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## DECIPHERING *NE LUSCINIA SEGNIOR*\*

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**Słowa kluczowe:** Johann Klinger, Mikołaj Lubomirski, Ołomuniec, edukacja jezuicka, *technopaegnia*

To the memory of my great-grandmother,  
Ewa Karaszewska née Emma Schultz (1900–1984)

### I

The Muse of Epigram has a younger and smaller sister, whose name is the Eccentric Muse. Like her sister, the Eccentric Muse has a taste for briefness and studied refinedness, but even though these preferences lead both sisters to indulge themselves in playfulness, the Epigrammatic Muse knows her limits, whereas the Eccentric Muse is all for having fun. Even the most distinguished houses keep their doors open to the children of the Epigrammatic Muse, whereas the progeny of her sister – riddles, acrostichs, palindromes, anagrams, isopsephic poems and chronograms, pattern poems, etc. – are widely held in disregard<sup>1</sup>.

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\* It is a pleasure to acknowledge my debt to Piotr Rypson, who kindly allowed me to consult his priceless notes on Mikołaj Lubomirski, Johann Klinger, and the Olomouc College. The present discussion offers but a gloss to his path-showing book (see n. 3 below). My thanks are owed, too, to Barbara Milewska-Ważbińska for her comments, support and inspiration, to Mikołaj Szymański for suggestions of improvements, and to Olga Starošítková of the State Archive in Olomouc, Jolanta Polanowska of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences as well as Monika Mydel and Andżelika Modlińska-Piekarz and, respectively, the staffs of the Jagiellonian Library and of the Library of the Catholic University in Lublin for helping me to access important sources and for providing information on them. This article was written with the financial support of the Polish National Centre of Science under grant No. DEC-2013/11/B/HS2/02628.

<sup>1</sup> The two sisters are also called *poesis epigrammatica* and *poesis artificiosa*. In seventeenth-century theoretical treatises, i.e. in the period with which the present discussion is primarily concerned, the latter is regarded either as a part of the former or as a separate genre; see Teresa Michałowska, *Staropolska teoria genologiczna* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1974), 139-141. At any rate, the two genres are clearly interconnected and often viewed as such.

Yet, in spite of their unruliness, this merry and extravagant folk continues to find enthusiasts as much in Poland as elsewhere, and therefore it may not be a waste of time to answer the question of who was responsible for inviting the children of the Eccentric Muse to put their feet on Polish soil and, hence, for corrupting some of its otherwise reasonable and even talented sons and daughters, Julian Tuwim being only the first to come to mind<sup>2</sup>.

The beginnings of the history of poetic eccentricity in Poland date to 1598; an account of this wonderful year is given by Piotr Rypson in his seminal book on the early history of Polish visual poetry<sup>3</sup>. It is in this year that two apostles of the Eccentric Muse, Wawrzyniec Susliga and Mikołaj Lubomirski<sup>4</sup>, published several books in which they betrayed their inclinations. Among these books, one stands out as a particularly rich and innovative collection of poetic curiosities, which with remarkable self-awareness presents itself as the first such anthology in Poland<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Julian Tuwim (1894–1953), a major Polish poet who was also a devoted collector of literary curiosities; his book *Pegaz dęba* [or *Pegasus Rears*] (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1950; repr. München: Sagner, 1986) results from those pursuits. Two recent books which trace the steps of the Eccentric Muse in Antiquity (and to some extent later) are Christine Luz, *Technopaignia: Formspiele in der griechischen Dichtung* (Leiden: Brill, 2010) and Jan Kwapisz, David Petrain and Mikołaj Szymański, ed., *The Muse at Play: Riddles and Wordplay in Greek and Latin Poetry* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013). In the latter volume, see esp. Barbara Milewska-Ważbińska, “Waste of Time or Artistic Expression? Notes on *Poesis Artificiosa* of the Modern Era”, 379-399, which may serve as the *prolegomena* to the study of the Eccentric Muse in Poland, and to whose title my mention of not wasting time nods. See now also Agnieszka Borysowska and Barbara Milewska-Ważbińska, ed., *Poesis Artificiosa: Between Theory and Practice* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2013).

<sup>3</sup> Piotr Rypson, *Piramidy – słońca – labirynty: Poezja wizualna w Polsce od XVI do XVIII wieku* (Warszawa: Neriton, 2002), 65-70.

<sup>4</sup> Both were shaped by a Jesuit education. Piotr Rypson, op. cit., loc. cit., where Mikołaj Lubomirski is described as “a poet known in his time and undoubtedly not lacking a certain talent”, remains the most extensive account of his *vita* (esp. n. 25 on p. 68); see also Tadeusz Piersiak, ed., “Mikołaj Lubomirski, Słuszny płacz jego mości pana Stanisława Kochanowskiego z Krzyszkwowic po urychlonej śmierci miłej małżonki swojej na piąty rok jeszcze nieustający żałobliwie cieszy...”, in *W kręgu dawnej poezji* (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1983), 95-121. Wawrzyniec Susliga (or Susłyga) studied astronomy in Graz, besides composing poetry he wrote on the chronology of, *inter alia*, Christ’s life, and he knew Johannes Kepler; see Hieronim Łopaciński, “Susliga Wawrzyniec”, in *Encyklopedia Kościelna*, vol. 27 (Warszawa: F. Czerwiński, 1904), 155-157.

