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JAN ANDRZEJ MORSZTYN AND *VOTUM Z SENEKI*; OR, A SCORPION AND HIS STINGS

Keywords: Jan Andrzej Morsztyn, Seneca, Horatius, epigram, Stoicism

Słowa kluczowe: Jan Andrzej Morsztyn, Seneka, Horacy, epigram, stoicyzm

I

The 57th poem in Morsztyn's collection *Lutnia* comes with the title *Votum z Seneki dla Jegomości Pana Chorążego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego* and with the motto: *stet quicunque volet potens*, lacking an exact indication of its source. The title of the poem correctly identifies the following motto as coming from Seneca, with both pieces of paratextual information indicating that the verses that follow are a paraphrase of Seneca's tragic poetry – a part of the Second Chorus from *Thyestes*:

> Stet quicumque volet potens
> aulae culmine lubrico:
> me dulcis saturet quies;
> obscuro positus loco
> leni perfruar otio,
> nullis nota Quiritibus
> aetas per tacitum fluat.
> Sic cum transierint mei
> nullo cum strepitu dies,
> plebeius moriar senex.
> illi mors gravis incubat
> qui, notus nimis omnibus,
> ignotus moritur sibi. [Seneca, *Thyestes* 391-403][1]

[1] The text as cited above appears in editions of Seneca's tragedies of the period and does not present textual difficulties with regard to its critical establishment (see the *apparatus criticus* of the edition of Otto Zwierlein, *L. Annaei Senecae Tragoediae* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1986) *ad loc.*).

The message of the entire Second Chorus of *Thyestes* was summarized by Delrio, whose comments are of obvious relevance both because of his importance for the Senecan scholarship of the period and because of his influence on the Jesuit approach to Seneca's tragedies, as follows:

> Gratulatur sibi chorus, quod fratres in amicitiam redierint, et, ut solet apud nostrum, in ambitiosae et avidae vitae vituperationem, et modicae ac sua sorte contentae laudem exspatiatur; et docet, in quo vera regnandi ratio posita[2].

The final part of the Chorus, detached from its original context with its elaboration of the contrast between the illusory power of worldly tyrants and the true kingdom over oneself, enjoyed a certain popularity during the period of interest for our purposes, receiving much praise for its literary quality[3] and being paraphrased several times, the best known such paraphrase being that of Marvell's, only slightly later than Morsztyn's piece:

> Climb at Court for me that will
> Giddy Favour's slipp'ry hill.
> All I seek is to lye still.
> Settled in some secret Nest
> In calm Leisure let me rest;

The only place that is subject to any controversy and proposed emendations is the anachronism *Quiritibus* at line 396 (see Margarethe Billerbeck and Mario Somazzi, *Repertorium der Konjekturen in den Seneca-Tragödien* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009), 160), rightly retained by the editors, see Alessandro Schiesaro, *The Passions in Play. Thyestes and the Dynamics of Senecan Drama* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003), 153 n. 29. – The Senecan source is not identified in the edition of Leszek Kukulski (Leszek Kukulski, ed., *Jan Andrzej Morsztyn, Utwory zebrane* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1971); see Krzysztof Obremski, "'Tyrsis, jakby stoik nowy' i 'pospolity pożytek'", in *Wątki neostoickie w literaturze polskiego renesansu i baroku: materiały z sesji Neostoicyzm w literaturze i kulturze staropolskiej, Szczecin, 20–22 października 1997 roku*, ed. Piotr Urbański (Szczecin: Uniwersytet Szczeciński, 1999), 211-220.

[2] Martin Delrio, *Syntagma tragoediae latinae* (Paris: Pierre Billaine, 1620), vol. 3, 381. On the importance of Delrio and on his methods, see, in particular, Roland Mayer, "Personata Stoa: Neostoicism and Senecan Tragedy", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994): 151-174.

[3] In the revised edition of his *De tragoediae constitutione*, Heinsius comments on the passage: "Chorus certe admiratione dignus semper nobis visus est [...] conclusio autem vel inprimis", doing so after some highly critical comments on *Thyestes* as a whole (dismissing the hypothesis that the play was written by Vergil, Heinsius states: "Quod de eo [scil. Thyeste], qui nunc extat, nunquam persuaderi mihi patiar, qui nec integer nec sui similis. In sensibus praesertim qui non aeque feliciter succedunt; ambitionis aliquid non raro habent, quae Declamatorum praerogativa est"; Daniel Heinsius, *De constitutione tragoediae. Constitution de la tragédie, dite, La poétique d'Heinsius. Edition, traduction et notes par Anne Duprat* (Genève: Librarie Droz, 2001), 252; the passage on *Thyestes* is an addition to the text of Chapter 13, made in the 1643 edition but not yet present in the 1611 edition that was published together with Heinsius' bilingual commented Aristotle's *Poetics*).

