

VILNIUS UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTE OF LITHUANIAN LITERATURE AND FOLKLORE

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EPISTOLOGRAPHY IN THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA IN 14–16  
CENTURY: FROM *ARS DICTAMINIS* TO LITERARY LETTER

Summary of Doctoral Thesis

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The thesis can be inspected at the libraries of Vilnius University and Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore.

VILNIAUS UNIVERSITETAS  
LIETUVIŲ LITERATŪROS IR TAUTOSAKOS INSTITUTAS

Dovilė Keršienė

EPISTOLOGRAFIJA LIETUVOS DIDŽIOJOJE KUNIGAIKŠTYSTĖJE XIV–XVI  
AMŽIUJE: NUO *ARS DICTAMINIS* IKI LITERATŪRINIO LAIŠKO

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## Introduction

A letter is an important cultural phenomenon, form of human communication and self-expression. It is also a source of knowledge in studying certain epoch, its cultural background, ethical attitudes and morals. Rules and formalities of epistle writing were formed throughout the millenary European epistolographic tradition developed by different authors and closely connected to elocution and various literary forms (such as speech, dedication, short story, novel or scientific treatise). Since Antiquity, the theory and practice of epistle writing has gone a complicated path of development, experienced many changes and modifications, has been exposed to social, political and cultural realia, and rules of education of every specific epoch. In different ages, the structure, style and linguistic expression of a letter were shaped by special epistle writing textbooks, which were fairly significant to the educational systems and cultural life of each specific time.

*Epistolography* (from Greek *epistolē* – letter, *graphō* – write) is a term coined by Ancient Greeks and Romans; in this dissertation it is used in reference to the theory of letter writing as a science and art, a certain letter-related entirety. The terms „*epistolary literature*“ or „*epistolary works*“ should be understood as letters surpassing a mere purpose of personal means of communication and/or information, but rather addressed to broader circle of readers or intended for publication, thus may also be treated as literary works. And, finally, the terms *epistolics* (from the Latin *epistolaris* – of or pertaining to epistles) and *correspondence* are used as synonyms in this paper, including both, official and private correspondence.

Different aspects of the epistolographic theory, peculiarities of its development, contents of theoretical textbooks and letter specimen collections have gained lots of attention from foreign scholars. So far, the situation in Lithuania was completely different: not a single research on the subject has been ever made and/or published. So, this work focuses on the issues of formation and development of the European epistle writing tradition, structure and content of a theoretical textbook, and transformations of the epistle concept and model in general. The research author analyzes the similarities and differences between the Medieval and Renaissance letter writing textbooks, the communication model they formed, and their significance in the general education system and cultural development of the time. The research author also examines the time

period and ways of acceptance of the Latin epistolographic tradition by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and how it functioned in the Latin Grand Duchy's correspondence, education curricula and cultural life. The dissertation touches upon the transformation of variety of the Grand Duchy's epistolics in the 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries, and analyzes how an epistle, fairly formalized means of official/business and personal communication in the Middle Ages, also gained a status of personal self-expression and literary work in the epoch Renaissance.

### **Subject Matter and Sources of the Research**

The subject matter of this dissertation is the European tradition of Epistolography, its acceptance and development in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in the 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries, by emphasizing its genre and typological aspects and trends of development.

The key sources of the research are medieval epistle writing textbooks (*artes dictandi*) of the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries and Renaissance epistolographic theory treatises (*modi epistolandi*) of the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries written in the Western and Central Europe. A part of the medieval *ars dictaminis* textbooks, used in the research, were found on the Internet or in printed form published in the 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The works of the following authors are analyzed in the dissertation: Albericus de Monte Cassino, (*Breviarium de dictamine*, c. A.D. 1087; *Flores rhetorici*, c. A.D. 1080); Adalbertus Samaritanus (*Praecepta dictaminum*, c. A.D. 1111–18); Hugo Bononiensis (*Rationes dictandi prosaice*, c. A.D. 1119–24); Boncompagnus de Signa (*Palma*, A.D. 1198); Magister Gaufredus (*Summa de arte dictandi*, the 12<sup>th</sup> c.); Paulus Camaldulensis (*Introductiones dictandi*, the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> c.); Thomas de Capua (*Ars dictaminis*, A.D. 1220); Guido Faba (*Summa dictaminis*, c. A.D. 1229); Bene (Bonus) de Florence (*Candelabrum*, c. A.D. 1238); and anonymous treatise *Rationes dictandi* written in Bologna between A.D. 1135 and 1143, as well as the earliest anonymous *ars dictaminis* extant in France – *Aurea Gemma „Gallica“* (c. A.D. 1154), written in Turas.

In exploring the Renaissance epistle writing textbooks, compiled by the outstanding Western and Central European humanists of the time, many used in the dissertation were taken from different academic libraries in Lithuania. The majority of such textbooks were found in the Rare Book Department of Vilnius University Library; the earliest was

published in 1485 and most of others – in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The condition of such books has been found varying from defected ones to well-preserved or restored, or undergoing the process of restoration. Many were bound together with epistolography textbooks by other authors, letter collections or treatises of some other character.

Epistolographic treatises by the following humanist authors have been used in this research: Giacomo Publico (Jacobus Publicius, *Artes orandi epistolandi memorandi*, 1485); Augustinus Dachus Senensis (*De uariis loquendi figuris sive de modo scribendi isagogicus libellus*, 1501, 1504); Rodericus Dubravus (*Libellus de componendis epistolis*, 1511); Philippus Beroaldus Bononiensis (*Epistolandi modus*, 1512); Franciscus Niger (*Ars epistolandi*, 1506; *De conficiendis epistolis, et elegantiarum regulis opus summa*, 1521); Hieronymus Cingularius Aurimontanus (Gürtel von Wildenberg, *De componendis epistolis opellum*, 1515); Johannes Sommerfeld (Ioannis Aesticampianus, *Modus epistolandi*, 1522); Conradus Celtis (*Methodus conficiendarum epistolarum*, 1563); Ioannes Ludovicus Vives (*De conscribendis epistolis*, 1545, 1563, 1581); Christophorus Hegendorphinus (*Methodus conscribendi epistolas*, 1563); Simon Verepaeus (*De epistolis Latine conscribendis*, 1586); Jacobus Vimphelingus (*Excerpta quedam ex elegantiss Jacobi Uimphelingi viri doctissimi non nihil ad conficiendas epistolas facientia*, [s.l., s.a.]); Erasmus Roterodamus Desiderius (*Opus de conscribendis epistolis*, 1522; 1545; 1563; 1581). The research author has also used the 1957 edition of the first humanistic textbook ever written in Poland (c. 1495–1496; 1522), *Modus epistolandi cum epistolis exemplaribus et orationibus annexis* by Polish author Johannes Ursinus de Cracovia (Jan Ursyn z Krakowa), who had certain connections with Lithuania. None of the aforementioned treatises have been explored in more detail by Lithuanian scholars.

A few reconstructed epistolographic textbooks and epistle collections by different authors have been also found on the lists of personal and official libraries of famous 16<sup>th</sup> century politicians, noblemen and humanists of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Žygimantas Augustas (Zygmund II August), Abraomas Kulvietis (Abraham Culvensis) and Saliamonas Risinskis (Solomon Rysiński)). They have been discussed already by a few scholars (Marcelinas Ročka, 1970, 1972; Ingė Lukšaitė, 1985; Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, 1988, and others). In this dissertation, they have been treated as a source of

information testifying the spread of European epistolography tradition in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Epistolography in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was closely connected to education and learning processes. Thus, the present dissertation also touches upon the curricula and syllabuses preserved from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries Grand Duchy of Lithuania. A special attention in the educational programs of the time was given to reading, analysis, imitation and memorizing of Cicero's letters. The research author has used a publication *Lietuvos mokykla ir pedagoginė mintis XIII–XVII a. Istorijos šaltinių antologija*, 1994 (*School and Pedagogical Thought in the 13<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> c. Lithuania. The Anthology of Historical Annals*, 1994), for her analysis. The extracts of the syllabuses published in this book reflect the basic readings of students of the time, which they analyzed during their classes. The research author has also analyzed the curricula published by Ludwik Piechnik (1983, 1984) and Eugenija Ulčinė (2007).

Cicero's rhetorical treatises and letters made a tremendous impact on the European epistolography of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Thus, the research author has also paid some attention to the impact by this Roman author on the research subject. In discussing Cicero's letters, the research author has used the Oxford (1965; 1974) and Cambridge (2001) critical editions of Cicero's letters, as well as Cicero's letters in the Latin language available on the Internet: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cic.html>.

Samples of correspondence and epistolary works in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of the 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries have also been applied for analysis to emphasize the key trends in development of the epistolographic tradition. In this research, two different epistolographic traditions have been illustrated by two most abundant blocks of letters of the time under analysis that had been written by the men of different epochs and different social standing. One of them is a set of epistles by Vytautas Magnus, the Grand Duke of Lithuania (1392–1430), in the dissertation presented as a sample of Late Middle Ages official and personal correspondence, written by the official chancellery of the ruler. The other is a letter collection by Saliamonas Risinskis (Solomon Rysinius, Pantherus, Rysiński, Sarmata, ? – 1625), the Grand Duchy nobleman, writer, professional teacher and Reformation activist, called *Epistolarum Solomonis Pantheri, libri duo* (Altdorpii: In officina typographica Nicolai Talaei, 1587), prepared and published by the author himself. In the research, his collection of letters is presented to



illustrate the concept of the humanistic literary letter in the Grand Duchy's 16<sup>th</sup> century epistolary writings.

In analyzing Vytautas Magnus' letters, the research author has used the published sources (*Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*, vol. 4, 1859; vol. 6, 1873; *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, 1876; *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi magni ducis Lithuaniae 1376–1430*, 1882) and translations (Jonas Beblavý, 1930; *Metraščiai ir kunigaikščių laiškai*, 1996 (*Chronicles and Princes' Letters*, 1996); *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kasdienis gyvenimas*, 2001 (*Everyday Life in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, 2001)). Out of the numerous epistles by Vytautas Magnus, a few, mostly connected to the research subject, i.e. the most literary and best-illustrating the typological diversity of the Prince's letters and most obviously prepared in compliance with the Medieval *ars dictaminis* canons, have been selected for the analysis.

The aforementioned collection of letters by Saliamonas Risinskis is a rare book: only three preserved copies of this treatise are kept in Germany. The research author has used a copy of this treatise received from Germany and kept in the academic library of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore (pressmark 8304).

Besides, in order to compare the trends of epistolographic theory and practice in Western Europe and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in the 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the sets of letters and other documents written in the Middle Ages in the Western and Central Europe, published by German and Polish scholars (Carl Erdmann, 1938; Konrad Burdach, 1926; Grażyna Klimecka, 1997); also published letters by the first rulers and princes of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; epistolary writings of the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries authors, rulers, noblemen, scholars, etc. of Western Europe and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, such as Erasmus Roterodamus Desiderius, Žygimantas Augustas, Barbora Radvilaitė, other members of the Radvilos family, Abraomas Kulvietis, Stanislovas Rapolionis, Andrius Volanas, Martynas Mažvydas, Jonas Bretkūnas, Augustinas Rotundas, Danielius Naborovskis and their correspondents, have been used in this dissertation.

## **Novelty and Relevance of the Subject**

The dissertation subject is completely new in Lithuanian studies of literary criticism, history and cultural history. Epistolary heritage of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (correspondence by the grand dukes, noblemen and cultural workers of Lithuania in the 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries) has been more or less studied in different aspects (as historical annals, object of diplomacy or means of official and personal communication) and has become a part of Lithuanian or foreign historiography exploring the issues of the Grand Duchy's political and cultural history. But, so far, no emphasis has been ever made on adaptation, functioning and development of the Latin epistolographic theory and practice in political, cultural and social life of the Grand Duchy of Lithuanian in the 14<sup>th</sup>– 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. This dissertation has been the first research of the kind in Lithuania. The work also touches upon the specifics and peculiarities of this literary genre, structure and contents of Medieval and Renaissance letter writing textbooks, their use and significance for practical correspondence, curricula and cultural life in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The relationship between the theory and practice of letter writing has been also discussed.

Many issues of epistolography as a school subject were important to fiction writers, simplified the invention and perception of different literary genres. Thus, the detailed analysis of some Medieval and Renaissance epistolographic textbooks as presented in this work may facilitate better understanding of epistolographic theory, the nature of its impact on correspondence and epistolary writings in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and make a clearer dividing line between epistolary formalism and an author's individual expression. Besides, the research made may contribute to better understanding of fairly complicated and miscellaneous heritage of the Grand Duchy's writings, especially in studying the nature and scope of functioning of universal Latin culture in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by late Middle Ages and early Modern Times.

## **Background of the Research**

Quite a few theoretical works devoted to the genre of epistolography exist. Informative work of this nature was a monography by Stefania Skwarczyńska, *Teoria*

*listu*, published in 1937, and, considering the relevance of the subject, republished in 2006. It has been still quoted in contemporary academic works. Some facts presented in this book, however, should be corrected due to a number of new researches. Some other articles by Polish scholars (Małgorzata Czermińska, 1975; Kazimierz Cysewski, 1997) tackle the general theoretical and methodological issues of epistolographic research, as well as text-related problems. The authors discussed about specificity, miscellaneous character of the genre, its relation to literature and document, on the relationship between the sender and addressee; they stated the lack of theoretical works on this genre and the fact that a letter had been mostly studied as historical annals rather than literary work. These issues are also closely connected to the problems of Lithuanian epistolography research, whereas no more detailed research of the nature has been made in Lithuanian literary studies. Medieval and Renaissance epistolography of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania has not become a subject of specialized studies; no methodology nor topics, evaluation criteria have been formulated. Not a single general review of this genre has been prepared; and just a few translations exist in this area. Only a minor part of our epistolary heritage has been included into some Lithuanian literature history books of academic character.

