

JAN MALURA
Ostravská univerzita

Central European Cultural Transfers in the Humanism and Baroque Periods: Three Examples from Literary History¹

For quite a long time, there has been an intense debate on the need for comparative studies that would correct nationally-oriented literary history using new methodological techniques and ideas. In practice, however, these comparative techniques and ideas have not been employed in any significant way, especially as far as research of older literature with its strong tradition of philological, text-oriented research is concerned. Today, the study of early modern literature only occasionally gets placed in a broader interdisciplinary context where literature is just one of many ways of monitoring cultural exchange (Čapská; North; Fuchs, Trakulhun). In this study, I will use some of the methods to be found in interdisciplinary research and try to connect them with older literary historical research, including detailed, in-depth analytical readings. In this regard, I support the concept of Edward Kasperski, who stated that comparative studies represent “an interpretation and reinterpretation of the accumulated knowledge on literature” (qtd. in Bakula 8).

I intentionally chose three different themes to draw attention to the cultural transfer of specific works and literary genres in Central Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I will try to point out the directions and mechanisms

1 This article is an output of the grant project SGS02/FF/2020 *The borders and cultural transfers. Contributions to literary comparative studies* (University of Ostrava).

of cultural exchange and its changeable historical conditions. I will focus on the role of mediators in cultural transfers and their role in the dissemination of selected literary phenomena associated with various social strata. Not only will I pay attention to research in reception and translations, but I will also examine the parallel existence of a certain phenomenon in several linguistic contexts and transitional, multi-ethnic zones.

One way to deal with such a broad theme is to systematically take into account specific Central European regions and their contacts (Silesia, Moravia, Lesser Poland, etc.). This perspective is more in line with the cultural heterogeneity and hybridity of Central Europe in the early modern period than the traditional view of national literatures as separate.

1. Parody and Folly Literature

“Merkwürdigist das ruckweise Vorschreiten der Ideen von Westen nach Osten, das die tschechische Entwicklung in Abständen hinter der deutschen einher-schreiten, manchmal einherinken läßt” (Spina 10). These words were used by the Bohemian German (Deutschböhme), Franz Spina, an outstanding literary scholar, in the introduction to his monograph which deals with *Frantova práva* (*Franta's Rights*). This remarkable prose parody was written in Czech, closely connected to Pilsen and south-west Bohemia, but published in Nuremberg at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Spina presented a holistic view following various aspects in his monograph. Programmatically, Spina put emphasis on comparative literary research; according to him, thinking about Czech literature should be grounded in the clarification of its relation to foreign literatures, especially German literature, because Czechs should be viewed as Slavs with significant features of Western European German-Roman culture. An important aspect for Spina is naturally the relation to the German source books (*Franta's Rights* draw from a collection of *facetiae* by Heinrich Bebel), but he recognizes the independence of the Czech author, who is not a mere translator but rather a distinctive adaptor who individualizes foreign plots and adapts them to a new milieu (e.g., by locating them in the Czech milieu).²

Contemplations on *Franta's Rights* have always been associated with discussions of cultural transfer, although researchers in the past obviously did not have such terms in their vocabulary. The crucial theme for Spina was the contacts between Pilsen and Nuremberg. More recent research has also emphasised such contacts, in particular those associated with Jan Mantuán Fencel, a publisher

2 Spina's ideas were followed by other researchers (especially Kolár 1959).

and humanist who was closely connected to the cultural life in Pilsen and who also arranged the publishing of *Franta's Rights* in the southern German city of Nuremberg.³ *Franta's Rights* was translated into Polish and printed in 1542 in Krakow (Wydra). This fact has been stated many times by researchers (Magnuszewski).⁴

However, *Franta's Rights* must not be perceived in isolation, but should be viewed as a manifestation of a broader, transcultural phenomenon, namely that of the genre of parody and satirical literature, which originated mainly at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth century in the German milieu. It includes Latin prose (*facetiae* by Heinrich Bebel) and German prose (*schwank*, which is mainly represented by stories about Eulenspiegel), as well as poetry in German. The poem "Narrenschiff" (Ship of Fools), a multifaceted satirical reflection on human sins by the Southern German Catholic scholar Sebastian Brant, gained huge popularity, partly thanks to its accompanying illustrations. This literary genre is frequently referred to as folly literature (*Narrenliteratur*), because it very often deals with fools, jesters, drunks and a foolish way of life, in general. Erasmus's famous *In Praise of Folly* is also a part of this European literary movement.⁵ Many of these works can be understood as a means by which men reflected on their weaknesses and criticized their failures and harmful habits. Their grotesque tone ensures that many of them come off as very ambivalent, i.e. without a clear moral judgement.

These works spread mainly from south-west and northern Germany, and generally speaking, it was a gradual wave with different intensities and shapes in the various regions. They reached the Netherlands, but very soon arrived in Bohemia and then in Lesser Poland, and much later, for example, in Slovakia. This literature is referred to by various names and is of various literary-historical importance in assorted national contexts. The Polish term *sowizdrzalska literatura* points to a key item of this transcultural phenomenon, i.e. the literary character of Eulenspiegel (also Thyl Ulenspiegel in German, Sowizdrzał/Sowizrział

3 Cf. most recent Voit 9–104 on the contacts between Pilsen and Nuremberg in the field of Renaissance book culture.

4 It should be added that, in addition to *Franta's Rights*, the Prague prints of Mikuláš Konáč, for example, also reached Krakow at that time (Cf. Lambrecht, on Konáč's strong ties to Poland; cf. Voit 181 on the relations between Prague book printing and Krakow book printing).

5 It is a scholarly, ironic celebration of an upside-down world, which resonated in many Central European countries, and was soon translated into Czech. The translation, however, remained only in manuscript form.

in Polish, Enšpígl in Czech). Eulenspiegel, a narrative probably about the historical figure of a Saxon trickster, was originally orally transmitted but was printed as a book at the end of the fifteenth century (*Ein kurtzweilig Lesen von Dyl Ulenspiegel*) and soon became very popular. This cycle of narratives about the picaresque career of a wandering journeyman and trickster was very popular, probably because of the many absurd situations, often scatological in nature and connected to human corporeality, which made it a grotesque reflection of the daily life of the lower strata of society in a medieval city.

The first Polish translations of such works, available as fragmentary documented prints, appeared in Krakow in the 1530s and 1540s. Czech versions appeared later and the oldest preserved and documented fragments of the Czech print date from 1576. It is therefore impossible to confirm Spina's thesis that Czech literature is always the first and most enthusiastic of the Slavic literatures to react to and accept Western stimuli. The conversation of Solomon and Markolt, another example of folly literature, which parodied official and serious wisdom, appeared in the Polish milieu as early as in 1521 in the Polish city of Krakow as a printed translation of the Latin original (Sokolski 142). The same Latin text later stimulated Czech translations in the second half of the sixteenth century.

According to Jaroslav Kolár, “comparable developments of the social order and ways of thinking, together with the same value horizon, enabled such stories and heroes to be taken over and incorporated into domestic literatures” (Kolár 2004: 223). Nevertheless, this explanation seems somewhat abstract; it would be more adequate to clarify these cultural transfers through cross-border contacts between the printers of the time. The movement of parody and folly literature was motivated mainly by commercial intentions. We have already mentioned numerous links between printers and publishers in Nuremberg, Pilsen, Prague and Krakow.

