

**Natallia SLIŽ**

Belarusian Institute of Law Hrodna branch

## **TRANSCULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE MALE BODY IN THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA IN THE SIXTEENTH – SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES**

***Abstract:** Gender study has paid attention to different spheres of human being and history of body is also between them. The body is a visual and physical figure. This article touches upon the history of the male body in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL). It was a feudal state with strong influence of Christianity. That affected greatly on attitude and appearance of the male body. It formed in the conditions of local traditions. But contacts with Eastern and Western Europe, Turkey, and other countries also influenced on the idea of the male body in the GDL. Studying the male body includes different spheres. Our research concentrates on a biological cycle of the body, its presentation in medicine and art in transcultural meaning.*

***Key words:** male body, Grand Duchy of Lithuania, medicine, art*

Gender study has paid attention to different spheres of human being and history of body is also between them. It has given possibility to analyse historical process from other point of view<sup>1</sup>. The body is a visual and physical figure. Any person is accepted by his/her appearance. The body is never «nature» or «culture». It has non-trivial material structures and processes – procreation, growth, metabolism, illness, and death. The body exists in relations with social, economical and cultural spheres. It has its own history connected with medicine, literature, arts and other branches of science and humanities. But understanding of the body in

---

<sup>1</sup> *The Body in Parts. Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by D. Hillman, C. Mazzio, New York–London 1997; *The Anatomy of Gender. Arts of the Body in the Early Modern Europe*, website: <http://digital.library.northwestern.edu/anatomyofgender/index.html>; И. С. Кон, *Мужское тело в истории культуры, Электронная версия книги, исправленная и дополненная*, 2010; *Historia ciała*, vol. 1: *Od renesansu do oświecenia*, ed. G. Vigarello, transl. T. Stróżyński, Gdańsk 2011; O. J.T. Harris, J. Robb, *The Body in History: The Body in History: Europe from the Palaeolithic to the Future*, Cambridge 2015.

each historical epoch was different<sup>2</sup>.

This article touches upon the history of the male body in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL). It was a feudal state with strong influence of Christianity. That affected greatly on attitude and appearance of the male body. It formed in the conditions of local traditions. But contacts with Eastern and Western Europe, Turkey, and other countries also influenced on the idea of the male body in the GDL. The Renaissance and baroque created the main tendencies in the society. We should pay attention that there was no singular meaning of the male body. The vision depended on a strata and religion. Studying the male body includes different spheres. Our research concentrates on a biological cycle of the body, its presentation in medicine and art in transcultural meaning<sup>3</sup>.

*Biological cycle of the body.* According to the Christian approach the body is sinful from the very beginning, from the birth. The term «sinful body» often appeared in wills: it came out from the soil and should come back into it. During the whole life the soul was in captivity of the body and after the death it received freedom.

Biological functioning of the body needed food, clothes and etc. The whole life was adapted for human needs. Gender intended for personal style of life and duties. Depending on social status the male body should work hard, fight, trade and etc. Feudal society did not give any chance to be out of assigned gender roles.

Christianity input serious philosophical problem in the society: struggle between the soul and the body. It became extremely actual in the period of Counterreformation. Patronage of churches gave the opportunity to pay for sins. Wills presented it vividly. They contained information about donating for churches with the condition to pray for the soul<sup>4</sup>.

We could meet this mental strife in literature. For example, Maciej Strykowski wrote:

...Ciało naciągnie do rozkoszy brzytkich,  
A dusza do cnot świętych pędzi wszytkich...<sup>5</sup>

The poem by Stanisław Serafin Jagodyński touched upon ironically the topic of the body needs:

*Ciało*  
Nie wiem y to Boga iakoby być miało?

---

<sup>2</sup> O.J.T Harris, J. Robb, *The Body in History: constructing a deep-time cultural history*, article posted on academia.edu 25 April 2015, pp. 2–15.

<sup>3</sup> W. Welsch, *Transculturality – the Puzzling Form of Cultures Today*, in: *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, ed. M. Featherstone, S. Lash, London 1999, pp. 194–213.

<sup>4</sup> About wills in the GDL see: H. Слиж, М. Гардзеў, „Шляхецкія тэстаменты 16 – пачатку 18 ст.”, *Гістарычны альманах*, vol. 3, 2000, p. 90–110; N. Śliż, “Testament Piotra Kochlewskiego, sędziego ziemskiego brzeskiego z 1646 roku”, *Zapiski historyczne*, vol. 72, no. 1, 2007, pp. 97–98; A. Pisanko-Borowik, “Dyspozycje pogrzebowe mieszczan grodzieńskich w świetle ich testamentów (XVII–XVIII w.)”, [in:] *Male Miasta. Religie*, ed. M. Zemło, Lublin-Supraśl 2007, pp. 143–168; N. Sliž, „Testamenty mieszczan grodzieńskich w pierwszej połowie XVII w.”, *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, vol. 61, no. 2, 2013, pp. 307–308; W. Zielecka-Mikołajczyk, *Prawosławni i unicy w Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII wieku wobec życia i śmierci w świetle testamentów*, Warszawa 2012, pp. 70–163 and etc.

<sup>5</sup> M. Strykowski, *Goniec cnothy do prawych slachciczow*, Kraków 1574, p. 12.

O Dusze nic nie dbamy, a wszystko o ciało.<sup>6</sup>

The body and sexuality did not belong completely to a woman or a man personally. Everybody was always under control of society, family, religion, and power<sup>7</sup>. The important moment of the life was marriage. It changed the belonging of the body. According to the religious approach a husband should leave parents and join to his wife<sup>8</sup>. A woman and a man depended on each other after the marriage. The society accepted them as a couple.

This approach was not acceptable for everybody:

*Ożenienie*

...Częścią byź ciała nie chcą, ciała składanego,

Woła byź całym Panem ciała swego.

Połowicą byź ciała nie chcą niczyiego,

Y myślę mogąc nie chcą, myślę to dla czego...<sup>9</sup>

Feudal epoch defined the value of the body according to its social belonging. The Statutes of 1529, 1566, and 1588 included different punishments for murder and beating. The noble body cost higher than others. However, the fine for wounds to the female body was two times more for each stratum. Moreover, the nobility created the concept about itself as the highest estate that had the exclusive right to manage the state. It was proved by legends, coats of arms, cultural and historical memory. They put into practice the idea that the best qualities and virtues could pass only by genetic, from generation to generation<sup>10</sup>. Similar belief existed in the noble society of Western Europe<sup>11</sup>. It was closely connected with the process of forming noble identity in the GDL in the sixteenth century<sup>12</sup>. The general concept did not have a place for noble women because they had another body not created for knight's feats and the government. But family histories possessed information about women.

Magdeburg law influenced greatly on forming bourgeois identity but the position of this estate in the GDL was not such strong as the position of the nobility. The bourgeois concept of origin was not created. The situation with the peasantry was the worst. It was situated on the lowest level in the state. Its life depended completely on owner's will. The peasantry did not own its body. The nobility

<sup>6</sup> S. S. Jagodyński, *Dworzanki*, Kraków 1621.

<sup>7</sup> S. Matthews-Grico, "Ciało i seksualność w Europie w czasach Ancien Régime'u", [in:] *Historiaciała*, t. 1: *Odrenesansydoświecenia*, s. 153.

<sup>8</sup> More about this problem see in the GDL: Н. Сліж, *Шлюбныя і пазашлюбныя стасункі шляхты ВКЛ у XVI–XVII ст.*, Смаленск 2015, pp. 265–377.

<sup>9</sup> S. S. Jagodyński, op. cit., Kraków 1621.

<sup>10</sup> M. Strykowski, op. cit.; A. Wolan, *O wolności Rzeczypospolitey albo szlacheckiey*, tłum. S. Dubingowicz, Wilno 1606, pp. 21–31.

<sup>11</sup> B. Bastl, *Manifestation of Social Identity. The noble woman and Her Family*, Paper held at the conference "Infinite Boundaries: Separation and Unity in Early Modern German Lands: First International Conference of FNI (Frühe Neuzeit Interdisziplinär)", Duke University, Durham, NC, April 20–22, 1995; К. Дюамель, *Семейные стратегии и социальное воспроизводство католического дворянства в XVII–XVIII вв.*, in: *Семья, дом и узы родства в истории*, ed. Т. Зоколл, О. Кошелевой, Ю. Шлюмбу, СПб. 2004, рс. 180.