It is noteworthy that more academic works have been devoted to the epistolographic theory and practice of specific epochs rather than to the epistolographic genre in general. In preparation of the chapter on the Antiquity letter writing theories, traditions and communication culture, the dissertation author has mostly used the works by foreign scholars, as up to now the Ancient Greek and Roman epistolography has gained little attention from Lithuanian scholars (Anna Maciūnienė, 2007; Kristupas Sabolius, 2005). Out of a few earlier Antiquity epistolography theory and practice researches, the collection of articles by Russian scholars (*Античная эпистолография*, 1967) should be mentioned. These articles present the research data on Classical and Late Antiquity epistolography theories and epistles by separate authors. The author of the present research has also analyzed the works by Lydia Winniczuk (1981), Sergey Averincev (1996), Jerzy Schnayder (1959), T. Popova (1991) and Margaret Mullet (1979). Nevertheless some data in the area of epistolography theory and practice presented by the aforementioned scholars should be also corrected.

Among more recent research works presenting new information on the Antiquity epistolography, works by Roy K. Gibson and A. D. Morrison (2007), Patricia A. Rosenmeyer (2001), Maggi Creese (2006) and Andrew W. Pittso have been found available and useful by the dissertation author. They touch upon the history of Antique definitions of a letter, cultural letter writing context, letters by a few separate Antique authors, etc. Information-loaded articles by German scholars on Antique epistolographic theory and practice, its genesis and development, as presented in publications of encyclopedic character (*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 3, 1899; *Der kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike*, vol. 2, 1967; *dtv-Lexikon der Antike: Philosophie, Literatur, Wissenschaft*, vol. 1, 1969; *Lexikon der Alten Welt*, vol. 1, 1995; *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, vol 2, vol. 3, 1997), are also worth mentioning here.

The dissertation author has also used the research data by foreign scholars in the discussion of Cicero's letters and rhetoric treatises in order to emphasize their impact on the Medieval and Renaissance epistolography, whereas, so far, other Lithuanian scholars have paid more attention to Cicero's rhetorical and philosophical treatises, but no more detailed research has ever been published in Lithuania on Cicero's correspondence, which is one of the most significant examples of authentic personal Roman epistolography. The dissertation author has used the foreign scholars' works, which are considered the classics of philology already, and a few more recent ones (Thadeusz Zieliński, 1912; Мария Грабарь-Пассек, 1967; Kazimierz Kumaniecki, 1977; Георгий Кнабе, 1994; G. O. Hutchinson, 1998; Maggi Creese, 2006, and others), which discuss the number, contents and writing circumstances of Cicero's letters, his relationships with the addressees, as well as the significance of rediscovery of Cicero's letters in the Renaissance epoch, their impact on humanistic epistolography and epistolary writings.

The medieval theory and practice of *ars dictaminis* has been quite abandoned for a long time. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it regained some value, but only as a source of the history of law. One of the first 19<sup>th</sup> c. scholars, who started some research on the *ars dictaminis*, prepared a few treatises of the kind for publication and issued his commentaries, was Ludwig Rockinger (*Briefsteller und Formularbücher des elften [sic] bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1863). The research on medieval epistolography intensified in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The approach on the *ars dictaminis* had also changed a lot: its value in studies

of different areas of life in the Middle Ages had been acknowledged. The 20<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> c. scholars more and more often use letter and document samples present in the *ars dictaminis* treatises or their separate collections as sources of information for studies of political history, and treat them as important material for different researches in history of education, society in general, of religious and secular offices and their functioning. They tend to analyze the relationship between the theory and practice of medieval epistolography, the continuity and modifications of Antiquity traditions, as well as links of epistolography with other genres (James J. Murphy, 1971, 1974, 1985; William D. Patt, 1978; Ernst Robert Curtius, 1997; Malcolm Richardson, 2007, and others). The article *The Medieval Art of Letter Writing: Rhetoric as Institutional Expression* (1991), by American scholar Les Perelman is worth mentioning here. It tackles the issues of genesis of medieval epistolography, the impact of institutions of the time on its development and theoretical work formation. The scholar's notes on the succession character and modifications of the classical tradition of rhetoric in the medieval art of letter writing have been fairly important for this research. A lot of information on the *ars dictaminis* specifics has been obtained from the works by Polish and Czech scholars, such as Dušan Třeštík (1962), Grażyna Klimecka (1997), Mieczysław Markowski (1987) and Teresa Michalowska (2006), as they encompass not only the Polish or Czech, but also Western European medieval epistolographic tradition and sources, ways of preparation of letter and document collections, their history and development. The development, character and sample documents of official writings in medieval Poland, as well as their impact on Lithuanian rulers' chancellery were discussed in the works by Maria Bielińska (1968), Karol Maleczyński (1971), Marcel Kosman (1969; 1971), Jadwiga Krzyżaniakowa (1972; 1979) and others. Alongside the publication of epistolary sources of the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> c., German scholar Karl Burdach in his monography *Schlesisch-böhmische Briefmuster aus der Wende des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1926, presented a broad cultural and social context of the Middle Ages, defined many spots of epistolography and epistolics that influenced greatly the development of this theory and practice. The monography by another German scholar C. Erdmann (*Studien zur Briefliteratur Deutschlands im elften Jahrhundert*, 1938) presented and discussed the letter collections compiled in Germany and France by the 11<sup>th</sup> c., such as Meinhard of Bamberg, Hildesheim, also collections of the period of the Investiture

Controversy. The author compared and treated them also in the literary and historic aspect, even referred to them as in a sense literary works; he analyzed the circumstances and locations of compilation of such letter collections. Medieval culture, life styles, communication and etiquette rules, and aesthetic norms are discussed in the book *Europos mentaliteto istorijoje* (1998) (*History of European Mentality, 1998*), Władysław Tatarkiewicz (1960), Jacques Le Goff (1966; 2003), Eckart Conrad Lutz (1984), Johan Huizinga (1996), Ernst Robert Curtius (1997), Aron Gurevich (1989; 1999), Teresa Michałowska (2000), Christina Kakridi (2005), etc. works, which have been used in analysis presented in the second part of the dissertation.

It is noteworthy that neither the *ars dictaminis* theory, nor its functioning in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania have been ever studied by Lithuanian scholars. More detailed research of medieval art of letter writing, European sample letter collections of the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. without any broader study of theoretical *ars dictaminis* treatises have been made by Rūta Čapaitė (1996), who concentrated mostly on the Grand Duke Vytautas Magnus correspondence. In Lithuanian historiography and literature studies, more attention was paid to letters by the grand dukes – the earliest known heritage of Lithuanian writings. One of the first scholars who started studying Vytautas' epistolics in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. were K. Alminauskis (1939) and A. Vasiliauskas (1939). But they focused mostly on the research of Vytautas' letters as diplomacy history sources without even considering that they should have been evaluated based on different criteria and according to different research methods than those applied for diplomacy documents. The aforementioned scholars defined Vytautas' letters without making any links to the epistolographic and epistolary context of the time. The publication *Metraščiai ir kunigaikščių laišakai* (1996) (*Chronicles and Princes' Letters, 1996*) was devoted to the issue of correspondence. The publication authors attempted to analyze the letters by Grand Duke Gediminas (~1315–~1342) in different aspects: discussed the economic and political motives of such letters, diplomacy and historical aspects, issues of textualism, even considered the aspect of the relationship between the pagan addresser and catholic scribe, presented a semiotic analysis of the ruler's letters (in the articles by Egidijus Banionis, Edvardas Gudavičius, Sigitas Narbutas, Alvydas Nikžentaitis, Stephen Rowell, Rasa Mažeikaitė, Albinas Jovaiša and Saulius Žukas). The publication also presented an overview on one letter compiled in the

Greek language by Grand Duke Algirdas (1345–1377) (Marcelinas Ročka) and correspondence by Grand Duke Vytautas (Rūta Čapaitė). Highly informative studies by Rūta Čapaitė (1996; 2001; 2005; 2007) have been applied in the dissertation analysis of Vytautas' letters. This scholar was the first in Lithuania to evaluate Vytautas' letters as samples of medieval epistolary genre; she also presented their classification criteria and types, analyzed their structure, style, language and emotional nuances; according to Vytautas and his contemporaries' correspondence, she discussed the areas of Vytautas' daily activities and the technical side of his participation in the system of international correspondence. The research made by Rūta Čapaitė allows for evaluation of Vytautas' epistolary heritage as the medieval cultural and artistic text.

More studies by Lithuanian scholars have been made on the Chancellery of Vytautas and Jogaila times or the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> c., its workers and character of their functions (Edvardas Gudavičius' 1999; Artūras Dubonis, 2001; Arvydas Pacevičius, 2002), without any deeper insight into functioning of *ars dictaminis* traditions within this environment.

Some attention to Vytautas' correspondence, his official documents and chancellery work was given by Polish scholars, such as Antoni Prochaska (1884), who wrote a study on the Žalgiris (Grunwald battle) times based on the correspondence by Vytautas and his officials, grandmasters of the German Order and other officials. Antoni Prochaska's work was also significant for his evaluation of the letters' style. In an article by Fr. A. Doubek (1930), Vytautas' letters were analyzed as fictional official text by focusing mostly on the rhythmic of the greeting (*salutatio*). Marcell Kosman (1969, 1971) also noticed the emotional attitude of the sender expressed in the address and salutation of the letters, change of epithets depending on the political relations between the correspondents, but did not relate that to the letter-writing theory canons of the time or to the epistolary culture defined by the hierarchic etiquette, did not explore the issue whether the Vytautas' chancellery used certain forms for letter writing. According to Kosman, a part of Vytautas' letters should be attributed to the category of legal acts.

The correspondence by other grand dukes, who succeeded Vytautas, as well as by the Grand Duchy's nobility of the 15<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, has never been studied in more detail in epistolographic aspect. Most commonly, this epistolics have been used as a source of history, diplomacy or biography studies (e.g., in the works by Jan Beblavý, 1930; Egidijus Banionis, 1976, 1998; and Rimvydas Petrauskas, 2003). More precise

studies have been made on Žygimantas Augustas' (1520–1572) correspondence, the chancellery of his time, its workers and their cultural activities. This was discussed in works by Polish scholars (Mirosław Korolko, 1991; Irena Kaniewska, 1997). The introduction article by Irena Kaniewska, which was published in the special publication of Žygimantas Augustas letters to Lithuanian noblemen Radvilos, touched upon the prince's correspondents, number of letters, language, structural parts, greeting formulations, letter content, functions, purposes and publication issues. In his monography, Mirosław Korolko focused on the chancellery of Žygimantas Augustas times, discussed cultural activities of humanists employed in the chancellery, the impact of their education and interests on the ruler's correspondence and cultural and social life of the time.

Lithuanian scholars (Raimonda Ragauskienė and Aivas Ragauskas, 1998, 2001) published a number studies on female correspondence in 16<sup>th</sup> century Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the correspondence between Barbora Radvilaitė and Žygimantas Augustas, as well as Žygimantas Augustas' correspondence with Mikalojus Radvila Rudasis. They studied the letters in historical and biographic approach, discussed the issue of female literacy of the time, issues of authorship, letter structure, language, salutations, contents, types of letters, intensity of correspondence and communication techniques. The letters by Barbora Radvilaitė were analyzed in broader contexts of the 16<sup>th</sup> c. Western Europe and female correspondence in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. They concentrated on the communication model between the prince (Žygimantas Augustas) and nobleman (Mikalojus Radvila Rudasis). The aforementioned works, however, did not discuss the Renaissance letter writing (*ars epistolandi*) canons or theoretical treatises, and the epistolography context of the time.

In Lithuanian literary studies, more precisely were touched upon the letters of political and religious character or personal correspondence by most famous humanists and Reformation activists of the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries Grand Duchy and Lithuanian Minor (Abraomas Kulvietis, Andrius Volanas, Stanislovas Rapolionis, Jonas Bretkūnas, Martynas Mažvydas, Augustinas Rotundas), also nobility (Mikalojus Radvila Juodasis, Jonas Kiška, Kristupas Zigmantas Pacas and others). In commentaries to such letters, Lithuanian scholars discussed the cultural, historical, social and religious context, correspondents' biographical facts (Juozas Jurginis, 1969; Jurgis Lebedys, 1972;



Eugenija Ulčinaitė, 1986, 1998, 2001; Ingė Lukšaitė, 1996; Marcelinas Ročka, 2002; Vaida Kamuntavičienė, 2005; Nelė Asadauskienė, 2003; Dainora Pociūtė, 2008).

In analysis of the cultural situation of the 16<sup>th</sup> c. Europe, character of humanists' corresponding, nature of the Latin epistolography, types and contents of humanistic letter writing textbooks, education and interests of their authors, significance of epistolary culture on the educational system and literary works of the time, the dissertation author has referred to works of the foreign scholars exploring these issues: Thadeusz Zieliński (1912), Lidia Winniczuk (1957), Maria Cytowska (1969), Tadeusz Brzostowski (1977), Helenes Hart (1983), Alois Gerl (1983), Peter L. Schmidt (1983), Peter Burke (1992), Mieczysław Mejer (1992), Jerzy Axer (1992), Teresa Lanchołc (1998), Johan Huizinga (2000), Jerzy Ziomeko (2001), Gideon Burton (2007), etc.