The fundamental question should not be the primacy of the occurrence of the theme, i.e. the exact chronology of reception. The focus should rather be on an analysis of the modes of transmission, the degree of resonance and observations of what actually caused this “echo” of the original German stimulus in various Central European areas. The Czech cycle about Eulenspiegel seems to be a simple translation, since it is not a domestication of the topic, as was the case with *Franta's Rights* (which was an exception in Czech entertainment production from this point of view). In the Polish milieu the situation was different. Based on the reception of foreign stimuli, a strong wave of so-called *sowizdrzalska literature* emerged (Wojtowicz). This distinctive and strong literary current had been developing from the 90s of the sixteenth century until

the seventeenth century and is represented by works such as *Nowy Sowiźrzał* (1596), *Synod klechów podgórskich* (1607), *Statut... to jest artykuły prawne* (1611), *Peregrynacja dziadowska* (1612), *Fraszki Sowirzała nowego* (1614), etc. All these works were closely connected to the Krakow literary scene and are topographically connected with south-east Poland (Krakow, Rzeszow and its surroundings). In addition to the common topography, they also have a relatively uniform literary nature. These are mostly works of a grotesque, carnivalesque nature, which loosely follow the original German tradition. Their authors mostly operated under pseudonyms, often absurd and parodic, such as Jan of Wychylówka, Radopatrzałek Gładkotwarski, Tymoteusz Moczygębski, Janarius Sovizralius and others. Their real authorship remains unclear, although Bogdan Stanaszek (2013) believes that the author of a large group of texts was a historically documented person, Jan Dzwonowski, who signed under the abovementioned *Statut*, but can also be identified with several pseudonyms.

These discussions are not very important for our theme. What is important is that the resonance of the Czech *Franta's Rights* contributed to that wave. Polish literary works mention "frantas" among other rogues, clever fellows and tricksters "Wszystkim frantom, marchułtom i młodym figlarzom, / Sowiźrzałom, rzygulcom, ba i starym łgarzom" (Antoniuk 274).

The quoted passage comes from the work *Statut... to jest artykuły prawne*, which is a text with several analogies to *Franta's Rights*. It is a grotesque parody of guild regulations, which also in the Polish case is a community of drunks and rogues.⁶ The Czech *Franta's Rights*, like many of the Polish works, emphasize the carelessness of the rogue community associated with drunken revelry:

Mam jabłka, gruszki, wino, tarnki, grzyby, rydze, / Nigdy głodu nie zemrę, choć mięsa nie widzę. / Z wilki przymierze trzymam, służą mi niedźwiedzie, / Żołnierz mi nie zaszkodzi, choć tamtędy jedzie. / Nigdy mi nic nie spacie, nie zatopi woda, / Rzadko mnie w czym uszkodzi gwałtowna przygoda./ Sąsiad mi nic nie spacie, nie skarży też na mię, / Do gromady nie stanę, choćże idzie znamię. / Pijany, z karczmy idąc, nie czyni mi złości, / Żaden sie nie śmie targnąć na moje wolności. (Antoniuk 186)

6 It was very likely that the Franta's guild was really established in Pilsen. This community of rogues was similar to the community later established, *Rzeczpospolita Babińska* in Poland (cf. Wojtowicz 279–283).

Vidíte, který má mnoho, že nemá žádného odpočinutí, ani od lidí, ani na své myslí. Bohatého tudíž udělají konšelem nebo nějakým ouředníkem. Ten ve dne má dost činiti s pány a s lidmi a v noci pak leže myslí, aby svému úřadu dost učinil, a tak nemuož usnutí, ale obracuje se sem i tam... Ale my, vejduć do krčmy, na nic se nestaráme, než tu sme veselí a spíváme, žádný nám nekáže na rathous, leč pro dluh, ani k počtu, ani nikam. (Kolár 1959: 37)

However, let us not be fooled by a few similarities. There are also obvious differences between the Czech and Polish texts. From a literary and artistic point of view, the most interesting parts of *Franta's Rights* are the embedded stories which function as parody exempla and which grew to be narratively developed short stories in several cases, something we do not find in the Polish *Statut*. The most glaring difference is the form. Dzwonowski's text has a verse form, which is a typical feature of Polish folly literature. We also find verse texts of this kind in the German milieu, as evidenced by satirical epics about Eulenspiegel, or the work of Hans Sachs, but there is no indication that these German works directly influenced the parody literature of late Humanism in Lesser Poland. *Sowiżrzał nowy* and other works were fully entrenched in the developed domestic literary environment. They contain allusions to Polish literature, works of Jan Kochanowski, etc. Neither is this work directly related to Czech culture, although the reflections of this circle mention proximity of Polish works to the Czech milieu, but only via ahistorical updates. For example, the anti-hero, the plebeian Albertus, the main character of the anonymous work *Wyprawa plebańska* (1590), is referred to as "staropolski Szwejk" (Grzeszczuk 213, 239).

Of course, these Svejk analogies are not important for the knowledge of cultural transfers done then. Nevertheless, a comparison of *Franta's Rights* with Dzwonowski's *Statut* shows the difference between Czech and Polish developments very well. In the first two thirds of the sixteenth century, a small group of works of parody and folly literature was created in the Czech milieu, with *Franta's Rights* as the most important. In the late Humanism, these were followed by only a few smaller, rather insignificant texts and, to a certain extent, also a translation of the German moralistic satirical work, *Spis doktora Grobiana*. Ironic reflections of gout (a disease affecting the feet of the elderly) in Latin arrived in Czech lands after some delay from the German scholarly milieu. It was particularly the famous parody encomium, *Laus podagrae* written by the Nuremberg humanist, Willibald Pirckheimer. We now know this text from the Czech translation by Jiří Carolides as *Chlouba podagry* from

1597.⁷ These are however just a few scattered texts. Nothing comparable to the extensive and consistent set of verse parody texts of the Lesser Poland circle can be found in the Czech lands. It is therefore not even possible to prove that this Polish wave would significantly have affected the Czech milieu. In a specific way, this is documented in the case of the play *Tragedie neb hra žebračí* (published for the first time in 1573), which has so far attracted researchers mainly because of the fact that its Czech translation can serve as the basis for the reconstruction of the lost Polish version. The play is often interpreted as a text reflecting social problems (Jakubcová 616). However, remarkable observations have recently been made by Tomáš Havelka, who has concluded from the final passages that the original play was closely related to the so-called carnivalesque culture; Havelka wrote:

... the translator added moralistic passages and omitted carnivalesque and erotic double entendres, and whole stories. We cannot compare the extent and nature of such changes, but it is still clear evidence that the lost Polish play fell into the tradition of Sowizdrzal culture and that the Czech translator tried to remove any traces of it. (363)

According to Havelka, in Western Europe spontaneous carnivalesque culture was gradually pushed to the margins and placed outside of the official printed production, when grotesque comedy aspects were abraded and stripped of scatological and erotic elements (370–375). The Czech milieu, earlier than the Polish one, began to reflect this modernizing Western European trend, which under the influence of strong confessional tensions in the society of that time brought a visible moralistic colouration to literature.

At the end of Humanism, Czech and Polish literature did not show strong mutual interferences, although linguistic and geographical proximity provided broad conditions for this. Cultural transfers had specific limits at that time, as shown in the work of Bartłomiej Paprocki, a Polish writer operating in Bohemia and Moravia.⁸ Paprocki tries to transfer the texts he originally wrote in Polish to the Czech milieu. Typically, the verse of the original work had been changed into prose. In addition to the change to the form, the ironic and satirical colouration of Polish texts was transformed into a moralistic treatise in the Czech adaptation. Such shifts well reflect the differences between Czech and Polish

7 Cf. Storchová (326–342) on the representation of this “fashionable” disease in humanistic culture.

8 See Koczur-Lejk for work of Bartłomiej Paprocki from a comparative point of view.

culture of high and late Humanism. Between 1590 and 1620, Czech literature began to come significantly closer to the cultural models of the German lands, with an emphasis on moralistic and religiously educative tendencies.

2. Protestant Religious Song

Religious song is an important phenomenon of the early modern culture of Central Europe, where soon after the dissemination of book printing, the publishing of hymnbooks began to develop intensively. This development is, of course, closely linked to the strong confessional diversification of Central Europe. Many examples show how useful it is to understand this literary and musical field not as an isolated national construct, but in a transcultural context. In the case of the Czech lands, this tendency is intensified by the multi-lingualism of religious life, where the hymnbooks of Catholic and Protestant provenances were published in both national languages, i.e. in Czech and German.

