

In the Name of Mary: Baranowicz, Jaworski, and the Good Pastor*

Abstract

The only surviving manuscript of a sermon pronounced by Stefan Jaworski in Kyiv on 8 September 1693 includes a “funeral note” commemorating Łazarz Baranowicz’s death. Jaworski’s sermon and funeral note, which in the extant witness follows the sermon, have neither been published nor studied before. By providing an analysis of both, the aim of this paper is to investigate and compare the works of the two preachers and poets, and to draw some conclusions about their personalities, poetic style, and worldview. Baranowicz’s poems and Jaworski’s sermon also provide some interesting details which shed new light on the literary and cultural milieu of Kyiv and Czernihów in the last three decades of the 17th century.

Keywords

Ukrainian Baroque literature, 17th century, sermons, Polish poetry, Stefan Javors’kyj, Lazar Baranovych

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1. The Ukrainian poet and preacher Stefan Jaworski (Javors'kyi; 1658-1622) penned about forty sermons during his church activity in Kyiv in the last decades of the 17th century. They are preserved in the manuscript No. 1592, fond 834 held by the Archiv svjatejšago pravitel'stvujuščago sinoda in The Russian State Historical Archive in St. Petersburg¹. Among these, only sermons which were composed during the period that Jaworski spent in Russia have so far been published, mostly at the beginning of the 19th century (Jaworski 2014) and later in some scholarly and church journals. The sermons written to extol Peter I's military victories and for the anathemization of Mazepa (1708) are the best known, and in Imperial Russia these were printed and commented upon many times. By contrast, the sermons which Stefan wrote and delivered in Kyiv when he was a monk, the hegoumen in the monastery of the Golden Domes, and a professor of rhetoric, poetics and philosophy at the Kyiv Mohylian College, have neither been published nor investigated. An analysis of the content of these sermons provides a wealth of interesting data about the context within which Jaworski lived, Mazepa's court in Baturyn, the audience to whom the preacher addressed his talks in both the spiritual and political capitals of the Hetmanate (Kyiv and Baturyn), the language employed, and several other significant details.

Among the numerous pieces of new information found in Jaworski's Ukrainian sermons, here I will examine a "funeral note" commemorating Łazarz Baranowicz's death, which the preacher added to the *Sermon on the Nativity of the Virgin Mary*, delivered at the Kyiv's Metropolitan cathedral of St. Sophia on 8 September 1693. In the manuscript, one finds the following title:

Natalis Dies Beatae Mariae
seu
Imieniny przy pożądanym Bogarodzicy Narodzeniu
anno Domini 1693 Septembris 8
w piątek przypadające
w katedrze metropolitarnej
kijowskiej.
Laudetur sacrosanctum nomen
MARIA.
Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam Beataeque MARIAE Virginis cum
universi tripudio natae²

The sermon is written in "plain language" (*prosta mova*), which in the 17th and 18th century Hetmanate was in use for a broad range of purposes, from administration to the religious and political spheres. In this sermon, Church Slavonic is mostly found in quotations from the Bible and other ecclesiastical sources³.

¹ Hereafter I use the Polish version of the names of cities and Ukrainian writers. In other contexts, in Ukrainian one finds the form Stefan Javors'kyj and Lazar Baranovyč, which in Russian are Javorskij and Baranovič respectively.

² Henceforth the quotations given are from the aforementioned manuscript. The title is on f. 303r.

³ This is the case for almost all of Jaworski's sermons of the Ukrainian period; the publication of these sermons (from the same witness mentioned above) is forthcoming.

Besides the title and the final benediction, Latin is employed exclusively to indicate the number of the verse of the Gospel that appears on f. 304v and the margin of f. 305v⁴. The degree of “polonity” or “churchslavonicity” which can be seen in Jaworski's *prosta mova* varies according to the place in which the sermon was given, the character of the liturgical celebration, and the audience to which the talk was addressed. It is often challenging to ascertain whether words and locutions of discernible Polish origin were used by Jaworski as the result of code-switching, or because they were already lexicalized in *prosta mova*, or for some other specific reason. A thorough examination of the linguistic characteristics of this sermon is yet to be carried out, but even a glance of the manuscript reveals the clear Polish linguistic substratum of many expressions⁵.

When still a boy, Jaworski moved with his family from Right-Bank Ukraine to Kyiv; at that time, he certainly had already learnt Polish fairly well. After attending the Kyivan College, he spent some years in the Jesuit Colleges of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Lwów, Lublin, Poznań, and Wilno) and became an accomplished “Polish” poet. He wrote panegyrics upon Mazepa and the Metropolitan Barlaam Jasiński in perfectly organised Polish verses and Latin prose, and employing different types of meters and strophe-types, which range from the thirteen-syllable Polish alexandrine and quatrains to Sapphic strophes, six-line stanzas, and octaves, with perfect rhyme and literary ornaments. His classical erudition and ability in composing poetry in Polish become self-evident in the sophisticated language one finds in his works, their complex and multi-layered structure, and the allusions to coeval Polish literature (for instance, in *Petnia*, 1691) (Niedźwiedź 2020; Awianowicz 2020). In the Hetmanate, during the last decades of the 17th century, Polish was the most prestigious language of culture; it suffices to mention in this regard that Jasiński was a graduate of Cracow University and Mazepa served several years at the court of the Polish king John II Casimir (Kroll 2013: 1-11; 24-29 for an exhaustive bibliography on the subject). For a highly educated person like Stefan Jaworski, as well as for many of his fellow scholars at both cultural environments, the monastic and the lay at the royal court (Brogi Bercoff 2013), writing poems, didactic literature, and sermons in several languages (Polish and Latin, *prosta mova*, and Church Slavonic respectively) was the natural manifestation of their distinctive intellectual background, multicultural context, and multilingual competencies.

Among the leading personalities in the Ruthenian multilingual milieu of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in Polish literary studies the best known is Łazarz Baranowicz (ca. 1617-1693). The two voluminous poetic collections *Żywoty świętych ten Apollo pieje...* (*Apollo Sings the Lives of Saints*) and *Lutnia Apollinowa* (*Apollo's Lute*)⁶ were printed in Kyiv in 1670 and 1671. They have been appreciated by Polish literary critics to a limited degree, with some poems

⁴ In other sermons, the author uses Latin more frequently, mainly for Biblical quotations; verses from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* also occur.

⁵ For a recent reassessment of the question of *prosta mova*, cf. Moser 2016; Moser 2018; Temčinas 2017.

⁶ No complete scholarly editions of *Żywoty świętych* and *Lutnia* have yet been published; a portion of the latter has been critically edited by M. Maško (Baranowicz 2004).

founding their way into the most prestigious anthology of Polish Baroque poetry. The way Baranowicz refers to Jan Kochanowski in one of his poems well illustrates how, in the Ruthenian lands, the Polish Renaissance tradition still played a significant influence in the first decades of the second half of the 17th century.

Baranowicz's impact on the development of Ukrainian culture and literature went far beyond his poetic fame. His sermons were addressed to the tzar and written in Ruthenian Church Slavonic. He filled various official posts during the stormy period of the Polish-Russian wars, the Chmielnicki's revolt, and the so-called *rujina* in Ukraine. As Bishop of Czernihów (since 1657), then Archbishop, and acting Metropolitan (1659-1661, 1670-1685) Baranowicz tried to establish a stable political equilibrium between Russia, Poland, and the Hetmanate, hoping for an all-Christian coalition to stand against Muslims. His heartfelt appeals to a peaceful coexistence between "Rusyns" and "Polaks" were defeated by external conflicts and internecine wars. His efforts to combine political protection from Moscow and the Constantinopolitan jurisdiction (which meant a substantial ecclesiastical autonomy) were doomed to fail in 1686. Yet Baranowicz enjoyed extensive prestige and influence in the Ukrainian intellectual and cultural life. As a teacher of rhetoric in Kyiv, then rector of the Mohylian College and of the branch school in Hoszcza (Volhynia), directly or indirectly he inspired and left a deep imprint upon his students, some of whom later became part of the intellectual elite in the Hetmanate and beyond. For two decades, his former pupil Symeon Połocki (†1680) was the leading poet and preacher at the Muscovite court. In Czernihów, beginning with the creation of a printing house, Baranowicz established an ambitious cultural program which, despite the fact that the printed books were not numerous, became a spur to the activities of a couple of valuable poets, who wrote in Polish and *prosta mova* (Brogi 2016). Despite his ambivalent behaviour, manoeuvres, political failures, and the excessive Baroque style of his writing (which provoked some ironical comments), the aura of prestige and respect surrounding Baranowicz never faded away. He angered several high-status persons but also enjoyed wide respect, and nobody dared to attack him openly. His actions and writings capture the spirit of the times, reflecting the controversies and contradictions which characterised the cultural, political, religious and linguistic spheres in 17th century Ukraine.

