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AN ENGLISH PARAPHRASE OF MACIEJ KAZIMIERZ SARBIEWSKI'S ODE *LYR. I 15* PUBLISHED IN THE PERIOD AFTER THE RELIEF OF VIENNA

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Abstract

An English Paraphrase of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski's Ode *Lyr. I 15* Published in the Time After the Battle of Vienna

The article presents and analyses *Ode the 15th of the First Book of Casimire imitated, encouraging the Polish Knights after their last Conquest to proceed in their Victory*, a little known anonymous English paraphrase of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski's Neo-Latin ode *Lyr. I 15 Cum Ladislaus, Poloniae princeps, fuso Osmano, Turcarum imperatore, victorem exercitum in hiberna reduceret*. It shows both the historical context within which the original poem was written in 1621 as one of the so-called "turcyki," i.e. poems exhorting Christian knights in their fight against the Turks, and the context within which the paraphrase was written and published immediately after the battle of Vienna (1683). It opens with a comment on the original poem and specifically deals with Sarbiewski's departures from the description of the actual battle which were later skillfully employed by the English translator. Next, the volume in which the English poem appeared in 1685, *Miscellany Poems and Translations* by Oxford Hands is presented. A tentative attempt is made to establish the identity of the anonymous translator based on the available data concerning the place of publication and the editor of the volume, Anthony Stephens. Next, a detailed analysis shows how the anonymous translator transformed the poem originally celebrating the Polish victory at Chocim (1621) and Crown Prince Vladislaus IV Vasa into a poem celebrating the battle of Vienna (1683) and king John III Sobieski. The analysis concentrates quite exclusively on the differences between the original and the translation which resulted from the translator's attempts to adapt the primary text to a new function in a different political situation. The translator exhibits great skill in introducing only minor changes to the original text, such changes, however, which without giving his game away (the text mentions

neither Vienna nor Sobieski) clearly reveal his intentions. He also adroitly introduces new elements such as the standard of Muhammad sent by the Polish king to the pope, or the relief of Vienna Comet, which further bring the text taken from Sarbiewski to the translator's current purpose and situation. The article ends with a presentation of the translation practices in Great Britain in the 17th and the 18th century and their influence upon the discussed poem. The question which the final paragraphs attempt to resolve is whether the text should be treated as a translation, or it is rather an adaptation or, to use a more contemporary word, a parody of Sarbiewski's ode.

Key words: literary translation, Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, the relief of Vienna, paraphrase, Neo-Latin poetry, occasional poetry, history of translation

Literary echoes of the military triumphs of King John III Sobieski, especially the relief of Vienna of 1683, have been the subject of numerous scholarly studies. Ample information on the subject may be found in the works of Jerzy Śliziński,¹ Bogusław Klimaszewski,² as well as in the study of Barbara Milewska-Ważbińska.³ All of these scholars confirm the lively reaction of European writers to the news arriving from the battlefields of Sobieski's wars fought against Turkey. The available literary material is so rich and various, often included in miscellaneous collections or published as pamphlets, that new discoveries are still possible. A recent publication of Elwira Buszewicz and Piotr Urbański, concerning a Neo-Latin panegyricum *Pio, invicto, felici principi Iohanii Poloniae Regi, Magno Duci Lithuanie, etc. carmen panegyricum; quo stupendae illae victoriae a Turci reportatae ordine recantatur* written by the otherwise unknown William Smith in 1679,⁴ offers a perfect example of such a literary reaction (although to events preceding the Relief of Vienna) which failed to attract critical reaction for over three centuries.

¹ J. Śliziński, *Jan III Sobieski w literaturze narodów Europy*, Warszawa 1979. Śliziński presents a variety of reactions to the military successes of Sobieski in English literature (p. 372–384), but neither he nor any other study quoted here mentions the poem discussed in the present article.

² B. Klimaszewski, *Jan III Sobieski w literaturze polskiej i zachodnioeuropejskiej XVII i XVIII wieku*, Warszawa–Kraków 1983.

³ B. Milewska-Ważbińska, *W kręgu bohaterów spod Wiednia. Rzecz o dwóch łacińskich eposach staropolskich*, Warszawa 1998.

⁴ E. Buszewicz, P. Urbański, *Zwycięstwa Jana Sobieskiego nad Turkami z perspektywy angielskiej*, "Napis" XI (2005), p. 65–80.

