

## *Literary Theory in the Eighteenth-Century Grand Duchy of Lithuania: From the Classical Tradition to Classicism*

ASTA VAŠKELIENĖ

**Abstract.** The article is aimed at introducing the peculiarities of the literary theory in the eighteenth-century Grand Duchy of Lithuania. To show these peculiarities, it begins with an overview of the main rhetoric and poetics of the Renaissance and Baroque periods, which illustrate the theoretical thought of the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The theses set out in these works had been taken up, developed, and modified up until the middle of the eighteenth century, which signalled the beginning of the Enlightenment and changes in literary aesthetics.

The majority of the works on poetics and rhetoric of the period discussed were written by French and German Jesuits (only very few were penned by the Protestants or the Piarists) and were used in the colleges of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as textbooks intended for the classes of poetics and rhetoric. These works indicate a lively reception of the European literary theory.

Up until the eighteenth century, the book on the Renaissance poetics *Poetices libri septem* (1561) by Julius Caesar Scaliger retained the status of an underlying work in this field. In it, the author summed up the literary theory absorbed from ancient authors and systematized the genres of poetry, the types of its style, and the metres. Scaliger's works, which had an impact on the European literary theory of the Baroque and Renaissance, were directly taken up by other authors and modified to a greater or lesser extent. They were easily recognisable in eighteenth-century works on poetics and rhetoric. In the seventeenth-century Grand Duchy of Lithuania, literary theory was shaped by the works of Cyprianus Soarius, Nicolaus Caussin, François Antoine Pomey, Charles Paiot, and Jacob Pontanus. Poetics of Mathias Casimir Sarbievius played an important role in the development of Baroque literary theory. Although it was not published and spread only in the form of manuscript notes, it was widely known in the period's academic environment both in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in Western Europe. On the one hand, it was a certain way of conveying Scaliger's theory, yet on the other hand, thanks to an apt and accurate definition of the Baroque style, this work should be treated as one of the most significant Baroque poetics of conceit. Jacob Masen, another Baroque theorist, also markedly contributed to the theoretical development of the epigrammatic genre and 'wit' (*argutia*), which is held on a par with conceit.

The textbooks used in the Jesuit colleges of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were not authored exclusively by the Jesuits. Mention should be made of the works on rhetoric by the Dutch Protestant author Gerardus Vossius. The

rhetoric of Michał Kraus was very popular in the Piarist teaching system, and, as shown by the provenances, it was included in the syllabi of some of the Jesuit colleges.

The textbooks by Joseph de Jouvancy and Dominique de Colonia represent the genre theory of the eighteenth century. Chronologically, these are the latest theoretical works of the eighteenth century that reflect the Baroque conception of the literary theory. They were highly appreciated and even used at the schools of the Board of Education. The educational reform that was launched in the middle of the eighteenth century nurtured a new approach towards the literary taste and the expression of thought. These changes are reflected in the work *O wymowie i poezji (On Rhetoric and Poetry)* by the Piarist monk Filip Nereusz Golański, which was the first normative poetics of the Enlightenment written in a national language (Polish in this particular case).

**Keywords:** Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the eighteenth century); Jesuits; humanistic education; literary theory; poetics; rhetoric

The diffusion and reception of the European literary theory in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania should be associated with the educational system of the Society of Jesus. Implemented in European schools, the Jesuits' humanistic model of teaching acquired a firm foundation and an opportunity of realization after the founding of Vilnius University (Academy). On 1 April 1579, King Stephen Bathory signed a privilege granting the status of a university to the Jesuit academy that had functioned in Vilnius from 1570. On 30 October of that same year, Pope Gregory XIII issued the papal bull *Dum attenta*, which confirmed the founding of the university. Based on the formal humanistic method, Jesuit education placed a very strong emphasis on classical languages (primarily on Latin, also on Greek and Hebrew), while natural and exact disciplines such as history, geography, and mathematics did not receive equal attention (Ulčिनaitė 2009: 203).<sup>1</sup> The structure and content of the classes conformed to the trend of humanistic studies. Having mastered Latin and syntax in grammar classes,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These disciplines became relevant around 1730 when the Jesuits, having taken stock of the educational ambitions of the Piarists, undertook a reform of their own educational system: they started the teaching of foreign languages (French appears on the timetable in 1730 and German in 1740); in 1739, history became an obligatory discipline, and the teaching of natural sciences and mathematics underwent modernisation around the mid-eighteenth century (Piechnik 1994: 125; Plečkaitis 2009: 380–395; Riauba 2009: 437–440).

