Giovanna Siedina

The Poetic Laboratory of the Kyiv-Mohylan Poetics.
Some Practical Illustrations*

1. The Latin poetical exercises contained in the poetics composed at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (hereinafter KMA) have already been noticed, and in some cases partly analyzed by various scholars"[1]. Seldom, however, have they been analyzed in the context in which they were produced, i.e. as practical embodiments of the conception of poetry fostered at the KMA and as the results of theoretical prescriptions for poetic style and language set out by the Academy's poetics teachers. Frequently perceived, by Ukrainian scholars and others, as codifications of a literary theory that enjoyed autonomous status – rather than as "a structural basis for learning Latin", as has been cogently argued by N. Pylypiuk[2] – the poetics manuals and the poetical exercises that they contain have generally been analyzed without due consideration for their primary glotto-didactic function[3].

The importance of exercise in the learning process is stressed in the *Ratio studiorum* (1599)[4], the study plan that regulated the pedagogic and didactic work of the Jesuits, on

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[1] Cf., among others, Petrov 1866-1868, Łużny 1966, Berkov 1968, Cyhanok 1999, in particular 96-100, Ševčuk 2005. Masljuk (1983) inserts a number of poetical compositions in Ukrainian translation in his chapter *Pidbir i spolučennja sliv u periodi* (pp. 93-102), as well as in the chapters devoted to specific poetic genres, at times also providing their Latin original. Among the anthologies that host Neo-Latin texts in Ukrainian translation, also from the Mohylan poetics, cf. O. Bilec'kyj (ed.), *Xrestomatija davn'oji ukrajins'koji literatury (do kincja XVIII st.)*, Kyiv 1967[3]; V.I. Krekoten', *Bajky v ukrajins'kij literaturi XVII-XVIII st.*, Kyiv 1963; Apollonova ljutnja: V. Masljuk, V. Ševčuk, V. Jaremenko (eds.), *Kyjivs'ki poety XVII-XVIII st.*, Kyiv 1982; *Ukrajins'ka literatura XVIII st. Poetyčni tvory, dramatyčni tvory, prozovi tvory*, Kyiv 1983; M. Ryl's'kyj (ed.), *Antolohija ukrajins'koji poeziji*, I, Kyjiv 1984; V.I. Krekoten' (ed.), *Ukrajins'ka literatura XVII st. Synkretyčna pysemnist'. Poezija. Dramaturhija. Beletrystyka*, Kyiv 1987, and others.

[2] N. Pylypiuk, *Kyjivs'ki poetyky i renesansni teoriji mystectva*, in: *Jevropejs'ke vidrodžennja ta ukrajins'ka literatura XIV-XVIII st.*, Kyjiv 1993, pp. 75-109, here p. 81.

[3] For a contextualized analysis of some poetical compositions in the Mohylan poetics, devoted respectively to Rafajil Zaborovs'kyj and hetman Ivan Mazepa, see Siedina 2005, 2007 and 2008.

[4] Its full title is *Ratio atque Institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu*.

whose school system the curriculum of the KMA was modeled[5]. A chapter on poetical exercises (chapter IX of the first book) by the Jesuit Jacobus Pontanus (Jakob Spanmül-ler) is also found in *Poeticarum Institutionum Libri Tres* (Pontanus 1594), one of the most influential Latin theories of poetry in the 16th century. Pontanus's manual is followed by a *Tirocinium poeticum*, which contains an abundance of poetic examples of various genres[6]. These include: expressing the same subject using the same kind of poem or a different one, both concisely and extensively; turning a poem into prose, and turning prose texts and expressions into poetry; translating; "rewriting" a poem using a different meter; composing centos and parodies.

Similar exercises were practiced in poetics and rhetoric classes at the Mohyla Academy, since composing Latin poetry and prose was a compulsory part of the course. Indeed, some manuals of poetics host sections devoted to the different kinds of *exercitatio*, which contain poetical compositions generally written by the teachers themselves. The poetical exercises composed by the students appeared in separate sections sometimes attached as an appendix to the course[7]. *Exercitatio* (exercise), *natura* (natural talent), *ars* (mastering theoretical rules and principles), and *imitatio* (intended in this context both as a synonym of fiction-making[8] and as *imitatio auctorum* or *imitatio*

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[5]   Indeed, the rhetorical and poetic exercises for the students, to which *Ratio studiorum* assigned great importance, included imitating certain passages by a poet or orator, inventing descriptions, transforming one kind of poem into another, composing epigrams, inscriptions and epitaphs, translating from Greek into Latin and vice-versa, paraphrasing poetical works into prose, applying rhetorical figures to a given subject (cf. A.P. Farrell S.J. [ed.], *The Jesuit* Ratio Studiorum *of 1599*, Washington D.C., 1970).

[6]   In particular, it consists of two books of elegies, one of epitaphs, two books of miscellaneous poems, and of the plays *Immolatio Isaac* and *Stratocles sive bellum.*

[7]   Note that only a few Mohylan poetics are written in carefully revised authorial copies, while others appear to be the students' manuscript notes, probably taken under the supervision of an instructor. This is testified by the inscriptions (usually at the beginning or at the end of the manual) containing the name of the student followed by the verb "scripsit", which of course does not coincide with the author of the course, i.e. the poetics teacher. While we should assume that the author of the poetical examples and exercises, unless otherwise indicated, is the teacher and author of the course, at times the poor knowledge of Latin of the student taking notes, and the lack of revision of the manuscript are reflected in various mistakes. The teachers' sections on exercises or single poetical compositions are generally inserted in the body of the manual (for instance in the chapters devoted to the different genres of poetry or to tropes and figures). This is the case of F. Prokopovyč's exercises in his *De arte poetica libri tres* (1705), borrowed in all or in part by some of his 'successors': like those proposed by Pontanus, they concern different means of poetical expression and imitation, among which synonymy, paraphrases of a poetical text by using a different meter, or by widening or shortening the original model, descriptions, *ethopoeia, comparatio, laudatio,* and *fabula.*

[8]   On the theory of poetic imitation as artistic creation in the 16th century, which is closely connected with the critical issue of the relationship between nature and art, cf. Herrick 1946: 28-38.

operis[9]) were considered the four key factors for achieving perfection in literary expression[10], although *exercitatio* was often given preeminence[11]. In these exercises, perfecting the Latin language and improving literary expression went hand in hand, for the poetics class in the *trivium* was part of the Latin grammar course. Poetical exercises thus reflected the emphasis both on language (particularly prosody and rhetorical embellishments), and also on morally edifying content; this is in line with the conception of poetry instilled in the academy's neo-poets, and with its goals and the means for achieving them.

