



THE GREEK HYMNS OF GREGORIUS CNAPIUS¹

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Abstract

The paper presents three Greek hymns to Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, written by the eminent Polish Jesuit and lexicographer Gregorius Cnapius. The poems were added to the second volume of his dictionary *Thesaurus Polono-Latino-Graecus* printed in 1626. Their first modern edition, prepared by Janina Czerniatowicz and included in the anthology *Corpusculum poesis Polono-Graecae saeculorum XVI–XVII (1531–1648)*, Wrocław 1991, is based on the second edition of the dictionary from 1644, which contains several errors. The main goal of the paper is, therefore, to produce an edition of the three hymns based on *editio princeps* of the dictionary's second volume, published in 1626.

Cnapius composed and delivered the hymns on the celebration of the canonization of the two Jesuits, which took place in Kraków. The hymns are written in hexameter and elegiac distich. The first poem to Ignatius Loyola is an alphabetical acrostic, while the second is a complex acrostic, the initial letters making the name *Francis* and the last – *Xavier*. In the third poem Cnapius praises the missionary work of Francis Xavier by comparing him to Alexander the Great, Heracles and Bacchus. The hymns contain many rare Greek words and prove Gregorius Cnapius's excellent knowledge of the Greek language.

Key words: Greek Jesuit poetry, Grzegorz Knapiusz, Gregorius Cnapius, hymn

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Gregorius Cnapius² (ca. 1564–1639), best known for his *Thesaurus Polono-Latino-Graecus*, left traces of his presence and activity in many Jesuit colleges in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.³ He started his education in Pułtusk, where he studied rhetoric. As a Jesuit novice he spent one year (1584) in Braniewo. Over the next years Cnapius moved from one Jesuit college to another, gaining qualifications in philosophy (Vilnius, Poznań) as well as theology (Vilnius) and teaching rhetoric (Kalisz, Pułtusk), syntax (Kalisz), Greek (Pułtusk), humanities (Pułtusk) and mathematics (Poznań). He also directed the Jesuit College in Poznań as *praefectus* (1598–1601, 1605–1606) and performed managerial duties at the colleges in Kraków and Lublin. The following years he spent in Lviv (1614–1615) and Jarosław (1616–1617). From 1618 until his death Cnapius lived in Kraków.

In the course of his life Grzegorz Cnapius gained a broad knowledge in the field of Classics, philology and lexicography. Franciszek Maksymilian Sobieszkański⁴ states that he was “respected among Jesuits, loved by students and admired abroad.”⁵ As a writer, Cnapius composed three dramatic works:⁶ *Faelicitas*, *Philopater* (both staged in Vilnius and Poznań)

² Or Grzegorz Knapius, Knapiusz, Knapski.

³ There are many accounts on the life of Gregorius Cnapius, e.g. by A. Stender-Petersen, *Tragoediae sacrae. Materialien und Beiträge zur Geschichte der polnisch-lateinischen Jesuitendramatik der Frühzeit*, Tartu (Dorpat) 1931, pp. 19–20, who quotes essential sources for Cnapius's life: Catalogus anni 1590 and 1593 (Collegium Pultoviense), Catalogus anni 1597 (Collegium Vilmense), Catalogus anni 1599 (Collegium Posnaniense); J. Puzynina, “Thesaurus” Grzegorza Knapiusza. *Siedemnastowieczny warsztat pracy nad językiem polskim*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1961, pp. 6–8; *Gregorii Cnapii tragoediae: Philopater, Faelicitas, Eutropius*, apparatus critico, praefatione annotationibusque instruxit Lidia Winniczuk, Wratislaviae–Varsaviae–Cracoviae 1965, p. 6; M. Plezia, *Knapiusz Grzegorz*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. XIII, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1967, pp. 107–108 (the most detailed one).

⁴ *Encyklopedia Powszechna*, vol. XIV, Warszawa 1863, p. 905 (quoted also by J. Puzynina, *op. cit.*, p. 7).

⁵ See also Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Polonica, MS Pol. 68, p. 70: “edidit [...] vivendo et exempla plurimarum virtutum, quarum nulla obscuritas delere poterit claritatem”.

⁶ Preserved in MS R 380 (Uppsala University Library), fol. 38–193r. They were published by L. Winniczuk, *Gregorii Cnapii tragoediae, op. cit. Philopater and Faelicitas* have been translated into Lithuanian by E. Ulčinaitė in: *Lietuvos jėuitų teatras: XVI–XVIII amžiaus dramų rinktinė, parengė, iš lotynų ir lenkų kalbų išvertė, įadą ir komentarus parašė Eugenija Ulčinaitė*, Vilnius 2008, pp. 57–191. See also A. Stender-Petersen,

and *Eutropius* (staged in Lublin). His *Thesaurus Polono-Latino-Graecus* is considered to be one of the most important works of Polish lexicography. The dictionary,⁷ printed in Kraków, consists of three volumes. The first, printed in 1621, is the largest and contains Polish entries with their Latin and Greek counterparts. The novelty of Cnapius's method in creating an entry is to give not only the first meaning of each word, but also to supplement it with many additional secondary meanings.⁸ The second volume, printed in 1626, is a Latin-Polish dictionary (*Tomus secundus, Latinopolonicus*). The third volume, *Tomus tertius. Continens Adagia Polonica selecta, et sententias morales ac dicitaria faceta, honesta, Latine et Graece reddita*,⁹ printed in 1632, may be regarded, as Marian Plezia suggests,¹⁰ as a phraseological dictionary. It includes Polish phrases and proverbs together with their Latin¹¹ and Greek versions. It should be noted that in some cases, when Cnapius did not find a proper Greek counterpart for a Polish proverb, he composed his own in iambic trimeter, hexameter and dactylic pentameter (also occasionally in prose).¹²

op. cit., pp. 21–97, 246–255; J. Niedźwiedź, *Kultura literacka Wilna (1323–1655). Retoryczna organizacja miasta*, Kraków 2012, pp. 347–348.