<sup>2</sup> According to a typical model of a Jesuit college, grammar was studied for three years. The basics were taught in the lower grade that was called *infima*. What had been learnt

students embarked on the studies of poetics and rhetoric, a year each. Most of the pupils (they were referred to as *scholari, studiosi*) often stopped at this stage, but those more talented or more ambitious became students (*academici*) and continued their studies at the faculties of philosophy and theology.

It was at the poetics and rhetoric classes that the theoretical works of these two fields played a critical role. For example, the 1583 timetable of lectures and practice sessions – ‘Index lectionum et exercitationum scholasticarum’ – points out that the first class in the poetics class, starting at seven o’clock in the morning, must be devoted to a book on the art of poetry and prosody. Similarly, Cicero’s works are to be discussed according to Soarius<sup>3</sup> at the rhetoric class held at the same time (Piechnik 1973: 171–172).<sup>4</sup>

Thus, the works on poetics and rhetoric enter the field of vision of neo-Latin literature as an important source illustrating the peculiarities, evolution, and reception of the European literary theory in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. One can also discuss a reverse process: theoretical works written here spread in Western Europe and doubtlessly influenced the development of its theoretical thought.

The authors of eighteenth-century poetic and rhetoric theories had access to rich experience of the literary theorists of earlier centuries. The books on poetics and rhetoric written in the modern period manifest the influence of such ancient authors as Aristotle, Horace, Cicero, or Quintilian. Postulates of these masters of rhetoric find their reflection, to a larger or lesser extent, in the works of Marco Girolamo Vida (c. 1485–1566), Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558), and other theorists of the Renaissance. Published posthumously in Geneva in 1561, Scaliger’s *Poetices libri septem* (*Seven Books on Poetics*), was based on Aristotle and focused on the key issues of the literary theory and on

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in *infima* was consolidated and improved in a higher grade, which was simply referred to as grammar, while the third year was dedicated to the studies of syntax. However, the number of grammar classes was changing. For example, in 1580, there were four grammar classes at Vilnius Academy: *infima*, higher or *maior*, grammar, and syntax (Piechnik 1973: 65). In 1616, grammar was already taught for five years. The syllabus consisted of *infima*, two grammar classes, syntax *minor*, and syntax *maior*. In 1625, *infima* was divided into *infima minor* and *infima maior*, there was one grammar class, which was followed by syntax *minor* and syntax *maior* (Piechnik 1983: 70). These data are also confirmed by Ulčínaitė’s research (Ulčínaitė 1987: 8).

<sup>3</sup> Here reference is made to the work *De arte rhetorica libri tres ex Aristotele, Cicerone et Quintiliano praecipue prompti* (*Three Books on the Art of Rhetoric Prompted by the Works of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian*, first edition, Coimbra, 1560) by the Spanish Jesuit Cipriano Suárez (Cyprianus Soarius).

<sup>4</sup> Also see: Vladimirovas 1976: 61.

the system of genres. Both works, Scaliger's poetics in particular, were very handy from the didactic point of view. Jakub Niedźwiedź observes that the poetics and rhetoric of Minturno, Vida, Scaliger, Sturm, and other authors were used by such authors as Soarius, Caussin, and Pontanus, who were popular across Catholic Europe, and by less known ones, for instance, Charles Pajot. They supplemented the works of Vida and Scaliger and modified them to serve their own needs and especially the didactic objectives raised by *Ratio studiorum* (Niedźwiedź 2003: 73).

Next we will view the key works on poetics and rhetoric used in Jesuit syllabi in the seventeenth century. *De arte rhetorica libri tres* (*Three Books on the Art of Rhetoric*, first published in Coimbra in 1560 and later reprinted many times) by the Spanish Jesuit Cipriano Suárez should be mentioned as one of the most significant theoretical works of that time. Fairly small in its volume, clearly structured, and formulated in a straightforward manner, this rhetoric summed up the ideas of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, and drew on the examples from Classical Roman poetry and prose to illustrate them. As a foundation textbook, Suárez's rhetoric was widely used across European Jesuit colleges up until the eighteenth century.

In its significance, the poetics *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres* (*Three Books of Poetics Rules*, first edition in Ingolstadt, 1594) by the German Jesuit Jacob Pontanus (Iacobus Pontanus) was on a par with Suárez's rhetoric. This work was very popular due to its uncomplicated structure and clearly presented theory of genres. In the first part of his poetics, Pontanus set out the general issues of the poetry theory, and in the second and the third parts he discussed the typology and peculiarities of genres, and provided literary examples that illustrated his theses. The interesting thing was that Pontanus found it important to indicate the authors he had used when writing his book: he provided a list of ten most important theorists of Antiquity and the modern period ranking them in the following order: Aristotle, Plutarch, Horace, Scaliger, Viperano, Minturno, Robotello, Vida, Cicero, and Quintilian. Like Suárez's textbook on rhetoric, Pontanus's poetics was reprinted numerous times and used in the Jesuit colleges across Europe, including the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

