

Neo-Latin *Hispanica*, acknowledged in the 17th century Cracovian print culture (as exemplified by the Schedels' printing office)¹

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Abstract. This paper examines Spanish-Polish literary connections in 17th and in the beginning of 18th century by the example of the reception of some Neo-Latin works addressing Spanish issues which were acquired in the editorial production of the Schedels printing shop. The *officina Schedeliana* operated (1639-1708) in early modern Cracow and was one of the most significant printing offices in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in those times. The paper points to the books which reflect cross-cultural impact of both the Latin language and Spanish themes and were published by the specific printing house. Some of the branches of works printed by the Schedels were translations and editions of Neo-Latin texts which concerned Spanish leading figures of the Post-Tridentin period. The reception of key ideas and values present in the 17th century selected Neo-Latin literary output addressing Spanish issues is investigated, as well as the traces of awareness of the famous Spaniards in the books released in Cracow.

Keywords: Neo-Latin; book history; *officina Schedeliana*; Spanish mysticism; Old-Polish literature; Cracow.

[es] Textos hispánicos neolatinos conocidos en la cultura impresa cracoviana del siglo XVII (a partir del ejemplo de la imprenta Schedels)

Resumen. En este artículo se examinan las conexiones literarias hispano-polacas del siglo XVII y principios del XVIII a partir del ejemplo de la recepción de algunas obras neolatinas sobre temas españoles adquiridas en la producción editorial de la imprenta Schedels. La *officina Schedeliana* operó en la Cracovia moderna temprana (1639-1708) y fue una de las oficinas de impresión más importantes de la Commonwealth polaco-lituana en aquellos tiempos. El artículo llama la atención sobre los libros que reflejan el impacto transcultural de los temas tanto en lengua latina como española y que fueron publicados por esta imprenta en particular. Algunos de los ámbitos de las obras impresas por los Schedels fueron traducciones y ediciones de textos neolatinos que se referían a las principales figuras españolas del periodo posttridentino. Se investiga la recepción de ideas y valores clave presentes en la producción literaria neolatina seleccionada del siglo XVII que aborda la problemática española, así como las huellas del conocimiento de los españoles ilustres en los libros publicados en Cracovia.

Palabras clave: Neolatín; Historia del libro; *officina Schedeliana*; Misticismo español; Literatura polaca antigua; Cracovia.

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Summary. 1. *Status quaestionis* and preliminary remarks. 2. The Schedels printing shop. 3. Neo-Latin works and translations. 4. Ephemeral occurrences. 5. Final overview. 6. Bibliography.

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1. *Status quaestionis* and preliminary remarks

The primary aim of this paper is to explore the key ideas and values present in the 17th century selected Neo-Latin literary output addressing Spanish issues which was adopted, usually in an indirect way, in the editorial production of the *officina Schedeliana* in Cracow, Poland, one of the middle-class printing shops situated in Central-Eastern Europe. The paper also aims to distinguish the books which reflect cross-cultural impact of both the Latin language and Spanish themes and were published by this specific printing house. The piece of writing also examines examples of Spanish-Polish mutual connections in the «Golden Age» in Spain and the baroque period in the Commonwealth of Poland, which, in comparison, in the 17th century had its «Silver Age».

These relations in the field of so called the baroque literature were investigated e.g. by Jean Goldman (1937), Stefania Ciesielska-Borkowska (1938, 1939, Chrzanowski, Ciesielska-Borkowska 1938)³, Krystyna Niklewiczówna (1977) and also, among others, by Kazimierz Sabik (1998), Florian Śmieja and Beata Baczyńska (1999), Teresa Eminowicz-Jaśkowska (2004), Katarzyna Kaczor-Scheitler (2005), and Jan Kieniewicz (2007) with a focus on the reception of works in Spanish. There is, however, any paper devoted to the reception of the Neo-Latin Spanish literature of the 16th and 17th century in the a single Polish printing shop. This review, then, serves as an essay on one of many ways of dissemination and infiltration of one culture into another, at the very primary, institutional level: by means of editorial enterprise. Here, this way is considered as the core organizational step, influencing the closest milieu and due to the books circulation enabling the expansion of outlying areas and the creation of new centers of knowledge, ideas, and aesthetic values coming from early modern Spain.

One of my specific purposes is to analyse the reception of works of such authors like Diego de Estella (1524-1578) and Juan de Jesús María (1564-1615) published by one of the 17th century printing offices in the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This research interest also includes rhetorical writings by Nicolas de Vernulz (1583-1649), who was involved in supporting the rulers in the Spanish Netherlands, and also mainly works of different authors concerning, to various extent, Saints: Pedro Nolasco (ca. 1180-1249), Íñigo de Loyola (1491-1556), Pedro de Alcántara (1499-1562), Teresa de Ávila (1515-1582), Luis Beltrán (1526-1581), Paschalis Baylon (1540-1592), José de Calasanz (1557-1648), finally, Rosa de Lima (1586-1617) not a Spaniard, but speaking Spanish, and considered to be saintly, Domingo de Jesús María Ruzzola (1559-1630)⁴.

³ One of the Polish translations of *Don Quijote* was accomplished by Stefania Ciesielska-Borkowska.

⁴ Years of birth and death, as well as the forms of personal names of these persons are given following CERL

What is understood here under the term Neo-Latin *Hispanica* (cf. Mieczkowska 2015)⁵, are not only the works published in the Iberian Peninsula in Latin in the early modern times, precisely in the 16th and 17th centuries, but also all books primarily written in Latin or edited as such, and referring in many aspects to Spanish language users, the country and other related matters. Sometimes they were firstly written in Latin, and sometimes they were Latin translation of the Spanish original or the Latin version of the second rendition in Italian. Most often they were received via «intermediary cultures» (Nowicka-Jeżowa 2012, 35)⁶. These Latin works form the common European heritage (Niklewiczówna 1977, 92) and they were published with view to be widely disseminated. Owing to Latin, a commonly known medium of communication back then, such books were targeted at representatives of various societies and specific groups of receivers within them; in the Polish case, mainly conventual clergy.