The main aim of poetry in the Mohylan poetics was the education of pious men; this aim was to be pursued by asserting ethical values, thereby encouraging virtue and discouraging vice. The best way to achieve this goal was to represent exemplary human actions, thus deemed the principal subject matter of poetry[12]. Following Aristotle, how-

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[9]   On Renaissance theories of imitation of model authors, see Ann Moss, *Literary imitation in the sixteenth century: writers and readers, Latin and French*, in Norton 2008: 107-118.

[10]   Cf. what Ilarion Jaroševyc'kyj, author of the manual *Cedrus Apollinis* (1702), 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, those who feel no natural inclination for poetry should not despair, because after nature there are other aids to composition. Second: art, or rather the precepts and prescriptions, the poetical principles and the rules. Third: exercise, the frequent use of which stimulates nature and the precepts of art. [...] Fourth: imitation, which has a great influence both in the oratorical and in the poetical skill) (ΛC / Π 241, f.r. 160. Unless otherwise indicated, all manuscripts that I quote providing their call number are kept at the manuscript section (Instytut Rukopysu) of the National Library of Ukraine in Kyiv).

[11]   Cf. Prokopovyč's recommendation to his students: "In primis commendatam discipulis meis volo continuam styli exercitationem et frequentem usum scribendi. Usus enim, sicut in omni alia, ita in hac potissimum arte, non modo multum confert subsidii, sed etiam consensu omnium est optimus magister, plusque valet quam ipsa ars: et constanter assevero, plus in arte poetica profecturum eum, qui saepe scribendo sese exercet, tametsi viva praeceptoris voce sit destitutus, quam eum, qui omnia quidem praecepta probe tenet, sed raro aut nunquam ad scribendum manum admovet" (In the first place I want to recommend to my students the constant exercise in style and in the frequent habit of writing. In fact habit, as in all other arts, so especially in this art, is not only very helpful, but also, as all agree, is the best teacher, and is worth more than art itself. And I constantly declare that he who often exercises himself in writing will accomplish more in the poetic art, even if deprived of the living voice of a teacher, than he who exactly possesses all precepts, but seldom or never applies himself to writing) (Prokopovič 1961: 239-240).

[12]   Cf. one of the definitions of poetry that recurs most often in the poetics: "Poesis est ars hominum actiones effingens easque ad vitam instituendam carminibus explicans" ("Poetry is the art that represents the actions of men and that explains them in verse for the institution of human life"; the quotation is taken from the manual *Lyra variis praeceptorum chordis... instructa...*,

ever, the authors stress that poetry should not be versified history, but should rather distinguish itself as a plausible *fictio* of what could or ought to have happened[13]. Because of the fundamental role played by persuasio in poetry thus conceived, the latter had a strong link with the rhetorical genres. Indeed, from the extant poems contained in the Mohylan poetics, we may infer that the teachers represented human deeds (and with them exemplary specimens of virtue) in two main ways: through different genres of encomiastic poetry (belonging to the *genus demonstrativum*) and by various poetical species of the *genus deliberativum*[14]. In this process a key role was given to understanding and interpreting the Classics through the prism of a Christian vision of life, which was

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1696, call number 501 П/1719, f.v. 4), which harks back to Pontanus (1594: 5; cf. also Masljuk 1983: 26).

[13] Cf., e. g., *Hymettus extra Atticam duplici tramite neovatibus scandendus* (1699, call number 315 П / 122): "Hoc enim proprium est poeseos, iuxta Aristotelem dicentem: praecipuum est opus poetae non facta esse dicere sed quemadmodum fieri debuerant et fieri possunt secundum verisimile et necessarium exprimere" ("Indeed, this is peculiar to poetry, according to Aristotle, who says: the poet's principal function is not to relate the things that have happened, but to express in which way they should have happened or can happen according to verisimilitude and necessity", ff. 3v-4r). The conception of poetry prevalent in the Mohylan poetics seems to be a synthesis of the different positions elaborated by Western European literary critics during the 16th century (cf. Hardison 1962, in particular: 43-67, and Weinberg 1961). On the one hand, Plato's charge to poets that they were liars had given rise to a lively discussion on the role that history (as a source of 'truth') should play in poetry. On the other, Plato had excluded the poetry of praise from his ban on poetry, since by arousing in the youth emulation through the desire for fame, it could reinforce the state by fostering virtue. At the same time,16th century commentators of Aristotle had emphasizesd the centrality of praise and blame in his *Poetics* and had elaborated their theories of genres accordingly. Moreover, "didactic criticism assimilated the *Poetics* by assuming that the idealization of forms based on praise creates edifying pictures of virtue, while the forms based on denigration make vice seem unattractive" (Hardison 1962: 28). Aristotele had stated that the poet was a creator of fables, and thus he had emphasized *fictio* as the essence of poetry, rather than history. However, as Hardison (1962: 46) asserts, since not many critics were willing to defend *fictio* per se, and Christian authors did not consider it a virtue, the two positions were generally conciliated in a compromise: the poets could choose their material from history, but then they could "'exercise' invention to create new episodes, digressions, and other ornamental embellishments" (Hardison 1962: 48).

[14] The recurring division of poetry in the Mohylan poetics into the three *genera* of rhetoric testifies to the applied character of poetry and the social-political function that was assigned to it. The *genus demonstrativum* included encomia, congratulatory odes, odes of greeting (*salutatoriae*), odes of blame (*vituperatoriae*), descriptions of battles, of triumphs and other panegyrical odes; the *genus deliberativum* included odes containing some moral doctrine, the aim of which was either to encourage virtue or to discourage vice. Finally, the *genus iudiciale* comprised complaints, invectives (execratory odes, also called *dirae*), dedications (*vota*), supplications. This last genre is the least represented in the Mohylan poetics. As to panegyrical poetry, Kyiv-Mohylan teachers particularly praised those characters that were known to their students and with whom it was

common practice in contemporary Catholic and Protestant schools. Such understanding and interpretation are reflected in the poetical models found in the manuals entitled *Libri tres de arte poetica* (1718)[15] and *Praecepta de arte poetica* (1746)[16], some of which I shall illustrate in this article. While the former were composed by the students, the poem from the latter is by the author of the manual itself: their level of artistic accomplishment and linguistic refinement is therefore very different and cannot be compared.

