

Acta
Universitatis
Lodziensis

Folia Litteraria Polonica

4(55) 2019



WYDAWNICTWO
UNIWERSYTETU
ŁÓDZKIEGO

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**From literary archives
of the 19th and 20th century**

edited by

Marzena Woźniak-Łabieniec

 **WYDAWNICTWO
UNIwersYTETU
ŁÓDZKIEGO**
Łódź 2019

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przy Łódzkim Oddziale PAN

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ISSN 1505-9057
e-ISSN 2353-1908

<http://www.litterariapolonica.online.uni.lodz.pl>
adres redakcji: ul. Pomorska 171/173, 90-236 Łódź
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Directions in the research of the legacy of Sabina Grzegorzewska of the Gostkowskis (based on the material of the Scientific Library of the PAAS and the PAS in Cracow)

Author

The name of Sabina, at that time completely un-Christian and approached warily by the clergy¹, was given to the future writer by her father, an enthusiast of antiquity and Roman culture. She came from a wealthy and well-established Polish landed gentry family, which she outlined shortly in her memoirs². Konstanty Gostkowski, her grandfather and the heir of Kromolów, was a lieutenant general, aide-de-camp to Frederick William II, and, later, Jan Branicki's hetman³. It must be said that Sabina Grzegorzewska was able to paint, in just a few vivid sentences, the portraits

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1 As Grzegorzewska wrote in her memoirs, a priest refused to baptize her under that name. Officially her first name was Maria, however, no one ever called the future writer by it. Vide *Pamiętniki Sabiny* z G. G., "Biblioteka Warszawska" 1856, vol. 1, col. 4, p. 421. [English version translated from Polish]

2 S. Grzegorzewska of the Gostkowskis, *Pamiętniki*, Warsaw: Nakładem Redakcji „Kroniki Rodzinnej”, 1888, pp. 5–25.

3 Vide bibliographical notes: J. Bieniarzówna, "Grzegorzewska Sabina" (entry), in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 9, Wrocław–Kraków: Ossolineum, 1960, pp. 94–95; *Nowy Korbut*, vol. 7, pp. 439–440; Z. Lewinówna, "Wstęp", in: S. Grzegorzewska, *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wessłównie Królewiczowej Konstancji Sobieskiej*, Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1865. Several additional facts from her life, e.g. the details of the Kielce period, can be found in her unstudied manuscripts, which I discuss later in the article.

of both an “old warrior”, who found no problem belonging to the progressive Four-Year Sejm and displaying the rowdiness common for the gentry, and her small yet hot-blooded grandmother, who “could play [cards] for three days straight without leaving the table even once.”⁴ Michał, her father, was an educated man, a graduate of the Jagiellonian University, a lawyer, and a deputy for the Sejm of the Kingdom of Poland. Teofila, her mother, came from the influential Wielogłowski family. Sabina, born on 18 January 1808 in Marzęcin (Świętokrzyskie Voivodship), received an education typical for young ladies of that time. While her first readings mainly represented the world of French culture, her parents did not succumb to the trend of focusing on foreign influence, and they ensured she also received a proper patriotic upbringing, especially her education in Polish the language. Love stories were replaced by historical literature and biographies, which was why Sabina’s family soon began calling her the “little know-it-all.”⁵

Initially, Sabina lived with her parents in Marzęcin, then moved to Krakow, where the Gostkowski family settled in 1810. From there they travelled on a regular basis to Proszówki nad Rabą to grandmother Wielogłowska, and to Vienna, Dresden, and Berlin in 1817. Between 1819 and 1824 they lived in Kielce, which the writer recalled quite fondly. Three years after her mother died (1826), Sabina moved with her father to Warsaw, where she accompanied him in a rather lively social life, utilizing many family and friend contacts. It was only seven years later, after the death of Michał Gostowski, that she married Aleksander Grzegorzewski, a member of the Polish landed gentry in Sandomierz. For a decade she lived with him in a large, nearly 100-*volok* [1 *volok* equals approx. 17.955 hectares] property in Grabno in the Kozienice powiat near Zwoleń⁶. In 1845 the Grzegorzewskis leased a manor and they relocated to Krakow, where their family and friends lived⁷. A year later Aleksander became, sponsored by Jan Tyssowski and Karol Rogawski, a member of the Rząd Narodowy (National Government) in Krakow, but being a supporter of extremely radical revolutionary activities he was opposed by his colleagues, which forced him to step down. When Krakow was invaded by Russian troops, he surrendered to the authorities hoping, rather naively as it turned out, to retain the property and ensure a less severe treatment. Instead he was arrested, tortured, and sentenced first to seizure of property and death, and later, after an amnesty, to 12 years of hard labour. When Aleksander was still in the Warsaw Citadel,

4 S. Grzegorzewska of the Gostkowskis, *Pamiętniki*, p. 6. [Unless specified otherwise, English versions translated from Polish]

5 Manuscript at the PAU and PAS Library in Krakow, ref. no. 6905, vol. 3, l. 4–6.

6 M. Tyrowicz, “Grzegorzewski Aleksander” (entry), in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 9, Wrocław-Krakow: Ossolineum, 1960, p. 95. [English version translated from Polish]

7 That applied mainly to Katarzyna of the Bielińskis, Grzegorzewska’s mother. The couple lived in a mansion in today’s Kopernika St., and they later moved to Różana St.

the Grzegorzewskis' oldest son died at the age of twelve⁸. In an attempt to protect her husband, Sabina conducted false correspondence of her son with his father; the deception was revealed by accident, and, unfortunately, it thrust Aleksander deeper into melancholy and depression when he was already in forced displacement. He avoided people, and he refused to write to his family, having convinced himself they all had died. In order to save their exhausted colleague, other DPs wrote letters pretending to be Sabina, and helped him financially so that he could endure the hardships of his time in Tobolsk, Krasnoyarsk and Piotrovsk. Having spent eight years in Siberia, he returned to Warsaw in 1854, but he never regained his mental balance. After a short visit to the capital, he relocated to Czersk, leaving his wife alone with their five children⁹. He died on 13 June 1855. Grzegorzewska coped with the situation exceptionally well. First, when her husband was still a DP, she went to court to reclaim the unlawfully seized dowry and won. Secondly, she strongly focused on her literary and journalistic career. She also ran a parlour in a tenement house she bought at Leszno street, opposite the Carmelite church, where she received genuine kindness and the respect of Warsaw's literary community and intellectuals. Hence at the age of 47 she began to fulfil at least some of her intellectual needs¹⁰, though she was unable to publish much of the material she had been preparing. She died on 26 June 1872. According to Zofia Lewinówna, the most admirable was Sabina's ambitious selection of readings, which she used for excerpts that were retained in her manuscripts. They indicate a surprisingly careful and deep reflection. Lewinówna was also right in stressing the paradox the notes revealed: "That fervent opposer of emancipation was led a truly emancipated life."¹¹ Aleksandra Borowska of the Chomętowskis, the editor-in-chief of *Kronika Rodzinna*, posited shortly after Grzegorzewska's death: "she wrote only out of the need she felt towards sharing her thoughts with others, not to satisfy some literary vanity, which was best seen in the fact that apart from some snippets printed in *Biblioteka Warszawska* and fragments she gave to her friends, she left all her works in

⁸ In the unpublished parts of her memoirs, Grzegorzewska wrote about Michał's encephalitis (Manuscript at the PAU and PAS Library, ref. no. 6905, vol. 3, l. 3). Apart from him, she had 2 more sons: Mieczysław and Ignacy (died in 1861) and 3 daughters: Aleksandra, Maria, and Florentyna.

⁹ Vide M. Tyrowicz, "Grzegorzewski Aleksander", p. 95. Grzegorzewska gave a detailed account of the extremely difficult period in her life in a separate rough draft of the unpublished portion of her memoirs.

¹⁰ However, she never expressed that openly.

¹¹ Z. Lewinówna, "Wstęp", p. 30. When preparing a contemporary edition of Wesslówna's story, the researcher had the opportunity to read Grzegorzewska's manuscripts, which at that time were still retained by Grzegorzewska's family. She knew about them from Stanisław Pigoń and Karol Estreicher.

the manuscript form.”¹² That is not certain, though. Some of her fair copies indicated that her “publishing thriftiness” was not only of her own choosing. She represented a transitional generation, just like Klementyna Hoffmanowa. When her personal life finally allowed for more public activity, the specific traditionalism of her judgements clashed with the incoming pre-Positivist wave. The times were not favourable for her any more. Bieniarzówna was rather severe in her description of the situation: “G[rzegorzewska]’s views full of superficial moralising constitute in the evolution of the development of Polish women a clearly backward moment [...]”¹³ The perspective of the “long persistence” of cultural phenomena requires a literary researcher to apply a different view, where she/he may find a still important, if only momentary, presence of Grzegorzewska in Polish women’s writings of the 19th century.

Printed material

Works published while Grzegorzewska was still alive were rare, and the majority of those, constituted selected fragments of a greater whole, whether because that was what she preferred or as suggested by her editors, colleague writers or her family, I am not certain. Some works saw the light of day only several years after her death, often with the note that they were only a selection, excerpt or extract from her private archive. Below, I list them in a chronological order as they were published: 3 letters to F. B. Trentowski, Paris 1845.¹⁴

- Minor articles published in *Czas*, *Gazeta Warszawska*, and *Dziennik Warszawski*.¹⁵
- Section from memoirs entitled “Karolina z Dembińskich Lebrun” [in:] K.W. Wójcicki, *Cmentarz Powązkowski pod Warszawą*, vol. 1, Warsaw, 1855, pp. 158–160.
- “Wyjątek z rękopismu pod napisem ‘Wpływ kobiet na rozwój duchowy człowieczeństwa’”, *Biblioteka Warszawska* 1855, vol. 3, pp. 137–155, 218–249.
- “Pamiętniki Sabiny z G. G.”, *Biblioteka Warszawska* 1856, vol. 1, pp. 126–154, 220–260, 420–438; vol. 3, pp. 232–258, 528–572; vol. 4, pp. 12–37, 262–276; A separate edition published by the editorial board of *Kronika Rodzinna* at Noskowski’s printing house, Warsaw 1888.
- 2 fragments of poems: incipit “Spać, bo w snach się mary pieści...”, *Gazeta Codzienna* 1856, issue 284; incipit “A gdy tak cudna pieśni kraina”, *Gazeta Codzienna* 1856, issue 290.

¹² A. of Ch. Borkowska, “Sabina z Gostkowskich Grzegorzewska. Wspomnienie”, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1872, issue 244, p. 98.

¹³ J. Bieniarzówna, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

¹⁴ Remark inscribed by the author in the manuscript, unverified. Just as the next one, it requires further study.

¹⁵ Unverified information as per: [J. Bartoszewicz], “Pamiętniki pani Grzegorzewskiej”, *Dziennik Warszawski* 1855, issue 227, p. 2.

- “Wspomnienia rodzinne”, *Kółko Domowe* R. 1 1861/1862, R. 2 1862/63 (V, IX–XI 1861; I–VII, X–XII 1862; II–III 1863).
- “Wiedeń na początku bieżącego stulecia”, *Kółko Domowe* R. 3 1863–1864.
- “Maria Józefa z hr. Wesslów Konstantowa Sobieska, królewiczowa polska”, *Wieniec* 1862, issue 10–11; separate edition: “Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie, królewiczowej Konstantowej Sobieskiej, spisany ze wspomnień rodzinnych”, Warsaw 1886, edition II 1887¹⁶.

The commentary to Trentowski’s *Chowanna* remained completely unnoticed by Polish critics, however, when in 1855 *Biblioteka Warszawska* published a study entitled “Wyjątek z rękopismu pod napisem ‘Wpływ kobiet na rozwój duchowy człowieczeństwa’”, it gained considerable attention¹⁷. A year later the journal decided to publish selected portions of her memoirs¹⁸. Meanwhile, *Gazeta Codzienna* published two poems by Grzegorzewska heralding the imminent publication of an entire volume entitled *Wdowi grosz*. That was followed by a five-year gap, and it was only in 1861 that the author began an extremely successful cooperation with *Kółko Domowe*, which was established by Józefa Śmigiełska. For the purposes of the periodical, Grzegorzewska supplied on a regular basis between 1861 and 1863 installments of *Wspomnienia rodzinne*¹⁹, which were well received by readers, and which, in turn, increased the sales of *Kółko Domowe* considerably²⁰. In 1864, the journal also published memoir studies entitled *Wiedeń na początku bieżącego stulecia*. Several episodes regarding the wife of Prince Konstanty Sobieski, dedicated to Stanisław Jachowicz, also appeared in 1862 in *Wieniec*. In 1858, *Gazeta Warszawska* (issue 275, p. 3) stated that Grzegorzewska had just finished work on: *Niewiasta w całym rozwoju swej moralnej i umysłowej istoty*, which has actually never seen

¹⁶ Lewinówna pointed out that the 1886 and 1887 edition prepared by *Kronika Rodzinna* exposed Borkowska to criticism by *Przegląd Polski* (vide P.M., [review], *Przegląd Polski* 1887, vol. III, p. 172) on excessive modifications of the text previously known from *Kółko Domowe* and on abuses towards the family (Z. Lewinówna, “Nota wydawnicza”, in: S. Grzegorzewska, “Pamiętnik o Maryi”..., pp. 405–406; the situation was accounted for in detail by Borkowska herself, “Silva rerum”, *Kronika Rodzinna*, issue 8, p. 252).

¹⁷ Aleksander Tyszyński supposedly said that “it should be printed in gold font”. Vide [J. Bartoszewicz], “Pani Sabina Grzegorzewska”, *Dziennik Warszawski* 1855, issue 219, p. 2.

¹⁸ Family and personal memoirs spurred press commentaries, e.g. [unknown authorship], “Wspomnienia rodzinne” [review], *Gazeta Polska* 1863, issue 69, p. 1; Z. Hordyński, “Grzegorzewska Sabina, Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie” [review], *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 1887, vol. 1, pp. 684–687; S. G. (Godlewski), [review of “Pamiętniki”], *Niwa* 1886, vol. 30; (W. Zieliński), “Echa warszawskie”, *Przegląd Tygodniowy* 1886, issue 45, p. 500; L. T., [review], *Gazeta Lwowska* 1887, issue 86, p. 4; “Silva rerum”, *Kronika Rodzinna* 1887, issue 6, p. 188.

¹⁹ They later formed the core of *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie*.

²⁰ J. Dobieszewska (Śmigiełska), “Dopełnienie życiorysu Sabiny Grzegorzewskiej”, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1872, issue 250, pp. 181–182.

the light of day. Several works and studies were published posthumously, which constituted either compilations of texts previously released in periodicals (the case of the previously-mentioned *Pamiętniki* or *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie*) or were based on material from the family archive²¹.

The memoir and autobiographical writing forms certainly suited Grzegorzewska. Aleksandra Borkowska, referenced several times already, understood that well, and did much to prepare for printing new fragments of Grzegorzewska's memoirs released from her manuscripts by her children, Aleksandra Oszacka and Mieczysław Grzegorzewski in particular, and to highlight their inherent literary and factual potential. In *Dziennik Warszawski* the author was considered a witness to the epoch already in 1855²². Grzegorzewska's memoirs, which she wrote on a regular basis beginning in 1855, are certainly a vivid and genuine, if slightly chaotic, family narrative spanning the period 1814–1861. In them she discussed both the events in which she participated herself, and many stories she knew indirectly regarding well-known figures of that time. In her opinion, she strove for objectivity, she tried to portray people from different perspectives, yet, at the same time, she allowed herself personal opinions, doubts, and values. She avoided excessive moralising, and she was not easily shocked (e.g. by the anti-clergy views of some writers). Despite the traditional mindset she either stated to possess or was assigned with, she remained respectful towards all the characters in her stories, even the non-distinguished ones. She expected quite a bit from the "chosen ones" in terms of morality or national attitudes. The anecdotal nature of her accounts, a certain detachment from the stories she told, yet with a keen interest in all the mechanisms of the world of history and politics made an interesting read.

One could easily agree that it was not only personal sentiment that resonated in her daughter's Aleksandra Oszacka's words: "[...] if there was some hard-working and skilful hand that would organise and publish those scattered yet rich in content sheets, the benefit would be great as there is no other area of literature leaner than that of memoirs, and neither would be as eagerly read."²³

21 "Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828. Urywek z pamiętnika...", *Przegląd Polski* 1897, vol. 3 (127); separate copy: Krakow 1898; "Z pośmiertnych rękopisów Sabiny z Gostkowskich Grzegorzewskiej (Wspomnienia rodzinne)", *Kronika Rodzinna* 1879, vol. 7, issue 22, pp. 679–684, pp. 717–723.

22 Julian Bartoszewicz wrote on the fragments of the memoirs discussed during meetings of *Biblioteka Warszawska*: "[...] Mrs. Grzeg.[orzewska] knows what needs to be recorded, she knows how to tell a story lively, she engages the reader. Everything what we have read is a real treasure of modern history, those are additions to the history of education, to the history of our community, to the stories of persons, to the history of literature, etc., so we welcome Mrs. Grzeg.[orzewska] warmly also in the second domain of Polish literature" ("*Pamiętniki pani Grzegorzewskiej*", p. 2).

23 A. Oszacka of the Grzegorzewskis, "Wstęp", in: S. Grzegorzewska, *Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828...*, p. 4.

Unfortunately, even today not only the memoirs, so highly praised by Oszacka, Śmigieliska and Borkowska, but also letters, various unfinished versions of articles and studies, and short stories remain in manuscript form only. The most extensive set is held by the PAN and PAS Academic Library in Krakow, which probably acquired it thanks to Prof. Jan Oszacki, Grzegorzewska's grand-grandson.

Legacy²⁴ in the collections of the PAU and PAS Academic Library in Krakow

The PAS and PAU Academic Library in Krakow stores in its archives a considerable (over 1,500 pages), though not classified, set of manuscripts and other documents which used to belong to Grzegorzewska and her family. The physical status of the material is mostly unsatisfactory. The writings collected there, apart from the letters which belong to other catalogues specified based on their recipients, are neither microfilmed nor digitised. The manuscripts associated with Grzegorzewska cover 12 inventory units, and they include the following items:

- ref. no. 1824: 2 letters to Walery Wielogłowski²⁵ of 1842, sh. 132–135.
- ref. no. 1838: 2 letters of 1847, sh. 31–32 (in sheet 33 a letter by Florian Grzegorzewski, Grzegorzewska's brother, with her side note).
- ref. no. 715 – 4 letters to Kazimierz W. Wójcicki, data missing
- ref. no. 2185, vol. 1 – letter to Oskar Kolberg, sh. 196–197.
- ref. no. 6921 – Grzegorzewska's letter to baroness N.N., date missing, sh. 1–2.
- ref. no. 6902 – novel entitled *Dla czego...? Studium społeczno-obyczajowe / w 4-ech częściach / z pamiętnika starego bywalca przez S. z G. G.* 21x33 cm manuscript sheets, bound in four, some sheets bound as a book without covers, some loose. Many pages are in poor condition: with defects on the edges, heavy yellowing, with discolouration and creases. The hand-writing is rather legible, minor corrections are present, introduced in a different hand-writing and ink (regarding, e.g. inflection, spelling), infrequent strike outs in wavy lines, and supplements in linear entries above the text. Two-sided writing, individual parts of the manuscript seem copied in a different hand-writing and ink,

²⁴ I consider legacy as per the definition quoted by Alicja Przybyszewska: "a set of material produced by one person documenting various directions of her/his activities and creative work, displaying cognitive value and a research potential" (eadem, "Przerażasz mnie biała karto...! Rękopisy i autografy w spuściźnie literackiej Wincentego Różańskiego", in: *Archiwa i bruliony pisarzy. Odkrywanie*, M. Prussak, P. Bem, Ł. Cybulski (eds.), Warsaw: IBL PAN, 2017, p. 281).

