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# Sight, Knowledge, Variety, and Correction: Kasijan Sakovyč's *Perspektywa* and Related Book Titles

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**Summary:** The article is devoted to a category of titles of books in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth throughout the Baroque age. Besides more traditional titles containing words related to the sense of sight meaning mirror and image, in the seventeenth century we find titles with the word perspective (in Polish: *perspektywa*). While the presence of ‘mirror’ (*zwierciadło*) and ‘image’ (*wizerunk/wizerunek*) in Old Polish titles has already been studied, less attention has been devoted to ‘perspective’ in this position. Starting from the polemic treatise published by Kasijan Sakovyč in 1642, we searched for other works containing *perspektywa* in their title in the Baroque period. We presented and described all the works we could find, which are not numerous. On the basis of the classification proposed by Anna Kochan and Michał Kuran, we tried to determine the relation between *perspektywa* on one side and *zwierciadło* and *wizerunek* on the other.

We had to consider the progressive semantic enlargement of the meaning of the word *perspektywa*. In the sixteenth century, it had already become a designation for a new artistic device and in the following century it had become the name for the telescope. It was then a term tightly related to the sense of sight. We argue that its meaning overlapped both with *zwierciadło* and with *wizerunek* but with a greater emphasis on the fact that the account given was full and varied. The term *perspektywa* was polysemic and in titles it could preserve its ambiguity. This triggered the creation of various metaphors.

We examined the case-study of Kasijan Sakovyč's treatise, which we had started with. The polysemy of the word *perspektywa* contained in its title was exploited at large by the authors of books written as a refutation to it.

The use of *perspektywa* along with *zwierciadło* and *wizerunek* is another symptom of the perduring centrality of sight in Baroque culture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as elsewhere in Europe.

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In 1642, the Roman Catholic<sup>1</sup> polemist Kasijan Sakovyč<sup>2</sup> (ca. 1578–1647) published a treatise in Polish against the alleged “mistakes, heresies, and superstitions” in the Byzantine-Slavic rite (Sakovyč 1642: f. Ar). Born to an Orthodox priest, he passed firstly to the Uniate Church (Dzjuba s.a.) and then to Roman Catholicism, thanks to a papal dispensation. The treatise had a long title beginning with a Greek word designating the genre. This style of title had become fashionable in the early modern works pertaining to the interconfessional polemics among the Catholics, the Orthodox, and the Uniates in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth:

*ΕΠΙΛΟΓΗ abo perspectiwa, i objaśnienie błędów, herezjej, i zabobonów, w Grekoruskiej Cerkwi Disunitskiej tak w Artykułach Wiary, jako w Administrowaniu Sakramentów, i w innych Obrzędach i Ceremoniach znajdujących się. Zebrana i napisana przez Wiel. X. Kassjana Sakowicza.*

[ΕΠΙΛΟΓΗ or Overview, and Explanation of the Mistakes, Heresies, and Superstitions, which are to be found in the Greek-Ruthenian Non-Uniate Church, both in the Articles of faith, and in the Administration of Sacraments, as well as in the other Rites and Ceremonies. Collected and written by the venerable priest Kasjan Sakowicz.]<sup>3</sup> (Sakowicz 1642: f. Ar)

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1 We modernise the usage of terms referring to various religious confessions for the sake of an easier comprehension, but we ought not to forget that such labels were created only in a later time. For the early modern epoqe, other expressions were in use, such as *Greek faith* ‘*wiara grecka*’ for the Orthodox or in other cases for both the Churches using the Byzantine-Slavic rite (also called “Eastern rite”) – the Orthodox and the Uniate ones. We shall, however, retain the terms *Latin Rite*, *Eastern Rite*, because of their conciseness, using capital letters to denote not a single ritual action, but the system of traditions used in celebrating the Liturgy, along with its cultural implications (e.g., the languages and the books used), which constituted a primary identification factor of the various Churches.

2 Polish: Kasjan Sakowicz. It is always troublesome to decide which version of Ruthenian person and place names to write, because there were several linguistic versions. A lot of writers from these lands were proficient in various languages, recorded in various alphabets; to describe such a situation, Jakub Niedźwiedź, in dealing with the case of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, used the term *wielopisimienność*, which David A. Frick rendered in English as “multiscripturality” (in Niedźwiedź 2019). In this article we will use the modernised version in the official languages of modern countries which arose in that territory; in many cases, this is the version which is already in use in scholarly literature in English. This choice, although anachronistic, has the advantage of giving a hint on the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic variety of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Variants of the names are given in brackets or footnotes.

3 All translations are our own (V. N.). We are aware that every translation implies an interpretation and that it is not always possible to preserve the polysemy of the Polish original text in English. Our translatoric choices are motivated in the article’s parts devoted to each title. For the quotations from the Polish sources, we use the criteria II.B.II described in *Zasady* (92–100).

It was precisely the presence of the word *perspektywa* (normalised form for “perspectiwa”) in this treatise’s title<sup>4</sup> that attracted our attention and triggered some questions: was Kasijan Sakovyč the only one to use this term in a title or was there an already existing trend in books published in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the seventeenth century? And what was the relationship between this word and other terms related to the sense of sight appearing in the titles of coeval works? These are the topics to be addressed in this article.

## 1 What’s in a word? The meaning of *perspektywa*

Let us start by trying to understand the meaning of *perspektywa* in the period when Kasijan Sakovyč wrote his work.

The word *perspektywa*<sup>5</sup> is not attested in the *Słownik staropolski* (SStp). It appears in the *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku* (Dictionary of 16<sup>th</sup> century Polish language) only referring to a scientific discipline (SP XVI: s. v. ‘perspektywa’). It is present in the *Thesaurus Polonolatinograecus* by Grzegorz Knapiusz, both in the 1621 and 1643 editions. The definition refers to a science (‘*nauka*’) or to an image resulting from the application of this science’s principles (Cnap 1621: 706; Cnap 1643: 679–670). Linde’s dictionary records the word with various meanings: it indicates an artistic technique and the resulting image; an opening enabling one to look inside something, e.g. in a wall or a hedge; an opportunity for the future; as well as -also in the variant *perspektywka*- a telescope (Linde s. v. ‘perspektywa. 1.’, ‘perspektywa. 2, perspektywka’). The German terms used by Linde as equivalents for the latter meaning are *das Perspectiv*, *das Fernglasinstrument*. Notably, the three quotations included in the definition to illustrate the word usage with the meaning of ‘telescope’ are all taken from eighteenth-century works.<sup>6</sup> Jadwiga Waniakowa (2003: 118) reports that the word was used for the telescope by Jan Bohomolec in his work devoted to comets<sup>7</sup> published in 1770. The *Elektroniczny słownik języka polskiego*

4 In this article, we use the term ‘title’ in a wide meaning which includes all the parts of the very long early modern denominations for books, although we are aware that more sophisticated internal differentiation between title and subtitle are also possible (see Genette 2002[1987]: 59–62).

5 We use the modernised orthography, as attested in dictionaries, when we refer to the word in itself, not specifically to the title of this particular work by Kasijan Sakovyč.

6 Ignacy Krasicki’s *Zbiór potrzebniejszych wiadomości* (A Collection of the Most Necessary Notions, 1781–83, a sort of encyclopaedia), and the journal *Monitor Warszawski* (The Warsaw Monitor, founded by Krasicki in 1765, active for twenty years).

7 Bohomolec J., *Prognostyk zły czy dobry komety roku 1769 i 1770, albo natura i koniec komet z przydatkiem opisanie krótkiego obrotów Niebios, i Rejestru tak komet, jako też przypadków znaczniejszych od potopu świata aż do tego roku*, Warszawa, 1770.

*XVII i XVIII wieku* (Electronic Dictionary of the Polish Language of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; ESP XVII-XVIII, s. v. 'perspektywa') records this word and indicates the meaning 'telescope' at the first place, followed by the meaning 'view' ('widok').

