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In the historical area of the Gdańsk downtown – despite the enormous damage that took place in 1945 – one can still find numerous Latin inscriptions. They are certainly conventional, both in terms of form and content. However, their meaning

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does not always refer to the public sphere: there are many fine examples of private, usually funerary inscriptions. Bearing all this in mind, in this paper I intend to search for and follow a source of epigraphic conventions known to inhabitants of early modern Gdańsk, especially in the case of private epitaphs. However, the textual analysis, provided in the last part of the study, is based on one source of epigraphic theory and one example of epitaph inscription of an 18th-century scholar, Gottlieb Wernsdorf (1717-1774),¹ who was both a prominent professor of a local Academic Gymnasium and, in his period, a widely recognized expert in the field of late-antique and Byzantine literature.

As one can presume, advanced Latin learners acquired the principles of composing inscriptions at school. Therefore, the theoretical source examined in the paper shall be a popular textbook from an early modern period: the book that could be both useful and in use among the inhabitants of old Gdańsk.

Nowadays, the best place for searching for such textbooks is a local library, be it public, school, or private. In the case of the 18th-century Gdańsk, the official magistrate library or, in Latin, *Bibliotheca Senatus Gedanensis*, met all these conditions. Its collection for centuries was a hub for donations of local scholars and prominent, well-educated, and book-oriented burghers. This is also why for the purpose of the paper I perceive the book collection of the current PAS Gdańsk Library as a first-choice resource for searching for books of specific scholars from old Gdańsk.

TEXTBOOK

In the 18th century home libraries of Gdańsk scholars and bibliophiles, e.g. Gottfried Lengnich (1689-1774),² and Johann Uphagen (1731-1802)³ often contained a compendium by Johann Gottlieb Heinecke (1681-1741)⁴ (ill. 1), entitled *Fundamen-*

¹ Paul Bahlmann, *Wernsdorf, Gottlieb (5): Familienartikel*, [in:] *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 42: *Werenfels – Wilhelm d. Jüngere, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg*, hrsg. v. Rochus Freiherr von Liliencron, Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot 1897, pp. 96-97; for the use of the textbook see also: *Catalogus lectionum et operarum publicarum in Athenaeo Gedanensi cursu annuo expediendarum propositus Ianuario ineunte anno 1774*, Danzig: Thomas Schreiber 1774 (Gottlieb Wernsdorf, p. *Cato*).

² Ernst Bahr, *Lengnich, Gottfried*, [in:] *Neue deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 14: *Laverrenz – Locher-Freuler*, hrsg. v. Otto Graf zu Stolberg-Wernigerode, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 1985, pp. 209-210.

³ Jerzy Trzoska, Trzoska Jerzy, *Uphagen Jan (1737-1802)*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny Pomorza nadwiślańskiego*, red. S. Gierszewski, t. 4: *R-Ż*, red. Zbigniew Nowak, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Gdańskie 1997, pp. 398-399.

⁴ Rolf Lieberwirth, Lieberwirth Rolf, *Heineccius, Gottlieb*, [in:] *Neue deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 8: *Hartmann – Heske*, hrsg. v. Otto Graf zu Stolberg-Wernigerode, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 1969, pp. 296-297.

ta stili cultioris,⁵ or “Basics of a quite elegant (Latin) style” (ill. 2). The textbook obviously, was not written for scholars. They were using it, however, when studying by themselves but *Fundamenta...* was more useful during school classes. After all, that is what the book was designed for: to serve as a teaching aid. In Gdańsk, as I suggested already, this textbook was used, for instance, by professor Gottlieb Wernsdorf (ill. 3), teaching at the Academic Gymnasium in Gdańsk. His person will be referred to later. But now let us return to the inscriptions and the textbook of Johann Gottlieb Heinecke.

POPULARITY

A single look at the set of electronic catalogue records allows us to imagine the popularity of this compendium in the 18th century. The first edition from 1712 initiates a series of reprints published annually or every few years. These meant either printing additional copies or issuing re-editions with additions and extensive comments. We can find *Fundamenta* printed in various urban centres of the former Holy Roman Empire, e.g. in Halle,⁶ Leipzig,⁷ and Frankfurt.⁸ Heinecke is known in Holland or the Netherlands (Amsterdam, 1744);⁹ as well as in the Frisian region (Franeker vel Frjentsjer, 1729).¹⁰ *Fundamenta...* also reached printing presses in the south of Europe, including Venice (1743),¹¹ Naples (1765)¹² and even Madrid

⁵ Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Fundamenta stili cultioris in usum auditorii adornavit et syllogen exemplorum adiecit Iohannes Gottlieb Heineccius*, Editio sexta auctior et emendatior, Leipzig: Caspar Fritsch 1736.

⁶ Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Stili cultioris fundamenta regulis perspicuis selectissimisque ex optimis auctoribus exemplis in usum auditorii adornata. Accedunt sylloge exemplorum et indices rerum et verborum locupletissimi*, Halle: Novus Bibliopolus 1720.

⁷ See for instance: Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Fundamenta stili cultioris regulis perspicuis exemplisque selectissimis ex optimis auctoribus in usum auditorii adornata: Accedunt sylloge exemplorum et indices rerum et verborum locupletissimi*. Editio auctior et ceteris correctior, Leipzig: Caspar Fritsch 1733; Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Fundamenta stili cultioris...* Leipzig... 1736.

⁸ Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Stili cultioris fundamenta regulis perspicuis selectissimisque ex optimis auctoribus exemplis in usum auditorii adornata. Accedunt sylloge exemplorum et indices rerum et verborum locupletissimi*, Frankfurt, Leipzig 1726.

⁹ Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Fundamenta stili cultioris*, Adiectis adnotationibus Iohannae Matthaei Gesneri, Amsterdam 1744.

¹⁰ Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Fundamenta stili cultioris regulis perspicuis selectissimisque ex optimis auctoribus exemplis in usum auditorii adornata*, Accedunt sylloge exemplorum et indices rerum et verborum locupletissimi. Editio tertia emendatior, Franeker vel Frjentsjer: Wibius Bleck 1729.

¹¹ Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Fundamenta stili cultioris in usum auditorii adornavit et syllogen exemplorum adiecit Iohannes Gottlieb Heineccius*. Editio Veneta prioribus emendatior, Venezia: Tomasso Baglioni (heredes), 1743.

