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Old Polish Exhortations (Exciters) – Genesis, Characteristics and Varieties (Announcement of a Monograph)*

Staropolskie ekshorty (ekscytarze) – geneza, cechy i odmiany (zapowiedź monografii)

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Abstract. The aim of this study is to determine the scope of a future monograph, which will be devoted to Old Polish exhortations, and show the key issues concerning this genre, based on the current state of research. The author's reflections focus on Polish literature of the 16th and 17th centuries – heroic epics, occasional poetry and prose, as well as orations. The starting point for the author's deliberations on the subject is the ancient genesis of exhortation as a form found in the heroic epics and historical works. In the subsequent subsections of this paper, the author brings up the statements of Polish scholars, who explored the subject of exhortations, including Juliusz Nowak-Dłużewski, Alojzy Sajkowski, Jadwiga Kuczyńska, Roman Krzywy and Renata Gałaj-Dempniak. Based on Teresa Michałowska's conclusions concerning genealogy, the author proposes a hypothesis that exhortation is a separate literary genre, which uses a group of topoi. The future monograph is intended to show the functioning of exhortation in treatises on poetics and rhetoric as a separate literary genre. The author's objectives are also to showcase the presence of this genre in lyrical and epic works, as well as present oration as a self-contained and non-self-contained expression in terms of polygraphy and

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content. The additional objective of the new work is to show the changing specificity of topoi in exhortations, which were to be used within parenthesis, for the effective formation of reality.

Keywords: exhortation, genealogy, heroic epic, occasional poetry, occasional prose

Abstrakt. Celem studium jest określenie w oparciu o dotychczasowy stan badań zakresu problemowego przyszłej monografii, która poświęcona byłaby staropolskim ekshortacjom i pokazywała węzłowe dla niej zagadnienia. Przedmiotem refleksji jest literatura polska XVI i XVII wieku: epika bohaterska, poezja i proza okolicznościowa, oratorstwo. Punkt wyjścia dla rozważań stanowi antyczna geneza ekshortacji jako formy spotykanej w epice bohaterskiej i dziełach historycznych. W dalszej części rozważań przedstawia się stanowiska polskich badaczy, którzy pisali o ekshortacjach, między innymi: Juliusza Nowaka-Dłużewskiego, Alojzego Sajkowskiego, Jadwigi Kuczyńskiej, Romana Krzywego i Renaty Gałaj-Dempniak. W oparciu o ustalenia Teresy Michałowskiej z zakresu genealogii stawia się tezę, iż ekshortacja jest osobnym gatunkiem literackim posługującym się zespołem toposów. Przyszła monografia ma ukazać funkcjonowanie ekshortacji w traktatach z zakresu poetyki i retoryki, jako osobnego gatunku literackiego, jej obecność w liryce, epice i oratorstwie, jako wypowiedź samoistną i niesamoistną poligraficznie i treściowo, jak też zmienną swoistość topiki ekshortacyjnej, która służyć miała skutecznemu formowaniu rzeczywistości w ramach parentezy.

Słowa kluczowe: ekshortacja, genealogia, epika bohaterska, poezja okolicznościowa, proza okolicznościowa

The tradition of the exhortation dates back to ancient literature.¹ The first variety, which survived to this day were speeches given by military leaders in front of their armies,² known, for example, from Homer's *Iliad*³ as well as Virgil's *Aeneid*⁴ and Lucan's *Pharsalia*.⁵ Exhortations also included the orations of great politicians of ancient times, which were passed from one generation to another in chronicles (for example, Demosthenes, Cicero), as well as the speeches of army leaders, recorded or falsified thanks to historiography – including Alexander the Great, Darius of Persia and others.⁶ In the Antique period, we may also find elements of exhortation in poetry, since authors wrote lyrical works encouraging armies to sacrifice their lives for their homeland, as well as urging them to fight – this is particularly apparent in the works by the Greek elegiac poets Tyrtaeus and Kallinos,

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Juan Carlos Iglesias-Zoido of the Catedrático de Filología Griega de la Universidad de Extremadura for kindly sharing his work on exhortations.

² Term used by Maciej K. Sarbiewski (1954, p. 150).

³ For example, book 13, verses 29–40; book 11, verses 177–180; book 15, verses 271–284; book 17, verses 189–200 (Homer, 1968).

⁴ For example, book 7, verses 466–474 (Virgil, 1981).

⁵ For example, Song VII, verses 343–382 (Lucan, 1994).

⁶ Cicero was a theoretician of the historical style, and his recommendations were implemented in practice by Titus Livius, who introduced *sermocinationes* to *Ab urbe condita*, allowing for the use of exhortations (Dziuba, 2000, pp. 149–151).

as well as Horace [III 2, 3 and 5] (Wójcik, 1986, pp. 118–121). In the case of the latter, exhortations served to shape the civic attitudes of the young generation.⁷

The ancient tradition also gave rise to the *protrepticus*, namely a piece that encourages virtue, morality, intellectual development, and the study of philosophy. Such tendencies can be found in Plato's dialogues, it also appears in the works of Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca (*Suasoriae*) and Lactantius (Sławiński, 1998, p. 441).