And far off the publick Stage
Pass away my silent Age.
Thus when without noise, unknown,
I have liv'd out all my span,
I shall dye, without a groan,
An old honest Country man.
Who expos'd to others Ey's,
Into his own Heart ne'r pry's,
Death to him's a Strange surprise[4].

Seneca's text is not the only model for the text though: the whole poem, as it is revealed only towards the end of the piece, is fashioned after Horace's *Epode* 2, with the first part being the speech of an unexpectedly introduced speaker[5]. There are thus two texts combined in Morsztyn's *Votum*.

II

Such procedures of literary composition are well known to Morsztyn's readers, not only from their reading activities or whatever theoretical knowledge they possessed but, first and foremost, from their school days, practised as they were in accordance with the *Ratio studiorum*, which explicitly recommends for a rhetoric class exercises which deal with literary models in ways requiring active imitations, modifications and substitutions of various complexity:

Exercitationes discipulorum [...] erunt exempli gratia: locum aliquem poetae vel oratoris imitari; descriptionem aliquam, ut hortorum, templorum, tempestatis, et similium efficere; phrasim eamdem modis pluribus variare; Graecam orationem Latine vel vernacule vertere; poetae versus tum Latine, tum Graece soluto stylo complecti; carminis genus aliud in aliud commutare; epigrammata, inscriptiones, epitaphia condere, phrases ex bonis oratoribus et poetis, seu Graecas, seu Latinas, seu vernaculas excerpere; figuras rhetoricas ad certas materias accommodare; ex locis rhetoricis et topicis plurima ad rem quampiam argumenta depromere, et alia generis eiusdem[6].

[4] Written probably around 1671, see Michael Craze, *The Life and Lyrics of Andrew Marvell* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1979); the text itself is transmitted with several variants, see H.M. Margoliouth, ed., *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, Vol. 1: Poems, 3rd edition rev. by Pierre Legouis with the collaboration of E.E. Duncan-Jones* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971) *ad loc.* (Margoliouth prints *Tottering favors Pinacle* instead of *Giddy Favour's slipp'ry hill*; see, however, Joost Daalder, "Seneca and the Text of Marvell's 'Climb at court for me that will'", *Parergon*, 7 (1989): 107-110).

[5] Horace's *Epode* is not mentioned in the edition of Kukulski, op. cit.; see Krzysztof Obremski, op. cit.

[6] See Georg Michael Pachtler, *Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societatis Jesu, per Germaniam olim vigentes* (Berlin: A. Hofmann & Comp., 1887), vol. 2, 404. Exercises prescribed for the lower classes serve as preparation for literary composition in rhetoric class.

The 1599 text of the *Ratio studiorum* codifies teaching practices which were already in use[7]; more detailed explanations of various types of such literary activities in which students were involved specify the techniques to be used in the exercises; thus, Pontanus gives the following catalogue of *exercitationes*:

> I. Prima sit illa, unam eandemque rem diversis verbis, eadem aut diversa specie carminis eloqui. [...]
> II. Conducet tractare idem nunc concise et breviter, nunc ample et copiose: nunc propriis, nunc modificatis verbis: nunc simplici, nunc versa et luminibus insignita oratione.
> III. Transfundamus solutam ac liberam orationem in carmen, oratoriasque locutiones poeticis commutare studeamus. [...]
> IV. Vertamus interdum aliquid, breve tamen, de Graeco in Latinum, aut de Latino in Graecum. [...]
> V. Unum genus carminis apud auctorem aliquem inuentum, numeris mutatis ad aliud redigamus. [...]
> VI. Quinimmo eodem genere, quo poeta ille usus est, eandem rem explicandam sumamus. [...] nam ut eum non vincamus, tamen certasse, et lacertos expertum esse iuvabit.
> VII. Commendat Plin[ius] in ea epist[ula] quae est de exercitatione styli, scriptionem epigrammatum his verbis. *Fas est et carmine remitti: non dico continuo, et longo (id enim perfici nisi in otio non potest) sed hoc arguto et brevi, quod apte quantaslibet occupationes curasque distinguit. Lusus vocatur: sed hi lusus non minorem interdum gloriam, quam seria consequuntur*[8]. Argutum et breve carmen vocat epigramma, quod obseruabis.
> Postremo, videntur mihi centonum, et parodiarum exercitationes fore perutiles: quibus id assequimur, ut optimos versus optimorum poetarum, propter studiosam et sollicitam lectionem, quae ad eas perquam necessaria est, penitus inbibamus, illique mentibus altissime defixi perpetuo inhaereant[9].