The anonymous poem entitled *Ode the 15th of the First Book of Casimire imitated, encouraging the Polish Knights after their last Conquest to proceed in their Victory*⁵ is an example of a poem celebrating the Polish monarch's victory over Turks in 1683. The connection of the poem with the battle of Vienna and not the first battle of Chocim (Khotyn), as it was in the original poem by Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski *Lyr. I 15, Ad Equites Polonos Cum Ladislaus, Poloniae princeps, fuso Osmano, Turcarum imperatore, victorem exercitum in hiberna reduceret*,⁶ which the English poet claims to have adapted, was noticed independently and concurrently by George Gömöri⁷ and the author of the present article.⁸ However, both papers deal only very briefly with the text which certainly deserves a detailed analysis.

Sarbiewski's ode *Lyr. I 15* belongs to the so called "turcyki", poems that served to exhort Christian Europe to fight against the Otoman threat. The ode was written in the late autumn of 1621 when the Crown Prince Władysław Vasa, having waited for the Turks to abandon their military camp and leave Chocim first, could ultimately seek some place for his tired soldiers to winter out.⁹ Sarbiewski describes the battle in a rather brief and

⁵ *Miscellany Poems and Translations by Oxford Hands*, London 1685, p. 75–80. Full text of the book is available via Google Books. Further quotations from the poem after the first edition. The poem was reprinted in: K. Fordoński and P. Urbański *Casimir Britannicus. English Translations, Paraphrases, and Emulations of the Poetry of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski* (MHRA Critical Texts, Vol. 25.), London 2010, p. 121–124.

⁶ Such a reading was proposed by Charles S. Kraszewski. Kraszewski criticised the English translator for omitting parts of the original text connected with Poland, such as the name of the monarch or the river Vistula, conf. C.S. Kraszewski, *Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski – The Christian Horace in England*, "The Polish Review", Vol. LI, 1 (2006), p. 37–39.

⁷ G. Gömöri, "The Polish Swan Triumphant": *The English Reception of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski in the Seventeenth Century*, "Modern Language Review" 106.3 (2011), p. 828–829.

⁸ K. Fordoński, *Przedmurze chrześcijaństwa widziane z Albionu. Tematyka wojenna w angielskich przekładach, naśladownictwach i parafrazach ód wojennych Macieja Kazimierza Sarbiewskiego*, [in:] *Wojny, bitwy i potyczki w kulturze staropolskiej* ed by W. Pawlak and M. Piskała, Warszawa 2011, p. 185–194. The paper which was the basis for publication was presented in May 2010 during the conference "Wojny, bitwy i potyczki w kulturze staropolskiej w szesnaste wiek bitwy pod Grunwaldem" in Kazimierz Dolny.

⁹ "Późną jesienią 1621, kiedy król Władysław, odczekawszy aż Turcy opuszczą swe stanowiska i pierwsi odejdą spod Chocimia, mógł pomyśleć o odprowadzeniu do domu resztek wojska wyniszczonych oblężeniem", M.K. Sarbiewski, *Liryki oraz Droga rzymska i fragment Lechiady*, transl. by T. Karyłowski SI, ed. by M. Korolko with the assistance of J. Okoń, Warszawa 1980, p. 586–587.

conventional way, not quite in accordance with the historical events. His apparent aim was to use the victory, which had taken place just a few weeks before the poem was written, as an example to be followed in further military operations against Turkey.

The obvious discrepancies between the historical events and their poetic description proposed by Sarbiewski may be explained by the fact that the poem was written (as we can read in Mirosław Korolko and Jan Okoń's comments to their edition of Polish translations of Sarbiewski's poems by Tadeusz Karyłowski) before Sarbiewski in Vilnius could learn about the details of the battle of Chocim fought almost a thousand kilometres away at the Polish-Turkish border. Consequently, the ode includes an idealised description of a victorious battle rather than a poetic account of the specific historical engagement and as such, quite surprisingly, it fits much better as a description of the battle of Vienna than as that of the battle of Chocim.