Neo-Latin literature flourished both in early modern Poland and simultaneously in Spain (Coroleu 2014a; 2014b; Coroleu, Fuoto 2015). However, it seems that the Latin language as a communication tool of literature and daily life at the dawn of Renaissance and following periods was more important in the Commonwealth of Poland than among Spaniards (Ijsewijn 1990, 104-5). In Poland *Latinitas*, as observed by a Polish classicist (Mikołajczak 2000, 30), became a universal and predominant language which integrated local cultures. Representatives of Polish privileged social stratum are conceived to declare «I am a Polish nobleman so I speak Latin» (*Eques Polonus sum, Latine loquor*)⁷.

It is estimated that works of above 30 Spanish authors were known in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16th and 17th century. Mutual bonds between Spain and the Commonwealth of Poland were formed as early as the 12th century and concerned the marriage of the Spanish King, Alphonso VII, to the Polish Princess Rycheza (Niklewiczówna 1977, 92). When we investigate the very beginnings of printing in Poland, we encounter the work *Expositio super toto Psalterio* by the Spanish Dominican Juan de Torquemada, published in Cracow in 1475 (Niklewiczówna 1977, 93). However, one of the most famous figures linking both countries was the printer Stanislaus Polonus. He lived at the turn of the 15th and 16th century, left Poland for Italy and then settled in Sevilla. 16th century Cracow also hosted the Neo-Latin poet and jurist Pedro Ruiz de Moros (Roysius), then a well-known figure at the royal court.

2. The Schedels printing shop

Cracow, at that time, was not only the Polish capital city, but also the most important city of publishing with a dominant position which started to decrease only in the 17th century. It is estimated by Marian Malicki that in the first half of the 17th century Cracow housed 38 printing shops (Malicki 2006, 121). We may add that in the second half

Thesaurus (https://data.cerl.org/thesaurus/_search , access 13/04/2020).

⁵ This paper discusses the term *Polonicum*, which was a useful criterion for registering works in the *Bibliografia polska (Polish Bibliography)* by Karol Estreicher sr. and his descendants.

⁶ I would like to acknowledge Prof. Barbara Milewska-Ważbińska for proffering me an item of this book.

⁷ This *dictum* in this quoted form seems to be excerpted and combined from two historical novels: *Ogniem i mieczem (With Fire and Sword)* and *Potop (Deluge)* authored by the Polish writer, Henryk Sienkiewicz.

of the 17th and in the first half of the 18th century there were about 25 printing offices. One of them, starting to operate just in the first half of the century, from 1639 until 1708, was run by the Schedel family (Jaglarz 1997; 2000); first by the founder of the dynasty, Krzysztof Schedel (died 1653), and after his death for a short time by his widow and the father's namesake, together with two other sons, who ran the business longer, Jerzy Romuald (1635-1705) and Mikołaj Aleksander (ca. 1644-1708). In the first half of the 17th century Krzysztof Schedel the Older, right from the multicultural region Silesia, came to Cracow (Jaglarz 1997, 195). He launched here printing practice after being honoured with the royal privilege and after obtaining a printing office belonging to the Polish Brethren, contemporary adherents of Arianism, he continued his work until 1653. However, just before 1639 Schedel ran his commercial enterprise in the field of both selling books and—what may seem strange, but it was certainly profitable—iron goods. Customers had a chance to buy books in the bookshop owned by the Schedels or at stalls in the Cracow Main Market Square.

The Schedels printing office was a typical private company as many others located all around Europe. Yet, in the 17th century Commonwealth of Poland, it was one of the most famous printing shops. They published almost solely works in Polish and in Latin; some of them were translations which will be presented below. The percentage of book production in the Schedels' company, concerning Spanish issues, together with their Latin translations, is not higher than approximately 3 percent. That is about 20 out of not fewer than 760 books. It may seem quite an insignificant number, but these publications deserves our interest due to several reasons.

First, these writings are a testimony of the unilateral reception of the literary output produced originally hundreds of kilometers away and dealing with a rather exotic, *prima facie*, culture. Besides, this reception shows that so called «Sarmatian» culture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, sometimes then named *Sarmatia* (Ulewicz 2006), tried to absorb and adopt in a selective way these elements that could be applied into the coherent cognitive structure of the world. One may say that this «Sarmatian» culture represented rather a closed paradigm, but in fact it was immersed in the multivariable network. Thirdly, this phenomenon indicates that any cultural or sociological fact always gains in its strength and influence and the latter may be revealed only decades later, as in the case of editorial production of the Schedels' printing shop.

One of the types of books published by the *officina Schedeliana* were translations of works of Spanish Neo-Latin authors discussing some significant Spanish figures of the Post-Tridentin époque. Other Neo-Latin printed texts describe important Spaniards of the 16th and 17th century. We may distinguish several groups of writings in which Spanish issues are present: 1) works originally written in Latin; 2) Polish translations of Latin texts through intermediate or direct translation from Latin; 3) Latin translations of works written originally in Italian or Spanish.

Almost all Spanish issues adapted in the Schedels' editorial production complied with the Post-Tridentin directions. Moreover, the majority of these texts are in prose. There can be distinguished two prevailing groups of their authors: one coming from the Carmelite order and the other from the Franciscan order. Their works represent only a sample of the whole Hispanism in the Polish and Polish Neo-Latin literature of the 17th century. Nevertheless, it should be noted that especially mysticism influenced this literature, both prose and poetry. This phenomenon was in accordance with experiencing one's inwardness and collective rituals commemorating Christ's

Passion, which frequently had its architectural embodiment in the Calvary hills raised in Poland. It is quite a paradox that the Spanish monarchy in times of its colonial expansions and explorations in the New World enabled the rise of literature focusing on the depths of the inner world of man (Dzierżykraj-Morawski ca. 1933, 751; Río 1970, 243-69). A similar coexistence of antithetical dispositions was also present in the «Sarmatian» mindset. There was fondness for panoply and emphasis on the allegedly ancient origins of the Polish gentry, and proclivity to calling to mind world's transience. This dichotomic attitude towards daily life seemed to be a characteristic feature of also so called the baroque period.

