

Polish old printings dedicated to the Uniate bishop and metropolitan Atanazy Szeptycki (1715-1746) in the light of Uniate moral theology¹

Panegyric printings were a widespread cultural practice of the 18th century². Krzysztof Obremski proposed to distinguish panegyrics dedicated to bishops as a distinct direction of panegyric literature³. In this article, I would like to present the case of Polish and Latin panegyric printings of the 18th century with dedication to the Uniate bishop of Lviv eparchy and metropolitan Atanazy Szeptycki. These printed narratives are not only an example of popular literary practice of praise, but also an interesting phenomenon of Polish-Ruthenian baroque cultural borderland. Its authors created a unique image of an ideal shepherd of the 18th century Ruthenian Uniate Church, and incorporated it to the Polish Sarmatian discourse.

Despite the fact that in some aspects of rhetorical rules panegyric praise of Atanazy corresponds with panegyric poems written in „Slavia Orthodoxa” space, it was a different cultural phenomenon. This praise was a specific manifestation of a new cultural space in Ruthenian lands, which Ukrainian historiography denotes as „Slavia Unita”⁴. It emerged after the Union of Brest (1596) and has reached its crucial point of formation in the 18th century. Atanazy, the praised hero of panegyric narration, played a crucial role in the process of its confessional strengthening during the 18th century. In other words, he managed formation of new cultural and religious identity in Ruthenian lands⁵. Decrees of the 18th century Church Councils held in Lviv eparchy and decrees of Zamość coun-

¹ This article is a revised version of my earlier article: Ю. Тат'яніна, *Бароківі панегірики Атанасію Шептицькому в контексті релігійної культури першої половини XVIII століття: автори і контексти створення*, [in:] *Україна: культурна спадщина, національна свідомість, державність*, Львів 2013, Vol. 23, pp. 150-163.

² *Katalog panegiryków i kazań z dedykacjami*. 1: Gabinet Księgarsko-Antykwarski Cezarego Wilanowskiego w Warszawie, ulica Bracka nr 7, Warszawa 1884; *Bibliografia polskich druków lwowskich XVI-XVIII wieku*, [preface by R. Kotula], Lwów 1928.

³ K. Obremski, *Panegiryk biskupi Prus Królewskich? Biskupi Chełmińscy Stanisław Hozjusz i Kazimierz Jan Opaliński*, [in:] *Panegiryk jako element życia literackiego doby staropolskiej i oświeceniowej*, ed. by M. Sulejewicz-Nowicka, Z. Gruszka, Łódź 2013, pp. 79-94.

⁴ I. Skoczylas, *Sobory eparchii chełmskiej XVII wieku. Program religijny Slavia Unita w Rzeczypospolitej*, Lublin 2008; idem, *Slavia Unita: the Cultural and Religious Model of the Archdiocese of Kiev in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (the Discussion on Christian Heritage on the Nations of Eastern Europe)*, [in:] *East-Central Europe in European History: Themes and Debates*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, H. Łaskiewicz, Lublin 2009, pp. 243-254.

⁵ There is an open historiographical discussion whether Uniate religious identity was a stable one. M. Yaremenko in his investigation shows that many people from Uniate families denied their religious identity in search of career success in the 18th century Russian empire. For more information look: М. Яременко, *Річпосполитська шляхта у Києво-Могилянській академії XVIII ст.*, „Соціум. Альманах Соціальної Історії” 2010, Vol. 9, pp. 37-55.

cil (1720) highlight this process through instructions on behavior of priests and bishops, liturgical books, parish life⁶. Panegyrics written for Atanazy are deeply rooted in „Slavia Unita” cultural and confessional space. They represent the essence of this cultural and confessional model through the personality of A. Szeptycki.

