

Central and Eastern European Countries

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It is a truism that ‘the’ Central and Eastern European Countries do not exist.¹ Among these countries are, for instance, the Commonwealth of Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (including Ruthenia, now Ukraine), Muscovy, and Hungary. Their developments regarding the use and spread of Latin differ so widely that they seem different planets. For instance, in Bosnia, Rumania and Albania the use of Latin disappeared completely with the consolidation of the Turkish occupation in 1463 and 1478 respectively,² whereas among the Southern Slav populations the Croats (also called Dalmatians, Illyrians and Sclavonians, being part of the Kingdom of Hungary) were in close contact with Western and Central European humanism, and produced many works in Latin. In Hungary the situation was rather specific: many Hungarian Latin authors lived and worked in Czechia, the Commonwealth of Poland and other regions.³ Hungary itself was a threshold of Latin, which remained an official language of the country (for instance in the Croatian Parliament at Zagreb) until 1848, and a scholarly language even longer. Between 1500 and 1700 borders changed and situations altered.

In the north, Poland was an important country for Latin literature. Here some Italian, German and Dutch humanists played a significant role. Neo-Latin literature lasted long, from the second half of the fifteenth century until deep into the seventeenth. The Golden Age of Poland started in 1550 and ended circa 1650 with the Swedish incursion, or the ‘deluge’. In Russia (Moscovy) Latin culture was a late and peripheral phenomenon that was only introduced when the Tsars wanted to get closer contacts with Western Europe and its learned culture. Before the seventeenth century Latin was hardly known there. In some of the Baltic Countries the peasants did not participate in a learned culture, and people who did want to participate, had to go to German Universities. If there was a cultural centre, it was Riga, but only after the end of the Livonian war (1557–1582). Times changed to some extent and in 1632 the Swedes founded a university in Tartu, that was, however, closed in 1708. Latin literature continued to flourish throughout the seventeenth century, and even some Livonian authors began to publish in various German cities; Baltic authors can be counted among the correspondents of humanists of the Low Countries such as Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) and Hugo Grotius (1583–1545).

This short overview makes clear how different the situation for a Latin learned culture in the several Eastern European regions was. Therefore, it is almost impossible to give a coherent view of Neo-Latin drama in the Early Modern Period in the Central and Eastern European Countries. However, some features often apply: the important role of the Jesuits, the mobility of students, teachers and plays, and by consequence its often international character: the Latin *respublica litterarum* brought together men of diverse ethnic origin and united them in the study of classical literature and the writing of new works in Latin themselves. For instance, the Polish poet

¹ I would like to thank Prof. Andrzej Borowski from the Jagellonian University of Cracow for his kind help and his comments on an earlier draft of this contribution.

² IJsewijn, *Companion*, 1, pp. 88 and 91. The international scope of Latin drama can be illustrated by the fact that in the comedy *Epirota* (1483) of the Venetian patrician Thomas Medius, the protagonist speaks a few words in his native Albanian – in imitation of Hanno in Plautus’s *Poenulus*, where Hanno prays in Punic (ll. 930–49).

³ IJsewijn, *Companion*, 1, p. 214.

and playwright Simonides supposedly studied in the Netherlands, where he might have seen or read a Joseph play that inspired him, directly or by a Polish paraphrase. On the other hand, the German humanist Conrad Celtis (1459–1508) wrote his *Amores* when he was at the University of Cracow, where he might have witnessed a Joseph play. Also in Poland the Italian humanist Filippo Buonaccorsi, called Callimachus (1437–1496) served as a tutor of the king's son and royal secretary. Therefore, in the following a short overview per country will be given. From the survey given above, it will be clear that some countries will get a somewhat more extensive treatment than others.

Croatia

Not much is known of Latin drama in Croatia, which was part of the Kingdom of Hungary. The only one of whom some Latin dramatic production is known is Matthias Garbitius Illyricus or Matija Grbac (1503/1508–1559). He, however, lived in Germany; during his study in Heidelberg he became a protégé of Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon. As a professor at the University of Tübingen, he made Latin translations of Aeschylus.⁴ Franciscus Tranquillus Andronicus (Franjo Trankvil Andreis, 1490–1571) wrote the dialogues *Sylla* (1527) and *Philosophandumne sit* (1544), as did the 'father of the Croatian Renaissance' Marcus Marulus (Marko Marulić, (1450–1524), who wrote, among other works, *Dialogus de Hercule a christicolis superato* (*Dialogue About Hercules who was Surpassed by Those who Honour Christ*, 1524) in prose; in this dialogue he tried to confirm Roman Catholic faith by means of pagan mythology and poetry, which at their turn find justification in a submission to theology.⁵

Hungary

MAP

Division of Hungary in 1526. Legend: brown – Hapsburgs, green – Transylvania, purple – Ottoman Empire

[<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PodzialWegier.png>]

Renaissance culture in Hungary blossomed at the court of King Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458–1490), who successfully resisted repeated attacks of the Turks.⁶ In 1485, he transferred the royal seat to *Vienna Pannoniae* (Vienna). Hungarian Renaissance authors were strongly influenced by Italian humanism. The period of blossoming, however, was interrupted by the Turkish invasion

⁴ IJsewijn, *Companion*, 1, p. 93; *ADB* 8, p. 367 (Karl August Klüpfel). Garbitius translated Aeschylus's *Prometheus* (Basel, 1559) and Hesiod's *Opera et dies* (Basel, 1559).

⁵ Edited by Branimir Glavičić in Marco Marulić, *Latinska manja djela I* (Split: Književni krug, 1992) and in Marko Marulić, *Dijaloški dramski tekstovi* (Split: Književni krug, 1994). See also Elisabeth von Erdmann, 'Marko Marulić zwischen Poetik und Theologie. *Davidias, Dialogus de Hercules a Christicolis superato* (1524) und *Tropologica Davidiadis expositio*', *Colloquia Maruliana*, 19 (210), 125–40.