In the *Słownik wyrazów obcych* (Dictionary of Foreign Words; SWO: s. v. 'perspektywa') we find the information that the word would come from the French 'perspective', which in turn derives from the Late-Latin 'perspectiva', indicating a science. Bańkowski's *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego* (Etymological Dictionary of the Polish Language; SEJP: s. v. 'perspektywa') records 1582 as the earlier appearance and states that the term originates from the Latin expression *perspectiva (ars)* designating optics. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the word was used (according to Bańkowski, excessively) to indicate a view, a hope, and an intention, following the meanings of the French vocable *perspective*.

In French, the words *perspectif* (with the meaning 'refraction') and *perspective* (with the same meaning and, since 1561, also as an art term) are moulded on the Medieval Latin *perspectivus*. The designation of a particular artistic technique would be modelled on the Italian *prospettiva*. A figurate meaning started to develop in the seventeenth century (Bloch: s. v. 'perspectif', 'perspective'). It is worth noting that the meaning 'telescope' is missing from this gloss. It is missing also in other historical and etymological dictionaries of French we consulted (i.e. DEHLE, DMF, DHLF).

If we take a look at the neighbouring German context, in the *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch* we find the term *Perspektive*, which refers to a way of representing objects and people, also in art (DV, s. v. 'Perspektive'); we also find *Perspektiv* as a borrowing from medieval Latin *perspectivum*, in the sense of telescope (DV, s. v. 'Perspektiv'). The latter was also used as an alternative form for the meanings of *Perspektive*.

The Middle Latin *perspectiva* – from which the forms in the various vulgar tongues originate – already had a long career in titles of works. Of course, the most famous cases were part V of *Opus Maius*, composed by the Englishman Roger Bacon presumably in the early 1260s (Lindberg 1971: 71), and *Perspectiva communis*, written in the 1270s by Bacon's countryman John Peckham (Lindberg 1971: 77).<sup>8</sup> Just to mention a case related specifically to the Polish context, we shall remember the Silesian scholar Witelo (1227–1290), whose celebrated treatise on optics – which,

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<sup>8</sup> We found both the term *perspective* and the expression *perspective glass* in the sense of 'telescope' in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, too (OED: s. v. 'perspective', 'perspective glass'). They were used even before the invention of the telescope as we conceive it today to indicate the usage of "various devices, such as an arrangement of mirrors, for producing an unusual optical effect, e.g. the distortion of an image" (OED: s. v. 'perspective').

incidentally, drew upon Alhazen's work – was actively copied and then printed for the first time in 1535 in Nürnberg under the title *Vitellionis Mathematici Doctissimi Περὶ ὀπτικῆς, id est de natura, ratione, et projectione radiorum visus, luminum, colorum atque formarum, quam vulgo Perspectivam vocant libri X* (Wróblewski & Bielski 1986: 125–126). The Latin *perspectiva* became a commonly used title (or part of a title) for scholarly works on optics.

With time, the word expanded its range of meanings, in Latin as well as in the vulgar tongues. The new artistic device invented in Italy in the mid fifteenth century was termed just 'perspective' (actually, *prospettiva* in Tuscan vulgar, *perspectiva* in Latin). After all, the linear perspective was all about seeing and entailed knowledge in geometry, thus intermingling with optics, for which the term *perspectiva* was already in use. The invention of the linear perspective was a milestone for European art, because it not only influenced aesthetics, but it also caused a change in cognitive paradigms (Lepenies 2018: 591). Many treatises devoted to it appeared both in Latin and vulgar.<sup>9</sup> The new trends in painting also reached the Ruthenian lands, from where Sakovyč came, often thanks to the inspiration provided by printed material<sup>10</sup> (Gronek 2003: 177–178). In the east of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the propensity for realism merged with loyalty to tradition, resulting in very interesting outcomes even in icons (Ovsijčuk 1985: 122, 148; Gronek 2012: 317).<sup>11</sup>

Another momentous event contributed to the term *perspectiva* and its vulgar derived forms acquiring a new meaning: the invention of the telescope at the beginning of the seventeenth century in the United Provinces of the Netherlands and its improvement and popularisation for astronomic observations by Galileo Galilei. After that, the study of lenses became a typical part of scholar works on optics (Van Helden 1977: 12), thus fostering the spreading of the technical terms related to them.

<sup>9</sup> For the German context, e. g., it is worth mentioning Hans Lencker's short treatise published in Nürnberg in 1571, in German language: its very long title begins with the Latin word *Perspectiva* and contains the German correspondent *Perspectif*.

<sup>10</sup> Regarding book illustrations, V"jnyk discerns an attempt at a more realistic rendering of perspective in an engraving within one of Sakovyč's publications, the collection of poems composed by himself and the students of the Kyiv Brotherhood School on occasion of the death of the Cossack hetman Konaševyč-Sahajdačnyj during the battle of Chotyn (Isičenko 2010: 3, 5): "Гравюра ця відзначається правильною побудовою перспективи, вправним малюнком, вдалою композицією" ["This engraving is marked by the correct construction of perspective, skillful drawing, and successful composition"] (V"jnyk 1967: 354). This does not mean that a perfect geometrical perspective was used, but, nevertheless, it indicates an effort towards a more realistic representation.

<sup>11</sup> The issue of the presence of Renaissance art in the Ruthenian lands, with a focus on icon painting, has been recently addressed by Agnieszka Gronek, who applies to it the formula "Renaissance in progress" invented by E. H. Gombrich (Gronek 2022: 113).

This was also the case for Polish, in which *perspektywa* further expanded its semantic potentialities on behalf of the newly invented tool. Expectedly, the meaning of ‘telescope’ for the Polish word *perspektywa* is attested starting precisely from this period. To understand its usages in Polish sources, we can refer to the electronic corpus of Polish texts of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (KORBA) contains 164 occurrences of the substantive *perspektywa*.<sup>12</sup> The noun indicates a view, an enfilade, the view offered by an avenue, also in gardens, the road or path itself, and has also the abstract sense of possibility in the future. Less of a half of the outputs mean ‘telescope’. The occurrences indicating a telescope are distributed in the whole timespan in which the term *perspektywa* is present, starting from 1644. Our analysis of the titles of works, however, shows that the word was used in this sense much earlier (see below).

## 2 From the form to the substance, or the career of a new *designé*

We deem it necessary to dwell for a moment on the popularity of the telescope, then called *perspektywa*, in Polish literature of that epoqe because this phenomenon helps to explain the relevance of possible associations with the designated tool when the investigated word appeared in titles.

Although – as we have seen – the word *perspektywa* had already existed long before the seventeenth century, it was in that period that it gained a new popularity, owing to the enthusiasm for the telescope after Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) had improved it and used it to observe the sky at night (Donahue 2006: 584). His *Sidereus nuncius* (1610) showed the importance of exploring the space properly, using appropriate devices, if significant results were to be obtained. The telescope became a must-have for astronomers all over Europe.

The popularity of this cult-object went beyond the domain of mathematics and astronomy and made its appearance also in works devoted to other subjects, where it became the trigger for the creation of new metaphors. The most illustrious case is Emanuele Tesauro's *Il cannocchiale aristotelico* (The Aristotelian Telescope, Turin 1654, printed seven times during the author's lifetime, composed in Italian and translated into Latin and Spanish; Cutri 2023: 15), an imposing treatise of rhetoric.

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<sup>12</sup> This number is obtained by considering the whole timespan of the KORBA (1601–1800), by summing up the results for all declension forms, and by choosing the option “Korba automatyczna 2.0”.