In the seventeenth century, the theory of rhetoric was enriched by a number of new works that were also popular in Jesuit schools. Probably the most important work of this period was *Eloquentiae sacrae et humanae libri XVI* (*Sixteen Books on Sacred and Secular Eloquence*) by the French Jesuit Nicolaus Caussin,<sup>5</sup> which was first published in Paris in 1619 and reprinted many

<sup>5</sup> Caussin was famous as a rhetoric professor and a poet. He was a confessor of Louis XIII of France to whom he dedicated his work.

times. Its last edition appeared in Cologne in 1681. According to Heinrich F. Plett, 'because of its complexity and learning, this rhetorical manual won international acclaim and, though an outstanding product of the Counter-Reformation, transgressed the boundaries of religious creeds' (Plett 2004: 25). Devised by Caussin, a method of comparison and association of Classical and Christian rhetoric was applied in quite a few rhetoric books that appeared later in the seventeenth-century, for example, in Francisco de Mendonça's *Viridarium sacrae ac profanae eruditionis* (*The Garden of Sacred and Profane Erudition*, Lyons, 1631) (Ulčínaitė 1984: 22).

*Candidatus rhetoricae* (*Candidate of Rhetoric*) by the French Jesuit François Antoine Pomey should also be attributed to the significant seventeenth-century works used in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This work was first published at the print shop of Molin in Lyons in 1659. Several years later, in 1668, the same print shop released an updated and expanded *Novus candidatus rhetoricae* (*New Candidate of Rhetoric*) in which the author developed the explanatory part on elocution (*elocutio*) and added a new chapter on the panegyric. It was due to this that *Novus candidatus rhetoricae* became a handy teaching aid in explaining the theory of the panegyric. By 1763 both versions of the textbook were reprinted over a hundred of times in various European print shops and even in Mexico (Kraus 2005: 180). Taking up the postulates of Aristotle, Cicero, Scaliger, Suarez, and other theorists, another French Jesuit Charles Pajot (Carolus Paiot) prepared a rhetoric similar to that of Pomey's. And although his textbook *Tyrociniūm eloquentiae, sive Rhetorica nova et facilior* (*First Steps in Eloquence, or a New and Easier Rhetoric*; Blois, 1647) was not as popular as Pomey's rhetoric, it was important in the Jesuit syllabus. Pajot proposed some relevant insights: for example, he emphasized that praise should be based on truth and not on figments of imagination, and a panegyric speech was the most valuable of all kinds of praise.

The Baroque literary theory was undoubtedly influenced by the poetics of Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius (Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski), which he wrote about 1623. It was not printed and spread around as a manuscript of lecture notes. Although manuscript poetics and rhetoric are not part of the present study, we mention this work because of its special role in the development of the theory of conceit. Although Sarbievius invoked Scaliger and other sources of his own time, his poetics 'was an original and independent work' (Michałowska 1974: 17). It is important to note that Sarbievius's wording of the Baroque style and the theory of conceit (*acumen*) 'did not spring up in an empty space as a brand-new innovation of the discipline of rhetoric. [...] Simply, none of the theorists managed to define it with such precision' (Daukšienė 2006: 52).

In the seventeenth century, the development of the theory of conceit or *acumen* was significantly affected by the works of the German Jesuit Jacob Masen (Jacobus Masenius). His book *Ars nova argutiarum* (*The New Art of Wit*) published in Cologne in 1648 should be distinguished as a major work in the field. In it, the author focuses on the category of wit (*argutia*) that is identified with conceit, on the use of a witty style in epigrams, epigraphs, inscriptions, and everyday speech. Within several years after the appearance of this work, a number of other textbooks dealing with emblematic poetry and rhetoric issues were published, also in Cologne: *Speculum imaginum veritatis occultae* (*A Mirror of Images of Hidden Reality*, 1650), *Palaestra oratoria* (*A Palaestra of Oration*, 1659), *Palaestra styli Romani* (*A Roman-style Palaestra*, 1659), and *Exercitationes oratoriae* (*Exercises in Rhetoric*, 1660). These works prominently represented pro-Ciceronian attitudes, and as for imitation, Masen continued the tradition of eclecticism and recommended that literary examples from various epochs and of different styles should be followed (Ulčínaitė 1984: 24).