¹² Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Fundamenta stili cultioris, quibus accedit sylloge exemplorum. Adnotationes adiecit Iohannes Matthias Gesnerus ... commoda auditoribus methodo adornata*. Editio ceteris Italicis longe auctior et castigatior, Napoli: Giovanni Batista Pasquali 1765.

(1786).¹³ The popular formula saying that “demand stimulates supply” indicates unambiguously that *Fundamenta...* – printed almost continuously through the whole of the 18th century – must have been one of the most recognizable schoolbooks. Johann Gottlieb Heinecke thus repeated the success of the 17th century (first edition: Leyden 1621) *Rhetorices contractae sive partitionum oratoriarum libri V*¹⁴ (ill. 4) by Gerrit Janszoon Voss (1577–1649)¹⁵ (ill. 5).

VOSS AND HEINECKE

However, Heinecke's textbook differed in many respects from the work of his esteemed predecessor and could be regarded as an excellent teaching aid. As might be expected, the next editions of *Rethorices contractae...* by Voss become typographically better structured and more accessible to the school user. It is enough to compare the first edition from the beginning of the third decade of the 17th century¹⁶ with the one published in Venice in 1737.¹⁷ However, the project of Johann Gottlieb Heinecke was simply more comprehensive and more extensive. Unlike Janszoon Gerrit Voss, the author of *Fundamenta...* included the course of rhetoric in his plan aiming at effectively acquiring the Latin style. He proposed for the lesson not only the system of classical rhetoric divided into *Inventio*, *Dispositio*, *Argumentatio*, *Elocutio*, and *Memoria*, but such a set of rules which would allow to skilfully use the Latin language in specific situations, i.e. wherever Latin was required or at least useful.

And yet it could still be useful in many situations: in Gdańsk (and not only there), Latin was still the linguistic medium of official public celebrations.¹⁸ Edu-

¹³ Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Fundamenta stili cultioris. Notis et animadversionibus Iohannae Matthaei Gesneri et Nicolai Niclasii locupletata*. Nova exemplorum sylloge hac editione aucta, Madrid: Joachim Ibarra 1786.

¹⁴ Gerhard Johannes Voss, *Rhetorices contractae, sive partitionum oratoriarum libri V*, Leyden: Maire 1621.

¹⁵ Friedrich Koldewey, *Vossius, Gerhard Johannes*, [in:] *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 40: *Vinstingen – Walram*, hrsg. v. Rochus Freiherr von Liliencron, Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot 1896, pp. 367–370.

¹⁶ Gerhard Johannes Voss, *Rhetorices contractae...*, Leyden 1621.

¹⁷ Gerhard Johannes Voss, *Rhetorices contractae, sive partitionum oratoriarum libri quinque. Editio iuxta exemplar Lipsiense quantum fieri potuit diligentissime correcte et duplici indice locupletata. Nec desunt tabulae synopticae magistri Iacobi Thomasi in Academia Lipsiensi eloquentiae professoris*, Venezia: Giovanni Battista Recurti 1637; see also Andreas Hünefeld's edition from Gdańsk: Gerhard Johannes Voss, *Rhetorices contractae, sive partitionum oratoriarum libri V*, Editio tertio recognita et aucta, Danzig: Andreas Hünefeld 1648.

¹⁸ Edmund Kotarski, *Łacina w kulturze dawnego Gdańska*, [in:] *Gdańsk nowożytny a świat antyczny*, red. Maria Otto, Jacek Pokrzywnicki, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Bernardinum 2017, pp. 47–61.

cated people also continued to write to each other in the native language of Cicero, keeping the custom perpetuated by their 16th-century predecessors, creators of the unique correspondence network known as *respublica litteraria*.¹⁹

TERMINOLOGY – THE MOST ESSENTIAL DISTINCTIONS

The potential ways of using Latin were confirmed by a special, very extensive appendix, in Latin *Sylloge exemplorum*, present already in the 1720 edition. However, the most important purpose of the *Sylloge* emphasized by the noun *praxis* (that is “practical application, practice”) was often used in this part of the book. As an incentive to create one's own Latin-language utterances, this appendix presents excerpts from works by ancient authors devoted to the need for skilful use of persuasive speech, e.g. by Marcus Tullius Cicero (*Ad Familiares* IX 14). The *Sylloge exemplorum* contains also commented fragments of particularly accurate rhetorical texts, which at the same time belonged to the school canon, again by Cicero (*Pro Archia poeta*; *In Verrem*). Moreover, the appendix contains style patterns that characterize prose texts. Also, it displays implementation of rhetorical means of invention, such as *locus communis* or rhetorical syllogism (*enthymeme*). The next section of this extensive appendix brings us closer and closer to the everyday applications of Latin: examples of letters (including developed ones and those formally uncomplicated) are introduced. Finally, in addition to incentives for learning classical and classicist literature (lat. *litterae humaniores*) by a French humanist Marc-Antoine Muret (1526–1585),²⁰ there are examples regarding the inscriptions. These are inscriptions composed in memory of the dead; different in style, they are intended to illustrate the theoretical assumptions that the author planned to have presented in the first part of *Fundamenta...*. The first inscription is an exemplary sample of the style defined in Latin as *stilus lapidaris* (ill. 6). The second inscription is to reflect composition tendencies closer to the times of Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, which is why it has been classified as an example of a newer style – *stilus vel mos recentior* (ill. 7).

To learn more about the stylistic difference suggested in the examples, we must just like students of the Academic Gymnasium in Gdańsk and their teachers three centuries ago move to the previous part of the textbook. This is the fifth chapter of the second part, devoted to various types of prose texts. In one of the Leipzig

¹⁹ Marc Fumaroli, *La république des lettres*, [Paris]: Éditions Gallimard, cop. 2015 (Bibliothèque des Histoires).

²⁰ Pierre Grimal, *Muret (Marc-Antoine)*, [in:] Pierre Grimal, *Dictionnaire des Biographies*, tome 2, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France 1958, p. 1063; Wilhelm Pökel, *Philologisches Schriftsteller-Lexicon*, Leipzig: Alfred Krüger 1882, pp. 185–185.

re-editions,²¹ published in the family publishing house of Fritch, the theoretical part is preceded by a short list of subchapters.