<sup>12</sup> A. Tereškinas, *Imperfect Communities. Identity, Discourse and Nation in the Seventeenth Century Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, Vilnius 2005.

considered that other estates should serve for it.

Biological cycle of life includes birth, childhood, youth age, maturity, old age, and death. Education and upbringing was an important part of childhood. Nobility prepared for political career and war service, the bourgeoisie studied trade or handicraft, the peasantry – agriculture. The high activity of a person was in the period between 20 and 30 years. A man needed the strong and healthy body for taking up his duties.

Foreigners paid their attention to well-built men in the GDL. But alcohol abuse harmed them<sup>13</sup>. Michalonis Lituani wrote that the problem touched the whole state. Drinking started from the morning. Nobility took alcohol for a war; peasants gathered in taverns, drank and listened to the pipe<sup>14</sup>. We should mark that using alcohol was not problem touched only the GDL.

Masculinity was connected with sexuality. The Renaissance changed the European attitude to the naked male body and the penis. From the ancient time different nations and ethnic groups connected the penis with fertility. This tradition existed in Belarusian society even in the nineteenth century. In Vicebsk province after planting flax naked men rolled on the ground. In Podlasie man took off his pants and run round the area with planted cucumbers. It believed that they would be such strong and big as his penis<sup>15</sup>. In addition, the penis in different cultures symbolizes strength, power, and protection. But not every culture has developed phallic cult as Greek culture. It should be marked that Christian ideology did not eulogize the phallic symbol. The male penis was considered as demonic, and Christ's penis as divine<sup>16</sup>.

The poem devoted to a eunuch from Sultan's harem of proved the importance of the genitals for a man. It was written in 1792 r. and placed under the illustration of Kysyr Aga or the supervisor of the black eunuchs in the harem (*Kyslyr Aga albo na przełożony nad czarnymi eunuchami w Saraiu białogłowskim*). The offering of the penis was completely incomprehensible for the culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth:

Stoisz smutny jewnuchi z tak niepiękna cerą  
 Żal mi że się trapisz to twoją cholera  
 Żelują cię o Kyslyr Aga! I tureckie żony  
 Niemasz kuśki i jajec zostałeś okpiony  
 Darmo tamiesz ręce y zżymasz się sam u sobie  
 Nikt nie przyprawi jajec, a ni kuśki tobie.  
 Roku 1792. Januar die 24 in saude descripta sunt carmine Kyslyr Aga.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> П. Одэрборн, „Праўдзівы і грунтоўны аповед пра веру русаў”, *Беларускі гістарычны агляд*, vol. 12, issue. 1–2 (22–23), 2005, pp. 167–189.

<sup>14</sup> М. Литвин, *О нравах татар, литовцев и москвитян*, Москва 1994, pp. 75–78, 89–90.

<sup>15</sup> И. С. Коң, *Мужское тело в истории культуры, Электронная версия книги, исправленная и дополненная*, 2010, pp. 31–32, 112.

<sup>16</sup> D. Friedman, *Pan niepokorny. Kulturowa historia penisa*, transl. I. Kolczyńska, Warszawa 2003, p. 69.

<sup>17</sup> *Monarchia turecka opisana przez Ricota Sekretarza Posła Angielskiego u Porty Ottomańskiej residującego z francuskiego języka na polski przetłumaczona przez szlachcica polskiego*, Słuck 1678, p.46.



*Illustration 1: Illustration from the book Turkish monarchy... by Ricotta Monarchia turecka opisana przez Ricotta Sekretarza Posła Angielskiego u Porty Otomańskiej residującego z francuskiego języka na polski przetłumaczona przez szlachcica polskiego. Słuck, 1678, Public Domain.*

A man devoted himself to matters of career, work, and family in the period of mature. Old age was a hard period of life with diseases and disabilities. According to astrology it believed that 63 years old was the time of the death or dangerous events. Maciej Vorbek Lettow wrote about it in his memoirs. It was a really perilous period in his life because he had 63 years old in 1655 when the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth struggle against Russia<sup>18</sup>.

The men in the elderly have different life situations. Nobleman Stanisław Odachowski was put to death in 1655 because of raids on noble, bourgeois and peasant courts<sup>19</sup>. However, the elderly often needed care of children or the environment. In 63 years old Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł felt himself «as a half-

<sup>18</sup> *Skarbnica pamięci: pamiętnik lekarza króla Władysława IV*, oprac. E. Galos, F. Mincer, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1968, p. 224.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 225.

man»: he had poor eyesight and could not speak well. Because of poor health he resigned from the office of the Vilnia (Wilno, Vilnius) vovode in 1612. At the end of 1613 he was partially paralyzed. The last years of his life he was in bad (1615)<sup>20</sup>.

Sources have information about the duty to take care to the end of life. Zofija Wojciechówna and her husband Siemion Andrejewicz received from her parents Wojciech Michajłowicz i Fiedora Prokopowna, Polack bourgeois, a house, a garden, and a butcher's shop for obligations to respect them to the death in 1650<sup>21</sup>.

In the case of rejection children to care about parents officials had the power to force them. According to the judgment of Mahilioŭ magistrate Sieńko was obliged to feed and look after his father Hryszko Sawinicz (1588)<sup>22</sup>.

Jan Protosowicz's poem presents two views on old age. He paid attention on the problems of the elderly and psychological condition in this period of life. It turned out that it was very hard to accept changes in the body and understand that life was already at the end and death could come at any time. The poem was written as a dialogue between the elders. The first complained that the body had lost power, good vision, and people did not want to have contact with him. Life did not have any sense. The second old man was more optimistic. He thought that it was the natural condition given by the God. People should accept it<sup>23</sup>. The poem ended with the supporting of the second approach:

Już mniejszy słuch, mniejszy smak w starości swej czuję,  
 Oczy mgliste, ledwo co omacmie znajduję,  
 Po twarzy wszędzie zmarski jakoby zorane,  
 Włosy jako śnieg biały, różno rozczosane,  
 Na czele mi się jakieś fałdy poczyniły,  
 Czerstwość ciała i gładkość już mię odstały.  
 Głowa mi sie kołysz, jakby się dziwuyąc,  
 A takim odmiennościami swoim przypatrując;  
 Zęby co do jednego wszystkie wypróchniały,  
 Tylko dziąsła nikczemne i słabe zostały,  
 Szyją mi się z ciężkością przychodzi obrócić,  
 Aż się wszystek jako wilk sam muszę nawrócić.  
 Nos wyschły i nadzwyczaj został się zaostrozony,  
 Nawet od wszystkich sił swych jestem opuszczony...  
 ...Taka jest dostoyeństwem i drogą koroną;  
 Znak tedy łaski Bożej, kto nawiedzony.  
 Więc iż są starzy ludzie więcej doskonali  
 W mądrości aniżeli co w wieku niedostali...<sup>24</sup>

Biological cycle of the body was not a secret for the GDL society. Old age was the last bound before the death. Health became worse and physical activity

<sup>20</sup> *Archiwum domu Radziwiłłów*, vol. 8, Kraków 1885, p. XXII, 54; T. Kempa, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka (1549–1616), wojewoda wileński*, Warszawa 2000, p. 318.

<sup>21</sup> *Актовая книга полацкага магістрата 1650 г.: зб. дак.склаў і падрыхтаваў да друку М. Гардзееў*, Мінск 2006, с. 164.

<sup>22</sup> Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі (НГАБ), ф. 1817, воп. 1, спр. 3, арк. 40 адв.-41.

<sup>23</sup> С. Кавалёў, *Шматмоўная паэзія Вялікага Княства Літоўскага эпохі Рэнесансу*, Мінск 2010, р. 309–311.

<sup>24</sup> J. Protosowicz, *Konterfekt człowieka starego*, Wilno 1597.

was limited. It was the time when a person needed a care of a family. To respect old age was in tradition of feudal society and Christianity. But it did not always give a guarantee. Wealthy people had a chance to receive a care. But everybody felt on pain of death. Partially religion gave possibility to accept the fate.



Illustration 2: Old men from the book by J. Protasowicz *Konterfekt człowieka starego*, Wilno 1597, Public Domain

*Medical approach to the body.* On the territory of the GDL European and Eastern medical approaches to the body were known. The knowledge came through education in European universities, literature, foreign doctors, travelling, and trading. However, local traditions from folk medicine also enjoyed popularity. Different approaches to the body and hygiene connected in the GDL.

