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The Oeuvre of Jan Alan Bardziński – a Dominican, Preacher and Translator

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Abstract: The article is devoted to little known and rarely appreciated late-Baroque Dominican Jan Alan Bardziński who was a keen preacher and translator of both secular and religious texts. Bardziński's literary activity is strongly connected to his duties performed in the order as one of the main values he searches for in his texts is of a didactic nature. Simultaneously, he may certainly be perceived as an adapter of some ancient works which puts him among other 17th and 18th-century followers of the culture of Classicism. In the article we briefly discuss his works and provide the readers with their distinctive features. Moreover, we shall take into consideration Bardziński's notes which allow us to define his goals and priorities and underline the moral values included in his works.

Keywords: Jan Alan Bardziński, the Dominican Order, translations, Lucan, Seneca, Lucian of Samosata, Boethius, St. Thomas Aquinas

The roles of those who write and translate literature interpenetrate and overlap with each other, thus it is difficult to fully and satisfactorily separate them. Not without reason, to render a text, especially to recompose a piece of poetry of the highest quality, we need those who have already proved their skills in the same field. Therefore, translations of such maestros as Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński, Czesław Miłosz, Jerzy Ficowski or Stanisław Barańczak are rightly included in their artistic oeuvre and they can equal their original texts. Various aspects of translations which without considerable reservations may be related to contemporary times also have to be valid with reference to past epochs. We need to remember that past epochs were familiar with a wide spectrum of relations that might have occurred between a foreign language version and a translated text based on it. Such a state of affairs results from the reasons that have already been recognised by the arts; and so, according to normative poetics it is vital to draw from the output of our predecessors and remember that in the past the understanding of originality was different from the contemporary notion.

Interestingly, almost all artistic works of the Renaissance owe their shape to classical models. The vast majority of Mikołaj Rej's or Jan

Kochanowski's output – to list only the most important representatives of the epoch – derived from foreign patterns. As far as the writers output is concerned, one may also find quite a number of translations and adaptations, but even then subjects are often based on wording, thoughts or images taken from the past, even though we are talking about experienced writers. New relations of this type are constantly discovered during comparative research. Naturally, there are differences between Kochanowski – the translator of the third book of *The Iliad* and *The Phenomena* by Aratus and Kochanowski – the author of *Satyr* or *The Laments*. However, regardless of the scope of the independence Kochanowski gave himself, he was still the artist empowered to reveal his poetic imagination in his every single action or choice. Kochanowski adopted two roles which were compatible. We may also say that not only did they coexist and complement with each other but they also supported each other. Thus, on the one hand, Kochanowski was an autonomous artist who would take his place in the pantheon of Polish literature. On the other hand, he was a humble adapter¹ of classical works. Like no other work, the process of translation allows familiarisation with the source text; here, the poet provides the translator with such qualities as the sensitivity to semantic nuancing of the language or phonic properties of words that are essential to render a given text.

The same observations may be made with reference to two types of authors. For the first type, the process of translation constitutes an important but occasional effort made in the process of their work. The other type of authors – and in the Old Polish there were plenty of them – are famous only for translations they made. Thus, it is worth analysing the translations into Polish made by Biernat of Lublin, Piotr Kochanowski or Krzysztof Piekarski who revealed their own individualised artistic skills. Their output needs to be studied and the results should be made available in monographs which are the fundamental mode of academic discourse.

Nevertheless, there are too few monographs devoted to Polish translations of works of bygone epochs. If the translation from the Old Polish language draws the attention of a contemporary researcher-comparatist, it is mainly to achieve other goals.² Considering at least a few authors, one

¹ It is crucial that Kochanowski fully expresses his own aspirations to achieve lasting poetic fame using Horace's output, in particular by paraphrasing his *carmen II 20*.

² The review of selected works from this scope makes readers realise that these works are usually part of the studies on the reception of the selected foreign language authors. See: J. Lewański, *Polskie przekłady Jana Baptisty Marina*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1974; M. Wichowa, *Staropolskie przekłady „Metamorfoz” Owidiusza*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2008; A. Nowicka-Jeżowa, *Jan Andrzej Morsztyn i Giambattista Marino. Dialog poetów europejskiego baroku*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Wydziału Polonistyki UW, 2000; J. Miszańska, “Kolloander wierny” i “Piękna Diane’a.” *Polskie przekłady włoskich romansów barokowych w XVII wieku i w epoce saskiej na tle ówczesnych teorii romansu i przekładu*, Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas, 2003; R. Rusnak, *Seneca noster*, part 1: *Studium o dawnych*

should replace the adapter of methodology who is marginalised with the conception of the adapter as somebody who is at the centre of the literary research. It is rather a rare approach, because the main character of such studies turns out to be ephemeral and his presence in the process of translation is weakened in comparison to the source text he is translating. Hence, the need for the laborious reconstruction based on the signals meticulously identified by means of which the artistic “I” reveals itself in the process of translation. It is worth adding that decisions concerning the choice of the translated text, which is a fully independent declaration itself, should be the crucial element of the efforts in order to render the text as faithfully as possible. If one aims to translate the text successfully, the following elements must be taken into account: remarks on the form of expression chosen by the translator, transformations introduced by him to the source text and finally, the attempt to integrate the translation with the rest of the author’s output as well as with the context deliberately planned by the translator in the process of his translation. For some reasons, Jan Alan Bardziński, a Dominican living at the turn of the 17th century seems to be an interesting subject of research. Contrary to a number of Old Polish translators, Bardziński left a significant three-decade translation oeuvre. Therefore, it is possible to present it diachronically. Such an approach would allow not only the evolution of his writing skills to be outlined throughout all his writing career but also his attitudes towards his work. In prefaces and dedications Bardziński would provide many pieces of information about himself which forced us to carry out literary research. His own works, deliberately ignored since written Latin, will also be a crucial element to be analysed in the monograph devoted to his life. Such a study has never been written, which may be accounted for the fact that there were divergent opinions widespread in literature on the merit of his poetic effort. It was thought that his linguistic ineptitude in translations resulted from the fact that Bardziński’s intention was to be as faithful as possible.³ Perhaps there was general and continued reluctance to more in-depth studies on the late Baroque. There is no intention to fill in this gap and the aim of the following study is to discuss a number of issues which could mark the beginning of a more in-depth analysis.

Not only should Bardziński be regarded as the indefatigable adapter of translations of ancient literature into Polish, but also one cannot separate

przekładach tragedii Seneki Młodszego, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Wydziału Polonistyki UW, 2009. A similar perspective is presented in some works concerning the adaptations of the Bible: M. Krzysztofik, *Od Biblii do literatury. Siedemnastowieczne dzieła literackie z ksiąg Starego Testamentu*, Kraków: Collegium Columbinum, 2003.