⁷ Its full analysis can be found in the work of J. Puzynina, *op. cit.*

⁸ See *ibidem*, p. 16; M. Plezia, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁹ For the whole title of each volume see M. Będkowski, *Grzegorz Cnapiusz, Thesaurus polono-latino-graecus, Kraków 1621*, “Poradnik Językowy” 02/2014, pp. 104–109 (with a list of papers on Cnapius's dictionary); K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska. Stulecie XV–XVIII*, tom XIX, Kraków 1903, pp. 334–335, 337.

¹⁰ M. Plezia, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

¹¹ On Cnapius's Latin Adagia and his sources see the work of T. Nastulczyk, *Z dziejów świadomości literackiej w Rzeczypospolitej XVII w. Przystawia łacinki w zbiorze “Adagia Polonica” Grzegorza Cnapiusza*, Kraków 2009.

¹² Those *Adagia Graeca*, marked in the dictionary with the letter A., were gathered by J. Czerniatowicz in the anthology *Corpusculum poesis Polono-Graecae saeculorum XVI–XVII (1531–648)*, collegit, edidit, praefatione instruxit, annotationibus illustravit Janina Czerniatowicz, Wrocław 1991, pp. 49–80. See *Thesaurus...*, vol. I (1621), p.)(3r: “sicubi tamen raro, analogia servata, quidpiam ipse formavi, aut a recentioribus Graecis vel Latinis novatum accepi, notam hanc [a fronte addidi]”; *Thesaurus...*, vol. III (1632), p. *4r: “Tales porro versiculos Graecos plerunque etiam Latinis Senariis meis, vel alienis si placebant, reddidi. aliquando tamen sententiae perspicuitati, potius quam metri numeris servire malui, et solutis verbis explicui. praesertim ubi versiculus Latinus durior vel Graecum non exprimens ab aliis positus occurrit, et mihi properanti non semper libuit his minutis immorari. Quia vero tales Senarios Graecos antiquorum, non semper ad Polonica

Cnapius kept working on his dictionary until his death, correcting and improving it. The second edition was published in 1643–1644. The dictionary was reprinted and published in abridged form many times afterwards,¹³ and was used in schools in Poland until the nineteenth century. It shows his great diligence as well as expertise in lexicography and Classical languages.¹⁴ At the end of the second volume (p. 940),¹⁵ Cnapius addresses the reader one more time:

Expectabas forte Studiose Lector elogium aliquod operi huic sane laborioso, licet minus specioso, ab erudito quopiam viro, pro more appositum. Et quidem non defuere, quae ad primum mox tomum addenda, oblata mihi a quibusdam sunt; sed ego modestius et cum naturae meae, tum statui congruentius me facturum putavi, si ipsemet elogium aliquod adicerem, non mihi, sed duobus inclytis viris Ignatio Loiollae et Francisco Xaviero, tum cum haec scribebam, in numerum caelitum a summo Ecclesiae Catholicae antistite relatis, quorum auspiciis et ope post divinam, haec a me suscepta et in gravibus licet ac perculosis morbis, confecta, sentio. Versus aliqui sunt quos in apotheosi ipsorum Cracoviae primum celebrata publice proposueram. Ex his aliquos grati animi in Deum omnis boni fontem, et in eosdem beatos viros affectus mei testes, hic subiunxi.

Instead of praising his own work, *non triviale Dictionarium*, as he calls it,¹⁶ Cnapius decided to add three hymns to honour two great Jesuits – Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier (pp. 941–943). In this way he wishes to thank them for their *auspicia et ops* in completing the enormous undertaking he had carried out for many years while struggling with serious illness. From this address we also find that these three hymns Cnapius added to the second volume are among the poems he publicly delivered in Kraków during the celebration of the canonization of the two Jesuits

dicta accomodatos habere potui, ideo meos subinde adieci, eisque literam A auctoris notam apposui.”

¹³ For the reprints see K. E s t r e i c h e r, *op. cit.*, pp. 331–338.

¹⁴ Attested also by manuscript documents, see Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Polonica, MS Pol. 66, p. 112r: “... humanitatis studia ita adamavit ut linguae Graecae ac Latinae omnisque eruditionis promptuarium merito appellari meruerit”; MS Pol. 68, p. 70: “... fuit linguae graecae et latinae promptuarium”.

¹⁵ There is an error in pagination, p. 809 is followed by 900. The wrong pagination (900–943) is kept until the end of the dictionary.

¹⁶ *Thesaurus...* vol. I (1621), p.)() (2v.

Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier, who were proclaimed saints by Pope Gregory XV on the same day (12 March 1622).

1 Hymn to Ignatius of Loyola¹⁷

ΤΩΙ ἈΓΙΩΙ ἸΓΝΑΤΙΩΙ ΤΗΣ ἘΤΑΙΡΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ἸΗΣΟΥ ἈΡΧΗΓΩΙ

ὙΜΝΟΣ ΠᾶΝΤΗ ἈΛΦΑΒΗΤΙΚῸΣ.