There is no need to explain in detail the strong resonance of the songs of *Unitas Fratrum* in the Polish territory, because researchers have sufficiently elucidated these facts. Let us add that this is a typical manifestation of cultural transfer, mediated in a linguistically close area by religious exiles. The existence of the Czech non-Catholic diaspora in Greater Poland had been made possible since the middle of the sixteenth century by the support of some Polish aristocrats and at the same time the relatively tolerant situation in this territory, where, in spite of conflict, Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists and Polish Brethren were able to co-exist (Bečková 49). Considerable attention has already been paid to the details of this diaspora, including Comenius' work in Leszno, which marks the culmination of the influential work of *Unitas Fratrum* in the Polish territory. *Unitas Fratrum*, which gained considerable influence here soon after their arrival, played an important role, especially at the beginning of the Polish Reformation, and it was just through their hymnbooks. The songs of *Unitas Fratrum* in the Polish language not only served the members of the Polish Brethren, but also penetrated into other Polish songbooks. In fact, all Protestant hymnbooks in Polish from the second half of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century were strongly shaped by the song fund of *Unitas Fratrum*, although they originated in various regions (Duchy of Prussia, Lesser Poland, etc.).

The spread of the Czech songs into the Polish milieu is evidenced, for example, by *Cantional albo księgi chwał Boskich*, which was published by Walenta of Brzozów in Královec in 1555. Just due to its scope, it represents a completely unusual work among Polish hymnbooks of that time. It is an imitation of the

Czech *Unitas Fratrum* hymnbook of Jan Roh from 1541, not only textually (translations from Czech), but also as an artifact of book culture. The imitation goes so far that Polish researchers have been surprised several times by the numerous Czech language traits in the translated lyrics therein (Witkowski). Linguistic interferences are definitely a remarkable manifestation of transcultural exchange and in the case of religious songs, it is not exceptional; Czech-Polish mixing can also be observed in the field of pilgrimage songs and broadside ballads of the late Baroque period (cf. Ivánek et al.).

The “Czech hymnography in Poland” also includes the well-known case of publishing the most important Czech hymnbook of the sixteenth century in the Polish territory. The so-called Šamotulsky hymnbook (*Písně chval božských*, 1561) was printed by *Unitas Fratrum* in Szamotuły near Poznań, because in the Czech lands this community was *de facto* outside the law. The hymnbook, supported by Count Łukasz Górka of Górki, influenced Polish Reform hymnography, especially the Polish Brethren hymnbook, which was published by Matouš Wierzbeta in Kraków in 1569 and then in other editions, such as in Toruń in 1591. However, the influence of Czech songs of *Unitas Fratrum* was combined with domestic stimuli.⁹ Let us add that a significant trace of the hymnography of *Unitas Fratrum* in Poland also contains specific song subgenres, for example songs about death as found by researchers (Nowicka-Jeż 1992). However, the Czech-Polish hymnographic relations did not mean a unilateral influence, but a two-way exchange of repertoire, which can be evidenced by the well-known case of Comenius translating several Polish songs for his hymnbook *Kancionál*.

The spread of the songs of *Unitas Fratrum* was not just a matter of the work of exiles abroad. Due to the multilingual composition of the inhabitants of the lands of the Czech Crown, *Unitas Fratrum* also published works in the German language. *Ein neu Gesangbuchlen* (Mladá Boleslav, 1531), which was edited and partly written by the Silesian, Michael Weisse, was well known. According to Petr Voít, this hymnbook was quickly accepted by printers in the German Empire “as a prototype of a non-Catholic song selection” (Voít 370). Michael Weisse’s songs were soon very firmly integrated into the repertoire of the Lutheran Reformation hymnography.

However, Lutheran hymnography also created its own song repertoire, especially through the work of Martin Luther and authors close to him. The centre of Lutheran literature and education was in Saxony, in particular Wittenberg and its university with which the Czech milieu had many contacts (Storchová

9 Wierzbeta approaches the Czech fund quite selectively and, in contrast, adds over a hundred new songs from Polish originals.

71–74). Religious educative literature and richly developed Protestant hymnography were spreading from Saxony to the east. However, Lutheran hymnbooks appeared in Polish much earlier than in Czech. The oldest Polish-language hymnbook of this tendency is *Pieśni duchowne*, edited by Jan Seklucjan and first published in Královec in 1547 (and then in other editions). The Lesser Poland congregations had their own hymnbooks, e.g., *Pieśni nowo wybrane* by Ignacy Oliwiński (Krakow 1558). The repertoire of Polish Lutheran hymnbooks had also been strongly influenced by songs of *Unitas Fratrum*.

The *Cantional*, whose editor was Piotr Artomiusz, a graduate of the University of Wittenberg and a preacher in Warsaw and Toruń, was of fundamental importance in this field. The hymnbook was first published in 1587 and then in many other, extended editions, until the beginning of the eighteenth century. The 1620 edition seems to be very important (cf. Fijałkowski). *Cantional* reflects the canonic fund of the older German Protestant tradition.¹⁰ Some of the psalms in Jan Kochanowski's translations into Polish were also included, as well as the repertoire of *Unitas Fratrum*. In the Polish context, Artomiusz's *Cantional* is evaluated as the foundational work in which various Central European stimuli intersect.¹¹

The Czech-language version of the Lutheran hymnography emerged later, since, due to the influential domestic tradition of Utraquist hymnbooks and those *Unitas Fratrum* ones, there had not been a need for such a transfer from Germany for a long time. It began to form only in the first third of the seventeenth century in the Moravian-Silesian-Slovak border zone. After the not yet fully defined hymnbook by Tobiáš Lipenský Závorka, a Moravian Lutheran priest who maintained important contacts with Silesia, the hymnbook by Jiří Třanovský, a poet from Silesian Cieszyn and a graduate of the University of Wittenberg, was published. Although his *Cithara sanctorum. Písně duchovní, stare nové* was first published in 1636, an older, foundational generation of German Protestant songs resonates therein, especially songs from penned by Martin Luther himself. It is *de facto* the same German song layer that had appeared in the hymnbook with Polish translations by Piotr Artemiusz several decades earlier.

10 It contains songs by authors such as Martin Luther, Paul Eber, Elizabeth Creutziger, Paul Speratus, Michael Weisse, and also songs by Jan Hus in Luther's arrangement.

11 "Piotr Artomiusz's hymnbook summarized and shaped the musical and poetic tradition of Polish Protestantism. It was saturated with numerous borrowings, mainly from German and Czech cultural milieux." (Fijałkowski 146).

To date the question as to how German Protestant hymnography of the Baroque type is reflected in Central Europe has not received enough attention. This artistically significant phenomenon had been developing since the 40s of the seventeenth century. One of the ways of observing these transcultural contacts is tracing the journey of key Baroque songs through the regions of Central Europe. We now have a unique aid for this, namely a multi-volume critical edition of the most important work of Baroque Protestant hymnography (*Johann Crüger: Praxis Pietatis Melica. Edition und Dokumentation der Werkgeschichte*; cf. Korth, Miersemann). The hymn book *Praxis Pietatis Melica* (further referred to as PPM) was edited by Johann Crüger, a Berlin teacher and composer of Lusatian-Serbian origin (originally his name was Jan Krygař).¹² The textual and musical development of PPM is very complicated. From 1648 to the end of the seventeenth century, it was published in almost forty editions and in various places (especially in Berlin), with various prefaces and in various typographic adaptations and print formats. A real bestseller was born, and gradually more lyrics and musical notations were added. The first edition contained 248 songs and by the first third of the eighteenth century, the number of songs exceeded a thousand. From a musical point of view, these were different editions; two-part or four-part choral arrangements, and some completely lacking musical notation. It is essential for our theme that the critical edition mentions in many places melodies that have their roots in the hymnbooks of *Unitas Fratrum*, especially by Michael Weisse (they were either inspired by them or taken over directly). However, we are mainly interested in transfers involving lyrics.

It can be assumed that it was just through PPM that this work spread eastwards to Protestant areas, where a significant share of the population was German. Silesia can be considered a key zone for this flow, which naturally had its reasons. Lutheranism was strongly established in multi-ethnic Silesia, mainly among the German-language population. Lutheranism was not the only denomination here, since Catholics and adherents of minority Reformation denominations also lived there. This competitive pressure undoubtedly had an impact on the intensive formation of hymnbooks. Wrocław (Breslau) long became one of the key centres for publishing hymnbook prints in Central Europe.¹³

12 He came from the Lower Lusatian village of Groß Breesen, which was then located in the Czech Kingdom, and spent some of his studies at a Jesuit college in Olomouc, Moravia.

