Roland Desmarests' Aloisiae Gonzagae ad Ladislaum Poloniae Regem sponsum proficiscentis propempticum. A Contribution to the History of Polish-French Cultural Links in the 17th Century

Abstract

Roland Desmarests (1594-1653), a brother of the better-known Jean Desmarests de Saint-Sorlin, placed a Latin poem dedicated to the French princess Marie Louise Gonzaga de Nevers in his *Epistolarum Philologicarum Libri Duo* (Philological Letters, 1655). The princess (who was the future wife of two Polish kings, Władysław IV Vasa and John II Casimir) was about to leave France for far away and exotic Poland. The aim of the article is to analyze the poem and to publish it.

Keywords

Desmarests Roland; neolatin poetry; Polish-French Cultural Links



In a recent essay on Polish-French cultural links in the early modern period, François Rosset wrote:

How many "Polish" works can be found in 17th and 18th century French literature? No one can reasonably answer this question. Even if we confine ourselves to prose and drama where Poland or Poles are mentioned directly, counting all such texts is virtually impossible. Some of them may have never been published, or could be printed as occasional poems, and may remain undiscovered in library catalogues or reference lists. When it comes to poetry, counting the works with Polish accents can be even more troublesome. Many such texts have been discovered thanks to the pioneering publication by Jan Lorentowicz, who made an extraordinarily intensive survey [...]. Nonetheless, we know that the list of the publications in question remains open-ended¹.

Both the question posed above and the answer provided by the quoted author are justified. It can be effectively demonstrated by Roland Desmarests' Latin poem, composed to commemorate the wedding of the French Princess Marie Louise Gonzaga de Nevers and the Polish King Ladislaus (Władysław) IV Vasa. To the best of my knowledge, the poem is not reported in any research concerning Polish-French literary relationships, starting from the monumental bibliography by Jan Lorentowicz and ending with the relatively recent anthology of texts in which French authors discuss Poland and Poles in the time-span from the 14th until the early 20th century². For this very reason Desmarests'

¹ F. Rosset, *Polskość we francuskich fikcjach epoki baroku*, in M. Hanusiewicz-Lavallee (ed.), W przestrzeni południa. Kultura Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej wobec narodów romańskich: estetyka, prądy i style, konteksty kulturowe, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2016, pp. 260-261.

² Cf. A. Mansuy, Le monde slave et les classiques français aux XVI^e-XVII^e siècles, Champion, Paris 1912; J. Lorentowicz (avec la collaboration de A. M. Chmurski), La Pologne en France. Essai d'une bibliographie raisonnée, voll. 1-3, Institut d'Études Slaves de l'Université de Paris, Paris 1935-1941; Z. Libiszowska, Certains aspects des rapports entre la France et la Pologne au XVIIe siècle, PWN, Warszawa 1964; J. Sokołowska, Literatura staropolska a literatura francuska do połowy XVIII wieku. Perspektywy nieco innej syntezy: propozycje i sugestie, in T. Michałowska, J. Ślaski (eds.), Literatura staropolska w kontekście europejskim (Związki i analogie), Ossolineum, Wrocław 1977, pp. 77-89; Z. Markiewicz, Polsko-francuskie związki literackie, PWN, Warszawa 1986; F. Rosset, L'arbre de Cracovie. Le mythe polonais dans la littérature française, Imago, Paris 1996 (Polish version: Drzewo Kraków. Mit Polski w literaturze francuskiej 1573-1896, Znak, Kraków 1997); J. Sokołowska, Francusko--polskie zwigzki literackie, in T. Michałowska (ed.), Słownik literatury staropolskiej. Średniowiecze. Renesans. Barok, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1998, pp. 265-269; M. Serwański, Staropolskie tradycje kontaktów z Francją – związki serca czy rozsądku, Instytut Historii UAM, Poznań 2009; W.M. Malinowski, J. Styczyński, La Pologne et les Polonais dans la littérature française (XIV^e-XIX^e siècles), L'Harmattan, Paris 2008 (Polish version: Polska i Polacy w literaturze francuskiej (XIV-XIX w.), Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań 2016); D. Półćwiartek-Dremierre, Niebezpieczeństwa "galanterii", czyli wpływy francuskie a przemiany w mentalności i kulturze intelektualnej Rzeczypospolitej XVII wieku, in Hanusiewicz-Lavallee (ed.), W przestrzeni południa, cit., pp. 291-348.

poem deserves discussion, the more that the corpus collected so far of occasional poems related to Poland in old French literature is not as extensive as one might be tempted to think³.

It is a well-known fact that the successive waves of interest and disinterest in Poland and Poles among French writers under the ancien régime strictly correlate with the diplomatic relations between the two states and the attempts at political rapprochement, take for example attempts to establish a French candidate on the Polish throne, or the many other similar dynastic manoeuvres. Nothing shows it more clearly than the election of Henry III (Valois) to the Polish throne that was said to have "mobilized the whole throng of French poets and writers"4. The best-known of them (at least to the Polish readers) was Philippe Desportes (1546-1606), who authored a spiteful pamphlet L'Adieu à la Pologne (Farewell to Poland), responded to by both an anonymous Polish author of the text entitled Odpowiedź przez Polaka wszetecznemu Francuzowi (A Pole's Response to the Lecherous Frenchman), and by Jan Kochanowski in his Latin poem Gallo crocitanti⁵. Desportes' pamphlet contributed to the negative image of Poland and Poles among the French. Yet, he was not the only writer to be inspired by the election of the French king to the Polish throne, and intrigued by the distant and somewhat exotic country. Not all of these authors held as negative a view of Poland as Desportes, yet most of them - unlike Desportes - never saw Poland with their own eyes. Nevertheless, the commotion resulting from the arrival of the Polish envoys to France and then from the successful election of Henry III as King of Poland is confirmed by Jean Choisnin's report (ca 1530-ca 1580)6, by Jacques Auguste de Thou's (1553-1617) Historiae sui temporis (1620)7,

³ Rosset (*Polskość*, cit., pp. 262-263) writes about 30 such texts.