The brightest example of the Renaissance epistolary writings in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is considered Saliamonas Risinskis (Solomon Rysiński). Both, his biography and works has been studied a lot. A part of researchers examined his biography and treatises (W. Korotyński, 1863; Jakov Poreckij, 1983; Henryk Lulewicz, 1992; Sigitas Narbutas, 2000; Eugenija Ulčinaitė, 2001, 2003), the other part explored his separate works or certain aspects of his writings (Maria Cytowska, 1960; Henryk Barycz, 1970; Krystyna Nizio, 1982; Czesław Hernas, 1999), some others – the contents of the library collected by this humanist and his cultural activities (Ingė Lukšaitė, 1985), his relations with foreign scholars and writers (Heinrich Kunstmann, 1975; Waclaw Urban, 1976), and even his service in the Radvilos estate (Alojzy Sajkowski, 1964, 1965; Jan Dürr-Durski, 1966). The treatise by Saliamonas Risinskis (Solomon Rysinki) chosen as a subject of this research (*Epistolarum Solomonis Pantheri, libri duo*) was studied and translated by a few scholars – J. Porecki and S. Narbutas. The latter presented a number of extracts of his letters with commentaries, discussed some facts in Risinskis' biography, his activities, literary works and world outlooks. J. Porecki presented a number of translations of this humanist's letters into the Russian language, but did not avoid certain inaccuracies in his translations and in presentation of the numbering of the letters. Besides, J. Porecki's work had certain ideological bias having not much in common with Risinskis and his epoch. The dissertation has been focused more on disclosure of acceptance of the European epistolographic tradition and expression in Risinskis' letters, the originality of this author.

In summary of the dissertation research, it should be emphasized that the aforementioned studies mostly touched upon the epistolics of different society levels in the grand Duchy of Lithuania (rulers, grand dukes, nobility, intellectuals, etc.) in quite narrow and specific aspects, such as historical, biographic, paleographic, diplomacy, religious, etc., without any broader explanations of the use of certain epistolographic canons in some particular correspondence. None of the studies attempted to answer the questions of what textbooks or authors had been used in different epochs for learning of letter writing art; how had the understanding of the purpose of letter writing changed; how a letter had gained some other functions apart of being the means for handling business and what kind of functions were they, etc. So, this dissertation aims, at least in part, to fill in the gaps in research of miscellaneous writings compiled in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

### **Objective and Tasks of the Research**

The key goal of this work is to explore the nature and development of epistolography in the 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> c. Grand Duchy of Lithuania by emphasizing the impact of the Latin European epistolographic canons on the letter writing traditions in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, official medieval correspondence and humanistic epistolary writings in the epoch of Renaissance.

The following tasks have been set for the dissertation research:

- Exploring the character of acceptance, spread and continuity of European Latin epistolography in epistolary practice and writings in the 14<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> c. Grand Duchy of Lithuania by discussing the genesis of European epistolographic genre in the Classical Antiquity, its further development in the Middle Ages and Renaissance;
- Identifying the key trends in epistolography development in the 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> c. Grand Duchy of Lithuania and showing the changes in variety of correspondence;
- Finding out what epistolography textbooks and rules were used in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during late Middle Ages and the epoch of Renaissance,

performing their analysis by identifying their differences and similarities, discussing their contents and structure, and evaluating the impact of such textbooks on the letter writing practice in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, individual epistolary writings;

- Discussing and evaluating the transformation of the letter concept, type and structure in epistolography textbooks (*ars dictaminis* or *modi epistolandi*), and how it reflected in the letters of the time, by disclosing the significance of epistolary culture to the medieval and Renaissance culture, literature, pedagogy, education and human self-expression in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

## **Methods of the Research**

The following methods have been applied in this dissertation: historical descriptive, empirical, of analysis and synthesis, interpretation and comparative.

The *descriptive* method has been used in discussing the epistolographic genesis, development and dissemination in Europe and Lithuania.

The *empirical* method has been applied for selection and classification of the collected material, the majority of which was the medieval and Renaissance letter writing textbooks, individual letters and/or collection of letters.

The method *of analysis and synthesis and interpretation* has been applied to discussion, analysis and evaluation of the letter writing textbooks, selected blocks of letters, curricula and library contents, also use of the epistolographic rules and means of literary expression, exploring the textual structure in correspondence and epistolary writings.

And, finally, the *comparative* method has been applied in discussing the similarities and differences of epistolographic treatises and individual letters by different authors and of different epochs – the Classical Antiquity, Middle Ages and Renaissance; the treatises and letters' dependence on historical and cultural peculiarities of a specific epoch.

## Structure of the Work

This dissertation consists of the Introduction, four parts of presentation, conclusions and lists of sources and literature used.

The first part deals with short description of the genesis of epistolography, its connection with rhetoric in the Classical Antiquity world, presentation of the key rules of the epistolography.

The second part is devoted to the theory and practice of epistolography in Europe and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, specifically, during the Middle Ages. A lot of attention is paid to examining the European letter writing theory context, formation of epistolographic textbook (*ars dictaminis*), its structure and content analysis. This part touches upon the adaptation of the European epistolographic tradition in epistolary writings of the 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> c. Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The third part deals with an overview of humanistic epistolography theory and its specifics, analysis of the Renaissance letter writing textbooks (*modi epistolandi*) by comparing them to those present in the Middle Ages; lots of attention is paid to Cicero's letter writing theory, which was fairly well reflected in the Grand Duchy's education programs. Attempts are made to discuss the ways of coming of European epistolographic treatises to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and forming the humanistic letter writing traditions there; also the libraries of the Grand Duchy's nobility, cultural workers and humanists, which contained the aforementioned textbooks and letter collections of different character.

The fourth part is devoted to analysis of the first collection of letters of humanistic and literary nature in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the author of which was Saliamonas Risinskis. In such analysis, touching upon the composition, contents and stylistic expression of the collection, the author's world outlook, creativity, erudition and knowledge of the epistolographic canons of the time is also emphasized. Attempts are made to show the originality of the treatise while comparing it to other Renaissance epistolary writings in Western Europe and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and also emphasize the ideas, contemplations, attitudes, forms of artistic expression and manifestations of epistolographic tradition, characteristic to humanistic, intellectual and cultural environment of the Renaissance Europe.

## **Theses Defended in the Dissertation:**

1. The epistolographic theory and practice of the 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> c. Grand Duchy of Lithuania was formed by the European epistolography tradition originating from rhetoric treatises and epistles by authors of the Classical Antiquity and continued with certain modifications in Europe during the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

2. In late Middle Ages, the letter writing canon based on the *ars dictaminis* treatises was used in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It could be seen in correspondence by the first grand dukes and other nobility of Lithuania. In the 15<sup>th</sup> c., the epistolics in the Grand Duchy was growing by number, was enriched by a variety of types, literary expression and style.

3. Epistolographic textbooks in the Renaissance (*modi epistolandi*) were modified following Cicero's directions for letter writing and examples of his letters. Such textbooks were used for teaching in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. By the 16<sup>th</sup> c., Cicero's letters were studied at Vilnius University and other educational institutions of the Grand Duchy. They became a paragon for humanistic correspondence and epistolary writings. By the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> c., letters as literary writings appeared in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. By their level, they were equal to letters wrote in Europe.

4. Saliamonas Risinskis (Solomon Rysinki) was the most brilliant figure of humanistic epistolary writing in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the epoch of Renaissance. By their literary expression and skillfully mastered art of epistolary writing, his letters equaled the epistolary works by the most outstanding European humanists.

## **Dissertation Summary**

### **I. The Origins of Epistolography. Letter Writing Theory and Practice in the Period of Classical Antiquity**

**Letter** (*ἐπιστολή, γράμματα, δέλτος* in Greek; *litterae, epistola (epistula)*, not so often *tabulae, tabellae, codicillus, brevis libellus* in Latin) writing started a long time

ago, with first appearance of written language. Attempts to formulate the definition of a letter and certain rules for its writing were as old, as a letter writing genre itself. Theorists of each epoch used to present their own definition and concept of a letter, specific for the period of time they represented, reflecting human mentality, social, political and cultural situation and practical needs of the time.

In the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. already, ancient Greeks treated a letter as a separate literary form or genre, started to teach letter writing techniques in their schools, but did not possess any general, widely accepted and official theoretical system for letter writing still for quite a long time. No textbooks dealing solely with letter writing theory were present in the period of Classical Antiquity.

Nevertheless, letters in the Antiquity were written following certain epistolography rules, which nowadays have been reconstructed from thoughts on this subject by different authors present in their letters, or preserved fragments of theoretical – mostly rhetorical – treatises discussing the letter writing theory or style. General instructions for letter writing developed during the Classical Antiquity period were the following: a letter had to be in compliance with its practical purpose – to give information to those who were absent, convey certain news covering certain distance (*ut certiores faceremus absentes*); a letter was a written conversation (*sermo*), dialogue (*dialogus*) or speech (*oratio*) conducted between persons located at a certain spatial distance from each other; style of a letter had to be moderately embellished, clear, natural, concise; its language – simple, close to everyday speech; rare expressions, metaphors, excessive period structure had to be avoided; jokes, proverbs, gnomes, quotes might be used as embellishments; Greek expressions might be used in Latin letters; a letter had to be persuasive or affective towards the addressee, to disclose the addresser's character, soul; a letter had to be a testimony on the author to forthcoming generations; form, style and tone of the letter had to be personalized according to the character or standing of the author or addressee (*accidentia personarum*); structure of a letter was clearly connected to the structure of rhetorical language. A letter in the Classical Antiquity period consisted of the following key parts: names of the author and addressee with their titles or epithets; greeting (*salutatio*) with appropriate formulations related to health condition; presentation of the matter (*narratio*), which often was related to obsequiousness or attempt to influence the addressee (*captatio benevolentiae*); and ending (*conclusio*) with

respective formulations and greetings. The typology of letters was abundant, quite desultory, but in essence could be divided into official, private and literary letters. Many ancient letters could be referred to as „open“, public, the majority of them were collected and latter rewrote and disseminated among the family members, friends or broader layers of society. But some of them were similar to ours: short, business-like and simple, wrote with the purpose to convey certain news and later be forgotten. But it is noteworthy that many transitional subtypes were present between these two extremities – literary writing and simple, business-like letter.

## **II. Epistolography in the Middle Ages**

### **1. Medieval Epistolographic Tradition in Europe**

Medieval Europe accepted the epistolographic and epistolary experience of the Classical Antiquity. But due to its more complicated political, social and cultural life, newly emerging aesthetic literary ideas, formation of new epistolographic canons started in compliance with social needs of the time. The standard of an official, business-like and fully regulated by the epistolographic norms letter had appeared. Such formalized structure of a letter and its standardization was mostly due to the growing general social and occupational differentiation, with precision separated human relations (clergymen vs. laymen; kind vs. servant; friend vs. foe, etc.), this in its turn was related to formation of feudal society and crystallization of hierarchic social stratification (c. B.C. 1000). Thus, in the Middle Ages, the system of official correspondence and legal document management was gradually developed. About the 11<sup>th</sup> c. a new area of medieval rhetoric art was formed. It was mostly concentrated on letter and other document preparation and writing theory – *ars dictaminis*. Initially, it was applied in church and secular rulers' environment and chancellery, where eventually the official language style and record-keeping developed. *Ars dictaminis* had major impact on the literary theory of the time, practical creation of prose, development of education and spread of literacy. It developed into a certain complex of communication, model determined by the peculiarities of medieval society. Eventually, it became one of the key parts of the curricula in the medieval Europe's education centers. More *ars dictaminis* treatises and textbooks were

written, which summarized and systematized in theory the practical letter and document writing rules.

Different countries, regions or even lands saw different development of epistolography and epistolary writings. Due to most favorite historical, cultural and social circumstances, first theoretical *ars dictaminis* treatises were compiled in Italy (Monte Casino, Bologna) by the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. By the mid 12<sup>th</sup> c. they spread in France (Orleans, Paris, Tours, Blois and Meung schools were of special importance), where new ideas were added to this teaching, mostly concentrating on the grammar and literary subjects and embellished style of the language. In medieval Germany and England, as well as Czechia and Poland, theorists were less concerned about the theoretical part of the *artes dictandi*, more formularies, i.e. sample letter and document collections were used. By the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. the *ars dictaminis* theory flourished in Italy, especially Bologna, again. During the late Middle Ages, authors used well-known and widely spread treatises and only minor theoretical amendments were made; ancient examples were adjusted to the present time, more and more often letter and document formularies were used; a few letter writing treatises appeared in the national languages.

Due to practical needs and huge theorists' involvement, a certain structure for a letter and document writing textbook was formed. It would be applied for a few centuries. The medieval letter writing textbook presented the following structure: a prologue or dedicatory letter; definition of the *dictaminen*, its types; definition of a letter, functions, etymology of the word *epistola*; part of a letter (key and secondary): *salutatio* (greeting) and discussion of the related issues (*diversitas personarum* (different standings of persons), *diversi modi scribendi* (three styles)) – usually this was the most extensive chapter, with *exordium* (introduction) or *captatio benevolentiae* (seeking for benevolence), *narratio* (narration), *petitio* (submission of request), *conclusio* (ending); rhetorical embellishments (*colores*) and advantages (*virtutes*); mistakes of *dictaminis* (*vitia*); examples of letters; some textbooks also contained a discussion of a certain document and related issued, a few examples were given; and, finally, epilogue (not always present).

Theoretical background for *ars dictaminis* was modified. Antiquity rhetoric adjusted not for speaking, but rather for writing, especially for preparation of letters and



other documents. A new thing was that *ars dictaminis* treatises attempted to summarize this and explain the theory by abundant examples. The institutional context, from which the *ars dictaminis* originated, determined that the most common subjects present in these textbooks were the issues of power and subordination, official, legal and business relations in different layers of clergymen, as well as laymen, also family, pedagogical, friendship, etc. relations. Thus, medieval letters emphasized the relationship between the author and addressee, sought by different ways and measures to persuade the addressee to take a dominating position in respect of the addressor.