³ K. Wójcicki, *Historia literatury polskiej w zarysach*, Vol. 3, Warszawa: nakładem G. Sennewalda, 1860, p. 227; K. Brodziński, *Pisma*, Vol. 4, Poznań: skład główny w Księgarni Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1872, p. 250; T. Eustachiewicz, “Dzieje sentencyj Seneki w poroesansowej literaturze Polskiej,” *Pamiętnik Literacki 1925/1926*, issue 22/23, p. 381. On the review of Bardziński’s output see: R. Rusnak, op. cit., pp. 63–65.

his works (and in Old Polish one can hardly find anything similar to them) from his occupation, that is duties that he performed as a monk. Given his brilliant career and the multitude of tasks assigned to him, we need to acknowledge that his translations, although playing in his life a significant role, were merely a fraction of his pastoral, administrative and scientific activities. Bardziński's writing strongly correlates with the manner of performing liturgical services in a Dominican monastery. As a preacher he often travelled to various parts of the Republic of Poland.⁴ He fully devoted himself to all these activities, which brought him considerable fame. Even if his translation attempts cannot be entirely included in the didactic plan, undoubtedly his literary choices were dictated – apart from genuine interest in the ancient output – by particular reading sensitivity to the moral values included in this plan. Bardziński's edition of the Polish version of *De consolazione philosophiae* by Boethius should be regarded as key evidence of the close relations between his monastic and translation activities. Furthermore, Bardziński was also a popular lecturer of philosophy and theology. *The Consolation of Philosophy*, which was the first Polish rendition of the dialogue fundamental for Christian neostoicism, was as important as another of Bardziński's text – *Breve compendium Summae Angelicae* (Warsaw 1705), namely a version of Thomas Aquinas's *The Summa Theologica* written in verse. Needless to say that Thomas Aquinas was not only a prominent Catholic philosopher, but also one of the most outstanding representatives of *ordinis praedicatorum*.

Furthermore, Bardziński owes his particular type of sensitivity to literature and his erudition resulting from his reading of ancient texts to the fact that he became a monk at the age of seventeen. It is worth noting that despite the particular intellectual properties of Dominicans (they were famous for their engagement in doctrinal polemics with Cathars) and a considerable impact that they exerted on the shape of the church educational system in Western Europe and Polish lands,⁵ the times Bardziński lived in might be characterised by noticeable symptoms of crisis experienced by the order. Interestingly, the order did not decline in numbers; quite the contrary, in the 17th century the number of Dominican monasteries in Poland quadrupled (from circa 38 in 1600 to 157 in 1700; in the 18th century this tendency decidedly curbed),⁶ the monastery itself gained two new provinces: Rus (1612) and Observant (1671). The main problem of the monastery was that

⁴ See: P. Chmielowski, "Bardziński Jan Alan," in: *Wielka encyklopedia powszechna ilustrowana*, Vol. 6, Warszawa: S. Sikorski publishing, 1892, p. 964. We may read that: "Following Braun, who knew him personally, he [Bardziński] did not like to stay in one place; spending his life travelling he knew all parts of the country as if he was a living topography of Poland."

⁵ J.B. Korolec, "Studia nad szkolnictwem dominikańskim w Polsce," in: *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce 1222–1972*, edited by J. Kłoczowski, Vol. 1, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów, 1975, p. 517.

⁶ J. Kłoczowski, "Rozwój dominikanów w państwie polsko-litewskim w XVII-XVIII wieku", *Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL* 1970, No. 19, p. 70.

it gradually lost its importance and became intellectually meaningless. Moreover, paradoxically, the high number of monasteries had a negative influence on their prestige. The Dominicans gradually started to be replaced with the Jesuits, the Piarists and the Lazarists in terms of having the intellectual potential, being able to react to demands made by their times and becoming part of the cultural reality of the times they lived in.

Researchers exploring this matter, with the help of valued Kitowicz, note that the congregation began to be of a plebeian nature and it attracted individuals on the basis of the negative selection. New members were less skilled as far as *stricte* scientific research was concerned, however, they were fervent religious believers who were conservatives and traditionalists of typical folk religiosity. Kitowicz leaves no doubt as to the reasons why young people were attracted by the Dominican Order: “a Dominican’s habit is not as unpleasant as the Reformati or Observantine; and the elderly in this order, having undergone stages of various church functions and types of work, could cherish a more comfortable life when retired than in other orders.”⁷ In turn, Kłoczowski says “[the Dominican order] is a comfortable place”⁸ which “for the one-sidedness of its mass involvement was supposed to slowly pay a high price reaching the order’s foundations.”⁹ Moreover, losing its former “dynamism of growth [the Dominican Order] maintained its position and identified its fate with the Republic of Poland of nobles.”¹⁰

Bardziński would be one of the last men of exceptional calibre in the history of the Dominican Order in pre-partition Poland, his artistic activity expressing the culture of literature, which in subsequent years was rare, in a sense, marked the intellectually successful epoch in the history of the order.¹¹ Undoubtedly, Bardziński draws his knowledge from the centuries-old output of his Brothers both as far as the high-level of educational system offering its learners thorough studies on theology and philosophy¹² is concerned, and monastery libraries filled with books. Apart from strictly pious books, there were also a number of works of ancient authors.¹³ It was

⁷ J. Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, edited by R. Pollak, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1970, p. 132. All the quotations from the Polish sources have been translated by Agnieszka Grząśko.

⁸ J. Kłoczowski, op. cit., p. 76.

⁹ J. Kłoczowski, “Zakon Braci Kaznodziejów w Polsce 1222–1972. Zarys dziejów,” in: *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce*, p. 101.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

¹¹ As far as the notable persons of the 17th century connected with the Dominican Order are concerned, we may enumerate the preachers Fabian Birkowski and Jacek Mijakowski, historiographers Abraham Bzowski and Szymon Okolski, the authors of theological works, namely Justyn Zapartowicz and Mikołaj from Mościska or a memoirist Marcin Grüneweg.

¹² J.A. Spież, “Dominikanie w Polsce,” in: *Dominikanie. Szkice z dziejów zakonu*, edited by M.A. Babraj, Poznań: “W drodze”, 1986, pp. 292–293.

¹³ For more information, see: K. Zawadzka, “Ze źródeł i stanu badań dotyczących dawnych klasztornych bibliotek dominikanów w polskich prowincjach,” *Nasza Przeszłość* 1973, No. 39, pp. 213–228.

in these books that Bardziński sought publications which might have been useful in his translations. In fact, Bardziński could easily find original Latin versions of two out of four texts translated by himself in the library of St. Hyacinth's Church.¹⁴

One must connect Bardziński's earliest literary attempts with his novitiate or his studies taken up shortly afterwards in the Cracow Academy, given he had published two texts before he graduated from the Academy in 1682. Both texts reflected his preferences revealed in the subsequent years.¹⁵ The first text may be perceived as a joke written in a fit of enthusiasm or as a successfully finished philological exercise. A humorous subject and a simple form of juvenilia comes as a surprise, especially in comparison to Bardziński's subsequent works which seem to differ in terms of style. It was the satirical dialogue *La Podagra* by Lucian of Samosata that made Bardziński a translator. We may hazard a guess that in spite of the fact that Bardziński was not familiar with Greek to a satisfactory extent, he prepared his translation,¹⁶ as he himself loyally informed the readers in the subtitle of the book. His version was based on the Latin version written by Erasmus Schmidt (1570-1637) who was a Wittenberg scholar, biblical scholar and mathematician famous for his translations of Hesiod and Pindar as well as compendia devoted to Greek Studies and commentaries to the New Testament. Working with Schmidt's text Bardziński found both the basis for his translation and the pattern on which the ancient rendition should be based.