2. – In the manuscript, the funeral note which I will here analyse comes after the sermon. The texts of the two compositions appear as separated, but their connection have been gracefully realised by the author through the use of images and metaphors.

Throughout the sermon, one finds the name MARIA written in capital letters at least twenty-eight times⁷, seven of which are already in the relatively short prologue. The name Maria is part of the *thema*: *Імя Дѣва МАРІА* (Luke 1:27). The whole sermon revolves around the signification of this very name and the associations related to the total number of its letters composing it. Among the significations of "Maria" (=Lat. *maria*) – the preacher writes – is "Bitter Sea", because the

⁷ Whether the figure 28 bears some connection with the lunar cycle, as G. Tomassucci has suggested (private communication), remains to be investigated.

tears shed for our sins form a salted, bitter sea. She is also the Spiritual Sea into which, through repentance, we can immerse ourselves and find the eternal haven of rest. At the beginning of the funeral note, Stefan actualises the "bitter sea of mournful remembrance" (горести морской плачевно творю воспоминаніє) to the here and now, that is to say the place and time of the sermon: the preacher emphasises that "our Rossia"⁸ is drowning in a sea of tears because "our Lazar has passed away", and this event has coincided with the celebration of the Birth of the Mother of God, who is filling us with joy⁹. The baroque fondness for stark contrast emerges as the key literary expression in Baranowicz's funeral note. The opposition between darkness and light, sorrow and joy represents the main topic addressed during the commemoration, which is then elaborated by further metaphors presenting the Moon and Sun as symbols of the deceased Archbishop and the radiant Virgin Mary respectively: the former must free the space for the sunshine to illuminate the world and bring salvation through Christ.

Besides the announcement of Lazar's death, the liturgical connections, and laudatory metaphors, the funeral note is replete with a series of epithets to illustrate Baranowicz's virtues and the roles he occupied. He was a good pastor, a wise helmsman, a tenacious leader, an unshakable column, an advocate of the poor and forgotten, and a protector for the desperate. Notwithstanding the conventional character of the epithets, the text suggests that Stefan had the Archbishop in high esteem and nourished sincere admiration for the man who had been for long time an intellectual and spiritual authority, reached a respectable age, was a steadfast defender of Orthodoxy, an exegete interpreting moral and spiritual truth for different audiences and socio-cultural groups. In the Hetmanate, Baranowicz

⁸ For reasons of space, here the meaning of this expression cannot be discussed (cf. Yakovenko 2009). Without going into detail, it suffices to say that for Jaworski "Rossia" indicated the Metropolitanate of Kyiv and the Hetmanate, although the territory of the Russian state and the whole Orthodox world were also included. The Constantinopolitan jurisdiction was still pretty alive in the memory, and Jaworski never stopped dreaming about the nostalgic past (Živov 2004).

⁹ The text of the funeral note reads as follows in simplified orthography: Мовячи, я тепер о горести морской плачевное творю воспоминаніє якъ бы треба цѣлой Россіи нашей в горкомъ слез затопитися морю! Для чого жъ? Остави нас волкохищных овчатей добрый пастыр, обуреваемых премудрый кормчий, немощних крѣпкий вожд и столпъ непоборимый, сырых остави заступникъ, обидимы остави покровител, потемненную Россію остави свѣтилникъ пресвѣтлый свѣтъ очію нашею и той нѣст с нами. Едным словом: Лазар не другъ але пастыр нашъ успе. Зрѣте слышателіе якъ то ест истинное философское реченіе: рожденіе единыя вещи ест истлѣніемъ вторыя вещи якъ то наприклад рожденіе огня ест истлѣніе древа. Рожденіе Пренепорочнои Дѣвы Владичцы радост Россіи принесе, а истлѣніе пастыра печал нам породи. Денница и инные пресвѣтлые звѣзды свѣтло сіяют дондеже ден не придет: а якъ скоро ден возсіяет, якъ скоро солнце свѣтозарным своим землю освѣтит блистаніем, ажъ зараз денница и звѣзды угаснути мусят. // Тое жъ и нинѣ совершается. О якъ свѣтло сіяла денница российская на сем православном небѣ зарями своих добродѣтелей и учений преосщ; Лазаръ пастыр нашъ, исполняючи оную заповѣдь Гсдню тако да просвѣтитъ свѣт вашъ яко да & Приходит нинѣ ден спасенія, возсіяет в очах наших лучезарное солнце Пр: Дѣва В: Б: ажъ денница наша смертнымъ мракомъ помраченна, плачущим очесамъ нашим невидима стается. Повелѣвает нам Церковь божественная исходити въ стрѣтеніе Жениху Небесному: се Жених изыйдѣте въ стрѣтеніе Его. Нинѣ Невѣста Духа Сѣго Пр: Дѣва В: Богородица приходит въ мир. Но кого ж мир въ стрѣтеніе тои Невѣсты Духа Святого высылает? Ото агница высылает къ Агници нескверной П Д Б:

played the role of a guide for three generations of poets, preachers, monks, members of the Church hierarchy, teachers, writers, printers, and engravers – all of whom contributed to the remarkable cultural growth following Mohyla's reforms.

Not only does the recently discovered funeral note deserve scholarly attention for the reasons so far elucidated, but it also raises intriguing new questions such as: who exactly was Baranowicz for Jaworski? To what extent is it possible to consider the former as a model and mentor for the latter? What a comparative analysis between their writings will tell us about their relationship on both an intellectual and personal level? These are the very questions, which perhaps cannot be solved conclusively but are yet central to the interest of the present study, which I will try to address in this research. I do in fact believe that it is equally important to reconstruct the Ruthenian writers' external networks and contacts (with Western, Polish, Roman, German, and Flemish schools, sources, and philosophical trends) as it is to eventually shed some light on their internal connections within the circle of the Ruthenian cultural, literary, and political elites. Although much has been accomplished on this subject by historical studies, research remains to be done on key areas of literary and cultural life¹⁰. The fairly modest goal of this paper is to partly bridge this gap in knowledge.

3. – For Jaworski, Baranowicz's most important role was that of pastor: "Лазар не другъ але пастыр наш усне". This is an adaptation of the quotation "Лазарь другъ нашъ усне" (John 11:11)¹¹: it can be read as an expression showing deference to both Baranowicz as a Church member occupying a high-ranking position and to his moral and cultural authority. At the end of the funeral note, Stefan again expresses deep sorrow at the very loss: on the day we are celebrating the Nativity of Maria, "the shining sun, the Virgin Mary, our star appearing today is obscured by the deadly darkness" of the loss of "our pastor Lazar, *rich in virtues and all kind of knowledge* *litalics mine – GBJ*". Shifting the emotional tone, the preacher eventually invites the listeners to follow the Church's teaching and go to encounter the Celestial Groom. The deceased Archbishop will be the ambassador – the preacher writes – preparing this meeting: "now the Spouse of the Holy Spirit comes into the world; Whom will the world send to encounter the Spouse of the Holy Spirit? A Lamb will be sent to the most pure Lamb: the Blessed Virgin Mother of God".