Hygiene played important role in the GDL. A bath-house was known from ancient times. Pitchers with bowls were used for washing, especially in travelling.

Soap was produced in towns and even exported to Western Europe<sup>25</sup>.

It was known recommendations for using the bath. Herbarium of XVIIth c. Outlined not often to visit a bath-house, because it could provoke illness of the digestive system. The best hours for visit were four hours after dinner. It also recommended not to drink water in a bath-house and to stay here about an hour not more<sup>26</sup>. Orthodox Church advised to take care about hygiene, to wash the body only if it needed in order to avoid increasing sexual activity. It was forbidden to touch genitals by dirty hands<sup>27</sup>.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries people turned to the services of witch-doctors, doctors, and barbers<sup>28</sup>. Doctors and barbers were bourgeois by birth received their education abroad. The most famous doctor of the sixteenth century was bourgeois from Polack Francysk Skaryna. Barber dealt with not only haircuts and shaving, but with the surgery. The wealthy, as Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Orphan, had personal doctors<sup>29</sup>. Sometimes they went abroad for treatment. For example, Mikołaj Krzysztof Dorohostajski went to Italy in 1608<sup>30</sup>. Health was important for everybody; however to keep himself in good shape was very difficult. Only the tempered body could bear a military campaign, travel, hard work, and etc.

Medicine of the GDL was developing in the direction of European medicine. Drugs and equipment for chemist's shops was imported from Prussia. For example, Hrodna (Grodno) chemist Jan Merejewski brought the equipment from Königsberg in 1600<sup>31</sup>. Chemist's shops were situated in big cities such as Wilno, Kowna (Kaunas), Berascie (Brest), Hrodna and others. The inventory of the chemist's shop done in 1639 after the death of Stanisław Bobrowski presented different things: boxes with drugs, alembic, pans and etc. In addition, there were two herbals and two medical books<sup>32</sup>. An important role in the development of medicine belonged to the Jesuits. They kept chemist's shops and had good books

<sup>25</sup> Н. Сліж, "Штодзённые патрэбы асобаў шляхецкага саслоўя ў Вялікім Княстве Літоўскім XVI стагоддзя і асаблівасці іх задавальнення", *Arche. Гісторыя беларускай штодзённасці*, no 3, 2012, pp. 62–65; З. Копыцкий, *Экономическое развитие городов Белоруссии в XVI – первой половине XVII в.*, Минск 1966, p. 211, 219; Н. Сліж, „Арганізацыя гандлю ў Горадні ў XVI – першай палове XVII стагоддзя”, [in:] *Гісторыя гандлю ў Беларусі (ад старажытнага часу да канца XX ст.): праблемы вывучэння і перспектывы даследавання. Матэрыялы I Міжнароднай навукова-практычнай канферэнцыі (Мінск, 14–16 лістапада 2013 г.)*, Мінск 2014, pp. 141–142; В. П. Грицкевич, *С факелом Гипократа: Из истории белорусской медицины*, Минск 1987, p. 52.

<sup>26</sup> *Редкие источники по истории России. Древнерусский лечебник*, ed. А. А. Новосельского, Л. Н. Пушкарева, Москва 1977, p. 78.

<sup>27</sup> Orthodox approach on hygiene was presented in confessions. Н. Сліж, *Шлюбныя і пазаілюбныя стасункі шляхты ВКЛ у XVI–XVII ст.*, Смаленск 2015, p. 292.

<sup>28</sup> В. П. Грицкевич, op. cit., pp. 70–87.

<sup>29</sup> *Archivum domu Radziwiłłów*, vol 8, Kraków 1885, p. 22.

<sup>30</sup> А. Sajkowski, *Opowieści misjonarzy konkwistadorów pielgrzymów i innych świata ciekawych*, Poznań 1991, p. 229.

<sup>31</sup> Vilna University Bibliotekos Rankraščių skyrius, f. 4-A2106, l. 73v.

<sup>32</sup> The inventory of the chemist's shop was published, see: НГАБ, ф. 1786, воп. 1, спр. 2, арк. 353–355; Акты, издаваемые комиссией, высочайше учрежденной для разбора древних актов в Вильне, vol. 6: Акты Брестского гродского суда (поточные). Акты брестского подкоморского суда. Акты Брестской магдебургии. Акты Кобринской магдебургии. Акты Каменецкой магдебургии, Вильна 1872, с. 317–318; Н. Сліж, „Тэстамент берасцейскага бурмістра Станіслава Баброўскага, 1639 г.”, *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne*, n 42, 2014, pp. 7–24; В. П. Грицкевич, op. cit., p. 66–68.

in their libraries<sup>33</sup>.

Anatomic structure of organs and systems was also known. The first dissection was done in Hrodna in 1586 after the death of the king Stefan Batory because of a conflict between his doctors. Examination of internal organs was also held after the death of Sigismund III in 1632<sup>34</sup>.

Generally, the sixteenth century was a period of scientific development. In Italy professors of medicine published books with a detailed description of the human anatomy<sup>35</sup>. Male genitals were also under studying, especially its construction and functions. The well-known notebook by Leonardo da Vinci consisted of a large number of images. They described male and female anatomy<sup>36</sup>. The book by Andrea Vesalius was divided into chapters based on the construction of the male body. It contained a detailed description of the male reproductive organs<sup>37</sup>. New achievements in medicine were brought in the GDL by education in universities of Italy and other countries<sup>38</sup>.

Medical books and herbals were very popular in Europe in this period<sup>39</sup>. This tendency also touched the GDL. The book by Jan Hasler from Bern was published in 1578. It had the dedication devoted to Mikołaj Dorohostajski<sup>40</sup>. Different medical books in foreign languages and their translations were known in the GDL<sup>41</sup>. Herbals included information about the wide spectre of illnesses. At that time medicine understood the difference between male and female diseases.

<sup>33</sup> В. П. Грицкевич, op. cit., p. 72.

<sup>34</sup> W. Ziembicki, *Ostatnie łowy. W 350 rocznice zgonu króla (grudzień 1586 – grudzień 1936)*, Lwów 1937; *Pamiętniki Albrychta Stanisława Radziwiłła, kanclerza W. Litewskiego*, ed. E. Raczyński, vol. 1, Poznań 1839, p. 12.

<sup>35</sup> N. Davidson, "Theology, nature and the law: sexual sin and sexual crime in Italy from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century", [in:] *Crime, Society and the Law in Renaissance Italy*, ed. by T. Dean, K. J. P. Lowe, Cambridge 1994, p. 82.

<sup>36</sup> Leonardo da Vinci, *Anatomical Drawings from Royal Library Windsor Castle*, New York 1984; D. Friedman, *Pannie pokorny*, p. 74–81; D. Noble, D. Di Francesco, D. Zancani, *Leonardo da Vinci and the origin of semen*, Published 20 August 2014, the website: <http://rsnr.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/early/2014/08/14/rsnr.2014.0021>.

<sup>37</sup> A. Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica*, Padua 1543; D. Friedman, op. cit, pp. 82–101.

<sup>38</sup> Maciej Vorbek Lettow wrote about his travelling abroad and study at the university in 1610–1616. *Skarbnica pamięci: pamiętnik lekarza króla Władysława IV*, eds. E. Galos, F. Mincer, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1968, p. 38–56.

<sup>39</sup> A. Arber, *Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution. A Chapter in the History of Botany 1470–1670*, Cambridge 1912; K. Rostański, „Szymon Syreniusz i jego dzieło”, *Wiadomości Botaniczne*, vol. 2 (41), 1997, pp. 7–12.

<sup>40</sup> J. Hasler z Berna, *De logistica mediea (hoc est et morborum et compositorum medicaminum qualitatum gradus, purgationum; doses atque proprietates inuestigandi ratione apodictica) problematis novem, pagina versa conspiciendis, absoluta, li ber vnus*, Anno Salutis M.DLXXXVIII (1578); Г. Галенчанка, *Невядомыя і малавядомыя помнікі духоўнай спадчыны і культурных сувязей Беларусі XV – сярэдзіны XVII ст.*, Мінск 2008, pp. 238–241.

<sup>41</sup> В. П. Грицкевич, op. cit. p. 100–101.



Illustration 3: Cutting from the book by A. Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica*, Padua 1543, Public Domain



Illustration 4: Male anatomy from the book by A. Vesalius *De humani corporis fabrica*, Padua 1543, Public Domain.