²⁵ Walery Wielogłowski (1805–1865) – Krakow-based community activist, fought in the November Uprising, later became a bookseller (he established Księgarnia i Wydawnictwo Dzieł Katolickich, Naukowych i Rolniczych in Krakow), publisher, originator of the Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Sztuk Pięknych (Friends of Fine Arts Society), and Grzegorzewska's cousin, also brought up in Proszówki, by Józefa Wielogłowska, his grandmother, a period which he described in his autobiographical book entitled *Dom mojej babki* (Krakow 1856).

some pages heavily faded. Library numbering covers: Prologue, part I (chapters marked I–VII), sh. 1–56; part II (chapters marked 1–7), sh. 57–129; part III (chapters marked 1–V), sh. 131–189; part IV (chapters marked I–VIII), sh. 191–274 *recto*; Epilogue, sh. 275–276. Finally, an addition by the author: “Completed in Kamienna Wola on 25 May 1871.” The document seems an *avant-texte*: it is probably a fair copy corrected by an outside person (editor?) or the author herself if copying was ordered.

- Ref. no. 6903 – per unit consisting four elements:
 - (1) 21x16 cm rough draft entitled *Kwestia pracy kobiet. Studium społeczne p[rzez] S. z G. G. (d. 1868)*. Motto by A. E. Odyniec. The sheets are numbered 2–18; some glued on. A manuscript of the nature of a fair copy of a study, but with notes on the margins, deletions and corrections; indicated locations of intended transfers, references to foot/endnotes and annotations at the bottom of pages. On the inside of covers, notes from readings, e.g. James, Stark, and Dobieszewski.
 - (2) Notebook-sized rough draft entitled and dated as a rough draft (1). Sheets torn in the same place from the top at a length of 5.5 cm. Numbering continued from sheet 21 to sheet 43. Midway through sh. 42 *verso* – date: “this 2 January 1868.” Underneath, a less legible note, as if made in a hurry and in different ink: “God Almighty, I hereby swear on the Holy Bible that this flower not guilty anymore will be copied and that no other additional will I place here that would had not previously done, so help me Dear Jesus – Ave Maria, this 17 February 1869.”²⁶ Manuscript has the form of a rough draft with many deletions, sometimes entire pages struck with a vertical line; notes and corrections in other ink or in pencil.
 - (3) Rough draft without covers entitled *Jeszcze kilka uwag o stanowisku kobiet w dzisiejszym społeczeństwie, z poglądem na ideje [sic!] w tym przedmiocie nowoczesnego pozytywizmu*. 20.5 x 16.5 cm notebook format, sheets mostly bound, one (sh. 50) is loose. Library numbering continued from the previous rough draft: sh. 44–56.
 - (4) 2 rough drafts – (A) in rigid cover entitled *Wyjątki z różnych Dzieł o Kobietach*, (B), being a continuation of the first one, without cover or title. Sheets are numbered progressively 57–93; 94–114v. Notebook format (A) as in a rough draft (3), pierced through and through in the lower right section, irregular shape 5 x 7.5 cm. Both rough drafts include notes from readings in French and Polish, comments and extensive fragments of translations, e.g. extracts from the works by Florian Bochowic, François Guizot, Adolf Thiers, Jean Henri Lacordaire, Aimé Martin, Józef Przeclawski.
- Ref. no. 6904 – covers roughly organised working material, drafts, and notes from readings which consist of notes and extracts regarding philosophical, his-

²⁶ I intentionally retained the original spelling and punctuation.

torical, historical-literary, and sociological notions. In total, it consists of 13 components:

- (1) Working notes regarding Gabriela Puzynina: 4 loose, non-numbered pages; sheets are yellowed, damaged, with defects on the edges. Working rough drafts with deletions, additions, and corrections.
- (2) Study entitled *Rzut myśli co do reformy w sztuce tworzenia powieści. Ułomek z niedrukowanego rękopismu przez Sabinę z G. G.* (date missing). 4 sheets unnumbered, yellowed, with defects. Manuscript in the form of a rough draft with many corrections, deletions, and additions.
- (3) 20.5x16.5 cm rough draft in thin cover, marked as 4 (no copies with lower numbers) entitled *Kwestie filozoficzne wypisy*. Sheets unnumbered, probably 42, inside some sheets cut out. Rough draft created over time (other incline of handwriting, pace, different ink). Manuscript includes extracts from ancient and modern philosophical works, and commentaries to press releases – in Polish and French, e.g. extracts in French from works by François de Sales, excerpts from works: *Chrześcijańska filozofia w porównaniu z filozofią panteistyczną naszego wieku* by Maksymilian Jakubowicz²⁷, excerpts from *List Józefa Gołuchowskiego do J. M. z okazji prelekcji Szellinga w Berlinie r. 1842 rozpoczętych*²⁸, commentary to *Wykład systematyczny filozofii* and *Listy z Krakowa* by Józef Kremer²⁹; commentaries to the image of Cicero according to Theodor Mommsen³⁰, excerpts from works by Plato (dated 12 September 1871 in Kamienna Wola)³¹, fragments of the Bible “co do niewiasty według Wujka”, extracts from *Godziny przepędzonych z mistykami* by Robert Alfred Vaughan³². At several locations, there are also references to current Polish literature; Grzegorzewska discussed the works by Wincenty Pol, Władysław Syrokomla, Aleksander Groza, Seweryna Pruszkowa, Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, Deotyma.

²⁷ The correct title of the work by Jakubowicz: *Chrześcijańska filozofia życia w porównaniu z filozofią naszego wieku panteistyczną* (vol. 1–3), Vilnius: nakład i druk Teofila Glücksberga, 1853.

²⁸ Correct title: “List Józefa Gołuchowskiego do p. J.M.”, *Biblioteka Warszawska* 1842, vol. 2, pp. 637–664. The letter included a very loose reference to Schelling’s Berlin lectures, which began in 1841, rather constituting the discussion of the Polish philosopher’s own views.

²⁹ Correct title: *Wykład systematyczny filozofii obejmujący wszystkie jej części w zarysie: Rzecz o naturze i o duchu ludzkim*, vol. I–II, Vilnius: wyd. J. Zawadzki, 1852; *Listy z Krakowa*, edition 1, vol. I, Krakow 1843; vol. II–III, Vilnius: nakł. i druk J. Zawadzki, 1855.

³⁰ Applies to fragments either of vol. 1 of *Historia rzymska* by Theodor Mommsen published in 1863 (vol. 2 was published in 1879 after Grzegorzewska had died) or *Res gestae divi Augusti* of 1865.

³¹ *Dzieła Platona* as translated by Felicjan Kozłowski were announced in 1845.

³² The first two-volume edition entitled *Hours With the Mystics* was published in 1856, the second extended edition in 1860. It is difficult to unequivocally state which version Grzegorzewska came into contact with, or if it was indirectly, through someone else’s account.

- Additionally, she separated a mini-chapter entitled: *Moje rozmyślenia*, which included philosophical and religious quotes, and her own views on life goals. Different handwriting was used for recording a section entitled *Pani Risconi* (probably it was included in *Pamiętniki* published in 1888), and the copied draft (without any direct indication of its source) entitled *Tragedia i klasyczność*.
- (4) Rough draft without a cover, yellowed, sheets with defective edges; 39 sheets bound with red thread, 9 loose in poor condition (48 in total). Many corrections, notes, and deletions visible, including entire pages struck with one vertical line or fragments crossed out; some notes in a different handwriting or a different attention for calligraphy, different inks, portions illegible. The rough draft is clearly of a working nature – it is a kind of a sequence of entries probably prepared for *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie*. It includes passages entitled, e.g.: *Notatki do dzieła Rulièra*³³, *O Kajetanie Sołtyku*, *O Biskupie Kamienieckim*, *O Sewerynie Rzewuskim*, *O Białym, Dyplomacja Europy w czasie Konfederacji*, *O Dumourierze*³⁴, etc.
 - (5) 8 bound sheets, by the author, untitled and undated; library title *Notaty na temat Chowanny [...] Bronisława Trentowskiego*. Sheets recorded 1–7r.; quite damaged, stained, edges torn. Working rough draft with commentary to Trentowski's work, opinions of others and her own.
 - (6) Manuscript of the novel entitled *Pogrzeb wędrowca (zdarzenie prawdziwe)*, undated. Sheets 1–12, 8 partly bound, 4 loose; torn upper edge on the left-hand side, creased corners, stains, and yellowing. The document has the form of a working rough draft with numerous deletions and corrections.
 - (7) Manuscript of a story entitled *Rozum na księżycu*. Some of the 18 sheets in the form of a bound rough draft, with a thin blank cover; some in the form of loose sheets. Sheet edges damaged, creased or torn, the first 12 sheets and the cover pierced through and through at the bottom, hole measuring 2.5 x 2 / 1.5 cm. As above, it is a preliminary draft with numerous deletions and corrections. Hasty, almost illegible handwriting.
 - (8) *Wyciąg z uwag filozofii pozytywnej mianowicie co do kobiet [Franciszka Salezego] Krupińskiego w zeszycie Biblioteki War[szawskiej] za wrzesień r. 1868 umieszczony*³⁵ in two variants: (A) Unfinished fair copy of unknown intention in book with a rigid blue cover, well-preserved; handwriting not of the author; inscriptions on sheets 1–13 *recto*; (B) Working rough draft of *Wyciąg...* on poorly

³³ In parenthesis, Grzegorzewska stated the complete title of the work and its author: *Histoire de l'anarchie de Pologne et du démembrement de cette république*, Claude Carloman de Ruhlière, 1807.

³⁴ Charles-François du Périer Dumouriez (1739–1823) – a French general during the French Revolution, author of the famous memoirs first published in 1794 and in an extended version in 1823.

³⁵ F. Krupiński, "Szkola pozytywna", *Biblioteka Warszawska* 1868, vol. 2, pp. 65–85.

bound notebook sheets 1–12; inscribed sheets 1–11 *recto* and 1 half-notebook format sheet, loose. Condition of sheets unsatisfactory, heavily yellowed, many stains, damaged edges. Extract supplemented with author's notes, e.g.: "Focus on this section for the comparison of people to animals when copying for printing in *Wpływ kobiet*" (sh. 5 *recto*).

- (9) Notepad-sized notebook, undefined either by the author or the library, in green cover. 8 sheets and inscribed back sides of both covers; evidence than at least 10 sheets were torn out. On a preliminary basis, the notebook may be considered as a working rough draft with notes, extracts, and fragments in relation to *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie* and the author's own recollections, e.g. extracts from Franciszek Duchiniński's work, i.e. *Polska i Ruś. Rodowody Słowian*, recollections from the parlour of Mrs. Voivode Gutakowska, anecdotes on Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, and general Kicki and his wife Natalia.
- (10) Undefined rough draft, untitled and undated; 2 groups of bound sheets (12 and 9) and a few loose ones. Form of a rough draft – many visible stains, deletions, and corrections. The collection includes fragments of memoirs in working versions concerning the period 1814–1830, e.g. references to the Congress of Vienna, Napoleon's return from Elba, the establishment of the Kingdom of Poland, the governance of Gen. Zajączek, the figure of Konstantin Pavlovich from before 1830, etc.
- (11) Undefined rough draft, illegible title in French on the cover; 33 sheets bound from the outside, a few sheets inside, loose. Many visible deletions, stains, creases, yellowing, places with considerably faded ink, and hardly legible passages. The manuscript was a type of a draft related to *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie*.
- (12) Loose manuscript notes (15 sheets; including e.g. fragments of notes for the novel *Dla czego?*) and 2 torn out press releases.
- (13) The speech of Aleksander Oszański at the funeral of H[enryk] Jordan; draft, handwriting of a third person.
- Ref. no. 6905, vol. 1–3.

Volume 1 covers 3 rough drafts marked 2, 3, 4 with a title of *Puławy* and a note "printed in Przegląd Polski, Przegląd Biblioteki Polskiej".

Notebooks 2 and 3 formatted 18.5 x 16 cm, notebook 4 formatted 20 x 16.5 cm; notebook 2 includes 15 sheets; inside, there are some loose pages; notebook 3 completely bound, 17 sheets; notebook 4 – sheets bound, glued on in some locations, 24 in total. The manuscripts served as working rough drafts with corrections over the line, additions, underlining, and deletions. Notebook 3 starts mid-sentence which suggests a continuation of the content from notebook 2, however, no such direct correlation exists. Notebooks 3 and 4 are completely related.

Volume 2 covers 10 elements:

- (1) Manuscript *Słów kilka do czytelnika* (in relation to a re-release of the 1st edition of *Pamiętniki*)³⁶, 4 connected rough draft sheets, fair copy.
- (2) Navy blue notebook entitled: *Pamiętniki współczesne. Pamiętniki, Wspomnienia i Opowiadania Sabiny z G...G...* Sheet 38. The manuscript has the form of a fair copy copied in a different handwriting (or very carefully by the author). Minor corrections, deletions, and supplements above the text can be found, the rare notes on the margin, and underlines. The rough draft covers the first three chapters of the memoirs.
- (3) Notebook includes 44 sheets; also, the *recto* of the back cover inscribed (text interrupted mid-sentence). On the front cover, there is the Roman numeral I. Bound notebook, but inside there are a few loose sheets. The manuscript has the form of a rough draft: many deletions, notes above the text, on the margin and at the bottom of the page, additions and corrections, some ink stains. On sheet 1, a note preceding the beginning of the memoirs struck with four diagonal lines: “Children, for my daughters – I shall inform them on the events and people I have observed, whom I knew, I shall open to them my experience for which I paid with grave worries. May they be wary of fervent emotions even if the goal is noble because they seldom go hand in hand with internal peace.”³⁷
- (4) Rough draft without a rigid cover. Inscription on the front page: *Pamiętniki i wspomnienia rodzinne Sabiny z G. G.* Library numbering 1–19. Sheets in poor condition, pages are yellowed, edges are torn and creased; many deletions and corrections. Changes in handwriting indicate the manuscript was written in stages, and at various paces.
- (5) Rough draft in rigid brown cover, untitled. Sheet 1 features the Roman numeral V, the *verso* page of the previous cover features a pencil note: “Printed in *Biblioteka Warszawska*”. Pages partly bound and glued on. Form of a rough draft, with deletions, additions, and corrections.
- (6) Rough draft in brown cover (stone-type pattern) entitled: *Zeszyt 4ty moich pamiętników. Cz. V.* 32 sheets; inside chapter numbering: IV–VII. A pencil inscription on the *verso* side of the front cover: “Printed in *Biblioteka Warszawska*”. The manuscript covers recollections from the period of 1814–1826.
- (7) Rough draft in a pink and green cover entitled *Pamiętniki mojego życia*. Underneath, there is an inscription “Already printed I”. 42 sheets. The manuscript is of a working rough draft nature: numerous deletions, additions, supplements;

³⁶ It was never re-released in a book form nor in *Biblioteka Warszawska* during the writer's lifetime. In this surviving manuscript, Grzegorzewska responded to the accusations made towards the memoirs published earlier in the press.

³⁷ Original spelling and punctuation were retained in the Polish version.

- visible changes in the quality of handwriting, ink colour, writing pace, etc. It begins with an introduction, which in the printed version was omitted.
- (8) Rough draft in a navy blue cover (water drop pattern), bottom right-hand corner of cover torn off. Title inscription on the cover: *Zeszyt II moich pamiętników*, with a note “printed”. 35 sheets. The manuscript written with more care than (6), possibly another copied version, onto which corrections, notes on the margins were copied, and where sentences and fragments of the document were deleted.
 - (9) Rough draft in brown and pink cover (stone-type pattern) with an inscription on the cover: *Zeszyt 5ty moich pamiętników* and a note: “Historia p. Morland już drukowana”. Sheets 1–39 *recto*, manuscript condition as in (7).
 - (10) 7 severely damaged loose sheets, the final sheet is a torn off, navy blue back cover with inscriptions on the inside. Manuscript is undefined and unorganised.

Volume 3 covers 9 elements:

- (1) Rough draft without a bound cover entitled: *Cz. III o pobycie męża w cytadeli i wypadkach 1846 r.* Additional vertical inscription: “During my Father’s detainment in the Citadel.”³⁸ 14 sheets, part entitled *Moja znajomość z Odyńcem (1865)* starts with sheet 12. Rough draft manuscript with deletions, additions, corrections, no margins; sheets are damaged on the edges and creased.
- (2) 10 sheets of a rough draft entitled *Ustęp z moich pamiętników*. In parenthesis, a pencil note “(II cz.)”. Clear continuation of the previously created document.
- (3) Brown rough draft marked “No. 5”, untitled. 22 sheets, bound; another version of the rough draft, to be reviewed and prepared for printing; applies to memoirs spanning the period from 1818 to just before 1830.
- (4) Numerous rough drafts, some bound, some including loose pages; some sheets are damaged; undefined manuscript, untitled. 103 sheets in total. The collection covers rough drafts of family memoirs and *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie*.
- (5) Brown notebook, the *verso* side of the front cover includes a recipient: “Pani Eufemia Borowska” and a note: “May Femcia never make mistakes, always remember about her dots and commas.” 32 sheets, form of a rough draft intended for copying; hardly legible handwriting, many deletions, corrections, and additions. Covers fragments of *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie*.
- (6) Rough draft without a cover, untitled, and undefined. 81 sheets; damaged edges, stains. Most probably a working rough draft with numerous corrections and deletions. Includes notes on recollections and anecdotes related to family memoirs, e.g.: *Ostatnie chwile Hof[f]manowej, Jeszcze o Puławach, O Niemcewiczu, Brodzińskim, Pacu itp., O Klaudynie Potockiej, O Kielcach*.

³⁸ Most probably a note by Aleksandra Oszačka, who did an initial ordering of Grzegorzewska’s personal archive.

- (7) 6 21 x 33 cm bound double sheets. Manuscript of a memoir entitled *Z pośmiertnych rękopisów S. z Gostkowskich Grzegorzewskiej*; handwriting different from the author's handwriting, but also includes corrections.
- (8) Rough draft without rigid cover entitled *Ciąg dalszy moich pamiętników w kwietniu i maju r. 1872*, pencil note: "For printing." Sheets 1–23 *recto*. Copied manuscript, possibly fair copy; covers recollections spanning the period since 1819 on the family's time spent in Kielce.
- (9) Rough draft in a green cover (stone pattern) entitled: *Zeszyt 6sty moich pamiętników (drukowane w „Bibliotece Warszawskiej”)*. Sheets 1 r.–34 v. The rough draft includes a rough draft of a letter in French dated: *15 Janvier 1856* and addressed to: *à Monsieur Jules Lecomte*³⁹.
- Ref. no. 6906 – large brown rough draft, bound. Sheets numbered 1–69 (sheets 63v.–69v. blank). The manuscript has the form of a rough draft, but most probably it was its second copied version; still includes corrections, and deletions; some paragraphs are illegible, ink is faded in some instances; different qualities of handwriting and ink – the manuscript was surely created over time. Sheet 3 includes a title: *Wiadomości Stowarzyszeniu Dam Miłosierdzia Ś-go Wincentego à Paulo w Warszawie przez Sabinę z G. G.* A motto from Matthew 25:40. The back side of the front cover bears an incorrect note: "Puławy printed."
 - Ref. no. 6907 – covers:
- (1) Large notebook in rigid cover; title inscription on the cover blurred, only the author's name and surname are visible. Sheet 2 *recto* includes a title: *Ćwiczenia moralne i umysłowe*, sheet 2 *verso* – a dedication *Pamięci Rodziców moich – Autorka*, sheet 3 *recto* struck title: *O wpływie kobiet na duchowy rozwój człowieczeństwa* vol. 1 *Ćwiczenia moralne i umysłowe*. Underneath the title, there is a note: "Chomentowski⁴⁰ said that the title on the influence of women on the spiritual development of man is most appropriate." Sheet 3 *verso* – includes the print approval clause by the censors. The manuscript has the form of a pre-final copy with minor corrections by the author or editors. Part 1 of vol. 1 was most certainly written by a third person; part 2 begins on sheet 45 *recto*, which includes the title in capital letters: *Postęp* and mottoes. 93 sheets in total.
- (2) Large notebook in rigid cover marked as volume 2; continuation of study *O wpływie kobiet na duchowy rozwój człowieczeństwa* book 1, ch. III (*Charakter i dzieje kobiety w zarysie*). Numbered sheets 1–87; sheet 87 *verso* marked: "End of volume 1". The manuscript is of a fair copy nature with minor corrections and deletions (by editors?)