The selection of books chosen for printing was influenced by various factors. The activity of representatives of the Franciscan and Carmelite orders in Cracow shaped the editorial repertoire of Cracovian printers in more or less direct way, as far as the Spanish issues are concerned. Also, the Southern Low Countries and Rome had a significant impact on this theme in editorial production.

3. Neo-Latin works and translations

The liturgical prints seem to have had the dominant influence on the spread of knowledge of some Spanish figures. These are *Corollarium Breviarii Romani* and editions of *Officia propria sanctorum*.

In the section of the liturgical commemorations there are texts which, to varying degrees, may serve as a source of knowledge about people born in Spain or working there such as Peter Nolasco (*Corollarium* 1675, 6-8; *Officia* 1682, 25n), Ignatius de Loyola (*Missae* 1699, 12n), Luis Bertrand (*Officia* 1682, 138 n), Saint Teresa, and Peter of Alcántara (e.g. *Officia* 1682, 148-150). The earliest trace of the Spanish impact on the Schedels' production, and subsequently on mentality of the society via their books, are the prayers and short biography of Teresa of Ávila in *Corollarium Breviarii Romani ex Officiis Sanctorum*, approved by Urban VIII, and published by Krzysztof Schedel in 1641. Also, the two editions of the *Officia propria sanctorum* and *Missae propriae* made reference to Spanish saints. This interesting Neo-Latin *para-Hispanicum*, that is a passage implicitly connected with the Spanish speaking communities, mentions Rose of Lima in the *Officia...* issued by Mikołaj Aleksander Schedel in 1682. Liturgical prints constituted also a ground between Rome as the capital of Church and presence of Spaniards or people from Peru such as Saint Rose in the editorial production of Schedel's printing shop. What is more, the publishing of prints resulted indirectly from the decisions made mainly by senior Italian clergymen and Italian popes, who had the final say on the shape of the liturgical calendar. The usage of the missal texts and these from the Liturgy of the Hours, and then the spreading of knowledge about Spanish figures referred to, was finally conditioned on the decision of the individuals from the secular and monastic ministry. Particularly the representatives of the orders whose fellow sisters and confreres were beatified or canonized in the 16th or in the 17th century were especially interested in promoting glory of their new saints.

One of the leading figures of the Carmelite order, Saint Teresa of Ávila, declared to be a Saint in 1622, is depicted in several works of Schedels' printing shop. Earlier, just in the year of proclaiming the new saint, another printer in Cracow issued *Triumphus thaumaturgae Virginis S. Teresiae a Jesu*, a collection of poems composed by the professor of rhetoric, Wawrzyniec Śmieszkwic.

Saint Teresa was canonized together with Ignatius de Loyola and three other Saints by Gregory XV. This fact is indicated in the work *Scholae piae* published by Krzysztof Schedel (Joannes a Sancta Maria Magdalena 1646). It concerns the development of the Piarist system of education. The author of the text, the Piarist Joannes a Sancta Maria Magdalena, signed directly under the dedicational letter to the Polish King Vladislaus IV, also mentions the difficulties in establishing or reforming the orders undertaken mainly by Saint Ignatius and Saint Teresa (Joannes a Sancta Maria Magdalena 1646, 36). Such a direct reference to the founder's name of the new Piarist order seldom occurs, for instance, when the author mentions the contemporary superior of this community, Josephus Calasantius. He is pictured as pious and righteous Spaniard from Aragon, working in the poorest districts of Rome, and his panegyric depiction is not extended since the piece of work is mainly historiographical in character.

The finest books on Saint Teresa published by the Schedel's printing house seem to be the poetical anthology by a rather unknown monk, the Carmelite father Eliseus a S. Maria: *De vita, gestis ac miraculis S. Matris nostrae Theressiae a Iesu [...] Lyricorum libri IV. Epodon liber unus duoq[ue] Epigrammatum* (Elisaeus a S. Maria 1650; Sabik 1998, 15; Buszewicz 2014, 143-62). This collection of poems was modelled on the editions of the *Lyricorum libri* (e.g. 1632, 1634) by the poet Matthias Casimir Sarbiewski whose name is mentioned in the dedicational letter to this miscellany.

Although the volume is nominally designated to be devoted to Saint Teresa, it gathers, in fact, poems dedicated to other saints worshipped mainly in the Commonwealth of Poland, and to some noblemen, clerks and cardinals. The part containing poems entitled epigrams comprises versed compositions glorifying Saint Teresa.

The Spanish rulers are honoured, too. The book IV is dedicated to Philip III. The opening poem is addressed to the monarch's father, Philip II, one of the correspondents with Saint Teresa. His «solid piety» and his acquaintance with this woman named *Virago* are extolled. The appellation, which emphasizes Teresa's fortitude, brings hope for receiving heavenly reward. The mutual contacts of the Saint and the king are sufficient arguments for the panegyric depiction. It is then evident that the anthology had not only a poetical value but also more predominant religious purposes. The book honoured the Polish-Lithuanian state with a mind of readers in Spain and it was also a panegyric way to promote the Carmelite Order there.

Works on representatives of other brotherhoods are also present in the Schedel's editorial repertoire. One of Saint Teresa's confessors, Peter of Alcántara, became famous also as a founder of the more rigorous branch of the Franciscan order. As an author he is known for *De meditatione et oratione libellus aureus*, translated from Spanish and published in Cologne. His beatification took place in 1622 and canonization in 1669, together with canonization of Maria Magdalena de Pazzis. That year the prior of the monastery in Prague, Antonio Bruodinus, wrote a small book *Synopsis vitae, virtutum et miraculorum S. Petri de Alcantara* and passed to print (Bruodinus 1669). Then, it was reprinted in Cracow the following year (Bruodinus 1670) to celebrate Peter's recent canonization. Its preliminaries, however, were changed. The Latin biography was based on works in Latin and Italian, listed in the end of the book.