2.1. The first poems that I wish to discuss come from *Libri tres de arte poetica* and belong to the *genus deliberativum*. They are found at the end of the manual in a section entitled "Exercitationes operum scholasticorum", which testifies that they were the work of the students. Indeed, the rather modest level of the Latin in some poems also suggests that they are not the work of expert Latinists. The poetical exercises mainly display a religious and/or moral content with an edifying purpose[17]. The poems that take a famous model and imitate it in various ways or try to elaborate a key concept expressed as the stated topic of the poem, however, are more interesting, although they often fail to illustrate the concept expressed in the proposition adequately. Such is the example built on the proposition "Vita mortalis non est anteponenda immortali" ("Mortal life should not be preferred to immortal life", f.r. 210-f.v. 210), using the phalecian meter. Cf.:

> Omnis falleris o homo miser qui
> Vitae confidis hic fugatis astris.
> Non illa beata crede non est,
> Nam morte parit ac subit tenebris.
> 5   Convertas oculos tuos ad astra
> Quae splendore micant beatiore
> Occasusque carat [sic!][18] gravi et perenni
> Et divelle manus tuas ab illa
> Spernas divitias Patrum tuorum:
> 10   Haec te nam nihilo iuvare possunt,
> Haec non fatient [sic!] cresum midumque.
> Et si pondera multa possideres
> Auri seu praetium metalla cara
> Pactoli fluerent in omne tempus
> 15   Et si nunc tibi Cleopatra ferret

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easier for them to identify, mainly religious dignitaries connected with the KMA, such as Varlaam Jasyns'kyj, Joasaf Krokovs'kyj, Rafajil Zaborovs'kyj, but also hetman Ivan Mazepa.

[15] Call number 509 П / 1718, t. I.

[16] Call number ДА / П 426.

[17] Among the topics of these poems we find: a generous man, a sinner who cries out to God, an arrogant man; the Holy Trinity, the birth of Christ, the Virgin Mary.

[18] This line is probably wrong, instead of the more probable "occasuque carent gravi et perenni".

Gemmas quae valuere regna cuncta,
Et si vellera Iasonis darentur,
Haec tu crede mihi quod omne vanum est;
Haec ut flos niveus colore capti
20   Mox dependere[19] vim suam leguntur.

You will be mistaken, oh miserable man, who
having chased away the stars[20], rely on life here.
That life, believe me, is not a happy one,
for it generates from death and ends in darkness.
5   Turn your eyes to the stars
that twinkle more gaily
without an oppressive and perpetual sunset,
and tear your hands away from that one.
Despise your fathers' riches:
10   for they are no use to you,
they will not make a Croesus or a Midas of you.
Even if you owned countless bars
of gold, or if the precious metals
of the Pactolus flowed for ever,
15   even if Cleopatra now brought you
precious stones worth all the kingdoms put together,
even if Jason's fleece were offered [to you],
such things, believe me, are nothing but vanity;
like the white flowers that wither as soon as they are picked,
20   [they] lose their power as soon as you collect them.

The first eight lines contain the opposition between earth and sky, between what is mortal and what is eternal, between man and God. Mortal and immortal life are couched in terms of happiness: the former is "non beata", while a happier light emanates from the stars that represent the latter. Moreover, the opposition between human and divine is expressed by the metaphors of darkness vs. light: thus, the chiasmus in line 4 associates death and darkness, while the stars shine and lack sunset, which also evokes an image of imminent darkness, night. The second part of the poem displays a carefully studied construction. Both its initial and final lines (i.e. lines 10-11 and 18-19) begin with "haec", which refers to riches and material goods, although in the first case "haec" is followed by a negation ("nihilo", "non"), i.e. the author hastens first to stress what riches cannot bring/do. This aim is further pursued by three successive conditional clauses that all begin with "et si" and present hypothetical conditions of wealth, which, even if they were to come true, would soon fade. They are couched in mythological im-

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[19]   Probably wrong instead of "deperdere".
[20]   *Astra* (stars) can metonymically indicate God.

ages, which continue the series begun with Croesus and Midas in line 11: the river Pactolus, full of golden sands, the precious stones of Cleopatra, the Golden Fleece sought by Jason and the Argonauts. The pagan context is contrasted in the concluding lines by the Biblical frame of reference: indeed, the words "omne vanum est" echo Qoelet, and the assimilation of man and his goods to the flowers and to the grass is drawn from the Bible (cf. in particular Isaiah 40). The author seems to imply that as flowers wither as soon as they are picked, so too do material riches; the minute you possess them, they lose their attraction and fail to quench man's spiritual thirst.

Despite the student's efforts to elaborate the topos of *vanitas vanitatum,* the poem partly fails to fulfill its stated aim, in that the part concerning eternal life is not satisfactorily developed and exemplified.

2.2. The fate of those who are never content with what they have and whose ambitions exceed their capabilities is illustrated in the short poem given below (in the same manuscript, f.v. 210-f.r. 211). It consists of two first Asclepiadean strophes, built on the proposition "omnis quis nominatur iuvenis fugiat fastum", "may all those known as young avoid arrogance". The outstanding example of arrogance in Classical mythology is Phaethon, who often recurs in the Kyivan poetics as a negative model to be avoided. Having pestered his father, the sun god, to let him drive his sun chariot, Phaethon soon lost control of the vehicle and had to be destroyed by Jupiter in order to save the earth from devastation by fire[21].

Omnis quis nominatur iuvenis sciat
Fastum non imitari Phaetontium.
Nam quis summa petit corruet hic cito
                  Undas ad stigias male.
Munus demonis est non huius grave:
Cum detrusus olympo misere pro id,
Ac caecis acherontis tenebris datus
                  Ut semper crucietur hic.