These words elucidate one particular aspect of the cultural and poetic bonds which united Jaworski and Baranowicz. As a faithful proponent of the Baroque enthusiasm for heraldic poetry¹², emblems, and figural interpretations Baranowicz's poems are filled with wordplay based on etymology and metaphorical interpretation:

¹⁰ It is not possible, for reasons of space, to mention the numerous studies which have been carried out on historical topics; here I refer to the recent works by Jakovenko 2017, and Dovha 2005. In Polish: Hodana 2008 and Drozdowski 2008. In respect to the 18th century, cf. Jaremenko 2014. An important literary study of the period is by Sazonova 2016. Several of the published books and articles are the result of the scholarly activities promoted by the Harvard Ukrainian Institute and the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

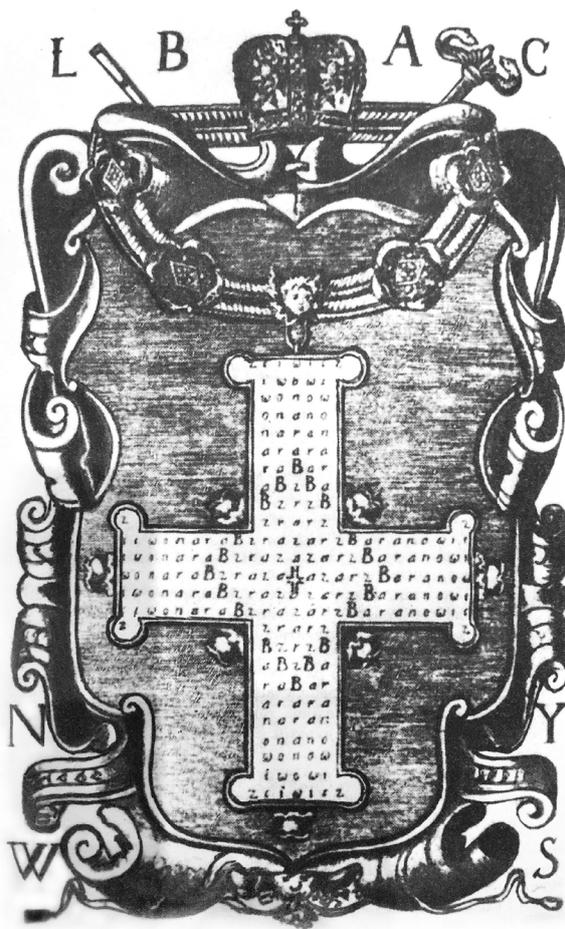
¹¹ For this suggestion I am indebted to M. Jaremenko, whom I also thank for giving the permission to publish the funeral note he has transcribed.

¹² On emblematic and heraldic poetry, cf. Kroll 1986; Czarski 2019: 53-80.

Potrzeba walna aż się Pan położy,
Wilk na Baranka niewinnego groży (*Lutnia*, 101)¹³.

These verses are inserted into the framework of a common “plan of salvation” and the “Baran” referred to is the zodiac sign Aries, but Polish “Baran” can also be read as an allusion to the author of the verses. Notably, the word and the image of “Baran” are frequent in Baranowicz’s poems, and this can hardly be fortuitous. The verses by Iwan Wieliczkowski (Ivan Velyčkovs’kyj), a former pupil of the Archbishop and typographer at the Czernihów printing house (and then a poet and priest), are more explicit, being Baranowicz in the collection of poems *Lucubrationcula* (1684) consecrated by Christ Himself, the divine Lamb:

Baranek ony, który księgi w Niebie
Otwarza, tenże postanowił ciebie,
Baranowicza [...]
Otworzasz księgi, gdy wydajesz one,
A gdy wykładasz słowa zatrudnione,
Niby pieczęci rozwiązujesz prawie,
W tej jesteś stawie¹⁴.



A similarly expressed image is found in the panegyric poems which, in 1683, the typographers dedicated to the Archbishop; these passages are preceded by the engraved coat of arms where the cross is filled with wordplays using the words “baran” and Baranowicz (Fig. 1, cf. Makarov, 280).

Wieliczkowski’s collection of panegyric poems was printed in Czernihów in 1684, and Jaworski must have known the work. In the funeral note, he pushes the identification further and formulates one that is more symbolic: he replaces Polish “baran” with the Church Slavonic equivalent (Агница, ‘lamb’), and in doing so he sends the deceased Archbishop himself as the messenger of the Spouse, the Virgin Mary, on the day of Her birth. It is noteworthy that in both cases the first letter of the word “Lamb” (Агнец) is capitalised, thus purposely and visibly stressing the

¹³ Transcription of the 17th-century Polish texts are given according to the “B” type editions described in Górski 1955: 92-100.

¹⁴ Velyčkovs’kyj 1972: 45. Cf. Sazonova 2006: 218.

sacred status of the dead Bishop¹⁵. It is hard to say whether this was a sign of respect for Baranowicz's ecclesiastical and socio-political prestige or a way to acknowledge his new holy condition (supposedly) in Heaven; perhaps both explanations are plausible. It is also difficult to ascertain whether a link between Stefan's "Lamb" sent to meet the Virgin and Wieliczkowski's dedication can be established. Both poets certainly shared and engaged with a common literary space in which they lived in, and were accustomed to the same metaphorical language. That Stefan was connected with the Archbishop and his circle is testified by the fact that his first panegyric, *Hercules post Atlantem*, written in Polish and Latin for the newly elected archimandrite Barlaam Jasiński, was also printed in Czernihów in 1684. A decade earlier, Jaworski's best friend Dymitr Tuptalo published in Czernihów, where he lived spending also some time in the monasteries in the surrounding areas, his first literary work: *Runo Orošennoe* (*The Bedewed Fleece*). The Archbishop, the typographers, Tuptalo, and Stefan were certainly aware of one another's works. They all wrote and published works in the four standard languages of 17th century Hetmanate.

The quotation from the Gospel of John concerning the episode of St. Lazarus' death and elaborated by Stefan in the funeral note is significant. The Archbishop was an ardent devotee of St. Lazarus, his namesake: sermons, poems, and prayers devoted to him feature all throughout his writings. In the Polish collection *Lives of saints*, Baranowicz (1670: 188-195) published no less than nine poetic works about Lazarus, of which the first two are rather lengthy. Besides narrating the episodes found in St. John's Gospel and the legend about Lazarus becoming Bishop of Kiotion (in present-day Larnaka, Cyprus) and being protected by an omophorion woven by the Virgin herself (a legend mainly popular within the Orthodox tradition), Baranowicz often adds poetic images and wordplays, and identifies his own person with the saint. In the following passage, for instance, he asks God to be raised from death as Lazarus has been:

Łazarz jam, a zaś Łazarska osoba
 Na Pana swego głos wstała i z groba.
 Gdy grób zalegę, a w grobie robaki
 Toczyć mię poczną, Panie, głos daj taki:
 Łazarzu, wynidź: chwycę się tej drogi
 I ja z Łazarzem powstanę na nogi. (Baranowicz 1670: 194)

In a dedication to God at the beginning of *The Lute* (*Lutnia*), he entrusts his verses to the Almighty:

Jeśli nie Tobie cześć, należy komu?
 Tyś Gospodarzem, Panie, w moim domu
 Raczzę porządek uczynić. Bez Ciebie
 Proch pisma moje, wiem pewnie, zagrzebie.
 Jakaś obudził od grobu Łazarza,
 Łaską Twą niech się toż wtóremu zdarza. (Baranowicz 1671: 2)

¹⁵ Агница высылает къ Агницы (f. 310r).

In another poem, Baranowicz praises the transformation of the smell of a dead body into fragrant balm:

I siostram śmierdział, a nie śmierdział Tobie
 Łazarz, leżący już cztery dni w grobie.
 Ja i nie w grobie, lecz tak gniję, Panie,
 Że mój śmierdzący grzech jak wgniętej ranie.
 Ty, kwiat pachnący, rosnący na polu
 I smród ten rozpędź, i poratuj w bolu.
 Ja już innego nie szukam lekarza,
 Łazarzowi się dość Christus nadarza (Baranowicz 1670: 193).