<sup>5</sup> One is reminded of the Jesuit Richard Willis’ (or Wills’) slightly earlier book containing poetic *artificia*, which was published in 1573 in London under the title *Poematum liber*, which, as is noted by Alastair D.S. Fowler, ed., *De re poetica by Richard Wills* (Oxford: Luttrell Society, 1958), 10, “had... an unusually serious intention, and something of the tone of a manifesto”. The connection between Lubomirski and Willis was noticed by Piotr Rypson, op. cit., 70-72. Moreover, MS BJ 5575 (on which see below) provides evidence that Lubomirski indeed knew Willis’ book. On fol. 571, Lubomirski adduces an example of a particularly elaborate *carmen monosyllabicum* (in which each verse ends with a monosyllable, as in Ausonius’ *Technopaegnion*, yet in addition these monosyllables create a new text), which is, as a matter of fact, a quotation of Willis’ Poem 66, and introduced as such: *Est inventa* [sc. the type of *monosyllabicum artificium* under discussion] *a quodam poeta Anglo, Villaeo*.

This can be deduced from the opening epigram, which is captioned *Collector lectori poetico s(alutem)* and signed by Mikołaj Lubomirski himself:

Qui studet Aonii fontem contingere montis  
 Hippocrenaeis vultque salire iugis,  
 evolvat veteres iterumque iterumque poetas,  
 nec tamen omnino temnat ubique novos.  
 Ecce novo Musae dederunt haec carmina vati  
 staminaque artifici mira tulere manu.  
 Haec lege, quisquis ades, si mens te ducit ad altos  
 Parnassi colles Castaliumque nemus;  
 felici tales vena complectere cantus  
 felicique artes has imitare stylo.

Inescapably, the poetic programmes that put emphasis on novelty appear somewhat worn and conventional to a classical philologist like myself, who is familiar with the (paradoxically) well-established tradition of poetic experimentalism<sup>6</sup>. Notwithstanding, we have no reason to downplay the significance of Lubomirski's manifesto. On the contrary, we do know that the collection he presents to us is indeed the first of its sort in Poland; it is true, therefore, that it is a *novus vates* who speaks to us through the poems compiled by Lubomirski.

The pamphlet which contains these poems – or better, *artificia*, since this is how the captions refer to them – was published by Jan Januszowski's Lazarus Press in Cracow<sup>7</sup>. There are thirty-four such *artificia* collected in this book, each exemplifying a different sort of wordplay. The full title is *Technopaegnon sacropoeticum, venerabili Corporis Christi festo pietatis ergo consecratum, authore Iano Tyrigeta Germano, a Nicolao vero Lubomirski collectum et in gratiam poeticae iuventutis in lucem editum*<sup>8</sup>. It is evident from this that Lubomirski's

On Willis and his poetry book, see Ulrich Ernst, "Neulateinisches Figurengedicht und manieristische Poetik: Zum *Poematum Liber* (1573) des Richard Willis", in *Manier und Manierismus*, ed. W. Braungart (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), 275-306, and idem, ed., *Visuelle Poesie: Historische Dokumentation theoretischer Zeugnisse. Band 1: Von der Antike bis zum Barock* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 405-470.

<sup>6</sup> For a list of declarations of poetic novelty in ancient poetry, see, e.g. Jan Kwapisz, *The Greek Figure Poems* (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 13-14.

<sup>7</sup> The Jagiellonian Library in Cracow and the Library of the Catholic University in Lublin each have one copy; see Piotr Rypson, op. cit., 193. The latter copy is available online in the Digital Library of the Catholic University of Lublin at [dlibra.kul.pl](http://dlibra.kul.pl).

<sup>8</sup> The title reinvents the word *technopaegnon*, which was coined by Ausonius as the title for a series of poems whose every line ended with a monosyllable. The word is now used, on the one hand, for all sorts of linguistic games, and, on the other, specifically for figure poems; yet its appearance in 1598 is remarkably early; see my discussion of its history in Jan Kwapisz, op. cit., 9-11. I would like to supplement that discussion and at the same time to provide the context for the appearance of the word *technopaegnon* at the end of the sixteenth century by observing that Jakob Henrichmann used the term *technopegnia* in his 1506 *Grammaticae institutiones*, which was "die erste in Deutschland allgemein verbreitete lateinische Grammatik" according to Brigitte Ristow,

role was merely of a compiler, whereas the author of the *artificia* was a certain John of Thuringia. Who was he?

