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NEO-LATIN POETRY IN THE KYIVAN POETICS: THE IMAGE OF RAFAJIL ZABOROVS'KYJ

The Neo-Latin poetry of the Kyivan poetics has been little studied hitherto. In the present article, the author examines some Neo-Latin poetical composition of the epideictic genre (that comprehended congratulations and panegyrics) dedicated to the figure of Rafajil Zaborovs'kyj. Poetical compositions in Latin were usually provided in the Kyivan poetics as models of a particular rule, poetic genre, rhetorical figure, or stylistic strategy that was being taught, and therefore they are also examined taking into account their didactic function. Through the analysis of such poetical compositions, the author shows the ways through which, by inscribing Greek-Latin mythology into their reality, Kyivan professors of poetics aimed to insert contemporary Ukraine into the European Latinitas.

1. The importance and the need to study Ukrainian Neo-Latin literature of 17th—18th centuries, particularly that produced at and around the Kyiv Mohyla Academy (from now on KMA) have been raised more than once in the last decades in articles, monographs and scholarly studies[1]. In spite of this, not much has been done in this field so far, and today most of the Neo-Latin literature written on the territory that corresponds to modern Ukraine has neither been studied nor published[2]. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the existence of a Neo-Latin Ukrainian literature is scarcely known at the international level. The scanty information given in this regard by *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, Part I, one of the fundamental studies on the history of Neo-Latin literature, is quite revealing. The information is scattered between the chapters *3.2.15. Poland, Lithuania, Byelorussia and the Ukraine* and *3.2.16. The Russian Empire*, which can be explained by the political situation of Ukraine in the mentioned period. According to J. Ijsewin, in the wide territory between the Baltic coast, the Carpathian mountains and the river Dnipro it is difficult to establish to which ethnic group belonged this or that writer. As regards the Russian empire, to which belonged the Ukrainian lands of the Left Bank from the mid-17th century, Ijsewin states that in it "Latin and Latin literature were a late and peripheral phenomenon introduced at the time the Czars wanted to establish closer

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[1] See, in particular, Kolinec 1988, in which the author provides a concise bibliography of the few studies that since the 19th century have been devoted to single Ukrainian Neo-Latin writers or literary works. The author also mentions monographs and studies that, while dealing with similar topics (the history of the KMA or the literature of the Baroque), touch upon Neo-Latin literature. He also quotes the most important studies on the courses of poetics of the KMA and a few Ukrainian translations of Neo-Latin works. See also Luckaja, Sidorova 1979.

[2] See, for instance, the articles in Cyhanok 1999.

contacts with Western Europe, its culture, and its learning"[3]. Whereas this statement is partly true with regard to Russia, it certainly is not for Ukraine. In this chapter, the information on Neo-Latin Ukrainian literature is limited to the mention of F. Prokopovyč and the courses of poetics written in Kyiv, after which the author mentions M. Lomonosov and the following period. In the concise and incomplete survey of Neo-Latin literature in the Russian Empire, the author puts together Kyiv and Moscow, without temporal, cultural and didactic distinctions between the two schools (the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, moreover not called with its name, and the Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy in Moscow).

In the analysis of Ukrainian poetry of the 17th—18th centuries, in the last decades Ukrainian scholars sometimes examine, next to texts written in Church Slavonic and old Ukrainian, also works written in Polish and Latin, and at times include them (in Ukrainian translation) into anthologies of poetry[4]. However, as a rule these texts are not accompanied by the analysis of the multicultural and multilingual context in which they have originated, which does not allow a full appreciation of the meaning of Neo-Latin literature as regards the literature written in the other literary languages of the time. For the moment, this remains a desideratum for the future.

When one broaches the topic of Ukrainian Neo-Latin poetry of the 17th—18th centuries, one has to take into account its close connection with the development of education in the contemporary school system. And in the Ukrainian school system of this period a central role is played by the KMA, founded in 1632, whose curriculum studiorum, as it is well known, was modeled on that of the contemporary Jesuit schools. The didactic organization of this institution and the type of instruction it provided have been the object of study starting from 19th century and are today quite well known. The foundation of the KMA witnesses the significant rollback of the cultural prejudices that in the previous centuries and decades had seen Latin exclusively as the language of Catholic expansion in the East-Slavic lands and had therefore caused its rejection and the refusal of the Classical cultural heritage associated with it. Thus, through a new type of education, Ukraine enters the European cultural civilization, in which Classical culture played a vital role.

The composition of Latin poetry was a necessary and obligatory exercise for the pupils of the intermediate level of the trivium, that is of the class of poetics (that was between the class of grammar and that of rhetoric). It was also a necessary condition for learning Latin. At the KMA each professor of poetics as a rule wrote his own manual for the course, sometimes drawing on previous local manuals as well as on Western European and Polish

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[3] *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part I. History and Diffusion of Neo-Latin Literature*, p. 254.

[4] Cf. for instance: *Bajky XVII—XVIII*, 1963; *Apollonova ljutnja*, 1982; *Ukrajins'ka dožovnteva poezija*, 1984; *Ukrajins'ka poezija XVI st.*, 1987; *Ukrajins'ka poezija XVII st.*, 1988; *Ukrajins'ka literatura XVII st.*, 1987, and others.

poetics[5]. The Kyivan poetics, about 30 of which are still extant, have been the object of study starting from the second half of the 19th century. Their content, sources and aims have been examined from different perspectives[6]. In some of these studies, the authors have tried to point to their originality with respect to their Western European sources[7] (cf. Syvokin', Masljuk and Nalyvajko), while often not taking into due account the humanistic pedagogical principles that molded all instruction at the KMA, as N. Pylypiuk has cogently shown. The Canadian scholar maintains that it is methodologically incorrect to consider the Kyivan poetics as treatises of literary theory that enjoyed an autonomous status, as some Ukrainian scholars have done. This fact has not allowed these scholars to evaluate the Kyivan poetics in their primary function, that is as "структурною основою для вивчення латинської мови"[8], and at the same time as a pedagogical tool to form ethically developed men and their intellectual skills. In this process, as N. Pylypiuk remarks, the principle that the authors of the courses followed was the same that molded all education at the KMA and at Jesuit colleges, that is at humanistic schools, and it harked back to Erasmus's conception of pietas litterata.

In the teaching of Classical languages (in the case of KMA mainly Latin) this principle entailed an accurate selection of the Classical texts that were chosen for the pupils as examples of the rules that were taught and as linguistic models to imitate[9].

As to the function of these courses, the issue needs further investigation before allowing for definitive conclusions. Here I would like to stress that the

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[5] Cf. in particular, M. G. Vida's *Poeticorum libri tres* (1527), J. C. Scaliger's *Poetices Libri Septem* (1561), J. Pontanus's *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres* (1594), the Polish Jesuit M. K. Sarbiewski's *Praecepta poetica* (written between 1619 and 1626), and others.

[6] I will mention here the main studies: the first important work devoted to the courses of poetics is that by N. Petrov. On the basis of some manuscript courses of poetics and rhetoric, he analyzed the aesthetical conceptions and the literary theory expounded by the Kyivan professors, many of which were themselves Neo-Latin poets. Petrov, as most of 19th—20th century scholars, prefers to quote as examples poems in Church Slavonic, while in the poetics, that taught in the first place Latin versification, poetical compositions in Church Slavonic and in Polish were the minority.