Ἄνδρ' αἰνῶ ἀρίδηλον, ἀσώμων ἄξιον αὐδῶν,
 Βώτορα, βουλευτήν, βέβαιον, βαθυγνώμονα, βριμόν,
 Γνωμονικόν, γεννάρχην, γρηγορικόν, γλυκύθυμον,
 Δριμέα, δεινολογοῦντα, δαΐφρονα, δαιδαλόφρονον,
 Ἐμπονον, εὐήθη, ἐλεητικόν, ἐργοδιώκτην,
 Ζηλωτήν, ζαμελιῆ, ζωηρόν, ζωπυρέοντα,
 Ἴδουμον, ἠδυεπῆ, ἠγητῆρ', ἠπιόθυμον,
 Θυμόσοφον, θεατόν, θεοσέπτορα, θελγεσίμυθον,
 Ἴθυντῆρ', ἱεροπρεπέ', ἰσχυρόν, ἱμερόντα,
 Καρποφόρον, κρατερόν, καματῶντα, καλόφρονα, κλητόν,
 Λαρόν, λαοτρόφον, λόγιμον, λαμπρόν, λιγύφρονον,
 Μελίχιον, μέτριον, μεγαλόσπλαγχνον, μελίγλωσσον,
 Νηφάλιον, νοερόν, νημερτῆ, νουθετέοντα,
 Ξεινοδόκον, ξυνόν, ξυνετόν, ξυγγνώμονα, ξουθόν,
 Οὐρανογνώμον', ὁμόφρον', ὀνήσιμον, οἰκτικόν, ὄξυν,
 Πάγχρηστον, παναγιῆ, πρόμαχον, πρόπολον, πανάμωμον,
 Ῥύτορα, ῥωμαλέον, ῥητόν, ῥέκτην, ῥοδοειδῆ,
 Σώφρονα, σεμνοπρεπῆ, σοφόβουλον, σκληροδίαιτον,
 Τερψίνοον, ταλάοντα, τροπαιοφόρον, τετράγωνον,
 Ὑψαγόρην, ὑγιῆ, ὑψήνορ', ὑπήκοον, ὕδνην,
 Φωταυγῆ, φρόνιμον, φιλόμοχθον, φράδμονα, φαιδρόν,
 Χρηστόν, χρηστόφιλον, χθαμαλόν, χαρίεντα, χαμεῦνην,

¹⁷ All three poems have been published by J. Czerniatowicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–111 (she also quotes their small fragments in her paper *Poezja polsko-grecka w XVI i XVII w.*, “Eos” LXXII (1984), p. 201). Czerniatowicz however almost never marks her corrections (except six notes) and used the text from the second edition (1644), which, after a close examination, contains more typos and errors than the first edition (1626). Another edition of Cnapius’s hymns can be found in T. Veteikis’s PhD dissertation *Graiki kalbos studijos ir graikiškoji kūryba Lietuvoje XVI–XVII amžiuje* (defended in 2004 at Vilnius University), pp. 257–260, with their brief characteristic on pp. 127–132. Veteikis, too, took into account the dictionary’s second edition of 1644 and some later ones (1652, 1668, 1693). The present version of Cnapius’s hymns is based on their first edition in 1626.

Ψυχοτακῆ, ψυχοφελέα, ψευσίπτυγα, ψιλόν,
Ὠρικόν, ὠραῖον, ὠκυεπ', ὠμοκρατ', ὠφελέοντα.

Οὖνομα τοῦ γνῶναι ποθέεις; ἼΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ ἔστι,
Ὅν ΛΟΪΩ ΛΑ πατρὶς Καντάβρων κύδιμ' ἔτεξεν,
Κλῦθι μάκαρ Πάτερ, ἡδὲ τεῶν μέμνησ' ἀκολουθῶν.

1 Ἄνδρ' 7 ἠπιόθυμον 11 λογιμόν 18 σεμνοπρετεῖ 26 πατρίς.

The first hymn, to the founder of the Society of Jesus, is original in terms of form and content. As its title suggests, it is entirely alphabetic, something we could expect from a lexicographer. Each line contains words beginning with letters following the alphabetical order and thus we have 24 verses, forming an alphabetical acrostic poem – *abcdarion*.¹⁸ It should be noted how Cnapius starts the first line. The significant word ἄνδρα, placed at the beginning of the verse, immediately reminds of the first line of Homer's *Odyssey*:¹⁹ Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα. Loyola is portrayed here like the hero of the Greek heroic poem, and this similarity as well as the same metre – hexameter – gives Cnapius's hymn an epic tone. In addition to that, the second word – αἰνῶ – may be an allusion to *The Homeric Hymns*, where we find the verb αἰίδω in several poems:²⁰

¹⁸ On ancient Greek acrostic poems (*telesticha*, *mesosticha*), anagrams, pangrams, *abcdaria* etc. see Ch. L u z's very comprehensive study *Technopaignia, Formspiele in der griechischen Dichtung*, Leiden–Boston 2010. Acrostic poems can be found also in collections of Jesuit poetry, e.g. *Epicedia in obitum reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini d. Adami Conarski de Cobelin, Posnaniensis episcopi, de ecclesia Christi, deque repub. et literarum studiosis, patroni optime meriti. A nonnullis adolescentibus, optimarum artium in Collegio Societatis Iesu, Posnaniae ab eodem instituto Studiosis, grati animi ergo conscripta. Cracoviae Matthaeus Siebeneycher excudebat* [1574], fol. G₄r–H₁r (two simple Latin acrostics), H₃r–H₃v (a complex Latin acrostic).

¹⁹ All quotations from *Odyssey* are based on the edition Homer. *The Odyssey*. With an English Translation by A. T. M u r r a y, Ph.D. in two volumes, Cambridge (MA)–London 1924.

²⁰ All quotations from *the Homeric Hymns* are based on the edition *The Homeric Hymns and Homerica*. With an English Translation by Hugh G. E v e l y n - W h i t e, Cambridge (MA)–London 1914.

hymn XII *To Hera*, v. 1: Ἥρην αἰίδω χρυσόθρονον [...];

hymn XVIII *To Hermes*, v. 1: Ἑρμῆν αἰίδω Κυλλήνιον [...];

hymn XXVII *To Artemis*, v. 1: Ἄρτεμιν αἰίδω χρυσηλάκατον [...].

Another feature common to Cnapius's hymn and *The Homeric Hymns* is the initial phrase, consisting of a noun or name, a verb and an adjective. This indicates that the lexicographer might have imitated the characteristics of ancient Greek epic hymns. What we see next in Cnapius's hymn is a sequence of adjectives and nouns referring to Loyola. There are also several present participles: δεινολογοῦντα, ζωπυρέοντα, καματώντα, ὠφελέοντα. After the Ω verse Cnapius puts in an additional three verses, in which he directly asks the reader if he wishes to know the name and the origin of the praised man. Here appears the name of the saint and the country he comes from (πατρίς Καντάβρων). The last line is however devoted to God. Again, the lexicographer addresses God in a typical epic phrase κλυθι μάκαρ Πάτερ. Similar formulas can be found in Homer's epic poems as well as *The Homeric Hymns*:

Iliad:²¹

I 37, I 451: κλυθί μευ ἀργυρότοξ' [...]