³⁹ Jules Lecomte (1810–1864) – a French novelist, playwright, and a journalist. It is unclear whether, and when, Grzegorzewska sent the letter, and whether she received a reply.

⁴⁰ That most probably refers to Władysław Chomętowski (1829–1876) – publisher and writer, brother of Aleksandra Borkowska.

- (3) Loose manuscript sheets entitled *Spis treści i zarys rozdziałów książki „O wpływie kobiet na duchowy rozwój człowieczeństwa”*. Numbered sheets 84–100 (library's error in numbering the beginning).
- (4) Thin rough draft in a red cover. Includes chapter 2 of book III on the literature to the work *O wpływie kobiet na duchowy rozwój człowieczeństwa*. On the verso side of the front cover, there is a commentary to a speech by Wincenty Pol on literature delivered in 1870 in Krakow. Sheets numbered 101–122. Fair copy with minor corrections.
- Ref. no. 6908 – unit includes:
- (1) Rough draft without a cover entitled: *Pamiętniki i wspomnienia mojego żywota obejmujące okres czasu od r. 1826 do 1861, tj. ostatnie lata panowania Wielkiego Księcia Konstantego w Polsce, Rewolucję Listopadową, Rewolucję r. 1846, Rzeź Galicyjską i Wielki Ruch Narodowy r. 1861 przez S z G. G.* Unnumbered sheets (41), loose, some previously bound and falling apart now, severely damaged. Rough draft with numerous corrections, deletions, and stains.
- (2) 7 double sheets entitled *Wyjątki z Pamiętników Sabiny z G. G.*; sheets are yellowed, damaged, and creased on the edges, some edges torn. The manuscript is of the nature of a fair copy for printing copied by the author, but with corrections and deletions introduced later. On the margins, there are suggestions and notes by the editorial board/ editor (?) regarding, e.g. censorship.
- (3) Typescript of fragments of memoirs.
- (4) Notebook from book XIX / early 20th c., lines without a front cover entitled *Słowo wstępne autorstwa córki, Aleksandry Oszackiej*; continued by excerpts copied by her from previously unprinted memoirs (regarding the period 1817–1826).

During my survey I did not find among the above-mentioned manuscripts the study referenced in the press entitled *Niewiasta w całym rozwoju swej moralnej i umysłowej istoty*. Neither did I find the manuscripts of poems which supposedly later formed the volume announced in 1856 entitled *Wdowi grosz*.

Stages of processing Grzegorzewska's legacy

Any work on the material left by Grzegorzewska needs to begin with detailed fact checking of the contents of the indicated collection, i.e. a careful reading of the material, in particular of the undefined rough drafts and notes, and inspecting the layout proposed by the library personnel. It would be necessary to reconstruct the *dossier* we possess in relation to family memoirs, Wesslówna's history, novels, academic studies, etc. respectively. In the case of at least some units, the organisation of documents does not consider the chronology of their publication, their mutual relations, or their relation to the printed text. The analysis of the relationships between the extracts, loose notes, working rough drafts, and fair copies, if any, would enable one to discuss the directions of the author's decisions, the manner in which

Grzegorzewska's views formed, and the degree to which her writings reflected the books she had read, when compared to the final publication, if available⁴¹. The analysis of various versions, corrections, deletions, transformations, omissions, and supplements within *avant-textes* sometimes occurring over time (not necessarily on a linear evolution basis) out of her own will or under external suggestions, might also say something interesting about the creative psychology (and, indirectly, on the motifs and choices) of the woman-writer, or about her situation in the publishing market of that time⁴². I am convinced that the 19th-century contexts fully justified the combination of genetic research and psychological methods proposed by Olga Dawidowicz-Chymkowska. She posited that:

Rough draft versions containing consecutive stages of the texts, when connected as points forming a line, can indicate the direction of a writer's work, enabling one to see not only the final outcome, but also the path that the writer took to reach it. [...] we may learn the dynamics of creating a text with all its difficulties, inconsistencies, and doubts, but also moments of insight when solutions to aggregated problems emerge⁴³.

A preliminary overview of library documents indicates that it will be also difficult to unequivocally differentiate original handwriting from passages written by others (it is unclear whether the author's preliminary notes were always copied by Eufemia Borowska, whom, in fact, Grzegorzewska accused of often making mistakes), let alone to evaluate the actual influence of the persons who triggered editorial changes. In the case of those manuscripts which are missing a strictly textual reference, the study of the *dossier* consisting of, e.g. technical notes, working rough drafts with various levels of completion, possibly unpublished fair copies, what is important is not only the graphic analysis of the handwriting, but mainly a careful analysis of the author's mode of writing, and the mechanisms shaping specific parts intended for publishing⁴⁴, even though they had never reached that outcome.

41 A. Borkowska thus described Grzegorzewska's writing skills: "Devoted to the type of work she chose, Mrs. G. eagerly sifted through family archives gathering the findings she needed for the vault of her collections. She never ignored a story of an old house servant [...]" (eadem, *Sabina z Gostkowskich Grzegorzewska...*, p. 97).

42 The reviewers of Grzegorzewska's memoirs often accused her of structural chaos, which was a result of, e.g. a considerable segmentation of the memories. That might have partly been caused by her writing inefficiencies, but one should also include other considerations, e.g. censorship and biographical considerations.

43 O. Dawidowicz-Chymkowska, *Przez kreślenie do kreacji. Analiza procesu twórczego zapisanego w brulionach dzieł literackich*, Warsaw: IBL PAN, 2007, pp. 22–23.

44 It would be helpful to use the methods for studying working manuscripts proposed by de Biasi considering horizontal and vertical study organisations (vide idem, *Genetyka tekstów*, trans. F. Kwiatek, M. Prussak, Warsaw: IBL PAN, 2015, pp. 86–102).

Possible directions for the interpretation of Sabina Grzegorzewska's manuscript legacy

The first approach includes a traditional interpretation, the purpose of which is to enrich the *minorum gentium* literary history knowledge on the author. The analysis of Grzegorzewska's manuscripts indicates the *silva rerum* and multi-genre nature of her legacy. It enables one to achieve the fullest possible view of her output, recreate and interpret her works which were not released during her lifetime due to a lack of their structural completeness, the author's lack of time, and publishing, money or social limitations, or other unfavourable family circumstances of which she most certainly experienced her fair share.

Another interpretative approach would be closer to the proposals of genetic criticism, as it is based on the conviction that the merit of such an organisation and reading of manuscripts would enable a greater reconstruction of the "becoming of a text" itself, in Pierre-Marc de Biasi's words⁴⁵ e.g. through the analysis of the sources Grzegorzewska used, the manner in which she processed them for artistic purposes, the repeatability of certain notions, themes or stylistic inclinations, the evolutions or the persistence of views expressed at various stages of writing, her writing skills and how they changed, and, finally, the concept of literature expressed emphatically or only derivable from the content of writings, etc. Such an approach is more interesting and surely better suited for the majority of the notebook characters preserved in the manuscript archives. It is used for studying the "personal area of writing"⁴⁶, and reproducing the difficulty of transforming thoughts into words, and words into text. It extracts the heterogenic dimension of literature.

The third direction of interpretation is defined (and indicated by de Biasi, Henri Mitterrand, and Pierre Bourdieu) by the possible relations between the findings of genetic criticism and the study of cultural processes. In the cultural genetics approach, the specific aspects of Grzegorzewska's output (including the values her output conveyed) would not be eliminated, rather the *dossier* would receive a broader dimension. Mitterrand in *Krytyka genetyczna i historia kultury* wrote on the temptation "to seize at one go [...] over the individualised monologue, the manifestations of the transformation of common ideals and tastes, the first traces of a cultural transformation in which a text forms."⁴⁷ Let me refer to a specific example which, possibly, could justify such a perspective in the reading of Grzegorzewska's manuscript legacy. Her memoirs constitute the starting point, both due to the fact that they were extremely important for the author herself (her personal recollections were intertwined with family traditions and historical knowledge),

45 Ibidem, p. 15.

46 Ibidem, p. 12.

47 Quoted after P-M. de Biasi, *op.cit.*, p. 157.

and because it was the material forming the core of her memoir manuscripts that was used to select the majority of the fragments published both during her lifetime, and soon after she died. Therefore, that area offers the best illustration of the dynamics in *avant-texte* and text relations. It is interesting to compare the excerpts from *Pamiętnik o Maryi Wesslównie* used for printing with the notes regarding the process of preparing the novel kept in the PAU and PAS archive. That was first highlighted by Zofia Lewinówna, who indicated that although the image of Konstancy Sobieski's wife in the printed version remains in line with the idealisation of the role of women which Grzegorzewska outlined in the study *Wpływ kobiety na rozwój duchowy społeczeństwa*, rough drafts offer quite different private opinions on Wesslówna. Grzegorzewska wrote, e.g. that she was "greedy for majesty", and she displayed "a weak, cowardly nature which could be easily swayed."⁴⁸

One should consider to what extent the discrepancy was intentional. What caused it? Was it a compromise with the world? Was it an attempt to adjust to, in the author's views, the publicly expected view of women? Or maybe, since the presence of the "gentle sex" in the world was spreading gradually, was it related to her compliance with tradition and the strong figures in her family, in comparison to whom her own opinion seemed less important to her? Was it a case of censorship or self-censorship? Without a closer examination of the entire *dossier* nothing can be said for certain.

Similarly, it would be worth comparing quotations from religious and philosophical books and Grzegorzewska's official opinions on women's destinies with the vivid descriptions of "strong" female characters from her family history or with her rebellion as a female author, reacting in self-defence:

But let us put an end to criticism, it is so easy for it to fight women, such fights have recently become fashionable, and how are they not supposed to be sought for when they are bloodless, and they require no moral courage from the critic⁴⁹.

Finally, the interpretation of her legacy from the socio-genetic perspective would be supported by the presence in the *dossier* of excerpts from books and her comments to those excerpts. The analysis of the language, style or specific abstract notions recorded in those drafts gains in that context additional meaning, as that which is conscious and one's own is laid onto unconsciously accepted patterns of public discourse, at the same time documenting the possible intersections in the individual and collective mind paths.

⁴⁸ Z. Lewinówna, "Wstęp", p. 38.

⁴⁹ Manuscript at the PAU and PAS Academic Library in Krakow, ref. no. 6905, vol. 2, *Słów kilka do czytelnika*, sh. 3.

Thus, the rough drafts of the memoirs (as well as other material) studied in terms of said similarities and dissimilarities may prove part of the cultural landscape of the epoch, and a large part of how women operated in the community, and artistic and intellectual life.

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Maria Berkan-Jabłońska

Kierunki opracowywania spuścizny Sabiny z Gostkowskich Grzegorzewskiej (na podstawie materiałów Biblioteki PAU i PAN w Krakowie)

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest prezentacja dokumentów rękopiśmiennych stanowiących spuściznę dziewiętnastowiecznej pisarki, Sabiny Grzegorzewskiej. Zespół materiałów, na który składają się listy, notatki z lektur, brudnopisy i czystopisy rozpraw, powieści oraz pamiętników, znajduje się aktualnie w zbiorach Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie. Artykuł przedstawia wstępnie ich zawartość, stan materialny, związki z wersjami drukowanymi za życia autorki i tuż po jej śmierci, a także omawia perspektywy dalszych etapów opracowywania tej spuścizny. Ważną kwestią jest pytanie o znaczenie podjętego zadania dla historii polskiego piśmiennictwa XIX wieku, zwłaszcza w odniesieniu do twórcy *minorum gentium*. Zdaniem autora artykułu, zasadne byłoby powiązanie metod analizy przedtekstów, przyjętych w badaniach genetycznych, z propozycjami tzw. genetyki kulturowej.

Słowa kluczowe: Grzegorzewska, pamiętniki polskie XIX wieku, archiwum osobiste, spuścizna, krytyka genetyczna

Directions in the research of the legacy of Sabina Grzegorzewska of the Gostkowskis (based on the material of the Scientific Library of the PAAS and the PAS in Cracow)

Summary

The aim of the article was to describe the collection of manuscripts preserved in the family archives as a memorial to Sabina Grzegorzewska née Gostkowska, a 19th-century writer, which are currently in the possession of The Scientific Library of the PAAS and the PAS in Cracow. That analysed archival legacy consists of various documents, which include a few letters, several rough drafts with notes and quotations on Grzegorzewska's philosophical and religious lectures, excerpts from her dissertations, and drafts and fair copies of novels and memoirs. The article presented their content and material condition. The prospects for further processing of that legacy were also discussed. An important issue is the question on the importance of the task for the history of Polish literature of the 19th century, especially with regard to the creator of *minorum gentium*. According to the author of the article, it would be reasonable to link the methods of the analysis of avant-textes, adopted in genetic research, with the proposals of the so-called cultural genetics.

Keywords: Grzegorzewska, 19th century Polish diaries, personal archives, literary legacy, genetic criticism

Maria Berkan-Jabłońska, dr hab., prof. UŁ, pracownik Zakładu Literatury i Tradycji Romantyzmu Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Zajmuje się literaturą XIX w. Obecnie interesują ją przede wszystkim zagadnienia romantycznej korespondencji sztuk, twórczość kobieca okresu międzypowstaniowego, dziewiętnastowieczne dzieje literatury popularnej, w tym kryminału, a także kwestie recepcji polskiego piśmiennictwa XIX w. za granicą. Autorka książek pt.: *Wizje sztuki w twórczości Zbigniewa Herberta* (Łódź 2008), *Arystokratka i biedermeier. Rzecz o Gabrieli z Günterów Puzyninie (1815–1869)* (Łódź 2015), *Weredyczki, sawantki, marzycielki, damy... W kręgu kobiecego romantyzmu. Studia i szkice z kultury literackiej kobiet okresu międzypowstaniowego* (Łódź 2019); współredaktor tomów *Mickiewicz wielu pokoleń twórców, badaczy i czytelników* (Łódź 2008), *Przygody romantycznego „ja”*. *Idee – strategie twórcze – rezonanse* (Poznań 2012).

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Asnyk's notebook of rhymes

Usage of the notebook

In the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow, among Adam Asnyk's preserved documents, under the reference number 7185 I, is the poet's notebook entitled "with sets of words which rhyme."¹ Maria Szypowska included a photograph of a fragment of a page from it in her book entitled *Asnyk znany i nieznan*². It is impossible to define when the notebook was created. At the end of the notebook, the poet wrote "21 January" (sh. 57) and "Thursday, 7 December" with a note "I gave for charcoals 1 PLN" (sh. 57). The managerial nature of the note does not help in establishing its chronology. Neither does the note on sheet 56, where the poet included an "upside down" stanza of a poem, as it was most probably an attempt at a work he eventually abandoned. Some chronology may be defined through the fact that in the record of words which rhymed, Asnyk wrote:

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1 Jagiellonian Library, manuscript, ref no. 7185 I, inventory no. 16261: "Adam Asnyk. Adam Asnyk's notebook with sets of words which rhyme. Second half of the 19th c., paper, 12.5 x 6.5 cm, sh. /IV/ 56 (sh. 10 missing). Single-sidedly inscribed sheets: 2." Consecutive segments consisting of several words in the notebook begin in capital letters, words after the first word are written in lower case. Thus, groups of rhymed words form separate paragraphs. The poet did not separate consecutive words using commas, instead he consistently used exclamation marks to indicate imperative and Vocative, and question marks. All proper names begin with an upper-case letter. The final dozen or so sheets are different: the poet (inconsistently) used lower case letters without distinguishing rhyme paragraphs. One paragraph of rhymed words includes from 2 to 9 words, in each sheet Asnyk included 6–9 paragraphs on average. In this article, I will use the locations of quotations from the notebook directly after the quotation stating the number of the sheet. Due to the documentary qualities of the author's language (phonetics and spelling), I retained the poet's notes in their original form, without any linguistic modifications. I also retained the exclamation marks after some words as that way the poet defined grammatical categories. [Unless specified otherwise, English versions translated from Polish]

2 M. Szypowska, *Asnyk znany i nieznan*, Warsaw: PIW, 1971, photograph 86 (between pages 768 and 769).

Herod sierot Pierrot [Herod orphaned Pierrot] (sh. 27)

Proletariat warjat sekretariat [Proletariat nut secretariat] (sh. 41)

Rhyme couples: *Herod – orphaned* and *nut – proletariat* can be found in Asnyk's 1890 poem entitled *Historyczna nowa szkoła*:

Jasną gwiazdą lśni despotyzm
I wychodzi czysto na wierzch
Targowicy patriotyzm...
Gdyż Kościuszko to był *wariat*,
Co buntował *proletariat!*

I tak dalej... i tak dalej...
Coraz śmielsze wnioski przędzie
I nicując dawne sądy,
Nie powstrzyma się w zapędzie,
Aż dowiedzie, że król *Herod*
Dobroczyńcą był dla *sierot*³

Brightly shines despotism
And emerges right away
Targowica's patriotism...
As Kościuszko was a *nut*,
Instigating *proletariat!*

Et cetera... et cetera...
Ever bolder claims he raises
Capping old judgements,
He cannot curb his impulses,
Until he proves king *Herod*
was a benefactor for the *orphaned*

The rhyme couple *rooster – stupor* (sh. 42) can be found in an 1894 poem entitled *Przyczynowość*:

Nasz rozum, ułatwiając poznanie zagadki,
Wiąże następujące po sobie wypadki
I związek zależności przeprowadza ścisły
W szeregu, co najbliższej podpada pod zmysły.

³ A. Asnyk, "Historyczna nowa szkoła", in: idem, *Poezje wybrane*, Krakow: Wydawnictwo Literackie 1960, pp. 404–405.

Więc o zjawiskach twierdzi w dochodzeniu krótkiem,
 Że jedno jest przyczyną, a drugie jest skutkiem.
 Szukając zaś przyczyny, często nasza wiedza
 Bierze za nią fakt błahy, co skutek poprzedza,
 I gotowa nauczać, że sprawcą *niepogód* –
 Był piejący przed deszczem na podwórzu *kogut*⁴

Our mind, making it easier to solve puzzles,
 Connects consecutive events
 And draws strong associations
 In a line between what falls best under senses.
 So, on phenomena it states in a short consult,
 That one is the cause and the other the result.
 While seeking the cause, often our mind
 Accepts it to be a minor fact which precedes the find,
 And is ready to announce that the originator of the *stupor* –
 Was a crowing *rooster*

In tracing those rare combinations, one might also find other repetitions, though not as original. The notebook entry *Eros cigarette polianthes* (sh. 23) can be found in a poem from (1895?⁵) *Szkic do współczesnego obrazu...*

W ogrodzie strojnym w rzeźb klasycznych szereg,
 Pełnym róż, mirtów, jaśminów, *tuberoz*,
 W gronie wykwintnych paziów i pasterek
 Renesansowy cicho stąpa *Eros*⁶

In a garden adorned with a row of classic sculptures,
 Full of roses, myrtle, jasmine, *polianthes*,
 In the company of exquisite pages and shepherds,
 Quietly trods the Renaissance *Eros*

4 A. Asnyk, "Przyczynowość", in: *Poezje wybrane*, p. 411.

5 I inserted the question mark for the generally accepted date of creation of the work, though 1895 is certain only as the date when the poem was published. There are several indications for treating the dates of its creation and publication disjointly. Vide T. Budrewicz, "Asnyk między symbolizmem a socjalizmem (Przeoczone konteksty 'Szkicu do współczesnego obrazu')", *Prace Polonistyczne* 2000, p. 55, pp. 81–112; T. Budrewicz, *Rymowane spory: Asnyk*, Krakow: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UP, 2015, pp. 172–186.