The telescope appears not only in words in the title but also as a picture in the illustration preceding the title-page.<sup>13</sup> It becomes a macrometaphor pervading the whole treatise. Aristoteles's rhetoric is "a clearest TELESCOPE [emphasis by Tesauro] to examine every perfection and imperfection of Eloquence"<sup>14</sup> (Tesauro 1670: 2–3), which enables the readers to discern the good rhetorical devices from the bad ones. At the end of the book, Tesauro begs the reader to be clement and to forgive his shortcomings, referring again to the title's optical instrument: "this Treatise of mine [...] discovers by the *Aristotelian Telescope* the Spots of the Enterprises, and everything is a Spot: therefore, if you wished to create an *Impresa* about this book, you could paint an *Open Book*, which teaches people what they ignore [emphasis by Tesauro]."<sup>15</sup> (Tesauro 1670: 740). These are only two of the numerous occurrences of the telescope-metaphor in this treatise, which represents an emblematic case of its usage in a work starting from the title.

In the English context, to which the fundamental monography by Herbert Grabes is devoted (Grabes 1982), there are books with titles containing expressions like *speculum perspicuum uranicum* or simply *speculum* which pertain to the genre of almanacs; Grabes assumes that this may be motivated by a link to the telescope. The author stresses the importance of the diffusion of the telescope for the titles containing the word *speculum*:

Evidence that the sense of 'telescope' plays an important part in the phrasing of *Speculum* titles around the middle of the seventeenth century is provided, first, by the frequency with which the title *Speculum perspicuum uranicum* appears [...] and, second, by the fact that in the title-metaphor *Prospective-glasse* (telescope) is to be found a type of writings customarily bearing the mirror-title: for example, in the *Prospectiue glasse to looke into Heauen* [...], the *Prospectiue glasse of warre* [...], and the *Prospective-glasse for gamesters* [...]."(Grabes 1982: 62 and the mentioned references to the Appendix).

As for the success of the telescope, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was no exception: one of Galilei's pupils was a Pole, Krzysztof Zbaraski. A copy of *Sidereus nuncius* was among the belongings of Jan Brożek (1585–1652), a prominent scholar

<sup>13</sup> On the interpretations of this image, especially of the man with a beard who helps point the telescope in the right direction, see Reeves 1987, Bolzoni 2001, and Cutri 2023: 124–126.

<sup>14</sup> "[...] Vn limpidissimo CANNOCCHIALE; per esaminar tutte le perfettioni, & le imperfettioni dell'Eloquenza."

<sup>15</sup> "[...] questo mio Trattato [...] scopre col *Cannocchiale Aristotelico* le Macchie delle Imprese, & è tutto Macchia: talche, se tu volessi fabricare vna Impresa sopra questo Libro, potrestù pingere apunto vn *Libro aperto*, che ad altri insegna quel ch'ei non sà." This sentence contains a word-play difficult to render in English. Tesauro plays on the polysemy of the word *impresa*, denotating then an enterprise, a task, but also a graphic work comprised of a picture and a short sentence.

and professor at Cracow University (Raubo 2017: 216–217).<sup>16</sup> The Belgian astronomer Charles Malapert (1580–1630), who would publish his treatise *Austriaca sidera heliocyclia* in Douai in 1633, worked at the Jesuit college in Kalisz. In the 1640s, Jan Heweliusz (Johannes Hevelius, 1611–1687) in Danzig started observing the moon. He presented the results of his observations in the work *Selenographia* (Danzig, 1647) and continued his activity for the rest of his life (Włodarczyk 2007: 323–325).

The popularity of telescopes did not remain confined to the astronomical environment: these tools became interesting as objects *per se*, and they made their appearance in the collections of curiosities of noblemen and well-endowed people (Raubo 2017: 213). Their success is patent also in written productions: in Poland, telescopes cross the borders of astronomical treatises to enter various forms of compendia, compilations of notions about several matters, as well as literary works that do not aim at spreading knowledge but propose philosophical and religious meditations. We know also some comedies where the telescope-motive was used to entertain the public (Raubo 2017: 221–244).<sup>17</sup>

Jacek Kowzan (2014) points out another way to trace the popularisation of the telescope among the community of writers and readers in Poland, as all over Europe: emblem books. These books make a larger public acquainted with this invention and its functioning and enhance its metaphorisation, which is to say they transform it from a mere tool with a practical application to a carrier of metaphorical meanings. Kowzan's article is devoted to Zbigniew Morsztyn's *Emblem 96*, where the telescope (*'perspektywa'*) plays a fundamental role in conveying aretological and eschatological messages. As Kowzan puts it,

the prudent human being, in order to see the things that are important, even though they are distant in space and time, needs a metaphorical prolongment of the senses, a sort of 'hyperbole of the eyes'. And it is in this fragment of Morsztyn's work that the part of the virtue of prudence which is responsible for the foreseeing of distant things, that is providence, charges the optical tool represented in the engraving accompanying *Emblem 96* with a quasi-aretological sense [...]. (2014: 338)

This corresponds to Thomas Aquinas's conception of the prudent man as a person who is able to look in the distance and to foresee what will probably happen (Kowzan 2014: 338). The telescope becomes a useful image to remind people of the Last Things and to urge them to change their lives.

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<sup>16</sup> We would like to stress that the diffusion of the object does not mean that the term *'perspektywa'* followed the same path, since this was not the name initially used for the telescope. Galileo Galilei, for example, called it *'perspicillum'*, as is widely known.

<sup>17</sup> For a general overview of the presence of the telescope-motive in Polish Baroque literature see Raubo 2017 where the issue is dealt with more thoroughly than we can do here.



The telescope can also offer an insight into the divine dimension, since it cancels out the spatial and temporal distance and deletes the separation between the worldly and the heavenly (Spica 2001: 107, with reference to an emblem by the monk Casimir Füesslin, published in 1696).

As Kowzan correctly notes, Morsztyn's text does not fully correspond to the image<sup>18</sup> it is associated with in *Emblem 96* because there is no allusion to the telescope being used improperly. In the image, though, the figure representing the human soul keeping the tool incorrectly, in reverse, which makes objects appear smaller than they are and hinders a correct perception and understanding; as a result, the Last Things (i.e. Hell and Paradise) cannot be seen properly. The Soul cannot thus receive any moral hints on the pious and irreproachable way of life (Kowzan 2014: 342–343).

Astronomy was not neglected in the Ruthenian lands among the learned people. As shown in the poem devoted to it contained in the panegyric cycle *Jevcharisterion albo Vdjačnost'* [ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ or a Thanksgiving] (Kyiv, 1632), it was appreciated not only for utilitarian reasons but also as a knowledge which led the human being closer to God (Paslavs'kyj 2016: 284–286).<sup>19</sup>

A full evaluation of the telescope's fortune in the literature of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and an inventory of its metaphorical usages are beyond the scope of this paper, therefore we cannot but refer the reader to the cited works. Our point here is that this tool entered the dominion of literature and acquired not only a new meaning as a denotation of a particular astronomic tool but also several new metaphorical values.

In the written production of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth we find works with the word *perspektywa* in the title. Unlike the Italian *cannocchiale*, this term was polysemic, as we have illustrated above. As such, we must carefully examine all the known titles containing it to establish which sense of the word was recalled in each instance.

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<sup>18</sup> According to Kowzan, *Emblem 96* refers to emblem 14 of Herman Hugo's *Pia desideria* (1624), in the revised version published in the compilation *Les Emblemes d'Amour Divin et Humain ensemble* (1631; Kowzan 2014: 326).

<sup>19</sup> For other examples of references to astronomy in Ruthenian written production and school teaching of the period, see Paslavs'kyj 2016: 286–294.