Thus, excitors constitute an element of ancient literature, functioning as an independent text both in a formal and literary sense (educational treatises, speeches and poems), as well as statements which are independent in terms of writing, but on a formal level constitute a part of a larger whole, thus, functioning as quotations (in heroic epics, historiography and diaries). Exhortations take the form of statements in prose (orations, historical works, and diaries) or in poetry (heroic epics, songs, other poetic forms) intended for reading, as well as for speaking, reciting, or singing. What is striking here is the omnipresence of this construct, and the persuasive strategies linked with it, along with its goals and objectives. Exhortations in various forms have been known and used since the beginning of the history of non-fiction and fiction.

The reason for the popularity of the exhortation, and its *topoi*, is its exceptional usefulness for arousing enthusiasm among potential readers or listeners, resulting from the highly persuasive load that can be exerted on the recipient, with the aim of convincing them of a certain idea and encouraging them to act at once at one time only, or undertake a long-term process. From the point of view of the principles of rhetoric, exhortation belongs to the *genus deliberativum* and is used for *suasio*, or providing advice, which can denote encouragement (cf.: Caussin, 1634, p. 607; Barłowska, 2001, p. 80; Krzywy, 2012, p. 18). By definition, it does not involve *dissuasio*, or discouragement. It is supposed to help to spark the enthusiasm of the listener/reader to take certain actions for the benefit of the community or the individual, shaping the attitudes and stances desired by the author. Exhortation as an element is present in virtually all literature from the Middle Ages to the Baroque (see for example: Iglesias-Zoido, 2010, pp. 215–241; 2012, pp. 114–145; 2016, pp. 407–430).

Exhortation was also present in old Polish literature, namely in heroic epics, influenced by the practice of the old masters. These include: *Bellum prutenum* by Jan of Wiślica (a speech by Władysław Jagiełło) (Jan of Wiślica, 1985, p. 129), *Gofred abo Jeruzalem wyzwolona* [*Gofred or Jerusalem Liberated*] translated by

⁷ The great significance of this element in the structure of antique works is demonstrated in the papers by Spanish, German, Belgian and Greek scholars (Iglesias-Zoido, 2007, pp. 141–158; Verhelst, 2016, pp. 82–138; Hansen, 1993, pp. 161–180; Kyriakou, 2017, pp. 22–70).

Piotr Kochanowski (a speech by Gofred) (Tasso-Kochanowski, 1968, pp. 665–667, song 20, o. 14–19), *Władysław IV, król polski i szwedzki* [*Władysław IV, the King of Poland and Sweden*] by Samuel Twardowski (speeches by Stanisław Żółkiewski and Jan Karol Chodkiewicz) (Twardowski, 2012, pp. 106–108, 141–143). Chronicles also did not shy away from exhortations, including *Gesta principium Polonorum* by Gallus Anonymus (speech by Bolesław the Bold) (Anonim tzw. Gall, 1989, p. 25, vol. I. See also: Liman, 1983, pp. 189–208) and Johannes Longinus' *Annals* (speech by Bolesław the Bold) (Długosz, 2009, pp. 338–339; Dziuba, 2000, p. 154). There are also examples of political exhortations (in the form of Sejm orations), such as the famous *Turcyki* by Stanisław Orzechowski. War exhortations can be found in diaries (including Żółkiewski, *Początek i progres wojny moskiewskiej* [*The Beginning and Progress of the Moscow War*]; Jakub Sobieski, *Diariusz wyprawy chocimskiej* [*Diary of the Khotyn Expedition*] and more), (Barłowska, 2001, pp. 78–80). Appeals to knights can be also found in old Polish lyrical works, starting with *Pieśń o spustoszeniu Podola* [*A Song about the Devastation of Podolia*] by Jan Kochanowski, an ode by Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski,⁸ to the anonymous song *Ocknij się Lechu* [*Wake Up, Lech*] (Buchwald-Pelcowa, 2005, pp. 393–403). Exciters can also be tantamount to *protrepticus* in old Polish literature, which we can see, for example, in *Jezda do Moskwy* [*Driving to Moscow*] by Kochanowski and in *Pobudka cnoty w jasnie oświeconym Jerzym Dymitrze* [*The Awakening of Virtue in the Brightly Enlightened Jerzy Dymitra*] by Twardowski. A collection of sentences *Z Swazoryjej Seneki filozofa i innych niektórych autorów zebrał żołnierz jeden w obozie pod Tatarzyszczami, z mężnych przykładów Pobudkę do cnoty* (Kuczyńska, 1980, p. 84) by Stanisław Żółkiewski also constitutes some sort of a reference to the philosophical tradition.

The set of applications inherited from Antiquity does not exhaust the areas of functioning of exhortations in old Polish literature. First and foremost, it seems that the meeting point of the epic tradition (a leader's speech in front of an army), melic poetry (*Pieśń o spustoszeniu Podola*, *Ocknij się Lechu* and bugle calls) and political orations gave rise to poetic exhortations belonging to the genre of occasional literature, whose recipients included the nobility, aimed to encourage them to take an active part in war missions, whether against Muscovites or Ottomans. These include *Pobudka i napominanie Ojczyzny do swych synów* [*Waking Up and Admonishing the Fatherland to His Sons*] from *Goniec cnoty* [*Runner of Virtue*] by Maciej Strykowski, *Pożar* [*Fire*] by Sebastian Fabian Klonowic, *Pobudka ludzi*

⁸ For example, works by Sarbiewski: *Parodia ex Ioannis Kochanovii, poetarum polonorum princeps, libri II ode XXIV* (*Parodia z Jana Kochanowskiego, księcia poetów polskich, z księgi wtórej, ody 24, popularnej pieśni*), *Ad equites polonos anno MDCXXX* (*Do rycerstwa polskiego w roku 1630*) (Sarbiewski, 1980, pp. 316–319, 400–497).

rycerskich [*Wake up of the Knightly People*] by Stanisław Witkowski, *Pobudka na poparcie wojny moskiewskiej* [*Wake Up in Support of the Moscow War*] by Abraham Roźniatowski.