- I. Inscriptiones novae. (New style inscriptions.)
- II. Veterum exemplo conscriptae quando hodie locum invenient? (In what situation is it convenient to choose an inscription formulated in the old style?)
- III. In iis quid observandum? (What principles are to be followed [when composing inscriptions in the old style]?)
- IV. Earum materia. (Typical content of the old style inscriptions.)
- V. Earundem dispositio et quidem epitaphiorum. (Composition of the old style inscriptions, especially of the epitaphs.)
- VI. Nec non monumentorum publicorum. (Composition of the old style inscriptions for public monuments.)
- VII. Stilus lapidaris qualis? (*Stylus lapidaris* – what does it mean?)
- VIII. Inscriptionum novarum materia et inventio. (New style inscriptions – their typical content and implementation of rhetorical means of invention.)
- IX. Earundem elocutio. (New style inscriptions and their stylistics.)²²

The list emphasizes the already suggested dichotomy: the inscriptions are divided into “old” and “new” or “modern”. At the same time, it is not about contrasting the past with modern times. The term “old” only suggests a reference to the concise style known from earlier periods, the roots of which date back to ancient times – because, according to Heinecke, *stilus lapidaris* is a stylistic convention one of two that the creators of inscriptions can refer to “especially in recent times, that is after the Renaissance”: originally, in the 1720 edition: *ultimis potissimum temporibus, id est post renatas litteras*.²³

What are the characteristics of this convention? What exactly does *stilus lapidaris* mean? Heinecke does not answer these questions directly. His textbook requires some inquisitiveness from its readers. Short, easy-to-remember sentences of the main lecture suggest rather than explain. To learn more, one needs to read the extensive comments. Already in subchapter I, for example, we find a reference to all the publications with inscriptions most well-known in the 18th century, e.g. to the collection of Jan Gruter²⁴ or others, such as the collection of Thomas

²¹ See for instance: Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Fundamenta stili cultioris*... Leipzig... 1733.

²² Ibidem, p. 206.

²³ Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Stili cultioris fundamenta*... Halle... 1720, p. 300; the phrase was reformulated in the following editions, for instance, in Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Fundamenta stili cultioris*... Leipzig 1733 instead of *post renatas litteras* one can read *patrum nostrorum memoria*, p. 206.

²⁴ Jan Gruter, Joseph Juste Scaliger, Marcus Welser, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani; notae Romanorum veterum, quibus littera verbum facit, Tullii Tyronis, Ciceronis liberti, et Annaei Senecae: in corpus absolutissimum redactae; cum indicibus XXV*, Commelinus, Heidelberg 1603; Peter Fuchs, *Gruter, Jan, [in:] Neue deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 7: Grassauer – Hartmann, hrsg. v. Otto Graf zu Stolberg-Wernigerode, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 1966, pp. 238–240.

Reines²⁵ or Rafaele Fabretti.²⁶ It is about learning first-hand inscriptions. The reader, most likely a student, is first to form an opinion on the style of antique inscriptions. *Fundamenta*, however, do not leave the (young) reader alone. In the comments of the next subchapter (*incipit* of chapter II), the expected characteristics of the “lapidary” style appear, although it would be difficult to call it exhaustive. Why is this? Well, it is only a short list of terms that characterize the most accurate antique inscriptions in terms of form. In the second note to the above-mentioned subchapter II we read that the language of these ancient epitaphs, which are all worth imitating, was concise, elegant, and to put things straight it sounded good. With the help of *acumen*, or apt wording, the creators of these inscriptions tried to get the attention of potential readers.

This remark, however, is accompanied by the adverb *interdum* – “sometimes”, which suggests that clever formulations were not abused by the ancients in their inscription epitaphs, unlike the Heinecke’s contemporaries. According to experts like him, epitaphs from the turn of the 17th and 18th century do not meet the expectations as to form and content. And if there are interesting fragments, e.g. a description of the deceased’s life or a (skillfully introduced) quote from the Holy Bible, it happens rather rarely. We even read that in these contemporary epitaphs there is almost no content that could gain recognition of the recipient, originally: *Neque enim probantur eruditis epitaphia hodierna, in quibus praeter vitae mortisque historiam et aliquot sententias e scriptura depromptas nihil omnino occurrit, quod admireris*.²⁷ (Also the scholars do not appreciate the new style epitaphs; for there is nothing there to admire except some facts of the deceased’s life, and some apophthegms from the Holy Scripture.)

The responsibility for this state of affair lies with authors originating from... Italy.

²⁵ Thomas Reines, *Syntagma inscriptionum antiquarum cum primis Romae veteris, quarum omissa est recensio in vasto Iani Gruteri opere, cuius istuc dici possit supplementum*., Opus posthumum ... cum commentariis absolutissimis et instructissimis indicibus nunc primum editum, Leipzig, Frankfurt: Caspar Fritsch (heredes), Johann Friedrich Gleiditsch, Johann Erik Hahn 1682; a short biography of Reines in: Richard Hoche,

Reinesius, Thomas, [in:] *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 28: *Reinbeck – Robbertus*, hrsg. v. Rochus Freiherr von Liliencron, Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot 1889, pp. 29–30.

²⁶ Rafaele Fabretti, *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asservantur explicatio et addimentum*, Roma: Domenico Antonio Ercole 1699; see also: Massimo Ceresa, *Fabretti, Raffaello*, [in:] *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 43: *Enzo di Svevia – Fabrizi Vincenzo*, ed. Raffaele Romanelli et al., Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana 1993, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/raffaello-fabretti_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ [access: 29.04.2022].

²⁷ Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Stili cultioris fundamenta*... Halle... 1720, pp. 302–303.

'GRAVES VIRI', LORENZO PIGNORIA AND THE AESTHETIC TRANSFORMATION OF STYLE

In the commentary to subchapter I (which is the same first note in which the enumeration of sets of ancient inscriptions was found), the initiators of the new trend in the style of inscriptions were presented. The first place is occupied by Lorenzo Pignoria (1571–1631),²⁸ who among numerous publications, including the most popular one on Egyptian writing (1608),²⁹ was also the author of *Miscellae elogiorum, adclamationum, adlocutionum, conclamationum, epitaphiorum et inscriptionum* (1626),³⁰ and *Notulae extemporariae*, i.e. a commentary to *Emblemata Andreae Alciati* (1618).³¹ Interest in the nature of the symbol, which is evident for example in the last of the publications cited, was to be – as we read – the cause of the aesthetic transformation of Lorenzo Pignoria's style.³² However, the popularity of both his work and the work of several other scholars, including those related to *Societas Iesu*: Jacques Salian³³ and Emanuele Tesauro,³⁴ had led to the spread of a new method of composing inscriptions.