### 3 Reading the headlines: the cases of *zwierciadło* and *wizerunk*

Before we examine the titles containing the word *perspektywa*, we must consider the terms it had some affinity with. In seventeenth-century Polish language, there were other words related to the sense of sight that appeared in the headlines of works belonging to different genres. The most widely used were *wizerunek*, also in the form *wizerunk* ('image'), and *zwierciadło* ('mirror, looking-glass'). The functioning of these words in Old Polish titles was investigated by Anna Kochan (2002) and Michał Kuran (2018). Kochan (2002: 167) identifies three categories of works with the Latin word *speculum* or the Polish *zwierciadło* written by Old Polish authors: collections of examples and/or anecdotes, *compendia*, or *summa* (i.e. works with an encyclopaedic character), and paraenetical treatises. For the first two categories, the element of the polysemic *speculum/zwierciadło* which came to the forefront was the idea of an overview ("*przegląd*", in Kochan's wording; Kochan 2002: 167), while in paraenetical treatises the semantic trait which prevailed was the ability to show something, to present a model. This title becomes particularly popular in the second half of the sixteenth century; its success proved to be durable, since it lasted for about one hundred years (Kochan 2002: 166).

Kuran, relying also on Kochan's study, points out that in titles *wizerunek* and *zwierciadło* had similar meanings and sometimes were even used together (Kuran 2018: 17), but claims that they were not interchangeable or chosen haphazardly by authors (Kuran 2018: 14, 18). He identifies some categories of works entitled *wizerunek* and tries to investigate why authors preferred it to *zwierciadło*. He argues that the main difference lies in the degree of concreteness of the representation offered by a given work. A *zwierciadło* usually aims for universality, to express a general truth, whereas the *wizerunek* is based on a concrete, specific model to convey its moralising message (Kuran 2018: 28). As said, a *zwierciadło* often has an encyclopaedic character; it aims at completeness. The reader can infer the message from the multitude of examples or anecdotes given, or can obtain an extensive knowledge of a matter by reading a compendium. A *wizerunek* presents a specific person or describes a concrete situation: the path of the reader's reasoning must move from the particular to the universal (Kuran 2018: 29). Kuran (2018: 28) considers it to be "a further step in the evolution of the literary categories after *speculum/zwierciadło*" and points out that the usage of *wizerunek* in titles lasted until the mid-nineteenth century, when *speculum/zwierciadło* was no longer functioning (Kuran 2018: 28).

In the following paragraphs we will observe how a new term emerges in the headlines in the seventeenth century: *perspektywa* (also in its Latin form *perspectiva*).

## 4 *Perspektywa* in titles

In our work we wished to verify whether the usage of *perspektywa* by Kasijan Sakovyč was a strictly individual, original, and unprecedented choice or if the author could already rely upon some pre-existing titles. Therefore, we consulted the online catalogues of the National Library of Poland in Warsaw, of the Jagiellonian Library, as well as of other libraries and repositories. Of course, we went through Estreicher's bibliographical work and NK (the volumes devoted to Old Polish Literature, 1–3). We cannot be certain beyond any reasonable doubt that we found all the existing titles of this type, but even so, we believe we have sufficient material to contextualise Kasijan Sakovyč's choice.

Although, as it will be shown, titles containing the word *perspektywa* (in any variant) are not so many, the very fact that they appear is interesting, in our opinion.

The first book with a *perspektywa*-title we have been able to find is an anti-Turkish pamphlet, published in Poznań by an anonymous author in 1622: *Perspectiwa na upatrzenie sposobów wojowania krajów nieprzyjaciół Krztza [sic!] świętego i na watlenia [sic!] snadnego tyrranstwa poganckiego [...]*, Poznań, 1622 (*Perspectiwa na upatrzenie*). It is difficult to ascribe this booklet of fifteen folios in total to a precise genre. We are inclined to refer it to the *genus deliberativum*, since it aims to persuade its readers to create a coalition and wage war against the Ottoman Empire, in the aftermath of the victory in Chotyn (Polish: Chocim) of 1621 (Pylypenko 2010: 255–256). The book begins with a Latin prophecy about the victory of Christians over Muslims and contains a long poem in 13-syllab-verses with rhyme AA, prose texts which contain short descriptions of Tatars and Cossacks, allied of the Ottomans, and two possible plans for defeating the Sublime Porte.

No explanation for the title is given and no allusion to astronomical discoveries or optic tools is made. Visions of the skies and of celestial bodies (e.g. comets) are often mentioned in the poem, but still in the conventions of astrology, rather than of astronomy. Astronomical phenomena are given a prophetic meaning, and they are credited with the power to affect events on the Earth (such as the result of a battle). This could in theory elicit an interpretation as a 'representation of an object on a flat, bidimensional surface': the anonymous author would show a clear picture of lands, populations, and objects he had seen in order to transmit knowledge. The motive of showing what is inaccessible and less known is frequent, so the title's *perspektywa* could in fact be a telescope, a tool to behold something unknown, to make something visible, as it is suggested by the collocation before "*na upatrzenie*" ('in order to behold, to glimpse').

We could not trace any other works with the word *perspektywa* in their title before 1642, the year in which Kasijan Sakovyč's treatise was published. In that year

in Vilnius, the Dominican preacher Marcellian Doroszewski published the sermon he pronounced during the funeral of the noblewoman Zofia Słuszka (Słuška) *née* Zienowiczówna:

*Poważna senatorka w trzech bramach przy pogrzebie [...] Zophiej Zienowiczówny Słuszczynej, wojewodziny nowogrodzkiej [...] w perspektywie żałobnej na kazaniu przez X. Marcelliana Doroszewskiego [...] prezentowana w roku 1642 dnia 14 stycznia*

[The respectable senator's wife presented in three gates on the occasion of the funeral of [...] Zofia Słuszka *née* Zienowiczówna [...] in a mournful portrait based on the sermon by father Marcellian Doroszewski, in the year 1642, on the 14<sup>th</sup> of January.] (Doroszewski 1642)

The sermon praises the deceased woman as a model to be followed. The term *perspektywa* (also in the spelling *perspektiwa*) occurs in the text seven times in addition to the title. It is used in the sense of picture, painting, also portrait, as in the following case: "Zaiste przystojna takiej Personie perspektiwa" ("A really appropriate portrait for such a person", Doroszewski 1642: f. D4r). It is thus a trustful image, an apt representation. In our view, in Doroszewski's use of the word it is synonymous with *wizerunk* in the sense described by Kuran (2018, see above).

A link between *perspektywa* and *wizerunk* results also in the title of a work published some years later. Estreicher records a work with the following title: *Perspektywa albo wizerunk wiecznej sławy bohaterów starych zachęcająca młódź w stan rycerski ku naśladowaniu dzielności starożytnej, od szlachetnej Pallady z gniazda cnót ich w ojczystym Parnassie ubudowana a przez Piotra z Białej Napolskiego herbu Ślepowron opisana i wydana* (View or image of the eternal glory of ancient heroes, that encourages the youth of the knightly status to imitate the old courage, built by the noble Pallas Athena from the nest of their virtues on the native Parnasus and described and published by Piotr Napolski, coat of arms of the Night Heron, from Biała; Cracow, 1645; Estreicher XIV: s. v. 'Chlebowski, Wawrzyniec', esp. p. 167). The work is attributed to Wawrzyniec Chlebowski, but Aleksander Brückner considers it just a reedition of Paszkowski's *Wizerunek wiecznej sławy Sauromatów starych* (1614) under another title by Piotr Napolski, who appropriated it (Kuran 2014: 79). We could not access *Perspektywa albo wizerunek*.... According to Estreicher, it was a very short work, consisting of only 13 folios (Estreicher XIV: s. v. 'Chlebowski, Wawrzyniec', esp. p. 167).

The interesting fact here is that the term *perspektywa* is given as an alternative to *wizerunk*. If the identification of Napolski's publication with Paszkowski's one is correct, we are dealing with a parenetic poem based on the contrast between the noblemen of the Commonwealth and their ancestors. The author inserted also some examples of heroic persons from the Roman history (e.g. Mucius Scaevola) as models to be imitated not only by the youth. The general exhortation to the reader is to

imitate the virtues of the past generations for the sake of the *Res Publica*. This work is thus a good representative of the category of *wizerunek* in Polish literature.