Exhortation camp sermons addressed to the representatives of knighthood (Piotr Skarga, *Pobudki czasu wojny do modlitwy* [*War Wakes Up to Prayer*], Fabian Birkowski, *Kazania obozowe o Bogurodzicy* [*Camp Sermons about the Mother of God*]) were a particular novelty in this context (cf.: Herman, 1983, pp. 57–70; Lenart, 2009, p. 110). One could see in them a reflection of the secular political exhortation. They stem from ancient tradition, thanks to their particular philosophical-moralistic and ethical message. What is more, there were also short and encouraging parenetic sermons addressed to young clergymen, accompanying the rite of passage – joining monastic orders, delivered on the threshold (Gwioździk, 2015; Barłowska, 2001, p. 83, footnote 24). Exhortation elements can also be found in funeral sermons. A particular novelty were lamentations of the personified Homeland using topoi of exhortations, for example, Marcin Paszkowski's *Ukraina od Tatar utrapiona* [*Ukraine Is Distressed from Tatar*] (cf.: Paszkowski, 2017, pp. 50–113; Kuran, 2012, pp. 188–201).

Exhortations were a subject of quite extensive, but at the same time fragment-ed studies, covering their various genres and varieties. Literary scholars analysed exhortations both from the standpoint of speeches delivered by leaders in front of their armies, known from heroic epics, as well as poems with an anti-Ottoman or anti-Muscovite message and exhortation in the form of lyrical works, including lamentations.

The studies on old Polish exhortations from the 16th and 17th centuries start with works by Juliusz Nowak-Dłużewski, Alojzy Sajkowski and Jadwiga Kuczyńska, who focused their studies on the propaganda wartime poetry.

Alojzy Sajkowski, who focused on Twardowski's poetic exhortation (*Pobudka wychodzącemu wojsku pod Ołykę pro maii anno 1649 r.* [*Wake up the Army Leaving Ołyka pro amii anno 1649*]), tried to determine the place of works with the word *pobudka* ["a call" – literally, a "wake-up call" – translator's note] in the space of literature. In spite of the fact that he believed that these pieces belong to the "category of occasional political poetry" (Sajkowski, 1966, p. 142) and that they were written in exceptional circumstances and "had the character of a call," a war-time call to arms, even, which required and demanded immediate action from the reader, he also noted and distinguished two other varieties, which did not beg an immediate response – a call that encouraged the reader to improve their life, or pieces with an educational message, along with a variety of exhortations situated in the area of "ascetic-religious literature," which stemmed from preaching activity (Sajkowski, 1966, pp. 139–155). The scholar clearly noted that the aim of such

a poem is to advise, although he did not determine that it belongs to the rhetorical *genus deliberativum*, serving the role of *suasio* or *dissuasio*. Suggesting its nature was one of advice, he also noted its significance as a form also present in journalism, which serves to promote specific public undertakings, solutions to social problems in the form of postulates, advice constituting specific proposals, such as the founding of a knight's school (Józef Wereszczyński's *Pobudka z strony fundowania szkoły rycerskiej* [*A Wake-Up Call from Founding a Knight's School*]) as well as solving a political and military issue (Szymon Starowolski's *Pobudka abo rada na zniesienie Tatarów* [*Wake Up or Advice to Abolish the Tatars*]). According to Sajkowski, such a call can also be a piece that gathers educational sentences.

As far as the form and genre of these pieces are concerned, Sajkowski claimed that they can be written in prose (in the case of sermons, for example, the *Pobudka na ekspedycję wojenną J[ego] M[ości] P[ana] Stanisława hrabie na Wiśnicz* [*Wake up on the Military Expedition of His Majesty the Lord Count Stanisław in Wiśnicz*] sermon by Jan Francisciades of Plzen. It can also be a melic work (a song with Sapphic stanzas, such as Maciej Strykowski's anti-Ottoman and anti-Muscovite *Pobudka i napominanie ojczyzny* [*Wake up and Admonish the Motherland*]), included in his *Goniec cnoty* (1574) (Sajkowski, 1966, p. 143). According to the scholar, this melic nature is characteristic of the pieces stemming from the tradition of Kochanowski's *Pieśń o spustoszeniu Podola* (Sajkowski, 1966, p. 143, 145). In the sphere of influence of this tradition, Sajkowski included the anti-Ottoman pieces written at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries by Jan Jurkowski (*Chorągiew Wandalinowa, Lech wzbudzony* [*Vandalin's Banner, Lech Aroused*]) and Witkowski (*Pobudka ludzi rycerskich* [*Wake Up of the Knightly People*]) (Sajkowski, 1966, pp. 144–145).