There can be noticed some similarities to some book in German and in Latin, namely *Kurtzer Begriff des Lebens, Tugenden und Wunderzeichen wie auch des Verlauffs und Acten so fůrgangen bey der Beatification und Canonization des Seeligen*

Petri von Alcantara, published anonymously in Mainz, and containing two biographies of the saint (*Kurtzer Begriff* 1669)⁸, coedited together with the Latin description of the canonization ceremonies of the said Franciscan and the subsequent Saint Carmelite Maria Magdalena de Pazzi. The affinities originate from one of the probable common sources, that is the book released in Rome in 1669⁹, which shortened title—*Compendium S. Petri*—is listed on the verso of both editions of the Latin *Synopsis*... . The latter work, published in Prague and in Cracow, is a more comprehensive study in comparison with the work in German, as far as the signs of Peter's saintly intercession resulting in miracles are concerned; in the Latin edition there are more descriptions of miraculous events.

In the dedicational letter of *Synopsis*... of 1670, written to a Polish nobleman, Saint Peter is called «a new ornament of Spain» (cf. Bruodinus 1670, fol. [2] r.). In Peter's biography Saint Teresa is portrayed as «the most saint heroine» (cf. Bruodinus 1669, 10; 1670, 14), «that celestial astronomer, the disciple of our Peter and simultaneously spiritual daughter» (cf. Bruodinus 1669, 17; 1670, 22).

What makes Saint Peter remarkable is his ability to perform miracles and his asceticism observed in his beliefs, in penitential practice and in solitary life. One example of a miracle is a sudden growth of a fig-tree. The Spanish queen picked up some of its fruit, believing it to be miraculous, and shared it with the poor. This passage resembles the Evangelical motif of the fig-tree; in the life of Peter of Alcántara the fig brought good fruit which may be interpreted as an allegory of his whole life. A huge part of the book, more than a half, comprises short accounts of his miracles which happened during his life (paragraphs 5-6), and also after his death. They can be called case studies of the prodigious healings and prosperous events ascribed to the Saint.

Let us now move on to the group of texts translated into Polish – written originally in Latin or Spanish and only then rendered into the Romans' language. One of the *Hispanica*, maintained in the ascetic and doloristic spirituality, is the Polish translation of *Stimulus compunctionis et Soliloquia (Incentive to Grief and Soliloquies)* by the Spanish Carmelite Juan de Jesús María, born in Calahorra from where Quintilian and probably Prudentius came from. The author makes use of the polysemy of the Latin noun *stimulus*, which means, among others, an inducement as well as a thorn. The word occurs in some *loci classici* of 1st and 2nd Epistles of St Paul to the Corinthians (1 Cor 15, 55-56; 2 Cor 12, 7), as well as in several other biblical books¹⁰, including Acts of Apostles where St Paul covers the story of his metanoia (Acts 9, 5; 26, 14).

The work *Stimulus compunctionis et Soliloquia* partly reflects Saint Augustine's writings simultaneously self-examining and referring to God, but in a way foreshadowing the posterior Jansenistic morality: *Stimulus*... proper is a set of command-

⁸ Edited with: *Relatio caeremoniarum celebratarum in Basilica sancti Petri in canonizatione S. Petri de Alcantara et S. Mariae Magdaleneae de Pazzi, peracta 28 Aprilis huius anni millesimi sexcentissimi sexagesimi noni*. The place of print and printer's name has been quoted after the online catalogue of the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel <http://opac.lbs-braunschweig.gbv.de/DB=2/SET=1/TTL=12/LNG=EN/SHW?FRST=12> [access: 2.05.2020].

⁹ *Compendium vitae, virtutum et miraculorum necnon auctorum in causa beatificationis et canonizationis beatorum Petri de Alcantara et Mariae Magdaleneae de Pazzis. Ex secretaria Congregationis Sacrorum Rituum* (Romae: ex Typographia Reverendae Camerae Apost., 1669). For the bibliographical description of the print see Catalogo del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale: <https://opac.sbn.it/opacsbn/opaclib> [access: 2.05.2020].

¹⁰ As reminded by the anonymous Reviewer of this paper.

ments and reproaches. There is, however, some shift in the intratextual communication in the first main part of the early modern work in juxtaposition to Augustine's *Confessiones* and his dialogue between his Soul and the Reason: man is not a sender of the statements, but a recipient of the God's utterance—the roles are reversed in the Spaniard's *Soliloquia*. There are also other literary predecessors of the conversation between a man (or his soul) and God (or His representations, as one may gather, depending on the context, Conscience, Reason, Truth or Philosophy). Let us revoke here the work *Synonyma* by Isidore of Sevilla¹¹, the dialogue between the Man and the Reason (Cardelle de Hartmann 2007, 168-172), one of the bestsellers since the late Middle Ages, until 16th century (Elfassi 2008, 111). The work of the early medieval Spanish author might have been known to Juan de Jesús María, however, the technique of the discourse in some passages of *Synonyma* resembles the interlocution of catechised person with their teacher.

The first edition of *Stimulus...* was published in Cologne in 1611 (Juan de Jesús María 1611)¹², the second one in Douai (*Duacum*) in 1632. The dedicational letter of these two prints, addressed to Jesus Himself, informs us about the method of the work in which the author adduces utterances from the Holy Scripture and words that are believed to be addressed by God to individual hearts (Juan de Jesús María 1632, 5-6). The purpose of the work, conversion of the sinners, is depicted in the metaphor of nailing a spine into the bowels of the human, followed by tears of penitence (Juan de Jesús María 1632, 7). The similar declaration is shown in the preface to the reader, where the maker of this not likable action is called «a finger of God, who is His Spirit» (cf.: «digito Dei, qui est eius Spiritus»), Juan de Jesús María 1632, 9).