Other works with *perspektywa* in their title belong to the occasional literature. *Nowy Satyr Polski, który się wraca z Bukowiny Wołoskiej. Do którego przydana Perspektywa krótka, po żalosnej klęsce rozproszenia Wojskowego za Konstantynowem* (New Polish Satyr, who returns from the Valachian Bucovina. With the addition of a brief Overview, after the despicable defeat with the dispersion of the army beyond Konstantynów/Kostjantyniv) is an anonymous poem inspired by Jan Kochanowski's *Satyr* (1564) followed by another poem, written on the occasion of an episode of the Cossack insurrection in 1648. The Polish troops led by Jeremija Wyśnevec'kyj (Jeremi Wiśniowiecki, called Jarema) were defeated by the Cossacks in a battle which took place on 26–28 July 1648 near Kostjantyniv<sup>20</sup> (Rogowicz 2017: 11). Here the word *perspektywa* also denotes an optical instrument. The usage of the telescope-metaphor is explicated in the following verses:

To widząc, widzmy co widzieć potrzeba,  
Jak w Perspektywie, że te plagi z nieba.  
Przez co kto zgrzeszył, przez to też przychodzą.  
Słusznie nas szkodzą.

*In seeing this, let us see what needs to be seen,  
As through a Perspective glass, that these plagues are from the sky.  
The way we committed sins, that way they'll be punished  
They rightly do harm to us. (Nowy Satyr polski: f. B3v)*

The following stanzas contain some references to sight: “Obaczmyż grzechy, patrząc na karanie” (Let us look at the sins, gazing at the punishment); “Naprzód gdy widziam ohydę w Kościele” (“First, when we see the abomination in the Church”, *Nowy Satyr polski*: f. B3v). The poem describes the devastation caused by Chmel'nyc'kyj's insurrection and reproaches the noblemen, who abandoned the virtues of their ancestors, became lazy, unwilling to wage war for the sake of their motherland or spend money to cover military expenses.<sup>21</sup> Such destruction is interpreted as a punishment for the sins committed by the nobility of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the final exhortation (*Nowy Satyr polski*: f. C2r) the author calls for a restoration of the “sacred Polish customs and traditions” (“Przywróćmy święte Pols-

<sup>20</sup> Now Starokostjantyniv, in Ukraine.

<sup>21</sup> The anonymous author reprimands the noblemen, among others, because they used to buy dresses for ladies instead of weapons. To him, the worst part was that the ladies got used to dressing according to the Italian or French fashion, abandoning Polish and Ruthenian clothing (*Nowy Satyr Polski*: f. Cr).

kie obyczaje”), and invites readers to resign from internal quarrels, to unite, and to be pious so God will stop punishing the Commonwealth.

In the same period another work with the term *perspektywa* in its title appears: it is a collection of poems belonging to different literary genres composed on the occasion of the death of a noblewoman. The title occupies the whole title page. Here we quote it in an abbreviated form:

*Archetyp albo Perspektywa żałosnego rozvodu, który śmierć nieużyta, nie respektując ani na małżonka, ani na wielkiej nadzieje syna jedyne ani na Wielmożne Parentelle w domu [...] Jana [...] Wielopolskiego [...] z [...] Zofią [...] małżonką Jego Mości ukochaną [...] Jana Kochanowskiego Chorążego Koronnego [...] córką [...] dnia 26 roku 1649 sprawiła, od Adriana [...] Wieszczyckiego Brata i Szwagra nie farbami, ale łzami wystawiona.*

[Archetype or View of the grievous separation, which relentless Death, regardless of the consort, of the only son, child of great hopes, and of the high-honourable kinship in the family [...] of Jan [...] Wielopolski [...] with [...] Zofia [...] beloved wife of His Excellence [...] daughter of Jan Kochanowski, standard-bearer of the Crown, caused on the 26<sup>th</sup> day of 1649, published by Adrian Wieszczycki, brother and brother-in-law, not with ink, but with tears.] (Wieszczycki 1650: f. Ar)

The work is a sort of sample book for composing eulogies. The author praises his deceased sister Zofia using a whole inventory of poetic genres to honour a dead. The poems are preceded by a Greek denomination of the genre used (e. g. “Achrostiches”; Wieszczycki 1650: f. A2r) and are all devoted to Zofia, but they can easily be used as models and adapted for other deceased. Wieszczycki pays an homage to his sister, for sure, but he does not miss the opportunity to show off his poetic skills.

Another *perspektywa*-title is connected to Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski (1616–1667),<sup>22</sup> who became internationally renowned because he rebelled against King Jan Kazimierz in the 1660s. In 1666 he published some works in which he complained about his condemnation and proclaimed his innocence, and declared his commitment to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. They were published together under the following title:

*Jawnej niewinności Manifest, Bogu, Światu, Ojczyźnie przez Jaśnie Wielmożnego Jego Mści Pana P. Jerzego Sebastiana [...] Lubomirskiego [...] podany z przydaniem Perspektywy na Process [...].*<sup>23</sup>

[Manifest of patent innocence offered to God, the World, and the Fatherland by His Excellence Sir Jerzy Sebastian [...] Lubomirski, with the addition of a View of the Trial]. (Lubomirski 1666: f. 1r)

<sup>22</sup> About him see: Czermak 1886; Kersten 1973: 14–20; Pernal 1990; Kłaczewski 2002.

<sup>23</sup> In this article we examine only the work *Perspektywa*... and give page numbers that refer only to it.

Lubomirski explains the purpose of reading his *Perspektywa*:

Co z tej Perspektywy każdy snadno rozsądzi, jeśli to obwinienie i takowy *Actus* ma w sobie co sprawiedliwości, prawdy & *Realitatis*. Prawni mogliby na to odpisać, ale *metus* nie dopuści. Ja, choć nie prawny *pro modulo virium & pro defensione Innocentiae*, rzecz jako się działa, Boga na świadectwo biorąc, opisałem, *ad evitanda eiusmodi scandala*.

From this Overview everybody will easily judge whether this accusation and this *Actus* contains justice, truth, and *Realitas*. Jurists could reply to this, but *metus* does not allow them to do it. As for me, even though I am not a jurist, *pro modulo virium & pro defensione Innocentiae*, I described the whole thing as it happened, taking God as a witness, *ad evitanda eiusmodi scandala*. (Lubomirski 1666: 24)

The author shows everything. He provides a full account, including documents, of his actions and, above all, of the reasons behind them, and publishes a sort of self-defence in an attempt to clear his name after being tried, condemned, and defeated. No allusion to the new meaning of the term *perspektywa* is made.

The word *perspektywa* is used also by Marcin Bogumił Grymosz (1633–1708),<sup>24</sup> a Jesuit who authored a collection of meditations for ten-days spiritual exercises (Grymosz 1689): *Duchowna do szukania Pana Boga Perspektywa albo Reflexie na dziesięć dni Kolekcji Osobliwie Rozłożone* (Spiritual perspective for searching God or Meditations specially divided in 10 days of spiritual exercises).