Textbooks also presented the definitions of *dictamen* and letter (*epistula*), which were understood quite ambiguously. The range of meaning of the term *dictamen* was pretty wide, but the following key concepts might be distinguished: a human design to create something (*animi conceptio, ymaginatio tractandi, mente retente*) and ability to express it in words, or, more often, in writing (*ratio, scientia*); this meant a written, rhetorically managed and well-composed text presenting an issue/ matter in writing or orally (*litteralis prolatio; tractatus commode applicatus*). As could be seen from these definitions, the practical purpose of the *dictamen* and its deeper theoretical meaning were linked together in such definitions. The understanding of a letter itself was also manifold: as rhetorical speech (*oratio congrua*) expressing the addressor's emotions and intents (*affectus*), aiming at making certain influence on the addressee or persuade him/her, intended for reading aloud and not for a single addressee; as appropriately arranged text (*congrua sermonum ordinatio, instituta verborum ordinatio*) to present written information to the addressee who was absent; a little bit less emphasized was the definition of a letter-conversation, where the addressor talked friendly to the absent addressee, as if tête-à-tête (*ore ad os, absens absenti*). Business-like correspondence prevailed in practice, and in the late Middle Ages personal letters appeared more and more often. They also developed on the basis of the *ars dictaminis* rules.

Thus, the *ars dictaminis* was an expression of big transformations which took part in the Latin medieval Europe. It played an important role in the European development of rhetoric.

## 2. Letter Writing Tradition in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

The earliest period of written language in Lithuania, its very origins, coincided with appearance of the epistolary genre in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania on the background of huge political, social and cultural transformations, with a certain breakthrough point, where the ancient pagan and new Christian cultures had met. Late Middle Ages were significant in Lithuania for the interception of the European Latin letter writing tradition, the starting point for the spread of business, and a little bit latter – also personal correspondence.

Main spreaders of Latin epistolography norms were foreign scribes recruited for service with the first Lithuanian rulers and great dukes. They were educated abroad, in Western and Central Europe, and applied general European epistolography traditions in the princes' correspondence. In some time, they were replaced by local clerks, also educated abroad. They inscribed letters following the *ars dictaminis* rules or other norms of diplomatic correspondence present at that time. Such letters contained clear composition: *salutatio*, *intitulatio*, *captatio benevolentiae*, *narratio*, *petitio*, *conclusio*, *datum*; figures of speech, common for that time, such as epithets and invocations to ingratiate and respect the addressee, were used; clearly seen contract, repetition and synonymy; consistent argumentation; Christian metaphorical phrases or political cliché containing rhetorical exclamations, many repetitions or literary images.

The heritage of Vytautas Magnus letters and documents was more abundant and miscellaneous than that of the former rulers. A big part of it is missing, but the preserved part clearly testifies a real breakthrough of epistolary communication within the grand duke's environment, manifested in variety of stylistic expression, manifold purpose, content and themes.

Correspondence with foreign addressees prevailed in Vytautas' epistolary heritage. Such correspondence was a significant part of the fairly intense daily activities by the Grand Duchy's leader. Vytautas' extensive relations, active political activities determined a necessity for such intensive corresponding, contributed to his office development, scribes' growth in number and their specialization. Although no data has been found on the use of *ars dictaminis* textbooks and formularies in the Vytautas' court

office, but it is quite clear that documents and letters there were prepared according to the rules.

It is also noteworthy to stress out the miscellaneous purpose and topics of Vytautas and his correspondents' letters. The whole range of letter types, which were mentioned or presented in European formularies, epistolariums or theoretical textbooks of the time, could be found in his correspondence. The majority were multi-subject letters, where a few topics were discussed: presentation of information alongside with all kinds of business, also thanksgiving, explaining, requesting or wishing; presentations of political realia were accompanied by health reports and agreements for doctors. Thus, the epistolary writings by Vytautas encompassed business-like communication and personal issues. The difference was determined not only by different subject, content, number of compositional parts and order, but also by expression, emotional tone and style.

Thus, it could be stated that in the Middle Ages, the epistolography in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania applied the universal *ars dictaminis* rules. This allowed for the Lithuanian rulers' equal participation in the European general area of Latin communication.

After Vytautas, the tradition of business and official correspondence was continued by other rulers and nobility of the Grand Duchy within the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Upon expansion of the state connections, transformation of political circumstances and impact of other different factors, epistolary writings in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were getting more diverse in respect of its types, content and style. Letters of polemic, religious, political and literary character appeared. And this was preconditioned by the new epoch – the Renaissance, and new social, political and cultural trends.

### **III. Epistolography in the Epoch of Renaissance**

#### **1. Tradition of Humanistic Epistolography in Europe**

In the Epoch of Renaissance, upon appearance of the humanistic movement, arouse of interest in the Classical Antiquity and following the examples of its cultural and literary heritage, including the classical epistolography tradition, *ars epistolandi*, or, in

other words, the lore and art of letter writing was formed out of the *ars dictaminis*. The *Ars epistolandi* had no connections with documents.

One of the key paragons to be followed in prose in the epoch of Renaissance was Roman literature classic Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.). His prose treatises were used as sources for studying classical Latine, style, eloquence, reasoning and persuasion. Since the time of Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374), Cicero's letters became an example to be followed in intellectual communication by correspondence. They were treated as an important form of personality development and individual expression; they were taken as a foundation for the new theory of epistolography, which was supplemented by the Greek and Roman letter writing rules. The medieval experience was never denied too, as the major part of the *ars dictaminis* theory was borrowed for the Renaissance letter writing theory and practice. The new epistolography theory (*ars epistolandi*) gained an important place in the school curricula of the time, alongside grammar, stylistics and rhetoric. The letter writing subject was taught at the universities; it was explained in numerous epistolographic textbooks (*modi epistolandi*).

Such textbooks were prepared by the majority of well-known humanists in Western Europe. Rich intellectual activities, erudition, etiquette skills, pedagogical interests, psychology and philosophy knowledge and humanistic approach to a human being by such authors highly influenced the form and content of epistolography textbooks.

The epistolography textbooks of the time might be divided into three types: 1) collections of advice on style presenting instructions for style of letters, how to write them nicely and elegantly; 2) collections of real or fake letters published as examples for academic youth; 3) theoretical letter writing textbooks. The following key parts or themes might be distinguished in the latter: introduction, dedication letters; concept of a letter, including the definition, functions and peculiarities; types of letters; structural parts of a letter; style, embellishments and advantages of a letter; discussion of authors to be read or imitated; examples. As could be noticed, the textbook structure had not changed a lot since the Middle Ages, but nevertheless, types and peculiarities of a letter and exclusivity of this genre was emphasized more than the structure. Besides, such textbooks did not speak about the preparation of documents at all and presented letters by the classical authors and humanists as paragons to be followed. More attention was paid to the epistolography rules, etiquette, elegance, code of conduct of that time,

diplomacy of communication, friendly and witty communication, more encyclopedic and historical knowledge were presented on the epistolography genre. More attention could be felt for a human being, his personality and self-expression.

A letter had a twofold definition: it was treated as a letter-conversation, dialogue (*sermo, dialogus*) or letter-speech (*oratio*). It was understood as a means of social identification, informing society about oneself and also advertising one's activities or works. Not a single author of *modi epistolandi* emphasized that a letter had to imitate human mores, express the personality of the author rather than make orders to the addressee or present one's intents or a certain position in respect of the addressee, as it was done in the medieval textbooks. Statements were made that the letter writing genre might be widely applicable, was diverse by its forms, and the nature of letter writing was to disclose oneself. In letter writing the author had to perform many tasks – it was an art not to reveal the art. Through comparison of medieval theoretical *ars dictaminis* textbooks, collections of formularies and epistolariums and Renaissance *modi epistolandi* textbooks and letter collections, it could be noticed that they have no clear dividing line. It looks more like one tradition, but understood and accepted differently.

Nonetheless, despite obvious similarities between the medieval *ars dictaminis* and Renaissance humanistic *modi epistolandi* textbooks, a new thing present in the latter was that humanists in their general definitions of a letter used Cicero's definition, his concept explained in his letters rather than examples from the medieval textbooks. Therefore, a certain Cicero's cult might be noticed in the theory of epistolography and his impact on the development of the genre. A private letter became an important manifestation of the humanistic movement, a certain type of journalism, a form of personal image development.

## **2. Acceptance of European Epistolographic Models in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania**

Humanistic ideas of the Renaissance were spreading in Lithuania through books, science, art, nobility's travels and studies abroad, disseminating also new trends of epistolography. There is no precise data on letter writing textbooks that might be used in educational institutions, chancelleries, manors and other environments of the Grand

Duchy of Lithuania. Nonetheless, without any doubt, such textbooks had had a tremendous impact on Lithuanian society, its epistolary communication traditions and on formation of letter writing theory and practice here. Moreover, the ideas by humanistic scholars and authors, their treatises had spread really fast in the European intellectual environment. All three types of epistolographic textbooks written by humanists of the Western and Central Europe in the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> c., could be found in Lithuanian libraries. They contain many markings by hand, thus, it seems they had been used actively for studying. Besides, a number of young persons from the Grand Duchy were studying in educational institutions of Krakow, Prague and Italy, especially, before Vilnius University was founded. So, the young generation could bring the letter writing ideas home. Later, epistolographic textbooks were available to teachers of Lithuanian schools and universities, educated humanists, bibliophiles, officials in the grand duke's chancellery, diplomats. A number of such educated persons were corresponding with famous European humanists, political and cultural workers, scholars. The nobility's offspring since young age were taught letter writing with the help of the "scripture" teacher and thus prepared for the future, so that when grown up, they could manage plentiful family correspondence. „Compulsory“ letter writing to parents while studying abroad was also included into this „curriculum“. Besides, the training system entrenched by the Jesuits was becoming more and more popular. Among other subjects, its syllabus (*Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Jesu*, finally edited by 1599) also contained epistolography, especially Cicero's letters, which were a part of the key readings for students in the humanities type schools, in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> c.

Quite numerous editions of Cicero's letters of the 15<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> c. still can be found in Lithuanian libraries, thus testifying the popularity of his correspondence. There were not many Cicero's letters printed in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> c., but quite a lot of them were brought from abroad: Venice, Vienna, Lyon, Frankfurt, Krakow, etc. Plentiful repeated editions also testify the popularity of this Roman author. According to the data available, it could be stated that scientific libraries in Vilnius and Kaunas still contain 37 different editions of Cicero's letters printed in the 15<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> c.

The role played by Cicero and other classical authors' letters, writings and works, editions of humanists' correspondence and epistolography textbooks in the Grand Duchy's cultural environment is also testified by the preserved and restored lists of

personal and institutional libraries of the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Such libraries were related to their owner's interests, occupation, school curricula and cultural interests, humanists' activities and local needs in general. Preserved inventories of the libraries of the time show that epistolary writings by authors of the Classical Antiquity and epoch of Renaissance, correspondence examples and theoretical epistolographic treatises were still relevant in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> c. Lithuania.

The aforementioned complex in general (correspondence editions by the classical and contemporary authors, epistolography textbooks, school curricula, character of libraries and relations with foreign humanists and litterateurs) determined the specifics of Lithuanian Renaissance and formed the traditions of epistolography and Latin literature in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

#### **IV. Saliamonas Risinskis: Expression Peculiarities of a Humanistic Letter**

One of the earliest treatises by Saliamonas Risinskis, his collection of letters *Epistolarum Solomonis Pantheri, libri duo* (1587), is analyzed in more detail in this chapter. This book has a very special place in Lithuanian epistolography history. This is the first printed collection of letters wrote by the author from the Grand Duchy, printed abroad, it is really different from other 16<sup>th</sup> c. epistolary texts in this region.

The treatise, printed in two volumes, was made of 71 letter written in different places (in Poland, Germany) during the period of 1585–1587. The collection contains 68 letters written by Risinskis' himself, and 5 written to him. A fact that some letters do not have any location and date of writing indicated (although many letters in this collection do contain these attributes and are arranged according to precise chronological order), and that some texts are not actual correspondence, but fictional letters or poetry works, allows for making an assumption that the author, perhaps, wanted to present a correspondence dialogue, an intellectual conversation between friends to his reader, and that a part of the letters addressed to Risinskis might be written by the addressee himself. Of course, so far this is just a hypothesis. More important purpose of this dissertation is to show the influence of correspondence by European humanists, moreover, that at the time of writing of the part of letters in the second volume, Risinskis was staying in Altdorf and communicating with some indigenous intellectuals, humanists and scholars.

Besides, his library collected since his youth contained not a few collections and textbooks of humanistic epistolography, which might be the source of knowledge for his epistolary writings.

Important is also a fact that this educator printed his letters abroad therefore their content had to be understandable to as wide circles of people as possible. Perhaps, this was the reason why Risinskis' letters did not contain many personal, biographic details or local realia. While reading this collection, one always has a feeling that it reminds more of a literary work rather than „real“ personal correspondence. In this respect and also by a wide range of subjects touched upon in this collection, Risinskis is different from other cultural workers, politicians and humanists of the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> c. Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Lithuania Minor, who wrote epistolary texts. In their writings and thinking, three main subjects were dominant: that of the state, faith and freedom. Their letters, never published as separate books, could be looked upon as journalistic, polemic works or samples of personal communication.

Subjects of Risinskis' letters were really diverse ranging from philosophical reflections about a human being, meaning of life, science and arts to philological commentaries. Most common subjects, united by considerations about a human being and his activities, may be divided into the following groups: 1) philosophy, psychology, morals, faith, mind and feelings; 2) friendship; 3) science, education, pedagogy, continuous progress and formation of the self; 4) arts, creation, poetry, poet and critic, the issues of creative talent; 5) state, society, nation (just a few letters); 6) travelling; 7) news, recommendations, supplications, consolation, jokes, etc. It is noteworthy that many letters tackle more than a single subject, thus some of them are of mixed type (*epistulae mixtae*).