13 The first Lutheran-oriented hymnbook (*Ein gesang Buchlien*) was published here as early as 1525, followed by a long series of others, as is mentioned in the richly informa-

The hymnbook *Geistliche Kirchen- und Haus-Music* became an important work, first published in Wrocław in 1644 and then in the second half of the seventeenth century in several gradually extended editions, which cannot always be dated with certainty. If we compare the data of Anna Mańko-Matysiak (364–370) with the data of the scientific edition of PPM (Korth, Miersemann 2016), it is apparent that the authors of the new, Baroque wave were gradually being included in the Wrocław hymnbook. At the same time, however, this fact cannot be interpreted as a simple spreading of the repertoire from the West (Saxony-Brandenburg centres) to the East (Silesia). This issue will be studied with particular authors to illustrate it.

Johann Hermann and Paul Gerhard are considered to be the key authors of Lutheran Baroque song lyric poetry in the German milieu and both of them have a strong position in contemporary syntheses of German Baroque literature (Meid 225–237). Paul Gerhard is the most important author of PPM, but in the Wrocław hymnbook, *Geistliche Kirchen- und Haus-music* his songs were printed only to a limited extent. In contrast, many songs of Johann Hermann were printed in it. Johann Hermann's almost sixty songs represent a very large corpus, but many of them are not in PPM at all (*So bald Maria hat die Zeit; Nicht traure sehr, o frommer Christ*), or they got into it after a long delay at the end of the seventeenth century, possibly through Silesian hymnbooks (*Was bin ich, o Herr Zeboath; Maria ging hienauß geschwind*). Many songs by Martin Opitz (*Sei wolgemuth, laß Trauern sein*) and Andrea Gryphia (*Reiß Erden! Himmel, brich!*), which are part of the *Geistliche Kirchen- und Haus-music* repertoire, did not penetrate the hymn fund as represented by PPM at all. An important author of the *Geistliche Kirchen- und Haus-music* was Matthaus Apelles von Löwenstern, Upper Silesian writer and musician, who after 1625, was also a religious exile. However, in PPM, his songs form an insignificant segment in terms of the number of songs. The authors whom we identified as strongly represented in the Wrocław hymnbook and mostly only marginally in PPM have one thing in common: they are Silesians, which, of course, is not a coincidence. *Geistliche Kirchen- und Haus-music* is a hymnbook whose specific features are determined by its regional focus. Mańko-Matysiak (232–239) shows that in seventeenth-century Silesia, German hymnbooks (especially Lutheran) helped to build a regional consciousness and, therefore, he talks about regional hymnbooks (*Territorial-Gesangbüchern*), in which the local

tive and factually reliable book written by Anna Mańko-Matysiak. Cf. also Lichański on hymnbooks in Silesia, although it contains some factual inaccuracies.

focus is expressed not only by the song repertoire, but also by dedications, prefaces, etc.

Later, hymnbooks in Polish also began to appear in Silesia, amongst the first of which was a pair of hymnbooks published in Brzeg in 1670 and 1673, respectively. *Doskonały Kancjonał Polski* (1673) is a very extensive hymnbook that has not escaped the attention of Polish researchers.¹⁴ From the available data it can be clearly stated that the hymnbook mostly contains a conservative reformist repertoire (compositions by Martin Luther, etc.); often Polish versions of Czech compositions of *Unitas Fratrum*; and many compositions translated from German mainly via the Wrocław *Geistliche Kirchen- und Haus-music*. However, the new Baroque repertoire appears here only to a very limited extent. We can find here, for example, several Polish versions of songs by the already mentioned Johann Hermann, but not songs by Paul Gerhard. However, it also contains a translation of the already mentioned Apelles von Löwenstern in the form of the composition *Christe du Beistand deiner Kreuzgemeine*, a plea for peace and tranquillity, in which the so-called Sapphic stanza is used.¹⁵ Let us look at the initial stanza of the Polish version and, for comparison, also look at the German original:

Kryste, Obrońco zboru krzyżowego,
Pośpiesz na pomoc, rátuj ludu swego;
zniszcz nieprzyjaciól zbuntowanych jády
i krwáwe rády. (cited according to Mańko-Matysiak 390)

Christe, du Beistand deiner Kreuzgemeine!
Eilends mit Hülf' und Rettung uns erscheine,
Steure dein Feinden, ihre Blutgerichte
Mache zu nichts. (Gesangbuch 141)

It is remarkable that the Czech version of this composition appeared much later, but at the same time in several variants during the first half of the eigh-

- 14 Its recently published edition (Malicki, Sierny) unfortunately cannot satisfy researchers, not so much because it was not published in full, but mainly because the edition does not present a thorough analysis of the repertoire. There is no catalogue of songs with identification of sources, etc.
- 15 As a poet, Apelles sought to follow the poetic principles of the Silesian Martin Opitz and is considered to be the author who used Classical stanzaic forms in German poetry for the first time.

teenth century. The oldest one can be found in the hymnbook *Písniční knížekka* by the evangelical author, Eliáš Mlynárových, a Slovak who wrote in Czech. His work was also published in Slovakia (in Levoča) in 1702.¹⁶

It is precisely the phenomenon of exile that repeatedly returns to us in the reflections of Central European hymnography as a category strongly influencing the cultural events in various regions in the early modern period. Exile can be a factor that can significantly accelerate transfers, though it may not always be the case, depending naturally on the conditions that writers encounter in host countries. We have already mentioned the successful hymnbook *Cithara sanctorum*, whose beginnings were associated with Jiří Třanovský. He created the core of the work in Moravia and Silesia, then emigrated to Slovakia (then Upper Hungary), where his hymnbook was first published (Levoča, 1636). This work was an unprecedented success in Slovakia and in the seventeenth century it was published ten more times in gradually expanding editions.¹⁷ However, the new Baroque German songs, as represented by PPM, began to appear in *Cithara sanctorum* as late as in the last third of the seventeenth century. The younger generation of Slovak Protestants, whose literary language was humanistic Czech, played a major role in this trend. The key edition in this respect was that from 1684, having been edited by Daniel Sinapius. The songs by Paul Gerhard, a key poet of the PPM circle, had been translated for it. As an example, let us mention the evening meditation *Nun ruhen alle Wälder*, included *de facto* in all editions of PPM (Korth, Miersemann 2014: 34, 2015: 80, 2016: 200–201). It was translated into Czech by the Slovak JeremiášLednický (*Cithara sanctorum* 1684, cf. Malura 292).

Gerhard's morning song *Wach auf mein Herz und singe*, which traditionally opened the entire PPM (Korth, Miersemann 2014: 15, 2015: 70, 2016: 248–249), was even translated into Czech twice in the second half of the seventeenth century. The first translation was done for *Cithara sanctorum* in 1684 by the

16 Another one is connected with Silesia, specifically with *Harfa nová* by Jan Liberda, a Pietist from Cieszyn, who released his hymnbook while in exile in Germany (Malura 351).

17 Let us add that *Cithara sanctorum* also received a response from Polish evangelicals. In particular, it was spontaneously used by the Polish audience in the Cieszyn region, as evidenced by the work *Wierność Bogu i cesarzowi czasu powietrza morovego należąca* (Brzeg, 1716) by Jan Muthmann, a Polish-German priest and an early Pietist from Cieszyn in Silesia. Třanovský is still reflected, even in cultural journalism in Silesia, Poland and Slovakia and his work is being translated into Polish (from the latest works of this type, cf. Stanček; Machej).

already mentioned Slovak Daniel Sinapius.¹⁸ In addition, other authors who belonged to the canonic fund of German hymnography of the early Baroque (Johann Rist, Christian Keimann, Johann Franck, etc.) were also translated into Czech in the last third of the seventeenth century. Their texts were not selected according to any territorial key, but just for aesthetic and religious reasons.