6 A. Asnyk, "Szkic do współczesnego obrazu ofiarowany Jackowi Malczewskiemu", in: *Poezje wybrane*, p. 433.

The rhyme couple *prosperity – residency* (sh. 27) can be found in a poem created almost at the same time (1896) entitled *W loży*:

Socjalistyczny trybun Pankracy,
Co w karczmie stały ma *pobyt*,
Naucza rzesze, że im mniej pracy,
Tym większy będzie *dobrobyt*⁷

The Socialist tribune Pankracy,
With tavern as his permanent *residency*,
Teaches crowds that the less work there is,
The greater *prosperity*

In sheet 22 the poet recorded a series of words: *chorąży* (*ensign*), *krąży* (*circles*), *dąży* (*moves*), *ciąży* (*weighs*), *wydrąży* (*drill*), *pogrąży* (*immerse*). Almost exactly the same combination appears in sonnet XXI in the series *Nad głębiami* (1887):

W coraz to wyższe przeradza się wzory
Pył ożywiony, co w przestrzeniach *krąży*;
Ledwie się w cieniu śmiertelnym *pogrąży*,
Wnet go z martwośći świt rozbudzi skory.

Śmierć – to ciągłego postępu *chorąży*!
Który na nowe świat prowadzi tory,
Wschodzącym kielkom usuwa zapory
I z rzeszą istot w nieskończoność *dąży*⁸

Transforms into ever higher patterns
Animate dust, which in space *circles*;
Barely in the deadly shadow *immerses*,
Immediately the eager dawn shall wake it from death.

Death – the continued progress' *ensign*!
Who leads the world onto new tracks,
Removes the hurdles from emerging sprouts
And into eternity with a crowd of beings *moves*

⁷ A. Asnyk, "W loży", in: *Poezje wybrane*, p. 448.

⁸ A. Asnyk, "Nad głębiami", in: *Poezje wybrane*, p. 383.

On that basis one can conclude that there exists a high correspondence between the theoretical combinations of rhymes recorded by Asnyk and his output in the last decade of his life. That, however, does not settle the question whether the notebook with rhyme combinations served him as a tool, a database which he used when he lacked inspiration, or quite the opposite: he recorded in it proposed rhyme sets which he had already used, and which functioned well. The notebook's content is undoubtedly associated with Asnyk's own works, which is why it can be analysed in the context of his poetic output. If the linguistic resources of a language are considered as raw material, and the selection of specific words becomes a prefabricated element, then the final outcome (i.e. the poem) is a product. Since Asnyk filled his notebook with possible combinations of word consonances, it becomes clear that he considered rhymes an important matter, worth the time and effort. The notebook can also shed new light on the matter of rhymes in Asnyk's works.

Asnyk's rhymes

Asnyk was considered the "master of rhyme and rhythm" whose achievements equaled the foremost "paragons of the past."⁹ Even Piotr Chmielowski agreed with that, for even though he was critical of Asnyk the poet for a long time, and only eventually confirmed his greatness, he did not have to change his opinion of Asnyk's rhymes, as from the very beginning he posited that the poet "toyed with the problems of rhyming with extreme ease."¹⁰ According to Eugeniusz Kucharski "Asnyk could easily be considered a true virtuoso" when one considered his rhymes alone, but he added that Asnyk was no virtuoso as he overused "incomplete rhymes, calculated for a careless pronunciation of endings."¹¹ He would explain such rhymes as: *krainę – sine* (land – blue), *na nowo – różową* (anew – rosé) with "an almost total loss of final nasals in everyday speech of the educated general popular." At the same time, he stated that

9 L. Belmont, "O prawdę", *Prawda* 1897, issue 37, p. 443. It was a polemic towards A.G. Bem's opinion included in Asnyk's obituary (*Prawda* 1897, issue 33–35). In his response to Belmont, Bem indicated that sonnet XIX from the series *Nad głębiami* was failed in terms of versification as the "constantly repeated suffix *-em* exacted a deadly blow to the poem"; in sonnet XVIII he saw "monotonous repetitions of participles" and "and an excess of sounds: *ę, q* – 26 nasal vowels in 14 poems is a tad too much" – A.G. Bem, "O prawdę. Odpowiedź p. Leo Belmontowi", *Prawda* 1897, issue 39, p. 466.

10 P. Chmielowski, *Zarys literatury polskiej z ostatnich lat szesnastu*, Vilnius: Wydawnictwo Elizy Orzeszkowej i spółki, 1881, p. 176. The evolution of the critics views on Asnyk's poetry was discussed by: K. Wóycicki, *Asnyk wśród prądów epoki (Materiały i opracowanie): Próba bibliografii pism Asnyka*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Kasy im. Mianowskiego, 1931, pp. 26–30, 48–52 and D.M. Osiński, "Dziewiętnastowieczne ratowanie ciągłości. Poezja Adama Asnyka w refleksji Piotra Chmielowskiego", *Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne. Seria Literacka* 19 (39): 2012, pp. 125–140.

11 E. Kucharski, *Twórczość liryczna Asnyka*, Krakow: Krakowska Spółka Wydawnicza, 1924, p. LXIII.

It would be difficult to consider in the literary language of today the following as perfect rhymes: *złowrogiej – trwogi, rozkoszy – rozprószy, znikomej – ogromy, dalej – fali* (*Oda*), *młodzieńczą – jęczą* (e.g. *Wierzba*), *liści – czyściej* (*Noc p. W.*), *ostatniej – bratni* (*Przem. czas.*), *zaskoczą – oczom* (*Noc p. W.*), etc. And those were the kinds of imperfect rhymes, sometimes transitioning into assonances [!], that Asnyk often used¹².

One could bitterly remark: Asnyk could had been the master of rhymes if Kucharski was not prejudiced against assonances and imperfect rhymes, and the fact that a severe battle over assonances as a new trend or a fad in poetry broke out in Poland when Kucharski was researching Asnyk¹³. Kucharski supported perfect rhymes, while Asnyk, who was departing from the principle, displayed excellent artistic intuition and preceded the style which triumphed after World War I.¹⁴ Kucharski also stated that Asnyk's works included poems devoid of grammatical rhymes, while in fact the poet did use that kind of rhyme "but did not abuse it."¹⁵ Maria Grzędzińska calculated, with the stipulation that Felicjan M. Faleński was the master of versification in post-January Uprising poetry, that grammatical rhymes in Asnyk's poetry exceeded 60% of the total stock of rhymes, i.e. twice as much as in Franciszek Krupiński's works.¹⁶ The high frequency of grammatical rhymes was justified by the song-related needs of phrasing. Therefore, despite the general conviction that Asnyk was a "master of rhyming"¹⁷, there were many nuanced opinions, for which it was difficult to define whether they were based on sufficiently extensive (and representative) material, or whether those clearly original views discussed only some (random) qualities of the specific delivery of the poet.¹⁸

¹² Ibidem, LXIV.

¹³ The course of the dispute that engaged both poets and renowned linguists was discussed by L. Pszczołowska, "Boje o rym", *Pamiętnik Literacki* 1970, col. 4, pp. 161-177.

¹⁴ L. Pszczołowska, *Wiersz polski: Zarys historyczny*, Wrocław: Fundacja na Rzecz Nauki Polskiej, 1997, p. 268 indicated the imperfect rhyme in Asnyk's works as an example of a minor break "in the once strong foundation of the perfect rhyme". Asnyk's contribution to the opening of Polish poems to the imperfect rhyme was overlooked by Stanisław Furmanik, who in his grand monograph entitled *Podstawy wersyfikacji polskiej (Nauka o wierszu polskim)*, Warsaw-Krakow: Wydawnictwo Eugeniusza Kothana, 1947, p. 223, posited that the imperfect rhyme was, in principle, used by the "first probably Young Poland poets."

¹⁵ E. Kucharski, *Twórczość liryczna Asnyka*, p. LXII.

¹⁶ M. Grzędzińska, "Grammatika i instrumentowka polskiej rymowki w XIX wieku", in: *Poetics, Poetyka, Poetika*, Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966, p. 308.

¹⁷ M. Giergielewicz, *Rym i wiersz*, London 1957, p. 105.

¹⁸ M. Giergielewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 105 wrote that Asnyk "sought out rich consonances; in the case of a vowel-final prefix, he tried to find support in a consonant", a striking phenomenon of his art of rhyming was the smoothing out of a poem in order for the "rhymes to match the poetic flow perfectly" and not to create a sense of artificiality. Another opinion could be considered

A side effect of the analysis of the catalogue of rhyming words may be the emphasis of the still unclear problems with the relations between the notion of “a rhyming word” (“rhyme vocabulary” or “lexeme content”¹⁹) and a rhyme, i.e. a part of a word in which “identical or similar sound sets are repeated”²⁰ (the rhyme component). Linguistic (lexical and grammatical²¹) analyses of rhymes apply to a word, yet one can find opinions which state that a rhyme is a “coda consonance of words, usually used in verse endings” being one type of phone instrumentations, while its role is to constitute the “keystone of two layers of the structure of a work of literature: instrumentational and prosodical.”²² Contrary to Władysław Lubaś’ optimistic position (“The category of the rhyme has in our knowledge base such discerning and strong definitions, that any re-assignment or detailed discussion of those seems the proverbial waste of time”²³), the suspension of analytic studies into rhymes in poems along with superficial partial discussions on the theories of rhymes resulted in a situation where textbook classifications of rhymes do not respect the definition itself.²⁴ Fortunately, the most recent academic textbooks utilise

as a covert polemic with Kucharski, though the fact of assigning Asnyk with rationalised versification decisions remains unsupported: “It was, however, Asnyk’s intention to exclude consonances which are tonally imperfect yet are justified linguistically [...] The poet was also aware of the futility of using fanciful consonances in completely emotional works.” (p. 105)

- 19 I. Nowakowska-Kempny, “Struktury składniowe a rym”, in: *Język Artystyczny* Vol. 3, Katowice 1985, p. 66: “I understand a rhyme as a pair of rhyming words” [...] Some researchers understand a rhyme only as the rhyming area, i.e. a part of a word, not the whole word.” Cf. K. Wrońska, “Próba leksykalnego opisu rymu ‘Jerozolimy wyzwolonej’”, in: *Język Artystyczny* Vol. 1, Katowice 1978, pp. 78–79.
- 20 aos [A. Okopień-Sławińska], “Rym”, in: *Słownik terminów literackich*, J. Sławiński (ed.), Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1976, p. 385.
- 21 W. Lubaś, *Rym Jana Kochanowskiego: Próba lingwistycznej charakterystyki i oceny*, Katowice: University of Silesia, 1975.
- 22 W.J. Darasz, *Mały przewodnik po wierszu polskim*, Krakow: Towarzystwo Miłośników Języka Polskiego, 2003, pp. 185–186. Such an absolute statement prevents any questions regarding the creative and semantic functions of a rhyme. Furthermore, it invalidates rhyme classifications based on grammatical categories. That was the consistency with which S. Furmanik operated in *Podstawy wersyfikacji polskiej* (identifying only the perfect rhyme and the imperfect rhyme). But even he did in practice use the notion of a grammatical rhyme and considered parts of speech in organising them – vide S. Furmanik, “O polskiej prozie rymowanej”, in: *Słowo i obraz*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1967, p. 40.
- 23 W. Lubaś, *Rym Jana Kochanowskiego...*, p. 12.
- 24 It is worth mentioning that K. Wóycicki, the classic researcher of Polish poetry, in his 1912 cornerstone monograph entitled *Forma dźwiękowa prozy polskiej i wiersza polskiego* (re-released by Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe in Warsaw in 1960 – this is the edition that I am quoting from), posited that the term rhyme is used to mean two things (p. 136), and he claimed that “in order for a rhyme to form, compliance is required between certain sounds, i.e. final,

a formula which does not propagate multiple redundant doubts: “**Rhyme** – the consonance of final couples of words, a device consisting of matching words with recurring phone sets in their endings (the so-called *rhyme components*)”²⁵. The content of Asnyk’s notebook re-emphasises the notion of a word when considering the notion of a rhyme.

Asnyk’s notebook can be considered as an original, non-organised, most probably intuitive, yet confirmed in the material form, idealistic concept (the word “theory” would probably be an overstatement) of the rhyme, organic in terms of the lexical layer, i.e. not offering an answer for the major questions on the function of rhymes in a poem. Despite that limitation, one can notice that in choosing rhyming words, Asnyk considered linguistic correctness. He shared the position with other writers of the latter half of the 20th century²⁶. The main objective was to ensure the purity of language (avoid borrowings), and consider literary language as the basis of communication between people of diverse regional traditions²⁷. What is striking is the near lack of Russian borrowings, which had already been found in literature before (*durak* – sh. 31, *zwozycznyk* – sh. 34, *sowietnik* – sh. 38) and the complete lack of German borrowings, with instead a high frequency of words borrowed from Latin, Greek, and French. The large group of scholarly lexis (the culture of antiquity, classic literature, proper names referring to global geography and general history) might indicate the model of “drawing room Polish”, a cy-

while other neighbouring, i.e. the beginnings of words, remain discordant; a rhyme requires a non-rhyme.” In that approach “a rhyme is the compliance of endings of words discordant in their beginnings, and, as a result, different in terms of their contents.” (p. 137) At the same time Edward Leszczyński, a poet and a researcher of poetry, in a study entitled *Harmonia słowa: Studium o poezji*, Krakow 1912, wrote almost identically about the rhyme, i.e. that it is “co-sonance of different words.” (p. 81) “Diversity” as a *sine qua non* of a rhyme, apart from “similarity”, was accepted after Wóycicki by Józef Gołąbek, *Sztuka rymowania*, Lviv–Warsaw: Książnica Atlas, 1939, pp. 37–38. Furmanik (*Podstawy wersyfikacji polskiej...*, pp. 208–209) raised a serious counter-argument against Wóycicki’s concept, though he himself used the notions of “rhyme” and “word” interchangeably (p. 209). Giergielewicz indicated the restrictive implications of Furmanik’s position and the excessive permissiveness in terms of meaning consequences of Wóycicki’s final definition, which was why he considered Wóycicki’s initial position, that a rhyme is the “compliance of the final sounds of a poem or its part” or “only those very endings sounding identically” (M. Giergielewicz, *Rym i wiersz*, p. 11) more accurate. That, however, was only a way to avoid considering the problem of the part of a word prior to the stress, from which the rhyme area begins.

25 D. Korwin-Piotrowska, *Poetyka: Przewodnik po świecie tekstów*, Krakow: Wydawnictwo UJ, 2011, p. 281 (author’s emphasis).

26 Cf. T. Budrewicz, „Lalka”: *Konteksty stylu*, Krakow: Wydawnictwo Naukowe WSP, 1990, pp. 10–41 (chapter *Między gramatyką a estetyką*; it includes a larger bibliography on the scope of the views on linguistic culture in the latter half of the 19th c.)

27 R. Zawiliński, “O poprawności języka”, *Biblioteka Warszawska* 1893, Vol. 1, pp. 367–368, 370–371.

pher of the Intelligentsia as the model of the recommended language, and a sign of social prestige.²⁸ In terms of meaning, the register proves a quality of Asnyk's poetic language which has been known for many years, defined as a lack of "optical vision of a specific shape", the "blurred visibility of an item", and an "idealised abstraction."²⁹ It seems striking that there are no erotic and frivolous items (one exception, and even hardly that, is the word pair inscribed in sh. 42 *zagość/nagość* (stay! bare) – while an indirect proof of corporeality is the following infinitive *zeszczupleć* (become slim)). Another striking fact is the near lack of obscenity, one exception being:

jakość, psiakość [quality, damn]
klamać, łamać, psiamać [lie, snap, darn] (sh. 36).

What is typical, then, are Asnyk's immediate strikes of words which came to his mind (sometimes, though rarely, he would passionately blur out a word as if trying to forget the very possibility of having that association, e.g. sh. 28):

Klamrze, zamrze [Buckle, die] (sh. 4)
zwalisk, wykopalisk [ruins, excavations] (sh. 22)
meteor, przeor, confiteor [meteor, prior, Confiteor] (sh. 26)
chlewik, trzewik [sty, shoe] (sh. 54)
słownik, wojownik, buntownik [dictionary, warrior, rebel] (sh. 56)

For some reason he considered them inappropriate for rhyme pairs. It could not have been for the reasons of phonetics (difficulty with articulation) since in other cases Asnyk virtually toyed with combinations of words generally considered challenging in terms of their articulation (e.g. *na rozścież* [widely], *proścież* [beg] – sh. 46; *pieprzę* [pepper], *wieprze* [hogs], *lepszere* [better], *odeprze* [fend off], *przeprze* [press through], *Dnieprze* [Dnieper] – sh. 33). Therefore, one may assume that the poet abandoned those examples because he perceived such combinations as violations of the principle of fitness. Maybe Asnyk recorded the associations that came to his mind and immediately afterwards saw in such combinations something which he considered an aesthetic and ethical dissonance? The shortage of material prevents me from drawing a hypothesis which can be justified in a convincing manner. Nor is there a good answer to the question of why Asnyk recorded

²⁸ E. Umińska-Tytoń, *Polszczyzna dziewiętnastowiecznych salonów*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2011, p. 251.

²⁹ M. des Loges, *Słowo w poezji Asnyka (szkic z pogranicza semantyki i stylistyki)*, offprint from *Księga pamiątkowa ku uczczeniu czterdziestolecia pracy naukowej prof. dra Juliusza Kleinera*, Łódź: Towarzystwo Literackie im. A. Mickiewicza, 1949, pp. 380–381.

individual words without their rhyming counterparts. Maybe at the moment of writing them he was not able to find the right consonance. He was probably not planning on returning to those, as otherwise he would have left considerable space for adding chains of words. Asnyk recorded the following words without their rhyming pairs: *kudły* [shag] (sh. 5), *Apelles* (sh. 28), *kanal* [canal] (sh. 29), *Helikonikon* (sh. 31), *zapobiedz* [prevent] (sh. 32), *ciężki* [heavy] (sh. 35), *gospodyń* [hostesses] (sh. 41), *wnucząt* [grandkids] (sh. 42), *Zabrze* (sh. 48), *waszeć* [Thou] (sh. 48), *kwiecień* [April] (sh. 54).

Rhyme micro-forms

Some of Asnyk's entries organised the register of words in clear verse pre-forms. Apparently, the poet organised the associations coming to his mind in line with mnemonic techniques, following the micro-logic forms present in everyday speech. Therefore, the main function of the notes was to reinforce consonance associations, and, additionally, to organise those words. That resulted in micro-texts. There is no doubt the poet saw those textual outcomes because the punctuation he used when recording them corresponds to sentence structure, and the models can usually be clearly divided into phrases with equal numbers of syllables:

Kielbie we łbie [Fish in your brain] (sh. 32)

Ty się nie leń rozweselań [Don't be lazy get crazy] (sh. 13).

Ocen Miocen, on jest mocen [Miocene of opinions, he is strong] (sh. 3).

It was probably by accident that he created a micro-form which could be considered a simple couplet (Asnyk, began the second line in lower case, as if intentionally creating a syntactic whole, which is uncommon in the notes. Another hypothesis is that the random outcome of structuring was caused by an idiosyncrasy of not separating words with punctuation marks):

Oryginał zaczynał [Original started]

final wspominał [finale reminisced] (sh. 17).

Ruda, chuda, nuda [Red, lean, boredom]

obłuda, cuda, wielkoluda [cant, wonders, giant,]

uda, gdy się uda [thighs if it not fails] (sh. 13; possible frivolous meaning).

The poet was surely testing the rhyming potential of grammatical categories matching nouns and verbs. The result was an enumeration with a somewhat intentionally rhythmic organisation:

nahaj, wahaj, machaj [whip, hesitate, wave]
kahał, wahał, machał [qahal, hesitated, waved] (sh. 14).

Most probably, the creation of the rhythmic quasi-formulas was also random when the poet matched rhyming homonyms:

*połów, z dwóch połów*³⁰ [catch, from two halves] (sh. 7).
*szalej! dalej, szalej*³¹, *alej* [rave! more, cowbane, alleys] (sh. 19).

Since homonyms made their way to Asnyk's sets of rhyming words, we can assume that he considered them as fully-fledged rhymes, not some simple lexical repetitions (the matter was highly debated by poetry researchers). It was no accident that Asnyk was developing the verse seeking a corresponding meaning (proper names firmly set in culture) and, additionally, a rhythm:

epos – Korneliusz Nepos (sh. 37)
kielich drelich, Anhelich [goblet, overalls, Anhelich]
Marków-Aurelich (sh. 32).