Sarbiewski described for example in stanzas 2 to 4 a charge of the heavy Polish cavalry units, hussars, under the command of prince Władysław Vasa, after which attack the Turkish units escape, leaving their weapons in the battlefiend to seek refuge in the towers of Byzantium, "turrez Byzanti"¹⁰ (l. 15). Sarbiewski apparently used in his poem as a model the accounts of the greatest military victory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth armies which took place in his lifetime. The decisive moment of the battle of Kircholm in 1605 was a devastating charge of Polish heavy cavalry which wiped out the Swedish army. The battle of Chocim, however, was a series of violent clashes spread over a period of almost four weeks taking place between two fortified camps. A decisive battle never took place, regardless of the attempts of both sides. Due to a serious illness, prince Władysław

¹⁰ M.K. Sarbiewski, *Mathiae Casimiri Sarbievii Lyricorum Libri IV. Epodon Liber unus. Alterque Epigrammatum*. Antverpiae, 1632, p. 30–32. Further quotations from the poem after this edition with indication of lines. One might assume that the most probable source of the original poem for the English translator should have been the edition of Richard Green *Mathiae Casimiri Sarbievii Lyricorum Libri IV. Epodon Liber unus. Alterque Epigrammatum. Adjuncta Epititharisma, sive Eruditorum virorum e Societate Jesu in Authorem Poemata*, Cantabridgiae 1684, the first complete edition of Sarbiewski's poems published in Great Britain. However, Green's edition does not include the Latin titles of the poems which the English translator apparently knew, even if in this particular case he did not choose to translate it precisely. The Antverp edition seems thus the most rational choice of a possible source.

Vasa did not participate in any military action; however, the actual commander of the Polish-Lithuanian army, Grand Hetman of Lithuania Jan Karol Chodkiewicz died during the battle and, consequently, all the glory went, somewhat unjustly, to the Polish prince. The campaign did not end in a decisive victory, the peace treaty only confirmed the conditions laid out already in the treaty of Busza in 1617, and both armies retreated in an orderly fashion.¹¹

In the fifth stanza Sarbiewski departs from the description of the recent victory and moves on to an appeal addressed to his compatriots. The poet warns that the victory should not be the beginning of a period of weakness and leniency towards oneself. He orders his Polish readers to abandon or even destroy the souvenirs of their past successes in case they should prove unworthy of their forefathers. The two final stanzas are addressed to prince Władysław Vasa whose duty, in the poet's opinion, is to assume command of the Polish army once more and lead the army to another war against Turkey.

The anonymous English adaptation was published in 1685 in a volume entitled *Miscellany Poems and Translations by Oxford Hands*, including a sizeable selection of poetry, both translations from the Latin and as well as original poems, written by mostly anonymous poets and translators connected with the university of Oxford. The majority of the authors failed to sign their works, among the few signatures there are the names of Francis Willis, translator of e.g. Anacreon, and Thomas Brown who in the late 17th century was well known and popular as a satirist. The Oxford bookseller Anthony Stephens¹² was both the publisher and (inasmuch as we can conclude from his brief introduction) the editor of the collection. Stephens was at the time an active publisher of ancient literature e.g. a translation of *De rerum natura* entitled *Titus Lucretius Carus his six books of Epicurean philosophy, done into English verse, with notes* (1683), as well as translations of Horace and Theocritus, all prepared by Thomas Creech, and *Anacreon done into English out of the original Greek* (1683) translated by Francis Willis.

The sizeable volume published by Stephens (67 poems on 205 pages) includes translations from the most famous Latin poets: Catullus, Propertius, Lucretius, Horace, Martialis, Ovid, Petronius, and others. There

¹¹ Conf. L. Podhorecki, *Chocim 1621*, Warszawa 1988.

¹² D.G. Vaisey, *Anthony Stephens: the Rise and Fall of an Oxford Bookseller*, [in:] *Studies in the Book Trade in Honour of Graham Pollard*, ed. by R.W. Hunt, I.G. Philip and R.J. Roberts, Oxford 1975, p. 91-117.

are five translations of Sarbiewski's odes in the collection. However, only in one case (translation of *Lyr. IV 23*, entitled *To the Grasshopper*) it was possible to establish that Thomas Brown was the translator.¹³ Four other translations from Sarbiewski, including *Ode the 15th...*, were published with no information whatsoever concerning their authors.

Any attempt of a translational analysis of *Ode the 15th...* is bound to be difficult. The intended effect is more of a free paraphrase than a faithful translation. The differences between the original text and the translation cannot be thus explained, as it is usually done, by limitations resulting from the form selected by the translator, or mistakes and errors in comprehending the source text. In this particular case we have to take into consideration changes which arose from the translator's intent to "modernize" it, to adapt the contents of the original to a new function in a new and altered political situation. Further analysis of the English text will concentrate foremostly on the differences between the original and the translation which resulted from such an attempt to adjust Sarbiewski's ode to current events.