Here we rendered *perspektywa* as the English ‘perspective’, but we are aware that this translation does not perfectly correspond to the Polish. The fact is that it is not easy to determine the sense of the investigated term in this title. There is no preface to help, and the word never appears in the book, except for the title. The idea of translating *perspektywa* as ‘telescope’ is tempting and not unfounded: after all, what would be more suitable than a telescope – and indeed a spiritual one – to investigate the heavenly skies searching for God?<sup>25</sup>

24 About him see EWJ: s. v. ‘Grymosz, Marcin Teofil’.

25 The problem is that another explanation, although less probable, cannot be totally excluded. In 1626, the Jesuit Luis de la Palma published his *Camino espiritual*, one of the most renowned commentaries on Loyola’s *Spiritual exercises*. The work was followed by another one, *Práctica y breve declaración del Camino espiritual* (Practice and short explanation of the Spiritual Path, 1629), which was translated into Latin and published in Monachium in 1643 with the title *Praxis et Brevis Declaratio Viæ Spiritualis, Prout Eam Nos docuit S. P. N. Ignatius* (Królikowski 2018: 19, 23–24). A Jesuit, as Grymosz was, could have easily known these works, at least the one in Latin, and could have used *perspektywa* in the meaning of ‘enfilade’ or ‘straight road’, which seems to be attested in an example from the KORBA dating back to 1649: “Tamże na perspektwach, co godnego więcy Bęło oczu, grandece, i pompy Książęcej.” (Also there in the avenues what was the worthiest for the eyes, the grandeur, and the Prince’s pomp.”). The example is taken from the poem *Władysław IV król polski i szwedzki* by Samuel Twardowski. However, the usage in the sense of ‘large street’ would become more widely spread in

The last title with the word *perspektywa* we have found in the Baroque period<sup>26</sup> refers to Wacław Potocki's *Poczet herbów szlachty Korony Polskiej i Wielkiego Xięstwa Litewskiego, gniazdo i perspektywa staroświeckiej cnoty [...], tudzież Starożytność domów [...], krótko, zwięźle opisuje wierszem...* (List of the coats of arms of the noblemen of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, nest and image of the ancient virtue [...], and in the same place I describe briefly and in short the antiquity of the families [...]). It is a collection of reproductions of the coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, followed by heraldic poems and other poetic works dedicated to illustrious members of the families using it. In this case *perspektywa* has the same sense as *speculum/zwierciadło* when the latter indicates an encyclopaedical work aiming to provide a wide overview of the knowledge in a given field.

We have not been able to trace further works with the Polish *perspektywa* for the Baroque period, nor for the Enlightenment. We should however take into account also works written in Latin, since this language was also used in the Commonwealth. As said, the word *perspectiva* had a well-established tradition in Latin titles dealing with disciplines we would currently call optics and geometry. The usage of perspective in Italian art gave birth to the distinction between *perspectiva communis* (optics) and *perspectiva artificialis* (techniques used to obtain certain optical effects). In this case, the meaning of *perspectiva* is not problematic at all.

However, in 1652 in Gdańsk we find a work which contains the word *perspectiva* in its title but is not related to the science of vision: *Perspectiva politica Regno Poloniae elaborata. Per quam, quid, et qualiter, Regibus et Regno prospiciendum sit: de longe tanquam de proximo facile cognoscas* (Political perspective elaborated for the Kingdom of Poland, by which you can easily get to know from near and afar what is to be seen about the kings and their reign, and how; Koryciński 1652). The work was written by Andrzej Koryciński for his nephew and published after his death. It is written partly in verses and partly in prose and praises Polish *aurea libertas*, defends the Polish practice to elect monarchs, points out the importance of

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the eighteenth century. So, the meditations published by Marcin Grymosz would have traced a path for the person in search of God and would have led him/her to Him through a way he or she had to walk on. We add that in 1652 in Dresden, Theodosius Haesel, who was among the correspondents of Johannes Hevelius, had published a book with the title *Geistliche Perspectiva* (Spiritual Perspective), which consists of an explanation of the subdivision of the mathematical disciplines with an allegorical interpretation for each of them. The *perspectiva* is intended definitely as a discipline useful to architects and painters (Haesel 1652: 22). However, we do not have positive evidence that Grymosz knew Haesel's book.

<sup>26</sup> We accept the 1730s as the limit of Baroque in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth according to Hernas 1976: 11.



laws in order to prevent arbitrariness and abuses. So, the character of this book is paraenetic and publicistic at the same time.

Its author refers to it with the word *dioptra* in the last lines (Koryciński 1652: 150). A *dioptra* is an ancient measuring instrument,<sup>27</sup> and the word *dioptra* was used as a part of the title in various works, predominantly ones of Greek origin: in 1604 in Ingolstadt, the Jesuit and famous humanist Jacobus Pontanus (1542–1626) published a Latin translation of various spiritual works written in Greek, starting from some dialogues written by the monk Philip Monotropos (“the Solitary”): *Dioptra id est Regula sive Amussis rei Christianis quator libris per Dialogum explicate* (Dioptra that is Ruler or Level of the Christian things). In 1637 in Edinburgh, John Adamson published his *Dioptra gloriae Divinae seu Enarratio Psalmi XIX. & in eundem meditationes* (Dioptra of God’s Glory or Narration of the Psalm 19 with meditations upon it). In this case, the word *dioptra* had already started functioning autonomously to indicate a book that provides a lengthy explanation. Philip Monotropos was also known to Orthodox Slavs, as his *Dioptra* had been translated into Church Slavonic in mid-fourteenth century in Bulgaria or on Mount Athos (Prochorov 1988: 192). In the Commonwealth in 1612, the monk Vitalij from Dubno published a collection of sermons at the typography of the Orthodox Brotherhood of Vilnius, located in Vievis.<sup>28</sup> It was not a print version of the older manuscript Slavic text, notwithstanding the common denomination. If we consider that all the above-mentioned *dioptras* were either lengthy explanations with didactic purposes or collections of meditations or explications, we cannot but infer that they were functionally equivalent to the Latin *speculum* and Polish *zwierciadło* in titling. For a transitive property, the Latin *perspectiva* contained in the title *Perspectiva politica Regno Poloniae elaborate* was also a variant for *speculum*.

The analysis of the occurrences of *perspektywa* and *perspectiva* in titles shows that, for works traditionally denominated by *zwierciadło* and *wizerunek*, a new rival appears in the seventeenth century. The term *perspektywa* turned out to be in a certain way fashionable, since the popularity of the *perspectiva artificialis* in art grew and a new astronomic tool with that name was encountering great success not only among astronomers, and making its way into books. The word *perspektywa* shares with *zwierciadło* and *wizerunek* a reference to the sense of sight. We may say that it was a modernised and enhanced version of the mirror (as telescope) and was able to offer a new way of visually representing the world (as art). Its polysemy was an added value for baroque aesthetics since it offered endless occasions to

<sup>27</sup> For a description see the article by A. G. Drachmann “A Detail of Heron’s *Dioptra*” (*Centaurus* 1969, vol. 13, nr. 3–4: 241–247).

<sup>28</sup> *Diōptrā albo Zercalo, i vyražene života ljudskogo na tomъ svēte*. The book is written in Church Slavonic of Eastern redaction (Naienko 2021: 26), while the preface is in Ruthenian.

show off one's creativity and wit, especially in creating metaphors. In titles, as we can see from the overview presented above, the word *perspektywa* covers both cases belonging to the *zwierciadło*-category and cases belonging to the *wizerunek*-category – according to Kuran's classification (see Kuran 2018). So, what kind of texts did the label *perspektywa* apply to?

They are texts which offer an overview. These texts illustrate facts or circumstances presumably unknown to readers but which could change their attitude towards a person or influence their choices. This is the case of *Perspektiwa na upatrzenie*, Kasijan Sakovyč's *Epanorthōsis*, *Perspektywa albo wizerunek*, *Nowy Satyr Polski*, Lubomirski's account (Lubomirski 1666), *Poczet Herbów* Potockiego (Potocki 1696), and also of the Latin *Perspectiva politica* (Koryciński 1652). These writings are based on the assumption that giving a correct – according to them – representation of facts can influence another's mind.

*Archetyp* (Wieszczycki 1650) shows a model to imitate both for one's life – the pious deceased sister – and for composing poetry. The intent is not to persuade but to praise (as is characteristic for the epideictic genre). Nevertheless, this model also has a didactic function. It is another realisation of the principle 'teaching by showing'.