One of the oldest medical books was translated into Old-Belarusian language in 1487<sup>42</sup>. It contained characteristics of herbs and information about the body<sup>43</sup>. It is necessary to pay attention to the translation into Old-Belarusian language the treatise *Secretum* or *Secretasecretorum*. The notes on the margins show the book was popular in the sixteenth – seventeenth centuries. It had materials about astrology, human body, illnesses and etc.<sup>44</sup>

Medical books and herbals from Poland were also spread in the GDL. Stefan Falimer’s book influenced greatly on development of medical knowledge. It was

<sup>42</sup> *Herbarius*, 1484 or *Herbarius seu Devirtutibus herbarum*, Passau 1485 could be the examples for the translation. See about herbals: A. Arber, op. cit, pp. 13–18.

<sup>43</sup> *Редкие источники*, pp. 7–11.

<sup>44</sup> The treatise *Secretum* was translated into different languages. The Old-Belarusian translation is kept in the National Library of Belarusi (№ 091/276K). It was described in historiography, see: Е. Карский, *Белорусы*, vol. 3: *Очерки словестности белорусского племени*, 2: *Старая западно-русская письменность*, Петроград 1921, pp. 52–55; В. Ластоўскі, *Гісторыя беларускай (крыўскай) кнігі. Спроба паясьніцель-най кнігопісі ад канца X да пачатку XIX стагодзьдзя*, Коўна 1926, pp. 336–337; Л. И. Станкевич, „Рукописный сборник гадательно-астрологического содержания XVI в. (Аристотелевы врата, или Тайная Тайных) из фонда Национальной библиотеки Беларуси”, [in:] *Материалы международной электронной конференции “Книжная культура пограничья Славии Восточной и Западной (ноябрь 2007 г.)”*, <http://www.knizhnikult.narod.ru/Stankevich.htm>; М. Сперанский, *Из истории отреченных книг, IV: Аристотелевы врата, или Тайная тайных*, Москва–Санкт-Петербург 1908.

basic for the editions by Heronim Speczyński and Marcin Sennik<sup>45</sup>. The Herbal by Speczyński was dedicated to the voevode of Troki (Trokai) Stanisław Gasztold<sup>46</sup>. But these publications did not possess detailed illustration of the male body as it was in European books. They contained the scheme how to phlebotomize and to cup.



Illustration 5: The scheme how to cup, the book Stefan Falimirz. *O ziołach i mocy ich*, Kraków 1534, Public Domain.

Potency was always important for a man. Therefore, searching of effective aphrodisiacs was always actual. The Greeks used onions, eggs, honey, mussels, crabs, snails. It was known for a variety of powders consisted of antlers, mushrooms

<sup>45</sup> S. Falimirz, *O ziołach i mocy ich*, Kraków 1534; M. Siennik, op. cit., Kraków 1568; J. Rostański, *Porównanie tak zwanych zielników Falimirza, Spiczyńskiego i Siennika*, Kraków 1888.

<sup>46</sup> H. Speczyński, *O Ziołach tutecznych y zamorskich y o mocy ich, a temu księgi lekarskie wedle rejestru niżej napisanego wszem wielmi użyteczne*, Kraków 1542.

and other components in China<sup>47</sup>. Anise was recommended by Moscow herbals<sup>48</sup>. The Polish books advised saffron; soup with beans, peppers and ginger; pigeon and sparrow eggs and etc. For old men was useful to eat twice a day a mixture of honey, mustard, pepper, cumin and chicken legs<sup>49</sup>. It considered that abnormal sexual desire was dangerous for health<sup>50</sup>.



Illustration 6: The scheme how to phlebotomize and to cup, the book by Stefan Falimirz. *Oziolachi moczych*. Kraków 1534, Public Domain.

Medicine in the GDL was developing according to European tendencies.

<sup>47</sup> Р. Тэннехилл, *Секс в истории*, transl. А. И. Блейз, Москва 1995, pp. 166–168; Р. ван. Гулик, *Искусство секса в Древнем Китае*, transl. Н. Касьяновой, Москва 2003, pp. 187–188.

<sup>48</sup> “Старинные памятники медицинской письменности XVI–XVII в.”, [В:] “А се грехи злые смертные...”: *Любовь, эротика и сексуальная этика в доиндустриальной России (X–первая половина XIX в.)*, ed. Н. Пушкарёвой, Москва 1999, p. 150.

<sup>49</sup> М. Siennik, op. cit., p. 198, 379; Z. Kuchowicz, *Miłość Staropolska*, Łódź 1982, p. 384.

<sup>50</sup> М. Siennik, op. cit., p. 379.

The knowledge came through education abroad, translating medical works, buying medical books. Personal hygiene depended on social origin. Health was important for everybody because of it people needed doctors. Scientists and doctors were men that is why the male anatomy was examined better. Physiological processes of the female body were incomprehensible mystery. However, in comparison with the Middle Ages medical knowledge in the Renaissance had achieved considerable success.



*Illustration 7: «Christ in Limbo» by Bronzino, St. Cross Basilica in Florence, fot. N. Sliž.*

*The male body in the art.* Presentation of the male body in the art depended on historical period. In the Renaissance the ideal body image was accepted from

the old patterns of antiquity<sup>51</sup>. Baroque input curvy shapes. The sixteenth century distinguished by flourishing of European art. Renaissance artists deviated from the canons of Gothic art, made a feast of life and the cult of the body. It should be noted that the trends of ancient culture found in the works of Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo di Lodovico di Leonardo di Buonarroti Simoni, Sandro Botticelli, Tiziano Vecellio, and others. Artists tried to create the perfect and proportionate body with sexual attraction. The development of anatomy influenced on the presentation of the body in art. The naked body could be seen everywhere: in churches, on paintings, in the squares, and streets. New trends kept in the seventeenth century. They had supporters and critics<sup>52</sup>. Ludwika Karolina Radziwiłłówna's collection inventoried in 1680 and 1683 shows that European art was known in the GDL and paintings with erotic scenes enjoyed popularity<sup>53</sup>.

Religious art acquired erotic features. Artists interpreted religious scenes without modesty and shyness opening the magnificent bodies of their heroes. It can be seen on the following paintings: «Adam and Eve» by Jacob Basan (1515–1592), «Christ in Libmo» by Bronzino (Agnolo Tori (1503–1572), «St. Sebastian» by Ambito di Ercole de' Roberti (1480–1490), and etc. Even the image of the crucified Jesus Christ was presented naked by Michelangelo. Now it is in the Basilica of the Holy Spirit in Florence<sup>54</sup>. Angels in Italian churches and palaces were presented with male genitals. For example, it can be seen on the paintings and sculptures of the Cathedral Church in Pisa, St. Cross Basilica in Florence, the Uffizi Gallery in Florence and etc. Such images of angels were placed on the cover page of the «The Song about the Bison» by Mikolaj Gusowski and on the map of the GDL by Tomasz Makowski<sup>55</sup>. Francysk Skaryna decorated books with naked bodies<sup>56</sup>.

The naked figures of Adam and Eve were painted on the frescoes of the Holy Spirit church of Tupiczew monastery in Mctislaŭ (1633–1636)<sup>57</sup>. Presentation

<sup>51</sup> *Искусство Древнего мира. Энциклопедия*, Москва 2001, с. 140, 142, 143, 150, 151, 160, 245, 263 і ітр.; И. С. Коң, *Мужское тело в истории культуры*, р. 100–156.

<sup>52</sup> M. Kornell, "Drawings for Bartolomeo Passarotti's Book on Anatomy", in: *Drawing 1400-1600: Invention and Innovation*, ed. S. Currie, London (Ashgate) 1998, pp. 172–188; D. Friedman, op. cit., pp. 71–72; J. Burke, "Sex and Spirituality in 1500s Rome: Sebastiano del Piombo's *Martyrdom of Saint Agatha*", *The Art Bulletin*, vol 88, no 3, 2006, pp. 482–495; D. Arasso, "Ciało, wdzięk, wzniosłość", [in:] *Historia ciała*. vol. 1, p. 381–425; И. С. Коң, op. cit. pp. 182–229, 247–261, 267–268, 272–292; K. Stojek-Sawicka, "Anatomia a sztuki plastyczne w czasach nowożytnych", *Medycyna Nowożytna: studia nad historią medycyny*, vol. 14.(1), 2007, pp. 8–9, 14–15.