The textbooks used in the Jesuit colleges of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were not authored exclusively by the Jesuits. Mention should be made of rhetoric teaching aids by the Dutch Protestant author Gerardus Joannes Vossius. The earliest of these was *Institutiones rhetoricae* (*Foundations in Rhetoric*). This huge work was published in 1606 and was abridged a number of times. The first version of its summary, which consisted of over 400 pages and had the title *Rhetorices contractae* (*A Summary of Rhetoric*), was published in 1621. The next abridgement, *Elementa rhetoricae* (*Elements of Rhetoric*), was published in Lyons in 1626 (Kennedy 1999: 254). Vossius resorted to numerous sources while writing his books. Conley remarks that Vossius turned to the works of Hermogenes, Menander Rhetor, Keckermann, and Caussin, yet his strongest influences were Cicero and especially Aristotle. *Rhetorices contractae* was probably the most 'Aristotelian' work on rhetoric at the time (Conley 1990:160). As for Vossius's textbooks of poetics, mention should be made of *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres* (*Three Books on the Elements of Poetics*), published in Amsterdam in 1647. This was the time of the growing popularity of textbooks written in the question-answer form and explaining the basics of poetics and rhetoric in a straightforward and simple manner. The text of *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres* is divided into short paragraphs, each consisting of a concise thesis and its explanation. It was a novel way of introducing theory, which was also very attractive from the methodological point of view as the students were liberated from studying expanded and frequently rather complex definitions. Scaliger's poetics can serve as an illustration of such a complex model: not only is his work characterised by a rather complex expression of ideas, but also by certain inconsistencies (funereal works are referred

to in chapters 35<sup>6</sup> and 50<sup>7</sup> of book I and chapters 122<sup>8</sup> and 125<sup>9</sup> of book III).

Michał Kraus's rhetoric *Manuductio institutionum rhetoricarum* (*Manuduction into Rhetoric Rules*) published in Warsaw in 1687 is mentioned as the most popular seventeenth-century aid in rhetoric in Piarist schools. Stanisław Biegański, a historian of the Piarist Order, pointed out that Kraus's rhetoric was used in the schools of the Crown up until Stanisław Konarski educational reform, and even for a longer time in Lithuania (Biegański 1808: 11). Interestingly, the provenances in this rhetoric suggest that it was also used in some of the Jesuit colleges (Leszczyński 1970: 240). It was only through the effort of Maciej Dogiel<sup>10</sup> that Konarski's textbook was eventually included in the reformed syllabi of the Piarists (Biegański 1808: 15).

Two Lithuanian Jesuit authors – Žygimantas Liauksminas (Sigismundus Lauxmin) and Kazimieras Vijūkas-Kojalavičius (Casimirus Wiiuk-Koialowicz) – should be singled out among the seventeenth-century rhetoric theorists of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. They both were students and later professors at Vilnius Academy. Žygimantas Liauksminas was a vice-rector of the academy (1656–1657), and Kazimieras Vijūkas-Kojalavičius was its rector (1657–1662).

Liauksminas was of an active nature and had received an excellent humanitarian education. The combination of his character and education greatly enhanced his possibilities of becoming involved in different academic, pedagogical, and literary fields, of merging theory and practice (Ulčिनaitė 2004: 48). The rhetoric textbook *Praxis oratoria sive praecepta artis rhetoricae* (*Oration practice and the Rules of the Art of Oration*) brought fame to its author. The textbook was published in Branev in 1648 and by the mid-eighteenth century enjoyed another thirteen editions in Germany, Bohemia, and Austria. Liauksminas was an advocate of classical rhetoric. He held the view that praise should be based on logic, intellect, and moderation, and disapproved of

<sup>6</sup> (Scaliger 1586: 108–109)

<sup>7</sup> (Scaliger 1586: 128–130)

<sup>8</sup> (Scaliger 1586: 425–427)

<sup>9</sup> (Scaliger 1586: 429–430)

<sup>10</sup> Maciej Dominik Dogiel (1715–1760) was a Piarist monk, a historian, a publisher of historical sources of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland, the publisher of the first collection of international treaties of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, an educator, a reformer of the school system and input curricula. He was a representative of the intellectual elite during the reign of Augustus III. See: Šmigelskytė-Stukienė, R. 'Motiejus Dominykas Dogelis – mokyklų reformatorius ir pirmasis Lietuvos istorinių šaltinių leidėjas', *Orbis Lituaniae*, <http://www.ldkistorija.lt/> (12.01.18.).

pomposity and verbiage of oration. Apparently, Liauksminas's prestige had a strong impact on the rhetoric works written in Lithuania, because their authors observed traditions of classical rhetoric up until the end of the seventeenth century; meanwhile, in Poland – in particular in Poznan and Kalisz – many professors followed Jan Kwiatkiewicz and espoused Baroque eloquence (Ulčinaite 1984: 25).