Subsequently, to the Kyivan poetics has devoted his attention H. Syvokin'. In his study Syvokin' rightly links Ukrainian poetics, besides their direct Polish models, with the European tradition, starting from the treatise by M. G. Vida. He has also provided a systematic characterization of the content of 17th century Kyivan poetics and of the conception of poetry expounded in them, by illustrating the issues dealt with in the general and the applied poetics (that treated the genres of poetry, the rules for their composition, and provided models of poetical works). F. Prokopovyč's course of poetics (*De arte poetica libri III*, 1705, first published in 1786), that stands out for the depth of its treatment of different theoretical issues, has been studied more than once: by V. I. Rezanov, who analyzed it in comparison with the treatise by J. Pontanus, *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres* (1594); by A. A. Smirnov, who compared it with J. C. Scaliger's *Poetices Libri Septem* (1561). The Polish scholar R. Łużny investigated the influence of Prokopovyč's treatise on the subsequent teaching of this discipline at the KMA. In his monograph (1966a), Łużny analyzed some Kyivan poetics, in particular devoting his attention to the reception of Polish literature in them, and to the Polish poetical compositions by the authors of the manuals.

V. Masljuk has dealt with the Kyivan poetics and rhetorics in various studies, the most important of which is his doctoral thesis, subsequently published as a monograph (Masljuk 1983).

[7] In particular the treatises by Vida, Scaliger and Pontanus.

[8] Pylypiuk, p. 81.

[9] Cf. also Waquet, pp. 58—62.

learning of Latin occurred through the acquisition of a body of knowledge on Latin poetry and its composition that ought to provide the pupils with the ability to compose Latin poetry. In this process, as the authors often declared, natural talent performed a secondary function, while the main role was played by *ars* (theoretical rules and principles), *exercitatio* (exercise) and *imitatio* (that is the imitation of the best Classical poets that were indicated as models). These were also the three conditions for achieving perfection in literary expression, that were taught by rhetoric[10].

Therefore, between the two categories in which, among others, poetry is subdivided in the Kyivan poetics, that is those of *poesis artificialis* and *poesis naturalis*, it is the first to prevail, that is a poetry that is the result of the application of rules. In this sense, the pole of the non *ars*, which oscillated between the democritean-platonic conception of enthusiasm and folly (*mania, furor, vis divina, instinctus coelestis, adflatus divinus*), and the aristotelian-horatian concept of natural talents (*natura, ingenium, vena*)[11], was assigned a secondary place.

2. When one deals with texts of early modern Ukrainian literature, because of the lack of works of literary theory, one usually has to turn to the texts themselves and to infer from them the theoretical conceptions and principles that have guided and ruled their creation. In the case of the Kyivan poetics we are instead faced with the opposite phenomenon, i. e. the Neo-Latin texts are usually presented in them as practical examples of a particular rule, poetical genre, rhetorical figure, or stylistic strategy that is being taught. It is therefore important to analyze this poetry within the context that has originated it, that is as a part of the manual itself, in its didactic function. In the didactic practice of KMA, the professors did not use to indicate the name of the author of a poetical model, if the latter did not belong to a famous Classical or Neo-Latin poet (and even in this case, the author's name was not always quoted). On the other side, a good number of the poetical examples were borrowed together with the teaching tools from the manuals of poetics of the Jesuit colleges, as well as from Western European Neo-Latin poets. For this reason, for a great number of poetical Latin texts from the 17th—18th centuries we are not able to determine their author, nor the place of their creation. However, in some

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[10] Cf. what Ilarion Jaroševyc'kyj, author of the manual *Cedrus Apollinis*, states in this regard: «Primum est Natura et ingenita quaedam ad carmen proclivitas. [...] Neque tamen ille desperare debet, qui hanc propensionem ad poesim in se non sentit, cum infra naturam ponenda sunt subsidia. Secundum: Ars sive praecepta et dictamina, principia poetica ac regulae. Tertium: Exercitatio quae ipsam Naturam artisque praecepta frequenti usurpatione permovet. [...] Quartum: Imitatio, quae ut in Oratoria sic in Poetica quoque facultate, magnum momentum facit» («The first [aid] is nature and a certain inborn inclination toward poetry. [...] However, he who does not feel in himself such inclination toward poetry should not despair, because below nature are to be placed the aids. Second: art, or rather the precepts and prescriptions, the poetical principles and the rules. Third: exercise, whose frequent use stimulates nature and the precepts of art. [...] Fourth: imitation, that has a great influence both in the oratorical and in the poetical skill» (ДС / П 241, f. r. 160. Unless indicated otherwise, all manuscripts of which I provide the call number are kept at the manuscript section of the National Library of Ukraine in Kyiv).

[11] Cf. also Michałowska, p. 25.

cases, the author specifies that the poetical example is his own; elsewhere, even if not specified, the position and the subject of a poem make us suppose with a good degree of certainty that the author is the same person who wrote the manual.

Some manuals contain sections called *Exercitationes*, that present model of poetical compositions in Latin for the students' use. Starting with Prokopovyč's treatise, that in its first book comprises a chapter on the different types of *Exercitationes*[12], the Kyivan poetics incorporate such sections more often. Sometimes they borrow Prokopovyč's exercises, to which the authors add their own (cf., for instance, *Idea artis poeticae* by Lavrentij Gorka and *Praecepta de arte poetica* by Georgij Konys'kyj).

Other times, however, the authors did not include their own poetical composition in specific sections and apparently did not follow a particular criterion for their insertion, which indicates their autonomous and creative approach to the subject they dealt with and to the ways of its treatment.

3. In my choice of Neo-Latin examples that are found in the Kyivan poetics, I have selected those poems that can be included in *genus demonstrativum* (epideictic genre), one of the three genres in which poetry and oratory were divided. Indeed, it is in poetical compositions that belong to this genre (among others congratulations and panegyrics), that a more distinct individuality and originality is manifested by the authors of the manuals, and thus these poetical compositions are more useful to understand the kind of adaptation of the European *Latinitas* to the local needs.

In oratory the *genus demostrativum* was used for propagating religious and political ideas, and had therefore an ideological function. The ability to compose sermons according to the rules of Classical rhetoric was extremely important in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. As stated by J. Niedźwiedź, the strength of politicians in a republican system as was the Polish one, and of men who occupied public posts resided in their ability to convince the audience of the rightness of their ideas.

As Niedźwiedź proceeds to demonstrate in his study through the analysis of the titles of some Kyivan courses of rhetoric, the goal of their authors was to insert Ukraine in the history of Latin civilization through inscribing Greek-Latin mythology into their reality of the beginning of the 18th century.

A similar goal, as I will try to show, was pursued by the professors of poetics through the praise of the acquisitions of Ukrainian culture and of the cultural institution to which they belonged, the KMA.

As their Western European predecessors, Kyivan professors of poetics state that poetry had a twofold function: *docere* et *delectare* (to which sometimes they added a third, *movere*). It is true that the main goal of poetry, according to the Kyivan authors, was that of *docere*. However, in

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[12] The exercises presented by Prokopovyč concerned different means of poetical expression and imitation: among them synonymy, which was followed by the paraphrase of a poetical text by using a different meter, translation exercises, exercises of exposition of the same content in a more extended or more concise way; finally exercises on how to convert a poetical text into prose.

order to fulfill this didactic function, poetry also had to delight and move the reader. Therefore, the achievement of the goals of *poesis artificialis* was closely dependent upon the use of definite rhetorical strategies. That is why the manuals of poetics were often accompanied by the exposition of the rudiments of rhetoric, that is by the teaching on tropes and figures.