Once again one might assume that the poet was consciously organizing the words he filled a considerable portion of his notebook with. Thus, he created word chains corresponding to the so-called Behaghel's Law (the principle of increasing elements, a shorter element precedes a longer one):

jąka, błąka, pająka [falter, wander, spider]
ląka, rozląka, przesiąka [field, parting, transiting]
czyńcie! gińcie! labiryńcie [act! perish! labyrinth] (sh. 25).

However, the majority of records include directions which suggest that it was less difficult to retrieve words with similar endings when the poet was recalling words from the same thematic field:

Styczeń, życzeń, ćwiczeń, obliczeń [January, wishes, practice, calculations]
Marzec, starzec, zarzec [March, oldster, promise]
Kwiecień [April]
Kwietnia, letnia, fletnia [April's, summer's, flute] (sh. 54).

³⁰ In this case *połów* refers to: 1) catching fish, 2) Genitive of the noun *połowa*.

³¹ *Szalej* – 1) the imperative of the verb *szaleć*, 2) a poisonous plant or the poison derived from it.

These seemingly random chains of lexical associations form textualised lexical sets in Asnyk's notebook. It is clear that any action requires some intent (plan), but also that "the aim may be defined once the activity is completed."³² Maybe the poet, having decided to record a few words, saw not only their meaning-based relationship but also the aesthetic qualities (e.g. humour) they carried:

parobek, zarobek, nagrobek [farmhand, earn, tombstone] (sh. 32) [field LABOUR, bitter irony]

heban, pleban, pogrzeban [ebony, prior, buried] (sh. 30) [field FUNERAL]

pijatyk, bijatyk, wiatyk [drunkard, fights, viaticum] (sh. 25) [field ALCOHOL AND ITS CONSEQUENCES, irony]

pobijem, czyjem, ryjem [beat up, whose, snout] [field CONFLICT]

uwijem, kijem, wypijem [weave, stick, drink] (sh. 46) [field MORALS, ALCOHOL, satire]

żeński, małżeński, męczeński [feminine, marital, martyr]

panieński, reński [maidenly, Rhiny] (sh. 26). [field MARRIAGE, gag, moral satire]

Asnyk often recorded in his notebook chains of words drawing associations with the European culture of the world of antiquity. The number of nouns in this group is strikingly high. Since, theoretically at least, they were supposed to constitute a stock of potential rhymes in poems; and since we can, based on those registers, discuss the matter of exotic rhymes for Asnyk, there emerges another argument for Zofia Mocarska-Tycowa's thesis about his "classicist taste" (antiquity-based themes, academicism in painting). She proved that the 19th-century classicism "was an attempt at organising that period, to tame, through form, its amorphous nature by increasing references to traditions in its most perfect form; an attempt spurred by a fear for an overflow of rubbish and a loss of taste [...] conducted with a deep sense of a growing gap between the values sanctioned by traditions and the times revelling in their achievements and self-complacent."³³ At the same time, numerous traces of classical knowledge in emphasised sections of poems, i.e. rhymes, require one to reference Grzędzińska's en passant remark on the Parnassianistic tendencies in Asnyk's art of the rhyme³⁴. Those two positions were not mutually exclusive, on the contrary: "This is where a Parnassist *par excel-*

³² S. Jaworski, „Piszę, więc jestem”: *O procesie twórczym w literaturze*, Krakow: Universitas, 1993, p. 14.

³³ Z. Mocarska-Tycowa, *Wybory i konieczności: Poezja Asnyka wobec gustów estetycznych i najważniejszych pytań swoich czasów*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2005, p. 148. The author also discussed the poet's fancy for visual arts. In that respect as well, Asnyk's notebook offers arguments which emphasise the researcher's thesis, because among the rhyming words he included, e.g. *planet* – *Manet* (sh. 17), *Dikens* [!], *Kamoens* [!], *Rubens* (sh. 6), *Laokon* – *cocoon* (sh. 24).

³⁴ M. Grzędzińska, *Grammatika i instrumentowka...*, p. 308 (the researcher provided as an example a rhyme pair: *Eros* – *polianthes*, *ripped* – *Nirvanas*).

lence speaks: inhabitant of contemporary times full of doubt, who puts above them the golden age of ancient Greek, where the beauty of life was worth a beautiful song and fame after one's death."³⁵ Interestingly enough, in Asnyk's notebook groups of words with a meaning-based association with the culture of antiquity form the largest sets in terms of sheer numbers, and, at the same time, the most homogeneous (rarely interrupted with lexis from other thematic areas). There are sheets filled solely with such words, as if the poet felt particularly fulfilled imagining being present in the land of classical tradition:

pean, ocean
Eos, apoteoz
Eros, papieros, tuberoz, [nieczyt.]
flegeton, breton, Maneton,
faeton, kreton
edredon, Fedon,
automedon
Sinai, tai, odzwyczai,
zagai, Himalai, zgrai
ażeby, Teby, pogrzeby,
gleby, potrzeby (k. 23).

paeon, ocean
Eos, apotheoses
Eros, cigarette, polianthes, [illegible]
Phlegethon, Breton, Manethon,
phaeton, cretonne
eider, Phaedo,
automedon
Sinai, Thai, wean,
talk, Himalayas, match
if only, Thebes, funerals,
soils, needs (sh. 23).

35 A. Mazur, "Obecność parnasistów francuskich wśród przedstawicieli drugiego pokolenia pozytywistów polskich", in: *Z badań nad literaturą i sztuką drugiego pokolenia pozytywistów polskich: Studia i szkice*, Z. Piasecki (ed.), Opole: Opolskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1992, p. 59. The complete concept of the Polish reception of Parnassism was presented by the researcher in her monograph entitled *Parnasizm w poezji polskiej drugiej połowy XIX i początku XX wieku*, Opole: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna, 1993.

In traditional poetry studies, which highly valued rare and fancy rhymes, it was acceptable to use rhymes “from foreign proper names,” and acquired words³⁶. The value of similar sets lies in the fact that proper names offer low repeatability, which is why they lessen the monotony of grammatical rhymes³⁷. In this group, a separate subgroup is formed by proper names from literature. They proved the poet was erudite and, indirectly, indicated which works became ingrained in his memory the most:

Rabagas fagas (sh. 48)
cohort – Mohort (sh. 48)
Szylok – epilogue (sh. 48).

Rhymed literary allusions are rare, as they require very high competence in works of literature. Asnyk used them rarely, referring to commonly known poems by C.K. Norwid and A. Mickiewicz:

Babylon [!], *akwilon, Milon, pochylon, zapylon* (sh. 25)³⁸
sielska, cielska, anielska, zielska, przyjacielska [idyllic, body, angelic, weeds, friendly] (sh. 5)
urna, chmurna, górna, Saturna, poczwórna, kurna, koturna, czupurna, zaskórna [urn, cloudy, upper, Saturn's, quadruple, smoky, pumps, defiant, subcutaneous] (sh. 42).

The inclusion of well-known rhymes from Mickiewicz, which occupy a high position in Polish culture, into the register of common, or even non-poetic, words seems like a conscious decision of the poet. Thus, he questioned the foundations of the aesthetics of Romanticism. Another group of rhyme sets proves that within Asnyk's lexical associations, words traditionally associated with the Romantic concept of a poet indicate the critical distance with which the author of *Nad głębiami* approached Romanticism. Therefore, the stylistic field rather produces a negative inclination:

trzeszczy, wieszczy, dreszczy, zadeszczy, kleszczy, wrzeszczy [creaks, prophecies, shivers, rains, clamps, screams] (sh. 41)
wieszczym, wrzeszczym [we prophecy, we scream] (sh. 51)
deszczka, wieszczka, mieszczka [rain, prophet, burger] (sh. 41)

³⁶ K. Wóycicki, *Forma dźwiękowa prozy polskiej i wiersza polskiego*, p. 146–147 (the researcher offered detailed classifications of similar uses).

³⁷ K. Wrońska, *Próba leksykalnego opisu rymu „Jerozolimy wyzwolonej”*, p. 84.

³⁸ Asnyk knew Norwid's works well and appreciated them highly. Cf. T. Budrewicz, *Rymowane spory: Asnyk*, pp. 129–146.

piewca, szewca, drzewca [**singer**, cobbler, wood] (sh. 4)
antyk, romantyk, kantyk, Atlantyka [antique, **romantic**, canticle, Atlantic] (sh. 30)
Deotym, złotym [**Diotimas**, gold] (sh. 38)
mimo, zimo! Deotymo [though, cold! **Diotima**] (sh. 39).

While the content of Asnyk's notebook cannot serve as the basis for discussing his personal anti-Romantic stance, one cannot ignore the fact that the poet's personal notes include many sets of words which prove that he (sometimes?) displayed a self-mocking or even scornful approach to poetic skills and theoretical knowledge of poems. That was exemplified in sets where poetics terms are matched with vocabulary referring to the world in its common, every day, and trivial dimension. Mind you, some immediate associations were discarded by the poet immediately, for he classified them, for some reason, as inappropriate or not offering any hope for their practical application. He did not delete the following ones, so they must have passed his initial evaluation:

distich [!], *mglistych* [**distich**, foggy] (sh. 21)
epik, sklepik, rzepik [**proses**, store, velcro] (sh. 21)
madrygał, dźwigał, zastygał, migał [**madrigal**, carried, solidified, flashed] (sh. 21)
amfibrach, kolibrach, librach, fibrach [**amphibrach**, hummingbirds, books, fibres] (sh. 26)
jamby, a nam by, dytyramby [**iamb**s, and us by, dithyrambs] (sh. 26)
heksametry, saletry [**hexameters**, saltpeters] (sh. 26)
podje, odje, parodje [!], *prozodje* [!], *melodje* [!] [eat up, eat out, parodies, **prosodies**, melodies] (sh. 30)
sonet, monet, baronet, marjonet [!], *canconet* [**sonnet**, coins, baronet, marionettes, canconet] (sh. 9).

Similar unexpected combinations of words, leading to surprising semantic contrasts, a surprising outcome, and an atmosphere that undermines the position of notions with pre-established positions in culture (de-valuation), can be found in the following sets:

satelit, jelit [satellites, intestines] (sh. 17)
soliter, liter, Jupiter [solitaire, letter, Jupiter] (sh. 19)
najad, zajad [pester, fester] (sh. 20).

“Contrast-based associations,” argued Julian Ochorowicz, Asnyk's contemporary, “play a major role in poetry, both in expressions and images, and in the entire

frame of art itself.”³⁹ In considering the choice of rhymes, Edward Leszczyński claimed that it was all about “dissonance of different words”, which meet somewhat by accident because “words may and should be selected based on some necessity; what may only seem random is the fact that thus selected words include the same sounds in their codas.”⁴⁰ Józef Gołąbek offered an interesting explanation for the psychology of associating rhymes:

A question arises whether if in his [the poet’s – T. B.] imagination a thought emerges, simultaneously the proper rhyme for it occurs, too. That seems doubtful. At that point, there rather begins work towards selecting, towards seeking strictly logical relations between the thought and words; if the words do not meet the artist’s expectations, he rejects them and seeks other, i.e. those which do not break his basic idea. [...] a rhyme surely constricts the author, often requiring him to hamper his thoughts, but it also constitutes the first measure of help for thoughts⁴¹.

The semantic proximity of the rhyming words recorded by Asnyk had another aspect which corresponds to the text theory category of deep cohesion and surface cohesion. Lexical associations, thanks to which he classified words of consonant endings, did not end with the final entry in a chain of words in the quasi-paragraph. The lexical field expanded, repeating some notions which transformed through word-formation and grammatical processes. The locations of those repetitions vary, just as a poem the initial and final positions carry particular significance:

pierwiastki, gwiazdki, powiastki [elements, stars, stories]
pierwiastek, ciastek, powiastek [element, cookies, stories] (sh. 6)

jedwabną, zgrabną, powabną, osłabną, zagabną [silk, neat, graceful, weak, fit]
jedwabie, babie, zagrabię, grabie, osłabię, powabie [silk, woman, seize, rake, weaken, grace] (sh. 9)

³⁹ J. Ochorowicz, *O twórczości poetyckiej*, Lviv: Karol Wild, 1877, p. 38.

⁴⁰ E. Leszczyński, *Harmonia słowa...*, pp. 81–82.

⁴¹ J. Gołąbek, *Sztuka rymowania*, p. 88. On p. 39 he wrote: “The linking of two or more poems using one rhyme often constitutes a limitation of a thought because a rhyme is intended to associate not only identical syllables, but also two or more words symbolising a notion. In order for the meaning of a poem to be clear, two related notions should appear as rhymes. Sometimes the final syllables of words not related in terms of their meanings rhyme. It is hard to decide whether more valuable are rhymes where the rhyming words are related in terms of their meanings or not.” The analysis of Asnyk’s notebook will not bring one closer to answering that question, but it does highlight the semantic similarity and contrast (unity and diversity) as the principle for grouping the words which enter rhyme relations.

powietrze, świętopietrze, wietrze, zetrze, obetrze, heksametrze, termometrze, saletrze, bledsze, przewietrzę [air, Peter's Pence, smell, scrub, rub, **hexameter**, thermometer, **salt peter**, paler, ventilate]
heksametry, saletry [**hexameters, saltpeters**] (sh. 27)

draby, słaby, baby, aby, żaby, graby, Saby, powaby, Nababy, antaby [**scamps**, weak, **women**, so, frogs, hornbeams, Saba's, graces, nawabs, handle]
babie, wabię, korabie, grabię, drabie, osłabię [**woman**, lure, korab, rake, **scamp**, weaken] (sh. 7)

węgle, kręgle, niedosięgle, pocięgle [**coals**, pins, unreachable, strap]
zza węgła, dosięgła, przysięgła, rozprzęgła, wylękła [around the **corner**, reached, promised, loosened, frightened] (sh. 9).

When seeking words with a final consonance, Asnyk also recorded series of words with additional onset consonances, which enriched the rhymes phonetically, but, at the same time, drove him towards monotony:

puszcze, bluszcze, pluszcze, wpuszczę, dopuszczę, wyluszczę, poduszczę [forests, ivies, splash, admit, accept, explain, pillow] (sh. 5)
hula, kula, króla [revel, ball, king] (sh. 38)
kaik, kraik, gaik, laik [dugout, country, grove, amateur] (sh. 43).

Asnyk's notebook draws one's attention to a problem in poetry studies, for which Lucylla Pszczołowska proposed a statistics-based solution. Based on a sample of Asnyk's poetry of 600 verses, she compared the distribution of grammatical forms in verse caesura and ending. She found a significant grammatical stiffening of endings, or even reductions of the forms of conjunctions, prepositions, or infinitives and indeclinable participles. Pszczołowska concluded:

Therefore, a rhyme ousts from verse endings also nominal forms with endings (e.g. *miłości* (love), *pokój* (peace), *marzeń* (dreams), *piekiel* (hell)), infinitives (e.g. *chodzić* (walk), *plakać* (cry)), imperatives (e.g. *prowadź* (lead), *pokaż* (show)), indeclinable participles (e.g. *niosąc* (carrying), *wziąwszy* (having taken)), short adjective forms (e.g. *godzien* (worthy), *winien* (owes)), and adverbs (e.g. *dobrze* (well), *smutno* (sadly))⁴².

Asnyk's notebook includes several combinations of words marked by the poet with exclamation marks, which makes it easier to classify them under specific parts of speech. Therefore, there are:

⁴² L. Pszczołowska, *Rym*, Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1972, pp. 42–43.

– infinitives

połać, wołać, podołać [extent, call, cope] (sh. 14)

boleć, woleć, poleć! [ache, prefer, fly!] (sh. 6)

zaleć! szaleć, zmaleć, ocaleć [advise! rave, diminish, survive] (sh. 12)

kłamać, łamać, psiamać [lie, snap, darn] (sh. 36)

przebrać, odebrać, zebrać [change, retake, collect] (sh. 43)

wymieć! zolbrzymieć [wipe out! enlarge] (sh. 49)

– imperatives

bazalcie, palcie! chwalcie! użalcie! Alcie, szpalcie, Malcie, oddalcie! asfalcie [basalt, burn! praise! pity! Alta, column, Malta, distance! asphalt] (sh. 14)

chwaście, paście! gaście! [weed, forage! put out!] (sh. 6)

rozwalmy! palmy, chwalmy! oddalmy! psalmy, zapalmy! [let's destroy! let's burn, let's praise! let's distance! psalms, let's ignite!] [...]

kałuż, nałóż! załóż! [puddles, add! put on!] (sh. 8)

na przebój, zagrzebuj! potrzebuj! nie bój! [across, bury! need! don't be afraid!] (sh. 13)

czyńcie! gińcie! labiryńcie [act! perish! labyrinth] (sh. 24)

– short (simple) adjective forms

nasion, wypasion [seeds, pastured]

jesion, odniesion [ash, replaced] (sh. 5)

szatan, platan, Lewiatan, zbratan, połatan, posplatan, szarlatan, Natan [Satan, platanus, Leviathan, befriended, patched, intertwined, charlatan, Nathan]

Babylon [!], *akwilon, Miron, pochylon, zapylon* (sh. 25)

zaginion, szynion, minion [lost, rails, past] (sh. 41)

– adverbs

ucznie, włócznie, jutrznie, sztucznie [students, spears, lauds, fake] (sh. 7)

mądrze, skądże? [smartly, why?] (sh. 8)

bezecznie, niecznie, obecnie [despicably, ignominiously, currently] (sh. 090).

My verification of the above-mentioned principle by Pszczołowska, based on a sample from Asnyk of 2,000 verses, proved the researcher's findings were only valid for imperatives and indeclinable participles. In his writing, the poet used infinitives in rhymes (e.g. "Slash and shoot!" in *Napad na Parnas*) and quite often adverbs (e.g. "deadly, drowsily, deafly" in sonnet "Czego ci trzeba dziś, posępny tłumie"). Despite the indicated exceptions, the rule noticed by Pszczołowska is, in principle, legitimate. In his poetic practice, Asnyk used only part of the rhyme dictionary. Maybe he expected a broadening of the scale of grammatical forms in rhymes. Since he did not delete those, leaving them as a potential reserve selection of words in rhymes, maybe, at least theoretically, in his imagination, he as-

sumed the possibility of some bolder rhyming experiments, just as he did in terms of rhyme arrangements in sonnets?⁴³ That would mean that he was an innovator of more than just imperfect rhymes and verse-based rhyme relations, something poetry studies have not yet discussed.

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⁴³ Antoni Bądzkiewicz in *Teoria poezji polskiej w związku z jej historią opowiedzianą*, new edition, Warsaw: Księgarnia Ungra i Banarskiego, 1875, p. 254 calculated theoretically that there are “six [possible] modes” of arranging terza rimas in sonnets. In his series of sonnets entitled *Morskie oko* Asnyk created arrangements that had not been envisaged by Bądzkiewicz.

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Tadeusz Budrewicz

Asnyka notes z rymami

Streszczenie

Podstawą materiałową artykułu jest notes Adama Asnyka, który przechowuje Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie (Oddział rękopisów, sygn. 7185 I, numer inwentarzowy 16261). Zawiera 56 kart zapisanych po stronach recto i verso. Asnyk notował w nim wyrazy, które się rymowały. Używał notesu z gotowymi zestawieniami rymów jako pomocy podczas pisania wierszy. Lista tych wyrazów wykazuje wysoką frekwencję słów przyswojonych z łaciny, greki oraz zapożyczeń francuskich. Dotyczą pojęć abstrakcyjnych, kultury antyku, klasyki literackiej i nazw własnych, które się odnoszą do geografii świata i historii powszechnej. Oznacza to intelektualny i inteligentcki model poezji. W zestawieniach słów częste są asocjacje wskazujące na ironiczną postawę poety wobec romantyzmu. Rymy nie tworzą przypadkowych układów słów o podobnej fonetyce, ale stanowią pola gramatyczne i semantycz-

ne. Analiza notesu Asnyka pozwoliła na sformułowanie wniosków, że: 1) wbrew ustaleniom wersologów Asnyk używał w rymach form gramatycznych nieodmiennych (bezokolicznik, przysłówki); 2) rym niedokładny w polskiej poezji pojawił się wcześniej, niż dotąd sądzono (koniec XIX w.).