V 115, X 278: κλυθί μευ αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς τέκος [...]

XVI 514: κλυθι ἄναξ ὅς που Λυκίης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ

XXIII 770: κλυθι θεά, ἀγαθή μοι ἐπίρροθος ἐλθὲ ποδοῖν

Odyssey:

II 262: κλυθί μευ, ὃ χθιζὸς θεὸς ἦλυθες [...]

III 55: κλυθι, Ποσειδάων γαίῳχε [...]

IV 762, VI 324: κλυθί μευ, αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς τέκος [...]

V 445: κλυθι, ἄναξ, ὅτις ἐσσί [...]

IX 528: κλυθι, Ποσειδάων γαίῳχε κυανοχαῖτα

the Homeric Hymn *To Ares* (VIII 9): κλυθι, βροτῶν ἐπίκουρε, δοτῆρ εὐθαλέος ἦβης.

²¹ All quotations from *Iliad* are based on the edition Homer. *The Iliad*. With an English Translation by A.T. Murray, Ph.D. in two volumes, Cambridge, MA., London 1924.

The style which Cnapius chose to compose his hymn excludes inserting any narration or description of Loyola's life and deeds. If it were not for the title and the last three verses, the reader would not be able to figure out to whom the poem was devoted. The lexicographer focused mainly on the spiritual characteristics of the saint, underlying his leadership (άρχηγός, βῶτωρ, γενάρχη, ἡγητήρ, ἰθυντήρ), wisdom (βαθυγνώμων, γνωμονικός, δαίφρων, θυμόσοφος, ξυνετός, σοφόβουλος, ὕδνης, φράδμων), strength (βέβαιος, ῥωμαλέος, ὠμοκρατής), compassion (έλεητικός, οἰκτικός) and sanctity (άσώμων ἄξιος αὐδῶν, ἱεροπρεπής, παναγής, πρόπολος, πανάμωμος). This enumeration of adjectives and nouns set in the alphabetical order proves Cnapius's deep knowledge of the Greek language and expertise in lexicography and is intended to impress the audience. The ability to find words beginning on the same letter, describing spiritual qualities, and to compose a hexameter line can be here observed. Vocabulary is here a stylistic device. It should be stressed that many words of the hymn are rare and can be found only in Hesychius's lexicon (e.g. βριμός, ζαμελής, καλόφρων, ὕδνης, χαμεύνης).²² Quite a lot of compound words can be also found here and some of them share the second element:

- γνώμων: βαθυγνώμων, ξυγγνώμων, οὐρανογνώμων
- θυμος: γλυκύθυμος, ἠπιόθυμος
- φρων: δαΐφρων, καλόφρων, ὁμόφρων, σῶφρων
- φωνος: δαιδαλόφωνος, λιγύφωνος
- φόρος: καρποφόρος, τροπαιοφόρος.

In terms of structure, the poem has an asyndetic form (except for the last three lines). The 24 alphabetical verses – excluding the first line – contain four (v. 3–9, 12, 13, 18, 19, 23) or five (v. 2, 10, 11, 14–17, 20–22, 24) epithets and may be considered as a litany to the Saint. If we add the formula *Pray for us* after each line, the hymn could be a regular prayer. The alphabetical list of words refers not only to the dictionary and alphabet: these 24 verses from *A* to *Ω* indicate the beginning and the end, God – *alpha* and *omega*. The hymn appears also to be in praise of God, ending with the prayer Κλῦθι μάκαρ Πάτερ, ἡδὲ τεῶν μένησ' ἀκολούθων.

²² For inventory of Homeric, Ionic, Attic, Modern Greek forms and neologisms in Cnapius's poems see T. Veteikis, *op. cit.*, pp. 263–267.

When looking for ancient models that could inspire Cnapius to compose such acrostic poetry we find several sources in collections of Classical as well as Christian Greek poetry. Some examples are included in book 9 of the Greek Anthology which contains rhetorical and illustrative epigrams. A 24-line poem attributed to Stephanus the Grammarian (IX 385) is an alphabetical acrostic written in hexameter. Each line starts with a different letter (Ἄλφα, Βῆτα, Γάμμα, Δέλτα etc.) and subsequently summarizes the 24 books of the *Iliad*. However, more important to this discussion seem to be two anonymous epigrams IX 524 – *Hymn to Dionysus*, and IX 525 – *Hymn to Apollo*, which might be considered direct models for Cnapius's hymn to Ignatius of Loyola. Their subject, like that of our poet's hymns, is religious. Both ancient poems are composed in hexameter, and they share the same closed structure. The first line is repeated at the end of each poem and contains an appeal in the first person plural to celebrate Dionysus and Apollo respectively (Μέλπωμεν βασιλιᾶ φιλεύιον, Είραφιώτην and Ὑμνέωμεν Παιᾶνα, μέγαν θεὸν Ἀπόλλωνα²³). This frame encloses a 24 alphabetical acrostic – *abcedarion*, in which each line has a series of four epithets beginning with the same letter. A detailed comparison of these two epigrams with Cnapius's hymn reveals close lexical similarities:

Cnapius's hymn to Loyola, v. 3	Γνωμονικόν, γεννάρχην, γρηγορικόν, γλυκύθυμον
AP IX 525, v. 4	γηθόσυνον, γελώωντα, γιγαντολέτην, γλυκύθυμον
Cnapius's hymn to Loyola, v. 7	Ἥδυμον, ἡδυεπῆ, ἡγητῆρ', ἡπίοθυμον
AP IX 524, v. 8	ἦπιον, ἡδυπότην, ἡδύθροον, ἡπεροπῆα
AP IX 525, v. 8	ἦπιον, ἡδυεπῆ, ἡδύφρονα, ἡπίοχειρα
Cnapius's hymn to Loyola, v. 8	Θυμόσοφον, θεατόν, θεοσέπτορα, θελγασίμυθον

²³ All quotations from *The Greek Anthology* are based on the edition *The Greek Anthology*. With an English Translation by W.R. Paton, vol. III, London–New York 1917.