In a brilliant way, *La Podagra (Gout)* exposes painful ailments connected with arthritis and how all the remedies failed to cure it. In Lucian's work there were two adversaries in polemics, namely titled Podagra (Gout) and a group of Syrian physicians. Gout whose origin makes it equal with the greatest Olympic gods, and physicians keeping infallible ointment for joint pain. The result of this confrontation turns out to be easy to predict: swaggering physicians were punished with ailments towards which even the well-tried medicaments failed to work and the lesson that a person suffering from *podagra* drew was a piece of advice that all hopes in easing the pain were put in gout. In consequence, a person suffering from *podagra* humbly

¹⁴ There are three copies of Boethius's works in Catalogus Bibliotecae Conventus Varsaviensis ordinis Praedicatorum (a manuscript of the National Library, catalogue number 1178), namely: *Boethius de disciplina scholarum et consolatione Philosophia*, in 4to, Colon 1497; *Boethius Amian Manlius Torquatus Sevennus de consolatione*; *Boethius Anitius Manlius Severinus, Opera*, in 7to, Basilea [1546]. There are also two copies of Seneca the Younger, namely: Seneca, *Tragoedie*, in 12, Colon, Agrip 1615; Seneca, *Operum omnium ...*, in 6to. As far as *Phrasalia* is concerned, there is only an Amsterdam edition from 1714 (Lucanus, *Phrasalia sive de bello civili*, in 12, Amsterdami 1714), however, it was published too late to be taken into account here.

¹⁵ For more biographical information on the Dominican see: F.M. Sobieszcański, "Bardziński," in: *Encyklopedia powszechna*, Vol. 2, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Samuela Orgelbranda, 1860, pp. 891–893; A. Siwek, "Bardziński Jan Alan," in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, Vol. 1, Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1935, p. 303.

¹⁶ Lucian of Samosata, *La Podagra*, translated J.A. Bardziński, [Kraków]: [s.n.], 1680.

acknowledges its superiority perceived here as the omnipotent being. All in all, a human mind seems to be humiliated by a painful disease.

The following six-verse stanza, which – in fact – is included in the title, corresponds with lucidity of the rendered text. In the stanza true features of the translator may be found in the picaresque style:

Weźmi miasto w Podolu z mocy krycińskiego
 Czemery a weźmi dzień, pomni wyjąć z niego
 Czwarty szczebel z sykaniem. Gdy się dorwiesz kija,
 Zrozumiesz, wiersze głowa wymyśliła czyja.
 Skrzydła mom, kiedy chodzę w czarnobiałym stroju.
 Domyśl się, kędy jestem w boju czy w pokoju

Let us take the land in Podolia on the strength of Kryciński
 And let us take a day, let us remember to remove the fourth rung with hissing
 from it.

When you grab a stick you will comprehend who made up these poems.
 I've got wings when I wear a black-and-white dress.
 Try to guess whether I go to battle or I am at peace.¹⁷

In the next year, if one can trust the publishing note, but not earlier than on 4th March 1681 yet another text of Bardziński, namely *Profunda inscrutabilium ab aeterno Dei omnipotentis, circa electos et reprobos decretorum arcana, oppositis adversae sententiae, combinationibus elucidata* left the printing house of his Cracow *Alma Mater*. The text discussing the issues of the theological foundations of Catholicism seems to be fabricated by a promising student – and this is how Bardziński was described there (*studente formali*) – who was just graduating from the Cracow Academy under the supervision of his professor Kazimierz Leżeński of Leżenice (circa 1620 – 1706). The work, dedicated to, among others, Saint Teresa of Ávila, reveals interests that would be developed by Bardziński throughout his clerical career. Moreover, the aphorisms included in the print point to the tendencies characteristic of their author who expressed complex truths by means of gnomes designed to provide instructions in a compact form.

Another decade in Bardziński's life was rather devoted to academic than literary activity; he had worked as the Professor in Warsaw and Lublin before he started to move up the career ladder in the Order. In 1691 he took up the position of a prior at the monastery in Płock, in 1694 in Łęczyca, in 1704 he moved to Elbląg and at the end of his life in 1705, as a Doctor of Theology and a vicar of Masovian province, Bardziński moved to Warsaw.

¹⁷ Quotation from Bardziński (k.IV). The information concerning the year of publication of *The Tragedy (Tragedyja)* in the title page is replaced with the following two-verse stanza:

„Roku Pańskiego
 Tysiąc sześćset ośmdziesiąt co się pisać godzi,
 Gdy śliczny po bliźniętach Febus się przechodzi.”
 [“Anno Domini
 One thousand six hundred eighty I dare to write,
 When lovely Apollo walks over Gemini.”]

A crop of further publications began along with a new stage in Bardziński's career, which did not mean that even throughout the years he worked as a prior he neglected working as a translator, given that a number of his translations were published at the very end of the 17th century.

The first such text, namely *Odrodzona w języku ojczystym "Farsalija" Lukana, to jest Wojna domowa rzymska z argumentami Sewera Sulpicyjusza i suplementami od jednego przetłumaczona Polaka* [The Revival of Lucan's Phrasalia in the Mother Tongue, namely Roman Civil War with Sulpicius Severus's Arguments and the Supplements from a Polish Translator] was published in 1691. The translation of Lucan's *De bello civile* edited with a great concern for philological details (this is the way the author defines his aim in the preface *To the Reader*) was written a year after Wojciech Stanisław Chrościński's translation was published by Jan Jakub Textor.¹⁸ Lucan's *De bello civile* was left unfinished after Book X which breaks off abruptly at the moment the plot evokes very strong emotions. Both Chrościński and Bardziński felt the need to supplement *De bello civile* with an epilogue which would have finished all the threads. Bardziński used Thomas May's translation which continues the narration until the remarkable Ides of March in 44 BC. May's version was published in many modern editions of Lucan's work. In this edition, apart from May's work, there was also Gaius Petronius Arbiter's "*Wojny domowej*" wizerunek and *Przydatek Jana Sulipicjusza do "Farsalijej" Lukana* [The Description of "Civil War" and The Supplement by Sulpicius Severus to Phrasalia by Lucan].