<sup>53</sup> *Archiwum Główne Aktów Dawnych*, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, dz. XXVI, sygn. 102, k. 89–137; sygn. 106, k. 94–105; T. Sulerzyska, „Inwentarz Galerii Obrazów Radziwiłłów z XVII w.”, [in:] *Нявіжскія зборы Радзівілаў*, Вяртанне 7, Мінск 2002, р. 102–124; Z. Kuchowicz, *Miłość Staropolska*, Łódź 1982, р. 168. The second copy can be found in the Archives in Mińsk (partly printed), in: Г. Галенчанка, op. cit., pp. 390–412.

<sup>54</sup> The image of naked Jesus Christ presents in art. It is known the work by Donatella (1450) and Benvenuto Cellini (1562). It was forbidden to show Christ in this way after Council of Trent. И. С. Коң, op. cit., pp. 158–167.

<sup>55</sup> *Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae, caeterarum que regionum illiadae centium exacta description*, Amsterdam 1613.

<sup>56</sup> *Біблія: Факс. ўзнаўленне Бібліі*, выд. Ф. Скарынаў ў 1517–1519 гг., vol. 1, р. 375, 461, 609, 741.

<sup>57</sup> *Гісторыя беларускага мастацтва*, vol. 2: *Другая палова XVI ст. – канец XVIII ст.*, Мінск 1988, р. 40.

of naked Adam and Eve were linked with Bible history. That is why they were painted according to it. Genitals were often hidden lists. Images of Adam and Eve were printed in Francysk Skaryna's Bible, the Berascie (Brest) Bible (1563), the Niašwiž Bible (1572)<sup>58</sup>. Such scenes were even herbals next to the text about an apple<sup>59</sup>. Crucified Christ was not shown without clothes but dressing on his hips. The icon «Descent into hell» showed Christ with as coat on the naked body<sup>60</sup>.



*Illustration 8: Crucified Jesus by Michelangelo, Basilica of the Holy Spirit in Florence, fot. N. Sliž;*

We should mention St. Peter's and Paul's churches in Wilno built by the foundation of the hetman of the GDL Michał Kazimierz Pac. The sculptures of half-naked men with baroque bodies are on the left side from the main altar. You can see half-naked well-built young men on the right side.

It is rather difficult to study European tendencies in interiors of churches in the GDL. For example, Italian architects built the Catholic Parish church in Hrodna in 1586. But it was ruined by Moscow troops during the war in 1654–

<sup>58</sup> *Biblia święta, tho iest, Księgi Starego y Nowego Zakonu, wlasnie z Zydowskiego, Greckiego, y Łacińskiego, nowo na Polski ięzyk z pilnością y wiernie wyłożone [tzw. "Biblia brzeska"] [Stary Testament]*, Brzest 1563; *Biblia. To iest, księgi starego y nowego przymierza, z nowu z ięzyka Ebreyskiego, Grecskiego y Łacińskiego, na Polski przelożone*, Niešwiž 1572; *Гісторыя беларускага мастацтва*, vol. 1: *Ад старажытных часоў да першай паловы XVI ст.*, Мінск 1987, p. 250; М. Нікалаеў, *Гісторыя беларускай кнігі. Кніжная культура Вялікага Княства Літоўскага*, vol. 1, Мінск 2009, p. 176–180; А. Зелянкова, *Голае мастацтва: ад Скарыны да Шагала (фота) 06.06.2010*, the website: [http://gazetaby.com/cont/art.php?sn\\_nid=29198](http://gazetaby.com/cont/art.php?sn_nid=29198).

<sup>59</sup> Н. Spiczyński, op. cit., p. 123.

<sup>60</sup> *Музей Старажытна беларускай культуры*, Мінск 2004, p. 47, 49, 50.

1667. The church was rebuilt many times and, finally, was detonated by Soviet power in 1961. Because of different historical events many interiors were made after the second half of the seventeenth century when baroque style dominated. At the same time Byzantine traditions existed in the GDL. They preferred icons with imagines of dressed bodies.

In Europe nudity became so popular that even touched portraits. Important persons were painted practically without clothes. Italian artist Bronzino presented the Grand Duke of Tuscany Cosimo I di 'Medici as Orpheus, and the admiral of Genoa Andrea Doria as Neptune<sup>61</sup>. It is hard to imagine naked portraits of Konstantyn Ostrożski or Lew Sapieha.

The portrait of the GDL was under the influence of Byzantine traditions and changed by the European trends in the sixteenth century. The Sarmatian portrait became the very important element of the noble culture. A portrait gallery of a clan was not only fashionable tendency but also the visualization of historical memory<sup>62</sup>. Gravestones of nobility performed the duties of memory and social roles in society<sup>63</sup>.

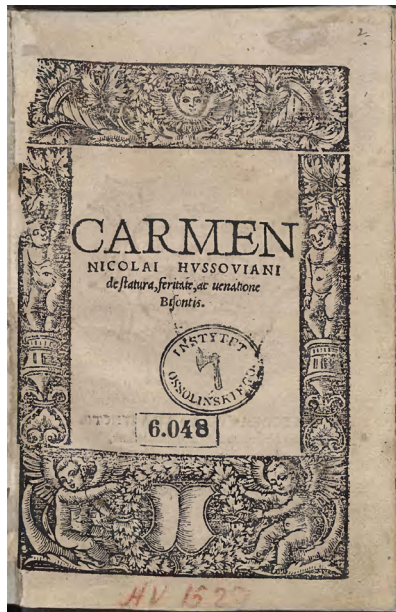


Illustration 9: The cover page of «Song about the Bison» by M. Gusowski, Public Domain.

<sup>61</sup> И. С. Кон, *op. cit.*, pp. 243–247.

<sup>62</sup> А. Ю. Хадыка, Ю. В. Хадыка, *Непайторныя рысы: з гісторыі беларускага партрэту*, Мінск 1992, pp. 72–135; P. Olędzki, *Wspólne dziedzictwo: portret sarmacki w dziedzictwie narodów Rzeczypospolitej Szlacheckiej*, Białystok 1999; L. Šinkūnaitė, *XVIIa. Lietuvos portretas*, Vilnius 2000; *Гістарычны партрэт Вялікага Княства Літоўскага XVI–XVIII стагоддзяў*, Мінск 2003; M. Kałamajska-Saeed, *Genealogia przez obrazy. Barokowa ikonografia rodu Sapiehów na tle staropolskich galerii portretowych*, Warszawa 2006; Ł. Turczak, "Sapieżyńska genealogia portretowa w kościele Świętej Anny w Kodniu nad Bugiem", [in:] *Sapiehowie epoki Kodnia i Krasiczyna*, ed. K. Stępnia, Lublin 2007, pp. 255–264.

<sup>63</sup> Today it is possible to see gravestone devoted to different political figures such as Paweł Sapieha, Lew Sapieha and others. They were very often presented as knights.

Characters of portraits were presented in a static manner. Paintings opened faces, hands, and feet. The anatomical structure of the body was not always well-painted. The body was hidden under long clothes. The men had the Baroque body with a belly. However, they looked well and natural. The men of the GDL were not interesting to bring into fashion very short jackets and tight-fitting trousers as it was in European countries<sup>64</sup>. Male clothing became shorter under the influence of European fashion. But it was used mostly in the military and bourgeois environment<sup>65</sup>.



Illustration 10: The map of the GDL by T. Makowski, Amsterdam 1613, Public Domain.

Portraits of nobility presented the social body. However, showing a military or state career looked like the demonstration of masculinity, because only the strength could achieve such success. It meant the ability to act actively in society as well with women. High social status had sexual attraction.



Illustration 11: The decoration of Francysk Skaryna’s books, Public Domain.

<sup>64</sup> И. С. Кон, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–180, 261–266.

<sup>65</sup> M. Gutkowska-Rychlewska, *Historia ubiorów*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1968, pp. 388–422; З. Жыгульскі, “*Бітва над Оршай – аналіз структуры карціны*”, *Arche*, no 12, 2014, pp. 354–400; В. Бялявіна, В. Ракава, *Мужчынскі касцюм на Беларусі*, Мінск 2007, pp. 11–39, 103–139.

Images of townspeople and peasants survived less in art of the GDL. They appeared in the paintings, icons, engravings. For example, townspeople and peasants from Hrodna were shown on the engraving of Hrodna by Adelhauzer-Cundt 1567–1568 and on the icon Dance Macabre from Hrodna. The visual sources present rather their social roles than male roles.



Illustration 12: Figures of men, St. Pieter's and Paul's church, Wilno, fot. T. Varonicz; Public Domain.