There are several panegyric printings with a direct dedication to A. Szeptycki⁷. Different panegyric situations caused the appearance of them. In 1716⁸ and 1721⁹ were printed several panegyrics written by Józef Narolski with a dedication to A. Szeptycki as the newly consecrated bishop of Uniate Lviv eparchy. From the titles of these panegyrics we know that Narolski was a preacher of the St. Jura cathedral in Lviv. In addition, he was an author of the widespread treatise on moral theology printed twice in the 18th century (1777 and 1791) in Vilnius¹⁰. His panegyric texts were composed according to common rhetorical rules with a diversity of common rhetorical places or *topoi*. J. Narolski described young Atanazy, his later success in studying because of natural talents, and personal virtues that lead him to career inside the Uniate church. Biographical part of these texts has generalizing character without specific details. On the back of the cover page in both panegyric printings, there is an image of Szeptycki coat of arms and heraldic poetry.

In 1716 was printed *Meta infulati...*¹¹ It has a foreword and two parts in Latin and Polish languages. Its title describes metaphoric *meta honoris* or the top of immortal fame. Later in the text, we read that A. Szeptycki achieved this top because of his family „horse-shoe, arrow and cross” (allusion to the image of Szeptycki coat of arms). In the foreword to this panegyric, J. Narolski used a classical topos of modest author-panegyrist, and stated that to praise Atanazy is his obligation. He wrote that to immortalize Atanazy with his printed text is the least he could do for the newly consecrated bishop.

The first part of above-mentioned panegyric is a lamentation for recently passed away Varlaam Szeptycki, a previous bishop of the Lviv Uniate eparchy. Atanazy is presented as a new captain on the ship who must lead orphaned the Uniate Church through tumultuous sea. J. Narolski has no doubt in success of Atanazy because of his blood relation to Varlaam, who

⁶ *Собори Львівської єпархії XVI-XVIII століть*, [ed. by I. Скочильяс], Львів 2006, pp. 290-354. I. Скочильяс, *Галицька (Львівська) єпархія XII-XVIII століть: організаційна структура та правовий статус*, Львів 2010, pp. 616-640.

⁷ Ю. Тат'яніна, *Барокові панегірики...*, op. cit.

⁸ J. Narolski, *Meta infulati honoris Illustrissimo Athanasio Szeptycki, Episcopo Leopoliensi, demonstrata. Inter triumphalem Gloriosissimae in Caelum Assumptionis Virginis Deiparae pompam. Tum Latino, tum Polonico idiomate votiva panegyri, per Joannem Narolski, Theologum Consummatum ... anno 1716 Mense Augusto Die...*, Leopoli: typis Confraternis SSS. Trinitatis, [1716]. Hieronim Łopaciński Voivodship Public Library in Lublin (Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna im. Hieronima Łopacińskiego w Lublinie. Dział starych druków), sign. P-18-f-373-5; E.XXIII.43; Я. Запаско, Я. Ісаєвич, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва. Каталог стародруків виданих на Україні*. К. 2, Ч. I: (1701-1764), Львів 1984, № 919.

⁹ J. Narolski, *Sława niesmiertelność znaczącego imienia JX. JMci Oycu Athanazemu Szeptyckiemu, z łaski Boskiej, y Stolicy Apost. Episcopowi Lwowski. Halickiemu, y Kamienca podolsk., Archimandrycie Uniowskiemu w herbowych krzyża, podkowu y strzały ozdobach, a przy szczęśliwym do katedry Kamienca podolsk. ingressie, y seymiku na tenecz synów koronnych agituującym się publicznym kazaniem przez O. Iózefa Narolskiego, O. D. B. M. kaznodzieie Episkopsk. y katedr. Lwosk. w r. p. 1718 ogłoszona a teraz przy doroczney patrona iego, Athanazego S. rewolucyey inter festivos gratularios applausus ponowiona roku w którym przedwieczne słowo swiatu sławę ogłosiło 1721 mense Majo, die 22*, W Lwowie: w drukarni Brackiey SS. Troycy, r 1721. Lviv National Vasyl Stefanyk Scientific Library of Ukraine. Rare books department – LNSL. Rbd (Львівська національна наукова бібліотека ім. В.Я. Стефаніка, відділ рідкісної книги – ЛННБ), sign. Ст. 5544; E.XXIII.43; Я. Запаско, Я. Ісаєвич, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва...*, № 994.

¹⁰ E.XXIII.43.