[7] On the development of *Ratio studiorum*, see John Donnelly, "Planning Jesuit Education from Loyola to the 1599 Ratio Studiorum", in *History Has Many Voices*, eds. Lee Palmer Wandel and Robert M. Kingdon (Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press, 2003), 57-69, with further references. Such practices go back to ancient traditions, in a significant part revived due to the influence of Quintilian on both humanist and Jesuit educational enterprises; see George Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Ann Moss, "Theories of poetry: Latin writers", in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism Volume 3: The Renaissance*, ed. Glyn Norton, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 98-106; eadem, "Literary imitation in the sixteenth century: writers and readers, Latin and French", *ibid.*, 107-118; Peter Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380–1620* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); on Jesuit teaching methods and aims, see, further, Aldo Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986), with further references and much information about the relevant earlier background, see also Kristian Jensen, "The Humanist Reform of Latin and Latin Teaching", in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 63-81; Paul Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); Ian Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

[8] Plin. Epist. 7.9.9.

[9] Jacobus Pontanus, *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres. Tyrocinium poeticum* (Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1594), 26-28.

The "eclectic" technique used in the poem is thus immediately recognizable to its readers as a part of their common educational background[10]; furthermore, the choice of both texts combined in Morsztyn's *Votum* – the final part of the Second Chorus from Seneca's *Thyestes* and Horace's *Epode* 2 – may seem quite conventional and expected in the context of a comparison of *vita aulica* and *vita rustica*[11], or even just in the context of *laudes ruris* developed *simpliciter*: both texts serve frequently as points of reference and departure for elaborations on such themes – as mottos, translations, paraphrases or hypotextual anchors[12].

Morsztyn's *Votum* does not belong to this tradition, however, frustrating expectations which may arise on the basis of the paratextual information given to the reader. First, both the title of the piece and its motto, unambiguously identifying the Senecan *Thyestes* as the textual source, make the hypotextual reference to Horace's *Epode* 2 only at the end of the poem entirely unexpected; second, *Epode* 2 does not enter the stage as a parallel praise of rustic life: indeed, it is this part of *Epode* 2 that is absent. Horace's poem provides the textual frame into which the paraphrase of Seneca's lyrics is inserted – a frame which, once detected, immediately calls into doubt the sincerity of the preceding passage[13]. The information present in the title and the motto serves the purpose of securing the effect of surprise towards the end of the piece, a surprise which in the original Horatian setting is obtained thanks to the place of *Epode* 2

[10] For a classification of imitation techniques and further discussion, see Thomas Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

[11] A similar theme is recommended already by Quintilian: "Thesis autem, quae sumuntur ex rerum comparatione, ut "rusticane vita an urbana potior?" [...] mire sunt ad exercitationes dicendi speciosae atque uberes." (Quint. inst. 2.4.24).

[12] It may be noted in passing that the original Latin text appears as a motto heralding such a comparison of *vita aulica* and *vita rustica* in the 1668 edition of Jan Gawiński's *Sielanki*, see the description in Jan Gawiński, *Sielanki z gajem zielonym*, ed. Ewa Rot (Instytut Badań Literackich PAN: Warszawa, 2007), 161.

[13] Morsztyn preserves exactly the structure of *Epode* 2, making the initial part of the poem a quotation from a *persona* distinct from the poet's own *persona*, and thus proceeding in an entirely different way than Sarbiewski in his *Epode* 3, where the final part does not make use of such a device ("Haec si videret faenerator Alphius / Olim futurus rusticus, / Quam collocarat Idibus pecuniam, / Nollet Kalendis ponere."); on Sarbiewski's *Epode* 3 and its kin in contemporary Polish literature, see, further, Piotr Urbański, *Theologia fabulosa. Commentationes Sarbievianae* (Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego: Szczecin, 2000), 139-142, with further references. The exact structure of the epode was subject to some early scholarly discussion; it was reported in a commentary on the text by Lambin, who summarizes his preferred interpretation, attributing verses 1-66 to Alfius in the note on lemma *haec ubi locutus*: "Fingit [...] superiora illa omnia dicta esse ab faeneratore Alfio, ostenditque tantam esse vitae rusticae iucunditatem et opportunitatem ut etiam homines ab hac alienissimi eam laudare cogantur: qui tamen lucri dulcedine et sordibus irretiti eius suavitatem gustare non possint" (*Q. Horatius Flaccus: Opera* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1561), 417).

in the cycle, i.e. immediately after *Epode* 1 with the poet's *persona* being the deictic centre: the change between *Epode* 1 and *Epode* 2 becomes thus visible only when Alfius is explicitly named and the first-person construct of the preceding lines is identified as entirely distinct from the first person of the preceding epode[14]. Absent of such contextual devices in his collection of poems, Morsztyn gives special emphasis to the allegedly unique hypotext, only to make the identification of the speaker and the interpretive consequences of the closing part of the poem more unexpected. Were it a mere exercise in verse composition and a display of poetic wit to have an unexpected conclusion of a paraphrase of Seneca's text, one might accuse him of belonging to "*un tas de faiseurs de comtes nouveaux, qui en un dizain sont contens n'avoir rien dict qui vaille au IX. premiers vers, pourveu qu'au dixiesme il y ait le petit mot pour rire*"[15], as Du Bellay objected to Marot and his followers a century earlier. This is not Morsztyn's way, though; while remembering that the effect of the conclusion is of special importance – as Pontanus puts it,