The Polish editor decided to illustrate these metaphorical confessions with an image of a crying and burning heart, hammered by a hand emerging from a cloud. The Schedels' printing office published the Polish translation of *Stimulus compunctionis* entitled *Zegar serdeczny (The Clock of the Heart)*, twice, in 1646 and 1651. The latter edition, much more popular than the former one, took place during Cracow festivities of the jubilee year. The picture of the contrite heart was added to both editions. The title of the Polish translation is a periphrasis of the Latin version and the translator made also a change in the naming convention of the chapters which he called «godzina» («hour»); in the Latin text there are simply *capita*. He converted fewer than half the chapters of total amount of 58 ones; the *Soliloquia* were omitted. In addition to this, the order of sections was also changed and some of them were united to produce a more persuasive effect.

The translator, Przemysław Domiechowski, a Cistercian prior of the Mogiła Abbey in the vicinity of Cracow, perceives his work as a little clock. In the first edition (Juan de Jesús María 1646) it is considered as a gift for the Cistercian abbot of Pępłin in Northern Poland, and in the second one, as a present for the Discalced Carmelite Sisters of the Polish-Lithuanian province. Thanks to this the far distance between the sender and his recipients, the ideas propagated by Juan Maria started to circulate not only within the two orders, but also in remote regions of the state. From the foreword addressed to the reader we may deduce that the work is an allegorical

¹¹ Here I would like to express my gratitude to the anonymous Referee who indicated the work by Isidorus, as well as further bibliographical references concerning Latin dialogue.

¹² There are also some items with a typo on the cover page – without the letter «a» in the author's religious name.

clock. This clock, or in fact God Himself, ticks on for the sinner so that he or she would not remain asleep in their sins.

The motif of sleep as a metaphorical image of human life had transformed earlier and put to good use, but in a different way, by Pedro Calderón de la Barca with his *La vida es sueño*, in which Poland is the setting of the drama. In the *Stimulus compunctionis* by the Spanish Carmelite this inactive state is a result of wrong choices, not a permanent or supine human condition, and thereby the Augustinian inspiration is clearly visible in the work.

Another work, written primarily in Latin and then adapted for the Polish-speaking reader is the book published by Mikołaj Aleksander Schedel and titled *Wzgarda próżności świata* (*The Contempt of the Mundane Vanities*), by Diego de Estella (1690). The name of the translator does not appear on the title page either. While the work by Juan de Jesús María centres around inner life, the work by Diego de Estella mainly illustrates typical for some baroque trends, used by, for instance, Luis of Granada, focusing on the contempt for vanity of this world.

Diego de Estella became known in Cracow, at least within a small circle of the learned people, just in the 16th century. Copies of the one of the sequent Spanish editions, this of 1583, of the *De la vanidad del mundo* as well as *Meditaciones devotísimas del amor de Dios* were brought to the Commonwealth of Poland from Spain by the Polish legate, Piotr Dunin Wolski. After his death the collection of books was donated to the Cracow University's library (Obrębski 1999).

The Franciscan monk and preacher Didacus Stellae, known earlier as Diego de Estella or from Navarra, authored several works on spirituality. One of them is the work *El Tratado de la vanidad del mundo*, written in Spanish and published for the first time in Toledo in 1562. It was soon translated into Italian, Latin, English, Polish, French and then into Dutch and German. The first Latin translation accomplished by the Jesuit Pierre Bourguignon (1522-1598) as a compendium from the Italian version of Geremia Foresti (died 1589), was *De contemnendis mundi vanitatibus*, published for the first time in 1572 (Wichowa 2009, 18). The second, complete Latin version, *Contemptus vanitatum mundi*, dates back to 1617 and it was printed in Cologne just as the first printing of the *Stimulus...* by Juan de Jesús María, however by a different printer. There is no name of the Latin translator in the 1617 edition neither on the title page, nor in the text itself, but in the dedicational letter by the printer Jacob Crithius there is a note that the Italian translation from the Spanish original was prepared by the another Jesuit, Giambattista Peruschi (1525-1598). However, there is no direct reference that it was the basis for the translation. The work published as *Contemptus...* is more comprehensive, with all the passages which were not translated in the version *De contemnendis...*, but many segments of the writing are almost selfsame as in the first Latin version. The former one was supplied with the missing extracts and slightly changed, therefore.

The first Polish translation of some of the chapters of Diego de Estella's work had been published in 1611 in the city of Poznań in Western Poland, before Krzysztof Schedel launched his printing office in Cracow. The translator, the Minorite Augustyn Kočański (Wichowa 2009, 17-31), took the first Latin version by Bourguignon, *De contemnendis mundi vanitatibus*. In fact, the Polish translator did not translate the whole book, but only some excerpts.

As far as the book published in Cracow in 1690 is concerned, it does not render the work undertaking the famous topos of *contemptus mundi*. The beginning

noun – «wzgarda» («contempt») – on the title page is quite misleading and the appropriate content of the book is fully revealed only while reading the whole title, where we can see that the work includes «Tracts on pious meditations about God's love». Apparently, it is not a translation of *Contemptus vanitatum mundi*, but *De amore Dei meditationes piissimae* (translated through the intermediary French version, originally: *Meditaciones devotísimas del amor de Dios*), another work by Diego de Estella. It is rather a kind of selection of small segments. The Latin version based on the French translation was published in 1603. The book *Wzgarda próżności świata* was most likely translated from Spanish by the bishop Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski (1650-1711), however there is no dedicational letter or preface, which would explain the translation technique or give the author's name. The next edition of the work, published in the city of Kalisz in 1730, directly pointed to bishop Załuski as the translator on the title page, as well as in the dedication. Załuski was the Polish king's legate in Spain, with a good command of Spanish in the second half of the 17th century.

The book explores the theme of Divine love towards man and man's obligation to love God. *Contemptus...* and *Meditationes...* appear to be diametrically diverse as far as the attitude towards the world is concerned: quite a pessimistic concentration on the transience of life is juxtaposed with great encouragement to acknowledge human's dignity. We may wonder how this mistake of the confusing title happened. Maybe it resulted from conviction that the book stressing contempt for the worldly sumptuousness will find more readers among the Cracovian milieu.

The reception of Diego de Estella's works in the Schedel's printing office, and more generally, in Poland, in the context of lingual relationships may be illustrated with the following sequence:

Spanish → Italian / French → Latin → Polish.