¹¹ J. Narolski, *Meta...*, op. cit.

proved himself as a good administrator. A rumor about possible appointment of Atanazy for administrating orphaned Uniate Lviv eparchy made people happy just because Varlaam was his uncle. Nevertheless, most of this panegyric text is dedicated to military merits of the Szeptycki family and allusion to ancient heroic acts of bravery. It seems that the main goal for Narolski was to convince a reader in loyalty of the Szeptycki family to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

In 1721 was printed a quite different panegyric praise written again by Narolski on the occasion of Atanazy arrival to the cathedral in Kamianets-Podilskiy *Śława ... Athanazemu Szeptyckiemu...*¹² Sarmatian discourse is a secondary theme in this panegyric piece. This panegyric is a specific instruction with examples of how should behave an ideal bishop. J. Narolski describes virtues of an ideal shepherd based on the 18th century Uniate moral theology. Dorota Wereda in her monograph about Uniate bishops mentioned both panegyrics of Narolski as additional sources for her investigation¹³. In her opinion, these panegyrics were used as a tool for emphasizing the noble status of the Szeptycki family. However, the case of *Śława ... Athanazemu Szeptyckiemu...* allows us to see a new level of interpretation. This panegyric gives us an understanding of how Uniate theologian imagined a personality of ideal Uniate bishop.

The main theme in the panegyric praise of 1721 are theological and cardinal virtues of an ideal shepherd. Panegyric narration starts with allusion to the biblical image of an ideal shepherd who cares about his every single sheep, and leads his flock away to the „blessed land”. This ideal shepherd must know in face his every single sheep, and speak in a kind voice to flock:

Witay tego, który cię nawiedza, a z niebezpiecznych mieysc zaprowadzi do ziemię szczęśliwey. Więc ieszcze y takiego nam tu pasterza witać potrzeba, który owieczkom będzie miły, y ktorego głosu z osobliwszą attencyą będą słuchały. W twoiey ia osobie iasnie wielmożny infulacie tego niebieskiego upatruię pasterza, bo wszelkie iego w tobie widzę qualitates¹⁴.

Ideal shepherd should have cardinal virtues, which were a central theme of 1721 panegyric narrative (justice, prudence, generosity and mercy):

Więc masz się dzisiay z czego weselić owczarnio Chrystusowa, gdy ci ten pasterz miłość, sprawiedliwość, y szczerobliwość przy herbownych swoich kleynotach, wesoło z praizenicyą swoią przynosi¹⁵.

J. Narolski highlights that just judge is the one who does not pay attention to social status of people in court:

Bo coź to iest proszę sędzia sprawiedliwy? iest to pospolite dobro, które się in aequalitate ma udzielać tak Panu, iako y ubogiemu. Nie potrzeba uważać, kto znaczniejszy, kto potężniejszy, ale kto gorszy, y winniejszy¹⁶.

In style of the baroque panegyric literature, J. Narolski along with allusion to Jesus as an ideal shepherd cites ancient philosophers:

¹² J. Narolski, *Śława...*, op. cit.

¹³ D. Wereda, *Biskupi unickiej metropolii kijowskiej w XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2013.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 4.

¹⁵ Ibidem.

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 6.

Kto jest sprawiedliwym, należy mu być miłosiernym, szczodrym y łaskawym. Doszedł tey prawdy Pythagoras filozof, gdy pytającym się, iakimby ludzie sposobem być mogli Bogu podobni? Odpowiedział: Si veritatem amplecterentur, & cunctis benefacerent. Gdyby sprawiedliwość kochali, y wszystkim dobrze czynili. Dwie cnoty mądry filozof kombinuie, iakoby iedna bez drugiey być nie może¹⁷.

In relation to virtues of generosity and mercy author of panegyric used an example of the Persian king Cyrus who presented all his luxurious clothes to his friends:

Cyrusowi Perskiemu, gdy drogie ofiarowano szaty, wszystkie rozdał przyjacioło[m], którego kiedy pytno, czemu by sobie niezostawił? Odpowiedział: Bo niemogłbym się w te wszystkie przybrać, a przyjacioł moich widząc w nie przybranych, za nawiększe sobie, niby własną moję ozdobę będą rozumiał¹⁸.