AP IX 524, v. 9	θυρσοφόρον, θρήικα, θιασώτην, θυμολέοντα
AP IX 525, v. 9	θηροφόρον, θαλερόν, θελξίφρονα, θελγεσίμυθον
Cnapius's hymn to Loyola, v. 10	Καρποφόρον, κρατερόν , καματώντα, καλόφρονα , κλητόν
AP IX 525, v. 11	κοσμοπλόκον, Κλάριον, κρατερόφρονα , καρπογένεθλον
Cnapius's hymn to Loyola, v. 11	Λαρόν , λαοτρόφον, λόγιμον, λαμπρόν, λιγύφωνον
AP IX 525, v. 12	Δητογενή, λαρόν , λυρογηθέα, λαμπετόντα
Cnapius's hymn to Loyola, v. 12	Μειλίχιον, μέτριον, μεγαλόσπλαγχνον , μελίγλωσσον
AP IX 525, v. 13	μυστιπόλον, μάντιν, μεγαλήτορα , μυριόμορφον
Cnapius's hymn to Loyola, v. 13	Νηφάλεον , νοερόν , νημερτή, νουθετέοντα
AP IX 525, v. 14	νευροχαρή, νοερόν , νηπενθέα, νηφαλιήα
Cnapius's hymn to Loyola, v. 14	Ξεινοδόκον , ξυνόν , ξυνετόν, ξυγγνώμονα, ξουθόν
AP IX 524, v. 15	ξυστοβόλον, ξυνόν , ξενοδώτην , ξανθοκάρηνον
AP IX 525, v. 15	ξυνοχαρή, ξυνόν , ξυνόφρονα, ξυνοδοτήρα
Cnapius's hymn to Loyola, v. 16	Πάγχρηστον , παναγή , πρόμαχον, πρόπολον, πανάμωμον
AP IX 525, v. 17	πρηϋν, πανδερκή , παναπήμονα , πλουτοδοτήρα
Cnapius's hymn to Loyola, v. 17	Ψύτορα, ρωμαλέον, ρητόν, ρέκτην, ροδοειδή

AP IX 525, v. 18	ῥυσίπονον, ῥοδόχρουν , ῥηξήνορα, ῥηξικέλευθον
Cnapius's hymn to Loyola, v. 18	Σώφρονα, σεμνοπρεπῆ, σοφόβουλον , σκληροδιάιτον
AP IX 525, v. 19	σιγαλόεντα, σοφόν , σελαηγενέτην, σωτῆρα
Cnapius's hymn to Loyola, v. 19	Τερψίνοον , ταλάοντα, τροπαιοφόρον, τετράγωνον
AP IX 524, v. 20	τερπνόν , ταυρωπόν, Τυρρηνολέτην, ταχύμηνην
AP IX 525, v. 20	τερψίχορον , Τιτᾶνα, τελέστορα, τιμήντα
Cnapius's hymn to Loyola, v. 21	Φωταυγῆ, φρόνιμον, φιλόμοχθον , φράδμονα, φαιδρόν
AP IX 524, v. 22	φηρομανῆ, φρικτόν, φιλομειδέα , φοιταλιώτην
AP IX 525, v. 22	Φοῖβον, φοιβάζοντα, φιλοστέφανον , φρενογηθῆ
Cnapius's hymn to Loyola, v. 22	Χρηστόν, χρηστόφιλον, χθαμαλόν, χαρίεντα , χαμεύνην
AP IX 524, v. 23	χρυσόκερων, χαρίεντα , χαλίφρονα, χρυσεομίτρην
Cnapius's hymn to Loyola, v. 23	Ψυχοτακῆ , ψυχωφελέα, ψευσίπτυγα , ψιλόν
AP IX 524, v. 24	Ψυχοπλανῆ , ψεύστην, ψοφομηδέα, ψυχοδαϊκτῆν
AP IX 525, v. 24	ψαλμοχαρῆ, ψάλτην, ψευσίπτυγα , ψυχοδοτῆρα
Cnapius's hymn to Loyola, v. 24	Ἵρρικόν , ὠραῖον, ὠκυεπ' , ὠμοκρατ', ὠφελέοντα
AP IX 524, v. 25	ὦριον , ὠμηστήν, ὠρείτροφον, ὠρεσίδουπον
AP IX 524, v. 26	ὠκύπον , ὠκυεπῆ , ὠκύσκοπον, ὠρεσιδώτην

As can be seen from the table above, lexicographer's hymn demonstrates his thorough acquaintance with the two epigrams. Not only does Cnapius use the same epithets as his ancient source. He also puts them in exactly the same place in the verse (e.g. γλυκύθυμος, θελγεσίμυθος, νοερός, ξυνός, ψευσίπτυξ). Moreover, in an attempt to rival Classical poetry, he looks for compound words that have one element in common (θυμόσοφος – θυμολέων, ῥοδοειδής – ῥοδόχρους, φιλόμοχθος – φιλομειδής).