> etsi totum epigramma compositum, festivum, artificio quodam et expolitione distinctum, et ingeniosum esse debet, id quod satis superque nos docuisse arbitramur, tamen ipse terminus eius, praecipuo quodam artificio illuminatus sit oportet, talisque prorsus, qui vel acumine, vel pondere, vel lepore, vel novitate, vel alia quapiam illecebra legentium mentes sensusque commoveat. Idcirco epigramma quidam cum scorpione contulerunt. Nam scorpius, quamquam minatur undique, tamen in cauda gerit aculeum, quo letalem plagam infligit. Perinde epigramma venenum, hoc est acumen, admirationem, pondus, risum, dolorem, et quidquid ad delectationem, variumque animi motum praeclarum est, ad ultimum, ultimosque potissimum versiculos tanquam in caudam reservat, quoniam ibi aures et animus legentium conquiescit[16],

Morsztyn is not content with a demonstration of technical virtuosity in creating an *aprosdoketon*; he may, as Lipsius did when closing his letter to the reader, advise his reader to go beyond concerns of *grammatici or critici*: "non enim ad ista, sed per ista imus"[17].

[14] On the role of the placement in the cycle for the interpretation of *Epode* 2, see, recently, Stephen J. Harrison "Some Generic Problems in Horace's *Epodes*: or, On (Not) Being Archilochus", in *Iambic Ideas: Essays on a Poetic Tradition from Archaic Greece to the Late Roman Empire*, eds. A. Cávarzere, A. Barchiesi (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001), 165-186; idem, *Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 112; Timothy S. Johnson, *Horace's Iambic Criticism* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012), 87-88, with further references.

[15] Joachim Du Bellay, *La Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Francoyse, édition critique publiée par Henri Chamard* (Paris: Nizet, 1970), 109-111.

[16] Jacobus Pontanus, op. cit., 209-210.

[17] Page 13 in the 1607 folio edition *C. Cornelii Taciti Opera quae exstant* (Antwerp: Jan Moretus, 1607), the eighth edition of Tacitus prepared by Lipsius, published posthumously.

III

Given that the structure of the poem is based on *Epode* 2, and that the *laus ruris* developed there by Alfius is replaced by a passage from *Thyestes*, it might seem at first sight that Morsztyn, following the route known from both school exercises and literary practice, substitutes one picture of an idyllic (note that Alfius himself is replaced with Thyrsis) rural life with another – respecting the wide popularity of vague Stoic ideas and choosing therefore Seneca's tragedy as the second hypotext – with the ultimate effect of distancing himself from the supporters of the ideal of countryside life, signalling thus the illusory nature of such Stoic ideals and reinforcing further this effect with a voice coming from an idyllic Arcadian landscape[18]. This way of approaching Morsztyn's poem takes account of necessary reservations about the appropriateness of such notions as Stoicism in the context of a literary text, of familiarity with philosophical ideas among general readers (conditioned, *inter alia*, by the extent to which they were – or were not – part of the educational curriculum), and of the difference between the current and early modern understanding of Epicureanism or Stoicism[19]. Such caveats notwithstanding, and despite an indubitably loose connection between actual (neo)Stoic teachings and their use in most literary texts[20], the content of both parts of Morsztyn's poem deserves a closer look, both because Morsztyn himself exhibits much care and sophistication in exploiting philosophical views and commenting on philosophical currents of the time[21] and because knowledge of philosophical doctrines, ancient and modern, among his readers should not be too hastily underestimated, coming as it was through different channels

[18] For an account along such lines, see Krzysztof Obremski, op. cit.; Piotr Urbański, "Stoicyzm i neostoicyzm w kulturze polskiej", in *Humanitas. Projekty antropologii humanistycznej*, ed. Alina Nowicka-Jeżowa (Neriton: Warszawa, 2010), vol. 2, 161-202.

[19] "Stoicism for Hugo Grotius is not necessarily a school in philosophy, nor a self-contained system of thought. Moreover, Grotius did not necessarily think of particular philosophers as 'Stoic' in an explicitly doctrinal sense", remark Hans Blom and Laurens Winkel (*Introduction* in *Grotius and the Stoa*, eds. Hans Blom and Laurens Winkel (Assen: van Gorcum, 2004), 5), and the remark has a much wider application. For an overview of competing ethical doctrines in the period and remarks about their presence in university teaching, see Jill Kraye, "Conceptions of moral philosophy", in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-century Philosophy*, eds. Daniel Garber and Michael Ayers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), vol. 2, 1279-1316.