Male erotic and phallic symbols had place in the art in the Middle Ages. For example, a well-known manuscript of *Le Roman de la Rose* contains images with a phallic tree, sexual scenes between monks and nuns<sup>66</sup>. The manuscripts of the GDL possess also interesting illustrations. Radziwiłł's chronicle of the fifteenth century contains 613 paintings<sup>67</sup>. They are visual sources of the history of clothing, weapon and etc<sup>68</sup>. Some images have another character. A naked young man was shown on the illustration the siege of Kiev in 968. He crossed the Dnieper and save the town. A naked man next to devils symbolized dissoluteness of the prince Vladimir who had sexual contacts with a great number of women. The scene of giving the Perejaslaw principality to brother Andrej and the Valyń principality to nephew Iziaslaw Mcislawowicz in 1134 by the prince of Kiev (Kyiv) Jaropolk

<sup>66</sup> G. De Lorriss, J. De Meun. "Le Roman de la Rose. 1301–1400", in: *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*. MS. Fr. 25526. P. 106v, 111, 111v, 160, 160v; M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*, Cambridge 1992; M. Łanuszka, *Zakazany owoc smakuje najlepiej*. The website: <http://posztukiwania.pl/blog/2015/02/15/zakazany-owoc-smakuje-najlepiej>.

<sup>67</sup> А. Толочко, "Не преступати предела братня" (об источниках миниатюр Радзивиловской летописи)", *Ruthenica*, no 12, 2014, p. 70; О. Толочко, „Notes on the Radziwiłł Codex", *Studi Slavistici*, vol. 10, 2013, pp. 29–42.

<sup>68</sup> А. В. Арциховский, *Древнерусские миниатюры как исторический источник*, Москва 1944, pp. 4–40.

included a naked man at the left side. This figure is not suitable to the story. In our opinion it is a way to present the poor policy providing by Jaropolk<sup>69</sup>. The nudity at the last two scenes appeared as a symbol of shame, sin, and dissoluteness.



*Illustration 13: Figures of men, St. Pieter's and Paul's church, Wilno, fot. T. Varonicz; Public Domain.*

Relations between men were treated as a sin and the devil's temptation. It is clearly presented on the cover page of the Berascie Bible (1563). The image was a copy of the engravings by Albrecht Altdorfer<sup>70</sup>. An active partner was treated as the devil and a seducer. In the Greek culture the situation was different. An active man kept his status in society but a passive man lost it<sup>71</sup>. The scene connected with the myth of Sodom and Gomorrah interpreted as a punishment for homosexual relations. In Europe it was the reason for the judicial process<sup>72</sup>. Francysk Skaryna's

<sup>69</sup> Радзивилловская летопись: Текст. Исследование. Описание миниатюр, ed. М. В. Кукушкина, к. 1, СПб.-Москва 1994, p. 35, 45, 166 об; The scene with Jaropolk was printed in: М. Нікалаеў, *Гісторыя беларускай кнігі. Кніжная культура Вялікага Княства Літоўскага*, т. 1, Мінск 2009, pp. 57–58; А. Зелянкова, *Голае мастацтва: ад Скарыны да Шагалі (фота)*, 06.06.2010, the website: [http://gaze.taby.com/cont/art.php?sn\\_nid=29198](http://gaze.taby.com/cont/art.php?sn_nid=29198).

<sup>70</sup> Г. Галенчанка, op. cit., p. 93.

<sup>71</sup> Е. Левина, "Секс и обществов мире православных славян, 900–1700", [in:] *"А се грехи злые смертные..."*: *Любовь, эротика и сексуальна*, pp. 339–340.

<sup>72</sup> L. Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500–1800*, New York–Hagerstown–San Francisco–London 1977, p. 492; N. Davidson, op. cit., p. 87, 89, 90; D. Hughes Owen, "Bodies, disease, and society", [in:] *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance 1300–1550*, ed. J. M. Najemy, Oxford 2004, pp. 113–114; J. Boswall, *Chrześcijaństwo, tolerancja społeczna i homoseksualność. Geje i lesbijki w Europie Zachodniej od początku ery chrześcijańskiej do XIV wieku*, transl. J. Krzyszczyk, Kraków 2006; B-U. Hergemöller, „Średniowiecze”, [in:] *Geje i lesbijki: życie i kultura*, ed. R. Aldrich, transl. P. Nowakowski, Kraków 2009, pp. 57–77; P. Oczko, T. Nastulczyk, *Homoseksualność staropolska*, Kraków 2012, pp. 60–63.

Bible and Ostrog Bible did not contain any comment on this subject<sup>73</sup>. But the Berascie Bible and the Niaświż Bible referred his case to homosexuality<sup>74</sup>.



*Illustration 14: Piotr Wieselowski's gravestone, fot. N. Sliż.*

Negative attitude to homosexuality in Europe did not decrease the number of sodomites. Even homoerotic paintings appeared. It is possible to see on the paintings of saints. For example, the naked body of St. Sebastian by Guido Reni has an erotic attraction<sup>75</sup>. It is rather difficult to speak about homoerotic tendencies in the art of the GDL because of a lack of sources. Art played important role in spreading of the images of the male body as well as the model of the ideal body.

<sup>73</sup> *Біблія: Факс. ўзнаўленне Бібліі*, выд. Ф. Скарынаў ў 1517–1519 гг., vol. 1, Мінск 1990, pp. 69–74; *Біблія...*, Астрог 1581, p. 7 адв. – 8.

<sup>74</sup> *Biblia święta*, Brzest 1563, p. 10. З Бібліі 1563 г. і з Нясвіжскай Бібліі 1572 г. гэты ўрывак і іншыя надрукаваны ў: P. Oczko, T. Nastuleczyk, op. cit., pp. 253–258.

<sup>75</sup> H. Puff, „Wczesnonowożytna Europa, 1400–1700”, [in:] *Geje i lesbijki: życie i kultura*, ed. R. Aldricha, transl. P. Nowakowski, Kraków 2009, pp. 77–89, 95–101; И. С. Кон, op. cit., pp. 229–243, 426–432.



Illustration 15: *The peasant, the icon Dance Macabre*, fot. N. Sliž.

It was possible to see them on engravings, paintings, in temples, palaces, and houses of the nobility and bourgeoisie. Art became an aesthetic way of information transmission. It was understood better than any book, even for the uneducated. European trends influenced greatly the development of the art in GDL but they were not accepted completely. Did a man have any opportunity to



Illustration 16: *The cover page from Berascie Bible 1563*. Public Domain.

control completely his body? Did it really belong to him? His private area was very small. Society, science, religion, and family controlled the body. Tradition demanded to hide the body under clothing. Art showed the naked body as a symbol of sin, shame, and dissoluteness.

Gender, biological cycle, social origin established conditions for the functioning of the male body. Christianity limited significantly the male sexuality. Male desires were referred to a sin. Male subculture was not always accepted religious restrictions. The popular poem touched upon the problem:

Niewolno panien w ich panienstwo tykać  
 A do wdow smutnych ani sie przymykać  
 Mniszki mężatki Panie racz zachować  
 A kogosz będziem u diabła miłować<sup>76</sup>.



Illustration 17: Illustration from Radziwiłł's chronicle, Public Domain.

<sup>76</sup> Vilna University to Bibliotekos Rankrašėių skyrius, f. 3-2239, l. 76v; Наукова-даследчы адзел кнігазнаўства Нацыянальнай бібліятэкі Беларусі, НББ 091/4024к, арк. 265адв.





Illustration 19: illustration from Radziwiłł's chronicle, Public Domain.