Among Christian anthologies of poetry that might have influenced Cnapius is a collection of the poems of Gregory of Nazianzus, whose works are mentioned in the *Ratio Studiorum*. His iambic epigram (*Carmena Moralia*, PG 37, 908–909) is also a 24-line alphabetical acrostic, *abddarion*. Each verse of the poem is gnomic in character and contains a moral precept. The poet, following the style of gnomes, composed his exhortations in simple sentences using imperative, optative and infinitive. Finally, Byzantine hymnography, especially the *Akathist hymn*, *kontakia* and *kanones*, constitute a rich source of acrostic poems.²⁴

Cnapius's hymn to Ignatius of Loyola is also a fine example of baroque poetry and should be studied in close relation to seventeenth-century literary patterns and trends. Writers of this period questioned valued poetic principles and tended to apply a variety of excessive tropes and figures, aiming to produce a striking poetic effect to impress a reader. They reflected Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski's idea of *concors discordia*. Baroque poems, full of metaphors, symbols and allegories, were erudite and at the same time artistic. Rhetorical sophistication was a crucial strategy. The poet's ambition was to write a composition of unconventional structure, loaded with combinations of rare words that offer many possibilities of interpretation. As in the case of literary composition, epigrammatic poetry became very popular in the baroque period. Emblems, stemmata, hieroglyphics, enigmas, symbols, inscriptions, epitaphs – forms that demand from an

²⁴ See K. Krumbacher, *Die Akrostichis in der griechischen Kirchenpoesie*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1903, pp. 551–691; W. Weyh, *Die Akrostichis in der byzantinischen Kanonesdichtung*, "Byzantinische Zeitung" 17 (1908), pp. 1–69; E. Vogt, *Das Akrostichon in der griechischen Literatur*, "Antike und Abendland" 13 (1967), pp. 80–95.

author ingenuity, artfulness and finesse²⁵ – were favored and mentioned in the *Ratio studiorum*. Many examples can be found in Jesuit collections of occasional literature, written for the election of kings, marriages, birthdays, funerals etc.²⁶

In baroque textbooks on rhetoric that discuss the characteristics of epigrams, we also find a definition of *elogium* – a term which Gregorius Cnapius used with reference to his hymns. According to Jan Kwiatkiewicz (*Phoenix rhetorum*, Cracoviae 1672, p. 144), *elogium* is a certain kind of concise and poignant expression with acute laconisms. It may be regarded as free verse or an extended and complex epigram unrestrained by poetic rules. Features of *elogium* are brevity – not of discourse but style – and acuity.

Cnapius in his *elogium* follows those baroque literary trends. Composing an alphabetical, 24-line *elogium* consisting of only one sentence with the verb αὐτῶ, he experiments with the syntax, achieves brevity of style and alludes to the gnomic character of funerary inscriptions. It may be argued that each verse, containing epithets starting with the same letter, is closed in terms of form and meaning and thus is an autonomous element of the whole poem. Barbara Otwinowska in her study of *elogium*²⁷ compares its composition with a string of pearls: each pearl is a complete and self-contained element, but the string can be shortened or extended.²⁸ Similarly, Cnapius could add more verses to his hymn if the alphabet did not prevent him. He plays with the reader and encourages him to ponder the structure of this *elogium*. In pursuit of impressing him, Cnapius also uses all the opportunities offered by Greek and searches for rare compound words or creates new ones.

²⁵ See E. Ulčinaйтė, *Teoria retoryczna w Polsce i na Litwie w XVII wieku. Próba rekonstrukcji schematu retorycznego*, Wrocław 1984, p. 165.

²⁶ See *Kalbų varžybos = Certamen linguarum = Competition of languages = Koncert języków: Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdovų ir didikų sveikinimai*. Parengė, iš lotynų kalbos išvertė, įvadą ir koment. parašė Eugenija Ulčinaйтė, Vilnius 2010.

²⁷ B. Otwinowska, *Elogium – “flos floris, anima et essentia” poetyki siedemnastowiecznego panegiryzmu*, [in:] *Studia z teorii i historii poezji*, ed. M. Głowiński, Seria I, Wrocław 1967, pp. 148–184.

²⁸ See B. Otwinowska, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–152.

2 Hymn to Francis Xavier

ΤΩΙ ἈΓΙΩΙ ΦΡΑΓΚΪΣΚΩΙ ΞΑΟΥΕΙΡΙΩΙ
 ὝΜΝΟΣ ΚΑΤὰ ἈΚΡΟΣΤΙΧΪΔΑ ὈΝΟΜΑΣΤΙΚῆΝ,
 Ἀμφοτέρωθεν.

Φ ημί σε τοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς Ἰνδούς εὐθροε κῆρυ Ξ
 Ῥ ωμαϊκῆς θεολατρείας γῆ καί τε θαλάσῃ Ἀ
 Ἀ κάματ' ἐκφάντωρ παναγοῦς τε νόμοιο Θεοῦ Ο
 Γ νήσι' ἀποστολικῆς διδαχῆς παιδευτ' ἐπὶ κόσμῳ Ι
 Κ ἀρτιστ' εἰδώλων ἀφανιστὰ δαιμονίων τ Ε
 Ἰ δμον ὁδηγὲ πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἔργοις ἠδὲ λόγοισι Ι
 Σ ινῶν τῆς ψυχῆς νούσων ἰδῆμον ἰητή Ρ
 Κ αρτερόφρον καμάτους πάντας Χριστῷ εἵνεχ' ὑπέϊνα Ι
 Ο ὕτω παντοτελῆς διῶκνοῦ εἰς τ' ἄκρα πόλοι Ο
 Σ ωζομένους ἡμᾶς τήρει ἐσθλοῖσιν ἐπ' ἔργοι Σ

1 Φῆμί | Ἰνδούς 2 Ῥωμαϊκῆς | θεολατρίας | θαλάσῃ 3 Ἀκαματ' 5 Κάρτιστ' |
 ἀφανιστῆς 6 ἔργοις 7 Σίνων 9 διῶκνου.

While the first hymn is *dictionary-oriented* and focused on Loyola's virtues, the second hymn, to Francis Xavier, consists of only 10 lines and praises the deeds of Francis Xavier. It is also an acrostic written in hexameter and elaborated in terms of form and structure. The number of 10 verses is not coincidental: the first capital letters of each line highlight the name Francis – *Fragkiskos*, the last Xavier – *Xaoueirios*. Cnapius emphasizes here the work of the first Jesuit missionary, who converted to Christianity many people during his travels in Asia. Francis Xavier is called a herald of Christ in India and a tireless revealer of God's law, who destroys demons and heals souls throughout the world, leading them to heaven by his deeds and words. The lexicographer aptly uses Greek agent nouns to describe the Saint's missions: κῆρυξ, ἐκφάντωρ, παιδευτής, ἀφανιστής, ὁδηγός, ἰητήρ. All these nouns put in the vocative antecede the prayer to the Saint in the last two lines. The author switches from the first person singular in line 1 to the first person plural in lines 9–10, asking Francis Xavier for protection in his travels to the world's end.