Malinowski, Styczyński, Polska, cit., p. 17. See also: Mansuy, op. cit., pp. 63-93 ("Henri Ier de Valois, Roi de Pologne et ses chroniqueurs classiques"); Rosset, Drzewo Kraków, cit., pp. 17-42; M. Serwański, Henryk III Walezy w Polsce. Stosunki polsko-francuskie w latach 1566-1576, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1976; J. Boucher, L'opinion française et le bref règne polonais de Henri III, in F. Lavocat (ed.), La France et la Pologne: histoire, mythes, représentations, Presses Universitaires de Lyon, Lyon 2000, pp. 81-98.

⁵ S. Kot, Adieu à la Pologne, in "Silva Rerum", n. 4/7, 1930, pp. 49-75; W. Weintraub, Kochanowski versus Desportes. A Sixteenth-Century French-Polish Poetic Duel, in W. E. Harkins (ed.), Symbolae in honorem Georgii Y. Shevelov, Universitas Libera Ucrainensis, München 1971, pp. 463-473 (Polish version: Poetycki pojedynek z Desportes'em, in Id., Rzecz czarnoleska, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1977, pp. 358-374); Z. Głombiowska, "Tere de France, mult estes dulz pais". Jana Kochanowskiego spotkania z Francją, in Ead., W poszukiwaniu znaczeń. O poezji Jana Kochanowskiego, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdańsk 2001, pp. 74-93; R. Finnin, Attendants to the Duel: Classical Intertexts in Philippe Desportes's "Adieu à la Pologne" and Jan Kochanowski's "Gallo Crocitanti", in "Comparative Literature Studies", n. 44/4, 2007, pp. 458-483; D. Półćwiartek-Dremierre, Pierwsze polsko-francuskie rendez-vous kultur. Polski epizod Henryka Walezego, in "Roczniki Humanistyczne", n. 63/1, 2015, pp. 205-222.

⁶ J. Choisnin, *Discours au vray, de tout ce qui s'est faict & passé pour l'entière négociation de l'élection du Roy de Polongne, divisé en trous livres*, Nicolas Chesneau, Paris 1574. Cf. Id., *Elekcja Henryka Walezego*, in J. Gintel (ed.), *Cudzoziemcy o Polsce. Relacje i opinie*, vol. 1, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1971, pp. 156-161.

⁷ Cf. J. August de Thou, *O przyjęciu w Paryżu posłów polskich*, in Gintel (ed.), op. cit., pp. 162-166.

and a series of poetic works of such authors as: Pierre Ronsard (1524-1585), Claude Binet (ca 1553-ca 1600), Agrippa d'Aubigné (1552-1630) or Jean de la Gessée (1551-1596)⁸.

As everyone knows, Henry III's Polish reign did not last long and ended with his memorable fleeing to France in June 1574. Yet, the royal escape did not put an end to the French interest in Poland, as reflected in the accounts of French travellers who visited the country. The political idea of a Polish-French alliance was not abandoned either, since the French were still seeking a means to counterbalance the Habsburgs' rise to power. In the late period of the reign of Sigismund III Vasa, the first and initially futile attempts were made to make his son, Prince Ladislaus, marry a French princess. The idea was revisited almost a decade later - in 1635 - when Cardinal Richelieu suggested to the Polish royal envoy to France, Jan Zawadzki, the Princess of Mantua, Marie Louise Gonzaga de Nevers, as the best candidate for Ladislaus' IV wife. This time the project failed as well, as the young king married Cecilia Renata, a daughter of Emperor Ferdinand II. However, as soon as she died, the idea of Ladislaus' marriage to Marie Louise re-emerged. On 17 July 1645, an extraordinary French envoy Nicolas Flecelles de Bregy signed a preliminary marriage agreement in Warsaw. Three months later, on 25 October 1645, a splendid Polish embassy entered Paris to witness the grandeur of the proxy marriage ceremony that was to take place on 5 November. Later that year. the 35-year-old bride Marie Louise left Paris for a long journey to Poland. On 10 March 1646, the actual wedding of Ladislaus and Marie Louise took place in Warsaw, and on 15 July 1646, she was crowned as Queen in the Cracow Wawel Cathedral. It was the beginning of her over two decades lasting royal reign, at first as a wife of Ladislaus IV, and then - from 30 May 1649 - his younger brother John Casimir¹⁰.

Marie Louises' remarkable personality and the Queen's "learned court" wielded a huge impact both on the late 17th century political history of Poland and on its culture¹¹. This influence comes as no surprise, since – already as a Princess of Mantua – Marie Louise had made her name as a French dame illustre and femme savante: she had connections with the spiritual milieu of Port-Royal, was a frequent guest of the famous Parisian salon (chambre bleue)

⁸ Malinowski, Styczyński, *Polska*, cit., pp. 17-30; W. Lednicki, *Les sonnets de Jean de la Jessée sur la Pologne et sur son roi Henri de Valois*, in "Archivum Neophilologicum", n. 1, 1930, pp. 107-126.

⁹ D. Tollet, Les comptes rendus de voyages et commentaires des Français sur la Pologne, au XVI^e siècle, auteurs et éditions, in "Revue du Nord", n. 225, 1975, pp. 133-145; R. Kamuntavičius, Memoirs of French Travellers: A Source of Lithuanian History in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century, in "Lithuanian Historical Studies", n. 3, 1998, pp. 27-48.

¹⁰ K. Waliszewski, Marya Mantuańska, królowa polska, w latach 1644-1648, in Id., Polsko-francuskie stosunki w XVII wieku. 1644-1667, Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 1889, pp. 1-61; Z. Libiszowska, Żona dwóch Wazów, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1963.