## II

As Rypson observed, Mikołaj Lubomirski owed his formation as a poet and intellectual to the Jesuit college in Olomouc, where he studied<sup>9</sup>. This is documented by a fascinating album he assembled, partially preserved in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow (MS BJ 5575), to which Lubomirski himself refers as *Musaeolum nostrum* (fol. 577r). The extant fragments contain a collection of printed and handwritten poetry, which for the most part takes its origin in the academic milieu of Olomouc, accompanied by a sort of lexicon of literary terminology whose main purpose is, as it seems, to index the album's contents and at the same time to list various genres of *poesis artificiosa* (fols 560-576; the rhopalic note at the beginning reads: *Omnia legimus, quaedam intelleximus, pauca imitati sumus*). The numbers which accompany the alphabetically listed terms refer to earlier pages in the same album, surely where illustrations of the discussed phenomena were to be found; unfortunately, most of the pages listed in the index are missing<sup>10</sup>. This index is followed by a copy of three letters to Lubomirski by a Joannes Clingerius, with which the album ends (fols 577-578). Only the last letter is signed straightforwardly, *Johannes Clingerius*; the two others bear a cryptic signature, *Ne Luscinia Segnior* – which is an anagram of *Ioannes Clingerius*. The letters are dated 31 May, 11 June, and 10 October, from Olomouc; the year must be 1598 (see below). They imply that Lubomirski was then in Cracow. These letters are prefaced by Lubomirski's note, which has the form of his own letter to Clingerius and is captioned *Ad Clingerium*; this caption and Clingerius' anagrammatic signatures have caused some confusion about who wrote to whom.

<sup>8</sup> "Humanismus", in *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 1: A–K (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 711 – when speaking *de quibusdam ingeniosis carminum generibus*, which looked back, in turn, to the grammarian Paulus Pompilius' 1488 *De pedibus et eorum structura*, where *tegnopegniorum genera sex* were discussed.

<sup>9</sup> Piotr Rypson, op. cit., 67. On the Polish poets of the Olomouc circle, see also Barbara Milewska-Ważbińska, op. cit., 384-386, and on the Poles in Olomouc, see Andělín Grobelný, *Polští a ruští studenti na olomoucké universitě v l. 1576–1663* (Opava: Slezský Studijní Ústav, 1954).

<sup>10</sup> I hope to discuss the troubled history of this manuscript elsewhere. For now, see Tadeusz Bieńkowski, "Joachim Bielski poeta polsko-łaciński (ok. 1550–1599)", *Meander* 17 (1962): 52; Janusz Pelc, *Jan Kochanowski w tradycjach literatury polskiej (od XVI do połowy XVIII w.)* (Warszawa: PIW, 1965), 43; Jerzy Zathę, an unpublished 3-page letter to the editors of the *Dictionary of Polish Artists (Słownik artystów polskich)*, dated 3 October 1977, in the source materials for the *Dictionary of Polish Artists*, Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw; Maria Łodyńska-Kosińska, "Kochanowski Samuel", in *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających (zmarłych przed 1966 r.): malarze – rzeźbiarze – graficy*, vol. 4 (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1986), 51-52.

Rypson thought that Clingerius was Lubomirski's friend in Olomouc and his *aemulus*<sup>11</sup>, but he was evidently more than that – he was Lubomirski's teacher, one to look up to, and Lubomirski's album is, on the whole, a testimony to his great reverence and fascination for Clingerius<sup>12</sup>. This name recurs many times throughout the album; in particular, he is mentioned in the lexicon of literary terminology virtually whenever some term receives a longer discussion. As a matter of fact, these discussions must derive from Clingerius' lectures in Olomouc; e.g. the short treatise on anagram begins with Lubomirski's announcement (on the first page of the lexicon; fol. 560r): *De anagrammatismo haec mihi dicta a Clingerio memini*. Elsewhere we read (fol. 563v s.v. *Ecloga hortensis*; the reference is to the extant fol. 538, where we find a print titled *Ecloga hortensis hymenaeus*, author and publisher unknown): *Ad eclogas scribendas sic me instruit Clingerius. In bucolico, inquit, poemate...* These notes afford us a glimpse of the world of oral academic discourse in a Jesuit college that is normally hidden from us. This material, at once fascinating and neglected, calls for further (and preferably editorial) attention, which I am unable to give it on the present occasion.

Rypson ingeniously suggested that the John of Thuringia who authored *Technopaegnion sacropoeticum* and Joannes Clingerius – or Johann Klinger, as Rypson conjectured – were the same person. He goes on to guess that Klinger may have died during the plague which hit Olomouc in 1598, causing the death of many and the scattering of others throughout Europe<sup>13</sup>. This, on the whole, is a fine piece of detective work. I am now able to confirm that there was a Thuringian Johann Klinger who was a professor at Olomouc. That he was Lubomirski's teacher and the author of *Technopaegnion sacropoeticum* is, as we will see, beyond any doubt.

As a matter of fact, Klinger's letter dated 31 May, preserved in BJ 5575, contains a query about a book of his that he hoped would go to press in Cracow. This must be a glimpse of the year 1598, for this *Technopaegnion* that Klinger speaks of must be the same book which was published in 1598, with which the present discussion is concerned and which introduces itself as *Corporis Christi festo consacratum* – in 1598, the Corpus Christi feast was celebrated on 21 May.

<sup>11</sup> Piotr Rypson, op. cit., 66.