This type of acrostic poem also has its roots in ancient literature. Besides many examples of acrostics forming the name of the author,²⁹ we find compositions with initial letters making up the name of an addressee. Dioscorus of Aphrodito (6th c. AD) wrote several occasional acrostic poems praising emperors, dukes and officials: *Encomium on Romanos* (acrostic ο κυριος Ρωμανος),³⁰ *Epithalamium for Paul and Patricia* (acrostic εἰς Πατρικιαν[ν] νυμφην Παυλου),³¹ *Encomium on Dominus* (acrostic εἰς τον κ[ριτην] ορ κυριον] Δομνινον),³² *Encomium on Paul son of Dominus* (acrostic χ(αιρε) Παυλος),³³ *Encomium on Hypatius* (acrostic Υπατιος),³⁴ *Epithalamium for Isakios* (acrostic Ισακιω λαμπρ(ρ)οστατω νυμφι(ι)ω).³⁵ Such acrostics also occur in Jesuit collections of occasional poetry³⁶ and seventeenth-century rhetorical treatises.³⁷ Cnapius's poem is an *akroteleuton* – a combination of *acrostichon* and *telestichon*. As in the first hymn, here too the poet tries to impress the reader with a sophisticated visual layout of the text. This eulogium, when read and seen, brings aesthetic pleasure. As regards vocabulary, the poem contains several Homeric forms: line 1 Χριστοῖο, line 3 νόμοιο Θεοῖο, line 6 λόγοισι, line 9 πόλοιο, line 10 ἔσθλοῖσιν. In this poem as well, Cnapius was fond of uncommon words (e.g. ἰδῆμων). In the second line, we can see the rare word ἐκφάντωρ, which appears in patristic texts.³⁸

²⁹ See Ch. L u z, *op. cit.*, Anhang I *Liste der Griechische Acrosticha*, pp. 375–376.

³⁰ See L.S.B. M a c C o u l l, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito. His Work and his World*, Berkeley 1988, pp. 68–72.

³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 81–84.

³² *Ibidem*, pp. 103–104.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 105.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 107.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 111–113.

³⁶ See MS 1137 (The Ossolineum, Wrocław), fol. 140r–v, a complex Latin acrostic poem (*mesostichon*) in praise of bishop George Radziwiłł's enthronement; *Panegyris encomiastica illustrissimo Domino D. Christophoro de Chalecz Chalecki, Palatino Nouogrodensi [...]. A residentia Novogrodensi Societatis Iesu oblata*. Vilnae 1651 (T. Veteikis, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–83, 260–261).

³⁷ See *Elogium Martini Lutheri in Tyrociniuum Eloquentiae. Matthiae Troyniewicz sub Michaele Suffkczynski Magistro Poeseos*, Vilnae, anno Dni 1694 (MS F3-2188, fol. 13r, Vilnius University Library).

³⁸ See E. T r a p p, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9–12. Jahrhunderts*, 3. Faszikel, p. 477, entry ἐκφάντωρ; Δ. Δημητράκου Μέγα Λεξικόν της Ελληνικής Γλώσσης, vol. 5, p. 2401, entry ἐκφάντωρ.

3 hymn to Francis Xavier

ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ἈΠΟΘΕΩΣΙΣ

Κλειτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος, χ' Ἡρακλῆς, Βάκχος, ἔτ' ἄλλοι,

Εἰς τὰ πέραν βάλλειν βήματα μὴ δυνατοί,

Ἀκροτάτοις κίονας μονίμους ἐν τέρμασι θῆκαν,

Τῆς αὐτῶν συνεχεῖς μάρτυρας ἀδρανεῖας.

Ἵν' ἔνεχ' οἱ γραφικοὶ κείνοις τόδε λῆμμα τιθεῖσι:

ΤΕΡΜΩΝ ἸΩΔ' ΕΣΤΩ: ΟΥ ΠΛΕΙΟΝ ΕἶΣ ΤΑ ΠΕΡΑΝ.

Σὺ φρονιμώτεροι ὡς βασιλεῖς ἀγορευοῦσαι εἴωθαν,

Ἀκμῆς, ΕἶΣ ΤΑ ΠΕΡΑΝ ΠΛΕΙΟΝ, ἔλεξας ἀεὶ.

Κἄν σοι μακρότερον διάγειν ᾧδε χρόνον ἐξῆ,

(Ὅτι πόθῳ σου καὶ πράξεσιν ἦν βραχίων,)

Πρὸς δυσμῆν, πόθεν εἰς τὰ δ' ἠοῦς ἐπίγειος ἀπῆλθες,

Ἐξ ἠοῦς ἀνίης ἄψ ὑπόγειος ἐκάς.

Οὕτω σου θυμῷ κόσμον κύκλωσας ἅπαντα,

Κράντορος ὑψίστου κοιρανίην προάγων.

Ἐμπαλιν οὖν ὑπ' ἐκείν' εἰς τ' οὐρανοῖ' ἄκρα προήχθης,

ἈΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΡΩΜΗΣ ἀξιόπιστος ὅπερ

ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΣ-ΠΕΜΠΤΟΣ δήλωσεν ἅπασι,

Θαύμαθ' ὃ κἄν σου ἄλλις κ' ἔργματα πολλὰ τρανοῖ.

ΤΕΛΟΣ

τῷ Τέλει Ἀρχῇ τε πάντων

τῷ Θεῷ

ἀπεράτῳ καὶ ἀνάρχῳ

χάρις καὶ δόξα

ἀπέραντος.

1 ἐτ' 4 συνεχῆς 5 Ὡν 6 ΩΔ' 9 Κἄν | ἔξη 12 Ἐξ | ἀνίης 13 In the second edition (1644) there is a change in word order: τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα κυκλώσας 15 οὐρανοῖ' 18 ὃ κἄν | τρανεῖ 22 ἀναρχῳ.