⁶ See, for instance, Kiadó, *A History of Hungarian Literature*, pp. 37–49; Klaniczay, *Handbuch der ungarischen Literatur*, pp. 28–43; however, the interest for Hungarian literature in Latin in these literary histories is rather small. Francofordinus, for instance, is not even mentioned.

of 1541. Although there was some dramatic production, only few Hungarian poets and playwrights attained fame outside their own land, or even outside their own school. Dramas of the French tragic poets Corneille and Molière were performed in Latin, even before they were translated into the native tongue. If Hungarian authors wrote plays themselves, they were often meant for the schools, such as the play of Bartholomaeus Francofordinus Pannonius (ca. 1490–before 1540). After his studies at the universities of Cracow and Vienna – the latter a threshold of humanism – he became a schoolmaster in Buda, and from 1517 in Selmecebánya. Later on, he was a Lutheran preacher at Besztercebánya. He was part of the humanist circles of George Szatmári, Bishop of Pécs.⁷ A talented poet, Francofordinus introduced humanist comedy in Hungary with his *Gryllus* (*The Cricket*, 1518). This short comedy was written as an imitation of *Menaechmi* in Plautinian style, under the influence of Erasmus, and dedicated to the leader of the German Court party Georg von Brandenburg. It was conceived as a educational play directed against drunkenness. The same educational aim can be traced in his *Dialogus inter Vigilantiam et Torporem* (*Dialogue Between Vigilance and Torpor*, 1520), dedicated to bishop Szatmári.

Humanism and the use of Latin regained a strong position in Hungary for a long time, also after the 1650s. A strong influence has been traced of Masen's comedy *Rusticus Imperans* (*The Farmer as an Emperor*, 1657) in the Minorite school of Knata Kézdivásárhely (Transylvania), in the early 18th century.

A survey of Hungarian Latin drama after the mid-seventeenth century could also include the plays performed by the students of the Collegium Hungaricum in Rome, for instance, a *Hungariae Triumphus* in 1659.⁸ The Italian composer Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni (1657–1743) set this play to music in the opera *Hungariae triumphus in Quirinali* (1695).

Bohemia

Latin theatre in Bohemia (now Czechia) as such originated in the Church and secular milieus of the feudal period.⁹ But in the beginning of the fifteenth century the Hussite revolutionary movement hemmed in the development of both secular and religious drama, because the Hussites considered theatre to be a form of idolatry. However, they did not succeed in a full elimination of drama in Bohemia. Thus, Renaissance drama could come into being only late, because of a period of isolation from the rest of Europe. The Károly University, founded in Prague in 1348, played an important role in assimilating European culture in Bohemia. The university's professors used (classical) drama as a pedagogical tool and had their students publicly perform plays from 1535 onwards. However, after the Battle at White Mountain in 1620, the Czech state collapsed and was destroyed for some time, and Czech theatre ceased to exist. The origin of Czech Renaissance drama as developed in this period by Czech humanists drew was Protestant Germany, and no longer Catholic Italy; this change in inspiration dates from the middle of the sixteenth century, among urban intellectuals.

⁷ See Hammann, 'Bartholomeus Francofordinus Pannonius – Simon Grynäus in Ungarn', esp. pp. 229–36 and Puskás, 'Plauto in Ungheria', pp. 95–96.

⁸ IJsewijn, *Companion*, 1, p. 217. For the *Hungariae Triumphus*, see Baumgarten, 'Un mélodrama baroque sur la Hongrie.'

⁹ See Cerný, 'Czechoslovakia', pp. 159–61.

The most important Czech playwright of Neo-Latin drama is Johannes Campanus Vodnianus or Jan Campanus Vodňanský (from Vodnaň in South-Bohemia, 1572–1622), a professor of Greek at the university of Prague who wrote works in Latin, Greek, Czech and German.¹⁰ Among his writings is the historical play *Bretislaus, Comoedia nova* (1614).¹¹ The play was forbidden because it treated themes that did damage to the Bohemian dukes. Its subject is the marriage of Duke Bretislaus I of Bohemia with Judith of Schweinfurt, daughter of margrave Heinrich of Bohemia. Campanus was influenced by the German humanist playwright Nicodemus Frischlin.¹² This play inspired later authors of Czech historical dramas in the vernacular. Latin drama, however, languished, and most of the plays of this period were written in the vernacular.

More than half a century before, around 1550, the Jesuits had come to the Czech countries and, like elsewhere, made use of theatrical performances in their Counter-Reformation programme. They had their own plays performed in Latin and Czech. Anyhow, Czech Neo-Latin authors made some valuable contributions to dramatic literature.¹³ The Jesuit Jacobus Pontanus or Spanmüller (1542–1626), who worked mainly in Bavaria, originated from Brüx/Most. Although he left three dramas, viz. *Eleazar, Stratocles* and *Isaac*, he is now far better known as a theoretician because of his widely successful *Poeticae institutiones* (1594).

The most important seventeenth-century Czech playwright was the Moravian pedagogue Janus Amos Comenius or Jan Amos Komenský (1592–1670), who was famous for among other works his *Orbis sensualium pictus* (*The Visible World in Pictures*, 1653). For religious reasons he lived abroad, where he wrote *Diogenes Cynicus redivivus* (*Diogenes Cynicus Alive Again*, 1640), *Abrahamus patriarcha, scena repraesentatus* (*Abraham, the Patriarch, Brought to Stage*, 1641) and *Schola ludus* (*School as a Game*, 1654).¹⁴ He advised to stage each year four plays at the schools. In contrast with most authors, he wrote his dramas in prose. Comenius used his plays for pedagogical purposes. *Diogenes* was written for the school in Lezno in Poland, *Schola ludus* in Sárospatak in Hungary. In *Abrahamus*, also written for Lezno, he praised the ‘great father of many’ (Eccl. 44:20) who by fate is also the father of Christians, as Comenius states in the Epilogue. This urges Christians to obey God¹⁵ In *Schola ludus*, a collection of eight plays, he presented in dramatic form all basic knowledge in the fields of natural sciences, philosophy, ethics and religion (*res naturales, res artificiales, res morales* and *res divinae*) that he had presented in *Ianua linguarum* (*The Door of languages*), and his own ideas on various stages and levels of education.¹⁶ This is for Comenius another way that children may learn Latin interactively, learn to memorize interesting stories and learn the laws of the world around them regarding literature, history and the natural sciences. The students may also learn from other students. The collection contained arrangements of the plays which

¹⁰ See also Novák, *Czech Literature*, p. 63.