¹¹ Cf. B. Fabiani, *Warszawski dwór Ludwiki Marii*, PIW, Warszawa 1976, and especially: K. Targosz, *Uczony dwór Ludwiki Marii Gonzagi (1646-1667). Z dziejów polsko-francuskich stosunków na-ukowych*, Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, Warszawa 2015 (see also the extensive list of references herein).

of marguise de Rambouillet, and even ran her own literary salon (cabinet) in her family residence Hôtel de Nevers in Paris, where at some point she met John Casimir Vasa, who was to become her second husband¹². Marie Louise's social position explains public interest in her successive matrimonial projects, which were finally crowned by marrying a king of the distant, vast and (at the time) seemingly powerful kingdom. That interest was probably not as general as one would be tempted to imagine. For example, in his memoirs, Cardinal Retz (Jean-François Paul de Gondi, 1613-1679) only recalls the issue of the marriage ceremony of the Princess of Mantua in the context of the diplomatic dispute over the place where the ceremony was to be held¹³. Irrespective of the above, in France the marriage in question did contribute to the emergence of a significant number of literary works referring to Poland: prose and poetry written in French and Latin¹⁴. These include: Stances sur l'Entrée du Très Illustre Comte Palatin. Ambassadeur Extraordinaire du Sérénissime Roy de Pologne, à Paris, le 25 octobre 1645 (A Poem to Commemorate the Arrival in Paris on 25 October 1645 of the Illustrious Duke Voivode, Extraordinary Ambassador of His Majesty King of Poland) by René de Sainte-Espine (1610-1671), the drama Venceslas by Jean Rotrou (1609-1650), and, first and foremost, the works of Marie Louise's court poet, Marc-Antoine Girard de Saint Amant (1594-1661)¹⁵:

A great traveller and a famous bon vivant composes poems prior to his visit to Poland. In his poetry, he depicts himself as a proud Sarmatian wearing velvet and an ornate sabre at his side as well as a fur hat on a clean-shaven head; writing poems in Polish and calling himself Sentamanski. When he finally receives his very much desired invitation to the Warsaw court, he creates in his enthusiastic poems a picture of the kingdom of Sarmatians, land of milk and honey. This portrait is in stark contrast to the gloomy vision of Desportes, and even though it is not completely true, it is most probably sincere¹⁶.

When discussing French literary works inspired by the marriage of Marie Louise Gonzaga with Ladislaus IV, one cannot omit the work published in Paris in 1647, entitled *Relation du voyage de la Royne de Pologne, et du retour de Madame la Maréschalle de Guébriant, Ambassadrice extraordinaire, et Sur-Intendante de la conduitte* [...] (Report on the Voyage of the Queen of Poland and on the Return of Madame Marshal de Guébriant, Extraordinary Ambassadrice

¹² Targosz, op. cit., pp. 12-69.

¹³ Cf. Kardynał Retz, *Pamiętniki*, vol. 1, PIW, Warszawa 1981, pp. 68-74.

¹⁴ Mansuy, op. cit., pp. 131-202; Rosset, *Drzewo Kraków*, cit., pp. 43-71.

¹⁵ Malinowski, Styczyński, *Polska*, cit., pp. 35-54.

lbidem, p. 7. Cf. Mansuy, op. cit., pp. 163-202 ("Saint-Amant et Marie-Louise de Gonzague"); Rosset, *Drzewo Kraków*, cit., pp. 58-66; J. Bailbé, *Saint-Amant en Pologne*, in "Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria", n. 33, 1992, pp. 145-157; Targosz, op. cit., pp. 121-123, 329-336; F. Dumora-Mabille, *Poétique de la circonstance: la Pologne de Saint-Amant*, in Lavocat (ed.), op. cit., pp. 149-166.

and Superintendent of the Royal Retinue) by Jean Le Laboureur (1623-1675). This tripartite treatise written by an outstanding historian was not only an eyewitness account of Marie Louise's journey to Poland, but also the first French monograph on the history and political system of the Polish state. The book must have captured genuine readers' interest, since its second edition was published the following year¹⁷. Unlike Le Laboureur's work, a similar kind of report on Marie Louise's journey to Poland (Mémoire du voyage de Madame Louise Marie de Gonzague de Clève [...] et quelques remarques des choses qui lui sont arrivées dans ce pays), written by Pierre Des Noyers (1606-1693), who was the queen's long-time secretary and who chose Poland to become his homeland for good, failed to be published. His manuscript account, along with his letters, remains a valuable source for research concerning the history of Princess of Mantua as Queen of Poland¹⁸. The marriage of Marie Louise was also mentioned by Françoise de Motteville (1621-1689)¹⁹ in her memoirs and by Gédéon Tallemant des Réaux (1621-1689) in his Historiettes²⁰. In France, the public interest in the Queen of Poland and her kingdom was also stimulated by the press (which often relied on English accounts), publishing reports on the current situation in Poland.

This French wave of interest in Marie-Louise's distant kingdom is a historical and literary context for the hitherto mentioned poem composed by Roland Desmarests (Desmarests, Lat. Maresius, 1594-1653) to commemorate the princess's departure from Paris and her journey to Poland. A poem, included into one of Desmarests' undated letters²¹ to Jean-François Sarrasin (1614-1654), was composed – if to take its author's word for that – under the direct impact that the event had had on him, that is in the late 1649. However, the poem is known to have been published originally in 1650 as part of the Epistolae philologicae (Philological Letters)²², a work that turned out to be Desmarests' chef d'oeuvre.

Roland Desmarests is usually indirectly referred to in works devoted to his younger, better-recognized brother Jean Desmarests de Saint-Sorlin (1595-1676),

¹⁷ J. de Laboureur, *Relacja z podróży królowej polskiej*, in Gintel (ed.), op. cit., pp. 238-259; Rosset, Drzewo Kraków, cit., pp. 55-58; Targosz, op. cit., pp. 197-203.

¹⁸ Ibidem, pp. 194-197.

¹⁹ Mansuy, op. cit., pp. 131-162 ("Madame de Motteville et Marie-Louise de Gonzague, reigne de Pologne"); F. Motteville, Anna Austriaczka i jej dwór, Czytelnik, Warszawa 1978; Malinowski, Styczyński, Polska, cit., pp. 35-39.

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 49.

²¹ See also a mention of the "pompous" arrival of the Polish envoys to Paris and the farewell to the queen on her departure to her "Sarmatian kingdom" included in a letter of Claudius Sarravius (Claude Sarrau, 1600-1651) to Jacob Candalio, dated as of 14 November 1645, issued in Paris. Cf. C. Sarravius, Epistolae. Opus posthumum, Arausioni 1654, p. 187: "Has inter delicias pudet referre Polonorum Legatorum ingressum pompaticum, qui, novitate et magnificentia suarum vestium totiusque regii apparatus, non insuave fuere spectaculum. Serenissimam Reginam in Sarmaticum regnum suum abiturientem salutavit Ordo noster Amplissimus, totus purpuratus: ego quoque, isto habitu debita exhibui officia libentissime".