The forms of the *genus demostrativum* were mostly those of the genres cultivated by baroque literature, which dominated in Ukrainian literature of the 17th—18th centuries, the panegyric, the epigram, different species of *poesis curiosa*. Because of the great thematic variety of epideictic poetry in the Kyivan poetics, I have chosen a few poetical examples that praise the person and the activity of Rafajil Zaborovs'kyj (1676—1747), at the same time exalting their own institution and its cultural achievements.

3.1. Rafajil Zaborovs'kyj occupies a prominent place in the history of KMA, so much so that during the period of his metropolitanate the academy was given the name *Akademija Kyjevo-Mohylo-Zaborovs'kaja*[13]. Having studied at the KMA, after graduation, in 1700, together with other students, he followed Stefan Javors'kyj to Moscow, where the latter had been summoned in order to organize the didactic process at the Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy. After serving as a chaplain in the Russian navy he became archimandrite of the Tver Monastery and a member of the Holy Synod in 1723. In 1725 he was consecrated bishop of Pskov and Narva. In Pskov he opened a Slavic-Latin school in which taught professors called from the KMA. He was elevated to the office of archbishop of Kyiv in 1731, and he later convinced the church authorities to restore Kyiv eparchy as a metropoly, after which he took the title of "Metropolitan of Kyiv, Halyč and all Mala Rosija" in 1743. Although he supported F. Prokopovyč and carried out the Russian government's policy of destroying the autonomy of Ukrainian church, Zaborovs'kyj nevertheless raised the academic standards and improved the economic standing of the KMA. He published a new statute for the academy[14], reformed the curriculum (adding new disciplines, among which the teaching of German, ancient Greek and Hebrew), and provided much money for the expansion of the academy's buildings[15] and for scholarship for poor students. He also obtained from the Holy Synod the title and the order of archimandrite for the rectors of the Academy, and sent the most talented students to study abroad.

Because of so great merits for his *Alma mater*, and for Ukrainian culture in general, Zaborovs'kyj constituted an excellent 'object' of praise. In particular, numerous poetical compositions devoted to him are built on or make use of different realizations of the name *topos*, quite spread and popular in baroque poetry. Admired since antiquity as one of the oldest forms of poetical expression, the name *topos* (ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος) was the last

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[13] Cfr. Bulgakov, P. 13. This name in Latin is found in the title of various Kyivan poetics: *Academia Kijovo Mohilo Zaborovsciana* (or *Kijovo Mohylo Zaborowsciana*).

[14] *Leges academicae docentibus ac studentibus observandae*; cf. Sydorenko, p. 96.

[15] The restoration and addition of the second floor to the *mazepyns'kyj korpus*, and the building of the Congregation church of the Annunciation.

of the 28 *topoi* of proof in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. The interpretation of names was spread also in Roman poetry. For Christians, as stated by Curtius, the interpretation of names was authorized by Matthew 16, 18, as well as by the numerous explanations of names in the Old Testament[16]. Being practiced by Saint Jerome and Augustine, the etymology of names received a fundamental impulse with the appearance of Isidore of Sevilla's monumental *Etymologiarum libri*, an encyclopedic compendium of knowledge, that Curtius defines "the basic book of the entire Middle Ages"[17].

The etymologizing of the name according to the principle *Nomen est omen* is one of the arguments used by rhetoric, in particular in the demonstrative, epideictic genres. The meaning of the name is discussed in the first part of rhetoric, the *inventio* of proofs, that is "finding the causes that confirm the proposition"[18]: it is found among the 19 rhetorical external places, listed by C. Soarez and by the Kyivan professors, that is those places that teach how to look for and find the causes in the object itself. F. Prokopovyč discusses the name in the second book of his *De arte rhetorica libri X* (1706).

The forms of the functioning of the name, as observed by L. Sazonova, depend on the main conceptions and aesthetical tastes of a definite period and therefore reflect its cultural processes. In the rhetoric and poetics of the 17th—18th centuries, among the internal places, as Sazonova remarks, "имени придавалось особенное значение [...], поскольку в поетике барокко (как ранее и средневековья) актуализируется значение уровней *inventio* и *elocutio* (изобретение и украшение стиля)"[19]. It is undoubtable that the great frequency with which the principle *Nomen est omen* was used in Ukrainian literature with the aim to praise and less often to blame, inserts itself into the panegyrical character that pervades Ukrainian literature of the 17th—18th centuries. The praise of one's own reality, of one's own achievements in the cultural sphere by incorporating Greek-Roman mythology into that reality is one of the ways, as I said before, to assert the value of one's own institution and to include it and oneself into the sphere of European *Latinitas*[20]. The praise, besides using the most famous form of panegyric, could be carried out by using also other poetic genres, among which the epigram, as I will shortly show. My first examples are taken from the manual *Epitome meditationis poeticae*[21], of the academic year 1734—1735. This is a manual of poetics that is preceded by the propaedeutic exposition of the rudiments of *amplificatio*, tropes and rhetorical figures (about 30 leafs), that is the 'aids' that were deemed necessary for the composition of poetry, as shown by the fact that the rhetorical 'aid' precedes and does not follow the teaching of poetics.

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[16] Cf. Curtius, chapter *Etymology as a Category of Thought*, pp. 495—500.

[17] *Ibidem*, P. 496.

[18] Cf. Petrov 1868, vol. I, n. 3, pp. 471—472.

[19] Sazonova 2002, p. 6.

[20] Cf. in this regard Niedźwiedź.

[21] *Epitome meditationis poeticae circa amplificationis rudimenta, cultum orationis utriusque et ligaturam versificam in Academia Russorum Orthodoxa Kijovomohilaeana iuventuti patriae explicata ex anno salutis 1734 in annum 1735* (690 / 485 C).

Initially, these treatises propaedeutic to rhetoric were taught after the course of poetics as an introduction to rhetoric. Petrov[22] states that it is above all thanks to Prokopovyč's *De arte poetica*, in which these teachings are found within the manual, in the section on epic genres, and are not an appendix to it, takes root the idea, supported by Prokopovyč, that draws on Cicero, of the affinity of poetics and rhetoric, of the possibility for the poet to write on all topics on which the orator writes. As a matter of fact, the awareness of the necessity to acquaint the pupils with the basic notions of rhetoric before proceeding to the course of poetics seems to be present since before Prokopovyč's teaching. This is shown, among others, by the priority accorded to the teaching on tropes and figures in manuals of poetics that precede Prokopovyč's by a few years (cf. for example *Camoena in Parnasso Kijovo Mohilaeano*, 1686). That the *poesis artificialis* ought to pursue definite rhetorical strategies is confirmed, among others, by the fact that a great number of examples of poetical compositions are found in the manuals as an illustration of rhetorical figures.

One of the divisions of poetry in the Kyivan and Western European poetics was the one that followed the division into genres of oratory, that is in the genres *demonstrativum, deliberativum, iudiciale*. This division is applied in the Kyivan poetics to different genres; the principle on which it is based is defined by the object with which each specific text deals, by the author's aim (to praise, to exalt; to advise or to dissuade; to accuse), by the role of the addressee of the text and by the circumstances of its performance[23].