In 1694, when Bardziński moved to Łęczycza, he published *Skuteczny na wszelkie nieszczęśliwe przygody sposób, wszystkim w utrapieniu pozostającym podany, to jest Pocięcha filozofiej* [An Effective Way to Deal With All Misfortunes for All The Worried, namely The Consolation of Philosophy] at the publishing house of Jan Christian Laurer (Toruń 1694). According to Siwek,¹⁹ it is the first Polish version which is a better one than the 18th-century translation of a famous dialogue titled *De consolatione philosophiae* written behind bars by Boethius. The unfairly widespread opinion on the alleged linguistic ineptitude of the Polish language in the struggle with a difficult poetic form (meeting the demands of Lucan's synthesising style was supposed to debunk the absurdities)²⁰ encouraged referring to the former text (*De bello civile*), according to the author. There was a substantial gap which was to remain unfilled sufficiently by Chrościński as far as the accessibility of the classical masterpieces written in Polish were concerned.

¹⁸ See: R. Rusnak, "Późnobarokowe przekłady 'Wojny domowej' Lukana na tle epickiej tradycji epoki," in: *W kręgu Kaliope. Epika w dawnej literaturze polskiej i jej konteksty*, edited by A. Oszczędą and J. Sokolski, Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza ATUT – Wrocławskie Wydawnictwo Oświatowe, 2010, pp. 120–121.

¹⁹ A. Siwek, op. cit.

²⁰ Such an element is often added by the former translators: L. Pszczołowska, J. Puzynina, "Tłumacze Odrodzenia o swoich przekładach," *Poradnik Językowy* 1954, Issue 9, pp. 14–26.

In turn, the reasons why Bardziński decided to translate *De consolatione philosophiae* were of a moral nature. As far as Bardziński's translation of *De bello civile* was concerned, he took the role of Lucan's admirer and a translator who was very committed to his work. As for Bardziński's translation of Boethius's work, he again became the monk engrossed in reading classical texts. Here, he started to take into account spiritual benefits for the reader and not, whether imaginary or not, shortages in the book market. That is why Bardziński in the preface *To a kind Reader* says:

Here you will find a way to overcome the obstacles that may happen to you, you will accept the real way of infallible happiness, you will learn profound theological and philosophical discourses, in which the serious matters concerning Divine Providence, people's destiny to eternal glory, combining Divine's decrees with a human will, judgments, coincidences, punishing the guilty and awarding the good are solved.²¹

Bardziński was inclined to the late ancient dialogue because of its author, who was perceived by Bardziński as a martyr. Nevertheless, it was not the faith in Boethius that decided on his falling into disfavour at the Ostrogoths court. Moreover, Boethius was respected by other Christian philosophers. Boethius was "related" to Pope Gregory I, Thomas Becket, Saint Thomas Aquinas, who "in many places [...] laid the foundations for [Bardziński's] sentences."²² Inspired by Thomas Aquinas, Bardziński unearthed *De consolatione philosophiae* and decided to translate it into Polish in order to familiarise his Brothers and people adrift in their lives with it. This masterpiece esteemed in the Middle Ages even today is supposed to be a barrier against the omnipresent "godlessness and atheism."²³

Bardziński's constant cooperation with Jan Christian Laurer's printing house in Toruń was reflected in the fact that he published there not only *An Effective Way* but also his *Smutne starożytności teatrum, to jest Tragedie Seneki rzymskiego na polski język dla pospolitego przetłumaczone pożytku* [Sad Theatre of Antiquity, that is the Tragedies of Seneca translated into Polish for Common Readers] (Toruń 1696). This edition of Seneca's tragedies is especially important, because, apart from the lost translations of Aleksander Tyszkiewicz Skumin,²⁴ it is the only one that contains Polish renditions of all his plays that survived. There are not only the nine works whose authorship raises no doubt, but also *Octavia*, which was undoubtedly written during the reign of the Flavian dynasty.²⁵ In spite of the fact that

²¹ A.M. Boethius, *Skuteczny na wszelkie nieszczęśliwe przygody sposób, wszystkim w utrapieniu pozostającym podany, to jest pociecha filozofiej*, translated J.A. Bardziński, Toruń: J.Ch. Laurer, 1694.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ The information on the unknown translator in question from the beginning of the 17th century may be found in: F. Siarczyński, *Obraz wieku panowania Zygmunta III, króla polskiego i szwedzkiego*, part 2, Lviv: [s.n.], 1828, p. 278.

²⁵ In Bardziński's version the order is as follows: *The Madness of Hercules, Medea, Hippolytus, The Trojan Women, Agamemnon, Thyestes, Oedipus, Thebais, Hercules on Oeta*,

there were other translators of Seneca's works, namely Łukasz Górnicki or Stanisław Morsztyn, it was Bardziński who made an effort to translate all his tragedies, whereas the above-mentioned writers rendered only selected tragedies, that is *Hippolytus* and *The Trojan Women*. In this respect, we may hazard a guess that it was Bardziński's ambition to popularise Seneca's works that he wanted to fulfil. In fact, he sets this aim in the preface *To the Reader*, where he is in favour of a faithful translation which corresponds to the source text.

Bardziński's purpose is to put Seneca's tragedies in order and – simultaneously – to reveal the real reasons behind the choice of the dramatist. These reasons are closely connected with a unique title of the whole book and whose exegesis is explained in the preface to the translation: "Dear reader, [...] here are Lucius Annaeus Seneca's tragedies in the Polish language, there are tragic ancient stories that may happen to you in the real life, as given that fortune is fickle there is nothing that can be taken for granted."²⁶ Undoubtedly, it is the exemplary nature of the translated stories that Bardziński appreciates most. Dramatic stories from ancient mythology are supposed to teach the readers the universal truth about the instability of life.²⁷ His interpretation is supported by evoking the picture of the political turbulence that was experienced by both the Roman Empire and nearby Moscow. It seems that the motif of power, especially if at risk of the collapse, is the most tempting one for Bardziński. In fact, in Bardziński's opinion, it is also omnipresent in Seneca's tragedies. Hence, there comes a salutary lesson to: "settle down in a safe place having suppressed insatiable desires not striving for fortune that may spoil us."²⁸ This common truth is complemented with a clue which is supposed to make the recipient sensitive to the moral benefits coming from numerous sentences that may be found in the text. These sentences, in turn, are stressed in the print with a special font. According to Bardziński, their meaning comes down to practising virtue understood here in a Christian

Octavia, however – interestingly enough – it does not follow any of two orders proposed in the modern editions of the order corpora, although the titles of given works and the presence of *Octavia* in this set suggest that there are connections between the order and the so-called manuscript A (see: R.H. Philp, "Manuscript Tradition of Seneca's Tragedies," *The Classical Quarterly* 1968, No. 1, pp. 150–179). As he mentions in the preface, Bardziński himself made the changes and he explains his conception in the following way: "I have split them [individual tragedies] up so as their subjects came one after another" (L.A. Seneca, *Smutne starożytności theatrum [The Sad Theatre of Antiquity]*, Toruń: J.Ch. Laurer, 1696, k.7r). Indeed, a more in-depth analysis reveals that the author's intention was to place the tragedies by one according to their subjects – see: R. Rusnak, *Seneca noster...*, p. 63.