[20] On such aspects of *laudes ruris* of the period, see Anke-Marie Lohmeier, *Beatus ille. Studien zum Lob des Landlebens in der Literatur des absolutistischen Zeitalters* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1981); on various themes developed with a broadly Stoic background in Polish literature, see Estera Lasocińska, *"Cnota sama z mądrością jest naszym żywotem". Stoickie pojęcie cnoty w poezji polskiej XVII wieku* (Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, 2003).

[21] See Paweł Stępień, *Poeta barokowy wobec przemijania i śmierci: Hieronim Morsztyn, Szymon Zimorowic, Jan Andrzej Morsztyn* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 1996), 103-150, for a study uncovering the relevance of early modern scepticism for a proper assessment of Morsztyn's poetry.

and helped by the use of Latin for both the original Latin texts and for translations from other languages[22].

It has to be observed that Morsztyn paraphrases the entire final part of the Senecan Chorus, leading from the *laus otii* to the concluding verses which state the ultimate purpose of choosing *vita rustica* over worldly concerns. This choice would be neither obvious nor standing in no need of further explanation if the guiding idea were to subject the ideal of simple rustic life to criticism; after all, the final lines may be dropped without damage to coherence of the text[23], much as they can be used separately. In particular, given that it was both recommended and fashionable to extract from Seneca's text *sententiae* which might be reused in various contexts, it comes as no surprise that the final three verses were so exploited. Discussing various kinds of *sententiae*, Masen – also otherwise making extensive use of examples from Seneca's tragedies – notes:

> Efficaciores hae ad instructionem sunt, quae in causa, pronuntiato addita, vim enthymematis continent. Ita [...] Seneca in Thyeste ignorantem sui difficili morte vita defuncturum asserit:
> Illi mors gravis incubat
> Qui, notus nimis omnibus,
> Ignotus moritur sibi[24].

[22] On the role of translations *into* Latin as a means of popularizing Greek and vernacular texts, particularly prominent in Eastern Europe, see Peter Burke, "Translations into Latin in early modern Europe", in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 65-80; on the complex role played by Latin in education, culture and artistic creativity in vernacular languages, see Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace--Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); eadem, *Renaissance Truth and the Latin Language Turn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 43-60.

[23] As they indeed sometimes were; it should be noticed that the passage used as a motto in the edition of Gawiński as mentioned in n. 11 above comprises only verses 391-397. The passage may be shortened further, as when used, for different purposes, by Lipsius at *Politica* 3.11.3 (only verses 391-395; see *Justus Lipsius, Politica: Six Books of Politics Or Political Instruction, edited with translation and introduction by Jan Waszink* (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 2004), 380). The lines may thus become rather *laus vitae obscurae*, the Ovidian *bene qui latuit, bene vixit*, than *laus otii rustici*, and are quoted as such approvingly ("sapienter Seneca in Thyeste") by Cornelius a Lapide in the commentary on the Book of Daniel (see his *Commentaria in Danielem prophetam* (Paris: Societas Minima, 1622), 47). On the history of the ideal of the "simple life", see, further, Rüdiger Vischer, *Das einfache Leben. Wort- und motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu einem Wertbegriff der antiken Literatur* (Göttingen Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 147-157. It should be observed that, as much as several passages in Seneca's tragedies exploit the polar contrast as is done in our passage, there are also instances in which it is rather *mediocritas* that is praised; see, further, John G. Fitch, *Seneca's Hercules Furens. A critical text with introduction and commentary* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987), 180; (Margarethe Billerbeck, *Seneca: Hercules Furens* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 1999), 268, seems to confuse the two distinct stances).

[24] Jacob Masen, *Palaestra eloquentiae ligatae* (Köln: Demen, 1682), 238. Perhaps the most famous case of such a separate usage of these verses comes from Descartes, who, in a letter to Pierre Chanut,

The possibility of such a separation, together with the practice of explicating the text part-by-part, opens the way to see both parts as having different sources and of different philosophical import: Delrio, commenting on the final part of the Chorus, beside finding Euripidean parallels[25], makes first the following remark on *nullis nota Quiritibus*:

> Otiosam vitam et a publicis muneribus remotam laudat, ad Epicureorum *lathe biosas* respiciens; qua de re integer Plutarchi liber exstat. Vulgo dicitur *bene qui latuit bene vixit*, quod si cunctis placeret nulla non civitas periret brevi[26].

The quotation *bene qui latuit bene vixit* comes from Ovid's *Tristia* 3.4.25:

> crede mihi, bene qui latuit, bene vixit, et intra
> fortunam debet quisque manere suam.

Ovid develops the Epicurean theme with a Horatian background, echoing such programmatic statements of the latter as *nec vixit male qui natus moriensque fefellit* (Ep. 1.17.10) or

> Si quid mirabere, pones
> invitus. fuge magna: licet sub paupere tecto
> reges et regum vita praecurrere amicos. [Ep. 1.10.31-33][27]

Immediately thereafter, Delrio makes a note on *ignotus moritur sibi*:

> Solus sapiens felix est ex Zenonis sententia [...] stultus vero infelix et miser, auctore Cicerone in Paradoxis; qui autem se ipsum non novit, stultus est, quia sapientis potissumum munus est se ipsum nosse. Infelix ergo est qui sibi ipsi ignotus moritur[28].

