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**The Kiev Mohyla Collegium and Seventeenth-Century  
Polish-English Literary Contacts:  
A Polish Translation of Henry Montagu's  
*Manchester al Mondo***

ROMAN KOROPECKYJ

In the small number of scholarly studies dealing with the reception of English-language literature in Old Poland,<sup>1</sup> no mention is made of a book which appeared in 1648 under the title *Manchester al mondo: Contemplatio mortis et immortalitatis*.<sup>2</sup> The book deserves scrutiny for several reasons. Above all, it is one of the first (if not the first) extant translations of an English-language work into Polish.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, as the dedication to Adam Kysil (Kisiel) indicates, the text was appar-

\* I would like to express my thanks to Professor Frank E. Sysyn whose encouragement and extensive knowledge of the period in question contributed much to the undertaking and completion of this study. I also thank Dr. Paulina Lewin, Ms. Katherine Pantzer, and Professor Wiktor Weintraub for their valuable suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, W. Borowy, "What Was Known in Old Poland of English Literature and English Theater," *Warsaw Weekly*, 6 November 1937; W. Weintraub, "Staropolskie tłumaczenie Bunyuna," in his *Od Reja do Boya* (Warsaw, 1977); and Urszula Szumska, *Anglia a Polska w epoce humanizmu: Związki kulturalne* (Lviv, 1938). Szumska's study, although full of factual information, is also replete with errors and inaccuracies and must, therefore, be consulted with care.

<sup>2</sup> The title page reads in full as follows: *Manchester al mondo. Contemplatio mortis et immortalitatis. Rozmyślanie o śmierci y nieśmiertelności. Z angielskiego języka na polski przetłumaczone przez B. Viktorina Euthanazjusza S.S.T. Anno Domini 1648*. Cf. Karol Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, 34 vols. (Cracow, 1872–1951), 16: 110. The work was republished in 1855 by Aleksander Batowski for the Ossolineum, Lviv. This edition was, unfortunately, unavailable to me.

<sup>3</sup> There exist, of course, numerous Old Polish translations of such British Neo-Latin writers as the Welshman John Owen and the Scot John Barclay. Cf. Borowy, "What Was Known," and W. Weintraub, "Łacińskie podłoże polskiej literatury XVI wieku," in his *Od Reja do Boya*, especially pp. 30–32. Szumska (*Anglia a Polska*, pp. 110–11) and Borowy (in his article "Prześladowani katolicy angielscy i szkoccy, w Polsce XVI wieku," *Przegląd Powszechny* 219 [1938]: 121) both note a work entitled *Okrucieństwo kacarskie przeciw katolikom w Anglijej krótko a prawdziwie przez jednego tegoż narodu opisane a na polski język przelożone* (Cracow, 1582); cf. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, 23, pt. 2: 313. They do not,

ently translated at the Mohyla Collegium (later Academy) in Kiev. Discussion of the book may thus shed some light on aspects of intellectual life at the collegium in 1648, and on its role in the cultural activity of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the seventeenth century.

The book is a translation of an English work bearing the same title: *Manchester al Mondo: Contemplatio Mortis et Immortalitatis*. The author of the original, Sir Henry Montagu (1563?–1642), First Earl of Manchester, in the course of his long life occupied a number of high offices (among them Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Lord Treasurer of England, and Lord Privy Seal), first at the court of James I and later under Charles I.<sup>4</sup> The Earl of Clarendon, in his *History of the Rebellion*, praises him for his "industry and sagacity," "integrity and zeal to the Protestant religion as it was established by law," and "unquestionable loyalty."<sup>5</sup> As a judge Manchester resolutely enforced laws against both Puritans and Papists. His most noteworthy contributions were, however, in the area of the kingdom's finances, both during his tenure as Lord Treasurer and as a member of several trade commissions. For his services to the Crown, Montagu was made Baron Kimbolton and Viscount Mandeville by James I (1620), and Earl of Manchester by Charles I (1626). Finally, it is noteworthy that during his term as Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Montagu's personal chaplain was the famous preacher Thomas Adams.<sup>6</sup>

Aside from a few speeches and letters published posthumously,<sup>7</sup> Montagu is the author of only one work, namely, *Al Mondo*. It first appeared unofficially in 1631 (twice), without the name of the author. The first authorized edition, published in 1633, bears the name of the author, Manchester, to which is added "al Mondo." A second "much enlarged" edition was published in 1635. Subsequent editions, many also claiming to be much enlarged, were largely reprints of the 1635

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however, speculate whether the work is, in fact, a translation directly from the English.

<sup>4</sup> My sketch of Montagu is based on the fullest biographic account to date, provided by John E. Baily in his introduction to *Manchester Al Mondo* (London, 1880), pp. vii–lxiv. See also *The Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *DNB*) (Oxford, 1921–1922), s.v. "Montagu, Henry"; and Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, ed. Thomas Park, 5 vols. (London, 1806), 2: 340–47.

<sup>5</sup> Cited in Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, 2: 342–43.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600–1660* (Oxford, 1946), p. 298.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *DNB*, s.v. "Montagu, Henry." Portions of Montagu's letter to his son, a convert to Catholicism, were published in *Royal and Noble Authors*, 2: 343–47.

edition.<sup>8</sup> In all, there are over twenty recorded printings of the book, the most recent appearing in 1902.<sup>9</sup>

If at first glance the relatively large number of editions seem to attest to the book's popularity, one must nevertheless keep in mind that books of this sort were extremely popular in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>10</sup> So-called devotional books, such as Michael Sparke's *The Crums of Comfort* (1623), Robert Bolton's *Some General Directions for a Comfortable Walking with God* (1624), and John Clarke's *Holy Incense for the Censers of the Saints* (1634), sometimes exceeded thirty reprintings within a quarter century.<sup>11</sup> These were largely prayer books, books for meditation, or compendiums of moral and ethical prescriptions meant as supplementary readings to the Bible.<sup>12</sup> During this period of flourishing Protestant sectarianism, with its stress on personal, subjective religion, books of devotional prose constituted the reading staple of most literate households.<sup>13</sup>