²⁶ L.A. Seneca, op. cit., card 6r.

²⁷ The question is whether such an approach, undoubtedly impoverishing in its nature, can be applied to all the works included in the collection. The work is – to some extent – similar to *The Madness of Hercules* or *Oedipus*. However, its dominant features differ significantly from such tragedies as *Hippolytus*, *Thyestes* or *Octavia*.

²⁸ L.A. Seneca, op. cit., card 6v.

way. Moreover, the Dominican wants to perceive Seneca as the teacher of this virtue. This opinion is not only connected with the central position of Seneca among the ancient Stoics, but also the belief in strong connections of the philosopher with Christian beliefs.²⁹

One may find yet another interpretation directed to an individual recipient and his specific needs determined by his personal situation. The collection of tragedies is dedicated to Ludwika Felicjana Czartoryska who suffered after the death of her close relatives: Władysław Łoś, her father and the addressee of the former translation of *Farsalija*, her both husbands Jan Działyński and Antoni Czartoryski, finally Eleonora, her older sister. Seneca's tragedies were supposed to console Ludwika Felicjana, because the characters from them experienced a similar tragic fate as she did. Among such characters one may enumerate Hercules, Jason, Oedipus, Job, legendary Niobe and Saint Felicitas. Bardziński searches for the credible characters in the old myths, the Bible and hagiography. These characters are, on the one hand, the epitome of immense suffering, but – on the other hand – they may bring consolation at difficult times. Including the dedication at the beginning of the book imposes the way in which Seneca's works should be read. Undoubtedly, Bardziński appreciates the psychological aspect stressed in the tragedies.

Despite the fact that *The Sad Theatre of Antiquity* was published two years after Bardziński's translations of Boethius, it must have been finished the moment when *An Effective Way* was being printed. The author informs that there is a possibility to publish the collection of Seneca's tragedies at the end of the Preface. However, Bardziński declares that he will publish the translations of Seneca's tragedies if both former translations are to be accepted favourably. According to Bardziński's priorities, it is more important to make the so far unknown part of the antiquity's legacy accessible to Poles than to publish the dialogue. A similar conclusion may be drawn if we assume that there are no other reasons³⁰ for which the author decides to publish the earlier of them. Bardziński believes that the works written by the Christian should take priority in publication over the pagan philosopher's works. Considering the moral values included in both translations one may easily notice that the text evoking these moral values in a definitely

²⁹ As far as the extensive literature on the subject in question is concerned, let us refer to: G. Scarpat, *Il pensiero religioso di Seneca e l'ambiente ebraico e cristiano*, Brescia: Paideia, 1983, pp. 109–142; G. Braden, *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition. Anger's Privilege*, New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 1985, pp. 63–98. As far as Bardziński's declaration of neostoicism is concerned, see: K. Obremski, “Tyrsis – jakby stoik nowy' i 'pospólity pożytek,” in: *Wątki neostoickie w literaturze polskiego renesansu i baroku. Materiały z sesji „Neostoicyzm w literaturze i kulturze staropolskiej.”* Szczecin, 20th–22nd October 1997, edited by P. Urbański, Szczecin: Uniwersytet Szczeciński, 1999, pp. 218–220.

³⁰ One can hardly believe it was caused by a long-awaited decision concerning the choice of the addressee of the text about which Bardziński informs in the first words directed to Ludwika Czartoryska.

more direct way should be published first then the text in which they are presented in a less obvious way.³¹

The opposition: a Christian vs. a pagan work is presented by the translator in the last part of his preface on the basis of which one may consider not only Bardziński's attitude towards the act of translation itself, but also the original versions chosen by him. The conclusions drawn from the preface may also be referred to the translation of Lucan's works published five years previously. Bardziński feels obliged to explain himself that as a monk he familiarises Polish readers with the texts of pagan authors. In order to justify this practice we need to take into account the moral values included in the pagan authors' texts. One needs to "suck out" the values in question from these texts not like a spider having a liking in poisons, but like a sagacious bee. There is a relation between the artistic work and a common custom of using ancient sentences in homiletics, which suggests a mutual correspondence and the complimentary character of both activities performed by Bardziński. He raises the status of Roman philosophers' texts in the eyes of other Dominicans. Bardziński distinguishes between Christian authors and the pagan ones. The former *ex definitione* abide by Divine law, whereas as far as the latter authors are concerned, one needs to say that while reading their texts we experience not only a spiritual transformation but also their destructive force. One can hardly say whether Bardziński's justifications result from the convention or maybe the increasing level of suspicion in the order itself as far as the non-religious matters are concerned. Either way, moral values and potential benefits that may be derived from reading classical literature are the reasons why Bardziński is interested in it.³² Delving into a safe zone of texts of a *stricte* pious nature from the perspective of similar declarations must be done with caution.

Irrespective of how seriously we should treat Bardziński's stand, the fact remains that after the publication of Seneca's tragedies the Dominican stops translating classical texts and even if he does, they are never shown. Since then he is devoted only to religious texts. In 1705 in the publishing house of Warsaw Piarists College he published *Breve compendium Summae Angelicae continens resolutionem omnium questionum et articulorum*,

³¹ This collection of works is undoubtedly connected with the translation of *Phrasalia* published five years earlier. Bardziński himself points at these connections by making the analogy between Władysław Łoś and Lucan's characters, namely Scipio and Cato. Such an interpretation of the epic poem is, undoubtedly, connected with the process of identification used later with reference to Ludwika Felicjana. Similarly, given genetic relations between both classical philosophers one should treat Bardziński's translations parallelly. Apart from a similar taste in bloody and violent scenes and their republican beliefs, Seneca and Lucan are known to have been related.

³² Such a conception may raise doubts and make the readers see a kind of camouflage in the translator's words, because moral values presented in Seneca's tragedies are unlike the ones in Lucan's *Phrasalia*; and even one can hardly find them in the translation of *La Podagra*.

*quuae in summa Divi Thomae Doctoris Angelici inveniuntur*³³ which is a shortened version of *Summa theologiae* by Thomas Aquinas written in verse. This text should be connected with the didactic work of a newly-graduated Doctor of Theology who wants to make “Divine Thomas” accessible to his students as he believes that it is difficult yet fundamental in religious education. The idea of the edition of such a version may seem to have been strange in Bardziński’s time, although it had its west European precedents indicated in the preface *Ad lectorem benevolum*. It was Dominik Gravina and Franciszek Penon that agreed with Bardziński’s conception.