Along with cardinal virtues, there is a discourse of theological virtues that J. Narolski had not described in details. In panegyric 1716 three theological virtues (spes, fides, and caritas) were mentioned in relation to B. Szeptycki. Narolski was sure that Atanazy also has these three theological virtues because of the blood connection with Varlaam, who was his uncle¹⁹. In the panegyric printed in 1721 these virtues are also briefly mentioned:

Oto trzy cnoty theologiczne: fides, spes, & charitas. Wiara, nadzieia, y miłość, y tych augmenta, tudziesz remissio peccatorum odpuszczenie grechow, illuminationes intellectus, oświecenia rozumu, y inne bona opera, dobre uczynki, na ostatek aeterna vita, wieczny żywot²⁰.

In my opinion, we can trace a connection between this discourse of cardinal and theological virtues and Uniate moral theology. Inside the treatise on moral theology written by J. Narolski there is a detailed definition of theological and cardinal virtues²¹:

Te trzy cnoty: wiara, nadzieja i miłość nazywają się teologicznymi dla tego, że Boga samego za najpierwszy cel mają [²²]. Nadzieja jest cnota teologiczna, przez którą pewnie spodziewaiemy się błogosławioney wieczności za pomocą Bożą i zasługami zbawiciela naszego [²³]. Miłość Boska jest cnota przez którą Pana Boga kochamy dla większey i nieskończoney natury Jego Boskiey doskonałości, a bliźniego dla Boga [²⁴].

Cnoty kardynalne czyli przednieysze których czastkami są inne nazywają się moralnymi, że naybliżej ściągają się do obyczaiow ludzkich, one prostuia, i mających ię czynią chwalebnyimi u Boga, i u ludzi²⁵.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 8.

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 9.

¹⁹ J. Narolski, *Meta infulati*, op. cit.

²⁰ J. Narolski, *Sława...*, p. 5.

²¹ *Teologia moralna albo do obyczaiow ściągająca się przez X. Józefa Narolskiego Z. S. Bazylego W. S. Th. D. i jej niegdyś profesora zebrana, na dwie części podzielona, a teraz potrzebnymi na wielu miejscach do pierwszey części przydatkami od autora pomnożona drugi raz z rozkazu Zwierzchności do druku podana...*, w Wilnie: w drukarni X. X. Bazyljanów, 1791. P. 1 – see LNSL. Rbd, sign. Cr. 23599; E.XXIII.43.

²² Ibidem, P. 1, p. 39.

²³ Ibidem, p. 44.

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 216.

Cardinal virtues rise to secular dimension²⁶. Prudence means comprehensive analysis of situation and acting according to law. He distinguishes personal and social prudence (economic, political, military). In passages about justice he describes how a judge should act in a secular court. Courage means to overcome fear. Abstinence means abandoning luxury and physical desires.

The discourse of cardinal virtues appeared later in another panegyric piece dedicated to Atanazy. Moyse Bogaczewski left us a detailed (printed in 1747) description of funeral ceremony held in St. Jura cathedral in Lviv. This text describes *castrum doloris* and numerous epitaphs on the columns and different church decorations. In this case, Sarmatian discourse and theme of ideal shepherd seems to be in balance. From this text we know that discourse of cardinal virtues became a visual part of the funeral ceremony held for Atanazy. M. Bogaczewski described four gold-plated statues designating the four cardinal virtues (prudence, justice, abstinence, courage), each with its own quotation from the Bible. They were standing in corners around the pedestal with a coffin:

Prudentia, cum inscriptione: Dedit ei Dominus sapientiam & prudentia[m] multam 3 Reg 4:29.
Justitia cum inscriptione: Annunciabunt Caeli justitiam eius Psal. 21
Temperantia cum inscriptione: In scientia abstinentiam, in abstinentia autem patientiam, in patientia pietatem 2 Petr. 1.
Fortitudo cum inscriptione: factus est fortitudo, fortitudo in tribulatione Esaiae 25²⁷.