Manchester's contribution to this market is an extended tract on death and dying, a subject which obsessed the seventeenth-century mind. In the space of forty-two chapters, with such titles as "The Nature of Death," "Life But a Dying Death," "The Joys Brought by Death," "The First Step of Dying Well," etc., the author treats in thorough detail almost every aspect of man's passing from this vale of tears and temptation into life everlasting. He discourses upon what death is, its advantages over life, its various forms and manifestations, and the joys and release which it brings. Montagu explains how to prepare oneself for death, how to accept it joyfully, and how to die properly. The last of the four parts draws a fanciful picture of bliss in the afterlife and the raptures of the soul freed from life's temptations. An excerpt from the chapter "Freedom of Death" provides a typical example of both the style and the concerns of *Manchester al Mondo*:

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Baily, "Introduction," pp. xliii–lvii. Baily describes in detail the printings of 1631, 1633, and 1635, as well as the subsequent editions of 1636, 1638, 1642, 1655 (in which the Latin sentences are rendered into English), 1658, 1661, 1666, 1667, 1676, 1688, and 1690.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *The British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books* (London, 1963), s.v. "Montagu, Henry."

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Bush, *English Literature*, pp. 294–95.

<sup>11</sup> Bush, *English Literature*, p. 295. The most detailed study of devotional prose is Helen C. White's *English Devotional Literature (Prose): 1600–1640* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1931).

<sup>12</sup> White, *English Devotional Literature*, pp. 150–70.

<sup>13</sup> White, *English Devotional Literature*, pp. 9–68. For a discussion of Puritanism during this period, see M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism* (Chicago, 1939).

*Adeo juvat occupatum mori.* Here I have labour without rest, there I shall have rest without labour. In this rest perfect tranquility, in this tranquility contentment, in this contentment joy, in this joy variety, in this variety security, in this security eternity; so to rest, to rise, to reign, what more to be wished.

(E., 60)<sup>14</sup>

Although the subject matter, its exhaustive treatment, the didactic yet intimate tone, as well as some other features are all characteristic of seventeenth-century devotional literature, *Manchester al Mondo* diverges from the mainstream in several ways. Devotional books were primarily intended for the average reader and as a consequence their style was often colloquial, direct, and eschewed rhetorical as well as philosophical intricacies.<sup>15</sup> Manchester's tract, on the other hand, is the work of a sophisticated layman and does not appear to have been meant for the mass reader.<sup>16</sup> Though the book's style is generally lucid and serene, the text is heavily interlaced with Latin words and phrases — a feature atypical for English prose of the period.<sup>17</sup> Atypical, too, for popular devotional prose is the system of references Montagu used. Aside from quotations from the Bible and the church fathers, there are numerous citations from classical authors (besides the favorite, Seneca, one encounters such sages as Plato, Zeno, Cato, as well as sayings attributed to heroes of antiquity) and even from the moderns (for instance, Luther).<sup>18</sup> Moreover, Manchester avoids the terrifying visions of fire and brimstone which were almost *de rigueur* for popular devotional literature,<sup>19</sup> but rather inappropriate in a work meant for consolation. On the contrary, alongside the author's metaphysical musings the book, particularly in the last section entitled "The Rapture of the Soul," is suffused with intimations of mysticism, a tendency rarely encountered in popular devotional prose.<sup>20</sup>

In the postscript to the edition of 1666, the publishers of *Manchester*

<sup>14</sup> All quotations from the English edition in the original orthography are from *Manchester al Mondo. Contemplatio Mortis et Immortalitatis*, The fourth Impression much enlarged, printed by John Haviland for Francis Constable (London, 1638). In the text page numbers to this edition are preceded by the letter "E."

<sup>15</sup> White, *English Devotional Literature*, pp. 222–44.

<sup>16</sup> In fact, considering that the work was first published anonymously from a circulating manuscript, it may be surmised that *Al Mondo* was originally not intended for publication. Cf. Baily, "Introduction," p. xliii.

<sup>17</sup> For a discussion of the development of English prose style, see Robert Adolph, *The Rise of Modern Prose Style* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

<sup>18</sup> White, *English Devotional Literature*, pp. 156–57. See also Bush, *English Literature*, p. 312.

<sup>19</sup> White, *English Devotional Literature*, pp. 192–94.

<sup>20</sup> White, *English Devotional Literature*, pp. 195, 223.

*al Mondo* (Richard and James Thrale) praise the work as “an excellent preparative and warning for the dissolution of our selves.” As the first book to be printed in London after the disastrous (particularly for booksellers) fire of 1666, “this Book comes now to follow each man in the midst of jollity and pleasure with a memento, *Te esse mortale*, and that he shall shortly see himself dust.” The publishers add that *Al Mondo* is “a serious and good book” and “the sum of what [ministers] may recommend to [their] people.”<sup>21</sup> *Manchester al Mondo* is, then, the work of an erudite and devout statesman which, while retaining characteristics of an earlier period, rises above the average devotional book. In this respect, Montagu’s tract is reminiscent of such works as Christopher Sutton’s *Disce mori. Learn to Die. A Religious Discourse* (1600), and Jeremy Taylor’s *The Rules and Exercises of Holy Dying* (1651), with which it often shared the same pew at funerals.<sup>22</sup>

The popularity of Manchester’s work in his native England was not sufficient, however, to guarantee its recognition on the continent. In fact, Victorinus Euthanasius’s commendable rendition into Polish is, to my knowledge, the only extant translation of *Contemplatio Mortis et Immortalitatis* into any language. The text of the Polish translation of the complete and unabridged English original is preceded by four introductory pieces. They are, in order of appearance: (1) a dedication in Latin to “Illustrissimo ac Magnifico Dn. Adamo a Brusilow Kisiel Domino & Haeredi in Huszcza Gnoino & Kisielgrod Palatino Braclaviensi Capiteo Noszoviae etc. Domino Observandissimo,” signed by “Fra. Victorinus Euthanasius, in Collegio Mohil. Kiou, S.S.T.” (P., i);<sup>23</sup> (2) a preface in Polish, “Ad lectorem” (P., ii–iv); (3) a Latin poem entitled “In Effigiem Authoris” (P., v); and (4) a Latin elegy bearing the title “In versionem: Contemplatio mortis & immortalitatis,” followed by the initials “J. C.” (P., vi).