In Baranowicz's sermons, while wordplays are less frequent than in the poems, metaphoric images are elaborate, and the symbolic meaning associated with Lazarus the Bishop is crucial to understand the author. The first collection of sermons, entitled *Meč duchovnyj*, is devoted to the Sunday celebrations of the whole liturgical year: apart from a "Laudation" of Christ's Passion, the only sermon which is not intended for a Sunday ceremony is dedicated to Lazarus. This clearly illustrates how important was for Baranowicz his identification with St. Lazarus: the narrative combines the episode from the Gospel (John 11, 12) and apocryphal events following the resurrection, according to which Lazarus became Bishop of Kition¹⁶. It is evident that here the preacher's intention is to emphasise the role of "Church pastors and priests" (Пастыріе церковныи й Духовници, p. 424v) by interpreting Lazarus' grave cloths as a symbol of the sins which the priest is called to remove when a believer repents. There is no doubt that the images employed by Baranowicz aim at celebrating the sacerdotal status as the center of a sacramental act. This was, in fact, one of the focal points of the Mohylian program for the Church's liturgical organization and discipline and the training and education of priests, as it is shown by the attention given to the sacrament of priesthood by Petro Mohyla in the *Trebnik* (1646). Baranowicz certainly embraced and supported the core objective of the dominant ideology promoted by the elite: the consolidation of a strong Church, capable of fostering social peace and cohesiveness for the Hetmanate's prosperity (Bartolini 2020). Yet Baranowicz's main goal was to bolster his own position as Archbishop/Pastor and create the right conditions to entrench his role and advance his career (his efforts to become Metropolitan are well known). The second sermon dedicated to the saint, found in the collection *Truby sloves propovednych*, provides further evidence of the central role played by the image of St. Lazarus for Baranowicz's psychological perspective and political goals: in this collection, sermons dedicated to saints are not numerous and the one devoted to Lazarus stands out there too, and in this case for the laudatory rhetoric. It is worth noting that the reverence shown to Lazarus as Bishop occupies a strategic textual position, as it was placed by the preacher at the very end

¹⁶ Baranowicz's symbolic wording is noteworthy: "от удалнаго гроба взять будетъ на високій Епископства Престолъ" (from the tomb in the valley [of tears] he is elevated to the Episcopal Chair) (Baranowicz 1666: 442).

of the sermon, and it also undergoes a special process of “sacralization”, since that the “архипастор” of Kition was protected by the omophorion woven by the Virgin herself. There can be no doubt but that Baranowicz intended to acclaim and mark as “sacred” his own career as a “pastor”.

Celebrating Baranowicz as a “pastor” is the primary purpose of Jaworski’s funeral note. I should like to draw attention to the fact that the *thema* of the aforementioned first sermon by Baranowicz is “Лазарь другъ нашъ успе”, and this corresponds exactly to the wording used by Jaworski in his funeral note: “Лазар не другъ але пастыр наш успе”. Jaworski owned Baranowicz’s works and certainly knew the latter’s sermon. I would argue that he deliberately selected that particular quotation as a sort of thematic thread to commemorate the churchman who, although controversial and not always admired, after Mohyla was probably the most famous man of letters and Church hierarch of the first generation of “Latinizers”. The reference to St. Lazarus’ death helps Stefan to highlight the Archbishop’s “virtue and knowledge” and reclaim the respect for Baranowicz, his pastor and teacher.

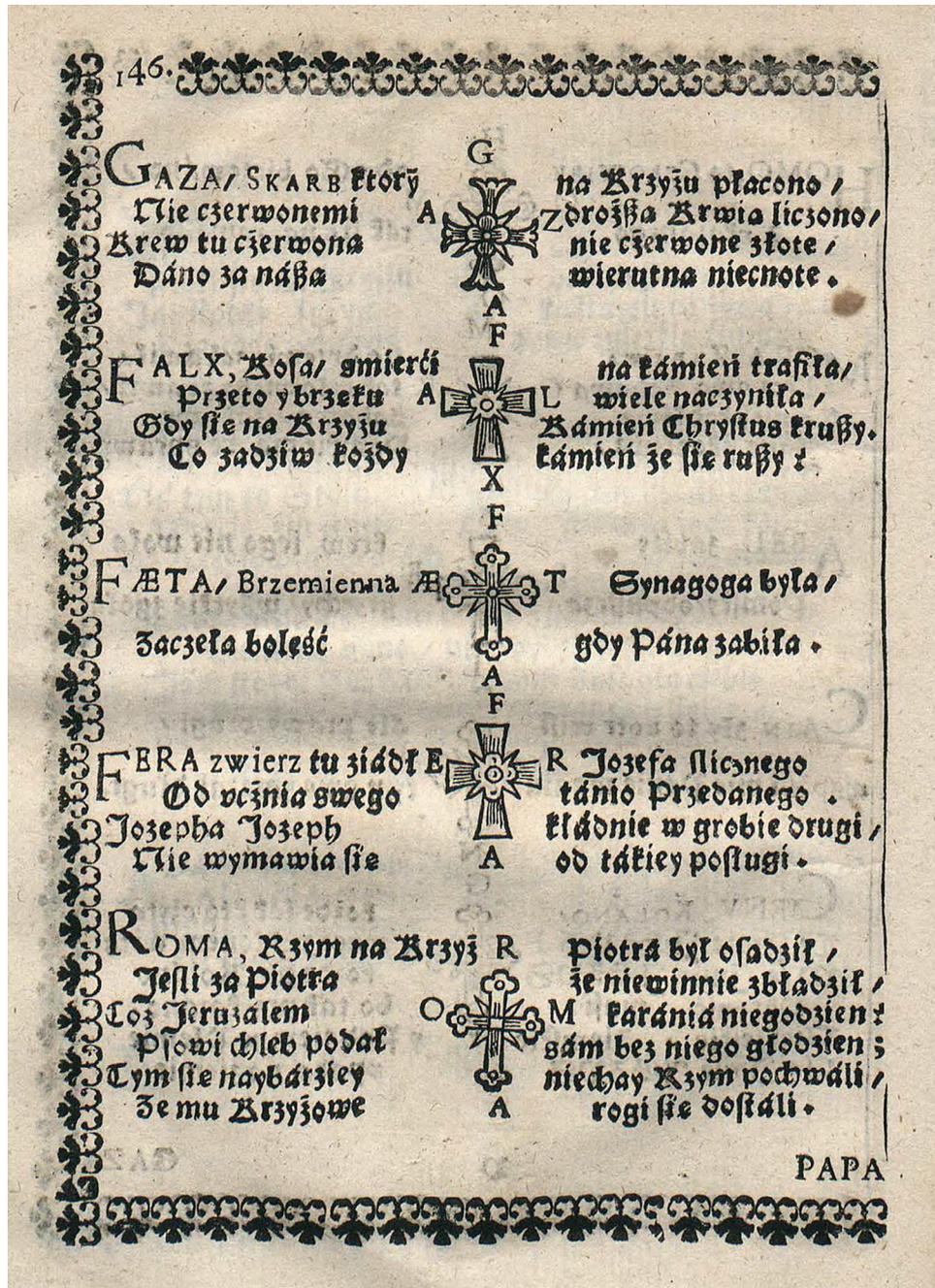
Nevertheless, a comparison between Jaworski’s sermon and Baranowicz’s poetry highlights distinct characteristics which differentiate the two. The extent to which Lazar enjoyed wordplay with names is indicated by the large amount of poems construed on this key rhetorical device. Here, by way of illustration, we can look at the following distich, where God-Fire was born in Winter to protect us from the bitter cold:

Grudzień lub studzień, by nam mróz nie szkodził,
Bóg-Ogień w grudniu na świat się narodził (Baranowicz 1671: 100).