The concept of Risinskis' letter, as seen in his epistles, is in compliance with the definition of a letter presented in epistolography textbooks of the time. The collection author understands a letter as a way of confessing to a friend, alleviation of one's soul, and also as a chance to show one's wit (*per epistolam iocari tecum*) and as a means of intellectual and intense communication in general, fit for making contacts and maintaining friendship or just chat in a friendly way.

By composing a letter, Risinskis followed the elementary composition rules, epistolary style requirements, used typical wordings of the time, which showed the



addressor's sincere longing for a letter from his friend, joy upon receiving one and an excuse for not writing. But, in many letters, the author's ingenuity and adjustment of the style of letter according to its addressee, contents and purpose could be seen. Many realia, quotes and sayings of the Classical Antiquity, quite numerous rhetorical figures, characteristic also for other texts of the time, such as antonyms, rhetorical questions, repetitions, parenthesis questions, contrast, hyperbole, irony, etc., were used.

Thus, Saliamonas Risinskis' letters by their content, style and expression reflect characteristic trends of humanistic epistolary writings in Europe of the time. Excellent education, literary culture, pedagogical erudition and perfect knowledge of humanistic epistolography by the author unfold in the collection.

## Conclusions

1. Epistolography was formed in the Classical Antiquity, as a part of rhetoric, but eventually it evolved into a separate study laying the foundations for epistolary writings and correspondence. The development of epistolography was influenced by historical, social and cultural transformations of different epochs. Depending on each specific period, the concept, definitions and significance of a letter changed, but its key functions always remained the same: providing information, communication and self-expression. A letter has been always related to the social environment, status, relations and self-expression of the addressee and addressor.

2. In the Middle Ages, political, social, mental and practical needs of the time, and formation of new cultural, aesthetical, literary ideas preconditioned the appearance of a new lore of letter and document writing – *ars dictaminis*. Medieval *ars dictandi* textbooks adopted the classical letter writing tradition, but also modified it considering the stratification and hierarchic relations in society; the theory of epistolography was systematized.

3. The epistolographic theory and practice in the 14<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> c. Grand Duchy of Lithuania was formed following the European canon of Latin epistolography. Implementation of the *ars dictaminis* tradition could be clearly seen in correspondence by the first Lithuanian rulers and grand dukes. Scribes, educated in the Western and Central Europe, were employed in the rulers' chancellery. They applied European

traditions of epistolography in the rulers and noblemen's correspondence and learned how to prepare documents and letters from the correspondence and documents received from foreign countries.

4. Trends of medieval Latin epistolography tradition could be clearly seen in letters by Vytautas Magnus, the grand duke of Lithuania, where the separation of official/business and personal correspondence was becoming obvious, increased the typological and stylistic variety. Vytautas' letters were compiled according to the *ars dictaminis* rules, following compulsory composition, using strictly regulated means of expression and traditional medieval epistolographic formulations.

5. Humanistic epistolography of the Renaissance (*ars epistolandi*) mostly continued the medieval epistolographic tradition, but followed Cicero and other classical authors' letter writing instructions and Classical Antiquity concept of a letter rather than rules of the *ars dictaminis*. Letter writing theory was studied at the universities and explained by numerous epistolography textbooks (*artes epistolandi, modi epistolandi*) prepared by European humanists and educators.

6. In the 16<sup>th</sup> c. Grand Duchy of Lithuania, foreign epistolography textbooks of humanistic nature were used. While studying abroad and corresponding with foreign humanists, cultural workers, scholars and diplomats, Lithuanian intellectuals and noblemen propagated the type of the renaissance letter. They used to bring back home a new type epistolography textbooks (i.e. *ars epistolandi*), collections of letters by classical authors and humanists, and, following the letter writing instructions present in this material, they entrenched freer and more individual form of epistolary communication in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

7. Epistolography studies made a significant part of the school curricula in the 16<sup>th</sup> c. Grand Duchy of Lithuania; Cicero's letters and rhetorical treatises were used most often for learning. Quite numerous epistolography textbooks and epistolary writing collections were present in the libraries of educated Grand Duchy's humanists, cultural workers and nobility. This greatly contributed to the formation of letter writing tradition and expanded the genre, stylistic and typological range of epistolary writings in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Not only the tradition of official, business correspondence had been continued, but also letters of journalistic, polemic, religious and personal character were written, and, by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> c., first literary letters appeared.

8. Collection of letters by Saliamonas Risinskis was the first bright and original example of humanistic epistolary writings and correspondence in the Grand Duchy. Published as a collection, in one block, it reflected the characteristic trends of European humanists' epistolary writings. His letters testify Risinskis' excellent education, literary culture and pedagogical erudition, highly mastered skills of epistolography genre.

9. The theory of practice of epistolography has greatly contributed to development of human erudition, independent writing, perception of specifics of a literary work and respective way of communication.

## Ivadas

Laiškas – svarbus kultūros reiškiny, žmogiškojo bendravimo ir saviraiškos forma. Tai šaltinis, padedantis pažinti epochą, jos kultūrą, etines ir moralines nuostatas. Laiškų rašymo formalumus ir taisykles suformavo tūkstantmetė europinė epistolografijos tradicija, kurta įvairių autorių, visą gyvavimo laiką turėjusi glaudžių ryšių su retorikos menu ir įvairiais literatūros žanrais (kalba, dedikacija, novele, romanu, moksliniu traktatu). Laiškų rašymo teorija ir praktika nuo Antikos iki Naujųjų laikų praėjo sudėtingą raidos kelią, patyrė daug modifikacijų, buvo veikiamą konkrečios epochos visuomeninių, politinių, kultūrinių realijų ir mokymo nuostatų. Skirtingais amžiais laiškų struktūrą, stilių, kalbinę raišką formavo specialūs laiškų rašymo vadovėliai, turėję nemažos reikšmės švietimo sistemoje, kultūriniame gyvenime.

*Epistolografijos* (gr. *epistolē* – laiškas, *graphō* – rašau) terminas, susiformavęs senovės Graikijoje ir Romoje, šioje disertacijoje vartojamas, turint omenyje laiško teoriją, laiškų rašymo mokslą ir meną – kaip tam tikrą visumą, susijusią su laišku; terminai *epistolinė literatūra* ar *kūryba* suprantami kaip laiškai, kurie pranoksta savo kaip privataus bendravimo ir informavimo priemonės paskirtį, kurie skirti platesniam skaitytojų ratui, publikavimui, kuriuos galima įvardyti ir kaip literatūros kūrinį. *Epistolika*, *epistoliarija* (lot. *epistolaris* – laiškų, laiškinių, epistolinis) ir *korespondencija* disertacijoje vartojamos sinonimiškai, turint omenyje dalykinį ar privatų bendravimą laiškais.

Įvairūs epistolografijos teorijos aspektai, jos raidos ypatumai, atskirų teorinių vadovėlių ir pavyzdinių rinkinių turinys yra sulaukę nemažo užsienio mokslininkų dėmesio. Bet Lietuvoje iki šiol nebuvo atlikta ir paskelbta nė vieno išsamesnio sisteminio tyrimo, skirto šioms problemoms. Šiame darbe aptariama, kaip susikuria ir kaip kinta europinė laiškų rašymo tradicija, teorinio vadovėlio struktūra, turinys, laiško samprata ir modelis; kokie egzistavo panašumai ir skirtumai tarp Viduramžių ir Renesanso laiškų rašymo vadovėlių; kokį bendravimo modelį jie formavo; kokią reikšmę turėjo bendroje švietimo sistemoje, kultūros raidoje. Tiriama, kada ir koku būdu europinė lotyniškosios epistolografijos tradicija buvo perimta Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje (LDK), kaip ji funkcionavo lotyniškoje LDK epistolikoje, mokymo programose, kultūriniame gyvenime. Disertacijoje analizuojama, kaip keičiasi LDK

epistolikos įvairovė XIV–XVI a., kaip laiškas, Viduramžiais buvęs gana formalizuota dalykinio ir asmeninio bendravimo priemone, Renesanso epochoje, išlaikydamas šią funkciją, kartu tampa ir asmens individualios saviraiškos būdu, literatūriniu kūrinium.

### **Tyrimo objektas ir šaltiniai**

Disertacijos tyrimo objektas – europinė epistolografijos tradicija, jos perėmimas ir plėtra LDK XIV–XVI a., išryškinant žanrinius ir tipologinius aspektus, raidos tendencijas.

Viena pagrindinių atlikto tyrimo šaltinių grupė – Viduramžių (XI–XIII a.) laiškų rašymo vadovėliai (*artes dictandi*) ir renesansiniai XV–XVI a. epistolografijos teoriniai veikalai (*modi epistolandi*), sukurti Vakarų ir Vidurio Europoje. Dalį Viduramžių *ars dictaminis* vadovėlių, tirtų šiame darbe, radome internete arba naudojomes publikuotais XIX–XX a. Disertacijoje analizuojami šių autorių darbai: Alberiko iš Monte Kasino (Albericus de Monte Cassino, Casinensis, *Breviarium de dictamine*, apie 1087; *Flores rhetorici*, apie 1080), Adalberto Samariečio (Adalbertus Samaritanus, *Praecepta dictaminum*, apie 1111–1118), Hugono iš Bolonijos (Hugo Bononiensis, *Rationes dictandi prosaice*, apie 1119–1124), Bonkompanjo iš Sinjos (Boncompagnus de Signa, *Palma*, 1198), Mokytojo Gaufredo (Magister Gaufredus, *Summa de arte dictandi*, XII a.), Pauliaus Kamalduliečio (Paulus Camaldulensis, *Introductiones dictandi*, XII a. pabaiga), Tomo iš Kapujos (Thomas de Capua, Capuanus, *Ars dictaminis*, 1220), Gvido Fabos (Guido Faba, *Summa dictaminis*, apie 1229), Bene iš Florencijos (Bonus de Florence, *Candelabrum*, apie 1238); taip pat anoniminis veikalas, parašytas Bolonijoje tarp 1135 ir 1143 m., – *Rationes dictandi*, ir ankstyviausias išlikęs Prancūzijoje anoniminis *ars dictaminis* veikalas, rašytas Ture, – *Aurea Gemma „Gallica“* (apie 1154).

Aptariant Renesanso laiškų rašymo vadovėlius, rašytus žymiausių to meto Vakarų ir Vidurio Europos humanistų, daugiausia naudotasi saugomais Lietuvos mokslinėse bibliotekose. Gausiausiai jų būta Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos Retų spaudinių skyriuje, ankstyviausias iš jų yra išleistas 1485 m., o didžioji dauguma – XVI amžiuje. Vadovėlių būklė įvairi: vieni defektuoti, kiti išsilaikę gerai, o dar kiti – jau restauruoti ar

šiuo metu restauruojami, nemažai jų įrišta ir su kitų autorių epistolografijos vadovėliais, laiškų rinkiniais ar kitokio pobūdžio veikalais.

Tyrime naudojamos šių humanistų epistolografijos veikalais: Jokūbo Publicijaus (Giacomo Publico, Jacobus Publicius, *Artes orandi epistolandi memorandi*, 1485); Augustino Dacho (Augustinus Dachus Senensis, *De uariis loquendi figuris sive de modo scribendi isagogicus libellus*, 1501; 1504); Raceko Dubravský (Rodericus Dubravus, *Libellus de componendis epistolis*, 1511); Pilypo Beroaldo (Philippus Beroaldus Bononiensis, *Epistolandi modus*, 1512); Francesco Negro (Franciscus Niger, *Ars epistolandi*, 1506; *De conficiendis epistolis, et elegantiarum regulis opus summa*, 1521); Jeronimo Cingularijaus (Hieronymus Cingularius Aurimontanus, Gürtel von Wildenberg, *De componendis epistolis opellum*, 1515); Jono Somerfeldo (Johannes Sommerfeld, Ioannis Aesticampianus, *Modus epistolandi*, 1522); Konrado Celčio (Conradus Celtis, *Methodus conficiendarum epistolarum*, 1563), Jono Liudviko Viveso (Ioannes Ludovicus Vives, *De conscribendis epistolis*, 1545; 1563, 1581); Kristupo Hegendorfino (Christophorus Hegendorphinus, *Methodus conscribendi epistolas*, 1563); Simono Verepėjaus (Simon Verepaeus, *De epistolis Latine conscribendis*, 1586); Jokūbo Vimfelingo (Jacobus Vimphelingus, *Excerpta quedam ex elegantissimis Jacobi Uimphelingi viri doctissimi non nihil ad conficiendas epistolas facientia*, [s.l., s.a.]); Erazmo Roterdamiečio (Erasmus Roterodamus Desiderius, *Opus de conscribendis epistolis*, 1522; 1545; 1563; 1581). Taip pat rėmėmės ir publikuotu 1957 m. lenkų autoriaus Jano Ursino (Johannes Ursinus de Cracovia, Jan Ursyn z Krakowa), turėjusio ryšių ir su Lietuva, pirmuoju Lenkijoje parašytu humanistinio pobūdžio vadovėliu (*Modus epistolandi cum epistolis exemplaribus et orationibus annexis*, apie 1495–1496; 1522). Šie veikalai Lietuvos mokslininkų detaliau iki šiol nebuvo tyrinėti.

Minėtų vadovėlių ir įvairių autorių laiškų rinkinių radome ir žymių XVI a. LDK veikėjų, didikų, humanistų (Žygimanto Augusto, Abraomo Kulviečio, Saliamono Risinskio ir kt.) asmeninių ir institucinių bibliotekų sąrašuose, rekonstruotuose ir aptartuose mokslininkų (Marcelinas Ročka, 1970, 1972; Ingė Lukšaitė, 1985; Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, 1988 ir kt.). Tai dalis informacijos šaltinių, liudijančių apie europinės epistolografijos plitimą LDK.