Although the dedicatory page gives the place of origin of at least the introductory parts as the Mohyla Collegium in Kiev, the title page provides no information about the printing house which issued the translation.<sup>24</sup> A comparison of the type with other Latin-alphabet texts

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in Baily, “Introduction,” pp. li–liv.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Baily, “Introduction,” p. viii. See also Bush, *English Literature*, pp. 313–16.

<sup>23</sup> All references to the Polish translation (cf. fn. 2) in the text are indicated by “P.” and the page number. I have adopted the modernized orthography “Type B” as suggested by *Zasady wydawania tekstów staropolskich: Projekt* (Wrocław, 1955), pp. 88–100. For the purposes of this study I am using a microfilm of the 1648 edition, currently in the University of Warsaw Library.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. fn. 2

issued in Kiev more or less contemporaneously (such as T. Bajewski's *Tentoria* of 1646) rules out the possibility that *Al Mondo* was printed in Kiev. On the basis of the preliminary results of a typographical analysis conducted by Maria Bohonos-Zagórska of the University of Warsaw Library, it appears that the text may have been issued by the printing house of either Łukasz Kupisz or Krzysztof Schedel, both of Cracow.<sup>25</sup> However, until the results of a closer analysis are known, other possibilities should not be ruled out. In any case, the publication of the translation in Cracow would seem to have been a choice well taken, considering the rather tenuous situation in Kiev in 1648, on the eve of the Xmel'nyc'kyj uprising.

Because the translation itself poses few difficulties, I turn to a discussion of it before tackling the more problematic questions suggested by the appearance of the Polish edition of *Manchester al Mondo*. Since there are no other translations (not even a Latin one) of the English text, it seems safe to assume that the Polish translator worked directly from the English original. Aside from the claim made on the title page ("Z angielskiego języka na polski przetłumaczone" /translated from the English language into Polish/), Victorinus Euthanasius provides additional information about this translation in the dedication and preface. In the former, the translator states, "libello . . . ex Anglica lingua in Latino poloniam fideliter explanatio" (P., i). The curious phrase "Latino poloniam" is to be understood here as referring to the translator's practice of recreating in the Polish text the style of the English original, with its high frequency of interspersed Latin. However, as he explains in the "Ad lectorem": "Anim ja odmienił (ile można) ten stylum jego, ledwie nie słowo w słowo przetłumaczony jest (tylko łacina po polsku przekładana, czego u autora niemasz, i wiem uczyszom uszom, niewdzięczna będzie repetytia taka)" (P., iv) /And I did not change (as much as was possible) this style of his, it is translated nearly word for word (only the Latin is rendered into Polish, something not found in the original, and I know

<sup>25</sup> I gratefully acknowledge the assistance and expertise of Ms. Bohonos-Zagórska in provisionally identifying the place of the text's publication.

For information on Schedel, see Jerzy Samuel Bandtkie, *Historia drukarń w Królestwie Polskim i Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim jako i w krajach zagranicznych, w których polskie dzieła wychodziły*, 3 vols. (1826; reprint ed., Warsaw, 1974), 1: 217–18. For information on Kupisz, see idem, *Historia drukarń krakowskich od zaprowadzenia druków do tego miasta aż do czasów naszych, wiadomością o wynalezieniu sztuki drukarskiej poprzedzona* (Cracow, 1815), pp. 432–39. According to Bandtkie, Kupisz and Schedel often cooperated in their publishing ventures (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 433, 437).

that to more learned ears such repetition will be unpleasant)/. By following each Latin phrase of the original with its Polish equivalent, Brother Victorinus anticipates the practice of rendering the Latin into English in the British edition of 1655 (and some subsequent ones).

In the "Ad lectorem," the translator comments on his effort, inviting his readers with obligatory modesty to forgive him for the fact that his book "nie tą powagą i słów słodkością (którą się autor, ów wielki Senator Manchester *admirabilis* ozdobił) idzie teraz na świat" (P., iii) /makes its appearance without that dignity and sweetness of word (with which the author, that great Senator Manchester *admirabilis*, adorned it)/. A few lines later, he adds,

Przyznam, że miejscami, nie mogąc wydolać słowami tak wybornymi wyrazić *sensum Authoris* krasomówcy tak wysoce uczonego, nie masz tej wdzięczności słów, która w oryginale się znajduje: Nieumiejętność moja musi mię w tym wymówić, lubo praca moja w tym namniejsza była, jako tego, który glinę tylko zgotował, a kto umiejętniejszy formę i ozdobę dał.<sup>26</sup>  
(P., iv)

/I admit that in places, being unable to deal with such refined words or to express the *sensum authoris* of such a learned orator, you will not find that grace of word which is present in the original: my lack of skill must excuse me, for my work in this was minimal, like he who only prepares the clay while someone more skilled gives it form and adornment./

In his discussion of Manchester's work, Fra. Victorinus displays an acquaintance with English prose styles of the period. He remarks that the author's "stylus mieszany łaciną, między Angielczykami niezwyyczajny jest" /his style mixed with Latin is uncommon among the English/. The translator then makes the supposition that this mixed style "ukazuje, że raczej dla swej konsolacjey to pisał, po śmierci syna swego (którego na jednym miejscu wspomina) aniżeli żeby miał być wolą podać go do druku" (P., iii-iv) /indicates that he wrote this for his own consolation, after the death of his son (whom he mentions in one place), rather than willingly sending it to print/.<sup>27</sup>

It is apparent from a comparison of the Polish translation with those editions of the original published before 1648 that Victorinus Euthana-

<sup>26</sup> Considering that Brother Victorinus was a foreigner (see below, pp. 148-150), his mastery of the Polish language must seem truly remarkable. He must have either lived or studied in Polish lands for some time. On the other hand, the image of the preparation of clay may allude to the fact that he had editorial assistance from a native speaker (via Latin) in producing the final version for publication.