²² R. Desmarests, Aloisiae Gonzagae ad Ladislauum Poloniae Regem sponsum proficiscentis Propempticum, in Id., Epistolarum philologicarum liber primus, apud Henricum le Gras, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1650, pp. 98-100.

a poet, playwright and the first chancellor of the French Academy²³. Yet, Roland himself truly deserves a reputation and commemoration as a remarkable humanist, erudite and an outstanding expert in Latin²⁴. In 1636, he published a small collection of distichs praising famous Frenchmen whose portraits had adorned the portico of Cardinal Richelieu's palace (Palais-Cardinal)²⁵. Roland's interest in teaching manifested itself in his short epistolographic treatise on educating children: Rolandi Maresii ad Petrum Haloeum poetam et interpretem regium de puerorum in literis institutione epistola (1651). In 1653, Desmarests wrote an epicede in Latin (Rolandi Maresii in Gabrielem Naudaeum epicedion) to commemorate the death of the well-known scholar, librarian and biographer Gabriel Naudé (1600-1653). However, it seems that Desmarests' favourite literary activity - shared by many other humanists of his time, including Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637), whose legacy reaches approximately 10-14 thousand letters²⁶ - was to exchange learned epistles with his erudite acquaintances. Among Desmarests' correspondents were, first and foremost, his brother Jean, as well as Jean Chapelain, Gilles Ménage, Guy Patin, Adrien de Valois, Nicolaus Heinsius, Claude Saumaise, Denis Pétau, the already mentioned Gabriel Naudé, brothers Pierre and Jacques Dupuy, and other representatives of the respublica litteraria. They were all members of a transnational and transdenominational community of scholars, for whom epistolography constituted not only the main means of communication, but also - as Anthony Grafton phrased it - "a true circulatory system" for their thought²⁷. Desmarests' "philological letters" were written in Latin (epistolae philologicae) and printed

²³ H. G. Hall, *Richelieu's Desmarets and the Century of Louis XIV*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1990; R. Laverdure, *Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin: une poétique dans l'antichambre des modernes*, Université de Montréal, Montréal 1994; J.-C. Vuillemin, *Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin*, in L. Foisneau (ed.), *Dictionary of Seventeenth-Century French Philosophers*, Thoemmes Continuum, London-New York 2008, pp. 355-359.

²⁴Cf. P. Brun, La critique littéraire et pédagogique. Roland Desmarets, in Id., Autour du Dix-Septième siècle, Librairie Dauphinoise, Grenoble 1901, pp. 73-103; Hall, op. cit., pp. 49-51; Id., Roland Desmarets: épistolier, latiniste, féministe, in W. Leiner, P. Ronzeaud (eds.), Correspondances. Mélanges offerts à Roger Duchêne, Narr, Tübingen 1992, pp. 287-294.

²⁵R. Desmarests, *Elogia illustrium Gallorum*, *quorum imagines in tabellis depictae cernuntur in porticu Ricelianarum aedium*, [s.l.] 1646. The distichs contained here (some with small alterations) were also published with the epistle to his brother Jean in the "philological letters" of 1650. Cf. Id., *Epistolarum philologicarum liber primus*, cit., pp. 36-41. As remarked by Desmarests himself, Cardinal Richelieu had his distichs placed by the portraits in the portico of the palace: "Haec disticha iussu D<omini> Cardinalis tabulis tum inscripta, etiamnum *ibidem* visuntur" (ibidem, p. 41). Cf. B. Dorival, *Art et Politique en France au XVIIe siècle: la Galerie des hommes illustres du Palais-Cardinal*, in "Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français", 1973, pp. 43-60.

²⁶H. Jaumann, *Handbuch Gelehrtenkultur der Frühen Neuzeit*, vol. 1: *Bio-bibliographisches Repertorium*, De Gruyter, Berlin-New York 2004, p. 500; P. N. Miller, *Peiresc's Europe. Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century*, Yale University Press, New Haven-London 2000.

²⁷ A. Grafton, *A Sketch Map of a Lost Continent: The Republic of Letters*, in "Republics of Letters", n. 1/1, 2009, p. 9; W. Pawlak, "*Amicorum colloquia absentium*". *Przyjaźń i epistolografia w humanistycznej "respublica litteraria*", in P. Borek, M. Olma (eds.), *Epistolografia w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. V: *Stulecia XVI-XIX. Nowa perspektywa historycznoliteracka*, Collegium Columbinum, Kraków 2015, pp. 63-83.

originally in Paris in 1650. The expanded edition, including a second volume, was published in Paris in 1655 and then in Leipzig and Frankfurt in 1687²⁸. The epistles became the best-recognized and most-renowned work of this French homme de lettres²⁹.

On the one hand, Desmarest's *Epistolae philologicae* may be regarded as the outcome of his typically humanist, that is philological learning, rooted in Greek and Roman Antiquity, but on the other hand, they reveal his considerable interest in new trends of European thought (particularly in natural sciences)³⁰. In the already incipient "quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns" (*querelle des anciens et des modernes*) he took a moderate position. However, Maresius' slight inclination towards the Moderns manifested itself in his letter to François de La Mothe Le Vayer (1588-1672), in which he persuades his correspondent that not everything ancient deserves study, but rather only those things that are necessary and useful ("Non omnia antiqua, sed tantum necessaria ac utilia examinanda esse et ediscenda")³¹. His attitude towards Latin was also ambiguous. As one of the best Latinists of his time, professing to have only been writing in Latin, he highly valued literary works in his mother tongue, which – as he wrote in his letter to Jean-François Sarrasin – can be delightfully and efficiently used by scholars ("Patrio sermone etiam cum laude ac utiliter scribi a doctis posse")³².

Broadly understood literary issues have a prominent place in Desmarests' epistles, as mirrored in the title of the whole collection (*Epistolae philologicae*)³³. For that reason, they are considered a significant step in the history of

²⁸R. Desmarests, *Rolandi Maresii epistolarum philologicarum libri duo. Cum aliquot amicorum ad eum epistolis*, E. Martinus, Parisiis 1655 (all the subsequent passages quoted in this article have their source in this edition); Id., *Rolandi Maresii Epistolarum Philologicarum Libri II, cum aliquot amicorum ad eum, nec non aliorum Cl<arissimorum> Virorum ad alios, non dissimilis argumenti epistolis*, curante L. A. Rechenberg, Meyerus, Francofurti et Lipsiae 1687.