The last poem of Cnapius, celebrating the canonization of Francis Xavier, differs significantly from the previous hymns. First, the author composed it in elegiac distich. A change in style is also evident. The first hymn, to Ignatius of Loyola, heavily saturated with adjectives and nouns set in the alphabetical order, demands from a reader enormous concentration and careful consideration of each word, particularly since some of them are very rare. In the second hymn, one must pay attention to the agent nouns which appear to be the key words of the poem. In both hymns, the

characteristics of the saints were based on a vocabulary. In the last hymn, Cnapius praises Francis Xavier's life and deeds by comparing him with others. The opening line introduces three great figures of ancient history and mythology: Alexander the Great, Heracles and Bacchus. What links them to the Saint is the fact that they went to India during their travels. In this context, Cnapius also refers to the ancient legends about Dionysus and Heracles travelling as far as possible and setting up boundary marks³⁹ – pillars – that are at the same time evidence of their weakness (line 4). The inscription carved on them, *τέρμων ὧδ' ἔστω: οὐ πλεῖον εἰς τὰ πέραν* – „Let this be the boundary. There is [no way] beyond it”, quoted in capital letters by the author in line 6, indicates at the same time the boundary between the first and second part of the poem. In addition, verse 7 starts with the personal pronoun *σύ* referring to Francis Xavier. We can see a noticeable difference between these two parts: the first, relating to the achievements of Alexander the Great, Heracles and Bacchus, consists only of 6 verses, while the second section which praises the Saint has 12 lines. Verse 6 also has a metaphorical meaning. Followed by the personal pronoun *σύ* in verse 7, it implies that the Saint crossed the limits established by great generals, heroes or gods and went *εἰς τὰ πέραν πλεῖον* (line 8) with the mission to spread Christianity. Cnapius emphasizes the extent of the missionary's travels around the world (line 13 *θυμῷ κόσμον κύκλωσας ἅπαντα*). Parallel verses 11–12 depict Francis Xavier's wanderings from the West to the East and back: *Πρὸς δυσμήν, εἰς τὰ δ' ἠοῦς – Ἐξ ἠοῦς ἄψ, ἐπίγειος – ὑπόγειος*. The mention of the Saint's final journey to heaven and his canonization by Pope Gregory XV ends this section.

The poem focuses on the missionary work of the first Jesuit and his pioneering travels to preach the word of God. It is filled with the key words meaning “end,” “boundary,” “limit,” “highest point,” “beyond,” “further,”

³⁹ See Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.5.2: “Having traversed Thrace and the whole of India and set up pillars there he [Dionysus] came to Thebes” (*Apollodorus. The Library*. Translated by James George Frazer, Cambridge (MA), London 1921); Strabo, *Geography* 3.5.6. “Similarly they say that in India neither the pillars of Hercules or Bacchus are to be seen, nevertheless certain localities being described and pointed out to the Macedonians, they believed that those places were the pillars in which they discovered any trace either of the adventures of Bacchus or Hercules.”; 11.5.5: “The expeditions of Bacchus and of Hercules against the Indi indicate a mythological story of later date.” (*The Geography of Strabo*. Literally translated, with notes by H.C. Hamilton, in three volumes, London 1903).

“more:” εἰς τὰ πέραν (v. 2, 6, 8), ἀκροτάτοις ἐν τέρμασι (v. 3), τέρμων (v. 6), πλεῖον (v. 6, 8), μακρότερον (v. 9), ὑψίστου (v. 14), ἄκρα (v. 15). The adjectives ἀπέρατος and ἀπέραντος in the final section of the composition, referring to God and his glory respectively, also relate to the idea of crossing boundaries as discussed in the hymn.

It remains to discuss the final part of Cnapius’s poem, entitled ΤΈΛΟΣ. Here, the author glorifies God who is the beginning and the end of everything. These non-metrical verses remain closely related to the three poems as well as the dictionary, and they may also be considered as a conclusion to the volume. What immediately draws attention is their arrangement. It should be noted that only the first edition of 1626 preserved this layout, later editions having these verses written on two lines, probably because editors believed them to form one elegiac couplet and be an integral part of the third poem. However, the original arrangement highlights the important words θεός, ἀπέρατος, ἄναρχος, ἀπέραντος. It also reveals another play on words by the author, who combines words of similar sound or meaning: ἀπέρατος – ἄναρχος, χάρις – δόξα. Moreover, Cnapius experiments with the structure in this section. Line 3 contains one adjective and one noun that refer to God in line 2. On the other hand, in the fifth verse we see only one adjective referring to two nouns in verse 4. Here again some literary allusions can be identified. First of all, the fragment τῷ Τέλει Ἀρχῇ τε πάντων // τῷ Θεῷ is a slight variation of line 1 of Gregory of Nazianzus’s epigram mentioned above (PG 37, 908–909): Ἀρχὴν ἀπάντων καὶ τέλος ποιῶ Θεόν (the line is repeated in John of Damascus’s *Sacra Parallela*, PG 95, 1569). Furthermore, these five verses with their gnomic style may refer to epitaphs. Cnapius might also have been imitating Jesuit collections of occasional poetry, in which closing phrases like ΔΟΞΑ ΘΕΩ, or Latin *Laus Deo* and *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam* were quite common.

Conclusion

The three hymns presented and analysed are interesting evidence of Cnapius’s poetic works. As has been demonstrated in the analysis, they were written with the sharp pen of a lexicographer who is a deliberate and resourceful user of the Greek language. We may observe that the intensity of

vocabulary gradually weakens from the first hymn to the last. The poems also vary in terms of form, and they demonstrate that Grzegorz Cnapius could compose embellished baroque poetry in different metres, loaded with allusions and rhetorical devices to delight his audience. Perhaps we should, as Tomas Veteikis suggests,⁴⁰ reconsider Plezia's statement⁴¹ that Cnapius entirely follows linguistic and literary trends of the Renaissance period.

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⁴⁰ T. Veteikis, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

⁴¹ M. Plezia, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

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