As far as the genesis of the melic calls is concerned, according to Sajkowski, “it stemmed from the Renaissance” (Sajkowski, 1966, p. 143). Taking the observations and conclusions by Czesław Hernas, the scholar noted that this genre closely resembles the old Polish bugle call due to the issues it touches upon and their structure. He also defined the structure of a typical poem, comprising six elements (“1. Apostrophe; 2. Presentation of a specific threat [...]; 3. A series of examples [...]; 4. A call to action [...]; 5. Assurance that the effort will pay off [...]; 6. Call to honour [...] and honourable examples [...]” [(“1. Apostrof; 2. Omówienie konkretnego niebezpieczeństwa [...]; 3. Seria przykładów [...]; 4. Wezwanie do czynu [...]; 5. Zapewnienie, że trud się opłaci [...]; 6. Odwołanie się do honoru [...] oraz do szczytnych egzemplów [...]”] [Sajkowski, 1966, p. 145]).

Sajkowski's reflections focus primarily on the call as a melic work, encouraging its readers to fight enemies, following Strykowski's and Twardowski's practice (*Pobudka wychodzącemu wojsku pod Ołykę*). This tradition seems to be the source

of anti-Ottoman calls written in verse, which took the majority of the scholar's attention, as he emphasised the links between these pieces and the culture of knight-hood, in particular, the bugle call tradition.

Leaving bugle calls aside, as well as the attempts at any classification of the pieces as specific genres, **Juliusz Nowak-Dłużewski** devoted his attention to particular examples of calls as political and wartime occasional pieces with an anti-Ottoman and anti-Moscow message, created at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. His interests included the pieces written by Klonowic (*Pożar*), Witkowski (*Pobudka ludzi rycerskich*), Paszkowski (*Ukraina od Tatar utrapiona* and others), Chlebowski (*Trąba pobudki ziemie perskiej* [*Trumpet Wake Up Persian Lands*]), and Grzegorz Czaradzki (*Pobudka na wojnę turecką 1621 r.* [*Wake Up to the Turkish War of 1621*]).⁹ Nowak-Dłużewski also highlighted the importance of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski's anti-Ottoman calls, written after the victorious battle of Khotyn; however, they are not linked to any specific event and are more general in nature. These include two verses, namely *Ad Equites Polonos* (I, odes XV and IV, ode I) and *Ad Equites polonos Anno MDCXXX*. The author, according to the researcher, based his poems on Polish and European *loci communes*. He also did not disregard the calls addressed to princes, kings and societies of European states (Nowak-Dłużewski, 1971, p. 307). Nowak-Dłużewski's sphere of interest also includes poetic motives from the times of the reign of the sons of King Sigismund III Vasa, including Twardowski's piece, which was a subject of Sajkowski's analysis (Nowak-Dłużewski, 1972, pp. 111–112). The analyses carried out by Nowak-Dłużewski only allowed him to state that the poetic calls belonged to the genre of political occasional literature of the second half of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century. One may also notice that the authors' intention was to shape public opinion, motivating the general public to take part in wars with the Grand Duchy of Moscow and the Ottoman Empire. The scholar's studies enable us to see the compilation nature of these works, the movement of entire phrases, accompanied by exhortation arguments and topoi, which was already signalled by Aleksander Brückner (1919, pp. 79–81).

Jadwiga Kuczyńska's deliberations covered eight works (including "treatises, political writings and poetic works" – Kuczyńska, 1980, p. 73) from the period of 1607–1621, with the word *pobudka* in the title. The individual pieces were written by Wojciech Rakowski (*Pobudka sławnej Korony Polskiej* [*The Awakening of the Famous Polish Crown*], 1607; *Pobudka zacnym synom Korony Polskiej* [*A Wake Up Call for the Noble Sons of the Polish Crown*], 1621), Roźniatowski (*Pobudka na poparcie wojny moskiewskiej* [*Wake Up in Support of the Moscow*

⁹ Mirosław Lenart (2009, p. 110) also believes that the examination of these works is necessary.

War], 1612), Witkowski (*Pobudka ludzi rycerskich*, 1621), Czaradzki (*Pobudka na wojnę turecką*, 1621), Mikołaj Chabielski (*Pobudka narodom chrześcijańskim* [*Wake Up to Christian Nations*], 1615), Francisciades z Pilzna (*Pobudka na ekspedycję wojenną* [*Wake Up for a War Expedition*], 1618), Maciej Żołędzki (*Pobudka albo napominanie* [*Waking Up or Forgetting*], 1621) and Stanisław Żółkiewski (*Pobudka do cnoty* [*Wake Up to Virtue*], 1612). The scholar noted these authors' strong involvement in the current political situation of the state, connected with the war with the Grand Duchy of Moscow and the threat posed by the Ottomans. She also highlighted the influence of *Pieśń o spustoszeniu Podola* on the genre, noting that apart from named addressees, the pieces are addressed to the entire society. Kuczyńska focused on the function of examples in Antique calls, comparisons of a homeland to a ship, car, body and boat, the use of prosopoeia in the form of allegories, such as the Homeland as the Mother, as well as evoking the names of the heroes of old, such as Friedrich Herbut. She also noticed the fact that the more precise the title, regardless of its shape, serves as "some kind of incentive, a stimulus to act" ["jakaś podniętę, bodziec do działania"] (Kuczyńska, 1980, p. 87). Kuczyńska also pointed out the connection between the call and the initial element of the bugle call urging the listener to pray or start working, which was significantly expanded from, namely waking up from sleep. She stated that the structure of these pieces is made up of three main parts, the first of which includes "dedication, objectives and possible determination of the scope of the message" ["dedykację, cele, ewentualne określenie zakresu wypowiedzi"], the second contains an analysis of the political situation, with numerous examples taken from ancient history and history of Poland, quotations and biblical examples, while the third part refers to the noble virtue, the achievements of ancestors and religious or secular encouragement. The researcher emphasises that the indicated elements are not always arranged in a presentable way and they can be mixed up in some cases (Kuczyńska, 1980, p. 88).