<sup>27</sup> The death of Manchester's son is not mentioned by any of his biographers, nor does any reference to it appear anywhere in the text.

sus used either the 1638 or 1642 edition as the source for his translation. Both of the anonymous editions of 1631, as well as the first edition (1633), must be ruled out, due to considerable differences in the texts.<sup>28</sup> The text of the Polish translation corresponds to the second, "much enlarged" edition of 1635, which, as was mentioned, was the basis for all subsequent editions. However, only the printings from 1638 and 1642 (as well as some later editions published after 1648) usually contain an unsigned engraved portrait of the Earl of Manchester.<sup>29</sup> Evidently, the Latin poem "In Effigiem Authoris," which precedes the text of the Polish translation, is a meditation in verse on this likeness of Montagu:

Quis Te tam lepida mentitur Imagine Pictor?  
 Quae tam viva tuas temperat umbra genas?  
 Tu Palles, Pallet; De vita verba loquente  
 Te, loquitur, Radios Te jaciente, jacit  
 Par vobis laus est, disparque: Fidelis Imago  
 Ista, Tui; sed Tu (Monte-acute) Dei.

(P., v)

Moreover, the brief biographical note in the translator's preface — "Dedykował ten dyskurs swój wszystkiemu światu tymi słowami (*Manchester al Mondo*) przeszedłszy marność świata, i doświadczwszy różnych kondyciej, powstając *per gradus* od równego ślachcica, cnotą i godnością swą bywszy Pieczętarzem wielkim, a potem Hetmanem, w szedziwym wieku swym ćwiczył się sam, i uczył świata gotować się na śmierć" (P., iii) /With these Italian words (*Manchester al Mondo*) he dedicated his discourse to the entire world, having experienced the vanities of the world, and having known various conditions, advancing *per gradus* from an ordinary nobleman, having been, by his virtue and merit, Lord Privy Seal and later Hetman, he trained himself in his old age and taught the world how to prepare for death/ — may well be an extrapolation on the words found round Montagu's portrait: "Vera effigies praenobilis Henrici Comitis Manchester Dñi Custodis Privati Sigilli Angliae,"<sup>30</sup> although more

<sup>28</sup> Of the editions which interest us here — i.e., those which appeared before 1648 — I was able to examine in Houghton Library of Harvard University one of the two anonymous editions of 1631, the first edition of 1633, the second from 1635, the third from 1636 and the fourth from 1638. For more information concerning these editions, see Baily, "Introduction," pp. xliii–xlvi.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Baily, "Introduction," pp. xlviii–xlix. A reproduction of the portrait can be found in Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, 2: opposite p. 340. In the 1638 edition the portrait is dated 1639.

<sup>30</sup> Baily, "Introduction," p. xlix.

detailed knowledge about Manchester on the part of the translator is not unlikely.

Another possible indication that Victorinus Euthanasius used either the 1638 or the 1642 edition is the Latin elegy directly preceding the translation. This typically Baroque Neo-Latin poem<sup>31</sup> is a meditation in verse on the subject of Manchester's tract, thus its title: "In versionem: Contemplatio mortis et immortalitatis." There is no comparable prefatory poem in the English originals.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, most editions from both 1638 and 1642 contain as a title page an unsigned, allegorical engraving depicting old age and the path to the heavenly kingdom,<sup>33</sup> the presence of which may have led the translator to insert an equivalent "allegory in words" before the text of his translation. The subject of the elegy, however, has little to do with the engraving itself; rather, the elegy functions primarily as a versified introduction to *Al Mondo*, as its closing lines suggest:

Ergo age, sic VIVE, ut Non fit Mortale, quod optes  
 VIVERE perpetuum sic MORIENDO studes.  
 Huc LIBER Hicce vocat, Mortem ut Meditando perennes,  
 Si BENE sic MORERIS, VITA parata TIBI est.  
 (P., vi)

Brother Victorinus's modest appraisal of his own skills as a translator deserves a more objective evaluation. Indeed, Manchester's sometimes difficult text is rendered with laudable competence by someone whose grasp of both English and Polish seems impressive. Victorinus Euthanasius translates all forty-two chapters of the original *Al Mondo*. His translation is not, of course, completely free of circumlocutions and paraphrasis. English Latinisms or even Gallicisms are sometimes rendered by dubious polonized cognates (the English "duellists and gallants" —E., 49, for instance, by "duellistowie i gallantowie" —P., 70). In order to alleviate the "niewdzięczna repetytia" created by providing Polish equivalents for the Latin passages of the original, the translator often interjects such conjunctions as "albowiem," "więc," and "to jest," or simply breaks up the longer passages. A rather

<sup>31</sup> For a discussion of Neo-Latin poetry, see the introduction by Fred J. Nichols to *An Anthology of Neo-Latin Poetry* (New Haven, London, 1979), especially pp. 77–83.

<sup>32</sup> The anonymous edition of 1631, probably unknown to Brother Victorinus, includes several poems in both English and Latin, but none of them is the source for "In versionem." Cf. Baily, "Introduction," pp. xlv–xlv.

<sup>33</sup> A detailed description of the engraving can be found in Baily, "Introduction," pp. xlvii–xlviii. In the 1638 edition the engraving is dated 1639.

masterful example of the translator's technique of smoothing possibly repetitive passages as well as of his skillful rendition of the English can be illustrated with the following example from the chapter "Radość duszy i ciała w potkaniu się ich z sobą" ("The Joy of Soule and Bodie at Their Meeting"):

But through Death, the very body of Death and burthen of sin are cast out both together.

Sith then the life I now lead is beset with Death, tends to Death, ends in Death, I will no longer mistake tearmes, calling that Death which is life, that life which is Death: *Hanc esse mortem, quam nos vitam putamus: Illam vitam, quam nos morte timemus* . . .

E., 101-102)

Ale przez śmierć, prawie samo ciało śmierci i ciężar grzechu bywają pospołu wyrzuczone.

Ponieważ tedy wiek i żywot mój, który teraz prowadzę, śmiercią ogarniony jest, ku śmierci się bierze, i w śmierci się kończy, nie chcę ja zażywać terminów omylnie: *Hanc esse mortem, quam nos vitam putamus*: Tym być śmierć, co my żywotem nazywamy: *Illam vitam quam nos morte timemus*: To żywotem, czego my się śmierci obawiamy.