The commentary to the subchapter I – that we are interested in – contains yet another explanation of this aesthetic change. It is intriguing, yet not entirely clear. We learn that the change in the style of the inscriptions was postulated by dissatisfied customers, but not just simple ones: we may read about *graves viri* – respected people, who are esteemed, and who keep their behaviour serious. The commentary,

²⁸ Maurizio Buora, *Pignoria, Lorenzo*, [in:] *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 83: *Piacentini-Pio V. Pagine*, ed. Raffaele Romanelli et al., Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana 2015, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lorenzo-pignoria_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/Treccani [access: 29.04.2022].

²⁹ Lorenzo Pignoria, *Characteres Aegyptii, hoc est sacrorum, quibus Aegyptii utuntur, simulachrorum accurata delineatio et explicatio, qua antiquissimarum superstitionum origines, progressiones ritusque ad barbaram, Graecam et Romanam historiam illustrandam, enarrantur et multa scriptorum veterum loca explicantur atque emendantur*, Frankfurt am Main: Matthias Becker 1608.

³⁰ Lorenzo Pignoria, *Miscellae elogiorum, adclamationum, adlocutionum, conclamationum, epitaphiorum et inscriptionum...*, Padova: Impressores Camerales (1626).

³¹ Andrea Alciati, *Emblemata viri clarissimi Andreae Alciati cum imaginibus plerisque repositis ad mentem auctoris, adiecta compendiosa explicatione Claudii Minois Divisionensis et notulis extemporariis Laurentii Pignorii Patavini*, Padova: Paolo Tozzio 1618.

³² Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Stili cultioris fundamenta...Halle... 1720*, p. 301.

³³ Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Salianus (Jac.)*, [in:] *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon, darinne die Gelehrten aller Stände sowohl männ- als weiblichen Geschlechts, welche vom Anfange der Welt bis auf ietzige Zeit gelebt, und sich der gelehrten Welt bekannt gemacht, nach ihrer Geburt, Leben, merckwürdigen Geschichten, Absterben und Schrifften aus den glaubwürdigsten Scribenten in alphabetischer Ordnung beschrieben werden*, 4: S-Z, hrsg. v. Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleiditsch 1751, p. 53.

³⁴ Monica Bisi, *Tesauro, Emanuele*, [in:] *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 95: *Taranto-Togni*, ed. Alberto M. Ghisalberti, Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana 2019, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/emanuele-tesauro_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ [access: 29.04.2022].

however, does not provide any personal details; only writers and scholars are criticised in Heinecke's textbook with their name and surname being known. Nevertheless, it was this influential, though anonymous, group of *graves viri* that forced the creators to change style. The result was a compromise between conceptual poetry and prose: *inscriptiones argutae* – written in free speech, yet full of brilliant, neatly shaped phrases. Heinecke tries to maintain a neutral position in this peculiar *querelle des anciennes et modernes* related to inscriptions, because he does not avoid, in further parts of the book, the characteristics of a new type of inscriptions. He refers to, at least, the opinions of the critics of the new trend (including Johann Heinrich Boeckler,³⁵ author of the *Museum ad amicum*³⁶), who associated this type with spectacular declarations and compares them with decorative clothes (dresses – implicitly feminine), unsuitable for someone serious (i.e. a man): *Nam praeterquam quod exemplo veterum destituunt: nescio quid declamatorium sapit argutus ille inscriptionum stilus, nec magis virum gravem decet, quam vestis auro gemmisque operta*, (subchapter 1, note 1).³⁷ (In addition to the fact that the modern inscriptions differ from the old ones, they also resemble an elaborated speech; and they do not suit a more serious man than a dress decorated with gold and precious stones.)

ELABORATING THE THEORY

This is the social background created by people to the changes in the style of inscriptions described in the textbook. Still, this is not the end of the lecture on epigraphs. Further parts (like the already mentioned subchapter II) comment on the difference between an epitaph and a cenotaph. The first one serves as tombstone inscription, while the second is put on a pseudo-tombstone, having basically the same function as a monument. There is also the observation, and at the same time a recommendation, to use the “old” or concise style (*stilus lapidaris*) in the case of inscriptions placed on public buildings.

Subchapter IV and subsequent subchapters play a very important role, as they contain theoretical instructions. This theory as we can conclude from the proposed terminology has a basis in rhetoric, especially in terms of style, because Johann Gottlieb Heinecke speaks of elocution (lat. *elocutio*). The **issue of matter** (lat. *materia*), that is, obtaining the content of the inscription and its appropriate presentation, can also be associated with the principles of rhetorical **invention** and **disposition**. Only **spelling** (lat. *orthographia*) eludes the sphere of rhetoric, but raising this issue seems particularly important in the case of the inscriptions. The

³⁵ Paul Wentzcke, *Boeckler, Heinrich*, [in:] *Neue deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 2: *Beheim – Bürkel*, hrsg. v. Otto Graf zu Stolberg-Wernigerode, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 1955, pp. 372–373.

³⁶ Johann Heinrich Boeckler, *Museum ad amicum*, Argentoratum: Simon Pauli 1663.

³⁷ Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Stili cultioris fundamenta...* Halle 1720, p. 301.

inscription has to be correct, so that the message contained in it maintains an adequate persuasive potential, which is – of course – difficult when the phrase contains non-compliant word forms.

The **matter** (lat. *materia*), or as we would rather say, the content of the inscription reflects an event that we want to commemorate. Hence – according to the author of the textbook – a three-fold presentation of what the inscription memorializes is natural. In the case of public buildings (lat. *aedificium publicum*) this will reflect the purpose for which the building was erected (lat. *finis*), the reason for undertaking construction works (lat. *causa efficiens*), and finally the time (lat. *tempus*) in which the construction was completed. The three-fold structure of the inscriptions commemorating the construction activity in the public space also has its slightly modified counterpart among the grave inscriptions (lat. *epitaphia*). This modification means extending the schema. The first element – redundant in the case of the previous scheme – pointed out by the author of the textbook (subchapter V) is *consecratio*, i.e. the *dedication of the content* presented by the inscription to the deities or God. It is followed by a mention of the death or funeral of the deceased (lat. *mortis vel sepulturae mentio*). The third element of the scheme, extremely important for identification of the deceased person, is his or her name (lat. *nomen defuncti*). The name is followed by a concise, but also well thought out and sophisticated phrase (lat. *elogium*). Further elements include the indication of the day of death (lat. *dies emortualis*) and the age of the deceased (lat. *aetas defuncti*). You can also find an address to the deceased or to a passer-by, and finally the scheme of the grave inscription is completed by the name (and surname) of its founder (lat. *allocutio vel ad defunctum, vel ad viatorem*). It is worth adding that both of these disposition schemes are supported by examples, but only those representing the *lapidaris* style. The new types of inscriptions, dominated by *acumen*, were treated less favourably. The author of the textbook focused on presenting only the stylistic features (lat. *elocutio*) of these modernised and poeticised inscriptions. Actually, he limited himself to stating that the new type of inscription compositions is primarily about sophisticated wording that could arouse the admiration of the reader.

BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE – THE EPITAPH OF GOTTLIEB WERNSDORF

After this – in all fairness – very limited presentation of theoretical instructions from the Johann Gottlieb Heinecke compendium, let us return to the 18th century Gdańsk. It is time to take a look into the library of Gottlieb Wernsdorf the Younger (1717-1774).³⁸ As mentioned at the beginning, this distinguished classical philolo-

³⁸ Paul Bahlmann, op. cit., pp. 96–97.

gist, professor of rhetoric and poetry, used the *Fundamenta* during his classes. For instance, he planned Latin style exercises for 1774 with the use of Johann Gottlieb Heinecke's book. His death in the first weeks of the year invalidated the implementation of this plan. The significant achievements of Gottlieb Wernsdorf in the field of ancient literary studies were finally revealed to erudite and student audiences. 16 years after 1774, the year which was so unlucky for Gottlieb Wernsdorf, the first in-depth edition of the spectacular speeches of the late-antique rhetor Himerios of Prusias was published (Göttingen 1790).³⁹ In the extensive introduction of the publisher, in the person of the younger brother of the late philologist – Johann Christian Wernsdorf – an inscription was published,⁴⁰ which can still be seen in the Holy Trinity Church in Gdańsk Old Suburb (ill. 8, 9). As one can easily see, the disposition of this inscription is basically in line with the scheme mentioned above. On page 49 of the introduction, expanded to include a large biography of Gottlieb Wernsdorf, we can read:

M. Gottlieb Wernsdorfius,
(Master Gottlieb Wernsdorf),
qui Deo addictus, dum vixit, aliis potius,
(who – faithful to God – in his life)
quam sibi et suis commodis servire, et in
(was more devoted to serving others than himself and who)
omni vitae actu esse, quam videri, bo-
(preferred to be good in every action he undertook in life,)
nus maluit, hic situs est.
(rather than just pretend to do so, is buried here.)
Nat[us] Wittenbergae anno R[ecuperatae] S[alutis] MDCCXVII (millesimo sep-
tingentesimo decimo septimo)
(He was born in Wittenberg in the year of our Lord 1717,)

³⁹ *Himerii sophistae quae reperiri potuerunt, videlicet eclogae e Photii Myriobiblo repetitae et declamationes e codicibus Augustanis, Oxoniensibus et Vaticanis tantum non omnes nunc primum in lucem prolatae: Accuratae recensuit, emendavit, Latina versione et commentario perpetuo illustravit denique dissertationem de vita Himerii praemisit Gottlieb Wernsdorfius in Athenaeo Genanensi quondam professor publicus Regiae Doctrinarum Societati Berolinensi itemque Latinae Ienensi adscriptus*, [edited by Johann Christian Wernsdorf], Göttingen: Vandenhoeck et Ruprecht 1790; see also: Jacek Pokrzywnicki, *Gottlieb Wernsdorf i jego gdańskie prace edytorskie*, Pelplin: Wydawnictwo Bernardinum 2021, p. 113-122.

⁴⁰ [Johann] Christian Wernsdorf, *De vita, studiis ac moribus Gottlieb Wernsdorfii*, [in:] *Himerii sophistae quae reperiri potuerunt...*, p. 5-50; the transcription of the epitaph also in: Jacek Pokrzywnicki, *Wernsdorf – a biography of an 18th century scholar – transcription, photographs and partial translation*, <https://mostwiedzy.pl/pl/business/open-research-data/wernsdorf-a-biography-of-an-18th-century-scholar-transcription-photographs-and-partial-translation>, 614081245645705-0 [access: 28.04.2022]; Grzegorz Kotłowski, Elżbieta Starek, *Łacińskie inskrypcje w kościołach Gdańska: Śródmieście*, Pelplin: Wydawnictwo "Bernardinum"; Gdańsk: Nadbałtyckie Centrum Kultury 2015.

Die VIII mensis Augusti,
 (on 8th of August,)
denat[us] anno MDCCLXXIV (millesimo septingentesimo septuagesimo quarto)
die XXII mens[is] Ian[uarii]
 (he died in 1774 on the 22nd of January.)
Ingenti suorum luctu extincto
 (When the great sadness of his loved ones subsided,)
h[oc] m[onumentum] p[osuit]
 (this monument was erected)
marito amans vidua amanti.
 (by the beloved widow who loves her husband.)