<sup>12</sup> Another disciple of Clingerius' in Olomouc was a poet and self-taught engraver, Samuel Kochanowski, whose interest in art was encouraged by Clingerius. Jerzy Zathey, op. cit., points out that one of the letters copied at the end of BJ 5575 evidences Clingerius' practising the art of engraving (fol. 578r; N.B. contrary to what Zathey thought, it is Clingerius who writes to Lubomirski, not the other way round: *Mitto etiam pro sculptura ferreum instrumentum, vel pennam chalybeam, pro tua arte*). On Samuel Kochanowski and his relationship with Clingerius, see Maria Łodyńska-Kosińska, op. cit., with further references. I intend to devote a separate discussion to Samuel Kochanowski's life and work.

<sup>13</sup> Piotr Rypson, op. cit., 66.

It can be inferred from what follows that Klinger initially turned to Samuel Kochanowski, his pupil and Lubomirski's fellow student<sup>14</sup>, and asked him to see *Technopaegnion* to press (fol. 577v; note the amusing mention of Lubomirski's habit of writing letters in verse):

At quid fiet cum "Technopaegnio" [sic] Cochanoviano? Doleo me illi rem commisisse; attamen non expectabit nova, nisi steterit promissis. Quid mihi consilii des, scribe, at potius solute; non enim omnis materia carminibus apta, ut vides in istis. Dolerem, quod perire deberent.

Lubomirski must have taken over and in the letter from 10 October Klinger alludes, as it seems, to the completion of the publication process (fol. 578):

Litteras tuas accepi heri, e quibus tandem aliquando de re diu cupita certior sum factus. Nihil itaque meo nomine praelo Cracoviensi comittendum esse censeo, cum sit tam carus typographus. ... Des, rogo, "Technopaegnion" Martino cum reliquis carminibus, in quibus nomen eius subscriptum est.

It is evident that Klinger cared very much for this child of his.

The meticulous records kept by the Jesuits enable us to reconstruct Klinger's *vita*. This task has already been accomplished by László Lukács, an indefatigable explorer of the Jesuit archives. In the first volume of the *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S.I.*, which he compiled, we find a biographical note on Klinger which at once summarises his life and, by providing references to the material collected in the same and the following volume of the *Catalogi*, makes it easy to furnish further details<sup>15</sup>.

Johann Klinger was born in Greussen, a small town in Thuringia, 30 km north of Erfurt (*sumus nati propinqui Hercyniae Sylvae Thuringi*, he says in one of his letters; BJ 5575: fol. 577r), probably in 1557, between August and October<sup>16</sup>. He entered the Jesuit novitiate in September 1578 in Vienna and took his simple vows on 29 June 1580 in Graz, where he studied until he began teaching in 1584. The year 1587 finds him in Vienna, and in 1589 he starts studying theology in Prague. He returns to Graz to teach as *Professor Humanitatis* in 1592, but the next year he comes to Vienna, again, so as to stay and teach there until 1596.

Klinger came to Olomouc in 1597; he was by then undoubtedly an experienced teacher and a worldly figure. His colourful stay in Olomouc, which exerted a lasting, albeit discreet, influence on Polish culture, was short and limited to two

<sup>14</sup> See n. 12 above.

<sup>15</sup> László Lukács, *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S.I.*, vol. 1: (1551–1600) (Romae: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1978), 707.

<sup>16</sup> According to the Jesuit records he was 27 in October 1584 and 29 in August 1587; László Lukács, op. cit., 408, 436.

years only, i.e. 1597 and 1598, when he was *Professor Humanitatis* (or *Poeseos*). This was sufficient to profoundly impress not only Mikołaj Lubomirski, but also the already mentioned Samuel Kochanowski, who dedicated to him a charmingly diletantish Christmas copperplate, which is fortunately preserved at the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kórnik<sup>17</sup>. In addition, the missing part of Lubomirski's album as mentioned above contained the following dedication to Klinger, *poeta clarissimus*, whose text we know from a nineteenth-century account<sup>18</sup>:

*Reverendo patri Joanni Clingerio a Societate Jesu sacerdoti poetae clarissimo, nec non ejusdem professori in alma academia Olomuniensi die natali eius 1597 a Michaele Wude Grotgaviensi [Grotoniensi Lesser] Silesio.*

The celebrated poet left Olomouc at the end of 1598, as is implied in the farewell letter which, already cited, he wrote to Lubomirski on 11 October:

Immo discessus meus, quem in dies expectare soleo, prohibet plura carmina mittere; sum enim praeter opinionem e liberalitate superiorum tandem aliquando e pulveribus scholasticis liberatus, in quibus 14 annis continuis sudavi. Utetur mea opera superior in alio forsitan collegio, in quo vero, nescio, et in alio ministerio. ... De meo discessu scribet tibi Zaidlicius sine dubio. ... Vale, mi Nicolae. Sed ego nihilominus non valedicam sacrae poesi, licet non amplius professurus forsitan; solent enim rude donari illi, qui diu docuerunt.

Such was his good-bye at once to Lubomirski, to Olomouc, to teaching, and to composing poetry. To all intents and purposes, after his departure from Olomouc, Klinger became dead to the world, just as Rypson suspected. The next *ministerium* awaited Klinger in Brno, and this journey was a spiritual one, as it led him to pronounce his last vows (*ultima vota*) on 12 September 1599. He remained in Brno until 1603, which he left for Chomutov, where he spent four years. He performed various administrative duties both in Brno and in Chomutov, and also in Klagenfurt, where he arrived in 1608. In 1609 he moved for the last time, and his final destination was the monastery in Eberndorf, 30 km east of Klagenfurt.