May all those considered young learn
not to imitate Phaethon's arrogance.
For those who aspire to reach the highest places will soon
                  tumble into the Stygian streams.
The duty of this demon is not heavy:
having been wretchedly expelled from the Olympus for this
and consigned to the dark obscurity of the Acheron
                  so that he may be for ever tormented here.

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[21]   For a poetical account of the myth of Phaethon cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Books I and II.

This short fragment was probably just a part of a moralizing *vituperatio arrogantiae* assigned to the student, and judging from its length, it was probably done in class rather than as homework[22].

The second stanza is not completely clear. The author seems to contradict himself: on the one hand he says that the duty and destiny of those who dare too much are not heavy, while on the other he states that they will be forever tormented in infernal places. It may be that Phaethon's duty is not heavy compared to the sufferings of other mythological characters (cf., for instance, the punishments of Sisyphus and Tantalus, who, however, had committed serious crimes). The message is nevertheless clear: whoever commits the capital sin of arrogance/pride, is sure to end up in the underworld.

2.3. The following example (f.r. 211) illustrates a particular type of the broad category of imitation, i.e. the imitation of Classical or contemporary poets that were indicated as models. *Imitatio* could concern both meter and content, and could take different forms. One of them, fairly widespread all over Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries, both in Catholic and Protestant authors, was *parodia christiana* (Christian parody), particularly of Horace's lyric legacy (*parodia Horatiana*)[23]. This type of parody, cultivated especially in Baroque poetry, originated as a consequence of the modification of the Renaissance principle of *imitatio antiquorum* in the spirit of Christian devotion. It is a poetical composition in which the linguistic-stylistic and thematic components and the metrical scheme of the original are used to express contents that are different and extraneous, or totally opposed to those of the original poem. Consequently, in the new context these elements acquire different religious-Christian meanings. And thus the Christian parody is a poetical manifestation of the revival of the genres of medieval religious literature and of the allegorical interpretation of Classical mythology through the prism of Christianity. Moreover, it is part of a culture informed by a totalizing Christian vision of life,

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[22]   Cf. the *Rules of the Teacher of Rhetoric* (point 5) in the *Ratio Studiorum*: "While the teacher is correcting written work, the tasks of the pupils will be, for example, to imitate some passage of a poet or orator, to write a description, say, of a garden, a church, a storm, to change an expression about in various ways, to turn a Greek speech into Latin or a Latin speech into Greek, to turn Latin or Greek verse into prose, to change one kind of poem into another, to compose epigrams, inscriptions, epitaphs, to cull phrases from good orators or poets, both Latin and Greek, to apply figures of rhetoric to some subject or other, to draw arguments for any subject from the commonplaces of rhetoric, and other exercises of a similar nature." (*The Jesuit* Ratio Studiorum *of 1599*…, p. 75).

[23]   Cf. R. Niehl, *Parodia Horatiana – Parodiebegriff und Parodiedichtung im Deutshland des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: R.F. Glei, R. Seidel (eds.), *'Parodia' und Parodie. Aspekte intertextuellen Schreibens in der lateinischen Literatur der Frühen Neuzeit*, Tübingen 2006, pp. 11-37, and J. Robert, *Nachschrift und Gegengesang – Parodie und* parodia *in der Poetik der Frühen Neuzeit*, *ibidem*, pp. 47-66. For a synthetic overview of the 'Christian' reception of Horace, cf. Harrison 2007: chapters 20-21, and also Ijsewijn 1990-1998: 86-91, 108-110.

an expression both of the Reformation and of the Counter-Reformation[24]. Some of the finest achievements of Christian Horatian parodies are by M. K. Sarbiewski, known as the 'Christian [or the Sarmatian] Horace'[25]. Indeed, Mohylan teachers frequently quote Sarbiewski alongside Horace, at times citing the incipit of an ode by Horace and Sarbiewski's parody of the same. It is easy to see how such a reception of the Classics was highly congenial to the mindset of the Mohylan poetics teachers, who belonged to a cultural institution and a cultural system wholly informed by Orthodoxy. As a didactic tool the Christian parody was extremely useful, in that it made it possible both to imitate and thus assimilate the stylistic and linguistic features of the chosen model, and also to imbue the new poetical composition with morally edifying content.

The poem that I am about to illustrate can only partially be defined as a parody, in that it takes Horace's Carm. I, 4 as its model, but does not use its same meter[26], it is shorter than its model (18 lines instead of 20), and is not addressed to anyone in particular; however, it takes the content of the original and 'drives' it in a totally different direction, already indicated in the title, "Alia carmina de hieme"[27]. Indeed, the poem seems to be a Christianized answer, or rather a sort of confutation of Horace's *Carm.* I, 4. Horace's poem is a captivating meditation on the temporality of human life, as opposed to the cyclic character of Nature (this same theme will be dealt with again in *Carm.* IV, 7). As in *Carm.* IV, 7, it is the return of spring and the consequent enjoyment of Nature's beauty that leads the poet by contrast to think about death, and thus about the fugacity of human life and the need to live the present day to the full. This idea, however, is totally absent from our poem, which is dominated by the image of endless winter that prevents the coming of spring. Winter is an allegory of the approaching end

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[24] As Budzyński states, "... także w dziedzinie nauki i kultury, literatury i sztuki protestancki program totalnej chrystianizacii życia i wywyższenia 'sacrum' nad 'profanum' nie był bardziej liberalny niż sistem Kościoła katolickiego [...]. Wzrost motywów i tematów sakralnych w nauce, literaturze i sztuce, a w XVII wieku zanik procesów laickich występuje w nie mnieszej stopniu w państwach opanowanych przez protestantyzm niż w krajach podporząkowanych kontrreformacji" (Budzyński 1985: 135). One manifestation of this, in the field of literature, were the "editiones castigatae-purgatae-castratae" of Horace's and other authors' works, both in the Protestant and the Catholic world (cf. Budzyński 1985: 137-138; Waquet 2004: 58-62).

[25] For a useful review of the abundant production of Horatian parodies, cf. Budzyński 1985: 134-166; on parody in M.K. Sarbiewski and in general on his horatianism, cf. *ibidem*: 167-196.