### Illustrations:

1. Illustration from the book *Turkish monarchy...* By Ricota (Monarchia turecka opisana przez Ricota Sekretarza Posła Angielskiego u Porty Ottomańskiej residującego z francuskiego języka na polski przetłumaczona przez szlachcica polskiego. Słuck, 1678); Public Domain.
2. Old men from the book by J. Protasowicz, (*Konterfekt człowieka starego*, Wilno 1597); Public Domain.
3. Cutting from the book by A. Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica*, Padua 1543; Public Domain.
4. Male anatomy from the book by A. Vesalius (*De humani corporis fabrica*, Padua 1543); Public Domain.
5. The scheme how to cup, the book Stefan *Falimirz. O ziołach i mocy ich*, Kraków 1534; Public Domain.
6. The scheme how to phlebotomize and to cup, the book by Stefan *Falimirz. O ziołach i mocy ich*. Kraków 1534; Public Domain.
7. «Christ in Libmo» by Bronzino, St. Cross Basilica in Florence, fot. N. Sliž;
8. Crucified Jesus by Michelangelo, Basilica of the Holy Spirit in Florence, fot. N. Sliž;
9. The cover page of «Song about the Bison» by M. Gusowski; Public Domain.
10. The map of the GDL by T. Makowski, Amsterdam 1613; Public Domain.
11. The decoration of Francysk Skaryna's books; Public Domain.
12. Figures of men, St. Pieter's and Paul's church, Wilno, fot. T. Varonicz;
13. Figures of men, St. Pieter's and Paul's church, Wilno, fot. T. Varonicz;
14. Piotr Wieselowski's gravestone, fot. N. Sliž;
15. The peasant, the icon Dance Macabre, fot. N. Sliž;
16. The cover page from Berascie Bible 1563; Public Domain.
17. Illustration from Radziwiłł's chronicle; Public Domain.

### References

- 1 *Акты, издаваемые Комиссией, высочайшим учреждением для разбора древних актов в Вильне, vol. 6: Акты Брестского городского суда (поточные). Акты брестского подкоморского суда. Акты Брестской магдебургии. Акты Кобринской магдебургии. Акты Каменецокой магдебургии*, Вильна 1872.
- 2 *Актавая кніга полацкага магістрата 1650 г.: зб. дак, склаў і падрыхтаваў да друку М. Гардзеў*, Мінск 2006.

3. *Біблія: Факс. ўзнаўленне Бібліі*, выд. Ф. Скарынаў ў 1517–1519 гг., vol. 1.
4. Арциховский А.В., *Древнерусские миниатюры как исторический источник*, Москва 1944.
5. Бялявіна В., В. Ракава, *Мужчынскі касцюм на Беларусі*, Мінск 2007.
6. Галенчанка Г., *Невядомыя і малавядомыя помнікі духоўнай спадчыны і культурных сувязей Беларусі XV – сярэдзіны XVII ст.*, Мінск 2008.
- 7 *Гістарычны партрэт Вялікага Княства Літоўскага XVI–XVIII стагоддзяў*, Мінск 2003.
- 8 *Гісторыя беларускага мастацтва, т. 2: Другая палова XVI ст. – канец XVIII ст.*, Мінск 1988.
9. Грицкевич В. П., *С факелом Гиппократата: Из истории белорусской медицины*, Минск 1987.
10. Гулик Р., *Искусство секса в Древнем Китае, transl. Н. Касьяновой*, Москва 2003.
11. Дюамель К., „Семейные стратегии и социальное воспроизводство католического дворянства в XVII–XVIII вв.”, [in:] *Семья, дом и узы родства в истории*, ed. Т. Зоколла, О. Кошелевой, Ю. Шлюмбуа, СПб. 2004.
12. Жыгульскі З., „Бітва пад Оршай – аналіз структуры карціны”, *Arche*, no 12, 2014.
13. *Искусство Древнего мира. Энциклопедия*, Москва 2001.
14. Кавалёў С., *Шматмоўная паэзія Вялікага Княства Літоўскага эпохі Рэнесансу*, Мінск 2010.
15. Карский Е., *Белорусы, т. III: Очерки словестности белорусского племени, 2: Старая западно-русская письменность*, Петроград 1921.
16. Кон И. С., *Мужское тело в истории культуры, Электронная версия книги, исправленная и дополненная*, 2010.
17. Копыцкий З., *Экономическое развитие городов Белоруссии в XVI – первой половине XVII в.*, Минск 1966.
18. Ластоўскі В., *Гісторыя беларускай (крыўскай) кнігі. Спраба паясьніцельнай кнігопісі ад канца X да пачатку XIX стагодзьдзя*, Коўна 1926.
19. Литвин М., *О нравах татар, литовцев и москвитян*, Москва 1994.
20. *Музей Старажытна беларускай культуры*, Мінск 2004.
21. Навукова-даследчы адзел кнігазнаўства Нацыянальнай бібліятэкі Беларусі, НББ 091/4024к.
22. Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі, ф. 1817, воп. 1, спр. 3; ф. 1786, воп. 1, спр. 2.
23. Нікалаеў М., *Гісторыя беларускай кнігі. Кніжная культура Вялікага*

- Княства Літоўскага*, т. 1, Мінск 2009.
24. Одерборн П., „Праўдзівы і грунтоўны аповед пра веру русаў”, *Беларускі гістарычны агляд*, vol. 12, no 1–2 (22–23), 2005.
  25. *Радзивилловская летопись: Текст. Исследование. Описание миниатюр*, ed. М. В. Кукушкина, vol. 1, СПб.-Москва 1994.
  26. *Редкие источники по истории России Древнерусский лечебник*, ed. А. А. Новосельского, Л. Н. Пушкарева, Москва 1977.
  27. Сліж Н., „Арганізацыя гандлю ў Горадні ў XVI – першай палове XVII стагоддзя”, [in:] *Гісторыя гандлю ў Беларусі (ад старажытнага часу да канца XX ст.): праблемы вывучэння і перспектывы даследавання. Матэрыялы I Міжнароднай навукова-практычнай канферэнцыі (Мінск, 14–16 лістапада 2013 г.)*, Мінск 2014.
  28. Сліж Н., *Шлюбныя і пазашлюбныя стасункі шляхты ВКЛ у XVI–XVII стст.*, Смаленск 2015.
  29. Сліж Н., „Тэстамент берасцейскага бурмістра Станіслава Баброўскага, 1639 г.”, *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne*, no 42, 2014.
  30. Сліж Н., „Штодзённыя патрэбы асобаў шляхецкага саслоўя ў Вялікім Княстве Літоўскім XVI стагоддзя і асаблівасці іх задавальнення”, *Arche. Гісторыя беларускай штодзённасці*, no 3, 2012.
  31. Сліж Н., Гардзееў М., „Шляхецкія тэстаменты 16 – пачатку 18 ст.”, *Гістарычны альманах*, vol. 3, 2000.
  32. Сперанский М., *Из истории отреченных книг, IV: Аристотелевы врата, или Тайная тайных*, Москва–Санкт-Петербург 1908.
  33. Станкевич Л. И., „Рукописный сборник гадательно-астрологического содержания XVI в. (Аристо-телевы врата, или Тайная Тайных) из фонда Национальной библиотеки Беларуси”, [in:] *Материалы международной электронной конференции “Книжная культура пограничья Славии Восточной и Западной (ноябрь 2007 г.)”*, на stronie internetowej: <http://www.knizhkult.narod.ru/Stankevich.htm>.
  34. „Старинные памятники медицинской письменности XVI–XVII в.”, [in:] *«А се грехи злые смертные...»: Любовь, эротика и сексуальная этика в доиндустриальной России (X–первая половина XIX в.)*, ed. Н. Пушкарёвой, Москва 1999, pp. 147–150.
  35. Толочко А., “Не преступати предела братня” (об источниках миниатюр Радзивилловской летописи), *Ruthenica*, no 12, 2014.
  36. Тэннехилл Р., *Секс в истории*, transl. А. И. Блейз, Москва 1995.
  37. Хадыка А. Ю., Хадыка Ю. В., *Непаўторныя рысы: з гісторыі беларускага партрэту*, Мінск 1992.
  38. Arasso D., „Ciało, wdzięk, wzniosłość”, [in:] *Historia ciała. vol. 1: Od renesansu do oświecenia*, ed. G. Vigarello, transl. T. Stróżyński, Gdańsk 2011.