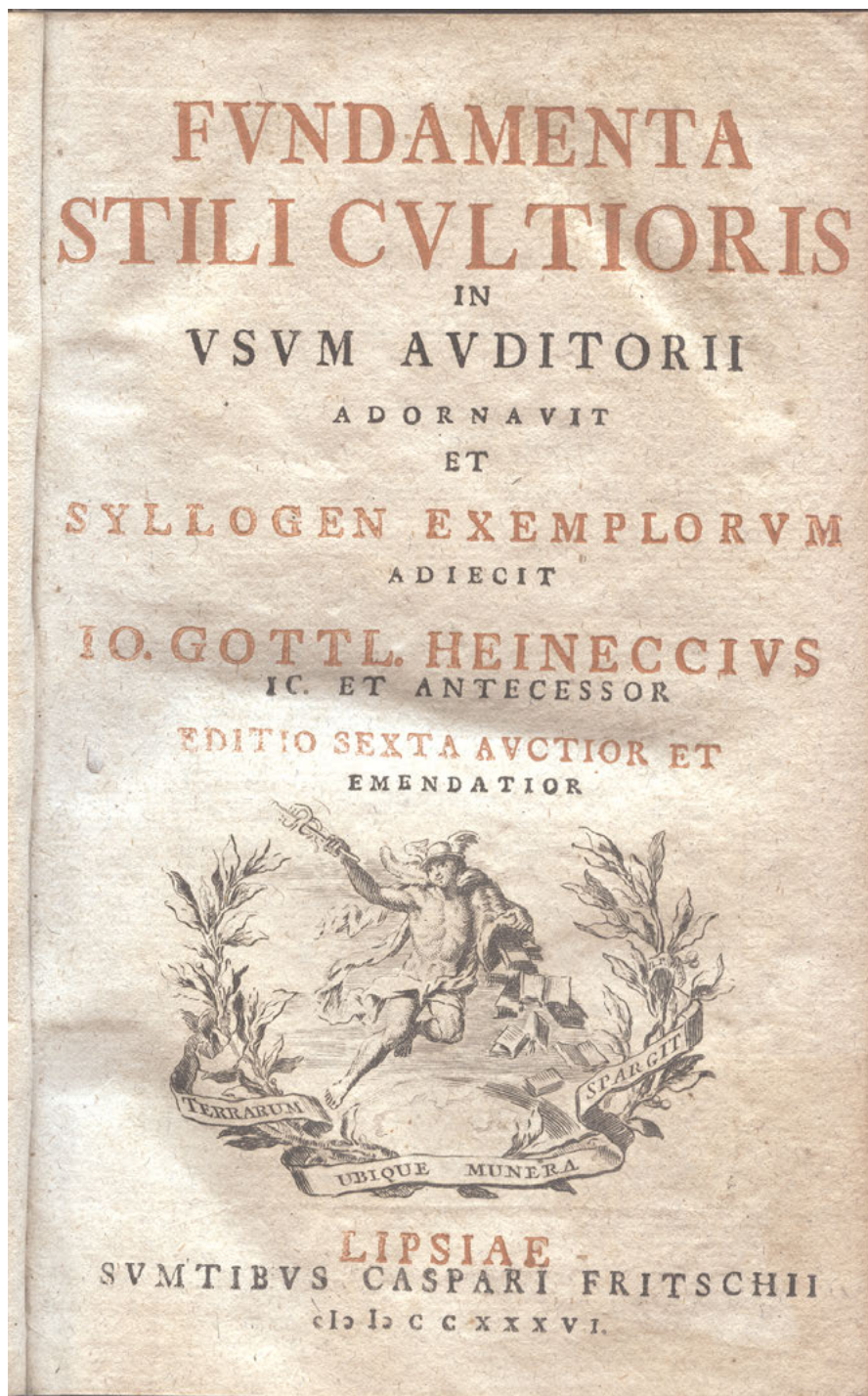
The inscription has no *consecratio* formula, but one do can find the aforementioned element, such as *sepulturae mentio* (the wording: *hic situs est*). There is, however, a short *elogium*, which is a neatly formulated praise of the deceased immediately following the presentation of the name of this person. We also find *dies emortualis* and *defuncti aetas* in the middle part of the inscription, where the full dates of birth and death of Gottlieb Wernsdorf are given. Finally, at the end, this perfectly proportional inscription closes with mentioning the widow who founded the tombstone.

CONCLUSION

As I have already suggested, several other elegantly phrased 18th-century inscriptions can be still found in the downtown of Gdańsk, but even this one example alone is a certain proof for the reception of the theory of composing inscriptions. This theory was taught in detail by Johann Gottlieb Heinecke himself the author known and appreciated by the Gdańsk intellectual circles of the Enlightenment.



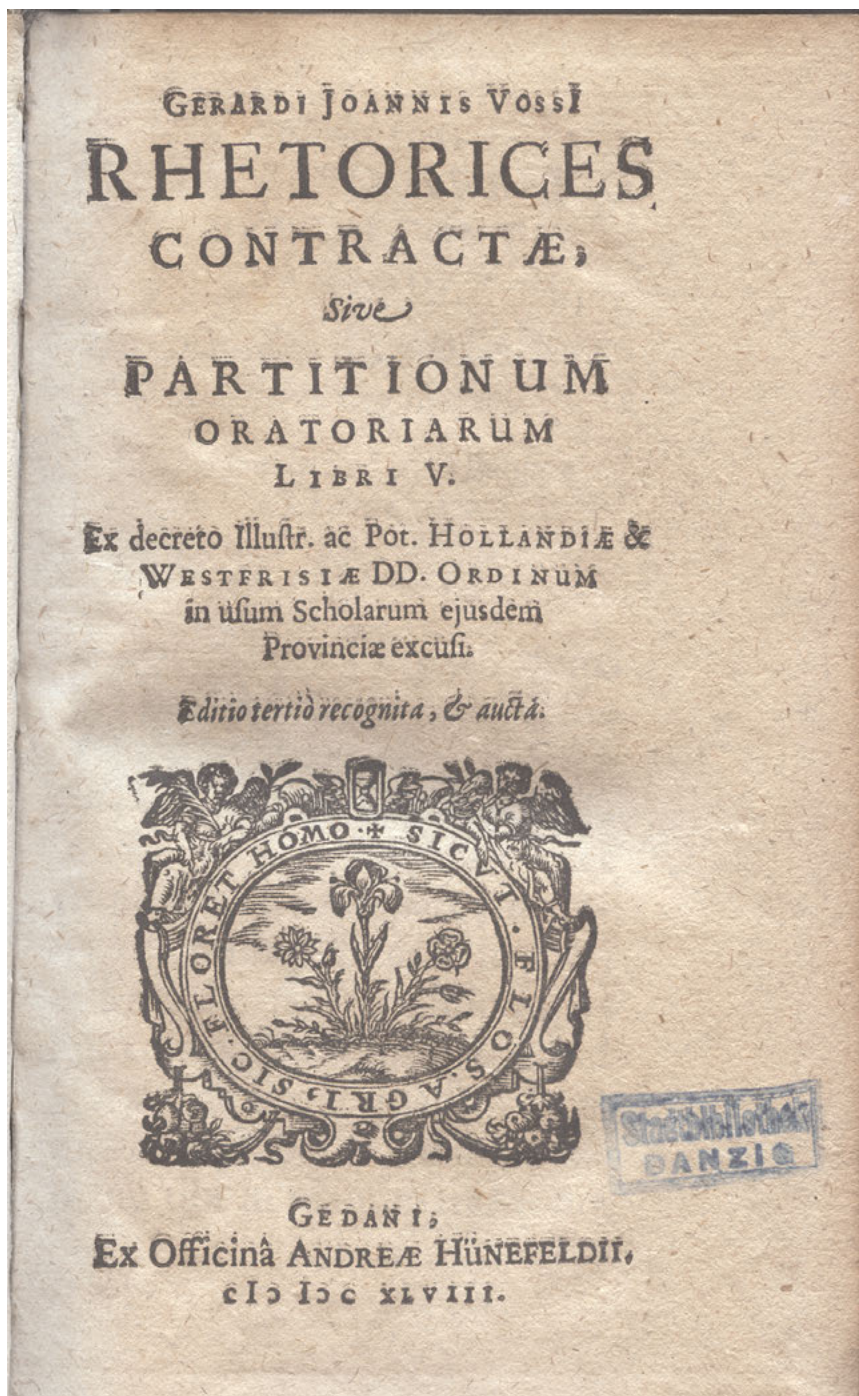
1. Portrait of Johann Gottlieb Heinecke by Ch. Muller, Jo. van Broedelet, F. van Bleysweyk, engraving (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)



2. Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Fundamenta stili cultioris*. A title page of the 1756 edition in Leipzig (PAS Gdańsk Library, shelf mark: Uph. o. 6940)



3. Post-mortem portrait of Gottlieb Wernsdorff (1717-1774), engraving
(PAS Gdańsk Library, shelf mark: Z I 4871)

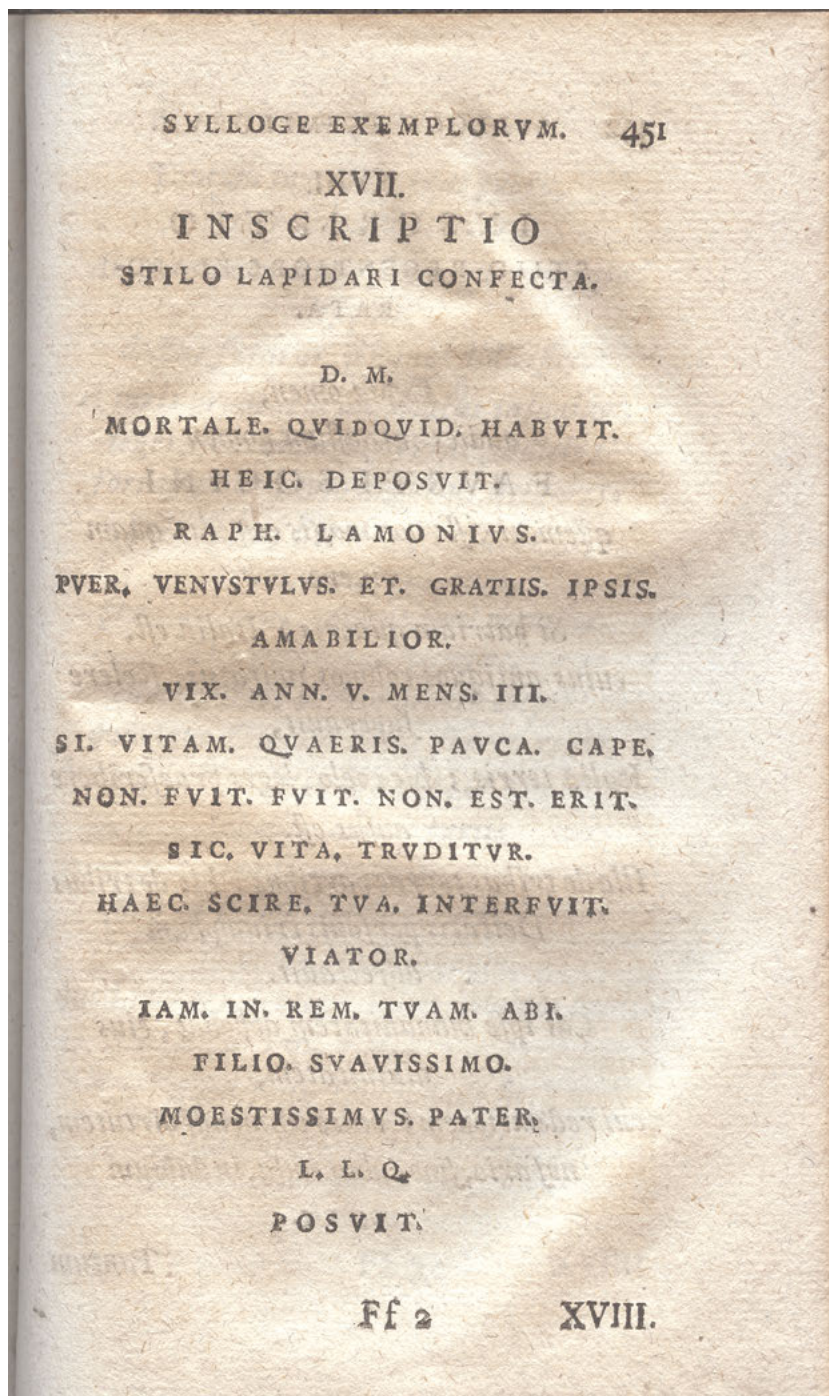


4. Gerhard Johannes Voss, *Rhetorices contractae sive partitionum oratoriarum libri V.*

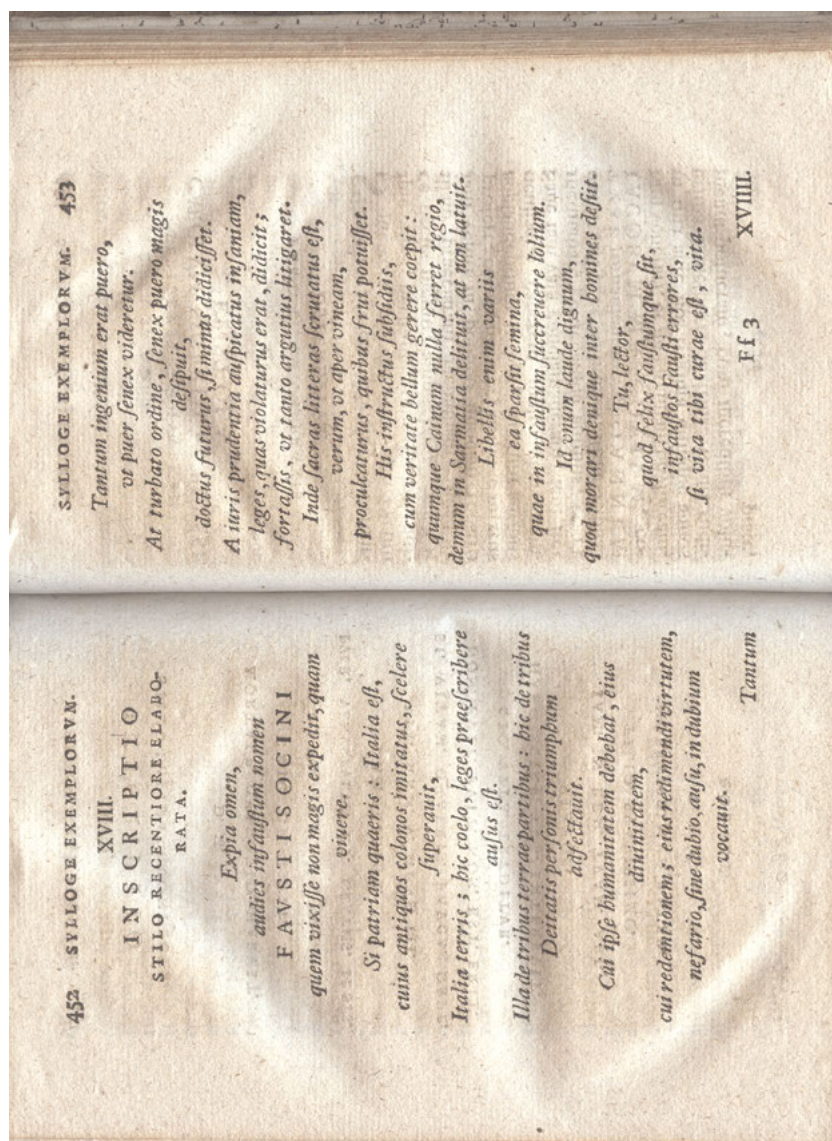
A title page of the 1748 edition in Gdańsk
 (PAS Gdańsk Library, shelf mark: Fa 381813 80)



5. Anonymous portrait of Gerhard Johannes Voss (1577-1649), oil on panel, 1636
(Universiteitsmuseum Amsterdam)



6. Exemplification of *stilus lapidaris* according to Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Fundamenta stili cultioris*, 1736 edition in Gdańsk (PAS Gdańsk Library, shelf mark: Uph. o. 6940)



7. A fine example of *stilus recentior* in epigraphy according to Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, *Fundamenta stili cultioris*, 1736 edition in Gdańsk (PAS Gdańsk Library, shelf mark: Uph. o. 6940)



8. The tombstone of Gottlieb Wernsdorf in Saint Trinity church in Gdańsk
(phot. Lucyna Lewandowska)



9. The tombstone of Gottlieb Wernsdorf in Saint Trinity church in Gdańsk
– the initial part of the inscription
(phot. Lucyna Lewandowska)

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JACEK POKRZYWNICKI

TWORZENIE INSKRYPCJI W OSIEMNASTOWIECZNYM GDAŃSKU.
PRZYPADEK PODRĘCZNIKA „FUNDAMENTA STILI CULTIORIS”
JOHANNA GOTTLIEBA HEINECKEGO

Abstrakt. W artykule przedstawione zostały zasady komponowania napisów inskrypcyjnych, jakie mogli znać mieszkańcy osiemnastowiecznego Gdańska. Jednym z lepiej rozpoznawalnych źródeł wiedzy teoretycznej w tym zakresie był podręcznik do stylistyki łacińskiej „Fundamenta stili cultioris” Johanna Gottlieba Heinecke. Poświadczono jest użycie tego podręcznika przez profesorów Gimnazjum Akademickiego: Gottfrieda Lengnicha (1689-1774) i Gottlieba Wernsdorfa (1717-1774). Johann Gottlieb Heinecke zaproponował, jako główny, podział na napisy w stylu starym i nowym. Styl stary określany był jako *lapidaris*; stylowi