XVI a. epistolografija buvo itin glaudžiai susijusi su mokymo ir mokymosi procesais. Todėl šioje disertacijoje aptariamos išlikusios XVI a. antros pusės – XVII a.

pr. LDK naudotos mokymo programos, paskaitų tvarkaraščiai, kuriuose svari vieta buvo numatyta ir epistolografijai, ypač įvairių Cicerono laiškų skaitymui, analizei, imitavimui, mokymuisi mintinai. Tyrime naudotasi leidiniu *Lietuvos mokykla ir pedagoginė mintis XIII–XVII a. Istorijos šaltinių antologija* (1994). Čia publikuotos ištraukos iš paskaitų tvarkaraščių atspindi, kokia pagrindinė akademinio jaunimo lektūra buvo skaitoma ir analizuojama per užsiėmimus. Taip pat naudotasi Ludwiko Piechniko (1983, 1984), Eugenijos Ulčinitės (2007) paskelbtomis mokymo programomis.

Didžiulį poveikį Viduramžių ir Renesanso epistolografijai darė Cicerono retoriniai veikalai ir laiškai, todėl darbe išryškinama šio romėnų autoriaus įtaka mūsų tiriamam objektui. Aptardami Cicerono laiškus naudojomės Oksforde (1965; 1974) ir Kembridže (2001) parengtais kritiniais Cicerono laiškų leidimais; taip pat naudotasi Cicerono laiškais lotynų kalba, prieinamais internete adresu: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cic.html>

Antrą didelę šaltinių grupę sudaro XIV–XVI a. LDK korespondencijos ir XVI a. epistolinės kūrybos pavyzdžiai, geriausiai atskleidžiantys svarbiausias lotyniškosios epistolografijos raidos tendencijas Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje. Dvi skirtingas epistolografijos tradicijas šiame darbe iliustruoja du vieni gausiausių savo meto laiškų korpusai, kurių autoriai – skirtingų epochų ir skirtingo socialinio statuso žmonės. Tai Lietuvos didžiojo kunigaikščio (Ldk) Vytauto (1392–1430) laiškai, kaip vėlyvųjų Viduramžių dalykinės ir asmeninės, valdovo kanceliarijoje pagal *ars dictaminis* kanonus rengtės, korespondencijos pavyzdys, ir Saliamono Risinskio (Solomon Rysinius, Pantherus, Rysiński, Sarmata, ? – 1625), LDK bajoro, literato, profesionalaus pedagogo, reformacijos veikėjo, laiškų rinkinys *Epistolarum Solomonis Pantheri, libri duo* (Altdorpii: In officina typographica Nicolai Talaei, 1587), kurtas ir publikuotas paties autoriaus, geriausiai iliustruojantis humanistinio literatūrinio laiško sampratą LDK XVI a. epistolikoje.

Analizuodami Vytauto laiškus, naudojomės publikuotais šaltiniais (*Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*, t. 4, 1859; t. 6, 1873; *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, 1876; *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi magni ducis Lithuaniae 1376–1430*, 1882) bei vertimais (Jonas Beblavý, 1930; *Metraščiai ir kunigaikščių laiškai*, 1996; *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kasdienis gyvenimas*, 2001).

Minėtas Saliamono Risinskio laiškų rinkinys – reta knyga: Vokietijoje yra trys šio veikalo egzemplioriai. Mes naudojome Lietuvos literatūros ir tautosakos instituto mokslinėje bibliotekoje esančią, iš Vokietijos gautą, šio leidinio kopiją (šifras 8304).

Disertacijoje remtasi Vakarų ir Vidurio Europoje Viduramžiais rengtais laiškų ir dokumentų rinkiniais, paskelbtais vokiečių ir lenkų mokslininkų (Carl Erdmann, 1938; Konrad Burdach, 1926; Grażyna Klimecka, 1997); publikuotais pirmųjų LDK valdovų ir didžiųjų kunigaikščių laiškais. Taip pat XV–XVI a. rašyta, daugiausia leista XX–XXI a., Vakarų Europos ir LDK įvairių asmenų – valdovų, didikų, bajorų, inteligentų – epistolika: Erazmo Roterdamiečio, Žygimanto Augusto, Barbaros Radvilaitės, Radvilų, Abraomo Kulviečio, Stanislovo Rapolionio, Andriaus Volano, Martyno Mažvydo, Jono Bretkūno, Augustino Rotundo, Danieliaus Naborovskio ir jų korespondentų laiškais, siekiant palyginti europines ir LDK XIV–XVI a. išryškėjusias epistolografijos teorijos ir praktikos tendencijas.

### **Temos naujumas ir aktualumas**

Disertacijai pasirinkta tema Lietuvos literatūrologijos, istorijos ir kultūros istorijos moksle yra visai nauja. Lietuvos ir kitų šalių istoriografijoje, skirtoje LDK politikos ir kultūros istorijos problemoms, epistolinis LDK palikimas (XIV–XVI a. Lietuvos didžiųjų kunigaikščių, didikų, kultūros veikėjų korespondencija) daugiau ar mažiau yra tyrinėtas įvairiais aspektais (kaip istorijos šaltinis, kaip diplomatikos objektas, kaip įvairiausių dalykinių reikalų tvarkymo ir kaip asmeninio bendravimo priemonė). Tačiau iki šiol nebuvo atkreiptas dėmesys į lotyniškosios epistolografijos teorijos ir praktikos adaptaciją, funkcionavimą ir raidą XIV–XVI a. LDK politiniame, kultūriniame, visuomeniniame gyvenime.

Aptarta istoriografijos būklė suponavo, kad darbe aptariami ar išsamiau nagrinėjami keli skirtingos aprėpties dalykai. Suvokiant LDK funkcionusią lotyniškąją epistolografiją kaip neatsiejamą universalios lotyniškosios epistolografijos kanono dalį, pateikiama išsami Viduramžių ir Renesanso epistolografijos vadovėlių analizė, kuri padės lengviau perprasti epistolografijos teoriją, jos įtakos LDK korespondencijai ir epistolinei kūrybai pobūdį; aiškiau atskirti epistolinės formalistikos ir autoriaus individualumo raiškos santykį. Darbe aptariama šio žanro specifika, Viduramžių ir



Renesanso laiškų rašymo vadovėlių naudojimas ir reikšmė LDK epistolikoje, mokymo programose, kultūriniame gyvenime, laiškų rašymo teorijos ir praktikos santykis padės geriau pažinti sudėtingą ir įvairialypį LDK raštijos paveldą, tiriant lotyniškosios kultūros funkcionavimo pobūdį ir mastą LDK vėlyvaisiais Viduramžiais ir Naujaisiais laikais. Ši disertacija yra pirmas tokio pobūdžio tyrimas Lietuvoje.

## **Tyrimų apžvalga**

Teorinių darbų, skirtų epistolografijos žanrui, aprėpiančių metodologinius, teorinius jo aspektus, raidą, tipologiją ir pan., nėra gausu. Informatyvus tokio pobūdžio darbas yra Stefanijos Skwarczyńskos monografija *Teoria listu*, publikuota 1937 metais, atsižvelgiant į temos aktualumą perleista 2006 metais, vis dar cituojama šiuolaikiniuose mokslo darbuose. Vis dėlto kai kurie faktai, pateikiami šioje knygoje, dėl atsiradusių naujų tyrimų yra koreguotini. Keliuose kituose lenkų mokslininkų (Małgorzata Czermińska, 1975; Kazimierz Cysewski, 1997) straipsniuose taip pat aptariamos bendro pobūdžio teorinės ir metodologinės epistolografijos tyrimų, tekstologinės problemos, diskutuojama apie šio žanro specifiką, įvairialypumą, jo santykį su literatūra, dokumentu, apie siuntėjo ir adresato ryšius; konstatuojama, kad trūksta teorinių darbų apie šį žanrą, kad laiškai buvo dažniau tiriami kaip istoriniai dokumentai, o ne literatūriniai kūriniai.

Daugiau mokslinių darbų skirta konkrečios epochos epistolografijos teorijai ir praktikai, o ne apskritai epistolografijos žanrui. Rengiant skyrių apie Antikos laiškų rašymo teorijas, tradicijas ir bendravimo kultūrą daugiausia naudojamos užsienio mokslininkų darbai, nes Lietuvoje Antikos epistolografijai iki šiol dėmesio buvo skiriama itin nedaug (Anna Maciūnienė, 2007; Kristupas Sabolius, 2005). Iš ankstyvesnių Antikos epistolografijos teorijos ir praktikos tyrinėjimų paminėtinas rusų mokslininkų straipsnių rinkinys (*Античная эпистолография*, 1967), kuriame pateikiami tyrimų duomenys apie klasikinės ir vėlyvosios Antikos epistolografijos teorijas, apie atskirų autorių laiškus; taip pat naudojamos Lidios Winniczuk (1981), Sergejaus Averincevo (1996), Jerzy Schnayderio (1959), T. Popovos (1991), Margaret Mullet (1979) darbai. Vis dėlto kai kurios jų pateikiamos žinios dėl naujų epistolografijos teorijos ir praktikos duomenų taip pat yra tikslintinos.

Iš naujesnių mokslinių darbų, pateikiančių naujos informacijos apie Antikos epistolografiją, mums prieinami ir naudingi buvo Roy K. Gibsono ir A. D. Morrisono (2007), Patricios A. Rosenmeyer (2001), Maggi Creese (2006), Andrew W. Pittso darbai. Juose aptariama antikinių laiško definicijų istorija, kultūrinis laiškų rašymo kontekstas, atskirų Antikos autorių laišakai ir kt. Antikos epistolografijos teorija ir praktika, jos genezė ir raida informatyviai pateikta enciklopedinio pobūdžio leidiniuose (*Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, t. 3, 1899; *Der kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike*, t. 2, 1967; *dtv-Lexikon der Antike: Philosophie, Literatur, Wissenschaft*, t. 1, 1969; *Lexikon der Alten Welt*, t. 1, 1995; *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, t. 2, t. 3, 1997).

Aptariant Cicerono laiškus ir retorinius veikalus, siekiant parodyti, kokią įtaką jie darė Viduramžių ir Renesanso epistolografijai, disertacijoje naudotasi užsienio mokslininkų darbais, kuriuose aptariamas Cicerono laiškų skaičius, turinys, parašymo aplinkybės, jo santykiai su adresatais, jo laiškų atradimo ir paplitimo Renesanso epochoje reikšmė ir įtaka humanistinei epistolografijai bei epistolikai (Thadeusz Zieliński, 1912; Мария Грабарь-Пассек, 1967; Kazimierz Kumaniecki, 1977; Георгий Кнабе, 1994; G. O. Hutchinson, 1998; Maggi Creese, 2006 ir kt.). Lietuvos tyrėjai iki šiol didesnę dėmesį telkė į Cicerono retorinius, filosofinius veikalus, o jo korespondencijos, kuri yra vienas didžiausių ir svarbiausių išlikusių asmeninės autentiškos romėnų epistolografijos pavyzdžių, išsamesnių tyrimų Lietuvoje nėra paskelbta.

Viduramžių *ars dictaminis* mokslo teorija ir praktika ilgą laiką nebuvo labai domimasi. XIX a. jis vertintas daugiau kaip teisės istorijos šaltinis. Vienas pirmųjų XIX a. pradėjęs tirti *ars dictaminis* ir pirmą kartą parengęs leidybai, komentavęs ne vieną šios rūšies teorinį veikalą, buvo Ludwigas Rockingeris (*Briefsteller und Formularbücher des elfften [sic] bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1863). XX a. Viduramžių epistolografijos tyrimai suaktyvėjo, kito ir *ars dictaminis* vertinimas: vis labiau imta pripažinti jo vertė plačiau tyrinėjant įvairias Viduramžių gyvenimo sritis. *Ars dictaminis* veikaluose esantys laiškų ir dokumentų pavyzdžiai ar atskiri jų rinkiniai XX–XXI a. tyrėjų pasitelkiami kaip informatyvus šaltinis politikos istorijai, kaip svarbi medžiaga mokyklų ir švietimo, socialinei, taip pat bažnytinių ir pasaulietinių raštinių istorijai ir funkcionavimui tirti; analizuojamas Viduramžių epistolografijos teorijos ir praktikos

santykis, antikinių tradicijų perimamumas ir modifikacijos, šio mokslo sąsajos su kitais žanrais (James J. Murphy, 1971, 1974, 1985; William D. Patt, 1978; Ernst Robert Curtius, 1997; Malcolm Richardson, 2007 ir kt.). Les Perelman straipsnis („The medieval art of letter writing: rhetoric as institutional expression“, 1991) analizuoja Viduramžių epistolografijos genezę, to meto institucijų įtaką jos raidai, teorinių darbų specifikai. Mums itin svarbios buvo tyrėjos pastabos apie klasikinės retorikos tradicijos perėmimo pobūdį ir modifikacijas Viduramžių laiškų rašymo moksle. *Ars dictaminis* mokslo specifika analizuota lenkų ir čekų mokslininkų – Dušano Třeštiko (1962), Gražynos Klimeckos (1997), Mieczysława Markowskio (1987), Teresos Michalowskos (2006) – darbuose, kuriuose aptariama ne tik Lenkijos, Čekijos, bet ir Vakarų Europos Viduramžių epistolografijos tradicija ir šaltiniai, laiškų ir dokumentų rinkinių rengimo būdai, istorija, raida. Viduramžių Lenkijos kanceliarijos raidą, pobūdį ir čia kurtus formularius, jos įtaką Lietuvos valdovų kanceliarijos veiklai aptaria Maria Bielińska (1968), Karolis Maleczyński (1971), Marcelis Kosmanas (1969; 1971), Jadwiga Krzyżaniakowa (1972; 1979) ir kt. Vokiečių mokslininkas K. Burdachas aukščiau minėtoje kapitalinėje monografijoje (*Schlesisch-böhmische Briefmuster aus der Wende des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1926) be XIV a. pabaigos epistolinių šaltinių publikacijos pateikia ir platų Viduramžių kultūrinį, visuomeninį kontekstą, išskiria daug epistolografijos ir epistolikos židinių, turėjusių įtakos šio mokslo ir meno formavimuisi. Taip pat aukščiau minėto C. Erdmanno monografijoje (*Studien zur Briefliteratur Deutschlands im elften Jahrhundert*, 1938) pateikiami ir aptariami Vokietijoje ir Prancūzijoje XI a. sudaryti laiškų rinkiniai – Meinhardo iš Bambergo, Hildesheimo, investitūros ginčo laikotarpio laiškų rinkiniai, kurie lyginami ir autoriaus traktuojami literatūriniu-istoriniu požiūriu – vadinami tam tikra prasme literatūros kūriniais; analizuojama, kaip ir kur daugiausia buvo sudarinėjami tokie rinkiniai. Viduramžių kultūra, gyvenimo būdas, komunikavimo ir etiketo kanonai, estetikos normos aptariamoms Władysława Tatarkiewicziaus (1960), Jacqueso Le Goffo (1966; 2003), Eckarto Conrado Lutzo (1984), Johano Huizingos (1996), Ernsto Roberto Curtius'o (1997), Arono Gurevičiaus (1989; 1999), Teresos Michałowskos (2000), Christinos Kakridi (2005) ir kt. darbuose.