Turning back to the core question whether, while preparing the sermon for the liturgical feast occurring after Baranowicz’s death, Stefan may have been directly inspired by or have some recollection of the Archbishop’s literary works, it is interesting to observe that the image of God-Fire mentioned above is also found in a quotation, occurring at the beginning, in Stefan’s sermon on the *Nativity of the Virgin*: Богъ нашъ огонь поядай святыи (Hebrew, 12:29). Stefan follows, however, a different scheme. In his sermon, while proclaiming the salvation coming through Christ, Jaworski describes the sinful senses which prevent the soul’s ascent to God. As I have already mentioned in section 2 and will discuss in more detail below, the whole sermon is based on the number five (that is, the five letters of the name Maria), which in this case is denoted by the five senses and the ensuing sins.

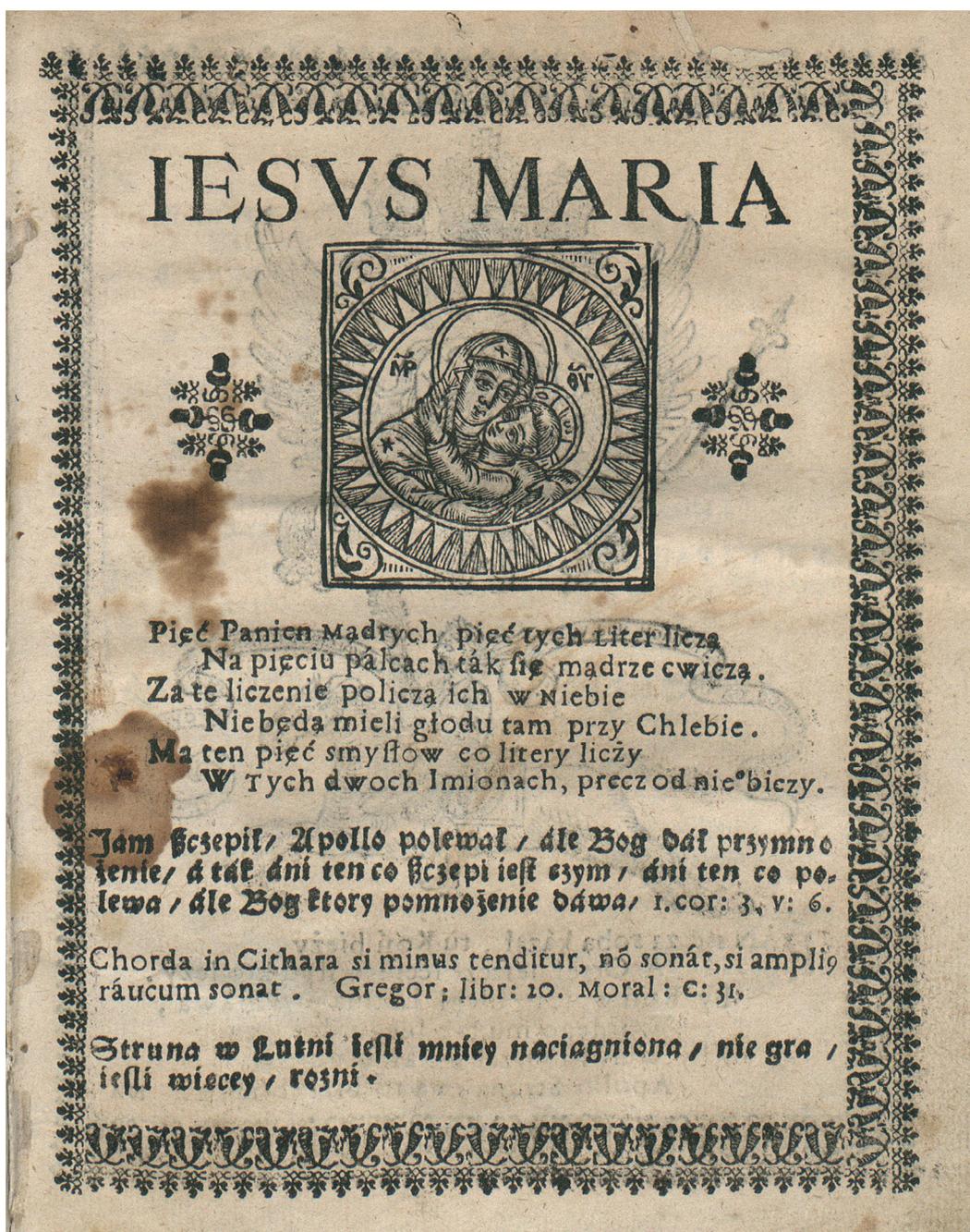
In Stefan’s sermon, the twenty-eight repetitions of the name MARIA serve as a road map leading the reader through the doctrinal explications, which resemble the techniques used in visual poetry. Baranowicz did not write visual poems *sensu stricto*, but his enthusiasm for hieroglyphs (a subtype of emblems and visual poetry) is illustrated by entire pages filled with crosses surrounded by letters which refer to Christ’s attributes or to words and ideas connected with the Holy Writ (Baranowicz 1671: 147-161, 544-546, fig. 2). As is well known, some masters of visual poetry, such as Symeon Połocki and Iwan Wieliczkowski were Baranowicz’s pupils. Neither Jaworki’s sermon is a visual

poem nor can be considered as a kind of “visual prose”, yet the occurrence of the name MARIA (in capital letters) repeated twenty-eight times is not fortuitous: such a rhetorical artifice does not appear in the other sermons by Jaworski. The reader cannot but be indirectly led by the author to the poems which Baranowicz devoted to Mary, where he adapts the most variable forms of etymology, emblems, hieroglyphs, and figural plays.



A first link between Baranowicz's *Lutnia* and Stefan's sermon is found at the very beginning of the former's poetic collection. In the shape of an emblem, the Mother of God with the Child Jesus is preceded by the *inscriptio* JESUS MARIA and a *subscriptio* represented by six regular rhyming couplets of 11-syllabic verses: the first four verses present the five wise virgins who have gained Heaven because they have counted the five letters of the name Maria and Jesus on their five fingers (fig. 3). The conclusion reads:

Ma ten pięć smystów, co litery liczy
W tych dwóch Imionach, precz od niego biczy (Baranowicz 1671: [2]).



The senses, evoked by Baranowicz, are no less important in Jaworski's sermon: "обачимо що знаменуєть и въ своих пяти лѣтерах Маріа, и в самой вещи и истиннѣ. [...] А я о пятолѣтерном имени МАРИА, пят враговъ побѣждающемъ, пят чувствъ исцѣляющемъ, въ сей пятокъ [...] тебе самую немовятко святое на помощь призываю" (f. 304r)¹⁷. Not only Jaworski does elaborate the simple distich composed by Baranowicz, but he also explains his interpretation: the name

¹⁷ "Let us gaze what the name Maria [and] its five letters signify, according to the matter and the divine essence [...] But, in the five letters of the name MARIA, I read the winner overcoming the five enemies, healing our five senses, on this Friday [...] I invoke Thy help and [the help of] the Holy Infant".

Maria is composed by “matter” (the five letters of the alphabet, either written or pronounced) and “spirit” (that is to say its spiritual, metaphorical meaning); the five letters are symbols of the sinful senses of the human body which Mary purifies by means of Her birth, redeeming sins. The preacher establishes temporal situatedness in the discourse (in 1693, the 8 September fell on a Friday, which is the fifth day) and invokes the Infant Jesus for help. Weaving together biblical images with literal and metaphorical interpretations about the path which leads human beings to Heaven, by linking the Saviour to the name of the Virgin, previously commented upon, the preacher stresses Jesus' role as the ultimate agent of salvation. This time Jesus' divine intervention is introduced by Joshua's victory over the five Amorite kings. The latter come to be the symbols of the five sinful senses, whereas Joshua is the prefiguration of Jesus “Who, with the power of His name formed by five letters [...] [defeated] our five spiritual enemies, the body, the world, the devil, the sin, the death who all rush upon and overcome us” (который силою онаго имени своего пятольтерного ИИСОУС [...] наших пяти враговъ душевныхъ тѣло свѣтъ, діявола, грѣхъ, смерть на нас устремляющихся и нас одолѣвающихъ) (ff. 305r-305v)¹⁸. At the end of this section of the sermon, Stefan places the name MARIA straight after the passage devoted to IISUS, thus closing the chain of variations that the interpretations of the five letters of the sacred names of Maria and Jesus have engendered.