Kazimieras Vijūkas-Kojalavičius was one of the most prominent professors of Vilnius Academy, a rhetoric theorist, a preacher, and an author of biographies and panegyrics. His student Kazimieras Daumantas (Kazimierz Dowmont) put the manuscript notes of his professor's lectures given from 1641 to 1643 at the Jesuit colleges of Kražiai and Plotsk together into the book *Institutionum rhetoricarum pars I–II (Elements of Rhetoric, parts I–II)*, which was published by the printers of Vilnius Academy in 1654 (Natoński 1967: 268). As this work consists of only a summary of the basics of rhetoric, it does not meet the requirements of a regular textbook. The first part dwells on the ways of creating an oration, while the second part provides examples of their composition, distinguishes between the types of speeches, provides explanations of how to prepare one type of a speech or another, and appends a collection of quotations and maxims that the authors could use in their speeches.

We will close the overview of seventeenth-century theoretical works with the rhetoric *Orator extemporaneus (The Improvising Orator)* by Michael Radau, a Jesuit from Prussia. Adam Motkowski, Radau's *gratum discipulum* ('a grateful disciple'; the wording is taken from the introduction), compiled this work from the material of his professor's lectures given in 1641–1642 in Branew. The rhetoric was published in Amsterdam in 1650 and then reprinted numerous times in Poland, Italy, Holland, Bohemia, Germany, and France. It played an immense role in developing and establishing the theory of *acumen* (Ulčinaite 1984: 27).

The first signs of changes in the literary theory appeared during the first decade of the eighteenth century. According to Barbara Otwinowska, both local and foreign authors were trying to write synthetic works that were better prepared didactically and of a better-thought out system than, for instance, the rhetoric of Ciprian Suárez that lagged behind the new expectations (Otwinowska 1996: 511). In the Jesuit schools of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, textbooks of poetics and rhetoric by the French Jesuit Joseph de Jouvancy were gaining in popularity. For example, the rhetoric *Novus candidatus rhetoricæ (A New Candidate of Rhetoric)* was first published in Paris in 1711, reprinted in Rouen in 1714, and then several reprints in Poland followed (the first Polish edition in Branew in 1735 and later in Poznan in 1743). It should be pointed out that *Novus candidatus rhetoricæ* was not an entirely innovative

work. At the base of it was Pomey's rhetoric *Candidatus rhetoricae*. Jouvancy reduced the original seven chapters of Pomey to five and added the sixth part (*Pars VI*) dealing with the analysis of Cicero's examples, and the seventh part (*Pars VII*) where he explained the rules of letter-writing (Awianowicz 2008: 303).

Jouvancy's another work, *Institutiones poeticae et rhetoricae* (*Rules of Poetics and Rhetoric*, first published in Cologne in 1726), was also successful. Its relevance in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was demonstrated by three editions in Vilnius (1752, 1757, and 1766). This textbook had a deep impact on the development of rhetoric in Jesuit schools (Piechnik 1990: 207–208; Bednarski 1933: 218) and was later highly valued by the Piarist monk Stanisław Konarski (Piechnik 1990: 34).

Jouvancy's *Institutiones poeticae et rhetoricae* is based on Diomedes' triadic system and written in the question-answer form. It stands out for the clarity of its explanations and laconic formulations of the definitions, which were very much in accordance with didactic objectives of that period. Piotr Żbikowski observes that from the middle of the seventeenth century the trichotomous typology in Diomedes' work *Ars grammatica* was used ever more seldom in the genre theory. This was very evident in school poetics, the authors of which were gradually replacing the triadic system by a new modern theory that divided poetry into types and genres. Despite of this, the traditional typological system originating from *Ars grammatica* was applied in some textbooks published in the late seventeenth century, and also in Jouvancy's *Institutiones poeticae et rhetoricae*, which appeared in the third decade of the eighteenth century (Żbikowski 1999: 163). The first part of this poetics deals with the definition and the object (*materia*) of poetry, the ways of expression, etc. This part ends with a discussion of the purpose and typology of poetry. The second part is devoted to epic poetry, the third to drama, and in the fourth part the remaining poetry genres – elegy, epigram, satire, lyrical poem, hymn, parody, intercalary,<sup>11</sup> eclogue, silva, poems expressing curses (*dirae*), epithalamium, poems written for birthdays (*genethliacus*), epicedium, and others – are explained (*De reliquis Poematis*). The fifth part consists of certain aspects that are useful in poetic creation (*Exempla varia et observationes ad artem poeticam complectens*): the authors that are worthy of referring or citing are discussed, the poetic style and type of versification are explained, and definitions of some of the forms of constrained writing (acrostic, anagram, and others) are introduced.