39. Arber A., *Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution. A Chapter in the History of Botany 1470–1670*, Cambridge 1912.
40. *Archiwum Główne Aktów Dawnych, Archiwum Radziwiłłów*, dz. XXVI, sygn. 102; sygn. 106.
41. Bastl B., *Manifestation of Social Identity. The noble woman and Her Family, Paper held at the conference «Infinite Boundaries: Separation and Unity in Early Modern German Lands: First International Conference of FNI (Frühe Neuzeit Interdisziplinär)*, Duke University, Durham, NC, April 20–22, 1995.
42. *Biblia święta, tho iest, Księgi Starego y Nowego Zakonu, wlasnie z Zydowskiego, Greckiego, y Łacińskiego, nowo na Polski ięzyk z pilnością y wiernie wyłożone [tzw. «Biblia brzeska»] [Stary Testament]*, Brzest 1563.
43. *Biblia. To iest, księgi starego y nowego przymierza, z nowu z ięzyka Ebreyskiego, Grecskiego y Łacińskiego, na Polski przelożone*, Nieświż 1572.
44. Boswall J., *Chrześcijaństwo, tolerancja społeczna i homoseksualność. Geje i lesbijki w Europie Zachodniej od początku ery chrześcijańskiej do XIV wieku*, transl. J. Krzyszczyński, Kraków 2006.
45. Burke J., “Sex and Spirituality in 1500s Rome: Sebastiano del Piombo’s *Martyr dom of Saint Agatha*”, *The Art Bulletin*, vol 88, No. 3, 2006.
46. Camille M., *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*. Cambridge, 1992.
47. Davidson N., “Theology, nature and the law: sexual sin and sexual crime in Italy from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century”, [in:] *Crime, Society and the Law in Renaissance Italy*, ed. T. Dean, K. J. P. Lowe, Cambridge 1994.
48. Falimirz S., *O ziołach i moczy ich*, Kraków 1534.
49. Friedman D., *Pan niepokorny. Kulturowa historia penisa*, transl. I. Kolczyńska, Warszawa 2003.
50. Gutkowska-Rychlewska M., *Historia ubiorów*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1968.
51. Harris O. J. T., Robb J., *The Body in History: Europe from the Palaeolithic to the Future*, Cambridge 2015.
52. Harris O. J. T., Robb J., *The Body in History: constructing a deep-time cultural history*, article posted on *academia.edu*, 25 April 2015.
53. Hergemöller B.-U., „Średniowiecze”, [in:] *Geje i lesbijki: życie i kultura*, ed. R. Aldricha, transl. P. Nowakowski, Kraków 2009.
54. *Historia ciała*, t. 1: *Od renesansu do oświecenia*, ed. G. Vigarello, ed. T. Stróżyński, Gdańsk 2011.
55. Hughes Owen D., *Bodies, disease, and society, in: Italy in the Age of the Renaissance 1300–1550*, ed. J.M. Najemy, Oxford 2004.
56. Jagodyński S. S., *Dworzanki*, Kraków 1621.

57. Kałamajska-Saeed M., *Genealogia przez obrazy. Barokowa ikonografia rodu Sapiechów na tle staropolskich galerii portretowych*, Warszawa 2006.
58. Kempa T., *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka (1549–1616), wojewoda wileński*, Warszawa 2000.
59. Kornell M., "Drawings for Bartolomeo Passarotti's Book on Anatomy", in: *Drawing 1400–1600: Invention and Innovation*, ed. S. Currie, London 1998.
60. Kuchowicz Z., *Miłość Staropolska*, Łódź 1982.
61. Leonardo da Vinci, *Anatomical Drawings from Royal Library Windsor Castle*, New York 1984.
62. Hasler J. z Berna, *De logistica mediea (hoc est et morborum et compositorum medicaminum qualitatum gradus, purgātiumq; doses atque proprietates inuestigandi ratione apodictica) problematis novem, pagina versa conspiciendis, absoluta, liber unus*, Anno Salutis M.DLXXVIII (1578).
63. *Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae, ca ete rarum quere gionum illiadia centium exacta description*, Amsterdam 1613.
64. Matthews-Grico S., „Ciało i seksualność w Europie w czasach Ancien Régime'u”, [in:] *Historia ciała*, vol. 1: *Od renesansy do oświecenia*, Gdańsk 2011.
65. *Monarchia turecka opisana przez Ricota Sekretarza Posła Angielskiego u Porty Ottomańskiej residującego z francuskiego ięzyka na polski przetłumaczona przez szlachcica polskiego*, Słuck 1678.
66. Noble D., DiFrancesco D., Zancani D., *Leonardo da Vinci and the origin of semen*, published 20 August 2014, <http://rsnr.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/early/2014/08/14/rsnr.2014.0021>.
67. Oczko P., T. Nastulczyk, *Homoseksualność staropolska*, Kraków 2012.
68. Olędzki P., *Wspólne dziedzictwo: portret sarmacki w dziedzictwie narodów Rzeczy Pospolitej Szlacheckiej*, Białystok 1999.
69. Pisanko-Borowik A., „Dyspozycje pogrzebowe mieszczan grodzieńskich w świetle ich testamentów (XVII–XVIII w.)”, [in:] *Małe Miasta. Religie*, ed. M. Zemło, Lublin-Supraśl 2007.
70. *Pamiętniki Albrychta Stanisława Radziwiłła, kanclerza W. Litewskiego*, ed. E. Raczyński, vol. 1, Poznań 1839.
71. Protasowicz J., *Konterfekt człowieka starego*, Wilno 1597.
72. Puff H., „Wczesnonowożytna Europa, 1400–1700”, [in:] *Geje i lesbijki: życie i kultura*, ed. R. Aldricha, transl. P. Nowakowski, Kraków 2009.
73. Rostański K., „Szymon Syreniusz i jego dzieło”, *Wiadomości Botaniczne*, vol. 2(41), 1997.
74. Rostański J., *Porównanie tak zwanych zielników Falimirza, Spiczyńskiego i Siennika*, Kraków 1888.

75. Sajakowski A., *Opowieści misjonarzy konkwistadorów pielgrzymów i innych świata ciekawych*, Poznań 1991.
76. *Skarbnica pamięci: pamiętnik lekarza króla Władysława IV*, ed. E. Galos, F. Mincer, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1968.
77. Siennik M., *Herbarz...* Kraków 1568.
78. Šinkūnaitė L., *XVIIa. Lietuvos portretas*, Vilnius 2000.
79. Sliż N., „Testamenty mieszczan Grodzieńskich w pierwszej połowie XVII w.”, *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, vol. 61(2), 2013.
80. Sliż N., „Testament Piotra Kochlewskiego, sędziego ziemskiego brzeskiego z 1646 roku”, *Zapiski historyczne*, vol. 72 (1), 2007.
81. Spiczyński H., *O Ziolach tuteicznych y zamorskich y o moczy ich, a ktemu księgi lekarskie wedle rejestru niżej napisanego wszem wielmi użiteczne*, Kraków 1542.
82. Stojek-Sawicka K., „Anatomia a sztuki plastyczne w czasach nowożytnych”, *Medycyna Nowożytna: studia nad historią medycyny*, vol. 14 (1), 2007.
83. Stone L., *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500–1800*, New York–Hagerstown–San Francisco–London 1977.
84. Strykowski M., *Goniec cnothy do prawych szlachcizow*, Kraków 1574.
85. Sulerzyska T., „Inwentarz Galerii Obrazów Radziwiłłów z XVII w.”, in: *Нясвіжскія зборы Радзівілаў*, Вяртанне 7, Мінск 2002.
86. Tereškinas A., *Imperfect Communities. Identity, Discourse and Nation in the Seventeenth Century Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, Vilnius 2005.
87. *The Anatomy of Gender. Arts of the Body in the Early Modern Europe*, website: <http://digital.library.northwestern.edu/anatomyofgender/index.html>.
88. *The Body in Parts. Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, ed. D. Hillman, C. Mazzio, New York–London 1997.
89. Tolochko O., „Notes on the Radziwiłł Codex”, *Studi Slavistici*, vol 10, 2013.
90. Turczak Ł., „Sapieżyńska genealogia portretowa w kościele Świętej Anny w Kodniu nad Bugiem”, [in:] *Sapiehowie epoki Kodnia i Krasiczyna*, ed. K. Stępniała, Lublin 2007.
91. Vesalius A., *De humani corporis fabrica*, Padua 1543.
92. *Vilniau Universiteto Bibliotekos Rankraščių skyrius*, f. 4-A2106.
93. *Vilniau Universiteto Bibliotekos Rankraščių skyrius*, f. 3-2239.
94. Welsch W., „Transculturality – the Puzzling Form of Cultures Today”, [in:] *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, ed. M. Featherstone, S. Lash, London 1999.
95. Wolan A., *O wolności Rzeczypospolitey albo szlacheckiey*, tłum. S. Dubingowicz, Wilno 1606

96. Zielecka-Mikołajczyk W., *Prawosławni i unicy w Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII wieku wobec życia i śmierci w świetle testamentów*, Warszawa 2012.
97. Ziembicki W., *Ostatnie łowy. W 350 rocznicę zgony króla (grudzień 1586 – grudzień 1936)*, Lwów 1937.