Also the epigram was classified according to these genres. The demonstrative genre was used to praise or to blame persons or facts: in *Epitome meditationis poeticae* it is thus defined: "[genus] exornativum seu demonstrativum, vel encomiasticum, quod dicitur et panegyricum"[24]. The objects of praise or blame can vary, according to the author, who adds: "Ad hoc genus epigrammatum referuntur descriptiones personarum, regionum, praeliorum, triumphorum, artium, fontium, montuum, hortorum, conviviorum, itinerum, camporum, praetorum, nemorum, sylvarum, etc."[25].

At the same time, besides *brevitas* and *venustas*, the other indispensable requisite for the epigram was *argutia*. Thus we read in this regard: "Argutia epigrammatis consistit in ratione ingeniosa, seu acumine, ex continuatione et visceribus rei extracto, et haec est praecipua et principalis virtus acumen epigrammatis, sine qua epigramma ut corpus sine anima, inanime et ineptum est"[26]. The subsequent section bears the title *De acumine et fontibus illius*: in it we find the following definition of *acumen*: "Acumen poeticum

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[22] 1868, vol. I, n. 3.

[23] Cf. as regards this also Hnatjuk, pp. 80—82.

[24] "The exornative genre, or demonstrative, or encomiastic, that is also called panegyrical".

[25] "To this epigrammatic genre pertain descriptions of persons, regions, battles, victories, arts, springs, mountains, gardens, banquets, journeys, fields, praetors, woods, forests, etc." (690 / 485 C, f. r. 54).

[26] "The wit of the epigram consists in an ingenious reasoning, or *acumen*, drawn from the continuation and from the entrails of the thing, and this is the peculiar and the principal virtue of the epigram, without which the epigram is like a body without a soul, inanimate and inept".

sive oratorium est ratio ingeniosa ex combinatione quarundam rerum propositarum contra expectationem insperate prolata"[27]. Therefore, the more the *acumen* contained in the conclusion was unexpected and the more it struck the reader with its unusual associations, the more it was successful, which was according to the baroque poetics.

Among the ways to find the *acumen* based on word games[28], M. K. Sarbiewski, the author of the first treatise on the baroque theory of art, *De acuto et arguto liber unus sive Seneca et Martialis* (1627), enumerates a few that use the name in different ways in order to create the *acumen* through a word game: besides the etymological one, he also mentions the arithmetic, geographic, *nomenklator*, and the anagrammatic ones. Some of them are variously used, as we will shortly see, by the Kyivan professors.

The etymological interpretation of the name as a source of praise endowed the name with a semantic aura that was enhanced when it was combined with the similitude of real persons with Christian saints of biblical personages. "Поэтика двоящегося образа, берущая начало в принципе отражения, который ценился в эпоху барокко чрезвычайно высоко [...], использовала *имя как аллегорию*"[29]. It is exactly this type of use that the Kyivan professors make of the name Raphael. As a matter of fact, on one side, it is the name of the Archangel Raphael, that is of a biblical personage, who is found among the *principes* or *duces angelorum*, that is among the first of God's messengers; on the other, the etymology of the Hebrew name, God's medicine[30], makes him similar to the Archangel Raphael, who is sent by God in order to cure and heal Tobit and Sarah[31]. To this curative function is added one of protection, as the Archangel Raphael also protects the young Tobiah in his journey, so much so that the Archangel Raphael has become in the Christian tradition the prototype of the guardian angel[32]. It is exactly from these two levels, the etymological and the 'ontological', so to say, that the Kyivan authors draw their rhetorical arguments for praise.

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[27] "The poetical or oratorical *acumen* is an ingenious reasoning drawn from the combination of certain proposed things, expressed unexpectedly against the expectation" (f. v. 55).

[28] In the chapter *Modi inveniendi argutias, quae in lusu verborum consistunt* (*Praecepta poetica*, pp. 16—20).

[29] Sazonova 2002, p. 11.

[30] Thus we read in Isidore of Sevilla, *Etymologiarum sive originum Liber VII*, in the section V, *De Angelis*: "Raphael interpretatur curatio vel medicina Dei. Ubicumque enim curandi et medendi opus necessarium est, hic archangelus a Deo mittitur; et inde medicina Dei vocatur. Unde et ad Tobiam idem archangelus missus oculis eius curationem adhibuit, et caecitate detersa visum ei restituit. Nominis enim interpretatione et angeli officium designatur" ("Raphael is explained as God's cure or medicine. In fact, in every place where there is a need to cure and to heal, this Archangel is sent by God; and thence he is called God's medicine. Whence that same Archangel was sent to Tobit, and applied a cure to his eyes, and having removed his blindness, he restored Tobit's sight. Indeed the interpretation of the name also designates the function of an angel"). With all probability the work of Isidore was known at the KMA.

[31] Cf. the Book of Tobit in the Bible.

[32] In the course of the centuries, the biblical narration will be enriched by apocryphal tales, rendering Raphael the angel to be invoked in the difficult moments. This is what, for instance, the Venerable Beda (672—735) recommended to do, by using the following formula: "Raphael, esto mihi scutum et medicina corporis et anima" ("Raphael, be my shield and my medicine for body and soul").

Kyivan professors certainly knew also *Leksikon slavenorosskij* by Pamvo Berynda[33]: here "name" is thus defined: "Имя — назвиско, або прозвиско. Также: слава, достойность" (p. 48). In this definition, as Sazonova noticed, "кроме номинативной функции имени [...], отмечено его метаязыковое значение, которое могло служить существенной предпосылкой для его риторической разработки"[34]. Indeed, the source for the rhetorical elaboration of the poetic theme of praise of the Ukrainian benefactor is exactly the meta-linguistic significance. In the appendix *Имен толкование*, the name of Raphael is defined according to the biblical etymology and to the essence of biblical personage: «Рафаил: [дух божий] лекарство божее». This interpretation, especially the fact that Raphael is a divine spirit, an angel of God, constitutes the rhetorical argument that alternates and integrates with his curative function, so to say.

Thus, in *Epitome meditationis poeticae*, in the section *De figuris verborum* at the entry "Polysindeton" [sic!] we read:

Quid est Polysindeton? R: Polysindeton est figura per quam plures casus vel membra coniunctionibus collegantur, vg[35]:

Raphael praesul Russiae Inferioris[36] Angelus

Et mos, et pietas, mansuetaque verba, loquentis,
    Puraque vivendi norma vigilque labor,
Nomen et ob genijs sumptum socium geniorum
    Te Raphael dicunt; terreus angelus es.

Raphael, Archbishop of Lower Rus', Angel
Both your habits, and your devotion, and the gentle words of the speaker
    And your pure way of life, and you vigilant work
And on account of your name, taken from the angels, you Raphael are called
    Companion of the angels; you are an earthly angel.