Apart from ascetic and moralistic works by Spanish religious writers, the Schedel's printing shop published also these which offered biographical information. Just as in the case of two editions of the biography of Dominic a Jesu Maria, the superior of the Carmelite order. He was born in Calatayud in Aragonia and travelled to several countries such as Austria, Belgium, Bohemia, and France.

In 1672 the successors of Krzysztof Schedel the Older edited *Historyja świętobliwego życia wielbnego ojca Dominika a Jesu Maryja* (*History of the Saintly Life of the Reverend Father Dominic a Jesu Maria*) and in 1685 they published a new version of this text, titled, *Nowy Elias cudotworny* (*New Elias Miraclemaker*) (Philippus a Sanctissima Trinitate 1685). The basis for the Cracovian editions was the *Historia v[enerabilis] p[atris] Dominici a Jesu Maria* (*History of the Reverend Father Dominic a Jesu Maria*) by the later general of the Carmelites, Philip of the Most Holy Trinity, published in Lyon 1659. Interestingly, one of the written sources for the work *Historia venerabilis patris...* is the writing of the Spanish polymath Juan de Caramuel y Lobkowitz, the abbot of Mons Serrat (Prague) who wrote *Dominicus* (Caramuel y Lobkowitz 1655). It was published in Wien by Stanislaus Matthaues Cosmerovius, who—what may be interesting in the context of our investigation—had been earlier apprenticed to a printing shop in Cracow (Korotajowa 2000, 329). The arrangement of this book and its division into 7 chapters resemble the two above mentioned works on Dominic published by the Schedels.

We may become acquainted with the direct source of the Polish versions printed in Cracow by investigating the work *Historia venerabilis patris ...* by Philip of the Most Holy Trinity. The author calls Dominic a «prodigy [...] both of miracles, virtues and celestial co-participations» (*prodigium [...] et miraculorum, et virtutum, et coelestium communicationum*). He writes that he wants to be rather a historian than promoter of the cult of Dominic to produce the effect of objectivity in his accounts (Philippus a Sanctissima Trinitate 1659).

Each of the books is entitled with reference to some aspect of Dominic life: «innocent in the world» (*in saeculo innocentis*), «among the Carmelite rules [...] excellent» (*in Carmelo mitigato perfecti*), «in Italy guiding discalceate Carmelites to perfection» (*in Italia Carmelum perficientis*), «triumphant in Germany» (*in Germania triumphantis*), «glorious in Italy» (*in Italia gloriosi*), «dying in Germany» (*in Germania morientis*), «outstanding for virtues» (*virtutibus conspicui*), «renowned for the fame of sanctity» (*fama sanctitatis inclyti*). Dominic is depicted as a «godly man», which reminds of the ancient tradition of regarding some figures as θεοὶ ἄνδρες. His miracles before and during his birth as well as in his childhood are presented. The typical hagiographic image is pictured against the political background and social situation of Spain of those times. A sign of his humility was his unwillingness to meet with King Filip II and Princess Isabella Klara Eugenia, when they arrived to the monastery. He is also considered a prophet.

In the case of *New Elias Miracle-maker* the question of the authorship arises. The author belonged to the Carmelite order. In the first book the prophet Elias is called «our saint father» (Philippus a Sanctissima Trinitate 1685, 4). The author depicts himself as «historian, not an orator praising one's deeds», but, in fact, it is a panegyric life (Philippus a Sanctissima Trinitate 1685, 51). The order is called «our» («nasz»). Both of the Cracovian editions, *History of the Sainly Life* and *New Elias Miracle-maker* are translations done by one of the Polish Carmelites, Irenaeus of the Annunciation (Estreicher 1901, 645) who certainly extended the primary version, namely the *History of the Sainly Life... .* His name does not appear on the title page, observing the custom of not revealing one's identity in printed works. The practice is still followed now and again in some publications of this order. The Polish translations of Philip's work do not include the appendix containing the letters and other sources on which Caramuel had based his account.

Rarely were the works adapted directly only from Spanish originals. Italian versions were also primarily used, just as in the case of the *Cartas* by Saint Teresa. Their Latin translation from Spanish by Mathias Martinez was published in Cologne in 1626 in the volume *Opera Seraphicae Matris nostrae Teressiae*. It was dedicated by the printer, Joannes Kinkckius, to the Polish magnate Stanislaus Lubomirski. In 1665 a printer working in the Cracow vicinity, contemporaneous to Krzysztof Schedel's heirs, Balcer Śmieszkowic, edited the second volume of the *Księgi duchowne* (*Spiritual Books*), together with Saint Teresa's correspondence having its own title page: *Listy seraficnej Matki, S. Teresy od Pana Jezusa* (*Letters of the Seraphic Virgin, Saint Mother Teresa of the Lord Jesus*) (Teresa de Jesús 1665). The latter did not draw directly on the Spanish, but on the Italian version, since the Italian language was more familiar to the learned ranks of the Polish-Lithuanian society than Spanish. The name of the translator into Polish was not given, but there is quote in the foreword to the reader mentioning the name of the person who rendered the letters from Spanish into Italian: Orazio Quaranta (Teresa de Jesús 1665, 389). Quaranta's Italian translation

was published in Rome in 1660 and the author himself was a Jesuit and the legate of the Polish king in Madrid (Toppi 1678, 229; Rosa 2003, 312)¹³. It seems probable that his Italian translation might have reached Polish Carmelite readers thanks to this institutional contact with the Polish court. In the edition of 1665 the title page states that the work is translated from Spanish and from Italian. This information is also specified in the ending of the preface to a reader where it is said that the translation «from the Spanish into Italian language» of all the submitted letters was approved by Rome. All these remarks concerning the edition of Balcer Śmieszkowicz may be also referred to the volume printed by the heirs of Krzysztof Schedel.