[26] Horace's poem is written in the fourth Archilochian, while our poem displays greater Archilochians followed by Aristophaneans. Judging from the change of meter, this poem was also probably schoolwork rather than homework (cf. fn. 22 above: "…to change one kind of poem into another […] and other exercises of a similar nature".

[27] "Other verses [poems] on winter"; evidently the word *carmen* is used here to mean *verse*, since the poem is only one. This ode of Horace's is listed under the *genus deliberativum* in some of the Mohylan poetics that divide Horace's odes according to the rhetorical genres.

to human life, of death in the wings. Indeed the author appears to indicate an everlasting winter that will never herald the return of spring. This is what the images of Nature here presented suggest.

> Frigore strigitur [sic!][28] acri nunc hiemis utilis[29] ver
> > Et Zephirus gelatur,
> At modo iam stabilis[30] gaudet pecus atque pastor ovat,
> > Flora canescit alma.
> 5   Iam aethera cohors ducit lachrymas graves gemitus
> > Ac hiades gubernant,
> Compedibusque ligantur Neptunei pedes ab astro
> > Qui furijs ministrat.
> Tempora non decet exornare colore dimicante
> 10   Ducere nec choros nunc,
> Sed lugubres dare cantus atque dolore[31] mente tristi
> > Crimine profunesto.
> Pallida mors siquidem pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
> > Atque ducum trophea.
> 15   Vitae summa brevis spem omnem vetat inchoare longam.
> > Horrida iam premet nox
> Et domus exilis plutonia quam ne visitaret
> > Nec poculis trahet se.

> Now helpful spring is restrained by the bitter cold of winter
> > and Zephyr blows icy winds,
> while the cattle are now cosy in their stalls, and the shepherd rejoices,
> > and fruitful Flora turns white with snow.
> 5   The cohort of the skies already spreads tears and painful laments
> > and the Hyades govern,
> And Neptune's feet are bound with shackles by the star
> > that serves the Furies[32].
> It is not fitting now to adorn the head with glittering colours,
> 10   nor to lead choruses,
> But [it is fitting] to utter mournful songs and grieve with a sad mind
> > for mortal guilt [sin].

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[28]   Probably wrong for "stringitur".

[29]   The adjective "utilis" is preceded by a letter corrected with an ink mark, seemingly meant to erase it. Therefore "utilis" is the most probable reading, also taking the content of the poem into account.

[30]   Probably wrong instead of "stabulis".

[31]   Probably wrong instead of "dolere".

[32]   With this image the author probably wants to express that the wind causes storms to break out.

In fact pale death knocks with its foot at the door of poor men's cottages
And at the trophies of the generals.
15   Life's short span forbids us to form every remote expectation.
The dreadful darkness [night] will shortly oppress you,
Pluto's squalid Mansion, to visit which no one
Will bring drinking cups[33].

Up to line 12, almost every line in this poem seems to be a confutation or reversal of the corresponding line in Horace's ode, although it is not always completely clear what the author has in mind[34]. Thus in lines 1-2 a severe winter prevents spring from coming and freezes Zephyr (the warm westerly wind that melts the snow, harbinger of spring), while in Horace the spring and Favonius (the Latin equivalent of Zephyrus) melt away the harsh winter. In line 3 both the cattle and the cowherd rejoice, the latter probably because in winter he does not have to take the cows to pasture. Flora, goddess of flowers and of spring, turns white, evidently due to the snow. As to line 5, the author seems to have tried to partly imitate the syntactic construction of Horace's line 5, however with little success: indeed it is not clear whom he refers to with "aethera [aetheria] cohors". As to the Hyades, since they are the five stars in Taurus associated with rainy

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[33]   The meaning of the last two lines is not totally clear. Perhaps the author is suggesting that in order not to visit Pluto's mansion, no one will allow themselves to be attracted by drinking cups.

[34]   I will quote here Horace's *Carm.* I, 4 for better comparison:

Solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni
trahuntque siccas machinae carinas,
ac neque iam stabulis gaudet pecus aut arator igni
nec prata canis albicant pruinis.
Iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente luna
iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes
alterno terram quatiunt pede, dum gravis Cyclopum
Vulcanus ardens visit officinas.
Nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto
aut flore, terrae quem ferunt solutae;
nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis,
seu poscat agna sive malit haedo.
Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
regumque turris. O beate Sesti,
vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam.
Iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes
et domus exilis Plutonia, quo simul mearis,
nec regna vini sortiere talis
nec tenerum Lycidan mirabere, quo calet iuventus
nunc omnis et mox virgines tepebunt.

weather, here they are meant to reinforce the chill, wintry image. Ll. 7-8 are somewhat obscure: it is not clear why Neptune has his feet bound with shackles or which star does this and attends to the Furies. The only thing that comes to mind is a clumsy attempt at reversing the image of graceful dances led by Venus in Horace's ode (where evidently the Furies should be the opposite of the Graces). Since the stated tone of the poem is one of grief and sorrow, the reversal of Horace's invitation to encircle the head with green myrtle (i.e. to enjoy youth[35]) is consistently carried through. In as much as the underlying theme is that of the 'winter of life', i.e. of approaching death and God's subsequent judgement, there is not much to rejoice at. On the contrary, it is exactly at this moment that it is fitting to repent and to expiate one's sins in a Christian vision of life.

Lines 13-17a reproduce Horace's ll. 13-17a, although with some changes. It is not clear why our author substitutes "regumque turris" with "atque ducum trophea": perhaps to avoid slavishly reproducing Horace's words, although the parallelism is thus lost. Indeed, although "tropheum" can mean a material monument, it is not comparable to a dwelling place. Horace's "fabulae Manes", which symbolically represent the possibility of life after death, which the Latin poet considers an invention, is coherently omitted. The sense of Horace's last lines (18-20) is that the after-life lacks the pleasures of earthly life, which are symbolically represented by the convivial situation of the symposium. Our author may have wished to reiterate this idea, but again his words are not really clear. And of course, he omits any hint at lines 19-20, which contain the motif of erotic love, conventional in Hellenistic poetry: the young Lycidas with whom young men are inflamed and who will soon attract maidens[36].