This is an epigram of the *genus exornativum*. The title contains the metaphor that the epigram is going to develop. In the first distich we find the proposition built by listing the many virtues, that distinguish both Raphael's spiritual side and his way of life, which is expressed through the parallelism of the construction. The use of the metaphor 'angel' to designate a human being originates in the Scriptures and is frequently mentioned in the Kyivan poetics among the different examples of metaphor. For instance, in *Camoena in Parnasso* (f.v. 17), where the author speaks of the use of metaphors, and discusses the possibility to call 'angel' a human being, he quotes the Scriptures to support his views: "Ecce mitto Angelum meum qui tibi praeparabit viam" (Mark 1, 2), where "angelus"

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[33] Cf. *Leksykon slovenoros'kyj Pamvy Beryndy*, Pidh. teksta i vstup. stattja V. V. Nimčuka, Kyjiv 1961.

[34] Sazonova, p. 6.

[35] "What is polysyndeton? Polysyndeton is a figure through which several cases or parts are linked by conjunctions, for instance" (call number 690 / 485 C, f.r. 23).

[36] This term has a purely geographical connotation, and the differentiation corresponds to the Greek ἄνω (above, that is north) and κάτω (below, that is south). Maksim Grek observes this terminology in the 16th century.

is referred to John the Baptist. In a similar way, in the manual *Lyra variis praeceptorum chordis...*, in the dedicatory ode to John the Baptist, the latter is called "earthly angel". However, here the name 'angelus' is bestowed on a contemporary personage, one who is alive. This way, the celestial referent becomes the mirror that forms a flattering allusion for the addressee, and the biblical personage is not only an independent character, but becomes an allegory. The ingenious, unexpected conclusion explains in a creative manner the proposition, interprets it. One of its merits, according to Sarbiewski, is *brevitas*, conciseness[37]. Its construction, with 'nomen' and 'te' at the beginning of line 3 and 4, the hyperbaton of line 3, the repetition of different forms of the word *genius*, and the following enjambment, aims at stressing the link between the name and the divine qualities of its bearer, the addressee.

The next epigram is found a few folios further and apparently is not presented to illustrate a rhetorical figure, but is at the end of paragraph 3 of the chapter on the figures of thought (*Figurae verborum; De figuris, quae fiunt per similitudinem vocum*). As a matter of fact, it is built with a subtle rhetorical strategy, that aims at stressing the greatness and the diversity of the archbishop's virtues. Thus we read:

Sit illustrissimo ac magno Domino nostro Raphaeli Archipraesuli Kioviensi

Epigramma[38]:

Raphael millena dedit tibi nomina virtus
       Nec scio, dicendum quod tibi nomen erit!
Munificus vel mansuetus, vel melleus ore?
       Interpres divae mentis habendus aut?
Omnia te simul, aut non possum dicere Praesul.
       Pro cunctis Rapahel sat tibi nomen habe.

Oh Raphael, virtue endowed you with a thousand names at a time
       And I do not know which name we are to call you with!
Munificent or gentle, or honey-mouthed?
       Or should we consider you interpret of the divine mind?
I cannot call you with all these names at the same time, oh Bishop.
       Instead of them all, may the name Raphael be enough for you.

Here in the proposition each of the two distichs presents a parallel construction, in which the second line constitutes a sort of reply to the preceding one. Even if virtue has endowed Raphael with a thousand names, the author declares he does not know how to call him: this is a *topos modestiae* which is typical of panegyrical poetry. It is repeated in the penultimate line and it contributes to magnify the measure of Raphael's virtues.

The second and third distichs, the *expositio*, develop the proposition through the logical figure of preterition, expounded through a series of rhe-

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[37] Sarbiewski mentions *brevitas* among the ways to create the *acumen*, and it lists it as a rhetorical figure of thought that fulfills the need for ornamentation (*Praecepta poetica*, pp. 190—191; 199).

[38] 690 / 485 C, f.r. 27.

torical questions. In them, while pretending not to know what is the right name for the Archbishop, the author lists a series of virtues in growing succession on the scale of sanctity. The attributes that distinguish Raphael echo those of the previous epigram, with the addition of munificence, generosity.

As a matter of fact, the name Raphael is used in the conclusive epiphonema as an antonomasia, a figure that refers to a universally known characteristic of its possessor. Here, however, it refers and condenses in itself all the listed virtues, human, spiritual and angelic, that is both those linked with etymology and those connected with the celestial referent, the Archangel Raphael.

Another typology of the panegyrical genre in baroque poetry was that presented by the anagrammatic epigrams, that in rhetoric and poetics were commonly called "programma-anagramma-epigramma". In them the name is used as the source to generate a variety of senses. The program is constituted by a text from which, by changing of the order of letters, a new text, the anagram, is formed. The Kyivan poetics display a great number of these word games and games of meaning, in which the intellect of the author from a limited number of letters, from a word, a locution or a proposition shaped a new enunciation and a new meaning. Here, the attention to formal sophistication, so typical of the Baroque, was not an end in itself, but was the formal expression of a subtle game of significances, and the manifestation of a longing for synthesis, a synthesis, however, that united the farthest and most disparate concepts, creating unexpectedness and disproportion. In this process reveals itself one of the features of baroque poetry, that is the appeal to the intellect of the receiver: having to interpret, to decipher the text, the latter is not passive, but becomes an active generator of meaning.

We find two examples of anagrams in the manual *Via Lactea*[39], that follows *Epitome meditationis poeticae*, in the section *De quidditate et modis formandorum conceptuum*. Among the ways to form the conceit, the eighth that is listed here is defined "ex lusu in verbis", i. e. from a word game, and can be obtained in four manners (per aequivocationem, per traductionem seu paronomasiam, per anagramma, ex notatione nominis) (cf. also Sarbiewski 1958, pp. 16—20).

Thus the author illustrates the third manner: "Tertio modo: per anagramma, quod sit tunc, cum aliquod nomen dividitur in literas, et tandem ex illis literis perturbato ordine positis novum nomen vel alia aliqua componitur dictio priori quodammodo conveniens, et applicatur sive personae, sive rei cum ratione ingeniosa. Et dicitur primum nomen simplex seu dictio programma, secundum vero seu ex perturbatis conflatum literis nomen vel alia dictio

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[39] *Via Lactea in praeclaro caelo Almae Orthodoxae Academiae Kijowomohyleano Zaborovscianae proposita Duplici tramite ligata scilicet et soluta oratione scandenda Ingenuis Neovatibus Roxolanae Juventutis Ad Bicollem Parnassum Notitiam Nimirum Artis Poeseos et principiorum Tullianae Eloquentiae Anhelantibus declarata*, 690 / 485 C.

dicitur anagramma. Quod ut clarius cognoscatur, Exemplo res declaratur, vg sit Programma Nomen Illustrissimi Archipraesulis Raphael cuius literae perturbatae component Anagramma Re Alpha, id est principium, quod carmine exponitur sic, et applicatur personae Illustrissimi"[40]. Even if not explicitly stated, here the reference to the celestial figure of the Archangel Raphael is present: just as the latter is the *princeps angelorum*, so is Rafajil Zaborovs'kyj the first among the bishops:

> Quam iuste Raphael alphare nomine signas
> > Pastor enim cunctis primus es atque bonus.

> As rightly with your name you designate the beginning
> > So you are namely the first and the best of all pastors.