Based on the first comparative examinations, which have been done with the help of available tools, it can be stated that a large reception of Lutheran Baroque hymnography took place during the second half of the seventeenth century among German Protestants in Silesia, with a clear emphasis on the local Silesian origin of the hymnographic works. At that time Polish-language hymnbooks from Silesia absorbed modern Baroque work only to a limited extent. Czech-language Protestant hymnbooks, which developed only in exile, did so to a little greater extent. Paul Gerhardt and other authors of this circle were absorbed with extraordinary frequency in the 30s and 40s of the eighteenth century, both by Pietists in exile who wrote in Czech and by orthodox Lutherans in Slovakia. This constitutes a different and completely separate chapter as well as the question of how German Baroque hymnography was transmitted to Polish Protestant hymnbooks outside of the Silesian territory.

3. Christmas Drama

Matys: Żebys ode mnie ten ser, ba, i tę kiołbaszę / Przyjąć raczył, i szóstak na jaglaną kaszę / Mam też krówkę, lecz blisza już onego świata, / A druga się ocieli, dalibóg, za lata. Skoro ją Bóg rozwiąże, będąc mleka nosił / A jak cielca zadłubię, będę cię nań prosił. (Okoń 168)

Pindarus. Já dám některý syreček / od mých rozmilých oveček. / Ty sou s šalvěji dělány, / vonný, mastný i dost slaný. / Přidám parmazán v pucláku, / však neleží jako v láku. / Jako máslo se ti krojí, / na chlebě pak pěkně stojí. (Hrabák 36)

The fragments cited come from the Polish play *Dialogus in nativitate Christi* and the Czech play *Rakovnická vánoční hra*. They are close to each other in terms of time of origin (second half of the seventeenth century) and, at first glance, also in terms of motifs and the literary mode. The shepherds speak in

18 The other translation was by the Silesian, Kašpar Motěšický, who first published it in the 1694 edition of his *Ruční knížka* (Malura 394–395, edition Malura-Kosek 115–116).

a grotesque manner about quite material things, thus creating a contrast to the solemn homage being paid to the baby Jesus. If we examine the Czech and Polish Christmas drama more thoroughly and from the point of view of broader material, we will find that there are quite a few differences between the two areas.

Polish drama had undoubtedly more been influenced by pastoral idylls. In early modern Poland we find several dramatic or quasi-dramatic pieces, which are called eclogues. This is in agreement with the general tendency of Baroque culture, where in various European regions we find a number of literary texts that combine inspiration from Virgil's pastoral poetry with Christian themes. Nevertheless, this wave only marginally affected the Czech milieu. *Zdoroslaviček* by the Jesuit, Felix Kadlinský is considered to be a significant manifestation of the Czech religious lyric poetry (cf. Kopecký). Amongst its song compositions, we can find lyrics marked as religious eclogues, i.e. longer songs stylized as shepherds talking about a Christmas theme. *Zdoroslaviček* is a translation of the famous cycle, *Trutznachtigall* by Friedrich von Spee, who was a typical representative of the Catholic Baroque of south-west Germany. In the seventeenth century, this cultural circle had a considerable impact on the Czech milieu and it included the so-called Munich Song School (*Müncher Liederschule*) centered on Johannes Khuen, an author who was also associated with the religious pastoral idyll (Meid 256–257). Other manifestations of the Czech Baroque eclogue include *Pastýřské rozmlouvání o narození Páně* by Václav Jan Rosa, which is a typical classicizing idyll, combining a pastoral theme with a Christmas theme, while its Classical stylization is enhanced by the effort to use quantitative verse. Such a work is unique in the Czech context, but in the Polish milieu, we find several compositions similar in type with most of them being much more extensive and elaborate.

Religious eclogues and the so-called *pastorales sacrae* (sacred pastorals) had been created since the end of the sixteenth century, in particular within the Society of Jesus. Jesuit writers often belonged to the followers of the then contemporary Classicism, which was also very strong in the Polish milieu (cf. Nowicka 2010). Religious eclogues and pastoral poetry were often discussed by the Jesuits in their theoretical handbooks (Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, Bohuslav Balbín), but the poetic eclogue is not always clearly distinguished from dramatic forms.¹⁹ Jesuit culture was transnational and it has recently been repeatedly emphasized that it should be mainly interpreted within this

19 The boundary between pastoral poetic work and a simple theatrical scene was not firm. A rather long verse eclogue in dialogic form can easily be imagined as a declamatory text performed by several performers, for example in a school environment.

global framework (Kosman-Mariani 145). And it is precisely drama, including its various declamatory forms, which belongs to the typical pillars of the Jesuit international culture, especially as a means of pedagogical teaching, but also as part of religious festivities or artistic work created in honour of important guests. The Jesuit Christmas plays had been performed in many European regions, Central Europe included, since the middle of the sixteenth century.

Christmas plays, dialogues and pastorals from the Polish milieu have been preserved in quite a large number. They were not concentrated in one centre, but covered a large geographical area (Krakow, Kalisz, Krosno, Lublin, Sandomierz, Przemyśl, etc.), with the oldest preserved text dating back to as early as 1586 (Okoń III–IX). In addition to the Jesuits with their numerous activities in this respect, other educational centres, especially the Academy of Krakow, participated in this work. The Academy of Krakow probably wanted to compete with the Jesuits, so it was producing plays of a similar type. Jan Okoń focuses not only on the place of performance and the intended audience, but also on the choice of languages and genres, distinguishing between two types, namely sophisticated Latin eclogues for scholars conducted at Jesuit colleges, and dialogues in Polish for the lower strata of society conducted in churches (Okoń XVI, XIX). However, a closer look at the texts themselves seems to indicate a more complex situation. As early as at the end of the sixteenth century, Polish plays started to be produced in addition to Latin plays. These Polish plays were also shaped by many principles to be found in scholarly theatre. The Polish plays contained Latin passages, as well as more exclusive rhetorical techniques, e.g. in the form of puns from the mouth of Echo (Polish play with the Latin name, *Dialogus in nativitate Christi* from the Jesuit environment, around 1651).²⁰ Other features of scholarly theatre included allegorical interludes, in which the spiritual essence of the events is explained (see the Polish play with the Latin name, *Dialogus pro die nativitatis Domini Iesu Christi* from the environment of the Academy of Krakow, around 1641). The Polish-language plays also reflect the above-mentioned principles of the then fashionable pastoral poetry, which include, among other things, the themes of the musical contest of shepherds and elements of shepherd music making in general.

In the Czech milieu, we have documented only few Christmas plays of a higher, scholarly type. Above all, it is necessary to emphasize that there exists no text of a Latin drama with a Christmas theme known to have come from the Czech lands. Such plays were almost certainly performed in Bohe-

20 Playing with an echo was a popular literary process of the time, and relatively common in Jesuit drama (Jacková 91).

mia and Moravia at Christmas time, as evidenced in sources from the Jesuit colleges in Český Krumlov and Olomouc, but their texts, however, have not been preserved.²¹ This fact suggests that compared to the Polish situation, it was a rather marginal phenomenon. The reason was certainly not the general weak development of scholarly theatre in the Czech milieu, because the Jesuits certainly hosted theatrical activities in many colleges in the Czech and Moravian regions. However, those had their specific features and obviously other themes were dominant.²²

Several Christmas plays in Czech from the Baroque period have been preserved. However, none of them had significantly been shaped by scholarly theatre. Its marginal traces can be observed only in two plays from the second half of the seventeenth century. The Czech play, *Rakovnická vánoční hra* is sometimes considered to belong to the Jesuit Christmas plays, but this is more of an interpretive hypothesis made by Stanislav Souček, who considered the play to be the work of the Jesuit, Jan Libertin. The play displays certain features of a pastoral idyll, namely in the names of the shepherds (Corydon, Tityrus and Pindarus) and in the motif of a musical contest. According to Souček, the beginning of the play can be interpreted as an allegory. If this was indeed the case, these were allegorical meanings which, in contrast to the usual Central European scholarly production, were outlined in the text only in an indicative manner.