(P., 136-137)

This fragment also indicates the style of the Polish translation. In every respect, the Polish of Victorinus Euthanasius exemplifies fine Polish prose of the time. The generally high quality of the translation is even more apparent in the following passage taken from the chapter "O zacności duszy" ("The Soule's Excellencie"):

Saint Augustine in a comparative betwixt thing temporall and eternall, saith thus, We love things temporall before we have them, more than when we have them, because the soule when she hath them cannot be satisfied with them; but things eternall, when they are actually possessed, are more loved than when but desired; for neither faith could beleieve, nor hope expect so much as charity shall finde when eternitie comes into possession. There is no soule in the world, how happie soever it thinkes it selfe here, but points its prehensions be-

S. Augustyn w koporatiej, w porównaniu między rzeczami doczesnymi i wiecznymi, mówi tak, Kochamy się w rzeczach doczesnych pierwej niż je mamy, bardziej jeszcze aniżeli kiedy je mamy, dlatego że dusza chociaż je ma, nie może jednak nimi być nasycona: Ale wieczne rzeczy kiedy raz w osiadłości są, bardziej miłe bywają, niżeli kiedy tylko w pożądaniu; abowiem ani nadzieja kiedyś oczekiwać tak siła, jako miłość najdzie, kiedy wieczności przydzie w osiadłości. Niemasz i jednej duszy na świecie, jakokolwiek poczyta się być

yond what he possesses here.

(E., 36)

szczęśliwa tu, która nie kładzie  
upodobania swego za tym jeszcze i  
nad to czego tu zażywa i w osiad-  
łości ma.

(P., 51)

The Polish translation of Manchester's work contains two moments of interest. The chapter "Wolność śmierci" ("Freedom of Death") includes what is probably the first mention of Chaucer in Polish: "Starego Chaucera epitaphium dobre jest: *Mors aerumnarum requies*, Śmierć utrapienia odpoczynkiem" (P., 85) ("Old Chaucer's Epitaph is a good one: *Mors aerumnarum requies*" — E., 61). The actual wording of the epitaph, "Aerumnarum requies mors," is to be found on the monument erected in 1551 over Chaucer's final resting place in the Poet's Corner of Westminster Abbey.<sup>34</sup> Second, Brother Victorinus clearly has his eye on the ecclesiastical censor when he deals with the dangerous name of Luther. It crops up in the chapter "A Faire Way of Dying Well" ("Sposób dobrego umierania"): "A Man, saith Luther, lives fortie yeares before he knows himselfe to be a foole; and by that time he sees his folly, his life is finished" (E., 113). The Polish translation avoids any difficulties by simply ascribing the saying to "a certain doctor": "Człowiek, mówi jeden doktor, żyje 40 lat niż pozna się być głupim; i o tym czasie, jako głupstwo swoje obaczy, przemija wiek jego" (P., 151). Aside from this one understandable omission, the myriad of Old Testament, New Testament, ancient, and Patristic authorities cited by Montagu are duly retained by his translator.

More interesting than the translation itself, however, are the circumstances surrounding its appearance. Some are problematic indeed. The preface "Ad lectorem" is sufficiently unambiguous about the occasion for both the translation of *Al Mondo* and its publication. Victorinus Euthanasius claims that "Strach prywatnej śmierci był powodem przetłumaczenia tego dyskursu, który (*casu fortuito ad consolationem contra metum mortis*) w niebezpiecznej przygodzie mojej przyszedł do rąk moich" (P., ii) /The fear of my own death was the reason for the translation of this discourse which (*casu fortuito ad consolationem contra metum mortis*) came into my possession under perilous circumstances/. However, since recent events have underscored the opinion that "słusznie mamy wszyscy uważać i opłakiwać wielkie odmierności przez śmierć" (P., ii) /we all must rightfully be aware of and

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, *Historical Monuments of Westminster Abbey* (London, 1869), p. 295.

bemoan the great changes wrought by death/, the translator has decided to publish his undertaking. The aforesaid events are those of the tumultuous first half of 1648: “. . . Widząc ojczyznę wszystką w płaczu i nie tylko osieroconą i owdowioną przez śmierć i utratę Króla Pana naszego SP. Lecz przez zgubę obudwuch JMPP Hetmanów, i ruinę tak wielkiego grona nacelniejszego rycerstwa polskiego, *in summo periculo*” (P., ii) /seeing the entire fatherland in tears and not only orphaned and widowed by the death and loss of our Lord the King, but by the defeat of both Hetmans and the ruin of such a great host of the best Polish knights *in summo periculo*/. Judging by the tone of this passage and the absence of any mention of the election of the new king, Jan Kazimierz, in November 1648, the “Ad lectorem” was doubtlessly composed shortly after the death of King Władysław IV (May 20), the defeat and capture of the Polish hetmans M. Potocki and M. Kalinowski by the Cossacks at the Korsun’ fiasco (May 26), and possibly after the rout of the Polish army at Piljavci (September 23).

The Xmel’nyč’kyj uprising of 1648 placed the circles associated with the Mohyla Collegium in a rather precarious position.<sup>35</sup> In these circumstances, Adam Kysil must have appeared as a desirable protector.<sup>36</sup> Kysil had been a staunch supporter of Władysław in his successful bid for the Polish crown in 1632 and throughout the king’s sixteen-year reign remained a confidante and adviser, fulfilling various missions to Muscovy and the Cossack Host. At the same time, Kysil was considered the de facto “head of Rus’,” one of the most powerful men in the Ukrainian lands, and a defender of its Orthodox population. As a close associate of the reformer and namesake of the Kiev Collegium, Peter Mohyla, Kysil came into contact with the burgeoning Orthodox school and became its protector and patron, particularly after Mohyla’s death in 1647. His status in regard to the collegium was acknowl-

<sup>35</sup> For a general survey of the history of the collegium, see Alexander Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the Seventeenth Century* (Ottawa, 1977). An earlier study is Aleksander Jabłonowski’s *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohylańska: Zarys historyczny na tle rozwoju ogólnego cywilizacji zachodniej na Rusi* (Cracow, 1899–1900). For a survey of the attitudes of Kiev circles toward the Xmel’nyč’kyj uprising, see M. Hruševs’kyj, *Istoriya Ukrainy-Rusy*, 10 vols. (1922; reprinted New York, 1956), 8, pt. 2: 89–117 and pt. 3: 122–29.