¹¹ Modern edition by Josef Král.

¹² Full title: *Bretislaus, comoedia nova, věnovaná Albertovi Janovi Sniřickému ze Smiřic, Typis Samuelis Adami a Veleslavína, Prague, 1614*. A modern edition is made by Josef Král. On Vodnianus, see Odložilík, *Mistr Jan Campanus*.

¹³ IJsewijn, *Companion*, 1, p. 231.

¹⁴ *Diogenes Cynicus redivivus, sive de compendiose philosophando*, (Amsterdam: Petrus van den Berge, 1658), and *Abrahamus patriarcha. Scena repraesentatus anno 1651 in Januario, sub examen scholae publicum* (Amsterdam: Petrus van den Berg, 1661), ed. by Julie Nováková, in: Komenský, *Opera omnia*, 11, pp. 437–500 and 501–39 respectively. English translation by Michael Mittelstadt. On the *Schola ludus*, see also Somerville Lauri, *John Amos Comenius*, pp. 226–27.

¹⁵ Komenský, *Opera omnia*, 11, pp. 531: ‘Huius nos quos filios esse per fidem factos gaudeamus, ea reatione promissionum aeternarum cum ipso facti coheredes. Sed et *obedientiae* nos esse debere *filios* mimmerimus’

¹⁶ Komor, ‘The Problems of Technological Culture in “Schola Ludus”.’ See also Bruno Druschky, *Würdigung der Schrift des Comenius Schola Ludus* (Wernigerode: B. Angerstein, 1904) Doctoral Thesis Erlangen; a German translation in Johann Amos Comenius, *Schola Ludus, d.i. Die Schule als Spiel ins Deutsche übertragen* (Langensalza: H. Boyer und Söhne, 1907) and Kožik, *Sorrowful and Heroic Life of John Amos Comenius*, pp. 125–37.

Comenius had recommended for production. He even added detailed stage directions.¹⁷ By the production of the theatrical plays in *Schola ludus*, Comenius also tried to change the Hungarian nobility's mind towards schooling and study for their children and to bring together teachers and pupils of the conflictuous school of Rector Tolnai where he worked in the years 1654–1655.¹⁸ Its full title reads: *Schola ludus, seu Encyclopaedia viva, hoc est, Ianuae Linguarum praxis scenica: res omnes nomenclatura vestitas et vestienda, sensibus ad vivum repraesentandi artificium exhibens amoenum* (*School as a Game, or Living Encyclopaedia of the Gate of Languages, that is a Theatrical Praxis, a Sweet Work of Art or Representing True to Life, Showing Everything that is Contained or to be Contained in the Nomenclatura*). In the play there are five acts, twenty-two scenes and fifty-two characters, who each represent a branch of knowledge. 'For example, in the fifth scene of the second act, Water is the subject, and there enter on stage the following personages: – *Aquinus* (representing water in general), *Marius* (representing the sea), *Nubianus* (representing the clouds, and *Stillico* (representing rain-drops, ice, foam, etc.) These interesting characters give a great deal of valuable information.'¹⁹ Comenius ended the dramatization with scenes in which he brought to stage the Egyptian King Ptolemy and his counsellors. They express the significance of universal learning.²⁰ As Comenius says in the dedicatory epistle, the *Schola ludus* was successful with pupils and schoolmasters; moreover, it was performed with high acclaim before the Princess and her Court in Hungary.²¹ There were many productions of the play, with many parents attending the performances. The play was even performed in the court-yard of the castle, on the request of Queen Susanna.

In *Diogenes redivivus*, that had been written for the school in Lezno in 1640, Comenius brought several ancient philosophers on stage, among whom Plato, Zeno and Hegesias, as well as the Macedonian kings Philippus and Alexander, and Alexander's generals, Perdiccas, Parmenio and Craterus, in total twenty-four characters, with some anonymous or silent personages. He was criticized for his pagan subject, so for his play for the next year he chose the biblical story of Abraham.²²

Another genre that flourished in Bohemia were the secular comical scenes called *interludia* (interludes) or *intermedia* (intermezzi), that were performed between the acts of biblical dramas. Spectators could laugh about crude behaviour of farmers which were depicted there. Those interludes were written in Latin or in the vernacular.

Poland

MAP

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; the map shows the greatest reach of the borders of the Republic]; crown; Grand Duchy of Lithuania; dependent fiefs and lands; lands lost 1657–1686; ;

¹⁷ See Kožík, *Sorrowful and Heroic Life of John Amos Comenius*, p. 134.

¹⁸ Kožík, *Sorrowful and Heroic Life of John Amos Comenius*, pp. 129.

¹⁹ Laurie, *John Amos Comenius*, p. 194.

²⁰ Kožík, *Sorrowful and Heroic Life of John Amos Comenius*, p. 134.

²¹ Laurie, *John Amos Comenius*, pp. 194–95.