According to Kuczyńska, one could claim the sameness of genres of the above pieces, which – apart from the title word – are linked by their "compositional arrangement and style," even though calls were never codified as a genre in historical poetics. Referring to Michał Głowiński (1987, p. 123), she noted that one may speak of "a single group of »motivational calls«, according to the principles of historical poetics" ["o jednej grupie »utworów pobudkowych«, zgodnie z założeniami poetyki historycznej"] (Kuczyńska, 1980, p. 89).

From the point of view of the historical research methodology, the persuasive nature of calls perceived solely as messages, whose goal is to arouse the thirst for war in the political literature of the 16th and 17th centuries, was presented by **Renata Gałaj-Dempniak**, who left aside their rhetorical aspect. The scholar

distinguished two spheres of their influence: “1. Religious and spiritual (defence of the faith, anti-Ottoman poems, the issue of *antemurale*). 2. Secular life burdened with numerous experiences (defence of the state and cultural values, shaping desired behaviours, calls, triumphs and all kinds of celebrations)” [“1. Religijną i duchową (obrona wiary, turcyki, problematyka *antemurale*). 2. Życie świeckie obciążone licznymi doświadczeniami (obrona państwa i wartości kulturowych, kształtowanie pożądanego zachowań, pobudki, tryumfy i wszelkie uroczystości)”] (Gałąj-Dempniak, 2008, p. 235). This division cannot be considered convincing, since it does not take into account the rhetorical aspect of these works, as well as due to the fact that exhortations of a religious nature rarely do pertain to military issues, remaining in the sphere of the behaviour of individuals and communities, exclusively focused on the communion with God.

The main advantage stemming from Gałąj-Dempniak’s considerations is to draw attention to the dominant feature of the exhortations, namely the persuasive nature of the message, which calls for immediate action. Despite the superficiality of the proposed division of arguments, the scholar pointed out the need to come up with a way to systematise these issues in her area of interest.

Some one-off comments concerning anti-Ottoman calls can also be found in the works by Piotr Trafiłowski (2013), Renata Ryba (2014) and Volodymyr Pylypenko (2016).

The functioning of the call as an area of poetry was covered in the papers by Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa (1969, pp. 147–148), Anna Krzewińska (1968, pp. 85–105) and Ludwika Szczerbicka-Ślęk (*Duma staropolska [Old Polish Pride]*, 1964) as well as a paper by Czesław Hernas, showcasing its links with a bugle call (1961), along with other scholars, who noted its coincidence with the presented form (Sajkowski et al.). It is noteworthy that the role of *Pieśń o spustoszeniu Podola*, as well as Sarbiewski’s lyrical works in the development of exhortation poems, has been noticed in many papers, including Buchwald-Pelcowa (2005, pp. 394–401), who outlined the genesis and development of the song *Ocknij się Lechu*, written after 30 August 1672, due to its long-lasting popularity and lifespan, resulting in numerous altered versions, resulting from its nature of an exhortation (Buchwald-Pelcowa, 2005, p. 393).

Dariusz Chemperek also devoted his attention to calls written in verse in his monograph on Jan Gawiński’s works. He analysed the *Ekscytarz albo Tatarum na Turczyne*, which constitutes a part of *Tarcza chrześcijaństwa [The Shield of Christianity]*. In addition to establishing the sources of inspiration for the text, citing Bronisław Nadolski, he mentioned the common points linking the calls with Demosthenes’ speeches, as well as Orzechowski’s, listing a total of thirteen speeches (including “How badly did the enemy ravage our soil?” [“Jak okrutnie spustoszył

wróg ziemię?”], “Slavery or harm are not made equal – in the case of this enemy, they are disgraceful and unbearable” [“Niewola lub krzywda nierówne sobie: u tego wroga hańbiące i nieznośne”]; “We ourselves have built the power of our enemy with discord, quarrelling and negligence” [“My sami niezgodą, kłótnią, niedbalstwem stworzyliśmy potęgę naszego wroga”]; “It is a shame to speak of today’s infirm society” [“Az wstyd mówić o dzisiejszym niedołężnym społeczeństwie”]) (Chemperek, 2005, pp. 195–208, in particular p. 202). In addition, Chemperek also noted new elements, which were unknown to the old masters, namely stylising fragments of text to resemble a military wake-up call, with the use of phonic means of expression (Chemperek, 2005, pp. 202–205).