Even a passing look at the anonymous translation of *Lyr. I 15* raises doubts. Sarbiewski's ode *Ad Equites Polonos Cum Ladislaus, Poloniae princeps, fuso Osmano, Turcarum imperatore, victorem exercitum in hiberna reduceret* consists of eleven quatrains, *Ode the 15th...* consists of twelve eight-line stanzas, the latter poem is consequently more than twice as long as the Latin original. In the initial part of his work, the English translator attempts to maintain strictly the original division into stanzas. The original content, however, proves too complex and, consequently, he needs stanzas twice as long which (gradually to a bigger and bigger degree) include numerous elements absent in the original Latin text. Even this additional space proves insufficient for the translator who, ultimately, adds one full stanza.

The anonymous poet does not keep the original versification (Alcaics, naturally unrhymed), the English text is written in masculine pair rhymes. The length of lines vary from eight to ten syllables forming four to five metric feet, as it is in the Alcaic stanza, yet the number of feet within each stanza (5-4-5-5-4-4-5-5) differs notably from that of Sarbiewski's

¹³ The translation of Sarbiewski's poem in the 1685 edition is not signed, the same text, however, was included in the posthumous edition of *The Works of Mr Thomas Brown* (London 1708, Vol. III, p. 118). P. Urbański, *Theologia fabulosa. Commentationes Sarbievianae*, Szczecin 2000, p. 213.

ode. The poem is written mostly in iambs, the most natural metric foot for English poetry. The translator adroitly controls the length of his verses, for example in the verse 16 "And num'rous deaths increase the neighb'ring Hills" the trissyllabic words 'numerous' and 'neighbouring' are to be pronounced as dissyllabic ones.

The titles of the two poems differ greatly. From the Latin original only 'Polish knights' who have just won a victory, to whom the poem is addressed, remain. Both the victorious prince Władysław (the later king Władysław IV Vasa) and the defeated Sultan Osman II disappear. There is not a word about the winter camp where the Polish knights made their way either. The title should still attract critical attention as some of the words used there reveal the anonymous translator's attitude towards Sarbiewski's poem. The word 'imitated' clarifies his attitude, the declared aim is not to translate the ode of Sarbiewski. The English poet apparently addresses his appeal to continue their efforts to defeat Turkey not to the Polish knights gathered under the command of prince Władysław Vasa in the winter of 1621–1622 but rather to the Polish knights under the command of king Jan III Sobieski over sixty years later. One should pay a special attention to the phrase 'last victory' in the title. Knowing that the poem was published in 1685, one may reasonably conclude that the last victory for the English poet is rather Vienna than Chocim of which battle Sarbiewski wrote in his *Lyr. I 15*.

The first stanza of the English poem follows quite closely the text of *Lyr. I 15*, although the translator expands it noticeably, using for example two repetitions ("Believe, ye after ages yet to come,/ Believe the mighty Conquest won./ Jo! the mighty Conquest's won", l. 1–3), where Sarbiewski has only one ("Credetis? ... credite" l. 1). A more remarkable difference may be seen in the choice of grammatical tenses. Sarbiewski describes the victory in past tense, the English poet chooses either Present Perfect (e.g. "we/ Have purchas'd a triumphant Victory" l. 3–4), or Present Simple. It is quite clear that the lines: "The Turks they fly now basely all,/ Their scatter'd Troops ignobly fall;" (l. 6–7) refer to the hasty retreat of the Turkish army from Vienna and other cities and territories in modern Austria, Slovakia, and Hungary abandoned by Turkey in the autumn of 1683.¹⁴

Prince Władysław is missing also from the second stanza, his place there is taken by "our great King" (l. 11); the image of the victorious commander

¹⁴ The change of grammatical tenses is first mentioned by G. Gömöri, *op. cit.*, p. 829.

“cum refugas metu/ Prae se Ladislaus phalangas/ Fulmineis agitare armis?” (l. 6–8), changes into a much more detailed description in the lines 11 to 16:

... our great King in Honours noble race
 Before him did their flying Heroes chase
 Like Jove he then his Thunder threw,
 All kill'd whole Myriads as they flew.
 Terribly bright his Sword, like Lightning, kills;
 And num'rous deaths increase the neigh'ring Hills.

Sobieski, “our great King” is presented here as a new Jove, killing enemies with his thunder. The final image, a rather macabre concept of hills whose height is increased by piles of dead bodies, is the translator’s own invention.