XVI a. Europos kultūrinę situaciją, humanistų korespondavimo, lotyniškosios epistolografijos pobūdį, humanistinių laiškų rašymo vadovėlių rūšis ir turinį, jų autorių

išsilavinimą ir interesus, epistolinės kultūros reikšmę to meto švietimo sistemai, literatūrinei kūrybai nagrinėjo Thadeusz Zieliński (1912), Lidia Winniczuk (1957), Maria Cytowska (1969), Tadeusz Brzostowski (1977), Helene Harth (1983), Alois Gerlo (1983), Peter L. Schmidt (1983), Peter Burke (1992), Mieczysław Mejer (1992), Jerzy Axer (1992), Teresa Lanchole (1998), Johan Huizinga (2000), Jerzy Ziomek (2001), Gideon Burton (2007) ir kt.

Reikia pabrėžti, kad Lietuvos istoriografijoje, literatūrologijoje beveik visai nėra tyrinėtas Viduramžių ir Renesanso laiškų rašymo mokslas ir menas, nei jo funkcionavimas LDK. Daugiau Lietuvos mokslininkų yra tirta Lietuvos didžiųjų kunigaikščių XV–XVI a. kanceliarija, jos darbuotojai, jų veiklos pobūdis (Edvardas Gudavičius, 1999; Artūras Dubonis, 2001; Arvydas Pacevičius, 2002), labiau nesigilinant į epistolografijos kanonų funkcionavimą šioje aplinkoje. Kiek išsamiau Viduramžių laiškų rašymo mokslą, XIV a. pabaigos – XV a. pradžios europinius laiškų pavyzdžių rinkinius, plačiau neanalizuodama teorinių *ars dictaminis* veikalų, aptarė Rūta Čapaitė (1996), tyrinėdama Ldk Vytauto korespondenciją.

Lietuvos mokslininkai daugiau dėmesio skyrė didžiųjų kunigaikščių laiškam – seniausiems žinomiems Lietuvos raštijos paminklams. Vieni pirmųjų XX a. pirmoje pusėje pradėję tirti Vytauto epistoliką buvo K. Alminauskis (1939) ir A. Vasiliauskas (1939). Jie daugiau dėmesio skyrė šio valdovo laiškų kaip diplomatikos istorijos šaltinių tyrimui, neatsižvelgdami į tai, kad jo laiškai vertintini kitokiais kriterijais ir tyrimo būdais negu diplomatikos dokumentai. Vytauto laiškai šių autorių apibūdinami nesiejant jų su to meto epistolografijos ir epistolikos kontekstu. Epistolikos problematikai buvo skirtas minėtas leidinys *Metraščiai ir kunigaikščių laiškai* (1996), kuriame įvairiais aspektais plačiausiai buvo analizuoti išlikę Ldk Gedimino (~1315–~1342) laiškai: aptarti ekonominiai ir politiniai jo laiškų parašymo motyvai, diplomatikos, istoriniai aspektai, tekstologiniai klausimai, svarstytas santykio tarp pagonio adresanto ir kataliko raštininko aspektas, pateikta semiotinė šio valdovo laiškų analizė (Egidijaus Banionio, Edvardo Gudavičiaus, Sigito Narbuto, Alvydo Nikžentaičio, Stepheno Rowello, Rasos Mažeikaitės, Albino Jovaišo, Sauliaus Žuko straipsniuose). Leidinyje taip pat aptartas vienas graikiškai rašytas Ldk Algirdo (1345–1377) laiškas (Marcelino Ročkos straipsnis) ir Ldk Vytauto korespondencija (aukščiau minėtas Rūtos Čapaitės straipsnis). Informatyvūs pastarosios mokslininkės tyrimai (2001; 2005; 2007) buvo pasitelkti

disertacijoje analizuojant Vytauto laiškus. Ji pirmoji Lietuvoje įvertino Vytauto laiškus kaip Viduramžių epistolinio žanro pavyzdžius, pateikė jų grupavimo kriterijus, rūšis, išanalizavo jų struktūrą, stilių, kalbą, emocinius niuansus; pagal jo ir jo amžininkų korespondenciją aptarė Vytauto kasdienio gyvenimo veiklos sritis; jo dalyvavimo tarptautinėje korespondencijos sistemoje techninę pusę. Šios mokslininkės atlikti tyrimai leidžia kalbėti apie Vytauto epistolinį palikimą kaip Viduramžių kultūrinį, meninį tekstą.

Antonis Prochaska (1884), nagrinėdamas Ldk Vytauto politinę veiklą, atskleisdamas įvairialypį jo politinių, asmeninių santykių diapazoną su pusbroliu Lenkijos karaliumi Jogaila, Vokiečių ordino pareigūnais ir kt., atkreipė dėmesį į didžiojo kunigaikščio bei jo korespondentų laiškų stilių. Fr. A. Doubeko straipsnyje (1930) Vytauto laiškai analizuojami kaip meninis raštinės tekstas, didesnę dėmesį telkiant į pasveikinimo formulės (*salutatio*) ritmiką. Marcelis Kosmanas (1971) pastebėjo emocinę siuntėjo nuostatą, išreiškiamą laiškų adrese ir kreipinyje, epitetų kaitą priklausomai nuo susirašinėjusių politinių santykių, bet to nesusiejo su to meto laiškų teorijos kanonais, su hierarchinio etiketo apibrėžta epistoline kultūra, labiau neišplėtojo klausimo, ar Vytauto raštinėje naudotasi formuliais; dalis jo laiškų, autoriaus nuomone, priskirtini teisiniams aktams.

Didžiųjų kunigaikščių, valdžiusių po Vytauto, taip pat XV–XVI a. LDK didikų korespondencija nėra išsamiau tirta epistolografijos požiūriu. Dažniausiai ši epistolika naudojama kaip politinės istorijos, diplomatijos, biografinis šaltinis (Jono Beblavý, 1930; Egidijaus Banionio, 1976, 1998, Rimvydo Petrausko, 2003, 2007 ir kt. darbuose). Plačiau rašyta apie Žygimanto Augusto (1520–1572) korespondenciją, jo laikų kanceliariją, jos darbuotojus ir jų kultūrinę veiklą – tai aptariama lenkų tyrėjų (Miroslaw Korolko, 1991; Irena Kaniewska, 1999) darbuose. Įvadiname I. Kaniewskos straipsnyje, kuris publikuotas Žygimanto Augusto laiškų Radviloms leidime, aptariami valdovo korespondentai, laiškų skaičius, kalba, struktūrinės dalys, saliotacijos formulės, turinys, funkcijos, tikslai, publikavimo klausimai. Miroslawas Korolko savo monografijoje dėmesį telkia į Žygimanto Augusto laikų kanceliarijos pobūdį, aptaria joje dirbusių humanistų kultūrinę veiklą, jų išsilavinimo, interesų įtaką kuriamai valdovo kanceliarijoje korespondencijai, to meto kultūriniam, visuomeniniam gyvenimui.

Tyrimų apie XVI a. LDK moterų korespondenciją, Barbaros Radvilaitės ir Žygimanto Augusto susirašinėjimą, taip pat apie pastarojo korespondavimą su

Mikalojumi Radvila Rudoju yra paskelbę Raimonda Ragauskienė ir Aivas Ragauskas (1998; 2001). Jų darbuose į laiškus žvelgiama istoriniu, biografiniu požiūriu, aptariami to meto moterų raštingumo, autorystės klausimai, laiškų struktūra, kalba, kreipiniai, turinys, rūšys, korespondavimo intensyvumas, komunikacijos technika. Barbaros Radvilaitės laišakai analizuojami platesniame XVI a. Vakarų Europos ir LDK moteriškosios korespondencijos kontekste. Pateikiamas valdovo (Žygimanto Augusto) ir didikio (Mikalojaus Radvilos Rudojo) komunikacijos modelis jų tarpusavio korespondencijoje. Šiuose darbuose nebuvo plačiau analizuoti Renesanso laiškų rašymo (*ars epistolandi*) kanonai ar teoriniai veikalai, to meto epistolografijos kontekstas.

Šiek tiek plačiau Lietuvos literatūrologijoje tirti LDK ir Mažosios Lietuvos XVI–XVII a. žymių humanistų, reformacijos veikėjų (Abraomo Kulviečio, Andriaus Volano, Stanislovo Rapolionio, Jono Bretkūno, Martyno Mažvydo, Augustino Rotundo), didikų (Mikalojaus Radvilos Juodojo, Jono Kiškos, Kristupo Zigmanto Paco ir kt.) politinei, tikybinei problematikai skirti laišakai arba asmeninio pobūdžio korespondencija, komentuojant jų laiškus, pateikiamas to meto kultūrinis, istorinis, socialinis, titybinis kontekstas, biografijos faktai (Juozas Jurginis, 1969; Jurgis Lebedys, 1972; Albinas Jovaišas, 2000; Eugenija Ulčinitė, 1986, 1998; Ingė Lukšaitė, 1996; Marcelinas Ročka, 2002; Vaida Kamuntavičienė, 2005; Nelė Asadauskienė, 2003; Dainora Pociūtė, 2008).

Ryškesniu Renesanso epistolinės kūrybos pavyzdžiu LDK laikome Saliamono Risinskio laiškus. Dalis tyrėjų gilinasi į šio humanisto biografiją ir veikalus (W. Korotyński, 1863; Jakov Poreckij, 1983; Henryk Lulewicz, 1992; Sigitas Narbutas, 2000; Eugenija Ulčinitė, 2001, 2003), kita dalis tyrė atskirus kūrinius ar tam tikrus kūrybos aspektus (Maria Cytowska, 1960; Henryk Barycz, 1970; Krystyna Nizio, 1982; Czesław Hernas, 1999), dar kiti – jo bibliotekos turinį ir kultūrinę veiklą (Ingė Lukšaitė, 1985), ryšius su užsienio mokslininkais, literatais (Heinrich Kunstmann, 1975; Waclaw Urban, 1976) bei tarnystę Radvilų dvare (Alojzy Sajkowski, 1964, 1965; Jan Dürr-Durski, 1966). Mūsų tyrimo objektu pasirinktas minėtas Saliamono Risinskio veikalas (*Epistolarum Solomonis Pantheri, libri duo*) kiek įdėmiau buvo tyrinėtas ir verstas dalimis kelių mokslininkų – J. Poreckio ir S. Narbuto. Pastarasis pateikė keletą laiškų ištraukų su komentarais, aptardamas Risinskio biografijos faktus, veiklą, kūrybą, pasaulėžiūrą. J. Poreckis pateikė nemažai šio humanisto laiškų vertimų į rusų kalbą ištraukų, bet neišvengė tam tikrų netikslumų vertimuose ir nurodydamas laiškų

numeraciją. Be to, šis darbas pasižymi tam tikru ideologiniu tendencingumu, mažai ką bendra turinčiu su Risinskiu ir jo epocha. Disertacijoje plačiau parodoma europinės epistolografijos tradicijos perėmimas ir raiška Risinskio laiškuose, autoriaus savitumas.

Apibendrinant tyrimų apžvalgą, reikia pasakyti, kad minėtuose mokslo darbuose įvairių LDK visuomenės sluoksnių (didžiųjų kunigaikščių, didikų, bajorų, inteligentų ir t.t.) epistolika daugiausia buvo aptariama gana siaurais ir specifiniais aspektais: istoriniu, biografiniu, paleografiniu, diplomatikos, tikybinio ir kt. Tačiau nebuvo plačiau aiškinamasi, ar ir koks epistolografijos kanonas perimamas jų korespondencijoje, iš kokių vadovėlių ar autorių buvo mokytasi laiško rašymo meno LDK skirtingose epochose; kaip kinta laiško paskirties suvokimas, kokias jis dar įgauna funkcijas be reikalų tvarkymo priemonės. Visi šie klausimai siejasi ir su lotyniškosios epistolografijos raidos Lietuvoje tyrimų problemomis, o išsamesnių tokio pobūdžio tyrimų mūsų isotriografijoje kol kas nėra. Viduramžių ir Renesanso LDK epistolografija dar netapo specialiųjų studijų objektu, nėra suformuluota tokių tyrimų metodika ir problematika, vertinimo kriterijai; nėra parengta visuminių šio žanro apžvalgų; nedaug tėra parengta šios srities vertimų, tik nedidelė epistolikos paveldo dalis yra įtraukta į akademinio pobūdžio Lietuvos literatūros istorijas.

### **Darbo tikslas ir uždaviniai**

Darbo tikslas – ištirti lotyniškosios epistolografijos raidą, plėtrą ir pobūdį Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje XIV–XVI a..