<sup>36</sup> The most exhaustive work on Kysil to date is Frank E. Sysyn’s “Adam Kysil, Statesman of Poland-Lithuania: A Study of the Commonwealth Rule in the Ukraine from 1600–1653” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1976). See also Zbigniew Wójcik’s entry in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1966), s.v. “Kisiel, Adam Świętołdycz.”

edged in the dedication to him of two earlier books that originated in the Kievan milieu: Sylvester Kossov's *Paterikon* (1635) and Theodosius Bajewski's *Tentoria Adamo Kiesel* (1646). The dedication of *Al Mondo* to Kysil may indicate a desire on the part of collegium circles to ensure Kysil's continued protection in this period of grave uncertainty. The translator's dedication may, however, have been prompted by other considerations, ones which hinge upon the central question of this study, namely, who was Brother Victorinus Euthanasius S.S.T.?

The text of the Polish *Al Mondo* provides only a few hints about the identity of its translator. The name Victorinus Euthanasius is obviously a pseudonym, one appropriate for both the translator of a work that contains a chapter entitled "A Fair Way of Dying Well" and for a man who himself escaped near death (*Victor ev̄ θανατος*). The appellations added to his name indicate that (a) he was some kind of brother (*Frater*) (on the title page, the polonized version of his name is given as *B(rat?) Victorin Euthanaziusz*); and (b) he claimed to be a student of theology (*S[tudens] S[acrae] T[eologicae]*). Moreover, in the dedication to Kysil, Brother Victorinus states that he is "enim Alienigena & Peregrinus." Addressing Kysil several lines further down, he adds, "Unde non tantum in Regno inclyto Poloniae, sed etiam apud *nos exteros* nomen tuum celebratur" (P., i; my italics). Besides exhibiting remarkably competent comprehension of the English language, Victorinus Euthanasius is knowledgeable about not only the general political situation in England ("patriam desolatam cum bello intestino" — P., iii),<sup>37</sup> but also, as we have noted earlier, about the state of English prose of the period. He also seems to have more than a passing acquaintance with the name and person of the Earl of Manchester. Finally, we must keep in mind that the translation itself is of an Anglican Protestant (although in no way polemical or controversial) work. Aside from these tidbits of information in the text, material from other sources which might help identify Victorinus Euthanasius is either too general to be of great assistance or simply non-existent. Thus, at this point in time, we must be satisfied with only some hypothetical answers.

Since theology was not at this time an officially recognized subject at the Mohyla Collegium,<sup>38</sup> it may be assumed that Brother Victorinus was a visiting scholar whose title was based on his study of theology at

<sup>37</sup> Here *Patriam* refers to the country of origin of the original *Al Mondo*.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Sydorenko, *Kievan Academy*, pp. 37, 125, 129–131. See also James Cra-craft's article in this issue of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, pp. 71–80.

any of a number of universities or academies in Western Europe or in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Furthermore, the skimpy evidence in the Polish edition of *Al Mondo* suggests that the homeland of this "alienigena et peregrinus" may possibly have been Great Britain (England, Scotland, or Wales). We know, of course, about numerous English and Scottish subjects visiting or living in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their presence was largely a consequence of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Great Britain and the Commonwealth, which resulted in lively contacts between both the Catholic and Protestant camps of these two "antipodes" of Europe.<sup>39</sup> Of particular significance for Poland in this respect were the alternating waves of religious persecution in England and Scotland — of Catholics during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I, and of Protestants under Mary Tudor. The Commonwealth, as a country practicing relative religious tolerance in this period, became a natural haven for British exiles of various persuasions. In the Commonwealth they found protection, employment, and education. Moreover, the religious situation in the Commonwealth also drew foreigners eager to participate in either the Protestant experiment or in the Catholic reaction against it.<sup>40</sup> Particularly numerous were the Scots, both Catholic and Protestant, who came to the Commonwealth at the turn of the seventeenth century. Although some emigrated for religious reasons, many came primarily as merchants and soldiers. They became firmly established in towns throughout the Commonwealth and with time (often in the second generation) became polonized.<sup>41</sup>

Assuming for the moment the British (Scottish?) origins of Victorinus Euthanasius, we are, in all likelihood, dealing with either a Protestant or a Catholic. The appellation "Frater" could, in fact, refer

<sup>39</sup> Besides the study by Szumska cited in fn. 1, see also St. Kot, "Anglo-Polonica: Angielskie źródła rękopiśmienne do dziejów stosunków kulturalnych Polski z Anglią," *Nauka Polska* 20 (1935): 49–140; and Henryk Zins, *Polska w oczach Anglików XIV–XVI* (Warsaw, 1974). This thorough study includes an extensive bibliography on the subject.

<sup>40</sup> See, for instance, Borowy, "Prześladowani katolicy," p. 110 ff.; and Szumska, *Anglia a Polska*, pp. 46–130.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. A. Francis Steuart, ed., *Papers Relating to the Scots in Poland, 1576–1793* (Edinburgh, 1915); St. Tomokowicz, "Przyczynek do historii Szkotów w Krakowie i w Polsce," *Rocznik Krakowski* 2 (1899): 151–74; and Szumska, *Anglia a Polska*, pp. 88–123. If Victorinus Euthanasius was in fact of Scottish origin, he may have already been a second-generation Scot, which would explain his proficiency in both Polish and English.

to either a monk or a Protestant brother.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, information from secondary sources leads us to search for Brother Victorinus's identity in both directions. As shall be shown, however, the Catholic connection appears to my mind to be the less plausible of the two.

Through the efforts of such Polish Jesuits as Stanisław Hosius and Piotr Skarga, a number of exiled British Catholics found refuge in the Commonwealth.<sup>43</sup> For instance many British subjects, both students and professors, were at the Jesuit Academy in Vilnius and at the Zamość Academy.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, the first half of the seventeenth century was marked by a meteoric rise in the number of Catholic monasteries throughout the Commonwealth, particularly in the predominantly Orthodox lands of Lithuania and the Ukraine.<sup>45</sup> In Kiev itself, one encounters a Jesuit church and school (1632), a Bernardine convent (1624), and a Dominican church (ca. 1602).<sup>46</sup> This eastward expansion of the Counter-Reformation, coinciding as it did with the persecution of Catholics in England, may have drawn some of the British exiles in the Commonwealth as far away as Kiev to its growing Catholic community.