What can also be considered important in the studies on exhortations as an oration element of an epic work are the statements of **Maria Barłowska** and **Roman Krzywy** on the poetic vision of Jan Karol Chodkiewicz’s speech, delivered in front of the army in Khotyn in 1621. This vision, based on earlier diaries and accounts in epics, was outlined by Waclaw Potocki in *Transakcyjja wojny chocimskiej*. The particular value of Barłowska’s work stems from the fact that she used the theory of exhortation, recorded in old rhetoric textbooks in the works of Mikołaj Caussin, who was popular in Europe, as well as in the works of Polish theorists: Michał Radau and Jan Kwiatkiewicz. Barłowska also takes into account the recommendations formulated by Szymon Starowolski in his *Institutorum rei militaris libri VIII*, whose Chapter X in book IV is titled *De adhortatione*. The rules of creating motivational calls were presented by theorists within the framework of *genus deliberativum* in the *exhortatio (oratio exhortatoria)* variety (Barłowska, 2001, p. 82). The scholar analysed Chodkiewicz’s speech in the version recorded by Potocki in *Transakcyjja*, taking into account the tradition of Jakub Sobieski’s diaries (*Commentariorum Chotinensis belli libri tres* and *Diariusz wyprawy chocimskiej*). The scholar carried out an analysis of the topoi in exhortations by comparing Potocki’s record with the version of the speech from Birkowski’s funeral sermon and Sobieski’s diary. She also referred to the theorists’ recommendations. She identified the following topoi – the place (battlefield), the knight–speaker (if they enjoyed authority, they could speak sparingly [Caussin] or run their mouth like Nestor [Kwiatkiewicz]), “knights’ chests are the best walls of our homeland” [“piersi rycerzy to najlepsze mury ojczyzny”] and “the representation of the weight of the historical moment” [“przedstawienie wagi dziejowego momentu”] (2001, p. 86), enumeration of the inhabitants of the homeland who need to be defended (along with the personification of homeland as a Mother) (2001, p. 87), an example of the commander, “praise of the virtue of knighthood” [“pochwała cnoty rycerstwa”] (2001, p. 89), highlighting the enemy’s cowardice, undermining their combat value in order to manage fear, showing a lack of knightly spirit among the enemies (2001, p. 90), the hope for loot, contempt for the common

folk, contrasted with the noble birth of the Sarmatians, praise for the valour of the ancestors, invoking the glory of God (2001, p. 92), and action as a continuation of the will of those, who were encouraged to act (2001, p. 93).¹⁰

Krzywy made an attempt to comprehensively structure this genre in his preface to the volume of occasional works by Roźniatowski. The main aim of his statement is to gather knowledge about the exhortation as a genre to come up with a sort of a dictionary entry. The scholar took stock of the state of the art. Having placed it on the basis of rhetoric, he decided that the wartime call is a variety of *protrepticus* (exhortation in Latin) and a genre of oration. He noted two forms of this genre and the spheres of their functioning – as a “political excitor,” it is present and visible in the public sphere, forming the direction of state policy, because it is supposed to influence rulers, deputies, as well as the entire nation, encouraging an offensive or defensive war, while as a “battle excitor” it is present in military circles since it is delivered by the commander directly before the battle to the soldiers standing in formation (Krzywy, 2012, p. 19).

I dealt with exhortations both in the paper devoted to the work of Twardowski, the author of two calls – one wartime and another educational (*Pobudka cnoty w jaśnie oświeconym Dymitrze* [*The Awakening of Virtue in a Brilliantly Enlightened Dimitri*]), and Paszkowski, who wrote calls with anti-Muscovite (*Positek Bellony sauromackiej* [*Bellona Sauromacka Meal*]) and anti-Ottoman messages (*Ukraina od Tatar utrapionej* [*Ukraine is Distressed from Tatar*], 1608), followed the traces of *Pożar* by Klonowic, as well as *Pobudka i napominanie Ojczyzny* from *Goniec cnoty* by Maciej Strykowski (Kuran, 2008, pp. 253–342; Kuran, 2012, pp. 160–171, 188–200, 210–217, 224–232 *et seq.*). I also analysed Witkowski’s *Pobudka* (Kuran, 2010, pp. 249–274) and have attempted to review the topoi in exhortations found in old Polish heroic epics by carrying out the comparative analyses of speeches in the works by Piotr Kochanowski, Twardowski and Waclaw Potocki. I noticed that:

The available speeches do not convey a uniform scheme of a motivational oration. They could have been composed taking into account the particular situation of the leader who was urging their knights to fight. The speech was different if it was delivered by the commander who expected a victory, the hetman who believed that a defeat was certain, as well as the leader who was aware of the enemy’s military advantage but was convinced of the possibility of defeating the enemy. The diversity of the nature of the motivational orations also depended on whether the author sympathised with the leader or whether the speaker represented the “wrong” side. (Kuran typescript)¹¹

¹⁰ The analysis of topoi of the call in Chodkiewicz-Potocki’s oration was also carried out by Roman Krzywy (2001, pp. 127–146) and Michał Kuran (2007, pp. 121–140).

