortunes, flash.
 Or you force the Tatars, who are easily defeated,
 To retreat in an inglorious flight,
 While ZYGMUNT the victor presses the backs of the
 The runaways with his speedy horse:
 30 Or while he forbids the blood red splendour of
 The Scythian Moon, terrible for Kings,
 To retreat in a simple revolution.

Marcentes rigido vertice laureas,
 Et myrtum quatiens manu;
 70 SARBIVI fidibus, iudice me, tuis,
 Vates natus ad Aufidum,
 Et primis citharae cedat honoribus.

Antwerp, 1632 (Plantin-Moretus)

TO MATH. CASIM. SARBIEVIUS
 BY GILBERTUS JONINUS
 OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS
 (p. 302–305)

1 Oh, you who touches the strings
 Of the golden lyre with a native thumb;
 And in the lonely heights of Rhodope,
 Or on the shore of the Sarmatian Vistula
 5 Moves the learned cither,
 Which the Tiber so often heard, unmindful
 To flow down in a downward bedding;
 And the Romulean echo did not just once
 Extol you from the sevenfold hills:
 10 Either it had heard you speaking of the sacred
 Fillets of the Lord, of the First of the World,
 With a quality equal to such praises,
 Or of the Bees, drunk on the heaven's dews,
 Which season the honey-sweet ages with
 15 Pure nectar, with an artist's care;
 When, according to the judgment of URBAN,
 The Lechic lyre deserved the first laurel.
 Or you would tell, with a heavy poem,
 Of the wars fought in the north;
 20 You would tell that the bold Caesar, black
 With the battlefield's dust, leads the armies,
 And that he is seen rejoicing amidst his enemies:
 While the passionate right hand, with iron as
 Protector, makes the boldness, equal to better
 25 Fortunes, flash.
 Or you force the Tatars, who are easily defeated,
 To retreat in an inglorious flight,
 While ZYGMUNT the victor presses the backs of
 The runaways with his speedy horse:
 30 Or while he forbids the blood red splendour of
 The Scythian Moon, terrible for Kings,
 To retreat in a simple revolution.

But where does this unfamiliar burning take you
 You to let your reigns through the empty sky,
 35 While you put your pleasing cither, shining,
 Amid the stars above:
 While you call down wisdom from heaven
 To the earth with a skilled song?
 And you do not endure the desire to be
 40 Covered by fatherly mist, rash in
 A pious and sublime way.
 You sing of the weapons of the heavenly Cupid,
 And of those wounds which he designs,
 With an undoubted hand, for chaste chests,
 45 While he burns maidenly minds
 With better torches, and
 He fixes the chest with a golden shaft,
 And extinguishes the Idalian torches with his own.
 And you do not order the Muses to play
 50 Meretricious songs with a maidenly lyre,
 And with chaste strings: that which
 Disturbed Propriety with a fierce face chooses,
 That which veiled Moderation, that which
 Chastity condemns with a snow-white thumb.
 55 Oh, glory of the bright Phasis, and seer who is
 A not unworthy descendant of Orpheus the father,
 Player of the Roman lyre, who must
 Be named by the right name by posterity;
 Able with both plectrum and strings,
 60 Sarbievius, and you, who as a well-known story
 Story must be told to the Latin grandchildren:
 I will say (although Rome may listen more
 Sternly) that no one touched the strings of the
 Cither more becomingly with a Romulean song;
 65 You will yield to Horace alone,
 Who brought the Muses to the Latin mountains:
 And, so that fame, which is stronger than the
 Preceding judgment, and than the snow of the
 White head, will not pluck my ear,
 70 While it shakes the drooping laurels with its stern
 forehead, and the myrtle with its hand,
 Sarbievius, with me as judge, would the seer, born
 Born along the Aufidus, yield to your strings
 And to the first honours of your cither.

But where does this unfamiliar burning take
 You to let your reigns through the empty sky?
 35 While you call down Wisdom from heaven
 To the earth with a skilled song,
 And you do not endure the desire to be
 Covered by fatherly mist, rash in
 A pious and sublime way.
 40 You sing of the weapons of the heavenly Cupid,
 And of those wounds which he designs,
 With an undoubted hand, for chaste chests:
 And he burns maidenly minds
 With better torches; and
 45 He fixes them fast with a golden shaft,
 And extinguishes the Idalian torches with his own.
 And you do not order the Muses to play
 Meretricious songs with a maidenly lyre,
 And with chaste strings: that which
 50 Disturbed propriety with a fierce face chooses;
 That which veiled Moderation, and
 Chastity would silence with a turned thumb.
 Oh, glory of the bright Phasis, and seer who is
 A not unworthy descendant of Orpheus the father,
 55 Able with both plectrum and strings, who
 Must be pointed at with the finger by passers-by,
 Player of the Roman lyre,
 SARBIEVIUS, and you, who as a well-known
 Story must be told to the Latin grandchildren;
 60 I will say (although Rome may listen more
 Sternly) that no one touched the strings of the
 Cither more becomingly with a Romulean song.
 You yield to Horace alone,
 Who brought the Muses to the Latin mountains:
 65 And, so that fame, which is stronger than the
 Preceding judgment, and than the snow of the
 White head, will not pluck my ear,
 While it shakes the drooping laurels with its stern
 forehead, and the myrtle with its hand,
 70 SARBIEVIUS, with me as judge, would the seer,
 Born along the Aufidus, yield to your strings
 And to the first honours of your cither.