<sup>11</sup> Intercalary (*intercalarium, carmen intercalare*) – inserted, additional; it is a form of constrained writing, a work with recurrent words or word combinations, which do not exceed the length of one line (Patiejūnienė 1998: 309).

As popularity goes, Dominique de Colonia, a French Jesuit and the author of the rhetoric textbook *De arte rhetorica libri quinque* (*Five Books on the Art of Rhetoric*), was on a par with Jouvancy. His rhetoric first appeared in Lyons in 1710; it was later updated and from 1754 to the end of the eighteenth century was reprinted about twelve times in Poland (Otwinowska 1996: 511). In Vilnius, it was published twice, in 1770 and in 1796. Like Jouvancy's rhetoric textbook, *De arte rhetorica libri quinque* is written in the question-answer form; its formulations are clear and its style transparent. De Colonia based his work on Aristotle, Scaliger, and Cicero. Speaking of the examples invoked in this rhetoric, mention should be made of Vergil, Horace, Cicero, Juvenal, Martial, Claudian, and Statius, although it is obvious that it was Pliny the Younger and his work 'A Panegyric to Emperor Troyan' that de Colonia held in the highest esteem. In many instances it is not quotations as such but references to classical authors or the titles of their works that are used to give substance to the theses (for example, the reader is referred to Isocrates, Ovid, Lucan, and others). The structure of this rhetoric is simple and clear; it consists of three main parts and an appendix. The first part covers the basics of rhetoric (*Elementa rhetoricae*). They are discussed in four chapters dealing with the plot, the narrative, chria, and amplification. The second part, *Apparatus, seu Proemium rhetoricae* (*Preparation, or an Introduction to Rhetoric*), focuses on the origin and purpose of rhetoric, its object and constituent parts, its beauty and benefit. The third part, *Ars rhetoricae* (*The Art of Rhetoric*), consists of five chapters and covers elocution, invention, arrangement, various types of speeches, and action (which is called *pronuntiatio* here). The latter addresses modulations of the voice, pronunciation, and intonations, also gestures and mime. The textbook closes with *Apparatus eloquentiae* (*Handy Things for Preparation of a Speech*), which corresponds to the traditional *eruditiones* and recommends supporting material such as excerpts from the works of various authors, sayings, and maxims. Going back to the third part, it should be noted that its structure does not adhere to the canon of classical rhetoric. According to the latter, it should open with *inventio*, or invention (while de Colonia begins from *elocutio*, or style), which should be followed by *dispositio*, or arrangement (in de Colonia's book it is invention). The third should be *elocutio* (but it is *dispositio* in de Colonia's textbook), the fourth – *memoria*, or memory (instead, de Colonia explains the types of rhetoric speeches), and the fifth should be *actio*, delivery, and here de Colonia does not digress from the canon.

The textbooks of Jouvancy and de Colonia can be justly called rhetoric handbooks of the eighteenth century. Jouvancy's *Institutiones poeticae et rhetoricae* was used in the schools of the Educational Board, and later generations of the litterateurs of the Age of Enlightenment studied from them

(Żbikowski 1999: 163). Dominique de Colonia's rhetoric' survived the suppression of the Jesuit Order and was used as late as the nineteenth century' (Piechnik 1990: 208).

Chronologically, Jouvancy's poetics and de Colonia's rhetoric were the last eighteenth-century works representing the literary theory of the Baroque epoch. Baroque eloquence, which had flourished for almost two hundred years, attracted harsh criticism of Stanisław Konarski in the mid-eighteenth century. He did it in his work *De emendandis eloquentiae vitiis* (*On the Flaws of Eloquence to be Corrected*), which was published in Warsaw in 1741. In it, Konarski challenged the hard-to-decipher constructs and exaggerated ornamentation of Baroque rhetoric and proposed a conception of a good speech. According to him, 'eloquence must be regular, clear, and ornamented; it must match the nature and common sense, be full of understanding of various things, be strong and excellent, and based on pure Latin; it should not be light-hearted or pompous, or dark, or affected, or full of foreign words' (Konarski 1955: 10). This work, which 'formulated the key rules of persuasion, also delineated the trends of speech reflection embracing all spheres of its usage' (Kostkiewiczowa 1975: 82). Twenty-six years later, Konarski published another work that could be considered a sequel to his *De emendandis eloquentiae vitiis*. It was *De arte bene cogitandi ad artem dicendi bene necessaria* (*On the Ability of Proper Thinking Necessary for the Ability of Proper Speaking*; Warsaw, 1767). Here he accentuated the connection between rhetoric and logic and paid considerable attention to the issue of clarity of style, discussed the problems of the purity of language and the sentence structure. Konarski's works point to a shift in mentality and attempts at reforms (primarily in education), which were implemented during the Age of Enlightenment.