The final lines are thus identified by Delrio as expressing an orthodox Stoic view, i.e. finding echoes of Stoic doctrines in Seneca's tragedies is for him only

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invokes them in an explanation of his life choices: "je crois que le mieux que je puisse faire dorénavant, est de m'abstenir de faire des livres; et ayant pris pour ma devise, *Illi mors gravis incubat,* / *Qui, notus nimis omnibus,* / *Ignotus moritur sibi*, de n'étudier que pour m'instruire..." (AT IV 537).

[25] Viz. Eurip. Ion 621-626 for the first part and IA 16-19 for the second one (the latter Euripidean fragment, as it was to turn out later, is of highly dubious authenticity, see *apparatus critici* in the editions of Hans-Christian Günther (Leipzig: Teubner, 1988) and James Diggle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) *ad loc.*).

[26] Martin Delrio, *Syntagma tragoediae latinae* (Paris: Pierre Billaine, 1620), vol. 2, 214. Plutarch's work mentioned by Delrio is his *De latenter vivendo* (Moralia 1128A-1130E); see, recently, Geert Roskam, *A Commentary on Plutarch's De Latenter Vivendo* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007).

[27] See, further, Gareth D. Williams, *Banished Voices: Readings in Ovid's Exile Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 128-135; Geert Roskam, *Live Unnoticed: On the Vicissitudes of an Epicurean Doctrine* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007), 179-187, with further references.

[28] Martin Delrio, *ibid.*

the more natural given that he identifies Seneca the author of philosophical treatises and Seneca the author of tragedies (except for *Octavia*), and so he freely uses Seneca's prose works in order to find parallels for views expressed in his dramatic poetry, accepting the validity of *interpretatio Stoica* of the tragedies[29]. There are, therefore, – for Delrio and his readers – two components of the final part of the Second Chorus: a description of an idyllic rural life, with at least an Epicurean flavour, and the concluding verses, which provide a distinctively Stoic moral. Praise of simple country life, much as rejection of political activities, are both in and of themselves *not* Stoic – it is *not* merely an ataraxy that is the end of a Stoic life, nor is *otium* to be sought merely for the sake of quiet. Whatever signs of rapprochement between Epicureanism and Seneca's Stoicism may be found – and they may indeed be found, and were exploited in Morsztyn's lifetime by the defenders of Epicurean teachings[30] – and however much weight may be attributed to the distinct political circumstances of the period, fostering

[29] On the history of the issue of authorship, see Roland Mayer, op. cit., 151-153, with further references. The *interpretatio Stoica* of Seneca's tragedies remains a debated topic, with opinions variously diminishing the relevance of the relationship between Seneca's philosophy as exposed in his prose works and his tragedies or adopting the view that the former are of utmost importance for an interpretation of the latter. Basic older references may be found in Marcia Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 1985), 13 n. 8; for further discussion and references, see e.g. Thomas G. Rosenmeyer, *Senecan Drama and Stoic Cosmology* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1989); Harry Hine, "Interpretatio Stoica of Senecan Tragedy", in *Sénèque le tragique*, eds. Wolf-Lüder Liebermann, Margarethe Billerbeck, Ernst A. Schmidt (Genève: Fondation Hardt, 2004), 173-209; Susanna E. Fischer, "Systematic Connections between Seneca's Philosophical Works and Tragedies", in *Brill's Companion to Seneca Philosopher and Dramatist*, eds. Gregor Damschen and Andreas Heil (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2014), 745--768; on Thyestes, in particular, see Eckard Lefèvre, "Die philosophische Bedeutung der Seneca--Tragödie am Beispiel des 'Thyestes'", in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, ed. Hildegard Temporini (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1985), vol. 2,32,2, 1263-1283.

[30] Points of contact between Seneca and Epicurus (on which, see, e.g. Andreas Heil, Gregor Damschen, eds., op. cit., *passim*) were seen and explored already in the sixteenth century, see Louise Fothergill-Payne, "Seneca's role in popularizing Epicurus in the sixteenth century", in *Atoms, Pneuma, and Tranquillity. Epicurean and Stoic Themes in European Thought*, ed. Margaret J. Osler, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 115-134, and were used both as a source of information about Epicurus' teaching and as points of departure for defences of the Epicurean doctrine (on Gassendi and his ways of appropriating Epicurus' thought, see Barry Brundell, *Pierre Gassendi: From Aristotelianism to a New Natural Philosophy* (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1987); Lynn Sumida Joy, *Gassendi the Atomist: Advocate of History in an Age of Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Antonia LoLordo, *Pierre Gassendi and the Birth of Early Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); on Quevedo and his Stoicizing Epicurus, see Henry Ettinghausen, *Francisco de Quevedo and the Neostoic Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972); Jill Kraye, "Moral philosophy", in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, eds. Charles Schmitt and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 381; eadem, "Conceptions of moral philosophy", op. cit., 1293-1294).