The last text published by Bardziński just prior to his death caused by the plague spreading in Warsaw (before March 29, 1708) was an extensive work titled *Ordo ac series summorum pontificum romanorum*. It was published in Cracow publishing house of Mikołaj Aleksander Schedel and it is provided with a year 1707 on its title page although the permission of priestly authorities was noted with 1706, and one of the notes by Jan Damascen Lubieniecki came from December 3, 1705, which should be perceived as *terminus ante quem* of the compilation of the whole work. The collection of 246 Latin epigrams devoted to the subsequent popes starting with Saint Peter and finishing with Clement XI edited on the basis of *con-spectus chronologiae* by Guillaume Marcel is a major part of the edition. As far as the majority of popes are concerned, Bardziński provides the reader only with the length of days of their pontificate and discusses their most characteristic features and achievements. Rarely does the description exceed six verses in a stanza. Bardziński is more effusive in the case of more prominent figures, such as Pope Sylvester I, Pope Innocent III, Pope Urban VI, and Pope Clement XI is honoured with over a two-hundred-verse poem. Having analysed the cryptic phrases devoted to the popes, we may observe the changing finesse in their descriptions. Bardziński takes the mottoes from the middle-aged Malachi’s prophecies when describing the images of given popes. Such a motto may be found in the subtitle of a given epigram. And so, Callixtus III is identified as The Pasturing Ox (*Bos Pascens*), Innocent X as The Light of the Cross (*Iucunditas Crucis*), Innocent XI as The Insatiable Beast (*Belva Insatiabilis*).

The whole publication is preceded with the dedication to Andrzej Żydowski and written in verse *Praeludium* portraying the prehistory of the Catholic Church from the Old Testament times of patriarchs and prophets. At the end of the book one may find *Series historica sacrosanti oecumenici ac generalis concili tridentini* in which a course of the meeting of the particular sessions of the Council of Trent is recounted as well as a treatise on

³³ Sobieszcański provides information concerning the second edition of *Breve compendium* which was supposed to be published in 1705 under a slightly changed title. Similarly to Ossoliński, he praises Bardziński’s Latin poetry, see: Sobieszcański, *op. cit.*, pp. 892-893. It is fitting to add that the text itself could have been written two years earlier given that in 1703 it was dedicated to Antoni Kloch.

the beginning of music (*Discursus de ortu musicae*). The intention of the complex nature of the publication is to include within its pages a number of Latin texts written independently of one another. In fact, the one thing all of these texts have in common is the reference to the history of the Catholic Church. Similarly to *Breve compendium*, the text in question could have been composed for students of schools managed by religious orders.

In *Orgelbrand's Universal Encyclopedia* one may find information which allows us to believe that Bardziński also translated the classical works of Juvenal and Claudian (the latter is mentioned in the preface to *The Sad Theatre of Antiquity*, therefore it must have been finished at the end of the 17th century). According to Rycher, the Dominican was going to publish them, however, his premature death prevented him from doing so; and his manuscripts disappeared in the field hospital of the Dominican monastery occupied by the French army in Warsaw in 1807.³⁴ Having so scarce and difficult data to verify, we can only rely on the mere speculations as to which texts of both classical authors could have drawn Bardziński's attention.

Decimus Junius Juvenalis was famous for his scathing satires. It hardly corresponds to Bardziński's literary achievements since, maybe with the exception of bitter reproach uttered by the main character of Boethius's dialogue directed against the Roman elite of their times, the Dominican is not a virulent critic of morals unless we admit that the general negative attitude to the reality motivates the translator to reach *Phrasalia* and Seneca's tragedies. We may hazard a guess that Bardziński perceives Juvenalis to be an ancient preacher and he treats the works on translating his output into Polish as something that complements his own achievements in this field. After all, many of the human vices pointed out by Juvenalis are still present in modern times.

Bardziński takes interest in Claudian probably more as a writer of narrative literature than a panegyrist of Stilicho and Honorius. We may only guess which work could have been translated by Bardziński, assuming that he limited himself to one only. And so, as far as Claudian's poems are concerned, namely *Gigantomachy*, *The Rape of Proserpina (The raptu Proserpinae)*, *On the Gildonic revolt (De Bello Gildonico)*, *On the Pollentyan Revolt (De bello Pollentino)* it would be safe to guess that the last two titles were translated by Bardziński, because of the historical motif that may also be found in *Phrasalia*. However, the mythological issues included in *The Rape of Proserpina* could have been employed in *The Tragedy about Podagra*.

As far as specific features of further Bardziński's translations are concerned, we need to restrict ourselves to the statements of a fundamental nature. It is crucial to adopt a synthetic perspective while analysing Bardziński's text. Those interested in more detailed discussion should be referred to other works.³⁵

³⁴ F.M. Sobieszczanski, op. cit., p. 893.

³⁵ F.M. Sobieszczanski, op. cit., pp. 891–893; S. Splawiński, "Farsalia" *Lukana w przekładach polskich XVII wieku*, Kraków: [s.n.], 1929, passim; R. Rusnak, "Historia Fedry i Hippolita

Bardziński is inclined to faithfully transfer both the content and the form of the original text into Polish, thus one should not expect any Bardziński's own comments or manifestations of his poetic *inventio*. His aim is to make Chrościński's translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia* more faithful to the original poem and this predilection lies behind his later translations. We may have the impression that Bardziński's above-mentioned aim crystalises when he translates *De bello civili*, compared to his translations of Lucan which were not as faithful as his later works. Naturally, Bardziński tries to render the humour of the source text, to remain the liveliness of the style, to lengthen enumerations in the text, especially those connected with gout's ailments. Enumerations are of the baroque and gargantuan style, they expose omnipotence and ruthless nature of the heroine, namely Podagra:

Barki, nogi, kolana, piszczele i kostki,
 Biodry, ręce, łopatki, udźce i przykostki,
 Łokcie, ramiona, stawy, członki wszystkich kości,
 Palce, krzyże i czaszki łamią bez lutości.
 Lupa pali, wysusza, szczypa, siepa, dręczy,
 Osłabia i wykrzywia, i tak długo męczy,
 Aż bogini, ruszona lutością, bólowi
 Ustąpić każe z kości – tośmy wtenczas zdrowi.

Shoulders, legs, knees, shinbones and ankles
 Hips, hands, shoulder blades, thighs,
 Elbows, arms, joints, all the bones
 Fingers, spine and skulls aching horribly.
 It aches, burns, dries, pinches, lashes, torments
 Weakens, twists and tortures so long
 Until the goddess compassionately lets the pain
 Subside the bones – then we are healthy.

(lines 107-114)³⁶

By means of the comments which are not employed in Bardziński's later translations, he tries to make the ailments more evocative:

Bardziej nas bóle trapią, jak by nas na poły.
 Kto przebił ostrym mieczem, albo jakby koły
 Zabijał za paznokty, tak ból straszny piecze
 Człowieka, że od bólu ledwie się nie wściecze.

We experience such pains and aches as if somebody
 Was cutting us with a sharp sword into two halves
 Or as if somebody was sticking stakes into our nails
 So terrible is the pain that a man goes mad.