¹¹ “Dostępne mowy nie przekazują jednolitego schematu oracji pobudkowej. Mogły być one komponowane z uwzględnieniem szczególnej sytuacji, w jakiej znajdował się wódz zagrzewający

While characterising the calls in Piotr Kochanowski's *Gofred abo Jeruzalem*, a Polish translation of Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* [*Jerusalem Delivered*], I focused on topoi encountered in the speeches of Gofred, Soliman and Emiren. I decided to deal with the *loci* pertaining to the knightly community and the person in charge, the use of praise (*laudatio*) and reprimand (*vituperatio*) by the speakers in the *genus demonstrativum*. Expanding my observations to other epic works by old Polish authors, I carried out the classification of defensive speeches, distinguishing the orations calling for the defence of a certain territory, as well as the family and the most important values for a given community (such as privileges of given strata); the speeches calling for valour in the face of an expected defeat; the orations calling for sacrifice in the battles between balanced armies, as well as speeches calling for sacrifice to achieve a certain military objective (Kuran, 2019).

My studies also covered preachers' calls directed by the clergy to soldiers before battles, especially Skarga's *Pobudki czasu wojny* (Stefan Herman and Mirosław Lenart). Jolanta Gwioździk (2015, pp. 340–341, 360 – titles) mentioned the exhortations accompanying joining monastic orders. Krzywy focused on parenetic exhortations, closely studying *Jezda do Moskwy* by Jan Kochanowski (Krzywy, 2008, pp. 170–172). I also studied a similar case when analysing Twardowski's *Pobudka cnoty w jaśnie oświeconym Jerzym Dymitrze* (Kuran 2008, pp. 256–271). Exhortations seem to be strongly associated with the parenetic formulated in occasional secular works, as well as those of a partly religious nature, which can be seen, for example, in funeral sermons, which showcase the deeds and stances of the deceased, which are presented to the living as a model to follow, and to provide incentives to cultivate these virtues, in particular, addressed to young people who are to imitate their brave ancestors (Paszkowski's *Wizerunek*).

The studies carried out by scholars to date, despite seeking to carry out a comprehensive synthesis of this phenomenon, fail to reach complete clarification. Successful attempts were made to collectively characterise selected areas. Meanwhile, checking the results of the research carried out to date, looking through the texts which were already taken into account, as well as those that remained beyond the scope of studies to this day, seems to be worthwhile if one

rycerstwo do walki. Inaczej przemawiał bowiem dowódca, który spodziewał się zwycięstwa, inaczej hetman pewny porażki, jeszcze inaczej wódz, mający świadomość przewagi militarnej przeciwnika, ale przekonany o możliwości pokonania wroga. Zróżnicowanie charakteru oracji pobudkowych wynikało także z tego czy autor sympatyzował z wodzem, czy też mówca reprezentował »niewłaściwą« stronę» (Kuran, typescript). The text of the paper presented under the title *Miejsca wspólne oracji pobudkowych w dawnej epice bohaterskiej* during the conference "Miejsca wspólne literatury staropolskiej i oświeceniowej" organised by the University of Szczecin in Szczecin–Pobierowo on 6–7 November 2006 and under the current title during the habilitation colloquium at the University of Łódź on 14 June 2013. See also: Kuran (2005, pp. 285–324).

wants to analyse the entirety of this phenomenon, with all its wealth and diversity. Exhortation, which can be defined as a flexible collection of *topoi*, appears in works belonging to different literary genres, as well as different spheres of old culture and contemporary works. What is more, it is continuously being used by various circles – from political, through military, to monastic circles, as well as parenetic ones. Excitors are present in occasional literature (secular and religious), as well as political oration. All these works are linked by a tendency resulting from belonging to the *genus deliberativum*, with strongly persuasive *suasio*.

One could identify the following areas of functioning of the exhortation:

- theory,
- chronicles and diaries, as a record of historical events,
- epics (with *topoi* employed to their fullest),
- oration (political, parliamentary),
- lyrical works (Jan Kochanowski, Sarbiewski, Gawiński) (Chemperek, 2005, pp. 194–207),
- political journalism in verse (Strykowski's *Goniec cnoty*, Klonowic's *Pożar*, Paszkowski's *Ukraina od Tatar utrapiona*, *Posilek Bellony saurumackiej*, etc.),
- preaching (political and knightly, moral, funereal),¹²
- as an educational sermon addressed to the military community (Skarga, *Pobudka czasu wojny...*),¹³
- (encouragement) as a speech to a person joining a religious congregation – cf.: Kuran (2014, pp. 269–291), Gwioździk (2015, pp. 340–341, 360), Słomak (2017, p. 76),
- as works with an educational message – *paideia* (Jan Kochanowski's *Jezda do Moskwy*, Twardowski's *Pobudka cnoty*),
- religious, encouraging devotion to God and zeal in one's faith (meditative poetry and prose, for example, *Ekscytarz duszny albo przestrogi chrześcijańskie do życia w każdym stanie* [*The Soulful Excitement or Christian Admonitions for Life in All States*] by Francis de Aquila, translated by Szymon Wysocki SJ in 1608, *Wojsko serdecznych afektów* [*An Army of Cordial Affects*] by Hieronim Fałęcki (Słomak, 2017, pp. 24–31) from 1739).

Can exhortation be considered a separate literary genre? Sajkowski believes that “calls belong to the category of occasional political literature” (Sajkowski, 1966, p. 142), he also states that they may serve the role of pieces encouraging one

¹² In the case of knightly preaching, it refers to the religious variant of the leader's speech in front of his soldiers.