In fact, it was precisely during the 1630s and 1640s that Rome took steps toward initiating a new union with the Orthodox church.<sup>47</sup> These efforts were directed at both Mohyla and Adam Kysil, whom the Catholic church had for some time considered to look favorably on plans for such a union.<sup>48</sup> Viewed in this connection, the dedication of *Manchester al Mondo* to Kysil may have been part of Catholic attempts to retain the powerful Orthodox nobleman as an ally. Such

<sup>42</sup> In fact, the Protestant Scots in and around Lublin were organized into what was called "The Scottish Brotherhood." Cf. Beatrice Baskerville's "The Original Records of those Scots in Poland Known as the Scottish Brotherhood at Lublin," in Steuart, *Papers*, pp. 108–118.

<sup>43</sup> See, for instance, Borowy, "Prześladowani katolicy," pp. 110 ff.; and St. Windakiewicz, "Skarga and the English," *Bulletin International de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres*, Classe de Philologie, pt. 1 (1919–1920), pp. 120–28.

<sup>44</sup> See, for instance, Szumska, *Anglia a Polska*, pp. 67–74, 112–18.

<sup>45</sup> For a survey of monastic developments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Jerzy Kłoczowski, "Zakony męskie w Polsce w XVI–XVIII wieku," in *Kościół w Polsce*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, 2 vols. (Cracow, 1979), 2 (*Wiek XVI–XVIII*): 485–730.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. N. I. Petrov, *Istoriko-topografičeskie očerki drevnego Kieva* (Kiev, 1897), pp. 179–80, 218–20.

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, E. Šmurlo, *Le Saint-Siège et l'Orient Orthodoxe Russe, 1609–1654*, 2 pts., Publication des Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, ser. 1, no. 4 (Prague, 1928), 1: 96–125.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Sysyn, "Adam Kysil," pp. 186–206.

efforts would have been particularly timely in 1648, with the death of Władysław IV and the beginnings of the Cossack uprising.<sup>49</sup> Yet I consider the Catholic connection of Victorinus Euthanasius to be unlikely for several reasons. The translated discourse is, after all, the work of a Protestant. It would have been odd for a Catholic to use a Protestant work as a pretext for retaining the favor of an Orthodox nobleman. Moreover, if we assume that Brother Victorinus was, in fact, a British Catholic, his praise in the "Ad lectorem" of a member of a government known to have persecuted British papists would display an astonishing degree of forbearance. Finally, although we have little information about students at the Mohyla Collegium, it would seem implausible to find a foreign Catholic there when the Jesuit Collegium in Kiev attracted even Orthodox students away from the Mohyla school.<sup>50</sup> Consequently, we must direct our attention at the Protestant option for clues about Victorinus's background.

At the turn of the seventeenth century, both Calvinist and Unitarian communities were well established in the Ukrainian lands.<sup>51</sup> In 1648, although suffering ever increasing persecution, Protestants in the Ukraine still constituted a sizable community. Like all Protestant groups in the Commonwealth, those in the Ukraine and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania maintained broad contacts with Western Europe, including England and Scotland. Thus, for example, in 1631 several young Unitarians from the Ukraine visited England in the course of their obligatory educational tour of the West.<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, as a result of the persecutions of James I, thousands of Protestant Scots found refuge in the vicinity of Lublin and on the estates of the

<sup>49</sup> For Kysil's role in the election of 1648, see Sysyn, "Adam Kysil," pp. 268–75.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Petrov, *Istoriko-topografičeskie očerki*, p. 219.

<sup>51</sup> See, for instance, George H. Williams, "Protestants in the Ukraine during the Period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 1 (1978): 41–72; and 2, no. 2 (1978): 184–210. An excellent earlier study is Orest Levickij's "Predislovie" to *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii*, 6, pt. 1 (1883): 1–182 (an earlier version of this study appeared under the title "Socianstvo v Pol'se i Jugo-Zapadnoj Rusi" in *Kievskaja starina*, vol. 2 (1882)). See also Józef Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w dawnej Małej Polsce* (Poznań, 1853).

<sup>52</sup> Among them were Jurij Nemyryč, Andrzej Wiszowaty, Aleksander Čaplyč, Petro Suxodol's'kyj, and Mikołaj Lubieniecki. Cf. Robert Wallace, *Antitrinitarian Biography*, 3 vols. (London, 1850), 3: 226–27. For a discussion of Protestant Polish-English contacts, see Nicholas Hans, "Polish Protestants and their Connections with England and Holland in the 17th and 18th Centuries," *Slavonic and East European Review* 37 (1958–59): 196–220; and Szumska, *Anglia a Polska*, pp. 77–88, 123–28, 154–55. About specifically Unitarian contacts, see St. Kot, "Oddziaływanie Braci Polskich w Anglii," *Reformacja w Polsce* 7–8 (1935–36): 217–44.

Radziwiłł family.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, the high intellectual standards of Protestant educational institutions in the Commonwealth — e.g., the Unitarian one in Ukrainian Kyselyn and the Calvinist in Sluck (Słuck) — were particularly attractive to foreign scholars.<sup>54</sup>

At the same time, the Protestants of the Ukrainian and Belorussian lands maintained extensive ties with their Orthodox neighbors. Such ties, whether motivated by proselytizing or alliance against the common Catholic foe, went as far back as to the days of Prince Kostjatin Ostroz'kyj.<sup>55</sup> Indeed, one of the first defenses of the Orthodox faith, the *Apokrysis* (1597, 1598) of Christopher Philaleth, is ascribed to a Protestant.<sup>56</sup> In fact, the first half of the seventeenth century is marked by numerous attempts at a closer understanding between the Protestants and the Orthodox church.<sup>57</sup> In the 1630s and 1640s, for example, Unitarians in the Ukraine made a concerted effort to establish closer ties with Mohyla and his collegium. They dedicated a book to him (Eustasy Kisiel's *Antyapologia* of 1631) and proposed Greek translations of, among other books, St. Lubieniecki's *Catechismus*, probably with the intent of making it accessible to students of the Mohyla Collegium.<sup>58</sup> For their part, members of the Orthodox community, for whatever reason, at times defended Protestants at various diets and tribunals against Catholic accusations.<sup>59</sup> Adam Kysil himself is known

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Hans, "Polish Protestants," pp. 212–13; and Baskerville, "Original Records," pp. 108–110.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Williams, "Protestants in the Ukraine," pp. 194–198; and Hans, "Polish Protestants," p. 212.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Williams, "Protestants in the Ukraine," pp. 52–56, 68–72. About Ostroz'kyj, see Metropolitan Ilarion (Ohijenko), *Knjaz' Kostjatin Ostroz'kyj i joho kul'tural'na pracja* (Winnipeg, 1958).