The third stanza introduces another departure from the original. The stanza:

Quantus Gelonis, quantus erat feris
 Sudor Corallis! Cum prope decolor
 Ister, verecundusque capta
 Bosphorus erubisset unda (l. 9–12).

is replaced with:

The cruel Tartars, which no pity knew,
 On bended knees did now for pity sue;
 When they beheld the Danube's Flood
 Roll down in Tides of their own Blood (l. 21–24).

In Sarbiewski’s poem the river Danube turns pale with fear when the news of the defeat reaches its banks, while the Bosphorus blushes upon hearing the horrible news. As the English poet writes about a battle which took place on the Danube, he changes Sarbiewski’s anthropomorphic metaphors into a more conventional, although at the same time more emotionally charged, (this tendency may be applied to all the changes encountered in the English poem) image of blood staining the waters of the river flowing beside the battle field.

Even such a small fragment of the English poem demonstrates that the imagery of the translation is much richer, much more dynamic. The

anonymous poet freely expands and complements elements only sketched in the Latin text. In the fourth stanza, the English poet develops further the description of the Turkish defeat in detailed images loosely connected with the description provided by Sarbiewski. The motive of the escape of the defeated Turkish forces to Constantinople disappears, however, as it was not consistent with the events of 1683. It is replaced with the passage: "So meaner Beasts of Prey to Lions yield,/ And leave the Spoil and Trophies of the Field" (l. 31–32), an obvious allusion to the spoils won by the Polish army in the Turkish military camp.

The fifth stanza, the original work of the English poet, describes events which followed the battle of Vienna. The news of the defeat reaches Buda and Gran,¹⁵ Hungarian cities on the Danube occupied by Turks, ultimately making also the lofty towers of Constantinople tremble. The latter have apparently been relocated from the line 15 of *Lyr. I 15*. Esztergom (Gran) appears in the English poem on purpose as the Hungarian fortress is located on the southern bank of the Danube, opposite the Slovak city of Šturovo (until 1948 called Parkany) where on the 9th October 1683 Jan III Sobieski and his army ultimately defeated the Turkish army of Kara Mustafa Pasha. The fortress of Gran was taken by the imperial army after a short siege at the end of the same year.¹⁶

In the following four stanzas the English poet returns to the contents of *Lyr. I 15*, expanding upon it just as he did in the first four stanzas, e.g. he doubles the number of rhetorical questions in the lines 17 to 21. Among the elements absent in the original poem one of the more interesting is "Th' Imperial Flag (which our great King/ Late from the Turkish Camp did bring)" (l. 61–62). The English poet apparently read the descriptions of the relief of Vienna published in Great Britain soon after the campaign. The descriptions included also that of the banners, one of which, the so called battle standard of Muhammad, *Sancak-ı Şerif*, was sent by Jan III Sobieski to Rome, to the pope Innocent XI from the battlefield, while others are still exhibited in Cracow. The most probable source was an English translation of the letter of Jan III to his queen Marie Casimire originally written on September 13th

¹⁵ The city is now called Esztergom. Gran is the traditional German name once used also in English.

¹⁶ J. Stoye, *The Siege of Vienna: The Last Great Trial Between Cross & Crescent*, New York 2008, p. 179–181.

1683, published in London later in the same year,¹⁷ which included details concerning the standard.¹⁸

Roman allusions present in Sarbiewski's poem such as "fumasque patrum/ Effigies, memoresque laudum/ Ceras" (l. 31–33) turn into "sacred Statues, which the likeness give/ Of our great Fathers" (l. 67–68). Sarbiewski introduces these motives in order to suggest kinship between the ancient Romans and the 17th century Poles. The English translator either failed to read them correctly or found them superfluous. Also the river Vistula into which Sarbiewski advises his readers to throw the relics of the forefathers as his contemporaries are not worthy of preserving them ("profundo mergere Vistula" l. 33) is absent in the English poem. Instead of throwing the relics into the river, the English poet suggests that they should be burned (l. 70).

The three final stanzas of *Ode the 15th...* begin with a rather free account of the contents of the two final stanzas of *Lyr. I 15*, adapting them to the political reality of the mid-1680s. The English poet begins with a presentation of the military alliance directed against Turkey, which began in 1684, when the Holy League conceived by the pope Innocent XI was preparing for the next stage of the war against Turkey:

With sacred Oaths let's in a League combine;
 With brave Lorraine and Staremburg let's join:
 And let us once again act o're,
 Those Triumphs we obtain'd before;
 Whilst the curst Infidels to make it good,
 Shall Seal and shall Cement it with their Blood (l. 75–80).