<sup>17</sup> For a reproduction, see *Grafika i rysunki polskie w zbiorach polskich* (Warszawa: Arkady, 1977), Fig. 3, and for a charming description, see Teofil Żebrawski, "Spis cząstkowy rycin polskich jako materyał do ogólnego katalogu tychże", *Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego Krakowskiego* 25 (1858): 439, and Aleksander Lesser, "Wiadomość o niektórych mniej znanych rycinach", *Kłasy* 14 (1872): 251 and idem, "Jeszcze słów kilka o Samuele Kochanowskim", *Kłasy* 14 (1872): 386. I have discovered another copy of this copperplate in the Library of the Catholic University in Lublin. This is inserted in the 1598 Olomoucian print *Strenae natalitiae* (KUL.XVI.635; available online at [dlibra.kul.pl](http://dlibra.kul.pl)), between fols B1 and B2, clearly as an illustration of an *Onomatopoeianum poema* on B1v. This sheds light on the original context in which the copperplate was created.

<sup>18</sup> Aleksander Lesser, "Wiadomość o niektórych mniej znanych rycinach", op. cit.

Johann Klinger died in Eberndorf on 27 December 1610. The Jesuit annals preserve an account of his death, and even his last words, if one finds the flamboyant eloquence of this passage trustworthy<sup>19</sup>:

Cum morbis gravibus et diuturnis conflictandum fuit Clagenfurti nostris nonnullis, adeo ut mutandi aeris causa quattuor omnino coacti fuerint magno nostro incommodo alio transmitti; aliquot etiam conspicui et magnis a Deo naturae donis decorati diem suum obierunt. Horum unus fuit pater Ioannes Clingerius, coadiutor formatus spiritualis, qui per longam et aetatem, et laborum seriem ad eum vitae terminum venit. Erat in humanioribus maxime vero poeticis apprime versatus, in quibus fere aetatem suam consumpsit. Moribundo ea fuit vox suprema: “Eia pater Clingeri, non est his permanens civitas tibi, futuram inquire, age ad illam propera”. Eodem, quo natus est die, quem et in vita celebrem habuit, sancti Ioannis Evangelistae societate dignus e vivis excessit.

The last sentence must not be taken to mean that Klinger died on the same day *he* had been born; he died on the day St. John the Evangelist had been born, i.e. on St. John the Evangelist’s name day (27 December). Above all, however, this account is important, for it shows that Klinger’s poetic interests were well known.

### III

The precise extent of Klinger’s literary output is difficult to assess because of his not-so-laudable habit, surely dictated by an unparalleled modesty, of not signing whatever he intended to publish. Besides the *artificia* collected in *Technopaegnon*, we know that he authored a century of epigrams commemorating the prominent Olomoucian bishop and patron of arts, Stanislaus Pavlovský, who died on 2 June 1598<sup>20</sup>. This print was published with no reference either to the author or place of publication, under the title *Centum epigrammata parentalia exequiiis... Stanislai Pawlowsky, episcopi Olomucensis etc., scripta*. However, Klinger’s authorship is practically guaranteed by the information provided by a handwritten note in a copy of this print in the State Archive in Olomouc<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> *Annuae litterae Societatis Iesu anni MDCXI* (Dilingae: ex Typographeo Mayeriana, 1611), 442-443.

<sup>20</sup> On the cultural patronage of Pavlovský, see Ondřej Jakubec, “Kultura a umění na pozdně renesančním dvoře olomouckých biskupů: jejich vztahy k rudolfínské Praze a dalším evropským centrům”, *Studia Rudolphina* 4 (2004): 17-27.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Enchiridion renatae poesis Latinae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae* (= *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě*), vol. 1: A–C (Praha: Academia, 1966), 386. To my eye, this note, which reads, *Authore r(everendo) p(atre) Joanne Clingerio, Soc. Iesu, poeseos professore*, may have been written by Klinger himself (on his handwriting, see n. 26 below).



*The Inventory of the Manuscripts of the Jagiellonian Library* promises that more of Klinger can be found in MS BJ 5575<sup>22</sup>. According to the list of this album's contents, made by the librarian Władysław Wisłocki (d. 1900)<sup>23</sup>, fols 126-132 contain "*Homiolalage dialogismica Lutheri et viatoris*" et alii versiculi Clingerii, and fols 560-573 – "*A te principium, tibi desinet*" et alii tractatus et versiculi Johannis Clingerii. This may be too optimistic and at the same time does not even begin to describe this album's importance for understanding Klinger's role among the poets of the Olomouc circle. *Homiolalage...* is the title of an elegiac poem beginning a series of four poems (or three poems and an *artificium*). There is no indication as to their authorship; only the *artificium*, a sort of cipher poem, is captioned *Grammatosyllexis aemula Clingerii mei* (fol. 129r). I suspect that this note made Wisłocki think of Klinger as the author of this sequence of poems, but what it actually means is that the author is not Klinger but Lubomirski; *aemula Clingerii mei* surely means "striving to (out)match my Klinger". It is perhaps significant that there is no reference to these poems in the lexicon at the end of the album, not even either s.v. *Grammatosyllexis* (fol. 567r), where two *artificia* of this sort are listed (both lost), or s.v. *Homiolalage* (fol. 569v), where the reference is only to a poem, described as *lepidissimum* (and therefore authored by Klinger?), on the missing fol. 360. Unless Wisłocki was told otherwise by some source unknown to me, it is best to assume, I suggest, that the author of the poetic pieces in this section was Mikołaj Lubomirski.