This example is adduced as a model of pure anagram, that is one in which the anagram is composed by the same letters of the program, without adding or subtracting any. Other manuals (for instance, *Cedrus Apollinis*[41]) add two more requisites to the anagram: that it be inserted in the body of the epigram and that the meaning and the content of the epigram be appropriate to the anagram. Here these two requisites seem to have been fulfilled. At the same time 'alpha' and 'omega' is defined Jesus Christ in the *Apocalypse* (21, 6), and this association could not escape the readers' attention. This is a poetry the composition of which one had to learn, it is built on the art of *inventio* and *elocutio*, the two levels that were given the most attention in baroque poetics. Its composition required the knowledge of the technical means and the *acumen* and demanded from the poet a virtuous mastery of the versification techniques.

The following manner to form the conceit, the fourth, is thus explained by the author: "Formatus conceptus ex Notatione nominis, quando nimirum aliquod nomen Poeta non suo proprio ingenio, sed ex Authorum placito id vel id significans, interpretatur carmine, cum aliqua ingeniosa ratione. Ex quo modo sit exemplum Notatio nominis Illustrissimi Raphaelis, quod significat Medicamen Dei[42], carmine expressa sic"[43]:

> Non desunt etiam Caelestia farmaca Rossis,
> Fert curam Raphael, quaeque salutis egent.
> Pastor oves reficit verbɸ, medicatur amore,
> Dat quod opem miseris, est medicina Dei.

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[40] "The third way is through an anagram, which is obtained when a name is divided into its letters and from those letters arranged in a different order, some other new enunciation is formed that in a certain way is appropriate to the previous one, and is applied both to a person and to a thing with an ingenious reasoning. And the first simple name or enunciation is called program, the second, that is the name or the enunciation composed from the changed arrangement of the letters, is called anagram. In order for this to be better understood, it is made known through an example, the program be the name of the most illustrious Archbishop Raphael, whose letters arranged in a different order compose the anagram Re Alpha, that is the beginning, which is thus exposed in poetry and applied to the person of the most illustrious" (690 / 485 C, f.v. 177).

[41] ДС / П 241, f.r. 142.

[42] See footnote n. 30.

[43] "The conceit is formed from the signification of the name, when the poet explains with a poem a certain name, that means this or that not according to his own invention, but according to the [authoritative] Authors' opinion, with some ingenious reasoning. Of which manner may be an example the signification of the name of the most illustrious Raphael, that means Medicine of God, thus expressed in poetry" (690 / 485 C, f.r. 178).

Ruthenians do not lack celestial medicines,
Raphael provides the cure for all that needs health.
The pastor fortifies his sheep with the word, he cures them with love,
And this help that He gives to the poor is God's medicine.

Here the principle *Nomen est omen* is used as the constructive axis around which the epigram is organized. It is interesting to notice how the words of the author, according to whom the poet forms the conceit from the meaning of the name, on one side contain an implicit polemic against those who made up and used arbitrary etymologies, based on the phonetic form of the name (for instance, *Maria* from *mare*, the name *Мойсей* from *мой* and *сей*)[44]; on the other, relying on the authority of Isidore of Sevilla, he confers authenticity to his proposition "Non desunt etiam Caelestia farmaca Rossis", which the epigram develops and explicates. The proposition constitutes also an assertion of the Ruthenians' distinctiveness, worth and self-sufficiency. This way, the local reality is made to rely on the authority of the Book of Books, the Bible, and the validity of what is asserted thus becomes indisputable.

Here the ultimate referent, beyond the Archangel Raphael, is Jesus Christ, who is both the supreme pastor (cf. Psalm 23 and Luke 15, 4–7), and the Word made flesh[45]. The etymological argument here is centered around Raphael's pastoral activity, mainly in the spiritual sphere, on his care for the souls of the faithful entrusted to him.

The Kyivan poetics contain several other typologies of *poesis artificiosa* that use the name (also the name of Rafajil Zaborovs'kyj) to build poetical compositions and conceits based on word games: acrostics built on anagrams, epigrams on the coat of arms, on a motto or on an emblem; enigmata based on the definition of the letters or on their numerical content and value, which are not always easy to decipher. For all these forms of *poesis artificiosa* the baroque poetical language shows a particular inclination. All these forms were meant to both amuse the reader and to appeal to his intellectual curiosity, to his ability to catch unusual relations between graphic signs of different orders. At the same time they are the expression of a worldview in which what is visible is always a reference to, and an allegory of a superior, divine level. Only as related to the divine level does the world of the senses acquire meaning.

3.2. The following two examples, alongside Raphael's spiritual virtues, celebrate his activity as a protector and benefactor of the KMA, and particularly the restoration works of the *mazepyns'kyj korpus* that were carried out under his supervision by the architect Gotfried Schädel.

The first example is found in the treatise by Mytrofan Dovhalevs'kyj, *Hortus poeticus*. The author devotes to Zaborovs'kyj numerous poems in his manual, also in Church Slavonic and Polish. The manual opens and

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[44] Against similar arbitrary interpretations of names speaks also F. Prokopovyč in the second book of his *De arte rhetorica libri X.*
[45] Cf. the Gospel according to John 1, 14.

concludes with two poems to Zaborovs'kyj that dwell upon the same theme of the garden metaphor, on which all the treatise is built[46]. This is evident already in the title: *Hortus poeticus legendi gratia flores, et fructus, ligatae et solutae orationis, in alma Kijoviensi academia Mohilozaborowsciana in maius alimentum Roxolano abdolonimo, eiusque orthodoxae Patriae penes Iordanicum et marianum pontum. Pastinatus Anno quo eXIMIe LeCta Urbs gLaDIIs ozoV IUssIt Ut Anna Calendis 8bris I: 1736 Anno*[47]. The metaphorical character of the title is reinforced by the metonymies, in particular 'abdolonimus' that comes from the name of the poor gardener that Alexander the Macedonian made king of the city of Sidon[48]. The gardener are the students for whom the author "prepares the ground of a fruit-bearing garden" ("pastino ... hortum fructiferum"), as we read in *Epos vernans,* the first poem dedicated to Zaborovs'kyj, in which the author declares to follow the archbishop's guide and places himself under the pastor's protection. The poem is an acrostic, in which the first letters of each line form the name 'RAPHAEL', and the first letters of each word in the last line form the exclamation 'VIVAT'[49]. In another poem the author recalls Zaborovs'kyj's virtues and because of his activity as a patron of the KMA compares him to Petro Mohyla; yet another poem is a greeting in honor of the archbishop's name day, and here the praise of the Archangel Raphael transforms into the celebration of the archbishop. However, one poem in particular aims at celebrating the restoration works undertaken on the initiative of Zaborovs'kyj. In this section, in order to illustrate each of the three aims of poetry, *docere, movere, delectare,* the author inserts three poems that supposedly display the stylistic features required to achieve each goal. In order to illustrate the aims *docere* and *delectare* Dovhalevs'ky uses two epigrams respectively by John Owen[50] and M. K. Sarbiewski[51], both without the

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[46] On the popularity of the symbolic metaphor of the garden in the literature of the Baroque cf. the chapter *Idejno-estetičeskoe značenie 'myslnennogo sada' v russkom barokko* in *Razvitie barokko i zaroždenie klassicizma v Rossii. XVII–načala XVIII v.,* otv. red. A. N. Robinson, Moskva 1989; cf. also: *Motiv sada v literature barokko* and *Literaturnyj sad,* in L. I. Sazonova, *Poezija russkogo barokko (vtoraja polovina XVII–načalo XVIII v.),* Moskva 1991, pp. 163–187.