Another Czech play, *Actus pobožný* by František Václav Kocmánek, contains the traditional compositional parts of Christmas plays: the annunciation to the shepherds, the adoration of the shepherds, the adoration of the Magi and the flight into Egypt. Some researchers classify *Actus pobožný* as a work influenced by higher theatre culture (Černý 162–163). The hints at the influence of scholarly drama can perhaps be seen in the effort to attain a high language style and the compositional structure of Prologus, i.e. three separate scenes, and Epilogus. Nevertheless, the pastoral idyll and an allegorical level, typical of Jesuit Christmas drama, are completely missing here.

Hence, in the Czech milieu we find only faint hints of scholarly theatre in the Christmas plays of the seventeenth century. Can it automatically be assumed that these plays have a “folk nature,” as Marxist literary science would have it? How do we recognize the elements of folksiness? The matter is not at all simple, since typical markers of folksiness such as being handwritten or anonymous,

21 Škarpová summarizes the documents on performances at individual Jesuit colleges on the basis of previous literature (Škarpová 180–185), cf. also Souček 49–51.

22 Cf. Bobková-Valentová 9–23 on Jesuit drama in the Czech Lands.

cannot be applied in this case.²³ When it comes to the content and style elements, the question proves no less difficult. Humour, for example, can be relied on only to a limited extent. The traditional notion of “folk humour” is relatively well-established, but it should be noted that scholarly, Jesuit plays in Latin also included comic scenes, especially in the interludes (Bobková-Valentová 19). They, however, exhibit mostly only a moderate and cultivated comic tone. Grotesque motifs associated with the physical and material sides of man (food, alcohol consumption, etc.), as known from the religious theatre of the Middle Ages, were gradually pushed out in early modern drama. Generally speaking, the comic in Polish plays is rather subtle and often significantly blended with more serious passages.²⁴ They also combine comic and idyllic elements, as we can see amongst others in the names of shepherds (Menalka, Dameta, Siczypiwio, Ryczywół, etc.) in the Polish play with the Latin name, *Dialogus de nativitate Domini* (1661). A similar fusion is sometimes found in the Czech milieu, but generally speaking, the comic in Czech Christmas plays is somewhat harsher and more grotesque (cf. the character of Joseph with a penchant for alcohol in Kocmáněk’s *Akt pobožný*, etc.)

Another marker of folksiness can be the presence of songs and Christmas carols in the structure of the play. Although it is not a completely reliable aspect (cf. Pavlíková 2010), it can provide some idea, because the distinctive presence of songs in the national language inevitably meant that the given play deviated from scholarly models and compositional principles of scholarly drama. There is no space for a detailed analysis of the issue in this study (Wołowczyk 2019 in more detail), but let us just make a concluding statement that in Czech plays, in contrast to Polish plays, the song component is very strongly represented.²⁵ The tendency towards folk (popular) culture is thus generally clearer in Czech

23 The vast majority of Czech and Polish Christmas plays are anonymous and have preserved “only” as handwritten manuscripts.

24 *Dialogus 1651*, a play from the Jesuit environment, is featured with comic elements (Joseph’s dialogue with an old woman in search of accommodation, pastoral quarrels, playing cards, conversations about food), but it also includes noble speeches by shepherds, echoes, Latin passages, and traditional scholarly composition. In the play *Actus pastoralis*, which was created as part of a larger whole between 1648 and 1656 (Okoň 171), a rough, grotesque quarrel between the shepherds is followed by a long passage in which the shepherd, Jentek nobly explains the history of salvation.

25 *Rakovnická vánoční hra* contains nine songs, and *Komedii vánoční o narození syna Božího z Vlachova Březí* contains eight songs, etc.

plays.²⁶ This is proven not only by the absence of certain scholarly elements (pastoral idylls, allegorical practices, rhetorical figures), but also by the abundant presence of songs and several variations of the grotesquely comic.

How do we explain these differences? It has already been suggested that the Society of Jesus, which had a fundamental impact on the theatrical production of the European Baroque,²⁷ played an important role in both milieus. The Jesuits represented a significant agent in various regions of the Czech and Polish lands and due to their unified organization, similar influence can be expected. In addition, there were many ties and individual contacts between the Czech and Polish Jesuit provinces.²⁸ Nevertheless, we do not find significant and permanent interferences in cultural and literary models. The spread of Jesuit culture obviously had its specific features as is well reflected in the field of Christmas theatre, which in the Czech milieu developed *de facto* independently of the Jesuit models, and thus without contact with the Polish milieu.

Even in this case, it is not possible to speak of a gradual cultural transfer from the West to the East. The scholarly culture of the Society of Jesus spread fast directly from south-west Europe. According to Jan Okoń, religious pastorals (*pastorales sacrae*) have their origin in the Italian tradition, where this form of theatrical performances had flourished since the middle of the sixteenth century at the latest. This lively theatrical practice, combining Classical pastoral with the Gospel narrative, was codified at the end of the sixteenth century by the Jesuit Antonio Possevino in his *Tractatio de poesi et pictura* (Okoń XIV–XVI). It is noteworthy that Possevino was “active in Poland as a diplomat during the reign of Stefan Bathory” (Kosman-Mariani 165). Perhaps it was his work in Poland that played a crucial role or perhaps it was the ability of the Polish

26 They were not, in the true sense of the word, folk plays, i.e. with improvised, ceremonial scenes, but plays referred to in the Czech tradition as semi-folk.

27 It should be briefly mentioned that the Jesuits were not the only religious community involved in contemporary theatrical life. The Piarists were also very active, especially in the Hungarian milieu, and their theatrical works often included Christmas plays and eclogues (Kilián 63, 66, 71).

28 Just a side note on the remarkable Czech reception of older generations of Polish Jesuit writers such as Piotr Skarga, Jakub Wujek, Mikołaj Łęczycki (cf., for example, Linka 1999, 2003, 2011) and the work of Czech-Polish Jesuit writers and missionaries, such as Baltazar Hostounský (Gmiterek 144–146). These contacts also involved the theater (the Polish Jesuit Theophilus Cristeccius, author of the play *S. Mathias in Scharca*, was associated with the Czech milieu, cf. Jakubcová 120–122).

milieu to absorb direct Italian influences. Nevertheless, we find this tendency in the Czech milieu to a minor extent.

The Czech milieu in the seventeenth century clearly lacked the tradition of higher poetry, according to foreign models. Literature in the Czech lands was only marginally shaped by the pastoral mode, which was often well developed in European prose, poetry and drama. Note that the pastoral play (*Schäferspiel*), with its songs and allegorical elements, was familiar to the culture of the German lands. However, this was secular and romantic drama, as is apparent from a thorough synthesis made by Volker Meid (2009); the pastoral idyll did not have significant religious elements there. In Poland, the pastoral was generally an influential genre, influencing religious works, including Christmas dramas.

It can be assumed that in the Czech lands soon developed the folk, i.e. oral tradition of Christmas theatre, which quickly displaced the scholarly component and hindered its spread to works in the national language for a wider strata of audience.²⁹ The tendency towards a rapid, relatively massive adaptation of themes by the lower (rural) strata did not provide much room for the development of Czech-language plays with scholarly elements. Moreover, Christmas dramas did not have a very strong re-Catholicization potential; therefore, the Jesuits in the Czech lands did not give it much attention because the question of “conversion to faith” was very topical after 1620. It is a well-known fact that, although the Jesuits were based on a global model, they were also able to readily adapt to the conditions of the regional environments (cf. Jendorff).

4. Conclusion

Literary interactions between different regions in the early modern period are closely related to specific agents in intercultural exchange. It is certainly no coincidence that the postil of the Jesuit, Jakub Wujek was published in Litomyšl by Andreas Graudenc, a Polish printer who collaborated with the Czech Alexander Oujezdecký in Královec and Szamotuly, and who then ran a printing house in Litomyšl in East Bohemia.³⁰ Printers and publishers were important

29 This is also reflected in some more recent records of Czech Christmas theater. *Tři králová hra z Rosic* is probably a work of the Baroque period created by a relatively educated author, but it has been preserved in a more recent record, which testifies to being strongly adapted to lower (rural) strata of the society.