ideals of a life remote from worldly disturbances[31], the final lines of the Chorus describe an essential ingredient of a Stoic *otium*: one which, if not preparing for political activities, leads at least to moral progress[32]. Living a life in accordance with only the first part of the Senecan text would be, in Seneca's own view, hiding, not living – as he comments on Servilius Vatia, "ille latere sciebat, non vivere; multum autem interest utrum vita tua otiosa sit an ignava" (Sen. Ep. 6.55.4)[33]. If *otium* is recommended, it should actually be *negotium animi*:

> "Otium" inquis "Seneca, commendas mihi? Ad Epicureas uoces delaberis?" Otium tibi commendo, in quo maiora agas et pulchriora quam quae reliquisti: pulsare superbas potentiorum fores, digerere in litteram senes orbos, plurimum in foro posse invidiosa potentia ac brevis est et, si verum aestimes, sordida. [Sen. Epist. 7.68.10]

IV

The preceding discussion squares well with the hypothesis that the operation which Morsztyn performs on the Horatian model consists in a replacement of the picture of an Epicurean *otium* with a Stoic one, an ideal which Horace, *Epicuri de grege porcus*, describes (however distancing himself from it in the end) with a Stoic ideal. Adjusting thus the Horatian model to the circumstances of the period, he seems to do with Horace what Horace himself did with Archilochus: as is known, it was suggested that the main hypotext for Horace's *Epode* 2 was a poem by Archilochus, in which Charon the carpenter declared a lack of interest in the wealth of Gyges – a poem of which only the beginning survives

[31] On the relationship between the revival of Stoicism, providing a way to attain calmness in a period of crisis and fostering the rise of individualistic ethics and socio-political changes in the early modern period, see already Günter Abel, *Stoizismus und Frühe Neuzeit. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte modernen Denkens im Felde von Ethik und Politik* (Berlin – New York: de Gruyter, 1977); Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); idem, "Justus Lipsius und der politische Neustoizismus in Europa", in *Stoizismus in der europäischen Philosophie, Literatur, Kunst und Politik*, eds. Barbara Neymeyr, Jochen Schmidt and Bernhard Zimmermann (Berlin – New York: de Gruyter, 2008), 575-630; Richard Tuck, *Philosophy and Government 1572–1651* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Christopher Brooke, *Philosophic Pride: Stoicism and Political Thought from Lipsius to Rousseau* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

[32] See the discussion in Marcia Colish, op. cit., 175-177, who stresses the crucial difference in understanding the ideal of *naturae convenienter vivere* between the Epicureans and the Stoics in the context of Horace's poetry.

[33] See further the discussion in Roskam, *A Commentary on Plutarch's De Latenter Vivendo* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 71-80; Mark Morford, "The Dual Citizenship of the Roman Stoics", in *Veritatis Amicitiaeque Causa: Essays in Honor of Anna Lydia Motto and John R. Clark*, eds. Shannon N. Byrne and Edmund P. Cueva (Wauconda, Ill.: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1999), 147-164.

in Plutarch's *De tranquillitate animi* and which is mentioned in passing in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (testifying that it was Charon that was the speaking persona)[34]. Although the precise connection of *Epode* 2 with Archilochus was to be proposed only two centuries after Morsztyn, and has remained a matter of lively controversy among specialists on Horace[35], the route which Morsztyn follows in his treatment of the Horatian hypotext resembles, insofar as we can tell, Horace's treatment of his own model. The textual gesture at Horace's *Epode* 2, together with the preservation of its structure, has a subversive effect with respect to the whole passage containing the description of an ideal *otium*. It is to be noted that this feature of Morsztyn's poem, repeating the Horatian device, questions the viability of the ideal expressed in the quoted lines as a principle which might be effective as a guide to choosing one's lifestyle without discussing the rights and wrongs of a particular philosophical position; in particular, it does not question the (neo)Stoic nature of the message of the lines taken over from Seneca or the (neo)Stoic character of such ideals in general[36], nor does it choose (neo)Stoicism as its target because it is the only or the most prominent position susceptible to criticism in this regard, the substitution being conditioned by contemporaneous trends and fashions, and at the most general level the moral is sceptical about the applicability of philosophical ideals in real life in general.