As shown below, in *Lutnia* (Baranowicz 1671: 222) one of Baranowicz's best poems devoted to Mary bears the title “MARIA, MARIA”¹⁹, and in our discussion this is another crucial element to understand the relevance of the name MARIA for the way in which Jaworski has arranged his sermon:

MARIA, morza, rzeki tu ściekają
I wszystkie łaski w Maryją spływają.
Słone bywają morza, ale słodkie Twoje
Pił bowiem z Ciebie, Jezus Słodki, słodkie źródło.
Morze Twe jako ziemia obiecana
Miodem i mlekiem jest z góry polana.

In Stefan's sermon, the association between “Maria” and “Sea” is expressed as follows: “МАРІА знаменує море. МАРІА Море!” (f. 304r).

There are other images in this poem which are also found in the sermon, scattered through various parts of the work: “все потоци текут въ море, и море нест насыщаящаяся” (Eccl. 1:7); “все ты горести Сладчайший Исус услаждает...” (304v); “Церковь [...] святая нарыцати ю Землю обетованною из ней же течут мед и млеко” (307v.). A first challenge when examining this kind of analogies is to distinguish between commonplaces and biblical quotations. Despite apparent

¹⁸ I have not been able to trace any other reference to this group of five spiritual enemies of the human soul in 17th-century Polish and Ukrainian literature. This might be Jaworski's own original creation. According to specialists, in “standard” medieval and early modern Polish texts, the enemies of the human soul were only three: the body, the world, and the devil. Cf. Grzeškowiak 1994: 137-148; Grzeškowiak, Niedźwiedz 2010: 277-278, 296.

¹⁹ The title appears as such in the 1671 edition, but the second mention refers to Latin *maria* ('seas').

similarities, there are also important differences with regard to the interpretation of the name "Maria" by Baranowicz and Jaworski. The former admits that seas sometimes are "salted", which can be read as "bitter", to which he opposes Mary's "sweet source" that "sweet Jesus sucked": thus, in his work the dominant idea is "sweetness". By contrast, Jaworski stresses the opposite quality: She is the "sea of sorrow" (МАРІА знаменуєт МОРЕ ГОРЕСТИ, f. 307v.²⁰), because an endless number of sins assault humankind through the five senses, which represent hazardous conduits for temptation. The entire third part of the sermon elaborates upon Mary's "bitterness". Interpreters write – Stefan explains – that the name Maria indicates bitterness because the name Maria/Mirjam/Mariam has the same meaning of "myrrha"²¹ and Moses' sister (Maria/Mirjam) was born during the bitter times when Pharaoh ordered to throw all Jewish newborn children into the river. But we are not gathered here – Stefan continues – to celebrate the birth of Moses' sister: we are here to celebrate the birth of the Virgin, the Daughter of the Father's, the Mother of the Son's, the Spouse of the Holy Spirit's. The bitterness of the sea was thus not intended to us but to Pharaoh who, in fact, perished at sea²².

It is evident that Stefan's meditations go far beyond the content of the verses quoted from Baranowicz's poem. Stefan, however, was not the first to formulate those erudite comments on the explication of MARIA as *maria* ('seas'); he relied on the very authoritative source of the *Commentarius* to Luke 1:27 (Cornelius a Lapide 1670: 12, 2C)²³:

MARIA. Nota. *Maria*, vel, ut hebr. Dicitur, *Mirjam*, graece *Mariam*, hebr. Idem est, q.d. *moriam*, id est, myrrha vel amaritudo maris. Hebraei enim tradunt sororem Mosis dictam esse *Mariam*, eo quod, cum ipsa nasceretur, coepit amara Pharaonis tyrannis mergendi infantes Hebraeorum, Exodi 1. Verum id meliore omine & nutu divino mutatum est in aliam significationem: nam transito mari rubro & merso Pharaone, dicta est *Maria* [...]

Stefan omits Cornelius' reference to St. Ambrosius and Isidor, and then continues translating from Latin:

Plura de nomine Mariae dixi in Exodi cap. 15.20 ac in Proverb. & Canticis... Maria mare gratiarum... *quare sicut omnia flumina intrant*

²⁰ Underlined in the manuscript.

²¹ The words "Mirjam" and "myrrha" are written in Latin letters.

²² In Jaworski's manuscript, the text reads: "...МАРІА знаменуєт МОРЕ ГОРЕСТИ, що достовѣрне виводиться з єврейського язика] бо єврейски Mirjam, гречески Маріам, тоє жъ знаменуєт що и myrrha, по нашому смирна или горест морская. Попрошаю зде, что в сем за тайна? Чому то сладчайшее имя Марія знаменуєт море горести? [...] Отвѣщают нѣкоторые учителя з гисторіи єврейской, ижъ для того Марія море горести именується, бо когда Марія сестра Мойсеова родилася, тогда горкое оно повеленіє фараоново изыйде въ Египтѣ абы дѣти єврейскіє мужєскаго полу были топлени. Еход 1. Зачим Марія сестра Мойсеова въ час оный горкий родившаяся, названа была МАРІЕЮ или морем горести" (ff. 307v-308r).

²³ Cornelius a Lapide (van den Steen) died in 1637. The commentaries to Luke were written in the 1610s.

in mare [italics mine – GB] Eccles. 1. [This can also be explained as] pluvia temporanea (in ebr. More) maris [...] Descendet sicut pluvia in vellus (Ps. 71.6) [...]

The metaphor of Mary as “rain upon the fleece” is not used in the sermon we are examining here, but it does appear in other sermons by Stefan.

Having discussed the theologians' views, Stefan underlines: “yet another idea comes to mind” (Мнѣ ъднѣкъ инша ще на мысл приходит рація, f. 308r)²⁴. “Where does that sea come from?” – he asks. To answer this question, the author provides variations on biblical quotations from Genesis to Apocalypse. A first biblical passage refers to Eccl. 1:7 and to the waters God gathered together (seas, rivers, lakes, channels, and so forth), as mentioned in the Cornelius' *Commentarius* given above. The very same reference to Ecclesiastes is found in the first sermon that Baranowicz wrote for the *Nativity of the Virgin* (Baranowicz 1674: p. 9v), but I would not argue that this is strong evidence to establish a necessary connection between Jaworski's and Baranowicz's texts, which may instead be a case of *locus communis* within the ecclesiastical and scholastic erudition.

Let us now look at the sermon by Jaworski and consider what “other idea” he offers about the “bitter sea” associated with the name Maria. Jaworski explains that “bitter sea” derives from the rivers of tears shed by all the righteous who were born before Mary, from our sins which make water bitter, and from repentants' tears. Because Mary's sea “is never full” (Eccl. 1:7), it can receive all the tears of repentance, bringing human souls to shine “like a sea [made] of glass, clear as crystal” (Apoc. 4:6). Since Jaworski defines these last lines as a fruit borne by his proposed “other idea”, it seems safe to consider it as an original rhetorical contribution, while the whole paragraph is built around quotations from Apocalypse – a book that beyond question Jaworski especially loved²⁵. By mixing erudition and “his own ideas”, Jaworski is able to grasp the listeners' attention; he directly addresses the audience at the end of the Prologue, trusting their “understanding” and relying on the “benediction of your most gracious Archpastor” (f. 304), meaning Metropolitan Barlaam Jasiński (who must have been present at the ceremony)²⁶.