Although the artistic value of this remake of _Carm._ I, 4 is somewhat poor, it is interesting as a poetic statement, however tentative, of how a poem about death should be elaborated in a Christian key. Horace's 'polychromatic' description of the awakening of nature becomes a black and white mournful allegorization of winter through which the readers are reminded of the brevity of life and the inescapability of death and of God's judgement.

_2.4._ My last example comes from the 1746 manual _Praecepta de arte poetica_ by Georgij (Hryhorij) Konys'kyj, chronologically one of the last Mohylan poetics to have come down to us. This manual features a more markedly classicist conception of poetry compared to most Kyiv-Mohylan poetics[37]: on the one hand, Konys'kyj reveals a measured

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[35]   Myrtle, sacred to Venus, is often associated with youth (cf. Horace's _Carm._ I, 25, 18).

[36]   Whatever edition of Horace's works the author had at his disposal, it was certainly a selected one, with the omission of erotic odes and probably the excision or the substitution of single lines on morally reprehensible topics, such as love and pleasure (cf. also fn. 24).

[37]   Indeed, the style of most Mohylan poetics (especially those of the end of the 17th, early 18th century) features an abundance of elaborate metaphors and rhetorical figures, revealing a baroque predilection for dynamism, contrasts, striking associations and hyperbolical combinations.

attitude towards the Christian metaphorization and allegorization of Classical mythology, apparent already in the title and in the names of chapters, sections, paragraphs, as well as in his expository style and in his poetical compositions; on the other, Konys'kyj deals only briefly with the *poesis curiosa* or *artificiosa* genres that Prokopovyč had completely excluded. Instead, like other authors after Prokopovyč, Konys'kyj dedicates a whole chapter (chapter IV) of his manual to various types of *exercitia*. He bases his exposition on Prokopovyč's chapters IV-VIII of the first book of his *De arte poetica libri tres*[38], reproducing some of its poetical examples for his students. He also adds his own and other authors' poems to illustrate different exercises, and in this he displays no less talent than his 'teacher'[39]. The poem I illustrate below is in the section on synonymity, defined as the exposition of one and the same topic with different words using the same meter or a different one. Konys'kyj follows Prokopovyč's exposition, as well as his examples, in particular "Qua ratis egit iter" of the *Appendix Virgiliana*[40] and Prokopovyč's "Descriptio situs urbis Kijoviae". Like Prokopovyč, Konys'kyj exhorts his students not to limit themselves to finding synonyms, such as *gladius* and *ensis*, but to use tropes and figures, which constitute the richest repository not only for embellishing the poem, but for suitable synonyms and synonymic expressions. He then illustrates his prescriptions with a poetical composition which, using an inescapable *topos modestiae,* he defines as "pedissequa exercitatio" on the sentence "Aedes nostrae Academicae fronte ad meridiem, tergo spectant ad septentrionem" ("Our Academic house with its front watches the south, with its back [watches] the north"). Here it is[41]:

> Convertunt faciem, qua sol petit alta, palestrae,
> 　　Occiput obvertunt, nox ubi spissa manet.
> Sol ubi summa tenet, gratantur fronte lycea,
> 　　Qua nox adventat colla refracta tenent.
> 5　　In faciem radios medius sol dirigit aedis,
> 　　In tergum noctis plaustra bubulcus agit.
> Postibus aedis hians medio pars versa diei,

Another manifestation of this taste in a great number of poetics is the detailed treatment of the different kinds of *poesis curiosa* or *artificiosa*, which, by emphasizing formal ornamentation and intellectual sophistication, were meant to impress the reader with their ingeniousness and complexity.

[38]　Cf. Prokopovič 1961: 239-268.

[39]　In this Konys'kyj is not the only one: other authors after Prokopovyč partly borrow the latter's exposition on exercises and add their own and other writers' poetical compositions. Cf. for instance the manuals *Idea artis poeticae*, 1707 (two mss.: 1. call number ΛΑ / П 420; 2. call number 505 П / 1721), and *Praecepta de arte poetica* (same title as Konys'kyj's but from a few years earlier, 1740, call number ΛΑ / П 424).

[40]　This example may have been suggested to Prokopovyč by Pontanus's manual, since the latter mentions it among the exercises, although does not quote it.

[41]　ΛΑ / П 426, f.v. 41-f.v.42.

Ad noctem caecam pars quoque caeca sita.
Ostia docta patent spectanti e vertice Phaebo,
10   Palpanti nocti poste palestra caret.
Ad faciem ludi sublimis ludit apollo,
   Dat finem ludis nox ubi terga subit.
Cynthius elatus se oblectat fronte licei [sic!],
   A tergo molem Parrhasis ursa[42] stupet.
15 Musaei ante oculos fremit Aethon nixus in altum,
   In latebris retro murmurat ursa minor.
Monte voluta diei rota tangeret ostia ludi,
   Laederet ac arctos terga boote sine.
Arrigit ora palestra fremunt ubi flumina salsa,
20   Constitit aversis, unde gelata crepant.
Infestat tergum ludi septemptrio bruma,
   Solatur faciem, larga calore plaga
Terga tenent aedes, boreas qua flatibus instat,
   Aperiunt, Zephyrus defluit unde, sinum.
25 Anterior paries calida mulcetur ab aura,
   Alter ab Arctos frigore pone riget.
Unde furit Boreas, Musaei terga resistunt,
   Unde favet Zephyrus, pectora plana patent.
Unde vehit nubes notus, aedes porticus arcet,
30   Unde nives aquilo, tegmina terga sibi.
Unde pluit, stat asylo porticus alta columnis,
   Qua ningit, tergo tuta palestra manet.
Palladiana domus geminum orbis spectat ad axem,
   Tergus brumalem, frons super igne situm.
35 Fronte Noto intrepida stant nixa lycea columnis,
   Immotum arctoo turbine tergus habent.
Unde venit, portas veri gimnasia pandunt,
   Unde invadit hyems, ianua nulla patet.
Qua redeunt volucres, facie docta aula salutat,
40   Versa silet retro, qua redit hospes hyems.
Quo cadit unda Borysthenis, huc conversa palestra,
   Adversus fluctus postera terga tenet.