²⁹Cf. L. Sigaux, *Roland Desmarest "Lettres Philologiques" (1650)*, in "Res Publica Litterarum", n. 5/1, 1982, pp. 273-283. Sigaux translated the first book of letters from Latin to French, yet her translation has never been published.

³⁰Cf. Desmarests, *Rolandi Maresii epistolarum libri duo*, cit., p. 173: "[...] qui philologiae deditus, et in eiusmodi rebus multus semper fui: et optime novi eum certe doctum appellari non posse, qui postquam Graecis et Latinis literis imbutus fuerit, in cognoscendis auctoribus et in evoluenda antiquitate non multus versatus sit. Sed iis veluti fundamentis alia superstruenda esse dico, nimirum variarum artium cognitionem, sine qua illa levia videri possunt: utique his non superstitiose immorandum esse sentio".

³¹ lbidem, pp. 169-174.

³² Ibidem, p. 109: "Etsi, quoties scribo, non alio quam Latino sermone scribere soleo, tamen est mihi pergratum, cum ex nostris aliquem patria lingua recte, quod tu facis, scribentem video. Unicuique enim illam ornari, et excoli maximae est voluptati. Quod fieri nisi elegantibus, et disertis scriptis nequit [...]".

³³ Below, there is a brief list of issues discussed in the letters: "De ratione scribendi veterum atque nostrorum"; "De stili vitiis atque virtutibus"; "Tacitum et Lucanum ob graves crebrasque sententias laudat"; "Cur apud nos pauci sint diserti ac eloquentes"; "Qua ratione linguam Latinam disci oporteat"; "De amatoriis fabulis"; "De convertendis lingua Latina Graecis poetis"; "De privatis bibliothecis et de habendo librorum delectu"; "De antiquariis et de Ciceronis, Athenaei, Lipsiique dialogis"; "De duobus critices generibus agit, nempe restituendorum auctorum et studiorum methodi tradendae"; "De librorum praestantia agit, et de bibliothecis ac de bibliothecae praefecti officio".

early modern literary criticism³⁴. Desmarests' stance on poetry reveals a typical ambiguity of his views. He undeniably appreciated literary and poetic works, yet his attitude to them was somewhat detached and utilitarian. According to Desmarests, minds exhausted dealing with more significant intellectual challenges would find in writing poetry a fair kind of entertainment, but for aspiring literary critics it should be a mandatory practice, since you cannot objectively assess others' works unless you write yourself. Nevertheless, you should not spend too much time writing poems - wrote Desmarests in his letter to Jean-François Sarrasin, persuading him not so much to abandon his poetic efforts, as to turn to prose³⁵. These words summarize as well Desmarests' attitude to his own poetic oeuvre, of which he spoke with a degree of disdain and even disrespect³⁶. He did not care to have his poems published, confining their readership to an elite milieu of his correspondents. The hitherto mentioned collection of distichs devoted to famous Frenchmen, whose portraits were displayed in the portico of Cardinal Richelieu's palace, and the epicede composed to commemorate the death of Gabriel Naudé - published separately in form of small-size occasional prints - are an exception from the rule. Thus, all the remaining poetry by Desmarests is concealed in his "philological letters". These include: Elegia de morte Armandi Richelii cardinalis eminentissimi nec non ducis illustrissimi, De morte Nicolai Borbonii epigramma, Votum pro pace, De morte Armandi Malliaci Brezaei, Regiae classis praefecti, elegia, Lodovico Borbonio Angensi duci de Dunkerka capta epinicion, Claudii Sarravii senatoris parisiensis sepulchri inscriptio, as well as the already-mentioned In Gabrielem Naudaeum epicedion.

Almost all poems composed by Desmarests are occasional works to commemorate particular events. This also holds true for his *Aloisiae Gonzagae ad Ladislaum Poloniae Regem sponsum proficiscentis propempticum* (A Farewell Song for Louise Gonzaga, on her Way to his Husband, King of Poland Vladislas)³⁷, a poem included, along with the author's request for evaluation, in his letter to Jean-François Sarrasin, author of well-recognized poetic (e.g. the epic poem *Rollon conquérant, la guerre espagnole*) as well as prosaic works of the time

³⁴Cf. H. Jaumann, *Critica. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Literaturkritik zwischen Quintilian und Thomasius*, Brill, Leiden 1995, pp. 206-209.

³⁶ Desmarests, *Rolandi Maresii epistolarum libri duo*, cit., p. 99-100: "Carmina factitandi honesta profecto est exercitatio, et homini literato nequaquam negligenda; cuius scilicet amoenitas animum gravioribus studiis fessum recreat et exhilarat. Nec vero Poetarum omnes veneres alioquin intelligendo assequi poterit, aut vere de iis iudicare, qui ipse in hoc studio aliquando se non exercuerit. Sed in eo non multum immorandum esse, et, ut Neoptolemus Ennianus paucis philosophandum dicebat, sic paucis versificandum esse censeo: nisi forte ei, qui sit ingenio ita ad poesim apto [...]. Porro non haec eo adduxi, suavissime Saracene, ut a Poesi vernacula, in qua mire places, te abducam. Alios siquidem dulcedine tuorum versuum demulces et capis, te vero ipsum iisdem reficis et oblectas: sed ut ad prosam orationem potissimum te adhorter".

³⁶Ibidem, pp. 101-102: "Ego ipse, ut de me aliquid dicam, non quo me in exemplum adducam, aliquando animi causa feci carmina, sed *Nunc versus, et caetera ludicra pono* [Hor. *Ep.* I 1, 10]. Quid enim utilitatis ex his ad alios pertingere potest, ad me gloriae, cum etiam Poetarum nostri aevi sat egregiorum scripta aetatem non ferre videam?".

³⁷ Ibidem, pp. 113-116.