(lines 322-325)

w polskich tłumaczeniach tragedii Seneki," in: *Barok polski wobec Europy. Sztuka przekładu. Materiały międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej w Warszawie 15–17 września 2003 roku*, edited by A. Nowicka-Jeżowa and M. Prejs, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo ANTA, 2005, pp. 136–159; R. Rusnak, "Seneka – Kochanowski, Kochanowski-Seneka," *Pamiętnik Literacki* 2008, Issue 3, pp. 53–55; idem, *Seneca noster...*, passim; idem, *Późnobarokowe przekłady...*, pp. 118–132.

³⁶ For all quotations from *La Podagra* see: Lucian, op. cit.

There is an excerpt marked with Bardziński's individual style and devoted to natural remedies for arthritic pains. Its translation proves that Bardziński had the knowledge of the folk medicine of that time. Instead of so enigmatic ingredients as a stone flower from Assos he introduces water lily vodka or broth.

For Bardziński, remaining faithful to the original text is not the same as not making the recipient familiar with the complex nature of the source text. In particular, it concerns mythological issues scattered throughout the text, the names connected with the reality of ancient Rome or the topography of Mediterranean countries. It may be manifested either by the omission of a vague term ("Lucifer" – "Stella matutina" *On the Consolation of Philosophy* III 1, "Phoebo" – "the Sun": *Hercules on Oeta* 41) or getting rid of periphrasis ("Rhodani gentes" – "in France": *Phrasalia* VI 145, "victrix dea" – "Venus": *Troas* 921, "aequorei dei" – "from Neptune": *Agamemnon* 215) or an explanation of an expression ("Threiciasque...fauces" – "Thracians Bosphorus": *Phrasalia* IX 954, "lacus" – "the spring of Styx": *Troas* 391). Bardziński puts much effort into the translation of the ranks in antiquity, for example in *An Effective Manner* a praetorian prefect becomes "the highest vicepalatinus" (I 4), consul becomes "the man of a senatorial family" (I 4), a curule seat is simply a "high public office" (III 4).³⁷ There is no doubt that it is not Bardziński's aim to eliminate all pagan elements from his translations. Quite the contrary, he respects the ancient times, which may be observed in his pursuit of translating all ancient notions into those which could be understood by the recipients living in the 17th century. The complete elimination of the flavour of ancient times would not be possible in the case of works deeply ingrained in given historical realities. Bardziński's translations stick to their source texts starting from the times of *The Tragedy about Podagra*, where one may find odd religious rites, which imposes demands on his potential readers.

Moreover, more frequently than in the original version, references to God may be regarded as the sign of the acculturation of the classical texts. On the most basic level, it may be observed in the use of such colloquial expressions as "Oh my God" (*Phrasalia* IX 246) and "May God give it" (*On the Consolation of Philosophy* I 4). These expressions are supposed to attribute Jupiter with Christian features. In fact, in *On the Consolation of Philosophy* one may also find such disambiguation even if it could have done without such mechanisms. Among such mechanisms we may find the following ones: the replacement of certain notions of one type with other ones which are more unambiguous ("the Greatest God" instead of "super-

³⁷ In the quotations from Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*, Roman numerals refer to the part, Arabic numerals refer to the chapter; in the quotations from *Phrasalia*, Roman numerals refer to the number of the Book, Arabic numerals refer to the lines according to the Latin text; in the quotations from Seneca's work we provide the reader with the titles and the numbers of lines of the original version.

cilious thunder god”: IV 6), and using God’s name in ambiguous contexts which refers to the notion of intelligence known as “God’s sensibility” in Bardziński’s texts (IV 4) or even to a greater extent it refers to sharing the divinity which Bardziński very clearly separates from becoming gods as understood by Boethius.

The excerpt referring to the creation of the world becomes the most unbridled sign of religious treatment of the late-ancient dialogue. For Bardziński the relatively concise *passus* turns out to be the encouragement to compose an extensive description stressing the power of the one and only God:

Omne hominum genus in terris simili surgit ab ortu.
 Unus enim rerum pater est, unus cuncta ministrat.
 Ille dedit Phoebos radios dedit et cornua lunae,
 Ille homines etiam terras dedit ut sidera caelo,
 Hic clausit membris animos celsa sede petitos.
 Mortals igitur cunctos edit nobile germen.
 Quid genus et proavos strepitis? Si primordial vestra
 Auctoremque deum spectes, nullus degener exstat,
 Ni vittis peiora fovens proprium deserat ortum.

All men are of one kindred stock, though scattered far and wide;
 For one is Father of us all one doth for all provide.
 He gave the sun his golden beams, the moon her silver horn;
 He set mankind upon the earth, as stars the heavens adorn.
 He shut a soul a heaven-born soul within the body’s frame;
 The noble origin He gave each mortal weight may claim.
 Why boast ye, then, so loud of race and high ancestral line?
 If ye behold your being’s source, and God’s supreme design,
 None is degenerate, none base, unless by taint of sin
 And cherished vice he foully stain his heavenly origin.³⁸

(III 6)

Bardziński’s translations, sometimes religiously-loaded, go hand in hand with a special kind of respect for moral values evoked in the source texts. Nevertheless, he never exposes these values in an exaggerated way. For the sake of them he never betrays the philological faithfulness to the source text which paradoxically differentiates him from, for example, Wojciech Stanisław Chrościński, the translator of *Phrasalia*, who was not a monk.³⁹ Bardziński reveals this predilection in the translations of Seneca’s works which – as elucidated in the dedication and the preface by the Dominican – should be beneficial for the recipient. He usually supplements a given excerpt with a stylistically marked lexeme (as in the case of epithets which describe Phaedra’s sinful passion: “flame” – *Hippolytos* 207, “evil spirit” – *Hippolytos* 210, “ruthless wickedness” – *Hippolytos* 170) or he transforms a given expression into a sentence. For example, in the translation

³⁸ See: Boethius [c. 524], *The Consolation of Philosophy*, translated by H.R. James. Los Angeles: Enhanced Media, 2016, p. 52.

³⁹ R. Rusnak, *Późnobarokowe przekłady...*, p. 129.

of Andromacha's monologue when she mentions of how Hector's pride was overcome Bardziński adds the phrase "Failures weaken confidence" (*Troas* 745). In turn, the phrase "luctus in turpes eat" (1970) from *Hercules on Oeta* is translated into "Lousy life is the reason to cry." For Bardziński and the whole generations of readers⁴⁰ Seneca-tragedian is, by and large, a teacher of moral values and an inexhaustible source of instructive sayings.⁴¹

In turn, as far as the Polish translation of *On the Consolation of Philosophy* is concerned, apart from the language characteristic of Catholic theology (let us mention of the out-dated "purgatorial mercy": IV 4), and the vanitas themes included in homiletics ("vanity of vanities": III 10), there are also stoic and humanistic *loci communes* as in the case of Fortune that "suddenly throws on the ground" (II 1) and "carelessly overthrows the kingdoms" (II 2) and Kochanowski's works ("looking at happiness in the same way, we both": I 3). Regardless of what has been said about Bardziński, there is no denying that he paid meticulous attention to the way he composed his works and that he wanted to leave his mark on his translations.