The passage taken from *Thyestes* has an internal structure though, and it was perceived as such, as we have seen. Only the first part, a proper *laus vitae rusticae*, might have been taken from Seneca, and it should have been, indeed, if it were to be appropriate for the speaking *persona* – Thyrsis. The Arcadian shepherd enters the stage not to make apparent the illusory nature of the ideal *otium* as belonging to a fictional world[37]; rather, he is chosen precisely because

[34] Archilochus fr. 19 W (Plut. de tranqu. animi 470C and Arist. Rhet. 1418b). The hypothesis that Horace modelled *Epode* 2 after Archilochus' poem was first put forward by Karl Lachmann in his *Epistola*, published in an appendix to C. Franke's *Fasti Horatiani* (Berlin: Wilhelm Besser, 1839), 236-237: "Ego hoc unum video, Horatio iambum Archilochi ante oculos fuisse, ad cuius exemplum hoc suum componeret. Illum, inquam, in quo Charonem fabrum loquentem induxit...".

[35] Besides the classical discussions in Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Sappho und Simonides, Untersuchungen über griechische Lyriker* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1913), 305-306 and Eduard Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), 59-60, see, more recently, especially the discussion and references in David Mankin, *Horace: Epodes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Lindsay C. Watson, *A Commentary on Horace's Epodes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Stephen J. Harrison, *Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Timothy S. Johnson, op. cit.; Hans-Christian Günther, "The Book of Iambi", in *Brill's Companion to Horace*, ed. Hans-Christian Günther (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2013), 169-210 (on *Epode* 2, in particular, 195-196).

[36] That seems to be the position taken by Obremski, op. cit.

[37] Against Obremski, op. cit.

of the incongruence between concerns and ideals belonging to the pastoral setting and the Senecan passage as a whole, the final verses included. The Neostoic movement takes such an *otium* to be rather a *negotium*, the decision to withdraw from the world being necessarily coupled with an obligation to make such a withdrawal a *negotium otiosum*, even if it is only a short-term withdrawal into a garden:

> Nec idem ille ego tam marcidus, immo tam mortuus, ut recondam et velut sepeliam me in his hortorum umbris. Negotium etiam in illo otio reperio, et invenit ibi animus, quod sine actione ulla agat, sine labore ullo elaboret. "Numquam minus solus sum", aiebat ille, "quam cum solus: numquam minus otiosus, quam cum otiosus"[38].

This is not the lifestyle of Thyrsis, Corydon or Meliboeus. If one declares oneself a Stoic, being actually a Thyrsis, one does not understand the import of one's own words; and this is why one's alleged Stoicism is merely apparent. This is the second layer of criticism and irony in Morsztyn's piece: if an epigram is likened to a scorpion, as Pontanus wanted, Morsztyn's scorpion has two stings, and it can attack two victims simultaneously.

Jan Andrzej Morsztyn and *Votum z Seneki*; or, A scorpion and his stings

Summary

The present paper investigates the relevance of structural and intertextual information for an interpretation of *Votum z Seneki dla Jegomości Pana Chorążego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego* by Jan Andrzej Morsztyn. Placing both the structural and intertextual properties of the text against a wider context of the literary practices of the period, of the contemporaneous philosophical discussions and tendencies, as well as philological discussions of relevant hypotexts, allows one, it is argued, to uncover at least two distinct, although closely intertwined, layers of irony and scepticism in Morsztyn's piece.

[38] Justus Lipsius, *De constantia libri duo, qui alloquium praecipue continent in publicis malis* (Nürnberg: Dietrich Gerlach, 1594), 87. The words of Scipio Africanus as quoted by Lipsius are reported twice by Cicero (rep. 1.27 and off. 3.1); on their later fate, see Karl Gross, "Numquam minus otiosus, quam cum otiosus. Das Weiterleben eines antiken Sprichwortes im Abendland", *Antike und Abendland* 26 (1980): 122-137. On the Neostoic *laudes horti*, their Lipsian inspiration and their wider background, see Mark Morford, "The Stoic Garden", *The Journal of Garden History* 7 (1987): 151-175; Thorsten Fitzon, "Von müßigen Geschäften und freiheitlichem Stand. Stoische Tradition in der Landlebendichtung des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts", in *Stoizismus in der europäischen Philosophie, Literatur, Kunst und Politik*, eds. Barbara Neymeyr, Jochen Schmidt and Bernhard Zimmermann (Berlin – New York: de Gruyter, 2008), 833-851, with further references.

Jan Andrzej Morsztyn i *Votum z Seneki*; albo Skorpion i jego użądlenia

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

Artykuł przedstawia analizę istotności informacji strukturalnej i intertekstualnej dla interpretacji *Votum z Seneki dla Jegomości Pana Chorążego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego* Jana Andrzeja Morsztyna. Umieszczenie strukturalnych i intertekstualnych własności tekstu w szerszym kontekście historycznych praktyk literackich i dyskusji filozoficznych oraz filologicznych analiz odpowiednich hipotekstów pozwala odsłonić co najmniej dwie różne, choć blisko związane, płaszczyny ironii i sceptycyzmu w utworze Morsztyna.

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