However, Wisłocki was surely right about the Klingerian presence in the latter part of the album. *A te principium, tibi desinet* is the motto (derived from Verg. *Ecl.* 8.11) of the already mentioned lexicon which lists the album's contents. Lubomirski's Olomouc lecture notes contain numerous references to Klinger and I have little doubt that among the poems quoted *exempli gratia* there are Klinger's verses (cf. e.g. fol. 562r – after a longer discussion of the anagram, in which several poems are quoted, we read *Haec ille* [sc. *Clingerius*]. *Ego vero etc.*). Yet these are apparently intermingled with Lubomirski's own compositions (e.g. at fol. 563v a poem is introduced by *Placuit et nobis experiri*), so that it will take some effort to sort all this out – this is one of the tasks that await future editors of this material. Moreover, it is clear to me that many of the lexicon entries refer to Klinger's poems that were to be found in the now missing part of the album (e.g. 562r *Angelicum novum et Clingerianum* refers to the missing fol. 305).

<sup>22</sup> *Inwentarz rękopisów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, vol. 1: Nr 4175-6000 (Kraków: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej, 1938), 441-444.

<sup>23</sup> BJ 5575 arrived at the Jagiellonian Library among the manuscripts which the polymath Żegota Pauli (1814–1895) bequeathed to his friend and colleague Władysław Wisłocki, who catalogued them and donated them to the Jagiellonian Library; see [Władysław Wisłocki], an untitled note, *Przewodnik Bibliograficzny* 19 (1896): 38. On the other hand, the preface to *Inwentarz rękopisów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, op. cit., credits Wisłocki with writing most of the manuscript descriptions for that volume.

Yet the truly exciting news is that the information provided by BJ 5575, both in the lexicon and in Klinger's letters, may help to identify a number of anonymous poems in the extant Olomouc prints as composed by Klinger. This will require a more careful study than I am capable of offering on the present occasion, but even the few examples given below of poems that we probably ought to identify as Klinger's in view of what BJ 5575 tells us should suffice to show how outstanding a figure he was and to whet the appetite for further discoveries that are now within our grasp.

One of the most charming poems one can find in the Olomouc prints from the end of the sixteenth century is an epithalamium for the wedding of Lady Typography and Student Polygrammus, published anonymously, *sine loco* and *sine anno*, under the title *Typographiae academicae epithalamium*<sup>24</sup>. A copy of this print is preserved in Lubomirski's album (fols 532-537). Furthermore, there is an entry dedicated to this poem, with a proper reference, in Lubomirski's lexicon s.v. *Typographiae epithalamium* (fol. 576). This entry consists mostly of a one-page discussion of the epithalamium as a genre, at whose beginning the source is duly acknowledged: *Epithalamium his legibus astringit doctissimus Clingerius*. Klinger's discussion of the genre is followed by a brief paragraph in which Lubomirski focuses specifically on the poem to which this lexicon entry refers:

Haec [sc. the praecepta described in the preceding paragraph] quam diligintissime observavit ipse in gnomis, epithalamiis, hymaeneis, thalassicis etc. Ceterum "Typographiae epithalamium" nemo melius cecinisset. Quod legi relegi perquam libentissime, et semper placuit. Poesi officium gratulor. Hinc sitim levare est eritque animus.

Who is *ipse*? Undoubtedly Klinger, whom Lubomirski describes as faithful to his own *praecepta*. The obvious implication is that Klinger is the author of *Typographiae epithalamium*. And more than that – he is described as a prolific author who is credited with numerous poems. At present I would not venture to say which and how many anonymous Olomouc prints should be ascribed to him, but I would cautiously suggest that a great part of the prints collected by Lubomirski in his album is actually Klingerian. Another source worth exploring is a suite of Olomoucian prints from the end of the sixteenth century at the Library of the Catholic University of Lublin (KUL.XVI.611-649)<sup>25</sup>, which includes, on the one hand, prints that are already well familiar to us, i.e. *Technopaegnion sacropoeticum*, *Centum epigrammata parentalia* and *Typographiae epithalamium*, and, on the other hand, a number of pieces by unidentified authors.

<sup>24</sup> For a brief summary, see Janina Dobrzyniecka, *Drukarnie Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1674–1783* (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1975), 10-11.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Piotr Rypson, op. cit., 66. A large part of these prints has been digitalised and is available online at [dlibra.kul.pl](http://dlibra.kul.pl).

I will show elsewhere that the collection in Lublin mirrors, to a significant extent, the original contents of Lubomirski's album<sup>26</sup>.