(e.g. *Histoire du siège de Dunkerque*, 1649; *Conspiration de Walstein*, 1651)³⁸. Desmarests' poetic inspiration in the poem had its source in the celebration of the wedding of Marie Louise Gonzaga. Maresius mentions in his letter that the event had been already perpetuated by numerous poets, who most often put their thoughts into the form of epithalamia; hence, the topic had largely been exhausted. This is why Desmarests decided to take different approach. He was unexpectedly struck by the idea on that very day when the whole people of Paris (except for Desmarests, who stayed at home) rushed to the streets to bid farewell to the queen leaving for her distant dominion. This is when Maresius realized that – instead of writing an epithalamium – it would be more prudent of him to pray for the queen, who embarked on her long and perilous journey across the Artic frigid zones when the winter was just about to set in. This devout reflection gave rise to a *propempticum* consisting of 70 verses, sent to Sarrasin with the hope that he would requite the author by presenting his own Greek or Latin poems on the same subject, or any other in fact.

The term *propempticum* (propemptikon), used in the title of the poem, defines its literary genre, which was a type of farewell song to commemorate the commencement of a journey, often used in the Antiquity and later epochs³⁹. One of the classic example of the genre is *Propempticon Maecio Celeri* by Statius (*Silvae* III 2)⁴⁰, and the theoretical outline for the prosaic variant of the genre was formulated by Menander Rhetor of Laodicea (3rd c. AD) in his treatise $\Pi \epsilon \rho i$ $E \pi i \delta \epsilon i \kappa \tau i \kappa \delta \nu$ (On Epideictic Speeches)⁴¹. Some of the motifs listed by Menander and noticeable in the most recognized ancient works of this kind – such as the description of the course of the journey, or the mention of the potential hardships and the wishes that the protagonist surpass them – can also be found in Desmarests' work under analysis. Obviously enough, the poet expresses the joy of the whole of France on the occasion of the

³⁸ Cf. A. Mennung, Jean-François Sarasin's Leben und Werke, seine Zeit und Gesellschaft. Kritischer Beitrag zur französischen Litteratur- und Kulturgeschichte des XVII. Jahrhunderts, Niemeyer, Halle 1902-1904; A. Speranzi Armani, Jean-François Sarasin: Sull'Amore, in M. Simonin (ed.), Eros in Francia nel Seicento, Adriatica, Bari 1987, pp. 213-243; A. Génetiot, Des hommes illustres exclus du panthéon, les poètes mondains et galants (Voiture, Sarasin, Benserade), in "Littératures classiques", n. 19, 1993, pp. 215-235; A. Niderst, Culture antique et galanterie moderne chez Sarasin, in "XVIIe Siècle", n. 186, 1995, pp. 21-38; J. Steigerwald, Galante Liebes-Ethik. Jean-François Sarasins "Dialogue sur la question s'il faut qu'un jeune homme soit amoureux", in K. Dickhaut, D. Rieger (eds.), Liebe und Emergenz. Neue Modelle des Affektbegreifens im französischen Kulturgedächtnis um 1700, Niemeyer, Tübingen 2006, pp. 33-54.

³⁹ L. Winniczuk, Propemptikon – pieśń pożegnalna, in "Meander", n. 13/11, 1958, pp. 406-419; A. Bobrowski, The Propempticon in the Augustian Poetry (Hor. Od. III 27, Prop. I 8, Ovid. Am. II 11: A Comparative study), in "Eos", n. 79, 1991, pp. 203-215; J. Schnayder, Propemptikon, in G. Gazda, S. Tynecka-Makowska (eds.), Słownik rodzajów i gatunków literackich, Universitas, Kraków 2006, pp. 609-611.

⁴⁰ Statius, *Silvae*, ed. and transl. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 2015, pp. 170-182; H. Szelest, *Propempticon dla Mecjusza Celera (Stat. Silv. III 2)*, in "Meander", n. 24/7-8, 1969, pp. 335-344.

⁴¹ Cf. *Menander Rhetor*, ed. with translation and commentary by D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson, Clarendon Press-Oxford University Press, Oxford-New York 1981; M. Heath, *Menander: A Rhetor in Context*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2004.

wedding of the Princess of Mantua, yet mixed with the sadness of her departure to a distant country (longinguas [...] in oras). He mentions the earlier and unsuccessful efforts of the French suitors (this is perhaps the most viable interpretation of the passage describing how Gallia wished Marie Louise to be wed to a mighty Frenchman: "te Gallorum alicui procerum coniungere [...] optasset"). The bride was no longer young - according to the standards of the era - so the way she is praised in the poem may sound a little backhanded to convention; her virtues, including honestas morum, mira dulcedo and pudor, are listed before corporis bona (even though she is not deficient) as merits that primarily attracted affection of the wise Polish monarch. He rules over a vast and powerful state, and his grandeur is not that of heredity, but safeguarded by his virtues (Virtute, haud serie sanguinis illud habet). This last sentence conceals an allusion to elective royal succession, which constituted an idiosyncrasy of the Polish political system in the eyes of the then contemporary Frenchmen⁴². Maresius then expresses his hope that the king's virtues and the might of the kingdom will compensate for the torment of the queen's departure from her native land, her relatives and friends. He also recommends that she should feel no fear of her new people. Although they inhabit sub-polar expanses (Nec gentem exhorre, quamvis declinet ad Arctos), and they are a martial nation (amet assiduis bellis exercita Martem), they are by no means savages (rigidae nil feritatis habet), of which she could learn while meeting the envoys of the Polish king. Then she should hasten to her royal husband, who can barely wait to see her, and curses the winter slowing down her journey. He is spending his sleepless nights, imagining the face of his beloved day by day, and working on varia spectacula to celebrate her arrival. The last part of the poem contains wishes of the happy journey and of successful overcoming the obstacles caused by winter and the on-going thirty years' war. Thus, let it be that the rattle of the sabres stops (procul horrida bella facessant), and let the Peace (Pax) accompany the venerable virgin (virgo generosa), who hurries to meet her royal spouse (Ad Regem [...] maritum).