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[42] The Great Bear is called "Parrhasian" from the Callisto myth. A nymph of Arcadia (Parrhasia), Callisto was a favourite of Phoebe-Diana. She was the daughter of Lycaon, king of Arcadia, and descended from Atlas. Jupiter took advantage of her or raped her, and, "pregnant by him she was expelled from the band of Diana's virgin followers by Diana as Cynthia, in her Moon goddess mode" (<http://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/OvTrisExPIndexABC.htm>). She gave birth to a son, Arcas, and was turned first into a bear by Juno, and subsequently into the Great Bear by Jupiter who thus prevented her son Arcas (transformed by Jupiter into the Little Bear) from killing his mother (Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 401-507). Arcas, however, is sometimes identified with Boötes.

The gymnasia turn their face to where the sun shines high,
        While the rear of the buildings give on to where thick night abides.
    Where the sun occupies the zenith, the lycea rejoice in their face,
        Where the night draws near, they keep their heads turned back.
5   When the sun is at the center it directs its rays toward the face of the house,
        Towards the back the herdsman [Bootes] drives the wagons of the night [the Great Bear].
    At the gates of the house the central opening is turned toward the day,
        While the dark part looks nightward.
    The learned front doors are open toward Phoebus who looks from the summit,
10   Toward the flattering night the gymnasium is doorless.
    Before the school plays the sublime Apollo.
        Puts an end to the school the night when it insinuates itself in the back.
    [Apollo] Cynthius when he is raised high delights in the front of the lyceum,
        From the back the Great Bear is astounded at the massive structure [of the building]
15 Before the eyes of Museus Aethon[43] neighs, striving toward the heights,
        In the rear in hiding places the Little Bear murmurs.
    The wheel of the day rolled down from the mountain[44] would touch the doors of the school,
        and the Bear would offend the back without Boötes.
    The gymnasium raises its face where brackish rivers murmur,
20   It made a stand on the opposite side, whence frozen rivers creak and groan.
    The north [Septentrio[45]] vexes the back of the school with the winter cold,
        A wide region gives solace to the face with warmth.
    The academy has its back where the Boreas blows hard and fast,
        Whence the Zephyr flows, it [the house] opens its bosom.
25 The front wall of the house is caressed by a warm breeze,
        The other house wall behind is rigid with the bitter cold of the north.
    Whence the Boreas rages, the shoulders of the Musaeus withstand,
        Whence the favourable Zephyr blows, the wide chests stand open.
    Whence the Notus carries the clouds, a portico protects the academy,
30   Whence the Aquilo carries the snows, the shoulders are protection to themselves.
    Whence it rains, the asylum has a high portico with columns,
        Where it snows, the gymnasium remains protected [from] the back.
    The house of Pallas looks at the double pole of the earth,
        The back faces the wintry north, the front the one situated over the fire.
35 With fearless front resist the Notus the lycea that rest upon columns,
        And they keep their back unmoved before the the swirling north wind.

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[43]   In Greek and Roman mythology there are several characters known as Aethon, most of which are horses. Here this name most probably indicates one of the four horses of Helios (the sun) (cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 153).

[44]   That is after sunset.

[45]   *Septemtrio/Septentrio* was another name for Aquilo. The name is derived from *septem triones* ("seven oxen"), which refers to the seven brightest stars in the constellation of Ursa Major, and is thus synonymous of Big Dipper.

> Whence it comes, the gymnasia open their doors wide to spring.
>   Whence winter enters, no door is open.
> Whereby the birds return, the learned hall greets [them] frontally.
> 40   It is silent turned backwards, whereby the alien winter returns.
> Where the wave of the Borysthenes falls, to this place is turned the gymnasium,
>   It keeps its back turned against the streams.

The sentence elaborated in this poem refers to the Mohyla Academy, as it appeared when Konys'kyj wrote this poem, in 1746[46]. In 21 elegiac couplets the author states that the academy looks south at the front and north at the back by making use of an extremely rich poetical and linguistic arsenal, and providing his students with an eloquent example of a masterful *congeries*, one of the types *of amplificatio verborum*. Indeed, the wealth of rhetorical devices and the stylistic polish are not inferior to those displayed by Prokopovyč. In his exercise on synonymity describing Kyiv, Prokopovyč elaborates on the fact that the river Dnieper flows to the east of the city, while the mountains rise to the west. In Konys'kyj's poem, the synonymy concerns in the first place the different metaphors used to describe the Mohyla Academy. In the first sentence it is "aedes academica", then "palaestra", meaning a place of exercise, particularly of oratory; subsequently it is called "lyceum/lycea", "gymnasia", "ludus", "musaeus", "asylum", "Palladiana domus" (Pallas was the protectress of the academy). And thus the academy appears as both a place of study where the arts are cultivated, and as a safe haven or a sort of sanctuary. However, the word "asylum" could also hint at the Congregation church, built in 1739-1740, as part of the restoration of the KMA. The author also

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[46]   The academy had last been restored and enlarged in the years 1732-1740 according to a project by the architect J.H. Šedel'. It was a rectangular building consisting of three floors, and its main facade faced south, over the courtyard. On this side, the first floor had an open arcade with nine spans, and the arches rested on large rectangular pillars. This floor was as if divided into three sections, each one consisting of two rectangular class rooms (each with two windows overlooking the arcade) and an oblong hall in between them (giving on to the arcade with a door). The second and third floors were added in the reconstruction according to Šedel''s project. On the southern facade the central part of both floors was occupied by a high open loggia consisting of nine spans of light semicircular arches resting on classical double columns. The central part of the loggia had a wider span than the rest. Looking at the facade, the second floor from left to right hosted the philosophy hall, the hall for the disputations, the theology hall and the Congregation church. The ornamentation of the northern facade was much simpler. For more details about the reconstruction project and works, see Horbenko 1995: 23-33.
    Although the issue requires further investigation, it is probable that in opposing north vs. south Konys'kyj couched a veiled criticism of Moscow's policy toward Ukraine and the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in particular. Although he would become prefect of the academy only a year later, in 1747, Konys'kyj was probably well aware of the increasing financial difficulties of his institution and of the Synod's refusal to grant the permanent subsidy to the academy's teachers requested in 1742 by Rafajil Zaborovs'kyj, metropolitan and protector of the academy.

refers to the front of the academy, but also in general to the academy synecdochically with the expressions "ostia docta", "ostia ludi", "docta aula". The front and rear of the academy are indicated in different ways: adverbially; with the substantives *frons*, *facies*, *pectus*, *anterior paries* and *occiput*, *tergus/tergum*, *colla*, but also through periphrases, such as *pars versa diei*, *ante oculos Musaei*, and *pars caeca*, *in latebris retro* respectively.