Klinger's three letters as copied by Lubomirski shed further light on the extent of his poetic production. New facts emerge from the following passage in a letter written on 31 May (1598). Klinger thanks for the *artificia* Lubomirski sent him and speaks of a return gift:

En et ego ibo promissis poeticis; accipe igitur, quod interim in absentia tua absoluta, videlicet "Satyram", "Typographiae epithalamium", "Nymphas Bethlemidas" (pro sequenti anno primum distribuendas, at tibi et hoc anno arridebunt).

This confirms that *Typographiae epithalamium* was composed by Klinger and adds two further pieces to his record. *Satyra* is surely the print titled *Satyra: Nemo satisfacit omnibus*, preserved *sine loco* and *sine auctore* in BJ 5575 (fols 516-519), whereas a copy of *Nymphae Bethlemides Christo infantulo... genethlia epyllia modulantes*, published anonymously in Olomouc in 1597, can be found among the prints in Lublin which I mentioned above (KUL.XVI.632). Both *Satyra* and *Nymphae Bethlemides* are indexed in Lubomirski's lexicon (respectively, fols 574v and 572v; in the latter case the reference is to the missing fol. 300).

What follows is more problematic and may suggest that not only did Klinger neglect to sign his literary production, but also allowed others to take credit for it:

Misi nuper "Nymphas harmonicas" per Zaidlicium; utrum acceperis, ignoro. Addidi et exemplaria, quae primum distribuentur in promotione baccalaureorum 4. Junii, scilicet "Lauream", "Hortum parthenium", "Hercynia". Ultima haec feci meo populari, sumus nati propinqui Hercyniae Sylvae Thuringi; hinc placuit sumere inscriptionem.

*Nymphae harmonicae*, *Laurea (partheniae sodalitatis academicae)*, *Hortus parthenius* and *Hercynia idyllia* were all published in Olomouc in 1598, and there is a copy of each of these prints in Lublin (respectively, KUL.XVI.627,

<sup>26</sup> One potential suspect is the forerunner of *Technopaegnion sacropoeticum* which was published in Vienna *typis Kolbianis* in 1597 under the title *Vertumnianum artificium novum et mirabile, continens in se viginti alia poetica artificia... de admirabili infantis Iesu ortu...*, whose copies are preserved both in BJ 5575 (fol. 542-547; this is referred to in the lexicon on fol. 576v s.v. *Vertumnianum*) and among the Olomouc prints in Lublin (KUL.XVI.633). This little book presents itself as a New Year's gift; the title ends with *...quod strenae loco pro felicissimo huius novi anni auspicio donat*, after which space is left on the title page for the giver to fill in. The copy in Lubomirski's album exhibits the dedication, *Nicolao Lubomierski Joannes Clingerius* (the hand is surely Klinger's). This does not necessarily mean that Klinger authored *Vertumnianum artificium*; for one thing, Samuel Kochanowski's already mentioned copperplate, which probably was once a part of Lubomirski's album, has a similar dedication written by the same (i.e. Klinger's) hand, *Clingerius Lubomiersky*, which implies that Klinger's gifts to Lubomirski were not necessarily self-made. However, the possibility of Klinger's authorship of *Vertumnianum artificium* certainly becomes more tantalising in view of what we have just learnt.

622, 623, and 621). However, what the title pages tell us is that neither of these works was composed by Klinger. *Nymphae* and *Laurea* are said to result from Olomoucian team work, *Hortus* is *per Joannem Styrensky, cathedralis ecclesiae Olomucensis canonicum... naturalis philosophiae studiosum scriptus*, and *Hercynia idyllia* are *dedicata a Daniele Zaidliczio*, i.e. the same *Zaidlicius* whose glimpses we have already caught twice in Klinger's letters. And so what? – one might ask; after all, Klinger may have wanted to acquaint Lubomirski with Olomouc's recent poetic developments, including others' poetry. Yet the point is that Klinger explicitly speaks of *Hercynia* as of his own work; *ego feci, nos sumus nati*, he says, and when he adds to this, *hinc placuit sumere inscriptionem*, what he obviously means is *mihi placuit*. It could still be argued that the *Hercynia idyllia*, allegedly authored by Zaidlicz, may be different from the *Hercynia* of which Klinger speaks, but the fact that *Hercynia idyllia* is dedicated *Conrado Rischio Erphordiensi Turingo*, i.e. precisely to Klinger's *popularis*, seems to be too much of a coincidence. In addition, although there is no *Hercynia* in BJ 5575, there is a relevant entry on fol. 568r with a reference to the missing fol. 397, which reads, *Hercynia Sylva patria*. Now, the only reason for Lubomirski to have written *patria* after *Hercynia Sylva* that I can think of is that he thought of *patria Clingerii* when he was indexing *Hercynia idyllia*.

Another confirmation that the above reasoning is correct can be found in a letter dated 11 June, in which Klinger speaks of resending to Lubomirski the prints we have already heard of:

Mitto modo alia poemata baccalaureis impressa, videlicet "Cathalogum", carmen in patenti charta, "Epigrammata". Sed haec non sunt mea, ut a stylo cognosces. At sequentia, ut "Hortus parthenius", qui conveniet tuo hortulo et Musaeo novo, "Laurea" et "Hercynia idyllia" bina exemplaria – boni his consule.