This abbreviated account of Maresius' propemptikon discloses a lot of motifs used by Statius in his work, as referred to above. They include a laudation of the addressee, anxiety about her safe journey, prayers for her successful arrival to the destination (*Nos tibi placamus ventos hiememque precamur*, / *Mitius ut tecum frigidus imber agat*) and the description of the ceremonial greeting given to the queen in her new homeland (in Statius' version: greeting given to Metius on his return from the eastern provinces of the Empire back to Italy). While leaving an in-depth analysis and interpretation of Desmarests' poem for another occasion, one should at least signal its rather conventional character. It cannot be considered a sign of Maresius' particular interest in Poland and Poles either (in fact, it is most probably a unique *Polonicum* in his ample epistolographic collection). Desmarests' knowledge of the distant country is rather blurry and limited to its geography (northern location, the Oder as the western

⁴² Cf. Malinowski, Styczyński, *Polska*, cit., p. 8: "Pisarzy francuskich nieustannie uderza w Polsce praktyka wyboru króla" (The French writers are constantly in confusion about the practice of royal election in Poland).

border, the Vistula in the middle, and the Baltic in the north), its international relations (waging wars against Muscovites and Turks) and its political system (elective monarchy). In fact, Desmarests' knowledge seems to be no better than that of most of his French contemporaries. "It comes as no surprise that the 'Polish' literary works do not concern Poland actually, at best they multiply and preserve the mythical imagery of the country and the people"43.

A striking feature of Desmarests' poem at hand is his polemic with the negative stereotype of the Poles as a northern and savage people. Yet it might be just another proof of the fact that in Desmarests' time the stereotype was already well rooted, stemming from the works of French authors like Desportes, but also others - primarily of the famous John Barclay (1582-1621). The latter's work Icon animorum, published in 1614 (dedicated to Louis XIII), constrained descriptions of the European lands and peoples. Barclay's portrait of Poland and its nobility is hardly a positive one:

But the Poles live hard lives under a rough clime, nor are the dispositions of the people composed to the elegancy of our age, and from thence also are they of more cruel natures. [...] They are a nation born to cruelty and licentiousness, which they call liberty [...]. They do abhor the very name, not only of slavery, but of obedience to a just and lawful sceptre. Their king is compelled by force of arms to observe their country laws44.

Barclay's treatise gained significant popularity all over Europe, going into numerous editions and translations to vernacular languages, including French⁴⁵. Interestingly enough, the work prompted polemic not only in Poland⁴⁶. In his hitherto mentioned account Relation du voyage de la Royne de Pologne, Jean Le Laboureur wrote:

Regarding the customs of the nobility, I cannot agree with Barclay's words, as I am convinced he judged the present day keeping the past in his mind. One cannot deny that all the peoples of the past were violent and savage. Our nation was not an exception [...]. Poles, who neighbour the greatest barbarians of Europe, followed the

⁴³ Rosset, *Polskość*, cit., p. 289.

⁴⁴ J. Barclay, *Icon animorum or the Mirror of Minds*, ed. by M. Riley, transl. by T. May, Leuven University Press, Leuven 2013, pp. 184-187 ("Polonis ut plurimum dura vita caelo aspero, nec populi moribus factis ad nostri saeculi venustatem, et hinc aliquando saeviora ingenia. [...] Gens est ad ferociam et licentiam nata, quam vocant libertatem [...]. Ipsum nomen non tantum servitutis sed et iusti ac legitimi regni oderunt. Rex ad patrias leges vi et armis adigitur").

⁴⁵Le Tableau des esprits de M. Jean Barclay, Jean Petit-Bas, Paris 1625 (a contemporary edition: J. Barclay, Le Tableau des esprits, ed. by P. Choné, S. Taussig, Brepols, Turnhout 2009, pp. 199-214: "Des Hongres, Polonois Moscovites, & nations estans vers le Septentrion").

⁴⁶Cf. M. Hanusiewicz-Lavallee, *Staropolska kariera Johna Barclaya* (particularly the paragraph: Icon animorum i obrona polskiej reputacji), in Ead., W stronę Albionu. Studia z dziejów polsko--brytyjskich związków literackich w dobie wczesnonowożytnej, Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2017 (in print).

customs of the gentler nations. They introduced these customs into their state and I am ready to swear that they are in high regard among the Polish nobility, who displays all the virtues that suit its social status⁴⁷.

It may well be the case that the passage of Desmarests' propempticon in which he strove to reduce Marie Louise's anxiety of the northern people is a covert polemic with Barclay (irrespective of what were Desmarests' true views in this matter). It seems more likely if one considers that Maresius was familiar with at least some works of the Scottish writer and spoke of them with noticeable disdain⁴⁸. Nevertheless, his *Propempticum* is yet another example of how stereotypes and clichés formed that have - partly even until today - shaped the perception of Poland in France or even in the whole Western Europe⁴⁹.

The artistic range of Roland Desmarests' poem should not be overestimated. It is a typical example of occasional poetry, rather neglected by the author himself. The reason for saving the poem from oblivion is that it can be added to the corpus of the "Polonica" in old French literature (or, to be precise, in neo--Latin French literature⁵⁰). Desmarests' work seems to remain unrecognized by the past and the contemporary researchers of Polish-French literary links. For that reason, we enclose below a transcript of Propempticum as well as the letter that preceded it, addressed to Jean-François Sarrasin. The version below is based on the second, expanded edition of the philological letters (Paris 1655), collated against editio princeps of 1650.

Itranslated by Konrad Klimkowskil

⁴⁷ Quoted after: Rosset, *Drzewo Kraków*, cit., p. 57.

⁴⁸Cf. Desmarests' letter to Pierr Hallé, in which he recommends that the youth should follow the example of Cicero, but not of Apuleius or Barclay ("Adolescentibus schola egressis non Apuleium aut Barclaium, sed Ciceronem maxime sequendum"), and he negatively assesses the style of one of the most popular works by Barclay, Euphormionis Lusinini Satyricon: "Corruptus vero, et vitiis fractus sermo, utpote non ita tritus, et fortasse argutior, illis ad stomachum magis facit. Qualis est Apuleii, quem iuvenes effingere conantur, et nescio cuius Euphormionis, qui illis summe in deliciis est". Desmarests, Rolandi Maresii epistolarum libri duo, cit., pp. 95-96.

⁴⁹Cf. R. Wołoszyński, *Polska w opiniach Francuzów XVIII wieku*, PWN, Warszawa 1964; T. Chynczewska-Hennel, Rzeczpospolita XVII wieku w oczach cudzoziemców, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1993.