²² Kožík, *Sorrowful and Heroic Life of John Amos Comenius*, p. 76.

main cities; other cities – Brandenburg; Sweden; Saxony; Osman Empire; Habsburg Empire, Russian Karst; Danmark

MAP

Map of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

[http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d4/Rzeczpospolita_1600.png]

In the early modern period Poland comprised a vast area, ranging from the Baltic shore to the Carpathian Mountains and the river Dnjepr (see the map).²³ Polish humanist literature was oriented to Italian humanism, as it was also in the Low Countries.²⁴ It had a rich dramatic production in Latin. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, plays in the language of the Romans were staged in this area. At court, on 23 February 1506 Plautus was performed, and many performances of comedies by him and Terence were to follow. Also plays from foreign contemporary authors were staged, such as Jacob Locher's *Iudicium Paridis* (1502) in 1522 and *Petriscus* of the Dutch humanist Macropedius (1487–1558) in 1581, whose *Hecastus* was staged in 1563, 1564 and 1574 in Prussia: Gdansk (Danzig) and Królewiec (Königsbergen).²⁵ In 1595 the five-act Latin tragedy *Hiaeus sive Jehu* of the famous Italian Jesuit Francesco Benci (1542–1594). In 1515 the first Polish Latin play, *Ulyssis prudentia in adversis* was written and produced before the king and queen on the Wawel. The actors were students from the Krakow Academy. In Christoph Hegendorfin's comedy *De duobus adolescentibus* three of the eleven scenes ended with a chorus or a monody. Remarkably, the tunes of these songs, among which a drinking song for a choir, are preserved in the Krakow print of 1525.²⁶

Of the Polish Neo-Latin plays 28 complete texts still existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, of which eleven have survived to the present day.²⁷ Most plays survive in a manuscript now in the University Library of Uppsala.²⁸ This manuscript, containing in total eight Jesuit dramas as well as some interludes, formerly belonged to the Jesuit College in Poznań. Among the plays in it were those of the famous Polish Jesuit Cnapius and the plays *Odostratocles* and *Antithemius*.

Most of the Polish dramas in Latin were written by Jesuits, who founded their first school at Braniewo in 1564. As Kevin Croxen has shown, many of these dramas retained some medieval traits, including an immense length, strophic choral odes that have no relationship with antiquity, and the structuring principle of the 'sacramental psychology'. As a matter of fact, their other source of inspiration was medieval religious and secular drama. All plays were meant for

²³ The section on Poland has profited much of Kevin Croxen's 'Thematic and Generic Medievalism' and Stender-Petersen's *Tragoediae Sacrae*. See also Axer, 'Notes on the Early Jesuit Theatre in Poland'.

²⁴ Borowski, *Iter Polono-Belgo-Ollandicum*.

²⁵ See Borowski, *Iter Polono-Belgo-Ollandicum*, pp.157–58.

²⁶ Ludi Christophori Hegendorphini et de duobus adolescentibus et de sene amatore (Krakow: Hieronymus Vietor, 1525); see Hagenau, *Polnisches Theater und Drama*, pp. 203–04. It can be induced from manuscript notes in the margins of one of the copies, the text was used for exercises at the Krakow Academy. Hegendorfin must actually have written it for the Lubranski Academy in Poznan where he worked.

²⁷ Croxen, 'Thematic and Generic Medievalism', p. 265 and p. 289, n. 2, on the four manuscripts of which one important was lost during the nineteenth century.

²⁸ Codex Upsaliensis R 380, described extensively by Stender-Petersen in his *Tragoediae sacrae*. See also Winniczuk, 'Some observations on Jesuit Schooldrama in Poland'. During the war between Poland and Sweden 1650–1660 the manuscript was taken to Sweden by Klas Rålamb, councillor and ambassador of Sweden.

performance, with the possible exception of the humanist plays by Simon Simonides and Joannes Joncre. Stender-Petersen and Winniczuk both discerned several dramatic subgenres, viz. historical, moral, hagiographical and demonic drama. However, the renaissance playwrights molded these medieval categories into the scheme of the humanist-classical opposition of comedy and tragedy. The themes of Polish Jesuit drama are the same as in other countries, treated in the same Senecan tragic style with rhetoric, horror, violent passion and crimes. Often allusions to phrases from Seneca's plays are found, while the comedies and interludes are modeled after the comedies of Plautus and Terence. The lengthy plays, always observing the five-act-rule, contain many speaking and mute characters. Some of them are introduced by prologues in Latin and in Polish, which are informative, giving the exposition of the plot, rather than apologies. The choral odes deal with themes that are relevant to the action. A remarkable feature is the connections the plays bear to contemporary problems that concern the situation in Poland and school-life. For instance, the follies and vices of the epoch and of Polish noblemen are alluded to, and the political, social and economic situations were commented upon.

The Polish playwright known best is Simon Simonides or Szymon Szymonowic (1558–1629) who as a lyric poet was called the Polish Pindar. His most famous work was his Polish poem *Sielanki* (*Pastorals*; 1614). Simonides, who was of Armenian descent, also enjoyed a European fame for his Latin works, for which he got the laurel from Pope Clement VIII; among his learned relations were Isaacus Casaubonus (1559–1614), Janus Dousa (1545–1604) and Justus Lipsius (1547–1606). Although there is no evidence for it, it is assumed that he studied in the Low Countries.²⁹ After his studies, he became a private teacher. This erudite humanist wrote two plays: *Castus Ioseph* (1587), which may have been inspired by Cornelius Crocus's *Ioseph* (1535) or by its Polish paraphrase entitled *Żywot Józefa* by the important Polish poet and prose author Mikołaj Rej (1505–1569), and *Penthesilea* (1618).³⁰ These are tragedies with a (Senecan) length of 1757 and 1585 lines respectively and a five-act-structure, but a Greek – Pindaric – chorus structure of strophe, antistrophe and epode.