*Hortulus* and *Musaeum novum* are surely Lubomirski's album. *At* separates two categories of writings, and if one of them is labelled as *haec non sunt mea*, then the other must embrace Klinger's own poetry. Since information about the author on the title pages is either missing or misleading, it is only by comparing the style that Klinger's poems can be separated from those composed by others. A formula that may be applied to characterise Klinger is the *mélange* of striking modesty and well-deserved self-confidence. The same letter ends with a jocular passage in which Klinger alludes to his poetic fertility and explicitly describes himself as a pen to hire:

Si indigebis pluribus carminibus, quae aliquis sub suo nomine edere vellet, scribe mihi, modo promittat ad summum 40 exemplaria.

It remains to be seen just how often Klinger lent his poetic skills to others. Will we be able to recognise his style as he expected Lubomirski to do?

## IV

What a remarkable figure Klinger was – so modest that he disappeared from history for four centuries, and yet he was responsible for a significant, if not major, part of the poetry composed in Olomouc at the end of the sixteenth century. Moreover, the person that emerges from the pages of Lubomirski's album is a giant of learning who knows everything about everything. For one thing, he knew his Greeks and Romans; Rypson observed "with a certain amazement" that neither Optatian Porfyr's visual poetry nor Simias of Rhodes' earliest Greek figure poems were unfamiliar to students in Olomouc<sup>27</sup>. At the same time, BJ 5575 evidences Klinger's and Lubomirski's interest in staying *au courant* with literary novelties. I have already mentioned that Lubomirski, and therefore Klinger as well, knew the Englishman Richard Willis, who published his collection of *artificia* in 1573<sup>28</sup>. Furthermore, they kept their eyes open to what was going on in their vicinity too, for Lubomirski alludes to Wawrzyniec Susliga's book of *artificia* for the newly elevated Bishop Franciszek Łącki which was published in Cracow in the same year of 1598, in which *Technopaegnion sacropoeticum* saw the light (fol. 562v)<sup>29</sup>, and in one of his letters Klinger probably refers to another book published by Susliga in 1598 in Cracow, namely to his *Technicommetria... Alberto Clotnaeo... scripta* (fol. 578r).

Klinger self-consciously revives the Callimachean formula of a scholar-poet, as much for himself as for his pupil Lubomirski. We have already seen that the album in which Lubomirski collected poetic *memorabilia* is referred to either as a *Musaeolum* or a *Musaeum novum* both by him and by Klinger (fols 577r, 557v, also 578v). This is more than just a book; while Olomouc becomes a new Alexandria, this album is truly the recreated Mouseion, a shared space of the eternal scholarly *convivium* at which eminent philologists of their times commune with one another and with the ancients to pay due honours to *Sacra Poesis*, as they call her.

Finally, Johann Klinger – who was born in Thuringia, spent nearly his entire life within the triangle whose points were Chomutov, Olomouc and Graz, and who brought the Eccentric Muse to Poland – is Mitteleuropa's go-between, a wonder to which German, Czech, Austrian and Polish culture may lay claim alike. We should be thankful, therefore, to Mikołaj Lubomirski for erecting two monuments to his teacher, which he did by putting together his album and by seeing to the publication of *Technopaegnion sacropoeticum* – the closest that we have to a book with Klinger's proper authorial signature.

<sup>27</sup> Piotr Rypson, op. cit., 66. In Lubomirski's notes in BJ 5575, we find mentions of both Simias' and Theocritus' figure poems (fol. 562v) and of *mirabilia Porphyrii*, i.e. surely Optatian Porfyr's creations (fol. 568v).

<sup>28</sup> See n. 5 above.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Piotr Rypson, op. cit., 69.

### Deciphering *Ne Luscinia Segnior*

#### S u m m a r y

The present discussion sheds light on the life and works of Johann Klinger (1557–1610), a prominent albeit obscure figure of Mitteleuropean intellectual life at the end of the sixteenth century. During his particularly fruitful stay in Olomouc in the years 1597 and 1598, where he taught at a Jesuit college, a number of his poems were published, although none under his own name. In 1598, one of his Olomouc pupils, Mikołaj Lubomirski, saw to press a collection of Klinger's *technopaegnia*, which was the earliest such anthology to be published in Poland. Lubomirski's album, partially preserved at the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow (BJ 5575), allows us to bring Klinger back from oblivion.

### Odcyfrowując *Ne Luscinia Segnior*

#### S t r e s z c z e n i e

Artykuł jest poświęcony życiu i twórczości Johanna Klingera (1557–1610), ważnej, lecz całkowicie zapomnianej postaci środkowoeuropejskiego życia intelektualnego u schyłku XVI wieku. Podczas szczególnie owocnego pobytu Klingera w Ołomuńcu w latach 1597 i 1598, gdzie nauczał w kolegium jezuickim, opublikowano szereg jego utworów poetyckich, żadnego jednak pod jego nazwiskiem. W 1598 roku jego student z Ołomuńca, Mikołaj Lubomirski, zadbał o wydanie zbioru poezji kunsztownej Klingera, pierwszej takiej publikacji na ziemiach polskich. Raptularz Lubomirskiego, częściowo zachowany w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej (sygn. 5575), umożliwia wydobycie Klingera z zapomnienia.

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