⁵⁰It is worthy a mention that the neo-Latin literature remains partly undiscovered in the research on Polish-French literary links. Malinowski's and Styczyński's anthology (Malinowski, Styczyński, Polska, cit., p. 17) only contains a single poem (by Ronsard) composed in Latin. It has been known that the Latin works by French authors constituted a significant source of inspiration for early modern Polish poets (including Jan Andrzej Morsztyn and Daniel Naborowski, see the most recent discoveries in A. Bielak, P. Sadzik, W nurcie pochwał Niczego. "Cień", "Róża", "Kur", "Kalendy styczniowe" Daniela Naborowskiego jako przekłady utworów Jeana Passerata, in "Prace Filologiczne", n. 5/8, 2015, pp. 17-49). It may well be the case that the French neo-Latin literature still conceals some undiscovered Polonica. Cf. remarks by J. Sokołowska on the necessity to include neo-Latin literature in comparative research (Sokołowska, Literatura staropolska, cit., pp. 84-85).

Rolandi Maresii epistolarum philologicarum libri duo. Cum aliquot amicorum ad eum epistolis, apud Edmuntum Martinum, Parisiis 1655, pp. 112-116.

Epistola XXXI.

Suum Ludovicae Gonzagae R<eginae> Propempticon ad Ioannem Franc<iscum> Saracenum mittit.

Heroinam illam ex nostris principibus feminis, quae propter egregias animi corporisque dotes a potentissimo Rege abusque Sarmatia ad nuptias expetita est, multi variis carminibus prosecuti sunt et augusto illi matrimonio fausta omnia precati. In eo argumento, guod propter virginis eximias virtutes admodum locuples erat, ego quoque lusi. Et multi guidem, guod rem nuptiarum esse viderent, epithalamia composuere. Ego cum illas adhuc longe abesse cernerem, in quibus celebrandis tantum carmen nuptiale concini solet, aliam materiam sumpsi, et cum eo die, quo civitas universa effusa ad spectaculum abeuntis Reginae concurrerat, ego prope solus domi remansissem, coepi cogitare, num esset convenientius vota pro ea facere, quae hiemis initio iter tam longum, et incommodum per regiones rigore vicini septemtrionis horridas et truculentas susciperet, et propempticum scribere. Admovi igitur manum et hoc qualecunque carmen excudi, quod ad te summum versuum artificem mitto, ut de eo iudices et aliguos versus in hoc vel aliud argumentum a te eliciam, sive Latinos, sive vernaculos, nam es άμφιδέξιος et ad utrumque paratus. Vale.

Aloisiae Gonzagae ad Ladislaum Poloniae Regem sponsum proficiscentis **Propempticum**

- Obvenisse licet gratetur Rege marito Gallia virtuti debita sceptra tuae, Et meritum cessisse apicis regalis honorem, Inter laeta tamen nonnihil illa dolet:
- Cum te abscedentem longinguas cernit in oras, 5 Quam blande in tenero nutriit alma sinu. Tantum omnes probitas, tantum devinxit honestas Morum et dulcedo mira pudorque tuus. Praecipue hae dotes regis sapientis amorem,
- 10 Corporis haud tantum prom<er>uere bona, Queis pulcras inter tamen insignita refulges, Expetit in sponsa sed minus ista sua. Te Gallorum alicui procerum coniungere dudum Connubio optasset: sed renuere Dei,

- 15 Semper ut alloquio gaudere liceret amato, Aspectuque tuo, luminibusque frui. Quod quando haud per fata licet, solatur amantem, Quod te Rex petiit victus amore tui, Qui non nunc primum concepit in ossibus ignem:
- 20 Insidet ex multo tempore castus amor.
 Sed quantus Rex, quamque potens! Non unius urbis,
 Angusti aut clausus finibus imperii,
 Sed late dominans campis, quos Vistula lambit
 Et Viadrus claudit Sarmaticumque fretum;
- 25 Qui Moschum immanem Turcosque frequentibus armis Contudit et regni limite abegit ovans, Consilio tractat solerti cuius habenas: Virtute, haud serie sanguinis illud habet. Hic desiderium faciat tibi lenius Urbis,
- 30 Et patria doleas ut minus esse procul, Linquere et agnatos dulces caramque sororem Augustam et natae quae tibi iura dedit. Nec gentem exhorre, quamvis declinet ad Arctos Et Scythiae ex aliqua frigora parte ferat.
- 35 Asperat haud illi caeli inclementia mores:
 Crede mihi, rigidae nil feritatis habet,
 Quamquam amet assiduis bellis exercita Martem,
 Cominus in solo quem petit hoste ferox.
 Ipsa tuis credas oculis, vestigia in illa
- Indolis ulla vides ingeniique rudis?
 Iam pompa ingenti, cum ingressus nobilis Urbem Orator, licuit cernere gentis opes.
 Quis tot Erythraeo conspexit littore gemmas, Patricius quot erat conspiciendus eques?
- Frenaque lucebant et ephippia picta lapillis,
 His aurata, illis serica vestis erat.
 Ergo laeta agedum te ad Regem confer amantem,
 Qui vix longa morae taedia ferre potest.
 Ah! Brumae iratus mala quanta precabitur udae,
- 50 Cum faciet tardas imbre lutoque vias, Quam lente hibernas, ah! dicet currere noctes, Cum fugiet dulcis lumina fessa sopor! Interea, dum grata beet praesentia vultus, Te non visam animo nocte dieque videt.
- 55 Praeparat inque tuum varia spectacula pompa Adventum et ludos ingeniosus amor. Cui plebs officio certatim indulget equesque, Dum studium Regi quisque probare cupit. Nos tibi placamus ventos hiememque precamur,
- 60 Mitius ut tecum frigidus imber agat, Neve vias haustis remorentur flumina ripis,

Aut nix cana cadens aethere turbet iter. Flamina, speramus, Boreas violenta tenebit, Non ille intactum pectus amore gerit.

65 Quacumque incedes, procul horrida bella facessant, Vos Furiae, et longe, Mars truculente, fuge. At tu Pax festos comiteris candida currus, Ubertas cornu divite rura beet.

Ad Regem properat virgo generosa maritum,

70 Non miscere acies saevaque bella venit.