30 Thanks to Graudenc, a Czech translation of the theological treatise written by the Polish Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz was also published, as well as the aforementioned Czech version of the play *Tragedia żebracza*.

mediators for transcultural exchange in Central Europe. We have shown that the dissemination of parody and entertaining literature from the German milieu was also based on a network of printers' business contacts in individual cities and regions. We do not want to underestimate the share of other agents, for example, the church dignitaries. This was the case of Stanislav Pavlovský, Bishop of Olomouc, originally from Silesia, with a Polish mother, who was always interested in Polish books, supported the presence of Polish priests in Moravia, as well as the Moravian activities of the Polish writer Bartłomiej Paprocki.

Paprocki was a political emigrant who, after the ascension of Sigismund III Vasa to the Polish throne, relocated for fear of persecution from Poland to Moravia. Generally speaking, emigration is seen as having played a significant role in cultural transfers. In the case of the literary life of Central Europe in the early modern period, religious exile seems to be particularly important, as we have shown with the examples of the Polish Brethren hymnography or Baroque German lyric poetry among Czech post-White Mountain exiles.³¹ Another determining factor is the place where writers studied, and of course, these two factors may intersect.³² The confessional situation can facilitate cultural exchanges between some regions (Silesia and Saxony-Brandenburg centres), including the movement of students.³³ The need for confessional distinction is an inspiration for translations and adaptations of German religious songs into Czech and Polish, as well as translations of the work of Polish Jesuits into Czech.³⁴ However, confessional tensions were also becoming a hindrance to the integration of two cultures otherwise geographically and linguistically close. Confessional competition and the associated emphasis on the moralistic function of literature prevented elements of Polish Humanism from taking hold in Bohemia. Strong contacts with the Polish milieu existed in Moravia, especially during the era of early Humanism (Gmiterek 77–79), although also in this case it should be pointed out that the Olomouc humanistic centre was strongly shaped by mainly German models (Storchová 65–68).

The observation of cultural transfers confirms to some extent the traditional idea of the journey of cultural work from the West to the East. However, the

31 Cf. Ash on the importance of religious exile for transcultural exchange.

32 The Slovak, Daniel Sinapius, an editor of an important Czech-Slovak Protestant hymnbook, studied in Wittenberg, Saxony and was in exile in Silesia.

33 Cf. the huge number of Silesian students in Wittenberg, Töpfer 119.

34 Ondřej Modestin, a translator of Wujka's postil, states in his dedication to Stanislav Pavlovsky that his translation is intended to compensate for the lack of Czech Catholic postils and to prevent the Czechs from reading heretic literature (cf. Gmiterek 112).

situation is actually much more complex. Individual transfers are significantly influenced by specific cultural contexts. The social, ethnic and religious situation strongly connected cultural life in the Czech lands with the literary models available in the north-east and southern regions of Germany, while Polish cultural traffic, with a few exceptions, is rather distant from these areas, though. The situation in Silesia was very specific, because a significant share of the population was German and a strong multi-confessional situation prevailed there.

The internal conditions of literary development also play an important role. The strong domestication of Italian stimuli in Renaissance Poland helped it to be receptive immediately to Italian stimuli during the time of re-Catholicization and during the Baroque period. This can also be seen in the transnational phenomena represented by the culture of the Society of Jesus. This tendency did not exist in the Czech milieu and neither did a developed tradition of vernacular verse, encompassing a wide range of genres and oriented to different social strata. Therefore, to a greater extent, Czech literature could not integrate some literary phenomena (parody literature in verse, classicizing poetry and drama), which were then commonly found in the Polish and German milieus.

Translated by Eva Karasková

| Works cited

- Antoniuk, Barbara, ed. *Antologia literatury sowizdrzalskiej XVI i XVII wieku*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1985.
- Asche, Matthias. "Glaubensflüchtlinge und Kulturtransfer. Perspektiven für die Forschung aus der Sicht der sozialhistorischen Migrations- und der vergleichenden Minderheitenforschung Glauben." *Kultureller Austausch. Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuezeitforschung*. Ed. Michael North. Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2009. 89–114.
- Bakuła, Bogusław. "Towards Integral Comparative Studies." *Porównania* 1 (2004): 7–16.
- Bečková, Marta. "Jednota bratrská v polském exilu. Marta Bečková." *Unitas Fratrum 1457–2007*. Ed. Martin Wernisch. Jihlava: Mlýn, 2009. 47–60.
- Bobková-Valentová, Kateřina, et al. *Sv. Jan Nepomucký na jezuitských školních scénách*. Praha: Academia, 2015.
- Černý, František. *Dějiny českého divadla I. Od počátků do sklonku osmnáctého století*. Praha: Academia, 1968.

- Fijałkowski, Paweł. "Kancjonał Piotra Artomiusza z 1620 r." *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 44 (2000): 129–148.
- Fuchs, Thomas and Sven Trakulhun, eds. *Das eine Europa und die Vielfalt der Kulturen. Kulturtransfer in Europa 1500–1850*. Berlin: BWV, 2009.
- Gesangbuch für Gemeinden des Evangelisch-Lutherischen Bekenntnisses*. Columbus: Lutherische Verlagshandlung, 1888.
- Gmiterek, Henryk. *Związki intelektualne polsko-czeskie w okresie odrodzenia (1526–1620)*. Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1989.
- Grzeszczuk, Stanisław. "Albertus i Wyprawa plebańska." *Lektury polonistyczne*. vol. I. Kraków: Universitas, 1997. 213–240.
- Havelka, Tomáš. "Krise raně novověké komiky." *Hranice smíchu. Komika a vážnost ve středověké Evropě*. Eds. Vojtěch Bažant and Martin Šorm. Praha: NLN, 2019. 361–377.
- Hrabák, Josef, ed. *Lidové drama pobělohorské*. Praha: Československý spisovatel, 1951.
- Ivánek, Jakub, et al. *Pod ochranu tvou se utíkáme. Kult Panny Marie Čenstochovské v českém Slezsku a na Moravě/ Pod twoją obronę uciekamy się. Kult Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej na Śląsku Czeskim i na Morawach*. Częstochowa: Uniwersytet Humanistyczno-Przyrodniczy im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie, 2019.
- Jacková, Magdaléna, ed. *Nejmírnější Pallas. Hry určené gramatikálním třídám jezuitských gymnázií*. Praha: Academia, 2016.
- Jakubcová, Alena, ed. *Starší divadlo v českých zemích do konce 18. století. Osobnosti a díla*. Praha: Academia, 2007.
- Jendorff, Alexandr. "Römischer Katholizismus als Kulturtransfersystem. Die Gesellschaft Jesu und die Implementierung tridentinischer Religionskultur." *Das eine Europa und die Vielfalt der Kulturen. Kulturtransfer in Europa 1500–1850*. Eds. Thomas Fuchs and Sven Trakulhun. Berlin: BWV, 2009. 109–136.
- Kalista, Zdeněk, ed. *Selské čili sousedské hry českého baroka*. Praha: Melantrich, 1942.
- Kilián István. "The Repertoire of Piarist Theatre (with a Representative Jesuit Sample)." *Baroque Theatre in Hungary: Education and Entertainment*. Ed. Júlia Demeter. Budapest: Protea Egyesület, 2015. 55–76.
- Koczur-Lejk, Klaudia. *Bartłomiej Paprocki—piśmiennictwo i przekład*. Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2014.
- Kolár, Jaroslav, ed. *Frantové a grobiáni. Z mravokárných satir 16. věku v Čechách*. Praha: Nakladatelství ČSAV, 1959.
- Kolár, Jaroslav, ed. *Tříkrát rozprávky o jednom hrdinovi*. Praha: Lidové noviny, 2004.
- Korth, Hans-Otto and Wolfgang Miersemann, eds. *Johann Crüger: Praxis Pietatis Melica. Edition und Dokumentation der Werkgeschichte*. Vol. 1.