The case of interconnection between Uniate moral theology and panegyric narrative needs further investigation. The panegyric printed in 1721 is a unique text with a specific image of an ideal virtuous shepherd. I suppose that Uniate moral theology inspired this panegyric elaboration. J. Narolski and his panegyrics left us a clear evidence of intellectual ideas of the 18th century Uniate theologians. The open question for further research is to what extent this Uniate image of ideal bishop was a unique one. Texts of panegyrics from „Slavia Orthodoxa” space does not contain a similar image of virtuous shepherd with the same set of moral virtues. Remarkably, the panegyric printed in 1763 with a dedication to the Uniate bishop of Przemyśl, the other Athanasij Szeptycki, does not contain the discourse of virtuous shepherd anymore²⁸. Hence, we can suppose that panegyric texts discussed in this article illustrate a unique application of Uniate moral theology in panegyric text as a unique example of textual embodiment of culture rooted in „Slavia Unita” space.

Summary

Panegyrics dedicated to the 18th century Uniate bishops and metropolitans represent specific Polish-Ukrainian cultural borderland of that time. From the one hand, bishops represent famous Polish (Sarmatian) families, from the other: as shepherds of the Uniate

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 217-219.

²⁷ *Via aeternitatis per januam mortis patefacta avitae soleae pie defuncti illustrissimi excellentissimi reverendissimi domini, D. Athanasii in Szeptyce Szeptycki Dei, & Saeae Sedis Apostolicae Gratia, archi-episcopi Kijowiensis, metropolitae totius Russiae, episcopi Leopoliensis, Haliciensis, Kamencensis, &c. Abbatis Kijowo-Peczariensis; Uniowiensis, &c. Eundem ad finem ultimum cum funebri pompa deducens. Leopoli, anno 1747. Die 19. Januarii. 1747, Leopoli: [s. n.], [19 I] 1747, p. 13. LNSL. Rbd., Sign. Cr. 33352.*

²⁸ *Via per omnem Campum Honorum summorum Virtutum ac Meritorum protrita ... pastoribus Szeptyccianis ampliata ... et Athanasio ... Szeptycki ... perta...*, [Почајовія]: Типис С. Р. М. Monasterii Почајовиенсис О. С. В. М., 1763. LNSL. Rbd., Sign. Cr. 82116; Я. Запаско, Я. Ісаєвич, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва...*, № 2318.

church. Authors of these literary works were well-educated people. Panegyrics in honour of Atanazy Szeptycki (1715-1746), the Lviv Uniate bishop, were written by well-known theologians and a sermon author Józef Narolski. These panegyrics were written according to common rhetorical rules (common themes or toposes, like an immortal fame, a good shepherd, a nobile family, virtues, humility). Typical way of narration about a famous person (history of a family, birth, teaching, death) under an influence of Uniate moral theology led to creation of an unique picture of the Uniate bishop of the 18th century.

Key words: panegyric – baroque – Józef Narolski – Atanazy Szeptycki – Uniate bishop – Uniate church – 18th century – Slavia Unita – Uniate moral theology.

Streszczenie

Polskojęzyczne starodruki dedykowane biskupowi i metropolicie unickiemu Atanazemu Szeptyckiemu (1715-1746) w świetle Unickiej teologii moralnej

Panegiryki dedykowane biskupom unickim są ciekawymi przykładami dzieł polsko-ukraińskiego pogranicza kulturowego w XVIII w. Z jednej strony biskupi są prezentowani w nich jako należący do polskiego sarmackiego świata, z drugiej – jako pasterze unickiej cerkwi. Autorzy tych panegiryków byli dobrze wykształceni. Teksty pochwalne na cześć biskupa lwowskiego oraz metropolity unickiego Atanazego Szeptyckiego (1715-1746) stworzyli np. znani autorzy kazań, teolodzy, w tym Józef Narolski. Panegiryki poświęcone A. Szeptyckiemu napisano zgodnie z regułami retoryki, przy użyciu toposów: nieśmiertelnej sławy, pasterza, rodziny, cnót, skromności autora. Typowy sposób opowiadania o znanej osobie (historia rodziny, narodzenie, nauczanie, śmierć) w połączeniu z teologią moralną Cerkwi unickiej pozwalał zarysować oryginalny obraz unickiego biskupa z XVIII w.

Słowa kluczowe: panegiryk – barok – Józef Narolski – Atanazy Szeptycki – biskup unicki – cerkiew unicka – XVIII w. – Slavia Unita – moralna teologia unicka.