¹³ Cf. Herman (1983, pp. 57–70) chapter *Przedbitewne pobudki*.

to improve their life – this, of course, concerns the *protrepticus*. The scholar notes that in the 17th century, excitors adopted new elements from various other literary genres, such as satire, but also cites the example of Witkowski's *Pobudka ludzi ry-cerskich* as an example of an atypical, hybrid structure, noting its overcomplication (Sajkowski, 1966, pp. 144–145). Ultimately, by pointing out the character of a song, the author identifies the structure of a typical call, which carries on the melic tradition of *Wieczna sromota i nienagrodzona...* [*Eternal Disgrace an Unpaid...*], and thus seems to consider it a separate literary genre (Sajkowski, 1966, p. 145). Kuczyńska, on the other hand, despite conducting her research based on a slightly different body of source texts, decided that works with *pobudka* in the title share features such as composition and style, which mean that they constitute a literary genre not codified by historical poetics (Kuczyńska, 1980, p. 89). According to Krzywy, a wartime call is one of the varieties of the *protrepticus*, which can be linked to an almost unchanging and regular set of topoi (Krzywy, 2012, pp. 19–20). Analysing various models of calls, researchers tend not to answer this question directly.

The distinguishing features of an exhortation definitely include belonging to (1) the *suasio* variety of *genus deliberativum*, (2) a strong persuasive nature, aimed at convincing the leader or listener to take a certain action, adopt the desired attitude or enrich their personality with the expected features, (3) a particular communication situation, as well as (4) a form or tone of an oration or similar; along with (5) a set of topoi (usually exhortations constitute speeches, thanks to which they can be extracted from larger forms [epics, diaries, chronicles] if they exist within their frameworks). It seems that the given set of characteristics, with all the dynamics and diversity of the exhortation, makes it possible to consider it a separate literary genre. According to the definition of a genre, it can exist when we are dealing with “a kind of social contract and a system of external pressure, which determines the effectiveness of literary communication between individual »users« of the genre: the senders and recipients of specific literary works” [“rodzajem umowy społecznej i systemem zewnętrznego nacisku, warunkującym skuteczność komunikacji literackiej między poszczególnymi »użytkownikami« gatunku: nadawcami i odbiorcami konkretnych utworów literackich”], as Teresa Michałowska (1998, p. 285) put it; at the same time, however, it needs to “exist in the form of a bundle of [literary] norms in social consciousness” [“istnieje on w postaci wiązki norm [literackich] w społecznej świadomości”] (Michałowska, 1998, p. 284), which means that it can serve as an intermediary, a system of symbols “between a general system of literature and a specific work, functioning as a paradigm of a class of works” [“między ogólnym systemem literatury i konkretnym utworem, funkcjonującym jako paradygmat klasy utworów”] (Michałowska, 1998, p. 285). In the case of the exhortation, this kind of a structural axis (Michałowska, 1998, p. 286) is formed

by the aforementioned strong persuasive nature, aimed at convincing the recipient to do something, in the form of an oration or a related one, while a group of topoi may be associated with a genre variety (a wartime call, call to nurture virtue, including, for example, devotion).

Is it possible to identify the set of exhortation topoi common to all areas of their functioning? It is certainly possible for heroic epics and any place where the speech of the leader in front of the army is referred to in the form of *sermocinatio* (historiography, diaries). This shared feature concerns to some extent poetry and political oration, in so far as they relate to war and serve as an encouragement to fight in it. Another set of topoi in the form of arguments can be found in moral and educational works, such as camp sermons, as well as words of encouragement to live a pious life for those who join religious congregations, as well as in works that encourage listeners to nurture a particular set of virtues. Therefore, the arguments applicable to wartime exhortation does not apply to exhortations focused on virtue, religious life, the prayer attitude of knighthood, as well as any other ethical encouragement.

Draft plan of the future monograph and issues that it will cover. The issues, which require further exploration and clarification include:

1. The way the exhortation functions in rhetorical theory with its definitions and its topoi, along with examples of model implementations.
2. Determining whether exhortation is indeed a separate literary genre, a set of works/texts bearing similar characteristics, or – more generally speaking – a form or trend of expression with a strongly persuasive character, intended to persuade the recipient to take a specific action or adopt an expected attitude.
3. Indicating the formal areas in which it functions. It is already known that it can appear as lyrical poetry and as an element of a larger epic form. In prose, it can be used in political or religious oration, as well as sermons, meditation, etc.
4. Establishing a preliminary set of texts, which can be considered to be exhortations, which function independently in terms of content and printing, as well as those that do not meet these criteria (parts of larger epics), as well as those, which are independent in terms of their content, but are not independent in terms of printing (sermons in a collection, a separate part of a multifaceted piece).
5. Characteristics of the topoi of exhortations, taking into account its variability resulting from the situational context, yet capturing certain common groups, with identification of separate sets.

CONCLUSIONS

The exhortation appears to be a genre that remains very close to the cultural reality of particular strata of the old Polish society. It was present on the battlefields, resounded in temples, could be encountered in schools and monasteries, taking part in building patterns of behaviour based on parenetic and shaping attitudes. Exhortation remains one of the key genres which shaped the genological communication reality of the Old Polish era. In the case of the exhortation, we see the clash of two realities – the real one, in which a person actually lives, and the literary one, which is the result of artistic creation. The second seeks to influence the former.

Translated into English: Lingua Lab

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