Słowa kluczowe: Asnyk, wiersz, rym, rękopis, notatki

Asnyk's notebook of rhymes

Summary

The material basis for the article was Adam Asnyk's notebook, which is presently owned by The Jagiellonian Library in Kraków (Manuscript Archive, 7185I, no. 16261). The notebook contains 56 pages handwritten by Asnyk on both sides of a sheet. Asnyk wrote down the words which rhymed. He made use of the notebook when he needed set rhymes as a tool while composing poems. The list of these words demonstrates a high frequency of words borrowed from Latin, Greek, and French. They apply to abstract nouns, antiquity, literary classics, as well as proper nouns related to world geography and history. All indicates the intellectual and intelligentsia model of his poetry. The sets of words often included associations which emphasised Asnyk's irony towards Romanticism. The rhymes were not accidental sets of words phonetically similar but instead they indicated grammatical and semantic fields. The analysis of Asnyk's notebook enabled the following conclusions: 1) in spite of some scholars' opinions, in his rhymes Asnyk used noninflectional grammatical forms (infinitives, adverbs); and 2) partial rhyme in Polish poetry had appeared earlier than it was commonly assumed (the end of the 19th century).

Keywords: Asnyk, poem, rhyme, manuscript, notes

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The *Legiony* (Legions) Project On Henryk Sienkiewicz's final novel¹

In November 1911, Sienkiewicz wrote to Adam Krechowiecki on creating *Legiony* (Legions): “The more I study the sources, the bigger the difficulties I face.”² Judging from the material left by the author of *Quo Vadis*, he surveyed a considerable number of sources. Actually, that was nothing special for Sienkiewicz; one might find it admirable that the ageing author (in 1911 he was 65), quite familiar with the history of Poland, would still so diligently prepare for writing a new novel, conducting detailed historical and cultural research; he approached the matter just as seriously as when writing his first and major historical novels.

His surviving notes include lists of the collections of libraries regarding the source material for *Legiony*. Those lists were not recorded by Sienkiewicz. They constitute a collection labeled by Ossolineum as *Papiery Henryka Sienkiewicza* (Henryk Sienkiewicz's Papers). Most of the notes were recorded on the header paper of the Academy of Learning in Krakow, the sheets are usually inscribed single-sidedly per the model: the title *Legiony* in the right-hand upper corner, the name of the library, the resources of which are listed in the middle of the upper section of a sheet. The lists include authors and titles of their works, and reference numbers. Some were underlined in blue pencil, probably by Sienkiewicz indicating the most interesting entries in the lists. Those included, e.g. *Listy Ignacego Potockiego*,

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1 Topic fulfilled under grant by the NSC 2012/06/A/HS2/00252: *Henryk Sienkiewicz. obecność w kulturze polskiej XX wieku. Polskość i nowoczesność. Recepcja i nowe odczytania* (Henryk Sienkiewicz. Presence in the Polish culture of the 20th c. Polishness and modernity. Reception and new readings).

2 H. Sienkiewicz, letter to A. Krechowiecki of 30 November 1911, in: idem, *Listy*, Maria Bokszczanin (ed.), vol. III, part 1, Warsaw: PIW, p. 391. [Unless specified otherwise, English version translated from Polish]

Dekada Polska, a periodical published in Italy when the legions were stationed there; extracts from newspapers, *Testament Hugona Kollątaja*.

The sheer extent of the collected bibliography probably terrified the writer; in 1911 he mentioned several times that the novel applied to a particular period in the history of Poland, but to write it in the form of a novel was no easy task, and caused him many problems.³ However, in developing new plots, and organising the story, he gradually reached a conviction that the novel would be valuable, and it was important to work on it. Yet, as it was customary for him, in his letters to his family and friends, he wrote both of the problems and his concerns; both of the moments of joyful work, and moments of creative blocks.⁴

What manuscript material do we possess? 139 sheets, 29 x 23 cm, some smaller. Inscribed single-sidedly, few were inscribed in full. Most of those were attempts at creating small fragments, drafts of new ideas, sometimes individual sentences. The entire material was combined by Julian Krzyżanowski, and divided into 6 groups, and thus it is stored in Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich:

- Version A: beginning of *Legiony* in the form of a journal;
- *Legiony*, part I, Edition A (chapters 1 and 2) and abandoned beginnings of further sheets;
- *Legiony*, part I, Edition B (chapters 1 and 2, end of 5, and chapter 6);
- *Legiony*, part II, abandoned initial fragments;
- *Legiony*, part II, Edition A (chapters 1–4);
- *Legiony*, part II, Edition B, covering exclusions from sheets with text abandoned in final editing.

As it is easy to calculate, half of the summarised surviving material includes manuscript records of the printed novel, while the other half includes variant material. As is often the case when researching rough drafts: the bibliographic records differ slightly from the actual contents of a collection. A careful study of the folder with the manuscript of *Legiony* indicates that fragments in line with the printed version dominate over the abandoned text (Krzyżanowski), yet in the collected material there are many variant fragments which differ only slightly from the first printed version.

As a reminder: *Legiony* was Sienkiewicz's final novel, first printed in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* in issue 49 of 1913 and appearing there until issue 31 of the following year⁵. In short, it is a story of two men travelling to Rome to join the ranks of

³ Vide other letters by Henryk Sienkiewicz to Adam Krechowicki, in: H. Sienkiewicz, *Listy*, vol. III, part 1, *op. cit.*, and H. Sienkiewicz, letter to M. Babska of 6–7 April 1913, in: idem, *Listy*, vol. IV, part 2, M. Bokszczanin (ed.), Warsaw: PIW, 2008, p. 442.

⁴ The writer's changes of heart, as well as his particular concerns were preserved in the sheets of his correspondence with Jadwiga Janczewska, Sydon Lorent, and his last wife Maria Babska.

⁵ *Legiony* was printed consecutively: *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1913 issue 49 (6 XII) to issue 52; in 1914 issues 1–17, then part II from issue 18 to 31. The novel was reprinted by the Krakow-based *Czas*

Gen. Dąbrowski's legions. However, before they depart, each of them experienced in the first part of the novel entitled *W kraju* (In the country) various adventures and romantic adventures. Eventually, Marek Kwiatkowski, a rejected lover, and Stanisław Cywiński, a newlywed, leave their home and their loved ones to serve their motherland.

For the analysis I selected the second part of *Legiony* entitled *Pod Dąbrowskim* (Under Dąbrowski). Its story centers on the journey of the two men from Venice to Rome, depicted here more as army men than boys in love, as they were portrayed in the first part. The discussed rough drafts constitute the most characteristic fragments selected from the entire material.

The first fragment is an attempt to write the initial sections of the second part of the novel. Previous studies indicated that Sienkiewicz often struggled with either the form of delivery or with the beginning of the novel. Sometimes he worked on the idea of an important break-through fragment. That was also the case here, as the second part of *Legiony* could be somewhat considered as an autonomous fragment. The characters seldom refer to what happened earlier.

The second part of the novel takes the protagonists directly from where they lived (the village of Różyce) to Venice, which becomes the initial stage in their path to legion history. The initial lines read as follows:

“Cywiński, he was eager to reach the camp, agreed, however, to Marek's demand to spend a few days in Venice. He agreed, first of all, because he himself wanted to visit the city, and, secondly, because officer Drzewiecki whom both young men met immediately after their arrival, assured them that they did not have to hurry too much as the legions since the peace had been concluded in Campio Formio were stationed in Rimini, and were getting ready to set out for Rome, but had nothing to do for the time being.”⁶

That introduction, it would seem, was supposed to explain the boys' visit to Venice, and why they were reluctant to complete their mission. Thanks to the initial fragment, which continued for the next 1.5 pages, the reader becomes familiar with other officers and the plan for the following stages of the journey.

In the surviving manuscript records, there are no traces of similar lines, though the beginning of the second part has a total of three rough draft versions. The first one begins with a description focusing on the air of St. Mark's Square:

(issues 565–587 of 1913 and issues 1–313 of 1914), *Dziennik Poznański* (issues 282–297 of 1913 and issues 3–175 of 1914).

6 H. Sienkiewicz, “Legiony. Powieść historyczna”, in: idem, *Pisma w układzie I. Chrzanowskiego*, vol. 32, Lviv: Gebethner i Wolff, 1932, p. 131.

Spring came early, but the evening was quiet and warm. St. Mark's Square in Venice was flush with lights, and a Czech army orchestra was playing in the centre. Crowds of people were passing by along the prosecutor's offices, and their conversations mixed with the sounds of musical instruments and the flutter of pigeons' wings startled by the sounds of horns and drums. Cywiński and Kwiatkowski were sitting at a table in front of the Florian's café in the company of captains Drzewiecki and Nadolski, whom they met ~~that same day~~ [↑] a few days prior] – and were talking about the wonders of the city

– “Well this is swarmed,” said Cywiński. “Is it always like this?” [rough draft, *Poniechane fragmenty początkowe*, outline 1, sheet 1 *recto*]

The entire fragment was recorded on a single sheet, not numbered by Sienkiewicz, organised by Krzyżanowski as the first one. There is no reliable information that it was the beginning of the second half of the novel. It is difficult to make an argument proving that the text included therein featured the very initial fragments of the second half of the work. Even more so since the corresponding section, with almost identical content, was included in the printed version but after the rather lengthy introduction previously mentioned:

They remained silent for a while and began to observe the stream of people flowing through St. Mark's Square towards San Moisè and back. Despite it were the early days of spring, the evening was surprisingly warm and calm. A star-studded sky hung above the square, while the framework of the prosecutor's offices and the grey copulas of the church reflected in silver the month's glare. The square itself was flush in light. In the centre, Czech army music was played on a stage erected there. Crowds of men and women were passing by along the prosecutor's offices, and their conversations mixed with the sounds of musical instruments and the flutter of pigeons' wings startled by the sudden sounds of horns and drums. In front of the church, there were bundles of torches burning in iron bins casting pink glare onto light mosaics, golden recesses and huge yellow banners hung on poles in front of the temple.⁷

The second rough draft outline casts more light, as it includes the following passage:

Despite spring came early, the evening was surprisingly warm. St. Mark's Square in Venice was flush with lights, and a Czech army orchestra was playing in the centre. Crowds of people were passing by along the prosecutor's offices, and their conver-

⁷ H. Sienkiewicz, *Legiony*, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

sations mixed with the sounds of musical instruments and the flutter of pigeons' wings startled by the sounds of horns and drums.

Cywiński and Kwiatkowski were sitting at a table put in the square in front of a café and were drinking Cyprus wine in the company of captains Drzewiecki and Nadolski, whom they met a few days prior Drzewiecki, sleek and talkative officer, who had spent several weeks in Venice and knew it well, showed ↑[that day] both young men ↑[until] late in the evening around local churches, and afterwards they sat down together in the square to stretch out their tired legs and observe the people. [rough draft, *Ponieczane fragmenty początkowe*, outline 2, sheet 2 *recto*]

"It's swarmed, here, yes sir!" Said Cywiński. "Is it always like this?" [second rough draft outline, abandoned initial fragments, sh. 2r]

It is included on the second sheet of the collection, which is likewise not numbered by the writer. The sheet does, however, include more significant signs that enable a more complete analysis. First, it includes a header "Legiony pod Dąbrowskim Część II" (Legions under Dąbrowski Part II) [original layout], which could suggest it constitutes the opening section of the work. Secondly, it can be considered as complementary to the second sheet *recto* numbered by Sienkiewicz, and a continuation of the argument from the first sheet *recto*. Both sheets are struck across with a thin pen line, which was the writer's trademark, indicating that those fragments had already been copied with the intention to be released for printing. Of course, if it had not been for the first print, one could assume that it was the writer's plan for the initial chapter of the second part of the work.

Stopping for a moment at this stage of the writer's work, it is worth mentioning that there are few (in either outline) traces of his deliberations on the text. There are virtually no deletions, apart from a change in the first version: "that day in the morning" to: "a few days prior", which seems significant, as in the second rough draft version there appears the phrase "a few days prior". Other time frames are also defined: "Drzewiecki, sleek and talkative officer, who had spent several weeks in Venice and knew the city well, showed both young men around until late in the evening." The sentence was supplemented with the phrase "that day" and an emphasis intended to indicate that the sightseeing took very long, as Sienkiewicz changed "late evening" into "late into the evening":

"Drzewiecki, sleek and talkative officer, who had spent several weeks in Venice and knew the city well, showed ↑[that day] both young men ↑[until] late into the evening around the churches, and afterwards they sat down together in the square to stretch out their tired legs and observe people." [rough draft, *Ponieczane fragmenty początkowe*, outline 2, sheet 2 *recto*]

The remaining differences are more cosmetic, not offering any new content to the argument, nor do they change what was observed in the first version. Together with the corresponding fragment of what made its way to print, both rough draft versions constitute an almost coherent whole. A question arises why the writer decided to insert into a legion novel such a lengthy fragment describing the atmosphere of Venice (and, actually, not the only one), and also how the fragment was shifted from the beginning to further sections of the text. The answer to the first issue ceases to be surprising after a moment's thought. Sienkiewicz, having visited Venice several times, experienced some of the major moments of his life there; in 1879 he wrote for *Gazeta Polska* a report on his visit to the water city. The inspiration becomes clear once you compare that report to the events described in all the versions of the fragment of the novel. And even though there is a 34-year gap between the report and the novel drafts, the analogy is striking. This is how Sienkiewicz perceived Venice:

“The population pours out in swarms into the streets only before the evening, when the heat of the day passes. (...) In the evening, the square is the place of *rendez-vous* of the entire beautiful world of Venice. Those who do not wish to sit at home, cannot be anywhere else than here. This is where you listen to music, this is where you drink refreshing drinks, this is where you stroll, observe people, accompany women, meet whomever you wish to meet, make new friends, in short: you are at a public ball. The sounds of music, the flutter of hand fans, the ardent gazes of Italian eyes, a flood of lights.”⁸

All text outlines include the word (or derivatives thereof) used in the text entitled *Z Wenecji*: “swarmed”. It somewhat organises the world of Venice’s square, it offers a sense of the atmosphere present there: people pouring out in swarms, Ciwiński notes: “it’s swarmed”, “It’s swarmed, here, yes sir!”, only to conclude: “It’s beautiful here, and swarmed.” On top of that, there is the omnipresent music, the role of which the writer emphasised in each stage of creating the description of Venice: “this is where you listen to music”, “a Czech army orchestra was playing in the centre” (twice), “In the centre, Czech army music was played on a stage” (the final choice, which should probably be considered as the worst in terms of stylistics).

⁸ H. Sienkiewicz, “Z Wenecji”, in: idem, *Pisma Henryka Sienkiewicza*, vol. 3, Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff, 1880, pp. 219–220.

Table 1. Comparison of consecutive outlines and versions of printed texts

In Venice	Rough draft outline 1	Rough draft outline 2	First printing
The population pours out into the streets	"Well, this is swarmed," said Cywiński.	"It's swarmed, here, yes sir!"	But it is, actually, beautiful here and swarmed
this is where you listen to music	a Czech army orchestra played in the centre of the square	a Czech army orchestra played in the centre of the square	In the centre, army music was played on a stage

Another attempt at writing the initial part of the second half of the novel can be found in the next rough draft sheet, not numbered by Sienkiewicz, which includes the header "Legiony Cz. II. Pod Dąbrowskim" (Legions Part II. Under Dąbrowski), which has already been considered a sign that the fragment was intended as the opening one. It is a completely different outline both from the first print, and from the previously mentioned rough drafts. In it Sienkiewicz focussed on presenting the current political situation:

In Venice, Cywiński and Kwiatkowski learnt that Polish troops were stationed in Rimini. Venice itself with its lands all the way to the left bank of the Adige was returned to Austria, but Austrian had not yet settled completely in ~~the city and the surrounding lands~~ ↑new lands]. Army ↑commissioners] of the emperor were slowly taking to governing in and around the city. new era of life. [rough draft, *Poniechane fragmenty początkowe*, outline 3, not numbered by Sienkiewicz]

In the first printed version, such declarations were, of course, present, but in later sections of the work, usually introduced into dialogues. After the introduction covering half a sheet, the author immediately transitioned to discussing the charms of the city on water, which seen for the first time by the men "seemed a neutral ground", therefore

Because peace was declared, it was where French officers met, as they were drawn by the great intention to view the most peculiar of the world's settlements, with incoming Austrian officials, and with soldiers of ~~all banners~~ of those diverse countries which formed Austria. In general, the inflow of foreigners was higher than ~~in the sleepy and desolate city~~ anyone living remembers. The sleepy and desolate city was bristling with life new life. Riva dei Schiavoli and St. Mark's Square swarmed with ~~crowds~~ ↑people]. Cafés in prosecutors' offices were flush with light throughout the night. Army music played for those ~~crowds~~ passing through the square in crowds, among which you could see many women with lace ~~burqas~~ on their heads, young and beautiful. At moon-lit spring nights sparrow-black gondolas filled

canale grande, from Santa Maria delle Salute. All the way to Rialto. [rough draft, *Poniechane fragmenty początkowe*, outline 3, not numbered by Sienkiewicz]

Sienkiewicz repeated some of the imagery he used in the first two rough draft outlines, emphasising the inflow of the crowds stimulating the usually sleepy everyday life of Venice. He also expanded the descriptions related to the richness of Venice considerably, which is best visible in the fragment which he struck out entirely:

Venice seemed to him something both astonishing and preposterous as his gentry-reason gentry mind could not comprehend that people could for “people to live like ducks”. ~~Pink~~ ^{↑Then} marble of the Doge’s Palace, the colourful pillars and the rainbow mosaics of St. Mark’s sunlit mosaics of St. Mark’s aroused true unruffled admiration in both young men. Cywiński only regretted that ~~X~~ bronze horse-standing in the church’s front, as he heard while still in Vienna about their beauty. While some gentle shimmer fell on their eyes ^{↑of both young men} from the pink marble of the Doge’s Palace, from the colourful pillars and the rainbow mosaics of St. Mark’s fell onto the eyes of both young men some joyful shimmer, so that when staring for hours at the church from the square, ~~they could not realise why~~ ^{↑they felt} what in their souls was happening ^{↑some} light and ~~X~~ driveziand cheerfulness. [rough draft, *Poniechane fragmenty początkowe*, outline 3, not numbered by Sienkiewicz]

It seems the writer wanted to include a lot of emotions in the description, hence the accumulation of terms related to colour, its oscillation, and optical illusions. He intended to present two young soldiers in a situation of complete fascination caused by experiencing architectural wonders, which is why he devised the contrast between the “gentry mind” and the surroundings. No similar fragment with such a form and with such an intensity of colours where the beauty of art triggers a burst of emotions was printed. Sienkiewicz decided that such emotions would be evoked by the sight of the beauty of a woman, the air coming from Venetian nights, and, rather significantly, the recollections of past readings:

He had a flashback quick as a summer lightning from *Nocy Younga*, which he read while still in Różyce⁹

Therefore, it is clear that Sienkiewicz tried to choose his imagery, as well as his pre-selected “model”, to match the event he was composing and presenting. The analogy between Sienkiewicz’s early notes, coming from his own experience, and

9 H. Sienkiewicz, *Legiony*, op. cit., p. 145.

the recollections of those experiences in the novel written several decades later must be considered as something typical for the mode of writing of the author of *The Knights of the Cross*. Previous research into his legacy indicated that his imagination was shaped in contact with his environment, with art and artists in particular, but also under the influence of stimuli triggered by the atmosphere influencing his personal experiences¹⁰. That was the area that had the major impact on him. His personal experiences, a stimulus triggered by a specific painting or book, initiated the formation and transformation of his own visions and images for new works. That was probably the case in the fragment under analysis. The writer who met his first wife in Venice, who participated in many celebrations in the city, and who also knew the “everyday” Venice, translated his personal experiences and recollections into the language of a work of literature. That might had been why he returned to his notes and sensations from the beginning of his writing career, and also why he attempted to create something new, or at least adequate to the situation of the novel he was writing.