Castus Ioseph, on the seduction of Joseph by Potiphar's wife and his refusal, is exceptional for several reasons.³¹ One reason is that the woman is given the name of Jempsar. For this name, there is a precedent in Girolamo Fracastoro's poem *Ioseph* (published posthumously in 1555). A second reason is that the play focuses heavily on Jempsar's emotions. In spite of its Senecan tone, the story of *Castus Ioseph* has the same style and structure as Euripides's *Hippolytos*, but for the last 300 lines. For instance, the prologue by the *Malus Demon* closely resembles Aphrodite's opening monologue in *Hippolytos*, the scene of Joseph and his *famuli* (ll. 94–236) equates that of Hippolytos and his *therapeuontes* (ll. 88–120), and the first choral ode (ll. 237–92) bears close resemblances to Euripides's first choral ode (ll. 121–75) in the translation by Gasparus Stiblinus

²⁹ See Głębicka, *Szymon Szymonowic*, pp. 7–8; Borowski, *Iter Polono-Belgo-Ollandicum*, p. 87

³⁰ On Simonides, see Chrzanowski, *Tragedya S. Szymonowicza Castus Ioseph*; Głębicka, *Szymon Szymonowic*, on *Castus Ioseph*, see pp. 30–44 and the references on p. 30, n. ##; on Crocus, see elsewhere in this volume, p. #. A study on the Latin text was made by by Józef Kallenbach (*Dramat 'Castus Ioseph'*), and a modern edition of the Polish translation by Stanislaw Goslawski (facs. en transcr.) was made by Konrad Górski and Teresa Kaufmanova. On the Polish play by Rej (*The Life of Joseph*, printed Cracow, 1545), see Borowski, *Iter Polono-Belgo-Ollandicum*, pp. 158–59: 'Mikołaj Rej considerably expanded the plot of the original Latin drama, since he narrated the whole of "Joseph's story" instead of focussing on its dramatic episode concerning Potiphar's wife only, as Crocus did.'

³¹ I am grateful to Wojciech Ryzek, Andrzej Borowski and Michał Choptiany for their kind help in providing me with the texts of Simonides's plays. It is curious, that *Castus Ioseph* is not discussed in Lebeau's *Salvator mundi*.

(1526–1562?), published by the Basle printer Joannes Oporinus in 1559.³² The first lines may serve as an example:

Simonides

Strophe I

Petra celebris est hic
 quaedam, vitrea dis aqua
 fontemque expositum urnis saxo
 iaculans supremo.
 Apud hanc amica quae-
 dam est mea, flumineis
 pepla liquoribus
 tinguens superque ardua dorsa rupis
 in sole aprico expoliens; ea atrum
 nuntium mihi insusurravit.

Euripides

Petra quaedam dicitur esse,
 quae marinas extillet aquas,
 effundens ex abrupto vertice
 fontem replendis urnis uberem.
 Ubi quaedam mea amica
 purpureas vestes
 fluvialibus undis
 lavit et super apricae
 terga rupis deposuit: a qua
 ad me fama pervenit

Antistrophe I

Sontica Iempsar ictam
 peste aegra domi occulere
 membra et taeniolis caput obnu-
 bere flavum, eamque
 diem abisse tertiam
 muneribus Cereris
 ambrosium os suum
 ex quo abstinet, cor tacito dolore
 ulro exedens poeneque terminum Orci
 saucia ante tempus appellans

tabido
 reginam decumbere morbo
 seque domi continuere
 ac linteis tenuibus
 caput oblevare.
 Tertium autem iam diem esse
 audio, ex quo ambrosio
 ore non libaverit cibum,
 sed abstinerit a Cereris donis.
 Ad haec occulto extabescentem morbo
 properare ad funestae mortis metam.

The equation of Hippolytus and Joseph as chaste boys being seduced, was already established in the preface to Stiblina's translation of *Hippolytus*: 'Hippolytus innocentiae et castitatis praebet exemplum, quae aliquoties malorum hominum libidine in discrimen vocantur, ita tamen, ut fatigentur, non exstinguantur. Sic Josephus castus in Aegypto impudicae mulieris calumnia valde quidem periclitatus est, sed tandem post afflictiones et carceres eo clarior emicuit.' ('Hippolytus gives an example of innocence and chastity that regularly are brought into danger by the lust of wicked people, but to such an extent that they are fatigued, but never fully destroyed. In the same way chaste Joseph in Egypt is endangered by the calumny of an unchaste woman, but finally, after afflictions and imprisonment, he shone the more brightly'). Such an identification clearly fits

³² These two choral odes are identical in length, content and mythological allusions, Simonides only adding the name of Potiphar's wife Jempsar and a *Faetifer*, see also Głębicka, *Szymon Szymonowicz*, pp.32–33. The similarities between the two stories had already been noted. From the 'Praefatio et argumentum Gaspari Stiblini in Hippolytum', Euripides, *Hippolytus*, transl. Stiblinus, p. 203: 'Hippolytus innocentiae et castitatis insigne praebet exemplum, quae aliquoties malorum hominum libidine in discrimen vocantur, ita tamen, ut fatigentur, non exstinguantur. Sic castus Joseph in Aegypto impudicae mulieris calumnia valde quidem periclitatus est, sed tandem post afflictiones et carceres eo clarior emicuit.' In a copy in the University Library of ... it is written in a 16th-century hand: 'In hac persona (Hipp.) proponitur alius Josephus, pius ac probus, in Phaedra alia femina impuda, quae nil nisi voluptates magni facit.' (Quoted after Kallenbach, *Dramat 'Custus Ioseph'*, p. 3).

in the exegetical tradition of the story of Ioseph, as can be substantiated by a quotation from St. Ambrose, *Ioseph*: ‘Sic igitur nobis propositus est sanctus Ioseph tamquam speculum castitatis’ (‘Thus, saint Joseph is proposed to us as a mirror of chastity’).³³ But Christian tradition was progressive, and in addition a typological explanation was given by, for instance, St. Isidore, *Allegoriae*: ‘Ioseph [...], qui venditus est a fratribus et in Aegypto sublimatus, Redemptorem nostrum significat a populo Iudaeorum in manus persequentium traditum et nunc in gentibus exaltatum’ (‘Joseph, sold by his brothers and exalted in Egypt, signifies our Saviour, delivered in the hands of the prosecutors by the Jewish people, and now exalted among the gentiles’).³⁴

Głębicka points at another possible interpretation. A clue in this direction is the fact that the play is dedicated to a representative of the Polish Counter-Reformation, Stanisław Sokółowski, canon of Cracow, who had been Simonides’ teacher. The nucleus in this interpretation is that Jempsar looks at Joseph – a prefiguration of Christ – as a beautiful man, not seeing his divine nature. She may well represent Arian heretics and other antitrinitarians, who denied Christ’s divinity and only looked at him as a special human being.³⁵