In his poetry (but not in the sermons) Baranowicz turns to other “hieroglyphic” interpretations of Mary's name: MARIA means I RAMA (She is the frame of the Father's image in Her Son), or MARIA MIARA (She is the “full measure of Grace”). Another poem presents Mary as “altar” (MARIA MI ARA) (Baranowicz 1671c: 220):

Maria mnie jest nie próżnym ółtarzem
Z chlebem a winem, z bogatym podarzem...

²⁴ This is actually a Polish phrase which has been transliterated in Cyrillic characters: “*Mnie jednak [...] insza jeszcze przychodzi do głowy racja”.

²⁵ In Jaworski's preaching works, the number of references to Apocalypse is significantly larger than in earlier ecclesiastical literature; this interesting feature should become the object of further investigation.

²⁶ This form of address to the highest authority of the Kyivan Church is frequent in Jaworski's sermons of the Ukrainian period.

Beside the one which associates the name Maria with the sea, in his Ukrainian sermons Jaworski does not seem to have referred to other interpretations given by Baranowicz. The image of Maria as "altar" is missing in Jaworski's sermon, but this poem provides an interesting cue to identify what types of sources Baranowicz used. Notably, in his *Zodiacus christianus* (1633), the German Jesuit Jeremias Drexel has provided a fullpage image of an empty altar. Also, for Baranowicz Maria's hand represents the needle of a clock (*horologium*) and, interestingly, *Maria Horologium mysticum* is the title of a book by Sandaeus (Coloniae 1648). But we cannot, on the basis of such similarities, automatically deduct that Baranowicz drew from Drexel's or Sandaeus's works, and further research is thus needed to establish whether there is strong evidence to suggest a connection between him and these two authors.

Are there further indications of possible direct links between Jaworski's sermon and Baranowicz's poetry which would allow to argue that the former relied somehow on the latter? In the Prologue of the Sermon, as *topos modestiae*, Jaworski claims that "several Chrysostomoses (Zlatoust) are needed, [...] whose golden lips, like most eloquent sails, could impel the gilded ship into the inscrutable sea" (f. 304r)²⁷. I would not rule out the possibility that Jaworski remembered the five poems devoted to Zlatoust by Baranowicz (1670b: 199-203). In *Lutnia*, in another poem the Archbishop writes:

A złote usta zawsze wychwalamy,
Złotoustego za pasterza znamy (Baranowicz 1671: 266).

In the poet's perspective, pastoral mission, also emphasised in other verses, is of the utmost importance:

[...] Pasterz poświęcony
[...] Gołąb to złotcony
[...]
Złote są usta złota też i mowa,
To pewnie musi być złota i głowa (*ibidem*: 265).

When compared with the use in Baranowicz's work, Jaworski employs wordplay and poetic images constructed around "gold" in different metaphors; however, it might not be fortuitous that in the same *topos modestiae* (f. 304r) Jaworski expresses the need for "helmsmen very experienced in the oratorical art" in order to be able to embark on that "spiritual sea" (i.e. Mary). Baranowicz wrote a poem bearing the title "ORATOROWIE, TA MYŚL WAM W GŁOWIE: ORAT. MARIA, ORES" (*ibidem*: 223)²⁸. Although Jaworski might have been familiar with that very metaphor in Baranowicz's text, the evidence is too scanty to prove

²⁷ "Треба самых Златоустых, которых златы уста аки карабль позлащенный, которых языкъ благоглаоливый аки весло до того неизслѣдимого приучилися моря".

²⁸ In the preceding pages, Baranowicz (1671: 127, 164) provides two more poems about rhetoric: the first invites to use "ornate language" for the Glory of God; in the second, rhetoric becomes a metaphor for the Trinity.

direct consultation and attribute to the latter the material found in the former's text. A further, interesting correspondence concerns the physical make-up of Baranowicz's book: the poems which I have provided above are there found next to one another, and this factual parallelism opens up the question whether Jaworski had this book before him or was narrating freely from memory, and the extent to which Baranowicz was for Stefan a direct and the ultimate source.

4. – Let us try to draw some conclusions. Given the fact that Jaworski was most likely acquainted with Baranowicz also on a personal basis, there is no doubt that the young preacher knew the Archbishop's works, which were all printed in the Typography of the Kyivan Cave Monastery. He also had Baranowicz's books in his personal library (Maslov 1914). We cannot speak of a direct influence of the former on the latter of the kind that a "teacher" has on his "pupil": Jaworski (b. 1658) did not attend classes at the Mohylian College when Baranowicz was rector, but since the beginning of his life as a student in Kyiv he certainly was aware of Baranowicz's fame and was familiar with his books. I would imagine that the news of Baranowicz's death was for Jaworski not surprising but certainly sad. Confronted with the task of preparing a sermon for the solemn ceremony of the *Nativity of the Virgin* in the most important church in the Hetmanate, and having been informed of Baranowicz's death, it is not hard to image him going back to the Archbishop's books and leafing through the pages.

I did not find any direct connection between the sermons by Baranowicz and the one by Jaworski analysed in this paper (the common quotation from Ecclesiastes is too generic to establish a link). The only detail shared by both sermons is the *thema*, "Лазарь другъ нашъ успе", which Baranowicz uses in the sermon on the *Nativity of the Virgin* and then Jaworski changed into "Лазар не другъ але пастыр наш успе", as I have previously mentioned. This reformulation of the quotation from John's Gospel expresses Jaworski's feelings about the deceased Archbishop; he was the "pastor", not a "friend". Does the absence of acknowledged friendship imply that he was among Baranowicz's opponents or that he doubted his literary skills and disapproved his religious or political thought? As a beloved former pupil and close collaborator of Barlaam Jasiński, Jaworski probably knew about the contrasts between Łazarz and Barlaam in the 1670s, when the former insisted on having his books printed and accused the engravers and printers to be lazy and slow. It cannot be fully discarded the fact that Jasiński did not have high esteem for Baranowicz's works: they had different literary tastes and, for Baranowicz, the future Metropolitan was a serious contender for the seat of Metropolitan (as it indeed happened). Several letters, and the tone of their correspondence, demonstrate the conflictual relationships between Baranowicz and Jasiński (Makarov 2002: 37, 61-64, 74, 90-92, 107-108, 117, 124-126): political divergences were probably the cause of their confrontation. We also know how Symeon Połocki was troubled by Baranowicz when the latter demanded to have his sermons printed in Moscow (Rolland 1985, 1992).

Unfortunately, no written evidence which would help us to better comprehend the relationship between the Archbishop and Jaworski has survived to the present day. I would argue that at the time of writing the sermon (1693), Jaworski was not aware or somewhat ignored the tensions between Jasiński

and Baranowicz. Stefan had come back from Poland to Kyiv a few years earlier and was under the protection of Jasiński, who became Metropolitan in 1691. Jaworski had already developed a solid position as *poeta laureatus* at the Cave Monastery and at the court of Hetman Mazepa. He was asked to preach in the most important churches in Kyiv and Baturyn and was a respected teacher at the Kyivan College. Stefan probably regarded Baranowicz's wordplays with the detachment proper of a young intellectual reading an elder poet's work already distinctly *démodé*, but one who deserves the respect conferred by hierarchical authority and his far-reaching, life-long work as a writer, facilitator of literary activities, intermediary, strategist, and religious and political polemicist.