The printed version of the work differs only slightly from the surviving fragments of rough draft outlines. The differences apply to details. It is surprising, because previous studies indicated that the writer worked intensively on the text. He struggled with the form, the mode of building and developing the characters, the details regarding their names, and their national affiliations. In the manuscript of *Legiony* those types of operations can only be found in a few instances, more so in the first part, where Sienkiewicz was still hesitant whether to write a novel in the form of a memoir or whether to apply the classical realistic narrative¹¹. On rare occasions, his pondering on first and last names can be found. His work on the first name of the lover of the protagonist is most visible. Initially Adolfinia, her name was very quickly changed, still in the rough draft, to Pandolfinia: “having lost ~~Adolfinia~~ Pandolfinia”, “Had I trusted ~~Adolfinia~~ Pandolfinia”. That procedure seems a mere mistake, as both in the earlier sections of the rough draft and in later sections the girl was consistently referred to as Pandolfinia. It is difficult to recreate the reason for changing the name in the Adolfinia sequence (used only twice, immediately deleted) – Pandolfinia (now in: Version A – beginning of *Legiony in the form of a journal*) – Klarybella (just like in remaining rough draft outlines, apart from the version in the journal form, as well as in printed version). Though the name Adolfinia is used in the form Adolfa (Adolpha – “noble she-wolf”), one would be hard struck to find a woman by the name of Pandolfinia. It seems Sienkiewicz's own

¹⁰ Vide: A. Kuniczuk-Trzciniowicz, *Czytane pod skreśleniem. Sienkiewiczowskie bruliony nowel jako wskazówki do analizy procesu twórczego*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe SubLupa, 2017.

¹¹ I discussed the first part of the novel preserved in a rough draft in an article entitled: “Urwana powieść-rękopis-fragment. ‘Legiony’ jako rzecz trudna”, in: *Przekleństwo niekończącego*, K. Badowska (ed.), Łódź: Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2014, pp. 282–298.

invention¹². The final name, then, present in rough drafts and the first printed version, i.e. Klarybella, though not used very often, is known, e.g. from Shakespeare's *The Tempest*¹³.

The selected fragments of the rough drafts were surely not written under the influence of the material collected by Sienkiewicz in libraries. They were rather examples of the writer's activities where experience and familiarity with material culture became most important. At the same time, the mode of working on the text in the referenced consecutive rough draft outlines was not typical for Sienkiewicz. The same fragments preserved in several outlines, and, as for the amount of material left, the small number of deletions are puzzling. It seems clear that the writer had a clear vision of the novel from the very beginning. Though the process of writing was not fast and problem-free, as it was in the case of his previous works, paradoxically in the notes and fragments of his final novel he left surprisingly few traces of the hand of an unsatisfied writer seeking something better.

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¹² Unless we assume that in creating the name, the writer used the name of the Florence family of the Pandolfinis, whose palace was designed by Rafael Santi. Yet that seems a faint trace; what is known is that Sienkiewicz used to visit Florence, he might had even known the house by Via San Gallo.

¹³ The name (Claribel) is the name of the daughter of Alonso, the just married "Queen of Tunis" and "So is she heir of Naples". One interesting, though completely loose, analogy emerges in that *The Tempest* was Shakespeare's final drama, just like *Legiony* was Sienkiewicz's final novel.

Agnieszka Kuniczuk-Trzciniowicz

Projekt *Legiony*. Wokół ostatniej powieści Henryka Sienkiewicza

Streszczenie

Brulion *Legionów*, ostatniej powieści Henryka Sienkiewicza, zawiera 139 oddzielnych stron, w tym zarówno rzuty odmian tekstowych, kolejne warianty, jak i wersję drukowaną.

Zróżnicowany materiał i pozostałe notatki pisarza pozwalają badaczowi przedstawić metody pisania autora i jego dylematy. Bogata kolekcja listów jest źródłem dodatkowej wiedzy na temat procesu pisania.

Podobnie jak w innych sytuacjach twórczych, Henryk Sienkiewicz w swoisty sposób pracował nad koncepcją kluczowych fragmentów, a także sposobu narracji.

Słowa kluczowe: Sienkiewicz, brulion, powieść, odmiany tekstu

The *Legiony* (Legions) Project On Henryk Sienkiewicz's final novel

Summary

The archived rough draft of *Legiony*, the last novel by Henryk Sienkiewicz, contains 139 separate pages, including drafts of textual varieties, subsequent variants, and the printed version.

The diverse material and the remaining writer's notes enabled the researcher to present the author's writing methods and his dilemmas. The rich collection of letters was the source of additional facts on his writing process.

Similarly to other creative situations, Henryk Sienkiewicz worked in his characteristic way on the concept of the crucial fragments as well as on the mode of narration.

Keywords: Sienkiewicz, rough draft, novel, textual varieties

Agnieszka Kuniczuk-Trzciniowicz, dr hab., pracuje na Wydziale „Artes Liberales” Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Zainteresowania badawcze zogniskowane wokół rękopisów, śladów spuścizny pozaliterackiej najwybitniejszych pisarzy drugiej połowy XIX wieku, co przybliża jej badania do kręgu krytyki genetycznej, która staje się coraz większą fascynacją. Ostatnio także obserwuje rozwój *animal studies* i możliwości wykorzystania tej metodologii do badań nad wiekiem XIX. Współpracuje z wieloma ośrodkami akademickimi w Polsce i za granicą w zakresie prac naukowych, wykładów dla studentów czy przy realizacji grantów. Członek redakcji rocznika „Góry, Literatura, Kultura”. Autorka książek: *Czytane pod skreśleniem. Analiza procesu myślowego Sienkiewicza na podstawie rękopisów nowel* (Warszawa 2017), *Sienkiewicza talent i intuicja. Studia i szkice* (Opole 2014), *To ja, Sienkiewicz* (Wrocław 2013).

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In praise of vital records. A few cases

Anyone who studies the past knows well that basic and usually not falsified¹ information is stored in vital records. Though it is difficult to undermine the statements of narrativists, the representatives on new historiography, on the inability to strictly reconstruct history, while remaining free of any beliefs or unwitting transgressions, and the need to rather treat it as the object of interpretation², one must remember that there are many documents with a neutral status. Paul Ricoeur claimed that these include some which were not intended for posterity, which is why their contents may be considered objective. They leave specific traces, thus being an indicator, a reference, if you will, to help reconstruct past events.³ Vital records are mainly birth, death or marriage certificates, but also include other traces of everyday life, e.g. ad hoc correspondence, hand-written notes, *silva rerum*, various listings of residents, address books, and bills. Then there are the far from objective items, such as memoirs, journals, and letters, almost always written for some purpose, i.e. mostly shaped and faked, not

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- 1 Apart from falsifications of documents during wars, typical distortions include false ages of women entered in death certificates (less often in marriage certificates). Usually they are *rejuvenated* by a few years; the record in that respect belongs to Zofia Klimańska of the Chłopicz. Desztrungowa who lost a dozen or so years (!) in her death certificate. Other distortions are also usually associated with age, not always calculated with the utmost precision, which is why death or marriage certificates are not the most reliable sources for establishing a person's date of birth.
- 2 H. White, *Poetyka pisarstwa historycznego*, trans. E. Domańska, Universitas, Krakow 2010, and F. Ankersmit, *Narracja, reprezentacja, doświadczenie. Studia z teorii historiografii*, Universitas, Krakow 2005.
- 3 P. Ricoeur, *Czas i opowieść*, trans. M. Frankiewicz (et al.), vol. 3 *Czas opowiadany*, Wydawnictwo UJ, Krakow 2008, p. 168.

constituting a “true expression.”⁴ They can only be considered useful when the details generated therein undergo verification through a process of triangulation, i.e. matching and comparing with at least two other sources regarding the same events, persons, contexts, etc., in order to check the reliability of the proposed version⁵.

The types of vital records kept in archives and/or specific parishes is fundamental in every aspect for the historian or the biographer. That is why any genealogical or biographical (final or intermediate) search should basically start with a survey of those primary sources, not derivative findings. Those include manuscript material, recorded in Latin, Polish or Russian (German).⁶ There we seek not only such facts as dates and names, but also people’s ancestry, kinship, affinity, progeny, their professions, addresses, and the names of the witnesses, which usually refer to other sources opening new fields of investigation. Some archive-based discoveries offer revelations in comparison to previous knowledge; they not only reveal things that had been unknown, but can also shatter what had seemed a coherent, stable and air-tight construct; they uncover facts hidden for various reasons, replaced by myths complementary to the accepted biographical paradigm or a work which was created at a specific time and/or place. Therefore, they offer material which can be used to build certain strict arrangements, or which can be used to deconstruct and correct those which are faulty, inducing and requiring reassessment.

Throughout my nearly twenty years of archive research, which resulted in new findings or modifications of previous ones, I found some interesting cases, which are worth mentioning either as individual or symptomatic examples. While the former were incidental and occurred as if at random or after effects of other intentional forays, the latter were the results of presumptions, hypotheses, and purposeful specific explorations. Usually such discoveries referred to new sources, from which through triangulation or a double collage formed completely new qualities, on the basis of the original rudimentary elements. Sometimes their value was al-

4 The problems of autobiographies (and personal writings) were discussed by M. Czermińska, *Autobiograficzny trójkąt. Świadectwo, wyznanie i wyzwanie*, Universitas, Krakow 2004, cf. P. Lejeune, *Wariacje na temat pewnego paktu. O autobiografii*, trans. W. Grajewski (et al.), R. Lubas-Bartoszyńska (ed.), Universitas, Krakow 2001.

5 The methodology of biographical studies was discussed in a handbook: *Jak rekonstruować biografie i jak opisać twórczość XIX-wiecznego pisarza minorum gentium? (metodologia, źródła, struktury narracji)*, Primum Verbum, Łódź 2012, pp. 13–56; cf. R. Sitek, “Biografia i metoda: biografia jako klucz do zrozumienia osobowości twórczej”, *Kwartalnik Filozoficzny* 2010, col. 1, pp. 19–38; E. Skibińska, „Badania biograficzne – dylematy metodologiczne (wybrane zagadnienia)”, *Studia Edukacyjne* 2008, issue 8, pp. 77–86; J. Clifford, *Od kamiaków do mozaiki. Zagadnienia biografii literackiej*, trans. A. Mysłowska, Czytelnik, Warszawa 1978.

6 In the areas of the 1st and the 2nd partitions – around 1865 – in the Kingdom.

most autarkic, not even requiring any further specification. Thus, newly formed contexts enabled me to see that which had previously been hidden or which had been permeating ever so slightly, not entitling any speculations.

Case 1. Mickiewicz

An important element in Adam Mickiewicz's biography was the myth of his perfect, reciprocated love for Maryła Wereszczakówna, who was forced for economic reasons to marry Wawrzyniec Puttkamer, whom she never loved. Leaving Puttkamer and his alleged riches aside, a document found in the St. John's parish in Vilnius, i.e. the baptism certificate of Helena Teofila Franciszka Puttkamer, the daughter of Maria and Wawrzyniec, dated 3 November 1823⁷, helped verify the myth on the *marriage blanc* of the poet's lover, which supposedly lasted since the day of her marriage (2/14 February 1821) until Mickiewicz's departure from Lithuania (autumn of 1824)⁸. Furthermore, it enabled, considering the sender's pregnancy and the related remarks, a rather different reading of Mrs. Puttkamer's letters to Jan Czeczot and Tomasz Zan included in Jan Czubek's collection *Archiwum Filomatów*⁹, and, what is more, properly interpret her peculiar last will¹⁰, which she recorded at a notary with her husband present on 8 November 1823, i.e. a few days after the birth and death of the child¹¹. The conclusions drawn from the triangulation of three sources: baptism certificate, correspondence, and the legacy document, first of all, demystified the legend on the Girl and Gustaw, secondly, it proved Maria's moods previously considered as melancholy and longing for Mickiewicz to be antepartum depression and aversion to the future child, which in fact, due to Maria's excessive physical activity which she herself reported in her letter to Czeczot and Zan, was

7 Vilnius Births, Deaths and Marriages Register Office/St. John's parish, in: Lietuvos Valstybės Istorijos Archyvas (LVIA), ref. F604, op. 10, vol. 240, file ref. no. 242 dated 1823.

8 T. Pini, "O 'białym małżeństwie' Maryli", *Ruch Literacki* 1934, issue 3, pp. 73–77. Such nonsense formed due to the legends developed and propagated by Antoni Edward Odyniec and Ignacy Domeyko.

9 *Archiwum Filomatów*, part 1. *Korespondencja 1815–1823*, published by J. Czubek, by the Akademii Umiejętności, Krakow 1913, vol. 4–5 (in particular letters LDCXCI, DCXCII. DXXVIII, DCCXL, DCCIII, DCXCV, DCCIV, DCCXVI).

10 L. Podhorski-Okołów, "Testament Maryli", in: idem, *Realia Mickiewiczowskie*, Oficyna Wydawnicza RYTM, Warsaw 1999, pp. 206–217.

11 Helena Teofila lived only two days, she died on 4 November 1823 and was buried in the Bernardine Cemetery in Vilnius, Vilnius Births, Deaths and Marriages Register Office/parish xx. Bernardine, in: LVIA, ref. F604, op. 10, vol. 251, l. 725, file ref. no. 2757 dated 1823. I found that certificate in Vilnius once my book *Od Puttkamerów do Konopnickich. Rewizje i rekonstrukcje biograficzne*, IBL PAN, Warsaw 2016, had already been published; it includes a chapter vital for the discussion: "Dziecko z 'białego małżeństwa' Puttkamerów", pp. 9–27.

born clearly prematurely and died soon afterwards. Thirdly, it might have been then that Mrs. Puttkamer attempted to commit suicide, since she was persuaded to record her last will to the sole benefit of her husband.

Apart from biographical contexts, the fact that Mrs. Puttkamer was pregnant, of which Mickiewicz learned at the beginning of summer (which seems to be corroborated by the disgust and disappointment-filled letter of 18/30 June he wrote to Czeszot), resulted in the creation of several texts. Known for his aversion to family life (“I am just as revolted at any description of family life as at the sight of married couples and children – that is my only antipathy”¹²), he considered his affair with Mrs. Puttkamer finished. A kind of a symbol of their parting was the dedication poem *Do Marii P. ofiarując jej drugi tomik Poezyj* (given to Mrs. Puttkamer on 12/24 May 1823¹³). It was, as Juliusz Kleiner called it, a gift and an act of resignation¹⁴. The addressee was referred to as “sister”, whose “decision prevents” her from being called a lover. Her decisions resonated “the oddities of fate”, irreversibly defining the poet’s role of a “brother”.

Was it then (or immediately afterwards?) that Mickiewicz wrote his probably best-known love poem *Do M* (Precz z moich oczu)*? It has never been established when exactly the poem was written. The inscription underneath it reads 1823 but if one assumes Mickiewicz wrote it at that time exactly, it is no longer the pathetic complaint of a rejected heart but an ironic farewell to a woman who is sentenced to a painful pondering of her crime. Neither can one omit the verses of *New Year’s Wishes*, a poem Mickiewicz wrote in prison, which recapitulated the closed chapter in his life:

I have dreamed and I have pined. I soared and then I fell.
Of a peerless rose I dreamed, and to gather it I thought,
When I awoke. Then vanished the rose with the dream’s bright spell –
Thorns in my breast alone were left – Love I desire not!¹⁵

The coincidence of the birth of Helena, Maryla’s daughter, and Gustaw’s death (birth of Konrad), is both significant and somewhat symbolic. Was it supposed to indicate the end of youthful fantasies, along with the belief in platonic love and kindred spirits? I wonder whether the Puttkamers thought about that relationship while reading *Forefathers’ Eve*? The previously unreleased personal dilemmas of

12 “List Adama Mickiewicza do Franciszka Malewskiego z listopada 1822”, in: *Korespondencja Adama Mickiewicza*, vol. 1, Księgarnia Luxemburska, Paris 1871, p. 5. [Unless specified otherwise, English version translated from Polish]

13 M. Dernałowicz, K. Kostenicz, *Kronika życia i twórczości Mickiewicza. Lata 1798–1824*, PIW, Warsaw 1957, p. 410.

14 J. Kleiner, *Mickiewicz*, vol. 1, *Dzieje Gustawa*, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, Lublin 1948, p. 339.

15 A. Mickiewicz, *New Year’s Wishes*, various editions.

Mickiewicz's, understood as versions of the Wertherian and imaginative persona, might have carried more concrete qualities of disappointment: distaste in family life, resentment towards corporeal femininity, which could have impacted his works written at that time.

Case 2. Konopnicka

The case of Maria Konopnicka proves the importance of conducting genealogical surveys prior to editing a writer's correspondence and writing a serious monograph. Then the identification of the persons appearing in the collection of her letters to her uncle Ignacy Wasiłowski¹⁶ and his sons and daughters¹⁷ would not cause trouble and it would be more complete, full of details factually both important and necessary. The extensive and impressive editions by Jacek Nowak and Lena Magnone, and Magnone's monograph,¹⁸ would surely benefit from verifying the existing progeny of Maria and Jarosław Konopnickis, which are rudimentary due to an erroneous reading of their vital records by Halina Sławińska, as well as specific information on Helena, the poet's unruly daughter, and Jerzy, her illegitimate son¹⁹. The last details in particular would have been significant in the context of the researcher's studies of the emotional turbulences in the difficult mother-daughter relations transferred to the field of literature (*Panna Florentyna*).

Through surveys of archives for establishing the identity and affinity of the persons surrounding the poet, she could be viewed in reference to both her direct and extended family. One could ask why she did not visit Rozalia Wasiłowska of the Paczuskis, her paternal grandmother, who died when Konopnicka was almost forty, and why in her letters written immediately after Wasiłowska's death (1881) she did not mention her grandmother even once. For years, she remained in contact with Waleria Kuligowska of the Wasiłowskis 1 v. Pischowa, her uncle's wife, and her three daughters: Bronisława, Kazimiera, and Maria. She also wrote the family of her other uncle's wife: Ludwika Rudzińska of the Wasiłowskis. In tracing her contacts, it becomes clear that the correspondence resulted from their common business, not family sentiment. That is how Konopnicka was (clearly visible in her letters to her children): always pragmatic, factual, and sensible²⁰.

16 M. Konopnicka, *Listy do Ignacego Wasiłowskiego*, J. Nowak (ed.), IBL PAN, Warsaw 2005.

17 M. Konopnicka, *Listy do synów i córek*, L. Magnone (ed.), IBL PAN, Warsaw 2010.

18 L. Magnone, *Maria Konopnicka. Lustra i symptomy, słowo/obraz terytoria*, Gdańsk 2011.

19 H. Sławińska, "Lata gorzkich doświadczeń", in: *Śladami życia i twórczości Marii Konopnickiej. Szkice historyczno-literackie. Wspomnienia. Materiały biograficzne*, collected and edited by J. Baculewski, Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, Warsaw 1963, endnote 73, p. 323–324.

20 I discussed the issue of Jarosław and Maria Konopnickis' progeny and their problems with Helena which could have had an influence on Maria's turbulent personal life in two chapters: "Progenitura Marii i Jarosława Konopnickich w świetle odnalezionych metryk" and "'Nieudana' córka

Having found all the vital records (of births, marriages and deaths) related to the poet's parents and siblings, one is able to not only organise the details regarding their fortunes and reveal the dates and places of their deaths, but also to verify the previous faulty convictions, somewhat generated by Konopnicka herself, that Józef Wasiłowski, her father, died in Warsaw. His death certificate is kept at the Wygiełzów parish²¹, while his tomb is located by the tomb of Laura Stanisławska, his daughter, not Jadwiga Węglińska, as is commonly assumed, in a cemetery not far from Łęki Szlacheckie in Ręczno²². The error proves that trusting the recollections of the object of a study may lead one astray.