A Polish translation of the play by Stanisław Gosławski (d. 1635) was published in Kraków in 1597.³⁶ *Castus Ioseph*

Pentesilea deals with the story of the Amazon bearing that name, loosely based on the *Posthomerica* by Quintus Smyrnaeus (4th c. AD), Servius’s Commentary on Virgil’s *Aeneid* 1, 481 and Dictys Cretensis’s *Ephemeris Belli Troiani*.³⁷ Penthesilea killed an ally Amazon queen. To be purified of her crime, she went to Priam. In return for Priam’s help, Penthesilea, with her Amazons, entered the Trojan War on the side of the Trojans, in the final year, after the death of Hector. She was slain by Achilles. There are many dramatis personae in the tragedy: Penthesilea, Amazones, Chorus ex virginibus Troianis, Taltybius, Priamus, Andromacha, Astianax, Nutrix, Aethra, Nuntius, Aeneas, Deidamia, Coetus feminarum, Theano, Tres milites saucii, and Nuntius alter. Just like *Castus Ioseph*, the play has the structure of a classical tragedy, including a *parodos*, *episodia*, *stasima* and an *exodos*. *Pentesilea* was translated into Polish by Ksawier Żubowski (Warsaw 1778).

The other famous Polish author, who also was a lexicographer, is Father Gregorius Cnapius S.J. or Grzegorz Knap (1564–1639), of whom three plays are extant, *Tragoedia Faelicitas* (1596), *Philopater seu Pietas* (1596) and *Eutropius* (1604).³⁸ The latter play, of which the full title runs: *Eutropius tragoedia de immunitate ecclesiarum (Eutropius, a tragedy on the immunity of the Church)* is about the Byzantine saint Procopius (d. 410), who assisted St. John Chrysostomus in his imprisonment and was falsely accused of attempting to set the cathedral of Constantinople. The actual hero of the play is John Chrysostomus, who defended the right of asylum of the Church. The play was intended for a single performance in 1604 and the audience of Cardinal Bernardus

³³ Ambrosius, *Ioseph*, PL14, col. 642A.

³⁴ Isidorus, *Allegoriae*, PL 83, col. 107A.

³⁵ Głębicka, *Szymon Szymonowic*, pp. 39–40; a year before the publication of *Castus Ioseph*, Sokółowski published a collection of sermons *Iustus Ioseph sive in Iesu Christi Domini nostri mortem et passionem* (Cracow 1586). While Sokółowski focussed on Joseph’s righteousness (*iustitia*), his pupil Szymonowic stresses his chastity (*castitas*).

³⁶ Gosławski, *Castus Ioseph* (1597).

³⁷ See also IJsewijn, *Companion*, 1, p. 243; Głębicka, *Szymon Szymonowic*, pp. 142–56; a transcription of the play was made by Jan-Wilhelm Beck (Regensburg) in 2006, that was kindly handed over to me by Wojciech Ryzek.

³⁸ Modern edition by Winniczuk. The plays are analysed by Stender-Petersen, *Tragoediae Sacrae*, pp. 58–80, 34–57 and 81–95 respectively.

Maciejowski (1548–1608), to whom the play was dedicated.³⁹ The sources of the play were the fifth-century Byzantine historian Zosimus and the *Historiae ecclesiasticae* of the Italian church historian Caesar Baronius (Cesare Baronio, 1538–1607).

Philopater seu pietas (*Philopater, or Piety*) is a tragedy about a dead king, Timolaus ('Feared by his people'), and his two sons, Telegonus ('Born from afar') and Philopater ('Loving his father'). As the 'Argumentum' indicates:

Nec uter eorum dignior regno foret
 Aperuit, at se his iussit obici mortuum,
 Ut tela qui sors mittere in corpus patris
 Abnueret, ille regium caperet thronum
 Qui vero promptus ferro patrem figeret,
 Expelleretur impius regno procul.

(He did not indicate which one would be more worthy of the dominion, but he ordered that after his death he would be brought to them and that the one who would refuse to throw missiles at his corpse, would receive the throne. The one who would be eager to stick a sword in his father, that is the impious one, would be expelled from the kingdom; ll. 3–8)

The elder one does not hesitate to throw a spear into his father's corpse, and is expelled, whereas the younger is given the power because he refuses to do so.

Ista pietatem ceu videtis actio
 Exhibet: adeste, nati, adeste ac discite,
 Quonam parentes debeant coli modo.

(That action shows, as you see, piety.
 Watch, children, watch and learn
 how parents must be honored; ll. 15–17).

One of the plays best known now is the anonymous *Dramma comicum Odostratocles* (after 1597).⁴⁰ This happy-ending Senecan play on the salvation of a sinful soul by the intercession of the Holy Virgin is structured in five acts, which are divided by lyric odes in the vernacular, with a prologue and a summary of each act, also in Polish. The bandit Odostratocles (from the Greek ὀδός, στρατός and ἀληής: 'He who is famous for his warlike road') never ceases to pray his daily *Ave Maria* enjoys her protection against Satan and his machinations. The cult of Mary is a very important theme, witness, for instance, these words of a priest to the protagonist:

Quis hanc patronam, pressus quibusvis malis,
 Supplex expetiit nec propitiam expertus est?

³⁹ 'Ad Illustrissimum et Reverendissimum D. Bernardum Maciejovium Dramatis Spectatorem', Cnapius, *Tragoediae*, ed. Winniczuk, p. 169.

⁴⁰ See Winniczuk, 'Dramma comicum Odostratocles' and Stender-Petersen, *Tragoediae Sacrae*, pp. 149–74.

Quis in ruinis, maximis in casibus
Huius non auxiliatricem sensit manum?
Quis huius fisis ope spe decidit sua?