Most important to Jaworski was Baranowicz's status as a "pastor", and thus as a spiritual authority who, like a shepherd, looks after the wellbeing of the herd, also by organising literary activities in order to teach and admonish every single sheep. Jaworski was very respectful of hierarchical differences and acknowledged the role played by Baranowicz in supporting culture and literature. The latter's political plans (based on a pan-Christian anti-Muslim league) were utopian, but in 1693 the appeals constantly launched by Baranowicz for the war against Muslims were still resonating. It has been suggested that in the 1690s poetry was imbued with a strong "militarist spirit" (Makarov 2002: 19-29)²⁹, yet Jaworski's ideas were probably rather close to Baranowicz's political beliefs that the "protection of the high arm of the czar" (that is to say political dependence from Moscow) was a necessity. The two churchmen most likely shared the illusion of Kyiv maintaining a certain ecclesiastical autonomy. In 1693, this seemed still feasible thanks to the prestige of Metropolitan Jasiński, the lack of interest of Peter I in Church affairs, and Mazepa's political ability. Despite some social and political ideas that the two potentially had in common, Jaworski could not look upon Baranowicz as a "friend", due to the differences in age and status. In all other respects, he certainly saw him as pastor worthy of respect by virtue of his title. In the sermon which has been presented in this paper, Jaworski avoided using the term "friend" probably to make clear that he is referring to Lazar "the pastor of the Kyivan Church", whom is being here commemorated for his prestigious position and firm defence of the Orthodox faith, and not Lazarus "Jesus' friend". In brief, this lexical choice reflects the deliberate decision on the part of the author to distinguish between Lazar the pastor and Lazarus the friend, being the former the one who is remembered and honoured on the occasion.

As I have suggested, by leafing Baranowicz's books or just working from his memory (all his writings show that Jaworski was able to rely on a strong memory), he recognised the title of the poem devoted to Mary (MARIA MARIA) as an effective starting point for his sermon on the Virgin's birth. The name MARIA and its five letters become the thematic thread of the exposition, the key motif around which the composition turns, leading the readers/listeners through the various passages and creating for them a visual and mental framework for the interpretation of both the liturgical act and the intertextual references honouring the

²⁹ Makarov's use of the term "panslavism" is confusing, although the growing Muscovite pressure certainly generated a different situation from the 1660s and 1670s, when the Polish political influence was stronger.

memory of the deceased. In composing the sermon, Jaworski intended not only to follow the standard rhetorical rules of composition and arrange the quotations appropriated for the given festivity (this basically was the method followed by Baranowicz in his sermons), but to “touch, move” (*movere*) his listeners, instruct (*docere*) them, and share with them his extensive knowledge and erudition. The translation of the lines from the Latin Cornelius’ *Commentarius* illustrates this very intention. The sermon was, after all, primarily written with a learned audience in mind: among the public were his former “teacher” and “mentor” Metropolitan Jasiński, many learned monks and laymen who, at least partially, had also been students at the Mohylian College: the majority of the attendees were able to recognise the rhetorical tricks, grasp the metaphoric nuances, and probably appreciate the theological argumentations of one of the most erudite and prestigious Jesuits of 17th century Western Europe, such as Cornelius a Lapide. It is well known that in his private book collections Jaworski had many volumes by the Flemish Jesuit’s *Commentaria*, which were also held by the Mohylian College’s library. His friend Dymitr Tuptalo made large use of these books.

With respect to the period of Baranowicz’s literary and didactic activity (1650s-1670s), it must be emphasised that, at the end of the 17th century, there occurred some changes in terms of literature production and consumption, in particular regarding readers/listeners’ expectations, preferences, and authors’ skills and taste. Baranowicz loved Baroque conceptism, figures of speech, and sharp contrasts, which he had learned by reading Sarbiewski’s works. Nevertheless, his verses follow relatively simple rhyme schemes and versification, and mainly repetitive 11-syllabic and 8-syllabic verses with grammatical pair of rhymes. He also remained in touch with traditional folk wisdom and naivety: proverbs, winged words, maxims, idioms, commonplaces, apocryphal legends, ancient anecdotes, folk humor, popular beliefs about natural, medical, and religious phenomena – he mingles elements of varying provenance, and this is a key element of his charming poetic style, fanciful but at times not very sophisticated. Notably, the fact that he mentions Kochanowski (in doing so, he conveniently declares his own inferiority to the “king” of Polish Renaissance poetry) demonstrates that he was still intellectually engaging with the first phase of the Ukrainian appropriation of Western culture in its Renaissance manifestations.

Two generations younger, Jaworski represents a later stage of development in the history of Ukrainian poetry and literature. His panegyrics in Polish reveal impressive narrative skills and the ability to create tension of epic colour and arrange complex storylines, thus embodying the flowering of a new literary season and a new generation of intellectuals stimulated by the teaching of full-fledged theological courses, as well as by the work by Samuel Twardowski and other Polish epic poets (which possibly also echoes the influence of Polish translations of ancient and Renaissance epic poems)³⁰. Dymitr Tuptalo was another author with outstanding narrative competence, as already shown by his first work *The Bedewed Fleece* (published in Czernihów 1683) (Brogi 2015).

³⁰Such complex scenario is perfectly illustrated by the combination of different emblematic images in the engravings which ornate the 17th-century printed editions of the panegyrics written by Jaworski and other contemporary poets (Kroll 2013: 1-11; Kroll 2017).

Jaworski's ability to use language, aesthetic literary features, and narrative in the sermons goes hand in hand with his capacity to convey emotional depths, and in a manner that invite the readers to participate and feel involved; this is achieved by means of a wide range of rhetorical devices including the most conventional constructions and despite, from a larger socio-political perspective, the precarious equilibrium between the Western-Polish tradition and the growth of authoritarian sentiments of the Russian state and the Muscovite Patriarchate at the time. Behind Baranowicz's writings, however volatile, irascible, avid, and extremely ambitious, there is a man who is also cheerful and communicative. It has been suggested that even in the most aggressive attacks against the Turks, there still is the Christian virtue of empathy coexisting somewhat with his anti-Osman feelings: it is as if, despite his words, the poet is in effect, asking himself "who are we to judge" (Makarov 2002: 28-29). Behind Jaworski's writings, there is a man obsessed by a sense of guilt, troubled by an oppressive fear of sinning and antiheretical paranoia, and always eager to judge harshly and condemn. At the same time, Jaworski had great respect for authority, he was capable of true friendship (as his letters and poems well demonstrate), enchanted with and in search for beauty, and was considerate towards his predecessors and the intellectual world who paved the way before him, the Orthodox faith, and his diplomatic and literary commitment.

In concluding the present comparative analysis and coming back to my initial questions, I would like to add a further remark about the originality of Baranowicz's and Jaworski's work. The two authors, both displaying their broad erudition, belong to the same semiotic and literary world, based upon a set of shared values, assumptions, meanings, and rhetorical techniques; while comparing their sermons and poetry, it can be observed that several biblical quotations, examples, biblical quotes, anecdotes, metaphors, and symbols overlap. Despite being for both the Bible clearly the major source of material to illustrate the various points in a sermon, they are very selective in their approach and choose those stories which emphasise their own favoured interpretation.

They attended the same schools, had a similar education and training, and read the same books. They follow the same rhetorical principles and classify genres and types of texts according to the same scheme. Nonetheless, I was not able to find (at least up to now) one single line exactly repeated by Jaworski as it is in the Baranowicz's works which I have mentioned here, or viceversa (of course, besides literal quotations from the Holy Writ). The dynamics and conditions under which poets and preachers developed originality of literary expression remain to be understood, especially in respect to the internal relationships among Ukrainian and Belarusian literati and Polish/Ruthenian connections³¹. More broadly, further research is also needed to distinguish quotations and references which were incorporated being drawn from Western (Polish and European) literature and erudition and those drawn from the Eastern Slavonic and Patristic tradition (including some Western Fathers

³¹ Some interesting observations are in Makarov 2002: 30-35.

of the Roman Church, such as St. Augustin, St. Ambrosius, and Gregorius Magnus)³². What I am suggesting here as a fruitful area of further exploration involves a step forward than the groundwork looking for primary sources and influences (although this should be the preliminary task), and thus the investigation of intertextual connections (and divergences) in order to interpret the cultural heritage and *forma mentis* of each author, highlighting their original contribution. Equally important it would be to reconstruct the intellectual milieu and literary production associated with Mazepian court, who patronised artistic endeavour, and the vitality of the Ukrainian (and Ruthenian) literary life as a coherent and autonomous system – a system which, between the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries, certainly underwent significant changes and developments.

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³² An excellent example for this type of investigation is the book about I. Gizel' by (Jakovenko 2017).

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