"League" is the Holy League, "brave Lorraine" is duke Charles V of Lorraine, the commander of the imperial army in the battles of Vienna and Parkany, "Staremburg" is the 17th century English spelling of the name

¹⁷ *A Letter from the King of Poland to his Queen. In which is Incered Many Particulars Relating to the Victories obtained against the Turks. With a Prayer of the Turks against the Christians. Translated from the Cologne Gazette, Octob. 19 1683 Numb. 84.* London, 1683. Another possible source is the English translation of the relation of Johann Peter von Völckern – the court historiographer to the Emperor Leopold I – *A Relation or Diary of the Siege of Vienna. Written by John Peter a Valcaren, Judge-Advocate of the Imperial Army. Drawn from the Original by His Majesty's Command.* London, 1684. Cf. J. Śliżiński, *Jan III Sobieski...*, p. 373.

¹⁸ Z. Żygulski jr., *Gdzie się podziala "chorągiew Proroka"?*, "Cenne, Bezcenne/Utracone" 1 (2000) <http://www.nimoz.pl/pl/wydawnictwa/czasopisma/cenne-bezcenne-utracone-archiwum/2000/nr-12000/gdzie-sie-podziala-choragiew-proroka> (accessed on: June 5th, 2013).

of count Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg, the commander of the defence of Vienna in 1683, who was also one of the commanders in the battle of Parkany. Anyone who until this point could have doubted the true subject matter of the poem may be quite certain that it deals with the events of the 1680s.

The presented vision of Christianity united against the common enemy, although absent in *Lyr. I 15*, is by no means contrary to the views of Sarbiewski expressed in other poems of the so called "turcyki" (e.g. *Lyr. I 6* or *Lyr. I 12*) in which he addressed the European leaders to abandon their internal quarrels and join forces in their fight against Turkey. The vision of political and military unity, however, was just as idealistic in 1685 as it had been in 1621. The tension between Roman Catholics and Protestants, as well as European powers, e.g. France and the Empire, was far too high to make a truly united Christian front possible.

In the two final stanzas the English poet returns to Sarbiewski's text but, as he did before, adapting it in such a way as to refer to contemporary events and characters, foremostly to King Jan III Sobieski. The quatrain:

... O, quem gloria fervidis
Urbesque, terrasque, et populos super
Evexit alsì, o caduci
Grande decus columnenque mundi,¹⁹ (l. 36–40).

is expanded to eight lines:

Oh mighty Prince of everlasting Fame,
Whom Kings and Emp'rors joy to name,
Whom Glory on swift Wings to Heaven bears,
And fixes thy bright Praise amongst the Stars;
Thou Bulwark of the German Throne,
Thou Pride and Glory of thy own.
Stop thou not here, but as thou hast begun,
To greater Conquests lead thine Armies on (l. 81–88).

¹⁹ Sarbiewski seems to have borrowed this final line from Horace (*Odes* 2. 17. 4), however, even if the English poet recognized the connection, there is no trace of it in his poem. It is quite striking, however, as Horace's ode is addressed to Maecenas while the addressee of Sarbiewski's ode, Władysław Vasa, became the poet's patron in the 1630s, a decade after the poem was written.

The lines 83 and 84 should attract our special attention as the English poet refers here to the so called Relief of Vienna Comet (described in catalogues as C/1683 01) visible in the European sky in the summer and autumn of 1683. It was first noticed on the 20th of July that year by the Englishman, John Flamsteed. The English poet adroitly develops a fragment of Sarbiewski's poem. Its lines 36 to 38 refer to the winged fame that flies above cities, lands, and peoples. In the English text the flight gains an additional sense: fame ascends the skies to write the praise of the Polish monarch with the fire of the comet.

Kraszewski comments in a lengthy footnote on the words "Thou Bulwark of the German Throne" (l. 85), explaining that they are a reference to Władysław Vasa, while "German" actually means Polish as Poland was seen as a part of the "German nation."²⁰ The English poet, however, refers here to the role of Jan III Sobieski in the defence of the capital (and, consequently, the throne) of the Holy Roman Emperor and King of the Germans Leopold I. The choice of the word 'Bulwark' adds an additional meaning to the passage, exceeding a simple translation of the lines 39 and 40 of Sarbiewski's ode. The English poet quite apparently alludes to the concept of "Antemurale Christianitatis", the Bulwark of Christianity, which though originally used in reference to Croatia,²¹ began to be used in reference to Poland exactly in the final decades of the 17th century.²²

The anonymous English poet uses in the final stanza the same technique as in the previous ones. He begins by supplementing Sarbiewski's text with an interpolation in brackets, reminding that the Polish monarch's sword, which he should now draw in an hour of need, "twice before,/ Has been made drunk with Turkish Hero's gore" (l. 92–93). It is a clear allusion to

²⁰ C.S. Kraszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 38, footnote 44. During his studies at Rome Sarbiewski joined Collegium Germanicum exactly because of this division.