(Who has ever, by whatsoever sorrows oppressed,
Implored the help of this patroness without experiencing her mercy?
Who has ever, when he was in ruins, in utter distress,
Not experienced her hand to be helpful?
Who is ever deceived in his hope when he trusted in her help?)

The drama in the end even abandons dramatic illusion and shades in a praise of Mary, of which the first stanza runs:

O Virgo, caelorum decus!
O Virgo supra caelites!
O Mater et Virgo simul!
O Virgo, regina omnium!
Virgo pudoris lilium!
Caelestis illa planneta,
Sabaea vincens germina!

(O Virgin, glory of heaven!
O Virgin, above the angels!
O Mother and Virgin alike!
O Virgin, queen of all men!
Virgin, lily of modesty!
You, star in heaven
Who surpass Arab herbs!)

A similar story is told in *Antithemius* (written between 1618 and 1624), a Jesuit play in which Angels and Devils are struggling for the sinner's soul.⁴¹ The play is attributed to Mateusz Bembus (1567–1645), rector of the Jesuit College of Poznań. The moral play consists of a series of tableaux of the life of that age and time, divided into five acts. In it Antithemius ('Mr. Anti-Justice'), a magnate who abandons himself to whatever he likes, is returning from a distant journey. The man turns out to be condemned by God and only a few hours remain for repentance. In this play the everyman theme confronts the spectator or reader with the big issues of moral and theodicy. A dramatic effect is caused by the last scene in which the soul of the protagonist – his body had been torn to pieces – loudly cries farewell to his pleasant life:

Vae vae mihi! Vae perditae! Vae vae mihi!
Valete cuncta delicata gaudia!
Ioci valete, lusibus dati dies!

⁴¹ Modern edition by Dürr-Durski and Winiczuk. See also Backvis, 'L' "Antithemius" et le motif "social"; Stender-Petersen, *Tragoediae Sacrae*, pp. 175–204.

Valete, amici, filiorum amabilis
 Cohors, non videnda iam amplius! [...]
 Valeto, munde! Corpus improbum, vale!
 Tellus, valeto! Caelitum sedes, vale!
 Me saeva sontem Taenari faux abripit,
 Ponit caminis Tartari! Heu, aeternitas,
 Aeternitas, aeternitas, aeternitas!

(Woe on me, wrecked soul, woe on me!
 Farewell, all refined joys!
 Farewell, jokes, days spent to games!
 Farewell, friends, nice band of
 Sons, whom I will not see anymore! [...]
 Farewell, world, farewell, damned corpse!
 Farewell, earth! Heaven, farewell!
 The cruel mouth of hell takes me away
 And puts me in the furnaces of Tartarus. Woe, eternity,
 Eternity, eternity, eternity!)

One of the choruses of the play – the *Chorus rusticorum*, an interlude in Polish after the third act – has had its own history. This bitter satire on the exploitation of peasants by the lord was detached from the whole and already in the seventeenth century published separately under the title *Lament chłopski na pany*.⁴²

The history play was a genre the Jesuits employed with some enthusiasm too, inspired especially by the *Annales Ecclesiastici* (published between 1588 and 1607 as a rebuttal of the Reformation) by Cardinal Caesar Baronius (1538–1607). History provided material for tragedies, i.e. ‘representations in drama of the acts of illustrious persons by means of a miserable and terrible ending that moderate feelings of compassion and fear.’⁴³

The Poznań anonymous play *Mauritius* (written between c. 1604 and c. 1611) represents the story of the unhappy Eastern Roman Emperor of that name who was murdered in Chalcedon by Emperor Phocas.⁴⁴ Mauritius had refused to ransom Christian soldiers who had been captured by the King of the Huns Chaianus. Thus he was the cause of the massacre of the hostages who impeached Mauritius’s soul before God’s throne. He dies repenting and enters heaven, saved by his remorse. According to Baronius and the anonymous author of *Mauritius*, the Emperor who had been an ‘example of a good Christian’ nevertheless ‘deserved to experience God’s wrath’.⁴⁵ In *Mauritius*, as in Cnapius’s *Entropius*, the Jesuit author tried to generate tragic tension by a sudden change of fortune of the central figure that caused him to be cut into two

⁴² See also Dąbrówka, ‘Anything But a Game: Corpus Christi in Poland’, p. 263.

⁴³ Alessandro Donati, *Ars poetica libri tres* (Bologna, 1659), p. 211: ‘imitationes dramaticae actionum illustrium personarum, per miserabiles et terribiles exitus temperantes affectus misericordiae ac timoris.’

⁴⁴ See Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 8 on the years 592–604, *passim*, esp. col. 50, 144, 153, 178–80 of the ed. Cologne, 1685. A modern edition of the play in *Tragoediae Mauritius-Belisarius*, ed. Piszczek; cf. Piszczek, ‘Die Geschichte vom Kaiser Mauritius auf der Bühne der Kollegien Societatis Iesu in Polen’ and Stender-Petersen, *Tragoediae Sacrae*, pp. 98–111.

⁴⁵ ‘[...] specimen probatissimi Christiani’ and ‘Dei vindictam meruit experiri.’

complementary parts. The Emperor is both a ruthless tyrant and (after a crisis) a God-given, repentant hero; the main theme of the play is his conversion from sinner to repentant, from guilt to atonement.

Boleslaus furens of the otherwise unknown Joannes Joncre⁴⁶ is a very lengthy Senecan drama of 3114 lines with 35 characters. The play, of which only a manuscript version is extant, must have been written between 1571 and 1588, because it is dedicated to two sons of Duke Basilius, one of whom was born in 1571 and the other died in 1588. The tragedy's subject is the Polish King Boleslaw the Bold martyring St. Stanislaw Szczepanowsky (1030–1079), bishop of Kraków. The bishop criticized the king for his immoral behavior and excommunicated him. Boleslaw accused Stanislaus of treason and sent his men to execute him, but they did not dare to. Therefore, the king himself killed the bishop when he was celebrating Mass. Joncre's source must have been Jan Długosz's *Vita Sanctissimi Stanislai* (1460–1465). The Prologue tells the story, but in the last lines he adds a kind of interpretation:

Huic saevi nocent
Inquieti amores: ecce quam tristis venit
Incensa flammis pectora atque aestu tenens.