Conciseness, often blamed for the negative assessment of his works, was a distinctive feature of Bardziński's translations. Nevertheless, it deserves to be appreciated given that a number of works of that period were verbose. Conciseness and brevity resulted from the faithfulness to the source text, even the number of lines was the same in both the original and translated versions which distinguished Bardziński from, for example Górnicki, Morsztyn and Chrościński who were lacking such ambitions. Bardziński's aim was to be as clear and precise as possible, even though he sometimes failed to achieve this goal. Attempts to organize the content and transform longer phrases into the more clear ones, as in the case of the complaints made by citizens of the conquered city by Caesar from the first Book of Lucan's epic poem.

My naprzód musieli się z Francuzami gonić,
My z Cymbrami, z Hiszpany i z Niemcy się bili,
My się Annibalowi za Rzym zastawili.

Nos primi Senonum motus Cimbrumque ruentem
Vidimus et Martem Libyae cursumque furoris Teutonici.⁴²

We were the first to witness the movement of the Senones,
the onrush of the Cimbrian, the sword of Hannibal, and the wild career of
the Teutones.

⁴⁰ T. Eustachiewicz, "Seneka w Polsce," *Eos* 1913, f. 2, pp. 177–231; T. Eustachiewicz, *Dzieje sentencyj...*, pp. 373–391.

⁴¹ See: R. Rusnak, *Seneca noster...*, pp. 287–311.

⁴² Quoted after M.A. Lucan, *Odrodzona w ojczystym języku 'Farsalija'...*, *to jest Wojna domowa rzymska*, translated by J.A. Bardziński, Oliwa: J. J. Textor, 1691. For the Latin version, see: M. Annaei Lucani *Pharsalia*, cum notis H. Grotii et R. Bentleyi, Glasgow: Andreas & Jacobus Duncan for Longman, Hurt, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1816. For the English version, see: <https://ryanfb.github.io/loebolus-data/L220.pdf>.

While translating Latin words and names of objects into Polish Bardziński also pays attention to colloquial language with all its vividness and crudeness which is included in his rendition, especially when he wants to show the flavour of the ancient times even if it results in stylistic imperfections. For example, Caesar's "rising mop of hair" (*Phrasalia* I 192), Caspian tigress having its "nipples sucked" (*Hercules on Oeta* 145), Aegisthus naming Electra as a witch" (instead of "monster" used in the original text: *Agamemnon* 997), "leave the court"⁴³ ("*exeat aula*": *Phrasalia* VIII 493). The flavour of the ancient times is added by the similes: "a block badly put" (*Phrasalia* V 251) compared to the position of Caesar being in danger, Cato gradually changing into a hairy satyr (*Phrasalia* II 376).

Bardziński has a predilection for dynamic, vivid and evocative expressions engaging the senses and imagination of the reader. Thus, instead of writing about being harassed by evil masters he prefers to write about "keeping somebody on a tight leash" (*On the Consolation...* IV 2), human's tendency to indulge oneself in "earthly joys" is presented as a fast flowing river (*On the Consolation...* II 2), and the sentence "when food reaches the stomach" is employed instead of a simple "eaten" ("*degustata*") (*On the Consolation...* III 1). In the same text one may find oxymoronic expressions: "happy unhappiness" (III 7), "captured in their freedom" (V 1); and compound epithets, which may be labelled as nonce words, created *ad hoc*, for example "poetarster-like Muses" (I 1), "white water beards" (I 1) and "star-like wheels" (IV 1).

In fact, the output of Bardziński should arouse our interest even though his place in the research on the legacy of the Baroque is disproportionate to what he achieved. He was a successful monk and translator, thus he may be perceived as an outstanding multidimensional individual even though his output goes beyond what both his Brothers and writers living at the turn of the 18th century did. What deserves respect is Bardziński's determination to familiarise his readers (not only for the religious reasons) with important classical texts, especially those not translated until his times (Lucian and Boethius) or those, in Bardziński's opinion, poorly translated (Lucan). Therefore, the Dominican becomes the heir to the humanist tradition deriving from classical masterpieces which – in fact – is not against the teaching of Jesus. His precision in working on translations in order to render all nuances makes him exceptional.

The choice of the translated texts differentiates him from his predecessors, namely Jan and Andrzej Kochanowski, Sebastian Petrycy of Pilzno or Walerian Otwinowski since Bardziński is mainly interested in the post-classical authors: those associated with a poor taste or middlebrow literature (written by Seneca and Lucan) and Boethius writing at the very end of the classicism, although one can hardly find there the correlation with the

⁴³ See: C. Stepher Jaeger (1985) *The Origins of Courtliness – Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courty Ideals 939-1210*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985, pp. 64–65.

features characterising Bardziński's translations marked with the decline of the epoch. Interestingly, he chooses the authors who are not perceived as the masters of the epoch and the authorities of the modern classicism and even though Bardziński's translations have an influence on Polish writing, they are – in fact – appreciated as late as at the end of the Old Polish period. What should begin the appropriate reception of Lucan's and Seneca's works in fact ends it and those who used their texts for decades did it on the basis of the original texts. From this perspective, Bardziński's effort was wasted, because there have not been the reissues of his translations.

We need to acknowledge that our approach adopted in relation to Bardziński's literary output works, but only to some extent. Even if Bardziński's own words concerning the separation of his religious output from the translations do not seem to be honest, there are other facts that should convince us that his words are true. We need to take into account two types of readers to whom Bardziński devotes his texts. It is the language that plays the role of the a clear factor. Texts of a religious nature, even when Thomas Aquinas's excerpt in verse is concerned, are written in Latin, whereas the other group of texts is written in Polish. There are also different types of recipients: Seneca's and Lucan's translations are devoted to laypeople, their aim is to establish Bardziński's relation with the Łoś family, whereas religious texts are written for the members of the order⁴⁴ and it is there that they are to be used.

However, due to many uncertainties concerning the exact time when Bardziński's works were written it is difficult to compare his juvenile works, often connected with his education, with his religious texts from the first decade of the 18th century. Undoubtedly, Bardziński was aware of the dual nature of his output and in the very middle of this distinction he places *An Effective Way*, namely a Polish translation of Boethius's dialogue *On Consolation*. This work is deeply religiously-loaded and its religious nature is even stronger in Bardziński's translation. It is treated as the *vade mecum* of morality appropriate for everyone and it should be accessible in a language understandable for everyone.

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⁴⁴ Andrzej Żydowski is not an exception here, the addressee of the collection *Ordo ac series summorum pontificium*, a nobleman, a King's follower, a poet, and at the end of his life devoted to God, the founder of the Reformation monastery in Kęty. In all likelihood, Bardziński could have met him.

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