In Lithuania, the beginning of the Enlightenment can be placed around the middle of the eighteenth century. It is primarily associated with reforms in education and school curricula. In 1751, the Nobility College (*Collegium Nobilium*) was founded under Vilnius Jesuit University, which functioned up until the suppression of the Jesuit Order. The college implemented modern teaching methods and introduced new disciplines of philology, natural, and exact sciences. The Piarists also encouraged educational reforms. In Poland, Piarist Stanisław Konarski initiated a reform of Piarist schools and published a document which regulated its guidelines and content, *Ordinationes visitationis apostolicae* (*Orders of the Apostolic Visitation*; Warsaw, 1753–1754). On the basis of this document, the Lithuanian Piarist province prepared a collection of methodological instructions, *Methodus docendi pro Scholis Pii provinciae Litvaniae* (*Teaching Regulations for Piarist Schools of the Lithuanian Province*), which was published by Piarist printers in Vilnius in 1762. As the Piarists grew

stronger and began competing with the Jesuits, there appeared significant works in philosophy, law, history, logic, and natural sciences, which diffused the spirit of the Age of Enlightenment.

An analysis of various spheres of culture and the arts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania allows distinguishing three underlying styles of the second half of the eighteenth century: Baroque, Rococo, and Classicism (Tereškinas 1992: 108). The first to convey the literary theory of Classicism, which was the main literary style of the Enlightenment, was Filip Nereusz Golański<sup>12</sup> in his poetics *O wymowie i poezji* (*On Rhetoric and Poetry*, first published in Warsaw in 1786, and in Vilnius in 1788 and 1808). The work was highly acclaimed and King Stanisław Augustus decorated its author with the *Merentibus* medal. The second expanded edition of the poetics that appeared in Vilnius without much delay is a proof of its didactic significance: based on the period's literary theory and reflecting the latest aesthetic attitudes, the poetics was in full accord with the function of a textbook intended for the schools of the Educational Board. It was the first work produced during the Enlightenment that summed up the aesthetics of Polish Classicism, set out a normative syllabus of literature, and enriched the theses of the traditional Classicist doctrine with new concepts (Kostkiewiczowa 1985: 55).

The title of Golański's work shows that the author adhered to the tradition that went as far back as the Aristotelian triad (*ῥῆθος, πάθος, λόγος*) of the 'artificial proof' (*πίστεις ἐντεχνοί*) in rhetoric,<sup>13</sup> from which 'the duties of the orator' (*officia oratoris*) were derived. Aristotle's conception, which defined that the objectives of rhetoric and poetics were to teach (*docere*), to move (*movere*), and to delight (*delectare*), and which accentuated the imitation nature of these two arts, had not lost its relevance.

<sup>12</sup> Filip Nereusz Golański was a Polish literary theorist, a journalist, a translator, an educator, and a preacher. He was born in Cracow in 1753. In 1771 he became a Piarist monk. Golański studied at Piarist schools of Podolia (1772), Rzeszow (1773), and Cracow (1778–1779). He later taught mathematics and rhetoric in Piarist schools in the provinces and in Warsaw. In 1793, he became a rhetoric and poetics professor at the Senior School (former Vilnius Academy) of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In 1794, he edited the newspaper *Gazeta Narodowa Wileńska*. From 1803 to 1812 he taught Holy Scriptures. Although he retired in 1812, he remained active in academic work: in 1817, he was a visitor of schools in the provinces of Białystok and Hrodna; from 1817 to 1819 he was a dean of the Faculty of Literature and Liberal Arts, and in 1817–1818 worked as a book censor. Golański was a rhetoric teacher and a preacher at the Senior Spiritual Seminary. He was a member of the Warsaw Society of Friends of Learning. Golański died in Vilnius in 1824 (The short biography was compiled from Bogdziewicz 2005: 75).

<sup>13</sup> *Rhet.* I, 2, 1356 a 1sqq.

Literary historians noted that Golański might have based his work on the textbook *Ecole de littérature tirée de nos meilleurs écrivains* (*The Best Literary School of Our Writers*, first edition 1764, second edition 1767) by the French Jesuit Joseph de La Porte (1713–1779) (Klimowicz 1995: 15). The strong influence of La Porte's textbook can be explained by its specific nature. According to Kostkiewiczowa, *Ecole de littérature* is a compilation work, which discusses key literary issues that had been raised in the period's works dealing with literary theory; it also describes the features of major literary genres and illustrates them with examples from French literature. Therefore, due to the choice of the system and its overview form, La Porte's textbook was extremely popular in Poland, both in Jesuit schools and among literary theorists (Kostkiewiczowa 1997: 306).