(His cruel, restless loves
do harm the king. See how sad he shows up
with his heart incensed with fire and fervor; ll. 35–37)

Not only Polish authors were active in Poland and abroad, others came to Poland. Especially in the first half of the sixteenth century Dutch dissidents came in, among whom the schoolmaster and playwright Gulielmus Gnapheus. After his exile from Holland he worked in Elbing and Königsbergen where he wrote his plays *Morosophus* (*The Foolish Wise*, 1541), *Hypocrisis* (*Hypocrisy*, 1544) and *Eloquentiae Triumphus* (*Triumph of Eloquence*, 1545).⁴⁷ This, too, attests to the international scope of humanistic drama.

Concluding Remarks

These observations on early modern Latin plays and theatre productions in Eastern European countries all the more illustrate the diverse ways of Neo-Latin drama and the multifarious themes that were used in drama: historical, hagiographical, biblical, moral and allegorical. It also illustrates the variety in development of several countries in Central and Eastern Europe. One thing, however they have in common: Latin drama was an international and pan-European genre that along with students and other humanists crossed borders, also from Western to Central and Eastern Europe and vice versa. Another central point is the active role of the Jesuits in writing, performing and spreading Neo-Latin dramas.

⁴⁶ Jerzy Axer, the editor of *Boleslaus*, on the basis of some allusions to Spanish rivers suggests that Joncre is a Spaniard (Joncre, *Boleslaus*, ed. Axer, pp. 10–11).

⁴⁷ See the contribution on the Low Countries, pp. #. On Gnapheus in Poland, see Demoed, *Wie van gevaar houdt, moet dat met de dood bekopen*, Ch. 2, and Borowski, *Iter Polono-Belgo-Ollandicum*, pp. 156–57.

APPENDIX
MAIN AUTHORS

Johannes CAMPANUS VODNIANUS or Jan Campanus Vodňanský (from Vodnaňy in South-Bohemia, 1572–1622) was a professor of Greek at the university of Prague who wrote works in Latin, Greek, Czech and German. He was also a composer, pedagogue and dramatist. In the year of his death he converted from a Hussite to a Roman Catholic. He wrote a comedy *Břetislav and Jitka* (*Bretislaus and Judith*) that was censured.

Works

Bretislaus, Comoedia nova (1614), ed. Král, 1915.

Studies

Odložilik, *Mistr Jan Campanus*; Winter, *Magister Campanus*; Diabač, *Biographie des [...] Campanus*; Campanus, *Bretislaus*, ed. Král; Krömer, *Die Magister de philosophischen Fakultät der Universität zu Prag*, pp. 127 sqq..

Gregorius CNAPIUS S.J. or Grzegorz Knap/Knapski (1564–1639) was a Polish Jesuit teacher, lexicographer and playwright. Father Cnapius took his monastic vows in 1585. He studied philosophy in Poznan and Pultusk, and theology in Vilnius from 1594 tot 1598. Then he was a prefect of the school in Poznan, and he was ordained a priest.

Works

Tragoedia Faelicitas (1596), *Philopater seu Pietas* (1596) and *Eutropius tragoedia de immunitate ecclesiarum* (*Eutropius, a tragedy on the immunity of the Church*, 1604), ed. Winniczuk, 1965.

Studies

Stender-Petersen, *Tragoediae Sacrae*, pp. 58–80, 34–57 and 81–95; Ulinaitė, Eugeniija: *Baroque Literature in Lithuania*. Vilnius 1996.

Janus Amos COMENIUS or Jan Amos Komenský (1592–1670) was an important Czech playwright, theologian, philosopher, reformer, pedagogue and prolific writer. After his studies of theology and philosophy in Herborn (1611) and Heidelberg (1613) he became a rector in Přerov (1614) and a teacher in Silesia (1618). After the Battle of White Mountain (1620) he, a Protestant, was forced to flee and he went to Leszno. After many travels, he became a Bishop of the Moravian Brethren's Church in Elbing. From 1650 to 1654 he was a Professor in Sárospatak, at the first Hungarian Protestant College.

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Diogenes Cynicus redivivus (*Diogenes Cynicus Alive Again*, 1640), ed. Nováková, 1973, pp. 437–500 transl. Mittelstadt 1970; *Abrahamus patriarcha* (*Abraham, the Patriarch*, 1641), ed. Nováková, 1973, pp. 501–39; *Schola ludus* (*School as a Game*, 1654), transl. *Schola Ludus d.i. Die Schule als Spiel*, 1907.

Studies

Komor, “The Problems of Technological Culture in “Schola Ludus””; Druschky, *Würdigung der Schrift des Comenius Schola ludus*; Kozik, *Sorrowful and Heroic Life of John Amos Comenius*.

Simon SIMONIDES or Szymon Szymonowic (1558–1629) was a Polish poet and playwright in the vernacular and in Latin. After his studies in the liberal arts, he continued his studies in France and the Low Countries. In 1583 he returned to Poland to become a teacher in Lviv. In 1590 he received a knighthood. He also directed the Zamość

Works

Castus Ioseph (1587), ed. Chrzanowski, transl. Goslawski; *Penthesilea* (1618), transl. Żubowski.

Studies

Chrzanowski, *Tragedya S. Szymonowicza Castus Joseph*; Głębiccka, *Szymon Szymonowic*, pp. 30–44; Kallenbach (*Dramat ‘Castus Joseph’*).

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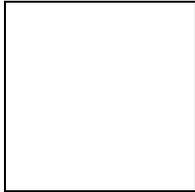
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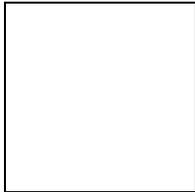
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Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 13-15th century.

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