²¹ E. Pösch, *Tourist Narratives Of Identity – How CEE/SEE countries negotiate European, national and regional identities by constructing historical narratives in tourist materials*, s. 9, http://uni-graz.academia.edu/EvaPosch/Papers/311110/Tourist_Narratives_of_Identity_-_How_CEE_SEE_countries_negotiate_European_national_and_regional_identities_by_constructing_historical_narratives_in_tourist_materials (accessed on: June 5th, 2013).

²² Elwira Buszewicz offers a detailed commentary on the concept of the "antemurale," E. Buszewicz, *Sarmacki Horacy i jego liryka: Imitacja – Gatunek – Styl. Rzecz o poezji Macieja Kazimierza Sarbiewskiego*, Kraków 2006, p. 255–262.

the two victorious battles of King Jan III Sobieski – Chocim²³ and Vienna – which should be followed by the third, ultimate victory, in which the King's sword would be able to draw a sea of the Turkish blood. The two final lines are the English poet's own creation:

And with thy Troops pull the proud Sultan down,
Tho' Mahumet should stand to guard his Throne.

They are an expression of the joy and optimism which surged throughout the Christian Europe after the victorious campaign of 1683, continued through 1684 (battle of Vac). The hopes at least partly came to fruition as early as in 1686, when Buda and the western part of Hungary were liberated, as well as in 1687, when the Turkish army was routed in the battle of Nagyharsány, the so called second battle of Mohács.²⁴

The text of the English poem differs greatly from the Classicistic original in its Baroque²⁵ flamboyant imagery. In an attempt to imitate the style of the anonymous English poet, one might say that as much as the Sarbiewski's ode is an etching, its English "translation" is an oil painting, full of vivid colours. The original image, however, is retained, any changes are introduced with great precision, such as the instances when the English poet replaces the not too numerous direct references to prince Władysław Vasa and the battle of Chocim with allusions to Jan III Sobieski and the victory of Vienna. None of the changes is accidental; each is the result of an in-depth knowledge of recent events and their heroes. The anonymous English poet certainly was not a beginner; his formal adroitness reveals an extensive experience. It is consequently possible that the poem is the work of the best known translator working for Stephens, Thomas Creech.

²³ The second battle of Chocim fought and won by Jan Sobieski in November 1673, not the one referred to in Sarbiewski's poem which took place in the autumn of 1621.

²⁴ The first battle of Mohacs in 1526 was lost by Hungary while their young king Louis II was killed. As a result, major part of Hungary was occupied by Turkey for almost two centuries. Although Nagyharsány is actually located approximately 25 kilometres south-west of Mohács, the 1687 battle was presented as the second one fought in the same location, a kind of revenge for the original defeat.

²⁵ In the specifically English context the term 'metaphysical' would probably be more appropriate, even though the poem belongs to a period when the metaphysical aesthetics was largely a thing of the past, replaced by the much more subdued neo-classicism of the Restoration period.

The effect of his work is truly intriguing and difficult to classify. The author chose to call it an imitation. It may be called a parody in the classical or Renaissance sense i.e. a text inspired by an earlier work which is clearly indicated (and our translator does so in the title) which aims at expressing the author's admiration for the original and its author, yet with no comic or satirical element intended. However, as it was written in the latter half of the so called Restoration period, which may be presented as neoclassicism in continental terms, it is probably safer to classify the poem as a free paraphrase written in the style of the so called 'Pindaric' odes practiced for example by another translator of Sarbiewski, Abraham Cowley. The liberal attitude towards the work of the Polish poet is actually nothing unusual. Analyses of numerous translations of Sarbiewski's poetry have proven that the English generally approached his works with an impressive creative liberty.²⁶