[47] 521 П /1710; a second manuscript exists (call number Д С / П 261). The title mentions the capture of the Azov fortress at the mouth of the Don, during the reign of Anna.

[48] Cf. Masljuk, p. 124.

[49] The metaphorical character that pervades the work is also reflected in the organization of its structure. Thus, the two parts into which the manual is divided (poetics and rhetoric) are called 'sepimenta' (enclosures). Each of them contains sections, called 'flores' (flowers), that are in turn divided into paragraphs, called 'fructi' (fruits). The use of a metaphorical system on a subject, that starting from the title extends to the whole manual is typical also for other Kyivan poetics. Cf., for instance, *Rosa inter spinas,* in which poetry is likened to a rose, chapters are called 'aculei' (thorns), and each paragraph a 'folium' (leaf).

[50] The epigram 28 ("In Regicidas") of Book V of John Owen's *Epigrammatum libri XII* (Johannes Audoenus, C. 1560–1622), the so-called Welsh Martial. Some of his epigrams had been translated by I. Velyčkovs'kyj (cf. *Ukrajins'ka poezija. Seredyna XVII st.,* Kyjiv 1992 and Ivan Velyčkovs'kyj, *Tvory,* Kyjiv 1972.

[51] It is the epigram 39 by Sarbiewski, cf. *Math. Casim. Sarbievi Societatis Iesu Epigrammatum Liber unus,* in *Mathiae Casimiri Sarbievii Lyricorum Libri IV. Epodon Liber unus, Alterque Epigrammatum,* Cantabrigiae 1684. This epigram is quoted by other Kyivan poetics with different readings of some lines. Cf. *Rosa inter spinas* (665 / 456 C., f.v. 61) and *Officina praestantissime artis poeticae* (1726–1727, call number 686 / 482 C, f.v. 19), which indicates Sarbiewski's popularity

author's name. Dovhalevs'kyj defines the aim *movere* with the following words: "Movet poeta tunc cum auditori animos sua ligata oratione inclinat iuxta intentionem suam ad varios affectus, ad utiles et honestas actiones, ad iram, delectationem, et commiserationem"[52]. This explanation is followed by the poem "on the most eminent protector and president of the schools and bishop who attends to the good of our people":

> Kijovia exultet, solvat tripudia Pallas,
> > Exedra Doctorum celsa beata basis
> Lata solo splendente superbis alta columnis
> > Eruit in lucem quae latuere diu
> Nomine praeclarus Raphael virtutibus auctus
> > Sumptibus hic proprijs posteritatis amans
> Ergo reddat eum celebrem modo musa beatum
> > Situm quoque scholae candida tecta gerunt.

> Let Kyiv rejoice, let Pallas start the dances
> > The lofty hall of the doctors, the sumptuous foundation
> Wide for its shining ground, high on its proud columns
> > That had been hidden for a long time, Raphael,
> Illustrious for his name, rich in virtue, loving posterity
> > Here at his expense has restored to the light.
> Let therefore the muse make him now famous and happy
> > Also the place [where] the schools have white roofs.

It is not easy to define the genre of this poem. On one side, since the other two aims of poetry are illustrated by epigrams, this too could be considered an epigram of the *genus exornativum*. Indeed, Dovhalevs'kyj's definition of epigram is quite wide-ranging: "Epigramma est breve poema cum simplici cuiuspiam rei, aut personae expositione, aut facti indicatione, aut ex oppositis aliquid argute, hoc est cum acumine deducens"[53].

However, it would probably be more correct to define it *carmen gratulatorium*, a genre that in some manuals is listed among the *silvae*[54], and that can be included in the wider category of panegyrical poetry. Although he does not speak specifically of *carmen gratulatorium*, Sarbiewski refers the *silvae* rather to the sphere of oratory that to the sphere of poetry, because in them one can use the characteristic tools of sermons[55]. At the same time,

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among Kyivan professors. Masljuk informs that this epigram is found in the manual *Libri tres de arte poetica...* (call number VIII 94 M / 227), as well as in *Prodromus ad bicollem Parnassum Apollo...* 1727 (L'vivs'ka naukova biblioteka Akademiji Nauk Ukrajiny im. V. Stefanyka, viddil rukopysiv, arxiv vasylian, N. 225) (cf. Mytrofan Dovhalevs'kyj, *Poetyka (Sad poetyčnyj)*, Pereklad ta prymitky V. P. Masljuka, Kyjiv 1973, p. 395.

[52] "The poet moves when with his poetic language he bends the souls of the listeners according to his intentions toward different emotions, toward useful and honorable deeds, toward wrath, passion and compassion" (521 П / 1710, f.v. 8).

[53] "The epigram is a short poem with the simple description of some thing or person, or with the indication of a fact, or that deduces something from the opposites in an a witty manner, that is with an *acumen*".

[54] Cf. for instance *Cunae Bethleemicae*, 499 П / 1729, f.r. 43. This manuscript was among the books possessed by M. Dovhalevs'kyj.

[55] M. K. Sarbiewski, *O poezji doskonalej czyli Wergiliusz i Homer (De perfecta poesi, sive Vergilius et Homerus)*, Wrocław 1954, pp. 236—248.

this poem has some of the features of *elogium*, that is genetically related to the epigram and the inscription. The *elogium* did not display a rigid generic form and could be written both in prose and poetry (with lines of different length and structure). The features that characterize this genre were praise, conciseness and conceptism[56]. Here what reminds the epideictic style of the *elogium* are the features that L. Sazonova defines "тенденция к миниатюрности (не произведения, но стиля!), быстрота, афористичность, подчеркнутая фрагментарность при одновременном поиске неразрывной связности, слитности, высокая степень языковой рефлексии, требуемой трудным искусством игры слов и фигур"[57].

The aim of the poet is to move the readers, to communicate them his exultancy and joy for the accomplishment of a sort of new birth of the academy.

The author gives a faithful description of the congregation hall ("саля для диспутов отправления"), created in the new built second floor of the *mazepys'kyj korpus*. The construction of the Doctors' hall was finished in 1736, and it was the widest and most solemn of the three halls on the second floor, embellished with a colonnade with choirs on both sides and a double order of windows. The walls and the ceiling were frescoed with subjects drawn from Greek mythology. The majestic portraits of founders, teachers and famous graduates of the KMA, the busts of ancient Greek and Roman thinkers created an atmosphere of respect and solemnity. Its dimension were 49 x 12 meters, and its height in the central part of the roof reached 20 meters[58].

Pallas-Minerva, protectress of the Academy, is invited to start the dances. *Tripudia* were the most ancient and solemn ritual dances in three times (*ter* and *pes*)[59], and here this word is meant to convey the solemnity of the achievement and to mythologize, so to say, the new creation of the benefactor's cultural institution. Raphael has proven that he corresponds to the fame of his name thanks to his virtue, in the first place his generosity. He is celebrated through the praise of his creation, in whose semantic field adjectives and substantives convey the impression of majesty that the dimension and the solemnity of the hall conveyed to those who entered it (cf. *celsa Exedra doctorum, beata, lata, alta superbis columnis*).

The syntax here is characterized by the sequence of the same parts of speech with the ellipsis of the verb, by the tendency to remove the logical-syntactic perspective, the prevailing of coordinate clauses over subordinate ones (cf. *exedra doctorum celsa, beata basis, lata solo splendente, superbis alta columnis*).