Although Golański made use of the theorists' experience accumulated from the times of Antiquity to Voltaire, his poetics contains numerous original insights which, according to Snopek, very likely came from his teaching experience. Golański emphasizes that creators of literature should lean not only against universally recognised Classicist examples, but also against their own taste. He associates taste more with feelings and nature than with intellect, although, on the other hand, he does not reject the role of education. Golański accentuates the advantages of literary fiction and gives it priority over the writings that do not have aesthetic aspirations (Snopek 1999: 99).

Some non-traditional solutions and novelties should be pointed out. Although in the discussion of poetry and drama genres the author upholds traditional attitudes established in textbooks, he appreciates the *Iliad* higher than the *Aeneid* and supports only the principle of the unity of the dramatic action (he rejects the unity of time altogether, while the unity of place is not mentioned at all; he analyses the opera alongside the tragedy and the comedy, and questions the elitist nature of the tragic hero) (Snopek 1999: 101). It should also be noted that the genre of epithalamium is not found in Golański's poetics. Its elimination from the system of poetry genres was obviously not accidental, because this genre is present in La Porte's textbook, which exerted a strong influence on Golański. An important and novel aspect in this work is that when illustrating his theses, Golański cites or provides references to the works of his compatriots and, in this way, he forms the canon of Polish litterateurs, of 'those who belong together'.

## Conclusions

The authors of eighteenth-century rhetoric and poetics used basically the same sources that formed the foundation of the literary theory of previous epochs. First of all, these sources included theoretical works by Aristotle, Cicero, Horace, and Quintilian, which conveyed the Classical tradition. The postulates in the versified didactic work *De arte poetica* by Marco Girolamo Vida, who shaped the literary theory of the Renaissance, and in Julius Caesar Scaliger's poetics *Poetices libri septem* were also taken up. Of the two above-mentioned works, Scaliger's work was more relevant. Thanks to the systematised – for the first time ever – literary theory and explanation of genres, his work turned into a peculiar thesaurus that was also used by the literary theorists of the Baroque period.

Jacob Pontanus should be mentioned as a Baroque theorist who was a very important author in the eighteenth-century literary theory. He can be considered a successor to Scaliger's work. Resorting to the theses of his predecessor, Pontanus wrote *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres*, the first textbook of poetics intended for Jesuit schools, which also spread Scaliger's ideas. Pontanus' theory of the epigram was of a considerable significance to the literary theory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Scaliger's work was also invoked by Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius, who in his manuscript poetics formulated an accurate theory of the Baroque style and conceit (*acumen*), which was highly relevant for the development of the epigram. One of the first to respond to Sarbievius's theory of conceit with his work *Orator extemporaneus* was Michael Radau, a professor of rhetoric who taught in numerous Jesuit colleges of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Jacob Masen with his work *Ars nova argutiarum* also made a significant contribution to the development of the theory of *acumen* and to the evolution of the genre of epigram.

The panegyric, the most popular eighteenth-century genre of occasional literature in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, rested on two theoretical pillars. The first one, *Novus candidatus rhetoricae* by the seventeenth-century theorist François Antoine Pomey, was very widely used. The second, slightly less popular yet also used as a textbook in colleges, was Charles Pajot's textbook *Tyrocinium eloquentiae*.

Pomey's work was continued by the eighteenth-century theorist Joseph de Jouvancy. In his rhetoric *Novus candidatus rhetoricae* he modified Pomey's popular textbook. Jouvancy's other work, *Institutiones poeticae et rhetoricae*, which deals not only with the theory of rhetoric but also with poetics, had become a handbook that maintained its position in school syllabi throughout the whole eighteenth century. Dominique de Colonia's rhetoric *De arte rhetorica*

*libri quinque*, which was used in colleges along with Joseph de Jouvancy's textbook, was also highly appreciated. Although chronologically the textbooks of Jouvancy and de Colonia fall within the boundaries of the Baroque era, their structure (the attractive question-answer form), concise presentation of the material, and clear-cut definitions of genres should be considered a sign of modernisation heralding their affinity with the didactic principles of the Enlightenment.

The wave of criticism levelled at Baroque eloquence in the middle of the eighteenth century, the school reform and the shifts in school curricula brought by the reform had an impact on general cultural processes, including the development of the literary theory. Filip Nereusz Golański's *O wymowie i poezji*, which appeared at the end of the eighteenth century, was the first work on the literary theory in the Age of Enlightenment that manifested the aesthetic principles of Classicism.

**Asta Vaškeliėnė**

*asta@liti.lt*

Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas

Antakalnio g. 6

LT-10308, Vilnius

LIETUVA / LITHUANIA

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