Such an attitude was on the one hand a heritage of the earlier periods when such an attitude towards source texts was considered fully legitimate, justified by striving towards perfection of the final text rather than fidelity to an original.²⁷ On the other hand, however, the poem was written in 1685 when the English authors were beginning to approach translation with far more self-conscious attitudes, as it is attested e.g. in the works of John Dryden, as well as his followers and opponents, which date from exactly the same period. The debate concerning the liberty of translator started in the early 1660s with Katherine Philips protesting against "garbling authors", and reached new heights in the 1670s with the increasing popularity of "modernizing" translations of Abraham Cowley and the influence of Nicholas Boileau. An example of such works are Earl of Rochester's *An Allusion to Horace* (a free translation of Horace's Satire I.10) and John Oldham's version

²⁶ Cf. e.g. P. Urbański, *op. cit.*, p. 115–128 and 187–230; K. Fordoński, "Starched like Horace's Odes"? Coleridge (*Mis*)Translates Sarbiewski, "Neulateinisches Jahrbuch", 13 (2011), p. 57–73; K. Fordoński, *The Subversive Power of Father Matthias. The Poetry of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski as Vehicle for Political Propaganda in England of the 17th Century*, [in:] *Crossroads in Literature and Culture*, ed. by J. Fabiszak, E. Urbaniak-Rybicka and B. Wołski, Berlin 2013, p. 387–397; or K. Fordoński, *Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski and English Dissenting Poets of the early 18th Century: A Study in Reception of Neo-Latin Poetry in Great Britain*, "Terminus" XIII, 24 (2011), s. 71–85.

²⁷ Cf. A. Fulińska, *Nasładowanie i twórczość. Renesansowe teorie imitacji, emulacji i przekładu*, Wrocław 2000, p. 5–13 and 308–319 (more specifically about the situation in England, although only up to the 1640s).

of *Ars Poetica*. Dryden originally postulated limiting such an excessive freedom, a stand which he abandoned precisely in 1685, as it can be seen from his Preface to *Sylvae*, a miscellany published by Jacob Tonson. Although there were some critics such as Thomas Shadwell unhappy with this new tendency, the general public generously embraced the new, freer attitude proposed by Dryden as more appropriate to their tastes.²⁸ Quite apparently, the anonymous translator of the Sarbiewski's ode was also more than happy to follow the example of Dryden and modernize the text of Sarbiewski's ode as he saw it fit.

The situation of this particular poem is, actually, quite complex as the text makes little sense both if we insist on treating it as an original English poem only inspired by the Sarbiewski's ode, and if we attempt to read it merely as a translation. The English poet takes over from Sarbiewski the first person plural while we cannot rationally expect him to speak on behalf of the English who did not take part in the war against Turkey. The 'we' in *Ode the 15th...* must be read as "We, Poles" or, more likely, "We, Sarmatians" as it is in *Lyr. I 15*. Consequently, the poem is written as if the anonymous English poet was translating (and not imitating or paraphrasing) an ode actually written by Sarbiewski. In some way the poem is a testimony to Sarbiewski's literary standing, he received the same treatment as Horace or Ovid.

In this way, however, it is nothing extraordinary when seen in the context of other contemporary English renderings of Sarbiewski's poetry. We may even risk stating here that among all the known texts recognized as inspired by Sarbiewski's poetry, very few may be called translations by any modern standards i.e. texts aiming at rendering the form and the content of the original in the target language. However, the issue of whether in a particular case we deal with a translation, paraphrase, imitation, or emulation is largely moot. We may, consequently, concentrate on issues far more interesting than the attempts at a precise terminology, which would fully reflect relations between the originals and the translations (paraphrases etc.), and enquire instead in the ways in which English translators depart from the original, ask what their motives were and how successful they were in achieving the tasks they had set for themselves.

²⁸ D. Hopkins, *Dryden and his Contemporaries*, [in:] *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English. Volume 3 1660–1790*, ed. by S. Gillespie and D. Hopkins, Oxford 2005, p. 56–63.

Contemporary English readers were certainly aware of the real subject matter of the discussed poem. Even though neither Vienna (just as Chocim is missing from the Sarbiewski's poem) nor Jan III Sobieski are mentioned, the names of the German commanders and the geographical locations must have made it clear to any readers even moderately interested in the current political events on the continent. The poem has so far escaped the attention of researchers interested in the literary echoes of the Battle of Vienna probably because the connection, even though it may be partially read from the very title, becomes fully visible only after a close reading. Whether we call *Ode the 15th...* a parody, an emulation, or a paraphrase, it remains still an impressive literary accomplishment, an undoubted testimony to its author's literary talent. Rediscovered after three centuries, it is yet another proof of the European fame won in September 1683 by the Polish army under the command of king Jan III Sobieski.