Moreover, the metaphor of light runs throughout the poem. It is in the image of the hall shining, it is amplified in the coming out of the darkness, as in a second creation, in the "white" roofs. However, *candida*

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[56] Cf. Michałowska, p. 168; Sazonova 1996, p. 103.
[57] Sazonova 1996, p. 105
[58] Cf. Horbenko, p. 32.
[59] Cf. also Horace's last line "ter pede terram" in his ode to Faunus, Odes III, 18, 16.

tecta can also refer to the restored building, whose walls were indeed white. What also strikes here is the absence of Christian elements, since the honored personage is a clergyman. However, this absence is in line with the mythologizing process, with the transfer of Pallas and the Muses onto the hills of Kyiv.

My last example is taken from the manual *Praecepta de Arte poetica* (1746) by Georgij Konys'kyj. This manual could be defined more "classical", at least in that, following in the line of F. Prokopovyč's treatise, it does not deal with the poetical genres that were passionately cultivated by the baroque literature, that is all those genres that are part of the category of *poesis curiosa* or *poesis artificiosa*, which Prokopovyč called "pueriles consonantiae". Konys'kyj faithfully follows Prokopovyč's different types of exercises, reproducing some of the latter's poetical compositions used as models of the exercises.

Georgij Konys'kyj, professor and subsequently rector of the KMA, had been a close collaborator of Zaborovs'kyj's in his post of prefect of the KMA. In order to understand the esteem in which he held the metropolitan, it will be sufficient to recall the funeral sermon that he delivered at Zaborovs'kyj's funeral ceremony, on the theme of John 5, 35, "He was a burning and shining lamp" ("бѣ свѣтилник горяй и свѣтяй")[60], that in the Gospel refers to John the Baptist. The sermon is centered around the motifs of light and fire, allegories of virtue and love, and it exploits various biblical motifs on the theme of light, in order to show how all of Raphael's works have been an irradiation of the supreme light, that emanating from Jesus Christ. This way the author skillfully inserts Raphael in the sequence of those enlightened by the divine light, the Prophets, John the Baptist, the Fathers of the Church. This poem, which is also ascribable to the epideictic genre, is the first of the appendix *Praxes scholasticae*, and as in the poem by Dovhalevs'kyj, the occasion for the praise of the archbishop seems to be the newly built Congregation hall. Here too, Christian elements are absent and Pallas and the Muses dominate the scene:

> Rursus agunt choreas Musae, rursusque Minerva,
> > Integra festivis plausibus aula strepit.
> Quis stimulus? Lucem sibi nempe reduxit eous,
> > Quae Raphaelis nomine clara venit.
> Quis Raphael? Musis nisi pastor et altor et auctor,
> > Quaeque sibi virtus nomina plura dedit.
> Iure igitur de te o Raphael sic Musa triumphat
> > Hosque sui plausus edit ubique sonus.
> Ipse diu vivas laetus virtutis imago
> > Nesciat extremum post tua fama diem[61].

> Again the Muses lead the dances, and again Pallas
> > The hall resounds with lively applause

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[60] "Kievskie Eparxial'nye Vedomosti", 1893, № 1, 1 Janvarja, pp. 1—10.
[61] ДА / П 426, f.r. 132.

> Who is the impulse? Indeed the East has brought back to itself the light
>> That came bright from the name of Raphael.
> Who is Raphael? Who, if not the pastor, the nourisher and the protector
> of the Muses,
>> And all the other names that virtue has given itself.
> Rightly the muse thus exults at you, oh Raphael
>> And everywhere its glory emits such applause.
> May you live happy for a long time, oh image of virtue,
>> That your fame may not know then the last day.

The picture described here is one of a pagan feast, of the celebration of a great event; the muses and Pallas rejoice and start the dances because their dwelling place has been restored for them to blossom and bear fruits.

Although the poem is devoid of explicit Christian references, the metaphor of light here can have a biblical origin, in that the Archangel Raphael was sent to heal Tobit's blindness, thus giving him the possibility to see the light again. In this sense Raphael is celebrated as the bearer of light to the KMA. At the same time "eous", intended as the East, the Orient, can be a metonymy for the oriental languages, in particular ancient Greek and Hebrew, the teaching of which, together with German[62], was introduced or reintroduced by Raphael at the KMA in 1738.

The person of the archbishop is stressed through the anaphoras, and the emphasis is on Raphael's cultural deeds, where the Muses are the allegory for culture in general, the blossoming of which Raphael favors through his wise protection and benefaction. Here the light can be understood as irradiating bright and shining from Raphael's name, and as in the funeral sermon it is an allegory of the archbishop countless virtues, and particularly here of his care of the cultural sphere.

4. Through these few poetical examples of the epideictic genre, the genre to which belong most of the poetical models of Kyivan professors and students of poetics, I have tried to show some of the ways through which Ukraine gradually inserted itself into European *Latinitas*. Ukrainians were conscious and proud of the fundamental role that the KMA played as their main cultural center, and this peculiarity was reflected as well in the titles of their manuals of poetics and rhetoric, where the Mounts Helicon and Parnassus found themselves on the hills of Kyiv[63]. At the same time, the stress on one's own individuality, distinctiveness, independence and worth is as well illustrated by poetical compositions that contain the *topos* of the invitation of the Muses in a 'reversed' form, i. e. where Apollo and the Muses are invited to leave and the authors declare to seek the protection of the Virgin Mary[64], John the Baptist of other biblical personages. These kind of invocations are meant to stress the acquisition of the secular Classical legacy in a Christian key, and thus the local, distinctive character

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[62] "Kievskie Eparxial'nye Vedomosti", 1893, № 1, 1 Janvarja, p. 8.

[63] Cf. Niedźwiedź, pp. 17–19.

[64] Cf., for instance, the dedicatory ode to the Virgin Mary in the manual *Hymettus extra Atticam...* (call number 315 П / 122, f.v. 2).

of this reception, that takes place under the aegis of Orthodoxy. This also shows that Neo-Latin literature in Ukraine is not a simple and univocal phenomenon. Moreover, the Neo-Latin texts produced at and around the KMA, need to be studied together with the literature in Polish, Church Slavonic and old Ukrainian, that was produced in the same environment, since they reflect the same cultural reality. The further study of Neo-Latin literature at the KMA will probably confirm the peculiar character of the Classical reception in Ukraine and of its specific *Latinitas*, and will allow us to throw a new light on the issue of the formation of a distinct cultural and national Ukrainian identity.

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НОВОЛАТИНСЬКА ПОЕЗІЯ У КИЇВСЬКИХ ПОЕТИКАХ: ОБРАЗ РАФАЇЛА ЗАБОРОВСЬКОГО

Новолатинська поезія київських поетик на сьогодні маловивчена. У статті авторка досліджує деякі новолатинські твори епідевтичного жанру (стосується ґратуляцій та панегіриків), присвячені постаті Рафаїла Заборовського. Поетичні твори латиною у київських поетиках зазвичай використовувалися як зразки окремих правил поетичного жанру, риторичних фігур чи стилістичної стратегії, що викладалися, і тому береться до уваги їхня дидактична функція. Через аналіз таких поетичних творів авторка показує шляхи, якими київські професори поетики, вписуючи греко-латинську міфологію у їхню реальність, прагнули ввести сучасну їм Україну до європейської латинської культури.