nowemu autor przypisał miano *recentior*. Dawniejsza stylistyka napisów inskrypcyjnych zakładała zwięźłość i prostotę wyśłowienia, nowsza dawała więcej swobody w zakresie formy; inskrypcje utrzymane w tym stylu miały też bardziej skomplikowaną szatę językową. Według Heinecke, optymalna struktura napisu powinna być trójdzielna. Ta uniwersalna forma mogła być stosowana wszędzie, np. w inskrypcjach na budowach czy na nagrobkach. Schemat ten można też odnaleźć na zachowanym do dziś epitafium samego Gottlieba Wernsdorfa.

Słowa kluczowe: Inskrypcje – kompozycja, Danzig, Gdańsk, podręcznik, „Fundamenta stili cultioris”, Johann Gottlieb Heinecke

JACEK POKRZYWNICKI

DER WISSENSSTAND ÜBER DIE INSCRIFTKUNST IN DANZIG
DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS IM LICHT DER EMPFEHLUNGEN
AUS DEM LEHRBUCH „FUNDAMENTA STILI CULTIORIS”
VON JOHANN GOTTLIEB HEINECKE

Abstract. Der Artikel stellt die Prinzipien des Verfassens von Inschriften vor, die den Einwohnern von Danzig im 18. Jahrhundert bekannt gewesen sein könnten. Eine der besser erkennbaren theoretischen Wissensquellen auf diesem Gebiet war das Lehrbuch für lateinische Stilistik „Fundamenta stili cultioris“ von Johann Gottlieb Heinecke. Die Benutzung dieses Lehrbuches ist bestätigt von den Professoren des Akademischen Gymnasiums: Gottfried Lengnich (1689-1774) und Gottlieb Wernsdorf (1717-1774). Johann Gottlieb Heinecke schlug die Hauptteilung in Inschriften alten und neuen Stils vor. Der alte Stil wurde als *lapidaris* bezeichnet, den neuen Stil nannte der Autor *recentior*. Der ältere Inschriftenstil setzte auf Kürze und Einfachheit des Ausdrucks, der neuere ließ mehr Freiheit in der Form; Inschriften in diesem Stil hatten auch eine kompliziertere sprachliche Gestaltung. Die optimale Inschriftstruktur sollte laut Heinecke dreifach sein. Diese universelle Form könnte überall verwendet werden, z. B. in Inschriften an Gebäuden oder auf Grabsteinen. Diese Grafik findet man auch auf dem bis heute erhaltenen Epitaph von Gottlieb Wernsdorf selbst.

Schlüsselwörter: Inschrift – Layout, Danzig, Gdańsk, Lehrbuch, „Fundamenta stili cultioris“, Johann Gottlieb Heinecke