The Schedels, in 1672, reprinted the Polish edition titled *Listy seraficznej Panny, ś. Matki Teresy od Pana Jezusa (Letters of the Seraphic Virgin Saint Mother Teresa of the Lord Jesus)* (Teresa de Jesús 1672). The letters of Saint Teresa were enriched with the commentaries of Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (1600-1659), a Spanish bishop in Mexico and the West Indies, and then in his fatherland (Fernández Gracia 2003, 40). His notes had not be included in the first Cracovian edition of this correspondence seven years before. From the dedication written by the Carmelites of the Polish province and addressed to the Polish king, Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki, we are informed that the work obtained financial support from this monarch. The choice made by the order to publish only the letters of the Saint and to offer them to the king might have been dictated on the one hand by their quite an «applied» character and on the other hand by the structure of the book, divided into easy, legible, short entries. Saint Teresa not only writes here about spirituals matters, but also mentions facts from her daily life and sometimes situations in Spain, which might especially interest the monarch. The most important factor, however, might be noticed in the former edition of 1665: there were preparations made by the Polish Carmelites to publish the letters with the explanatory notes of Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. They refer to this idea in the preface addressed to the reader (Teresa de Jesús 1665, 389) which was actualized by the Schedels' printing shop.

Also in the Schedels' edition the name of the translator was omitted, but we may deduce from a brief annotation in the *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* (Cosma a S. Stephano 1752, 709) that the task was undertaken by the Polish Carmelite, Ignatius a S. Ioanne, who not only edited the commentaries to the letters of Saint Teresa, as stated in the aforementioned biographical dictionary, but also domesticated the Italian version. The translation of the whole book, the letters and the commentaries, had already been completed in 1669, but it did not appear until 1672, probably due to the lack of financial resources, which were finally delivered by the king himself.

It is worth mentioning the role of the Cracovian convent of Carmelites which was influenced by the doctrine of the *Collegium Complutense* de Alcalá. Schedels printed the extensive disputation *Metaphysica* by the Carmelite Andrzej Kochanowski (1679) on the scholastic philosophy interpreted in the vein of this Spanish college.

Apart from Saint Teresa, another great Carmelite Order's reformer, John of the Cross, is present in the works published by the Schedels' printing shop. In 1692 the Cracovian Carmelites dedicated a short philosophical dissertation to this Saint adding theses on natural philosophy which were preceded by dedicational *elogium*. Al-

¹³ Niccolò Toppi says that there were two persons named «Orazio Quaranta», one the translator and the second one – Jesuit, but it is unnecessary distinction, since Quaranta was a Jesuit for a period of time (Marchetti 1999, 277).

luding to the academic genre of the work, they call the cross the Saint's chair (*Philosophia naturalis* 1692, fol. A₂ v.)¹⁴.

In the work dedicated to Saint Joseph, *Septenna sacra (The Holy Septenne)*, there is an *Officium* and litany devoted to Saint Teresa, as well as a poetical hymn to Saint John (Arnold a Jesu Maria 1686, 129-130; 146). Both of the Saints are also pictured next to the Holy Family, in the initial engraving; the graphic has its variant forms and precedes the text itself.

Also, members belonging to other orders were depicted in the Schedels' book. *Coronamentum sanctitatis et vitae Ludovici et Rosae (The Garland of Crown of the Sanctity and Life)* by Andrzej Grzegorz Krupecki (1671) is devoted to the Dominican sister Rosa of Lima affiliated to the Order of Preacher Ludovic Bertrand. The work is a speech delivered in the Cracovian Dominican church on the occasion of their canonization in 1671. Although there is no direct Latin source indicated in the work, it may be supposed that the author made use of the *officia* devoted to these saints, as in this short work there is a lot of panegyric content and not so much the biographical one.

There is also a work which may be called a unique example in the Schedels' repertoire, namely the book of prayers to Saint Paschal Baylón, *Sposób krótkiego nabożeństwa do świętego Paschalisa Baylona (A Way of the Short Worship to the Saint Paschalis Baylon)* (*Sposób* 1704). Paschalis, said to be born on Easter Sunday in Aragonia, followed the example of Peter of Alcántara as a Franciscan monk, and is known as an advocate of the Eucharistic cult. The book *Sposób krótkiego nabożeństwa ...* is a collection of translations of various prayers in Latin, some of which also present in the *Missale Romanum*. Apart from this devotional content there is also a biography of Paschalis (*Sposób* 1704, 26-49), as in the Latin *Officium...* (1692) devoted to the Saint there is biographical information segmented into several readings (*lectio*), and in the German biography of the two Franciscans, Paschalis and Giovanni da Capistrano, *Kurtzer Begriff... (The Shorter Perception of the Life of Two New-canonized Saints...)* (*Kurtzer Begriff* 1691, (428)). Several affinities may be seen between *Sposób krótkiego nabożeństwa...* and *Kurtzer Begriff...*, such as providing biographical information. Simultaneously some divergences can be noticed, for instance, more precise accounts in the German version. In the Polish book the etymology of the saint's name is derived from a different designation of Easter and it is simplified in comparison with other printed sources. According to it Paschalis «was born on the very Easter Sunday» («w samą Niedzielę Wielkonocną»), whereas according to *Kurtzer Begriff ...* it happened «on the 17th May, in year 1540, fifty days after Easter» («den 17. Tag Maij, in den Jahr 1540 in ipso Paschate Pentecostes»). The most probable source of the Polish version is the Latin *Compendium... (Abridgement of the Life, Virtues et Miracles, as Well as the Acts in the Canonisation Cause of the Blessed Paschalis Baylon...)*¹⁵, the edition published in Rome and authored by Cristobal d'Arta. He primarily, already in the 70s. of 17th century as a Church official was involved in the canonisation process and wrote his work

¹⁴ I would like to acknowledge Agnieszka Lew, PhD, for her help in digitalisation of this work after my consultation of the item kept in the Warsaw Public Library (Biblioteka Publiczna m. st. Warszawy).