- Ch. 1–2, Vol 2. Ch. 2. Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2014, 2015, 2016.
- Kopecký, Milan, ed. *Zdoroslaviček Felixe Kadlinského*. Brno: Univerzita J.E. Purkyně, 1971.
- Kosman, Marcell, and Andrea Mariani. "Jesuits in the Early-Modern Polish-Lithuanian State: Recent Trends and Research Directions." *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* LXXXVI, No 1 (2017): 145–208.
- Lambrecht, Karen. "Buchdruck und Kommunikation—Prag und Krakau an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit (bis 1550)." *Documenta Pragensia* 19 (2001): 195–210.
- Lichański, Jakub Zdzisław. "Kancjonały na Śląsku do końca XVIII wieku. Próba określenia stanu badań." *Śląskie pogranicza kultur*. Vol. 3. Eds. Marian Ursel and Olga Taranek-Wolańska. Wrocław: Wrocławskie Wydawnictwo Oświatowe, 2014. 51–135.
- Linka, Jan. "Przekłady Postylli ks. Jakuba Wujka na język czeski." *Barok polski wobec Europy. Kierunki dialogu*. Eds. Alina Nowicka-Jeżowa and Ewa Bem-Wiśniewska. Warszawa: Anta, 2003. 113–133.
- . "Rozjímání iuxta morem Societatis v české provincii Tovaryšstva Ježíšova aneb Lanciciovo století (1636–1739)." *Folia historica Bohemica* 26 (2011): 57–74.
- . "Scipio Berlička a Piotr Skarga: dávné kořeny jazykové a literární kultury českého obrození." *Odrodzenie narodowe w Czechach i na Słowacji. Księga ku czci Profesora Zdzisława Niedzieli*. Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1999. 131–140.
- Magnuszewski, Józef, ed. *Frantowe prawa*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1968.
- Machej, Zbigniew, ed. *Georgius Tranoscius: Pieśni duchowe z kancjonału Cithara sanctorum*. Cieszyn: Oficyna Efemeryczna, 2017.
- Malicki, Jan and Tadeusz Sierny, eds. *Doskonały Kancjonał Polski zawierający w sobie pieśni, hymny i psalmy*. Katowice: Śląsk, 2018.
- Malura, Jan. *Písně pobělohorských exulantů (1670–1750)*. Praha: Academia, 2010.
- Malura, Jan and Pavel Kosek, eds. *Čistý plamen lásky. Výbor z písní pobělohorských exulantů ze Slezska*. Brno: Host, 2004.
- Mańko-Matysiak, Anna. *Schlesische Gesangbücher 1525–1741. Eine hymnologische Quellenstudie*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2006.
- Meid, Volker. *Die deutsche Literatur im Zeitalter des Barock*. München: Beck, 2009.
- North, Michael, ed. *Kultureller Austausch. Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung*. Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2009.
- Nowicka-Jeż, Alina. "Jesuit Poetry in 17th-Century Poland: Paths of Creative Research." *Bohemia Jesuitica 1556–2006*. Vol. 2. Ed. Petra Cemus. Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Karolinum, 2010. 841–854.

- Nowicka-Jeż, Alina. *Pieśni czasu śmierci. Studium z historii duchowości XVI–XVIII w.* Lublin: TN KUL, 1992.
- Okoń, Jan, ed. *Staropolskie pastoralki dramatyczne. Antologia.* Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1989.
- Pavlíková, Jiřina. “Vánoční hry a vánoční písně.” *Žánrové aspekty starší literatury.* Ed. Jan Malura. Ostrava: Filozofická fakulta Ostravské univerzity, 2010. 149–158.
- Sokolski, Jacek. *Literatura staropolska.* Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 1999.
- Souček, Stanislav. *Rakovnická vánoční hra.* Brno: Filozofická fakulta, 1929.
- Spina, Franz. *Beiträge zu den deutsch-slawischen Literaturbeziehungen. 1. Die Alttschechische Schelmzunft Frantova práva.* Prag: C. Bellmann, 1909.
- Stanaszek, Bogdan. “Jan z Kijan, Januarius Sovizralius, Jan Dzwonowski—dwa pseudonimy, jedno nazwisko?” *Pamiętnik Literacki* CIV 3 (2013): 207–216.
- Stanček, Rastislav, ed. *Cesty Juraja Tranovského/Šladami Jerzego Trzanowskiego.* Dolný Kubín: Cirkevný zbor Evanjelickej cirkvi augsburského vyznania na Slovensku, 2018.
- Storchová, Lucie. *Paupertate styloque connecti. Utváření humanistické učenecké komunity v českých zemích.* Praha: Scriptorium, 2011.
- Škarpová, Marie. “Kancionál Jesličky jako literární text a jeho podíl na utváření protireformní katolické zbožnosti.” *Fridrich Bridelius, Jesličky. Staré a nové písničky.* Eds. Pavel Kosek and Tomáš Slavický. Brno: Host, 2014.
- Töpfer, Thomas. “Bildungsgeschichte, Raumbegriff und kultureller Austausch in der Frühen Neuzeit.” *Kultureller Austausch. Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung.* Ed. Michael North. Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2009. 115–140.
- Voit, Petr. *Český knihtisk mezi pozdní gotikou a renesancí II.* Praha: Academia, 2017.
- Wojtowicz, Witold. *Między literaturą a kulturą. Studia o “literaturze mieszczańskie” przelomu XVI i XVII wieku.* Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2010.
- Wołowczyk, Paulina. *České a polské barokní drama (pokus o komparaci),* diplomová práce, Filozofická fakulta Ostravské univerzity, 2019.
- Wydra, Wiesław, ed. *Frantowe prawa, Kraków, Maciej Szarfenberg, 1542.* Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne—Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Poznaniu, 2017.

| Abstract

JAN MALURA

**Central European Cultural Transfers in the Humanism and Baroque Periods—
Three Examples from Literary History**

This study investigates cultural transfer in Central Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It focuses on three different fields (parody Protestant religious song, Christmas drama) and explores the directions and mechanisms of cultural exchange and the role of mediators in the dissemination of selected literary phenomena. The observation of cultural transfers confirms to some extent the traditional idea of the journey of cultural work from the West to the East. However, the individual transfers are significantly influenced by specific cultural contexts. The social, ethnic and religious situation strongly connected cultural life in the Czech lands with the literary models available in the north-east and southern regions of Germany, while Polish cultural traffic, with a few exceptions, is rather distant from these areas, though. The conditions in Silesia were specific, because a significant share of the population was German and a strong multi-confessional situation prevailed there.

Keywords: cultural transfers, parody, religious song, Christmas drama, Central European regions, early modern culture

| Abstrakt

JAN MALURA

Środkowoeuropejskie transfery kulturowe w okresie renesansu i baroku – trzy przykłady historycznoliterackie

Opracowanie śledzi transfery kulturowe w szesnasto- i siedemnastowiecznej Europie Środkowej. Dotyczy trzech różnych obszarów gatunkowych (parodia, protestancka pieśń religijna, dramat o tematyce bożonarodzeniowej), zajmując się kierunkami i mechanizmami wymiany kulturowej oraz rolą pośredników w szerzeniu się wybranych fenomenów literackich. Obserwacja transferów kulturowych potwierdza do pewnego stopnia tradycyjne wyobrażenia o wędrówce wytworów kultury z Zachodu na Wschód. Na poszczególne transfery wywierają jednak wpływ specyficzne konteksty kulturowe. Jeżeli warunki społeczne, etniczne i wyznaniowe łączą życie kulturalne ziem czeskich z modelami literackimi północnowschodnich i południowych rejonów Niemiec, to polskie poczynania kulturalne są od tych

modeli, z niewielkimi wyjątkami, odległe. Specyficzna jest sytuacja wyraźnie multikonfesyjnego Śląska ze znacznym udziałem ludności niemieckiej.

Słowa kluczowe: transfery kulturowe, parodia, pieśń religijna, dramat bożonarodzeniowy, regiony Europy Środkowej, kultura wczesnonowożytna

| Bio

Jan Malura is a Professor and Head of the Department of Czech Literature and Literary Studies at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ostrava. He is the author of a host of publications related especially to Czech literature of the Early Modern Period such as *Písňe pobělohorských exulantů* [Songs of Post-White Mountain Exiles, 2010] or *Meditace a modlitba v literatuře raného novověku* [Meditation and prayer in Early Modern literature, 2015]. He has published a number of comparative studies related to Central European literature between the 16th and 18th century.

E-mail: jan.malura@osu.cz

ORCID 0000-0001-7876-2927