The most dubious case is Grymosz's *Duchowna do szukania Pana Boga Perspektywa* (Grymosz 1689), which does not offer a model but proposes activities to be undertaken. Here, however, the symbolic meaning of the telescope (if we accept this interpretation of the word *perspektywa*) prevails. The intriguing literary device equated a concrete tool for the observation of the sky with the book, portraying it as a tool for grasping the divine dimension located in the skies.

We can therefore conclude that the category *perspektywa* overlapped partly with the category *zwierciadło* and partly with *wizerunek*, and encompassed detailed expositions of facts or showed a full range of possibilities for literary expression, as a sort of sample-book. The distinction between the representation of general observations and the representation of single, concrete models (as presented in Kuran 2018: 28) seems not to be relevant for *perspektywa*-titles.

## 5 A case study: Kasijan Sakovyč's *Epanorthōsis* *abo Perspektywa*

We conclude now with the work we started from. Kasijan Sakovyč *Epanorthōsis abo Perspektywa* is an effective demonstration of the multifaceted semantics of the Polish *perspektywa* in the seventeenth century, both as a designation of a certain category of texts and as a term for a series of concepts related to the sense of sight, with manifold metaphoric associations.

The Greek word *ἐπανόρθωσις*, which the title starts from, derived from the verb *ἐπανορθόω*, which meant ‘to correct’ (Sophocles 1900: 492; Liddell 1940: 609). It came to indicate a rhetorical device consisting of the correction or reversal of an immediately preceding statement,<sup>29</sup> and indeed the whole treatise is composed as a list of ‘mistakes’ in the celebration of rites and rituals committed by the Orthodox and Uniate clergy, with a short refutation of theses by Orthodox authors (such as Stefan Zyzanij,<sup>30</sup> Zacharija Kopystens’kyj,<sup>31</sup> or Meletij Smotryc’kyj,<sup>32</sup> who later became Uniate).

The conjunction *abo* (‘or, otherwise’) establishes a connection between the Greek word designating the genre of the treatise and the word *perspectiwa*, thus presenting the latter as an explanation of the Greek term. The syntagma *perspectiwa i objaśnienie* (‘overview and explanation’), we argue, functions here as a hendiadys. This kind of duplication of a *signifié*, amplification of a meaning, was frequent in baroque prose, but here it did not only have an ornamental role: ‘perspectiwa’, besides having a foreign origin, was an ambiguous term, it functioned metaphorically, required a further clarification, and *objaśnienie*, an indigenous Polish word, was therefore added. In fact, neither *perspectiwa* nor *objaśnienie* convey the whole meaning of *ἐπανόρθωσις*, because the latter entailed, as said, not only an explanation, but also a total or partial refutation. To be sure, both *perspectiwa* and *objaśnienie* rendered the idea of shedding light<sup>33</sup> on something and making it (more) visible, thus enabling a more thorough evaluation. This is the premise for a correction, but this inference was left to the reader.

In his work, Father Kasjian does not refer to the title explicitly, nor explains it, nor creates metaphors related to it. Although he sometimes uses words referring to sight to define his own work and the expected outcome in the dedicatory letter and in the preface, that is a correction. So, in his opinion the spiritual and secular authorities should look at the treacherous behaviour of the Ruthenian (“*Ruski*”) clergy “with the eye of the Catholic [scil.: Roman-Catholic] sight” (“*okiem Katholickiego zwroku*”; Sakovyč 1642: f. A4r); he tells how he expected gratitude for having shown –that is to say: made visible– the “mistakes” committed by the Ruthenian clergy and how he instead suffered persecution (Sakovyč 1642: ff. B2v-B3v).

29 Vickers (1997: 494) gives the following definition: “Epanorthosis (or *correctio*), where a word or idea is corrected and replaced by one more suitable”.

30 Polish: Stefan Zyzani.

31 Polish: Zachariasz Kopysteński.

32 Polish: Melecjusz Smotrycki or Smotrzycki. About him see the monography Frick 1995.

33 This is especially true for the Polish *objaśnienie*, derived from the adjective *jasny*, with the first meaning ‘shining’, and, in a metaphorical sense, also ‘evident’ (SP XVI: s. v. ‘jasny’); this verb could have also the literal sense ‘to shed light’ (ESJP: s. v. ‘objaśnić’).

If Kasijan Sakovyč used the word *perspektywa* to mean ‘explanation, illustration’, his polemic opponents grasped all the opportunities offered by its polysemy, starting with the authors of the most eminent response to his treatise, *Lithos to jest kamień z procy prawdy Cerkwie świętej prawosławnej ruskiej. Na skruszenie fałecz-nociemnej Perspektywy albo raczej paszkwilu...* (Kyiv, 1644), allegedly written by Euzebi Pimin, a pseudonym for a collective of authors from Petro Mohyla’s entourage<sup>34</sup> (Euzebi Pimin 1644). The very title is a clear reference to *perspektywa* intended as ‘telescope’. It can be translated as follows: “Lithos that is Stone thrown from the catapult of the truth of the Holy Ruthenian Church. To destroy the treacherous and dark Perspective or rather pasquil...”. The telescope is mentioned several times starting from the preface to the reader. Kasijan Sakovyč’s perspective is dark and treacherous (“*ciemnofałeczna*”), and does not show what is near nor what is distant (Euzebi Pimin 1644: Ar-v/6).<sup>35</sup> Euzebi Pimin concludes his preface as follows:

A ty, czytelniku pobożny, chciej prosię, nietęskliwą zrzenicą w ten Reskript prawdziwy spojrzeć, z którego łąco inter partes dijudikować będziesz mógł [...]

And you, pious reader, please look into this veridic Register with a benign eye, and you will easily be able to judge inter partes [...] (Euzebi Pimin 1644: A3v/10).

Kasijan Sakovyč’s treatise is then equated to a bad telescope, one which disguises the eyes, whereas *Lithos* would offer the truth, as it is a stone that crushes the evil tool.<sup>36</sup> Again, the sense implied in this process is the sight. The two objects at the centre of the metaphors are set against each other in the epigram ironically entitled “A Praise of the Reader for Kasijan:” “Oberwałś od Rusi kamień, Kassjanie, / Za ciemną Perspektywę, nie dziwujże na nią” (“*You have deprived Rus’ of a stone, Kassjan, / In return for your obscure Perspective, don’t take it out on her*”; Euzebi Pimin 1644: A3v/10). The telescope-metaphor offers a good occasion for caustic insults:

Otrzy jeno dobrze zalane złością swe oczy, a zaniechawszy Perspektywy, przez którą patrząc, siebie nie widzisz, pojrzyj w rytuał [...]

Rub your eyes filled with rage, and put apart your Perspective, looking through it you do not see yourself, look into the Ritual Book (Euzebi Pimin 1644: 13/24).

<sup>34</sup> The discussion on the authorship of *Lithos* was summed up by Ljubov Olijnyk (2017: 12–13).

<sup>35</sup> We indicate the page number first according to the 1644-edition and then according to the 1893-edition.

<sup>36</sup> The stone enables a reference to the Biblical narration of King David and Goliath (Euzebi Pimin 1644: A3v/3).

The authors also suggest Kasijan use eyeglasses<sup>37</sup> instead of this fallacious perspective (Euzebi Pimin 1644: 26/36).