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Aleksander Brückner, "Spory o unię w dawnej literaturze," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 10 (1896): 591–96.

<sup>57</sup> See, for instance, Alonsius Bichler, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in der orientalischen Kirche im 17. Jahrhundert oder: Der Patriarch Cyrillus Lucaris und seine Zeit* (Munich, 1862); and I. Goleniščev-Kutuzov, "Ukrainskij i belorusskij gumanizm," in his book *Slavjanskie literatury* (Moscow, 1973), pp. 176–85. British Protestants had an interest in the Orthodox East at this time. In the late 1630s, for example, an Anglican, Ephraim Pagitt, sent a copy of his book, *Christianographie or the Description of the multitude and sundry sorts of Christians in the World not subject to the Pope. With their Unitie, and how they agree with us in the principale points of difference betweene us and the Church of Rome* (London, 1635), to the Calvinist Krzysztof Radziwiłł. Pagitt enclosed a letter asking for more information about the Orthodox faith and included therein a translation of the Anglican mass into Greek. Cf. Kot, "Anglo-Polonica," pp. 102–103. About Radziwiłł, see H. Wisner, "Krzysztof Radziwiłł (1585–1640)," *Fasculi Historici* 2 (1969): 9–15.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Williams, "Protestants in the Ukraine," pp. 195, 197–98, 205.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Levickij, "Predislovie," pp. 161–62.

to have tolerated local Unitarians on his lands at Hošča — in 1644 he was even publicly accused of harboring them.<sup>60</sup> In connection with this, it is significant that in his dedication to Kysil, Victorinus Euthanasius extols Kysil's virtues ("Satis est tibi quod te nemo vetustare generis, praeclaris majorum gestis, gloria et splendore superat in Patria; et ipsum stemma docet, Majores tuos fuisse gentis suae Duces, Patriae defensores, libertatis zelatores; Domus tua ex te cognoscitur, et tu ex illa cognosceris Marte et arte, in Toga, et Sago, in Aprico et Palaeastra" — P., i), without, however, mentioning Kysil's role as defender of the Orthodox faith. Victorinus's dedication thus differs markedly from those of Kossov or Bajewski, in which Kysil's defense of Orthodoxy figures prominently.<sup>61</sup> Assuming that Victorinus Euthanasius was a Protestant, his dedication to Kysil would serve to ensure the nobleman's continued protection of the Protestant community and, possibly, to influence his vote at the upcoming royal election.<sup>62</sup>

Unfortunately, virtually no records of the early years of the Mohyla Collegium survive.<sup>63</sup> It is therefore impossible to ascertain who studied there in 1648, the relationships between the students from various religious and ethnic groups attending the collegium, or the attitudes of the school hierarchy toward foreign or non-Orthodox students. Consequently, Victorinus Euthanasius's translation of *Al Mondo* must serve as an all-too-rare source of information about Kiev and its Orthodox collegium.

In speculating about the identity of the translator, I have tried to establish some contexts in which such a translation could have been undertaken and completed. Even if my assumptions as to the identity of Brother Victorinus must remain hypothetical, the existence of both

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Levickij, "Predislovie," p. 159. For possible connections of the family of Kysil's mother (Ivanyč'kyj) with Antitrinitarians, see Sysyn, "Adam Kysil," p. 62.

<sup>61</sup> Kossov, for instance, addresses Kysil as "Pobożny, stateczny, Wschodniej Cerkwi syn" (*Paterykon* [Kiev, 1635], p. [iii]), while Bajewski's *Tentoria* (Kiev, 1646) contains an entire section entitled "Tentorium Ecclesiae." The omission of Kysil's Orthodoxy would indicate that Brother Victorinus was probably not Orthodox, although there were instances of Protestant conversions to the Eastern faith. The most notable case is, of course, that of the Unitarian Jurij Nemyryč, who converted to Orthodoxy in 1658. About Nemyryč, see St. Kot, *Jerzy Niemiryč, w 300-lecie ugody hadziackiej* (Paris, 1960).

<sup>62</sup> For Protestant attitudes toward the candidates to the throne, see Sysyn, "Adam Kysil," p. 269, and Williams, "Protestants in the Ukraine," p. 202. The Cossack uprising turned out to be disastrous for Protestants in the Ukraine. Many of them fled, in fact, to Cracow. Cf. Williams, "Protestants in the Ukraine," p. 202.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Sydorenko, *Kievan Academy*, p. 79. Most of the archival material was destroyed in a fire in 1658 (*ibid.*, p. 42).

the translation itself and of a network of connections possibly linking Kiev and Great Britain indicates something about the milieu in Kiev on the eve of the Xmel'nyc'kyj uprising. It appears that the Mohyla Collegium was a relatively cosmopolitan center, practicing a degree of religious tolerance. After all, we have the translation of an Anglican Protestant devotional tract (its first and only translation into any language) into Polish by a visiting foreigner (Scottish? Protestant?), dedicated to one of the most powerful men in Orthodox Ukraine and probably printed in Cracow. Moreover, speculations about Victorinus Euthanasius's connections also point to Kysil and to the Mohyla Collegium as focal points during the events of 1648. Whatever the exact circumstances surrounding the appearance of the Polish translation of *Manchester al Mondo* were, its existence proves that the Mohyla Collegium was able to attract foreigners, and that it created an atmosphere in which they could make a contribution, however minor, to the literary culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as a whole.

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