Disertacijoje keliami uždaviniai:

- Išanalizuoti lotyniškosios epistolografijos kanonų perėmimo pobūdį ir sklaidą LDK XIV–XVI a. epistolinėje praktikoje ir kūryboje, tai siejant su lotyniškosios europinės epistolografijos raida Antikoje, Viduramžiais ir Renesanse.
- Nustatyti svarbiausias epistolografijos raidos tendencijas LDK XIV–XVI a., parodyti, kaip keičiasi epistolikos įvairovė.
- Išsiaiškinti, kokiais epistolografijos vadovėliais ar taisyklėmis buvo naudojamosi LDK vėlyvaisiais Viduramžiais ir Renesanse, atlikti jų analizę,

nustatant skirtumus ir panašumus, aptariant jų turinį ir struktūrą; įvertinti šių vadovėlių reikšmę LDK praktiniam laiškų rašymui, savarankiškai epistolinei kūrybai.

- Aptarti ir įvertinti, kaip kinta epistolografijos vadovėliuose (*ars dictaminis* ir *modi epistolandi*) laiško samprata, tipai ir struktūra, kaip tai atsispindi to laiko laiškuose, parodant epistolinės kultūros svarbą LDK Viduramžių ir Renesanso kultūrai, literatūrai, pedagogikai, žmogaus išsilavinimui ir saviraiškai.

## **Metodai**

Disertacijoje taikomi ir derinami šie metodai: istorinis aprašomasis (deskriptyvinis), empirinis, analizės ir sintezės, interpretacinis ir komparatyvistinis.

*Deskriptyvinis* metodas naudotas aptariant epistolografijos genezę, raidą ir sklaidą Europoje ir Lietuvoje.

*Empirinis metodas* taikytas atrenkant ir klasifikuojant surinktą medžiagą, kurios pagrindas – Viduramžių ir Renesanso laiškų rašymo vadovėliai, taip pat atskiri laišakai ir jų rinkiniai.

*Analizė ir sintezė, interpretaciniu metodu* remtasi aptariant, analizuojant, vertinant laiškų rašymo vadovėlius, pasirinktus laiškų korpusus, mokymo programas, bibliotekų turinį; epistolografijos taisyklių panaudojimą, literatūrinės raiškos priemonių taikymą, teksto sąrangą korespondencijoje ir epistolinėje kūryboje.

*Komparatyvistinis metodas* buvo taikytas siekiant aptarti Antikos, Viduramžių ir Renesanso epistolografijos veikalų ir skirtingų autorių laiškų panašumus ir skirtumus, priklausomybę nuo konkrečios epochos istorinių ir kultūrinių realijų.

## **Darbo struktūra**

Darbą sudaro įvadas, keturios dėstymo dalys, išvados, šaltinių ir literatūros sąrašas.

Pirmoje dalyje glaustai aptariama epistolografijos genezė, jos ryšys su retorika Antikoje, ryškinamos pagrindinės epistolografijos taisyklės.



Antra dalis skirta Viduramžių Europos ir LDK epistolografijos teorijai ir praktikai, daug dėmesio skiriant europiniam laiškų rašymo teorijos kontekstui, epistolografijos vadovėlio (*ars dictaminis*) susiformavimui, jo struktūros ir turinio analizei. Šioje dalyje aptariama, kaip europinė epistolografijos tradicija buvo adaptuota LDK XIV–XV a. epistolikoje.

Trečioje dalyje apžvelgiama humanistinė epistolografijos teorijos specifika, analizuojami renesansiniai laiškų rašymo vadovėliai (*modi epistolandi*), lyginant juos su viduramžiniais, daug dėmesio skiriant Cicerono suformuluotai laiškų rašymo teorijai, kuri ryški ir LDK mokymo programose. Aptariama, kokiais būdais į LDK galėjo patekti europiniai epistolografijos veikalai ir čia formuoti humanistinio pobūdžio laiškų rašymo tradicijas; taip pat LDK didikų, kultūros veikėjų, humanistų bibliotekos, kuriose nemažą dalį užėmė minėti vadovėliai ir įvairaus pobūdžio laiškų rinkiniai.

Ketvirta dalis skirta pirmojo LDK humanistinio, literatūrinio pobūdžio laiškų rinkinio analizei, kurio autorius – Saliamonas Risinskis. Analizuojant rinkinio sudėtį, turinį, stilistinę raišką, aptariama autoriaus pasaulėžiūra, kūrybiškumas, erudicija, to meto epistolografijos kanonų įvaldymas. Lyginant su kitais Vakarų Europos ir LDK Renesanso epistoliniais tekstais, siekiama parodyti šio veikalo savitumą, originalumą, o kartu išryškinti idėjas, apmąstymus, nuostatas, kūrybinės raiškos formas ir epistolografijos tradicijos apraiškas, būdingas renesansinės Europos humanistinei, intelektinei ir kultūrinei erdvei.

### **Disertacijoje ginami teiginiai:**

1. LDK XIV–XVI a. epistolografijos teoriją ir praktiką formavo europinė epistolografijos tradicija, kurios ištakos – Antikos autorių retorikos veikalai ir laiškai, ji su modifikacijomis buvo tęsiama Europoje Viduramžių ir Renesanso epochose.

2. LDK vėlyvaisiais Viduramžiais remtasi *ars dictaminis* mokslo suformuotu laiškų rašymo kanonu. Tai matyti Lietuvos didikų kunigaikščių ir didikų korespondencijoje. XV a. LDK epistolika gausėja, įvairėja jos tipai, literatūrinė raiška, stilius.

3. Renesanso epochoje epistolografijos vadovėliai (*modi epistolandi*) modifikuojami, sekant Cicerono nurodymais apie laiškų rašymą, jo laiškų pavyzdžiais. Iš tokio pobūdžio vadovėlių buvo mokomasi ir LDK. XVI a. Vilniaus universitete ir kitose

LDK mokymo įstaigose bei aplinkose taip pat buvo studijuojami Cicerono laišškai, kurie tapo humanistinio korespondavimo ir epistolinės kūrybos pavyzdžiu. XVI a. pabaigoje LDK pradedami rašyti ir literatūrinio pobūdžio laišškai, savo lygiu nenusileidžiantys europiniams.

4. Saliamonas Risinskis – ryškiausias Renesanso epochos LDK humanistinės epistolikos kūrėjas. Jo laišškai savo literatūrine raiška, epistolografijos meno įvaldymo lygiu prilygsta žymiausių Europos humanistų epistolinei kūrybai.

## Išvados

1. Epistolografija susiformavo Antikoje, kaip retorikos dalis, tačiau ilgainiui tapo atskiru mokslu, sudariusiu epistolinės kūrybos ir korespondencijos pagrindus. Epistolografijos raidai turėjo įtakos epochų istoriniai, visuomeniniai, kultūriniai pokyčiai. Skirtingose epochose keičiasi laiško samprata, definicijos, reikšmė, bet išlieka pagrindinės jo funkcijos – informacinė, komunikacinė ir ekspresinė. Laiškas buvo susijęs su socialine adresato ir adresanto aplinka, padėtimi, ryšiais, saviraiška.

2. Politiniai, visuomeniniai, mentaliniai, praktiniai Viduramžių epochos poreikiai, naujų kultūrinių, estetinių, literatūrinių idėjų formavimasis sudarė sąlygas atsirasti naujam laiško ir dokumentų rengimo mokslui – *ars dictaminis*. Viduramžių *ars dictandi* vadovėliuose perimama antikinė laiško rašymo tradicija, bet kartu modifikuojama, atsižvelgiant į luominę priklausomybę ir hierarchinius santykius, epistolografijos teorija susisteminama.

3. LDK epistolografijos teoriją ir praktiką XIV–XV a. formavo europinis lotyniškosios epistolografijos kanonas. *Ars dictaminis* tradicijos realizavimas ryškus pirmųjų Lietuvos valdovų ir didžiųjų kunigaikščių korespondencijoje. Valdovo kanceliarijoje dirbo raštininkai, gavę išsilavinimą Vakarų ir Vidurio Europoje ir taikę bendraeuropines epistolografijos taisykles, be to, dokumentų ir laiško rengimo mokslo buvo mokomasi ir iš kitų šalių gautos korespondencijos ar dokumentų.

4. Lietuvos didžiojo kunigaikščio Vytauto laišškai parašyti pagal Viduramžių lotyniškosios epistolografijos taisykles. Jo epistolikai būdinga tipologinė ir stilistinė įvairovė. Labai įvairios paskirties didžiojo kunigaikščio laiškuose (tiek dalykinio, tiek asmeninio, tiek mišraus pobūdžio) išlaikoma privaloma laiško kompozicija, naudojamos

reglamentuotos raiškos priemonės, tradicinės įvairių dalykų nusakymo Viduramžių epistolografijos formulės.

5. Renesanso humanistinė epistolografija (*ars epistolandi*) didele dalimi tęsia Viduramžių epistolografijos tradiciją, tačiau labiau remiamasi jau ne diktamino mokslo taisyklėmis, bet Cicerono ir kitų Antikos autorių laiškuose buvusiais nurodymais, antikine laiško samprata. Laiškų rašymo teorija buvo dėstoma universitetuose, aiškinama gausiuose Europos humanistų, pedagogų rašytuose epistolografijos vadovėliuose (*artes epistolandi, modi epistolandi*).

6. XVI a. LDK buvo naudojama užsienyje leista humanistinio pobūdžio epistolografijos vadovėliais. Renesansinio laiško tipą platino užsienio universitetuose studijavę ir su kitų šalių humanistais, kultūros veikėjais, mokslininkais, diplomatais susirašinęję Lietuvos inteligentai, didikai. Jie parsiveždavo naujo tipo (t. y. *ars epistolandi*) epistolografijos vadovėlių, Antikos autorių ir humanistų laiškų rinkinių, remdamiesi juose buvusiais laiško rašymo nurodymais, savo korespondencijoje ar epistolinėje kūryboje įtvirtino laisvesnę, individualesnę epistolinio bendravimo formą LDK.

7. Epistolografijos mokslas sudarė didelę XVI a. LDK mokymo programų dalį: daugiausia buvo mokomasi iš Cicerono laiškų ir retorinių veikalų. Gana gausiai epistolografijos vadovėlių, epistolinių rinkinių būta išsilavinusių LDK humanistų, kultūros veikėjų, didikų bibliotekose. Visa tai formavo LDK laiškų rašymo tradiciją, plėtė epistolikos žanrinį, stilistinį, tipologinį spektrą. Tęsiama ne tik oficialiosios, dalykinės korespondencijos tradicija, bet rašomi ir publicistinio, polemienio, tikybinio, asmeninio pobūdžio laišakai, o XVI a. pabaigoje pradedami kurti ir literatūriniai laišakai.

8. Saliamono Risinskio laiškų korpusas – pirmas ryškus, savitas ir originalus humanistinės epistolinės kūrybos ir korespondencijos pavyzdys LDK, išleistas rinkinio pavidalu, atspindintis būdingas to laiko Europos humanistų epistolikos tendencijas. Laiškuose atsiskleidžia puikus autoriaus išsilavinimas, literatūrinė kultūra ir pedagoginė erudicija, epistolografijos žanro įvaldymas.

9. Epistolografijos teorija ir praktika daug prisidėjo formuojant žmogaus erudiciją, savarankišką kūrybą, literatūrinio kūrinio specifikos suvokimą, atitinkamą bendravimo būdą.

### **Works Published on the Subject of the Dissertation:**

1. „Cicerono laišakai ir Renesanso humanistinės epistolografijos tradicija“, in: *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, kn. 24, Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2007, p. 63–99.
2. „Salamono Risinskio laiškų rinkinys: *theatrum vitae humanae*“, in: *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, kn. 26, Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2008, p. 81–120.

**Dovilė Keršienė** (g. 1971) 1989–1994 m. studijavo klasikinę filologiją Vilniaus universitete. 1994 m. baigė klasikinės filologijos magistro studijų programą. Apgynusi magistro darbą „Alegorija Horacijaus ir Fedro kūryboje“ gavo klasikinės filologijos magistro laipsnį. Nuo 1999 m. dirbo mokslinį darbą Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institute, Senosios literatūros skyriuje, vyr. laborantės pareigose. 2005 m. suteiktos jaunesniojo mokslo darbuotojo pareigos. 2005 m. rugsėjo 15 d. įstojo į jungtinę Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos instituto ir Vilniaus universiteto doktorantūrą, disertacijos tema parengė du straipsnius. 2006–2010 m. dirbo Vilniaus pedagoginio universiteto Visuotinės literatūros katedroje asistente, dėstė lotynų kalbą. Nuo 2009 m. rugsėjo mėn. pradėjo dirbti asistente Vilniaus universiteto Klasikinės filologijos katedroje, dėsto lotynų kalbą. Nuo 2009 m. spalio mėn. ji buvo priimta dirbti į Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos instituto Senosios literatūros skyrių jaunesniosios mokslo darbuotojos pareigose.

**Dovilė Keršienė** (b. 1971) studied classical philology in Vilnius University, in 1989–94. In 1994, she graduated from the Master degree study program in classical philology. By defending her Master's work *Allegory in Horace and Phaedrus' Writings* she was granted the Master's degree in classical philology. In 1999, Dovilė Keršienė was accepted to the position of a junior scientific worker at the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore, the Department of Ancient Literature. In 2005, she was employed as a junior scientist. On 15 September 2005 she entered the joint doctorship studies of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore and Vilnius University, made a research on epistolography in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries, prepared two articles on her dissertation subject. In 2006–2010, she worked as an assistant and the Latin language teacher at Vilnius Teachers' Training University, the Department of General Literature. Since September 2009, Dovilė Keršienė works as an assistant at Vilnius University, the Department of Classical Philology, and also teaches the Latin language. Since October 2009, she was reemployed by the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore, the Department of Ancient Literature, to the position of the junior scientific worker.