A response to *Epanorthōsis* came from a Uniate clergyman, too. Pachomij Wojna-Orans'kyj (Polish: Pachomiusz Woyna-Orański, ?–1653),<sup>38</sup> then the bishop of Pins'k and Turaŭ,<sup>39</sup> wrote a treatise with the title *Zwierciadło albo Zaslona [...] naprzeciw uszczypliwiej Perspektywie [...]* (Mirror or Defense [...] against the acrimonious Perspective [...]; Vilnius, 1645). This work is emblematic of the various meanings of the word *perspektywa* that were perceived by a seventeenth-century intellectual. The bishop divides his short treatise into three chapters (besides the introductory one): *Perspectiva deceptiva*, *Perspectiva agens in distans*, and *Perspectiva dolosa*. Each of them starts with a metaphor based on a meaning of the term *perspectiva*. The first chapter (*Perspectiva deceptiva*) takes inspiration from the use of perspective in painting to make things appear different from reality, to deceive the spectator's eyes. Kasijan Sakovyč's *Perspektiwa* is treacherous, especially because it presents the alleged errors as common to the Orthodox and the Uniates (Woyna-Orański 1645: A4r-Br). In the other chapters the 'perspektywa' is a telescope. In *Perspectiva agens in distans* the author writes that a telescope can see only to a certain distance and that no telescope can reach the depths of the human souls. So, how can Kasijan Sakovyč's *Perspektiwa* look into the Uniate Bishops' souls and tell that they are prone to simony? (Woyna-Orański 1645: E3r-v). In *Perspectiva dolosa*, father Kasijan's book is said to be like a faulty telescope that is very dangerous because it can mislead warlords and lead them to wrong decisions on the battlefield. In the same way, the adversary's treatise is misleading, because it gives a false image of the Uniate clergy (Woyna-Orański 1645: F3r).

Even if Kasijan Sakovyč used the word *perspektywa* merely as a designation for a wide illustration and did not assign it any particular metaphoric value, his opponents did not miss the opportunity to exploit the term's polysemy, and indeed Pachomij Wojna-Orans'kyj treated it as a structuring principle for his work. However, they did not refer to all the possible meanings of *perspektywa*, but only to the dominions of art and technology, while disregarding the older sense of optical science. The authors of *Lithos* and *Zwierciadło albo Zaslona* referred to an artistic device and a tool which could either help the eyes perceive a more faithful representation

<sup>37</sup> Eyeglasses are other objects related to sight which appear in titles of works. Kasijan Sakovyč himself published a work containing this word in its title in 1644: *Okulary kalendarzowi staremu...* (Eyeglasses for the old calendar...). The use of *okulary* in titles will be the subject of another article.

<sup>38</sup> He entered the order of Basilians around 1618 and studied at the Greek College in Rome in the years 1624–1626. He was consecrated bishop in 1637 (Kulakovs'kyj 2017: 180–181).

<sup>39</sup> In Polish: Pińsk, Turów.

of reality or deceive them: the choice was up to the artist or the tool's constructor, while the spectator or the observer was supposed to remain passive.

## 6 Conclusions

In the seventeenth century in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the existing term *perspektywa* gains new meanings. In the sixteenth century, it had already enlarged its semantics thanks to the new device for painting, sculpture, and architecture elaborated upon in Italy. Later on, the meaning of 'telescope' was added and grew in importance owing to the popularity of this tool in astronomic observations after Galileo Galilei had improved it and used it to study the sky. Also in the seventeenth century, the word *perspektywa* (in various orthographic forms) made its appearance in book-titles with meanings which differed from the initial reference to a certain branch of mathematics. This title word belonged to the same semantic dominion as the older and more widespread terms *zwierciadło* and *wizerunek*. As shown by the analysis of the works with this word in the title, its usage overlapped in most cases with the one of *zwierciadło* and *wizerunek*. In our perspective, this term emphasised the exhaustiveness or the fullness of an account or description – although it only boasted, but did not realise – and the variety of the proposed materials.

The word *perspektywa* was polysemic and it is not always easy to determine whether an author wished to emphasise a particular sense of it, which makes it sometimes difficult to translate. The case of Kasijan Sakovyč's polemic treatise *Epanorthōsis abo Perspectiwa*, with the relative responses, offers some insight into the perception of this title word. Kasijan's opponents exploited the rich metaphor-creating potentialities triggered by the recently acquired meanings (technical device in art and telescope), thus showing the multifacetedness of the term.

The usage of a word belonging to the semantic field of sight raises some questions about the gnoseological potential of this human sense. As Stuart Clarks put it,

[a] kind of ocularcentrism was already prevalent in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European culture. [...] Throughout Renaissance Europe the general opinion was that the eyes provided the most direct knowledge of things, based on the most distinctions and the widest range; in functional terms, they were organs of power, liveliness, speed, and accuracy. (Clark 2007: 9–10).

Vision was therefore acknowledged as taking a leading role among the senses, but this did not necessarily entail a belief that it presented reality as it was (Clark 2007: 14). The perspective techniques and anamorphosis in art made it clear that the human eye could easily be deceived not only by particular natural phenomena, but

also by human beings possessing the appropriate skills (Clark 2007: 78). Artists mastered this craft and were equipped with the necessary knowledge. They could exploit it to serve the truth, to offer a more accurate representation, as they used to claim (Clark 2007: 84–85), or could purposely distort reality when practicing anamorphosis (Clark 2007: 90). In much the same way, a telescope could be used properly and foster knowledge or improperly and deceive the observer (see above).

The usage of terms like *zwierciadło*, *wizerunk*, and *perspektywa* in titles is to be seen in this frame. Authors choosing these titles relied on the assumption that sight was the best and most trustworthy source of knowledge. Of course, all of them were certain they were showing the truth. As Kasijan Sakovyč's *Epanorthōsis abo Perspektiwa* demonstrates, they took for granted that seeing meant knowing, and that once someone got to know something, he or she would act accordingly. This demonstrates a deep-rooted faith in human rational faculties.

The opponents to the ideas expressed in these books, while not questioning the eminent role of sight among the senses, contested its reliability. Pachomij Vojna-Orans'kyj did it drawing from the discussion on perspective art at the time.<sup>40</sup> The assumption 'viewing is knowing' was common to all the participants in the polemics: a distorted vision could not but lead to wrong ideas and, consequently, behaviours.

The use of *perspektywa* in titles is symptomatic of the centrality of sight in the Polish-Lithuanian Baroque culture, regardless of any confessional divide.

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### Abbreviations

- Bloch = Bloch, Oscar & Walther von Wartburg. 1991. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française*. Vendôme: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Cnapius 1621 = Cnapius, Gregorius [Knapski, Grzegorz]. 1621. *Thesaurus Polono latino-græcus seu Promptuarium linguæ Latinæ et Græcæ, Polonorum usui accomodatum*. Cracoviæ: Typis & Sumptu Francisci Caesarii.
- Cnapius 1643 = Cnapius, Gregorius [Knapski, Grzegorz]. 1643. *Thesaurus Polonolatinogræcus Seu Promptuarium Linguæ Latinæ et Græcæ in tres Tomos divisum: Polonorum, Roxolanorum, Sclavonum, Boë-morum usui accommodatum*. Cracoviæ: Typis & Sumptu Francisci Caesarii.
- DEHLF = Dauzat, Albert & Dubois, Jean & Henri Mitterrand. 1994. *Dictionnaire étymologique et historique de la langue française*. Paris: Larousse.
- DF = Schulz, Hans & Otto Basler. 1942. *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch*. 1. Aufl. Bd. 2. Berlin: De Gruyter.

<sup>40</sup> For this discussion read Clark 2007, chapter 3: "Prestiges: Illusions in Magic and Art" (Clark 2007: 78–122).

- DHLF = Rey, Alain (ed.). 1993. *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française*. Paris: Dictionnaires Le Robert.
- DMF = Greimas, Algirdas Julien & Teresa Mary Keane. 1992. *Dictionnaire du moyen français. La Renaissance*. Paris: Larousse.
- ESJP = Bańkowski, Andrzej. 2000. *Etymologiczny słownik języka polskiego*. Warszawa: PWN.
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- SP 16 = *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*. Edycja internetowa. <https://spxvi.edu.pl/> (last access: 11.08.2024).
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