¹⁵ Cf. *Compendium vitae, virtutum et miraculorum, necnon actorum in causa canonizationis B. Paschalis Baylon ordinis S. Francisci [...] Ex Secret. Congregationis Sacrorum Rituum*, Romae: ex typographia Rev. Camerae Apost., 1690.

in Spanish. It was then modified and translated into several languages, among them Latin, Italian, and Polish. In the Polish version there is direct information, indicating the translation of the text of the indulgences from Latin.

Quite different in terms of its content is the work *Utarczka abo sporka krasomówska o rycerską sławę* (Vernulaeus [1642]), a Polish version by Jan Żędzianowski, holding an MA and PhD in Philosophy, who adapted for his countrymen the work by Nicholas de Vernulz, titled *Certamen oratorium de militari gloria (Oratory Combat for Military Fame)* (Vernulaeus 1622), co-published with the *Quaestiunculae aliquot militares (Small Military Questions)*. The work was written in quite a similar convention as some other rhetorical exercises in de Vernulz's school in Louvain and it resembles the competitive idea in the work prepared under patronage of prince Frederic Achilles, namely *Consultatio de principatu inter provincias Europae*, edited for the first time in *Tübingen* in 1613¹⁶. The *Certamen ...* of 1622 was dedicated to Ambrosio Spínola, a Spanish commander and official of King Philip IV. The Polish edition, published at the early phase of Schedel's publishing, omitted this dedication, which might have seemed unnecessary for new target receivers, and replaced it with a dedication to one of land administrators in the Lesser Poland region. The work is a volume of seven speeches prepared under the tutelage of de Vernulz and by his students who acted as Spanish, German, French, Italian, Polish, Belgian (this adjective in the early modern meaning of it, Latin *Belgicus*), and Hungarian soldiers. One of the seven knights striving to gain military fame by delivering a rousing speech is a Spanish chivalrous (this role was performed by Hilduardus Daen from Dendermonde in Flanders, the Polish translation does not mention the names of the orators), who speaks first.

This speech, as others, is both an apology with elements of invective, and, essentially, a self-panegyric. Its argumentation is based on the ancient filiation of Spaniards, their military advantage over other nations, and their physical and personal traits. They proved the virtue in classical antiquity, as well as in the early modern times, including the war later named as the Thirty Years' War. The precedence in the order of taking the floor of the representative of Spain is compatible with addressing the work to Spínola and also, in general, finds its reason in Spain's supremacy over the Southern Low Countries. The Polish translator accurately converted the text into an interlingual rendition, striving to preserve the meaning and remain faithful to individual words.

4. Ephemeral occurrences

Sometimes the reoccurrence of the motif present in the Spanish-circle literature may be recognised as *Hispanicum*. That is the case of the work on the Eucharistic cult, titled *Convivium divini amoris*, and the *Alphabetum morale*, work on contemporaneous casuistry, issued in the same year and authored by Juan de Alloza (1597-1666), the Jesuit from Peru (Alloza 1665a; 1665b). These treatises served as one of the sources for *Nauka o częstym używaniu Naświętszego Sakramentu (Doctrine of the Frequent Use of the Most Blessed Sacrament)* by the Polish Jesuit, Stanisław Solński

¹⁶ De Vernulz authored also *Certamen oratorium inter duos oratores, Francum et Hispanum* (Louvain 1633), however this work was not reissued by none of the Cracovian printing shops.

(1622-1701) (Solski 1671, 110). Solski cross-refers also to the work by other Spanish Jesuits. One of them was Diego Álvarez de Paz (1560-1620) from Toledo. The title of his writing is not quoted, but Solski mentions the volume, book, paragraph, section and chapter numbers of the untitled work (Solski 1671, 5). After inquiries it turns out that the reference is made to the monumental *De exterminatione mali et promotione boni libri quinque*, the second volume of the author's *Opera*, where Álvarez de Paz warns his readers about devotee's communing, without the reform of one's life (Álvarez de Paz 1613: col. 1005; 1006-1007). Another Spanish sources for Solski (1671, 15-16) was a book *De sacramentis*, authored by Juan de Dicastillo (1585-1653) (Dicastillo 1652). It is probable that Solski did not use the editions of the quoted writings with his own eyes, but referred to them by the agency of another works.

Several Spanish authors were referred by Franciscan-Reformat Daniel Brykner (1633-1703) in the comprehensive explanation of Saint Francis religious rule, *Gen-uina et literalis regulae S.P. Francisci fratrum minorum [...] Expositio* (Brykner 1691). These penmen were Álvaro Pelayo, presumably Bernardino de Arévalo (quoted as «Arevalus. Armilla»), Juan de Caramuel y Lobkowitz, Francisco de Córdoba, Manuel Rodrigues and Antonio Pérez (1559-1637).

5. Final overview

For readers in the city of Cracow and other regions of Poland, literature concerning Spanish issues was most often read as translations from Latin or Italian, or very rarely from Spanish. Its primary aim was implementation of role models and reinforcement of the Post-Trident spirituality, which was favoured by Schedels printing shop. The translators most often simplified the source texts so that they could serve mainly as practical guides to spiritual development. We may distinguish several functions of these works, depending on the respective titles:

- 1) utilitarian function as prayer books for individual meditation; 2) serving as guides to self-improvement; 3) providing pleasure of reading about miraculous episodes from Saints' lives, similar to this of reading the belletrist literature; 4) confirmation of one's set of beliefs and attitudes through the example of representatives of the same culture although living in distant places; 5) solidification of religious customs and strengthening faith.

Mainly religious principles were promoted in the works which adapted Neo-Latin *Hispanica*. However, political ideas were also conveyed, as we may observe in the book of poetry by the Polish Carmelite Eliseus a S. Maria. The system of esthetical values fluctuates between depreciation of almost every aspect of mundane existence and glorification of miracularity and human will. In *Stimulus compunctionis et Solo-loquia* by Juan de Jesús María man is a miserable sinner, whereas elsewhere a human is being portrayed as a powerful hero. These images may be found in works devoted to Saint Teresa of Ávila, Saint Peter of Alcántara and saintlike Dominic Ruzzola. Although this heroization made the ideal impossible to achieve, one was still to remember not to be allured by vanity of the world.

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