A vast array of synonyms and synonymic expressions (through metaphors and metonymies) is used to indicate the cardinal points, mainly the south and the north. In the first place, the two cardinal points are indicated respectively by the light of the sun and by the darkness of the night, which Konys'kyj represents in various ways. The former appears in different images: it is Apollo/Phoebus (Cynthius), but also Aethon. When not named directly, the night is more often described in astronomical terms, which the students would have understood, since knowledge of the constellations and of their poetical use was often provided in the poetics course. And thus, in line 6 "bubulcus" and "plaustra" refer to the constellation of Bootes and to that of the Great Bear (Ursa Major) respectively[47]. The latter as an indicator of the north is used further on in lines 14, 18, 36, while in line 16 the north is indicated by the Little Bear (Ursa Minor)[48]. The statement of lines 17-18 probably means that without the action of Bootes, who keeps the heavens rotating, the Bear would constantly dominate and perpetual darkness would prevail. The cardinal points are also indicated by the winds: Boreas and its Roman equivalent Aquilo (Septemtrio) – north winds; Notus – the south wind, and Zephyrus, the west wind. Other indicators for the south and the north are respectively the spring (and the return of birds) and the winter. Finally the position of the academy is indicated by the course of the Dnieper (Borysthenes), which flows from north to south.

Konys'kyj's recommendations on the use of figures and tropes in the exercise with *synonimia* are also put into practice for the different figures of words (phonological, morphological, semantic, syntactic) that he employs, which help to make the poem enjoyable (among them alliteration, assonance, consonance, anaphora, ellipsis, parallelism,

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[47] Cf., for instance, the following information, provided in the manual *Idea artis poeticae* (call number. ДА / П 420) among the *subsidia* and *eruditiones* for neo-poets: "Bootes seu Arctophylax, Sydus in modum Bubulci sequens Ursam Arcton, quam alij Plaustrum vocant, Piger dicitur, quod tarde volvitur in caelo" (f.v. 71). Bootes is the constellation called Wagoner, Herdsman, or Bear Herd. The nearby constellation of Ursa Major is the Wagon, or Plough, or Great Bear. And thus, according to one version, Bootes was the ploughman who drove the oxen in the Ursa Major constellation using his two dogs *Chara* and *Asterion* (from the Canes Venatici constellation). The oxen were tied to the polar axis so the action of Boötes kept the heavens in constant rotation. Ursa Major features the prominent pattern of stars known as the Big Dipper or Plough, which is a useful pointer towards north. By following a visual line through the two stars that form the end of the "bowl" of the Big Dipper, Merak and Dubhe, the eye will meet Polaris, which precisely indicates north.

[48] Colloquially known as the Little Dipper for its seven brightest stars seem to form the shape of a dipper. The star at the end of the dipper handle is Polaris, the North Star.

chiasmus). Among the various figures, note the *adnominatio* (*polyptoton*) of lines 11-12, which also contains an anaphora, where the root *lud-* is employed to express different meanings: the noun *ludus* indicating both the school as a building, and the school as lessons; the verb *ludo* meaning to play, to enjoy oneself.

Finally, Konys'kyj also applies the principle of *varietas,* which was fundamental for a poem to be enjoyable, also from the syntactical point of view. Indeed, at least in the first half of the poem there is a recurrent alternation between one or more distichs where the subject is the academy building (with its front and its back) and distichs in which the subjects are sunlight and darkness with their different representations. Moreover, to create variety the author at times breaks the syntactic parallelism and reverses the syntactical structure of a distich or of a line in the following one (cf. the position of the subordinate clause in the first and second distichs, and lines 39-40), while other times single distichs present a chiasmic structure, as in lines 9-10 and 13-14.

3. The interest of the few examples of poetical exercises chosen here lies not so much in their artistic achievement – which varies greatly – as in their value as practical specimens of the types of poems that budding Mohylan poets were expected to cultivate. In terms of its conception and practice, poetry at the Mohylan Academy belonged to both rhetoric, and to grammar and history. It thus served both a linguistic-didactic and an ideological-didactic purpose. In fact, by representing both exemplary human actions and the consequences of sin, poetry was designed to encourage virtuous deeds and to keep young men on "the straight and narrow". Practising poetry, however, was also meant to improve their knowledge of Latin and to act as a laboratory for the application of language teachings, particularly as far as metrics and rhetorical ornamentation were concerned. Indeed, the appeal to the passions and emotions of readers/listeners was made through elaborate poetical language, in which the author could and should display his erudition. At the same time, poetry was an excellent means for KMA students to assert their own cultural institution and the cultural/political figures cited as objects of praise. In this sense, there is no doubt that the specific participation in European *Latinitas* cultivated at the KMA and in similar schools played a part in fostering a distinct cultural and national Ukrainian identity.

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Abstract

Giovanna Siedina
The Poetic Laboratory of the Kyiv-Mohylan Poetics. Some Practical Illustrations

In this paper the Author illustrates different specimens of Neo-Latin poetry produced in the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy's poetics classes. Although their content and their artistic value vary greatly, depending on their authors (either students or teachers), the interest of these poems lies in their being practical embodiments of the conception of poetry fostered at the KMA and of theoretical prescriptions for poetic style and language imparted to the students of poetics.

Besides being an excellent means for learning language, Neo-Latin poetry contributed both to the education of pious men and loyal subjects, and to providing the KMA itself with an ideological foundation and with gravitas as a cultural institution. The analysis of the extant poetic production of students and teachers of the KMA, of which the poems presented here constitute a small portion, shows that the specific participation in European Latinitas cultivated in the humanities class at the KMA and in similar schools played a part in fostering a distinct cultural and national Ukrainian identity.