Case 3. Leśmian

Just as astray were the biographers of Bolesław Leśmian, as he recorded his birth date not as 1877 (as was unequivocally proven based on later documents) but 1878. It seemed that any biographical issues regarding the author of *Shadowy Drink*, his loved ones and his acquaintances, who all inspired works, were known and, thus, the related contexts were studied sufficiently. Unfortunately, the fact that his biographers' shunned archives resulted in various gaps and distortions, traces of which are clearly visible in the 2016 study *Kalendarium Leśmianowskie* developed by Jacek Trznadel, a leading researcher of Leśmian²³, which is actually quite necessary and useful. It baffles belief that all of the lovers of his poetry failed to find his birth certificate, resorting to trusting unverified information from derivative sources. Only when his certificate of conversion was published by Piotr Łopuszański, was the previous year of 1877, as had been suggested earlier²⁴, proved indirectly. Meanwhile, the birth certificate, issued in a non-Christian commune, as Leśmian's family was of Jewish descent, survived waiting to be discovered. The same applied to other records, e.g. to the marriage certificate of Józef Lesman and Emma of the Sunderlands, his parents, both birth and death certificates of his siblings: Kazimierz and Aleksandra Lesman, and many more. Most of them include valuable and important details. Suffice to say that the poet's birth certificate offers two important pieces of information: the place of his birth, and the previously unknown oc-

(i niechciany wnuk) Marii Konopnickiej – wobec nowych dokumentów” in the previously-mentioned book: *Od Puttkamerów do Konopnickich...*, pp. 169–220.

²¹ Wygiełzów Births, Deaths and Marriages Register Office/the Visitation of Mary Roman-Catholic parish, in: State Archive in Łódź, ref. 48/322, file ref. no. 12 of 1878.

²² I presented my genealogical study on Maria Konopnicka in an article entitled “O antenatach i rodzeństwie Marii Konopnickiej – przyczynki genealogiczno-biograficzne” *Ruch Literacki* 2018, col. 1, pp. 89–108.

²³ J. Trznadel, *Kalendarium Leśmianowskie. Życie i twórczość w układzie chronologicznym*, PIW, Warsaw 2016.

²⁴ P. Łopuszański, *Leśmian*, Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, Wrocław 2000, p. 14.

cupation of his father, who was previously considered a railways operative in Kiev. Yet the content of the certificate offer a supplement to the biography of Józef Lesman, who before that was a journalist and the publisher of the *Przyroda I Przemysł* periodical, and a business partner of Seweryn Sunderland, his brother-in-law.²⁵

Genealogical surveys aimed at establishing Leśmian's kinship and affinity, e.g. to Antoni Lange, revealed one more interesting trace. A family ancestor by the name of Antoni Eisenbaum, a maskil, well-educated, publisher of *Dostrzegacz Nadwiślański*, i.e. the first Polish-Jewish periodical published in Polish territories, director of Warszawska Szkoła Rabinów, was Leśmian's direct grand-grandfather (and Lange's grandfather); the author of *Meadow*, the most talented of the three poets, had in his genes more of Eisenbaum than Eisenbaum's other descendants, because both Leśmian's father, Józef Lesman, and his mother, Emma of the Sunderlands, were related to him. While his paternal line was known, his maternal relations, i.e. of the Sunderlands with the Eisenbaums, proved surprising.²⁶

Another example from Leśmian's surroundings were the facts regarding Dora Lebenthal, the poet's true love, immortalised, e.g. in the series *W malinowym chruśniaku*. The knowledge on her, is admittedly fuzzy, because it comes from the accounts of Ludwika Mazurowa, the poet's daughter, and Jan Brzechwa, his cousin, which prove incorrect in many instances. Vital records refuted the general conviction that she was married to Józef Szper, a Warsaw-based surgeon; her medical specialisation was not gynaecology but dermatology; and it also proved quite unlikely that she was the sole owner of a suite in Marszałkowska St., which she supposedly sold to save Leśmian's finances after the Zamość scandal. Thanks to extensive studies into old periodicals, address books, and other sources it was also possible to establish some basic facts about her parents: rather affluent Warsaw Jews Cecylia of the Goldszoms and Kiwa Lebenthals.²⁷

Case 4. How legends form. Maria Piotrowiczowa

Maria Piotrowiczowa of the Rogolińskis, a January Uprising insurgent fallen in a battle at Dobra near Stryków, is the symbol of the national liberation struggles in the Łódź region. Her spectacular participation in the insurrection became

²⁵ I analysed that and other vital records which in well-known contexts offer completely new implications or series thereof in an article: "Kiedy naprawdę urodził się Leśmian. O metryce i innych nieznanach dokumentach", *Teksty Drugie* 2017, issue 4, pp. 303-317.

²⁶ I discussed that in an article: "Antoni Eisenbaum – protoplasta poetów, artystów, intelektualistów", „*Wiecznie siebie nowego głodnym jak żuraw z szyją w przyszłość wyciągniętą*” – Bolesław Leśmian 1877-1937, A. Kluba (ed.), IBL PAN, Warsaw 2017, pp. 23-28.

²⁷ I discussed that in detail in my study: "Korekty i uzupełnienia do biografii Teodory (Dory) Lebenthal", *Teksty Drugie* 2018, col. 1, pp. 358-373.

the basis for the creation of the legend of the masochistic heroine who gave her young life in a selfless act of fervent patriotism. There is little truth in the monumental legend. What it does not lack, though, is the myth-forming interpretation. A search for the presence of that extraordinary figure in vital records revealed a rather different chain of events and other contexts than the ones described by derivative sources.

Distortions became visible already when establishing basic facts: her date of birth and even her maiden surname. According to the legend, which saw Piotrowiczowa similarly to Emilia Plater or Joan D'Arc, in 1863 shewas slightly over twenty, while, actually, she was already thirty. The fact she was referenced by the surname Michalska (that was the surname of her stepfather, the second husband of Ansberta of the Badyńskis) indicated poor knowledge of the facts by those who concocted the insurgent's biography through their romantic imagination, which was far from the truth. To show how her patriotism formed, with her convictions stemming from her childhood and her family history, they exaggerated not only her father's participation in the November Uprising, but also of her various uncles. Moreover, they altered, not knowing the reality or simply forging it, the facts about her upbringing to match that of typical gentry houses: an "old servant" supposedly taught the lass fencing and horse riding "in the old manor of her forefathers". In fact, the "old servant" was a hunter only two years older than she was, while the "old manor" was the recently settled Michalskis mansion of Stanisław Strzałkowski, a Radogoszcz man of means and a relative. Being an old bachelor without any affinity, Strzałkowski gave them his property to ensure stability when he got old.

Yet neither the manor in Radogoszcz nor the residence in Krzucz near Sieradz, inherited after the rather premature demise of Maria's father, were her family homes. That was because she was, rather early in her life, most probably after her mother's second marriage, sent (just like her two younger sisters) to live with her more distant relatives. As she was brought up by an aunt in Zalesie near Wieluń, she probably did not contact her mother, who did not even come to her wedding. Her relations with Michalska were restored only in the summer of 1862. Maria herself had selected her husband and decided her own fate when she came with Konstanty to Chocianowice near Łódź, where he taught at an elementary school. She also decided about her participation in the Uprising. When Konstanty, suffering from a severe heart condition, set off into the field, she accompanied him, though she was far into her pregnancy and had left her two children in Radogoszcz (with her mother or sister). She could not have anticipated that the next day in Dobra, where a group of insurgents had headed, the battle would take place, as that was the result of someone informing the Russian troops stationed near Piotrków. When during the fight a Cossack wounded her husband, Maria, convinced it was a mortal blow, thrust desperately into the battle, losing her own life. Konstanty Piotrowicz

died a few days later in a Łódź field hospital probably not, as the legend would like us to think, on hearing that his wife had died, but due to his wounds. Her burial would also inspire unlikely events, e.g. a Russian officer crying over Maria's coffin seems almost naive and tailored to the myth-building needs of the extraordinary tale. What the legend omits is a different fact: that the morning after Maria's tragic death, during a row with the Cossacks who brought her body to Radogoszcz and demanded ransom, her step-father Michalski was struck with rifle butt on the head and died. A dozen or so days later, Strzałkowski, the family's benefactor, died as well. Through a process of verification based on an extensive study of vital records and Konstanty Piotrowicz's official notes from the Chocianowice school, the chain of events revealed themselves, exposing the myth, which included inventions combined by the paradigm rather than facts which could rationally explain the unclear or even seemingly extraordinary details²⁸.

Miscellaneous cases

Surveys of vital records regarding January Uprising insurgents indicated the determination of the young men who participated in that national struggle. The case of Jan Paweł Gadomski, a student of Szkoła Główna Warszawska, showed that despite being the sole heir of a rather big fortune (a palace in Smoszew near Zakroczym), with expectations of doing great things (he was a gifted poet), he decided to join the Uprising, in which he eventually perished.

A review of death certificates in towns and villages where battles took place indicates that the victims were not predominantly, as it has been commonly assumed, from gentry families. It is true that in many cases entire families died during a single engagement, e.g. three Czajkowski brothers at Krzywosądz²⁹. But then, e.g. in the battle at Dobra, there were just as many residents of manors as Łódź and Zgierz workers and nearby peasants among the fallen. Such findings require one to rethink the thesis that every stage of the January Uprising was devised by gentry who tried to save the state they had lost partially by their own doing. Of course, to be able to reliably diagnose the state of matters and establish the stages of the engagement of townspeople and peasants in the Uprising³⁰, it would be necessary

²⁸ I devoted a chapter to Maria Piotrowiczowa in the book *Placz Antygony. O ludziach powstania styczniowego*, Wydawnictwo UŁ, Łódź 2017.

²⁹ In the death records recorded by the vicar in Latin under the date of 19 February, there is an entry about three Czajkowski brothers: Antoni, Marian and Marcelli, sons of Józef and Helena of the Kolankiewicz, residing in Tuczno.

³⁰ As Sławomir Kalembka posited (*Powstanie Styczniowe 1863–1864. Wrzenie. Bój. Europa. Wizje*, PWN, Warsaw 1990, p. 368), "the farther you go east, the less developed the Uprising was, the shorter it was, the fewer townspeople and peasants participated and the higher was their hostility, i.e. the Uprising carried a more gentry nature."

to survey parish archives where the deaths of the fallen in the 1863–1864 battles were recorded. A village near Łódź, due to the region's diversity (and a rather early stage of the Uprising, i.e. 24 February 1863) cannot offer a *pars pro toto* example, but some doubts prevail.

Another discovery was that the Uprising in the Polish Livonia, which Latvian historians considered a suicide³¹ (due to both geographical and social reasons), was directed and inspired by the Tzar's government with the intention to create a pretext to oust Poles over the Dźwina and confiscate their property. Józef Ponset, an emissary, who encouraged young Livonian men in April 1863 to rise up, was most probably a spy using the identity of an insurgent killer in the battle of Pieskowa Skała. Ponset's activities caused chaotic and logistically unprepared motions, as a result of which the local Kraslava raskolniki (Old Believer) population looted and burnt down manors, Uprising insurgents by the order of Mikhail Muyavyov were either shot (e.g. Leon Plater) or exiled and their families were sentenced to huge contributions which exceeded their income from their property³².

Other more personal findings resulting from the explorations of vital records offered information on affinity between writers. For example, Stanisław Jachowicz, author of tales and a philanthropist, was related to and really good friends with Józef Paszkowski, a translator of Shakespeare. Moreover, vital record surveys focused on both writers indicate what kind of people they were. Jachowicz, despite his continuing poverty, raised not only his two sons but also several children of Joanna Wolska of the Ośniałowskis, his late sister-in-law, and an adopted girl and his pupil, who was orphaned in early childhood. That girl was Seweryna (Kazimiera) Stompf, who later married Paszkowski. All the children not only received basic financial security, but, as their later fortunes indicated, became respectable people, some of whom actively participated in future cultural and literary life³³.

The birth date of Waław Berent was a peculiar biographical lapse. We know very little about the life of the author of *Próchno*. One reason was that Berent intentionally destroyed documents (biographical material, manuscripts, notes, etc.³⁴). Another was that the surveys conducted by researchers were not extensive enough or successful. Jerzy Paszek, the author of the introduction to the 1979 National Library edition³⁵, complained about those insufficiencies, yet he did not find it neces-

31 Ē. Jēkabsons, "Stosunki polsko-łotewskie na przestrzeni dziejów", in: *Polacy na Łotwie*, E. Walewander (ed.), Instytut Badań nad Polonią i Duszpasterstwem Polonijnym, Lublin 1993, p. 31.

32 D. Samborska-Kukuć, "Wydarzenia 1863 roku w Inflantach Polskich w relacjach i wspomnieniach", *Zapiski Historyczne* 2008, col. 4, pp. 131–142.

33 I discussed it in more detail in a chapter: "Dwie żony Stanisława Jachowicza" in a book *Od Puttkamerów do Konopnickich...*, pp. 121–144.

34 Only rudimentary material (rough drafts of *Próchno*, a few poems, letters to the publisher) survived and are now kept by the National Library.

35 J. Paszek, "Wstęp", in: W. Berent, *Próchno*, J. Paszek (ed.), Ossolineum, Wrocław 1979, p. II.

sary to correct them. He made an error in Berent's date of birth even though, as one might assume from context, he was in possession (or only knew the content) of the official certificate stating the true date. It seems, however, that he repeated the information from a prior researcher³⁶, because his mistake consisted of an erroneous calculation of days from the specific date considering the differences between the old and the new style: instead of twelve he added thirteen days³⁷. Additionally, he provided no details, in particular his key source, i.e. the number of the certificate. The incorrect and unverified date of 28 September is used even today in all profiles of Berent. In fact, based on the writer's birth certificate kept at the State Archive in Warsaw, Berent was born on 15/27 September 1873.³⁸ The certificate also includes several more significant details. His parents were Protestant (Lutheran), which was why they baptised their children in an Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession parish. That was also where on 4/16 November Waclaw Karol, son of Karol and Paulina nee Deike Berents, was baptised.

All the information was acquired almost entirely from vital records, and upon proper comparison with other sources it revealed not only fragments of biographies, but also offered basis for conclusions on property, social or even ethical matters. The discussed cases indicate the necessity and the benefit of seeking basic sources, through which the acquired details become accurate and certain. They prevent mistakes from being propagated, they break the chain of erroneous details copied vacantly, derived from memoir-based gossip, unstable information (e.g. tomb inscriptions), as a result of which readers receive mere paralogsms instead of proper conclusions. Those cases may serve as a warning against mindless copying of statements by prior researchers and as an incentive to approach derivative sources with more suspicion, especially those which carry a subjective tint. They may also trigger research inquisitiveness, which requires solid surveys, extensive analyses, and re-syntheses creating new compatible sets. Initially, they may seem incomplete, like the periodic table of elements, but the relations uncovered in hypotheses may in the future prove extremely helpful. That is, in fact, the only way to give durable and irrefutable scientific findings because they are documented by serious certificates.

³⁶ Certainly not after Władysław Studencki (*O Wacławie Berencie*, part I (1873–1918), Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna, Opole 1968, p. 104), which includes a translation of the certificate into Russian, yet it remains unknown why Studencki only added five days to the old-style date of birth stating it as 20 September.

³⁷ Thirteen days were first added in the 20th c. (in vital records of Poles to the year of regaining independence in 1918).

³⁸ Warsaw Births, Deaths and Marriages Register Office/Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession parish, in: State Archive in Warsaw, ref. 0181, file ref. no. 501 of 1873. Studencki provided an incorrect certificate number, i.e. 385.

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Dorota Samborska-Kukuć

Pochwała metrykaliów. Kilka przypadków

Streszczenie

Pożytek płynący z korzystania z metryk (urodzeń, ślubów i zgonów) – jako źródeł prymarnych – jest dla historyka literatury nieprzeceniony. Wiedza ta, pod każdym względem indyferentna, stanowi podstawowy budulec zarówno dla konkretnych biografii jednostkowych, jak i kontekstów służących rekonstrukcji jakiegoś fragmentu historycznego. W odróżnieniu od dokumentów osobistych zabarwionych subiektywnie, zawiera na ogół wiedzę pewną i ścisłą.

Kilka omówionych przypadków dowodzi konieczności sięgania po podstawowe dokumenty, które zawierają nie tylko dane personalne czy daty graniczne, ale także informacje o wykonywanych zawodach, miejscu urodzenia, zamieszkania, śmierci, pokrewieństwach, powinowactwach, a nawet kręgu towarzyskim. Odnalezienie aktu urodzenia córki Marii i Wawrzyńca Puttkamerów pozwala inaczej odczytać listy z kręgu filomatów z roku 1823, w innym świetle zobaczyć rzekomy romans Mickiewicza z Puttkamerową. Rekonstrukcja genealogiczna rodu Marii Konopnickiej staje się niezbędna do wyjaśnienia personaliów osób z jej listów i wzmianek. Dokumentacja metrykalna dotycząca Bolesława Leśmiana odsłania nieznane dotąd badaczom szczegóły jego życiorysu i osób z nim związanych. Prześledzenie biografii Marii Piotrowiczowej oparte niemal wyłącznie na metrykach, odsłania koleje jej losu pokryte legendą.

Te i inne jeszcze przypadki są zachętą do eksploracji archiwów w poszukiwaniu dokumentów o randze fundamentalnej, która chroni przed paralogizmami i przezywa sztafetę błędnych powielań otwierając drogi ku dalszym penetracjom źródeł.

Słowa kluczowe: metrykalia, archiwa

In praise of vital records. A few cases

Summary

A literary historian finds birth, death, and marriage certificates incredibly useful as primary research sources. Detached as it is, this knowledge serves as a solid basis both for individual biographies and contexts meant to reconstruct a particular historical thread. Personalised documentation is subjective by nature, while the discussed documents tend to contain accurate and unbiased data.

The cases discussed herein prove the need to consult both standard documents for personal data and dates of birth/death, as well as the information on occupation, place of birth/residence/death, kinship and affinity, even milieu. Thanks to the discovery of the birth certificate of Maria and Wawrzyniec Puttkamer's daughter, the Philomaths' letters of 1823 could be seen in a different light, as could the alleged affair between Maria Puttkamer and Adam Mickiewicz. To explicate and substantiate the personal data included in Maria Konopnicka's letters and notes, a genealogical reconstruction of her family is in order. Bolesław Leśmian's vital records revealed hitherto unknown details of his biography (and of people associated with him). A scrutiny of Maria Piotrowicz's biography, based almost exclusively on certificates, disclosed the legendary story of her life.

The above are mere examples of all the cases that can prompt researchers to explore archives in search of fundamental documentation, which can prevent paralogisms and help break the chain of errors with a view to further data mining.

Keywords: vital records, archives

Dorota Samborska-Kukuć, prof. dr hab., kierownik Zakładu Literatury Pozytywizmu i Młodej Polski Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego; historyk literatury, kresoznawca, genealog, biograf. Zajmuje się – jako literaturoznawca – przede wszystkim dziewniętnastowiecznością, szczególnie zaś zjawiskami i fenomenami pogranicznymi oraz – jako genealog – rekonstruowaniem i korygowaniem biografii głównie postaci i rodzin związanych z literaturą. Ostatnio wydała książki: *Od Puttkamerów do Konopnickich. Rewizje i rekonstrukcje biograficzne* (Warszawa 2016), *Płacz Antygony. O ludziach powstania styczniowego* (Łódź 2017), *Henryk Sienkiewicz – pryzmaty czytania. Studia i szkice literackie* (Kraków 2018).

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Неканоническая пунктуация рукописей А.С. Пушкина. I.

Семиотическая деятельность не имеет дела ни с готовыми формами, ни с готовыми смыслами. При всей важности индексального и изобразительного элемента в коммуникации, только **символизация**, с ее изначальной установкой на свободу вещи от смысла, формы от значения, делает язык условием жизни как творчества. Здесь форма и значение в их челночной взаимосвязи в каждый момент речи являются искомыми – не данностью, не результатом, а инструментом поиска, способом его организации и, наконец, его предметом и целью. Может быть, именно осознание этой свободы и признание способности любых элементов формы быть источниками и свидетелями смысла побуждает текстологию последних десятилетий с особо пристальным вниманием обращаться к уникальному и даже как будто случайному в рукописи, чтобы понять текст как функцию творящей личности, которая раскрывается не столько в результатах письма, сколько в его процессе¹.

Предмет этой статьи-диптиха – творческое сознание Пушкина, отражаемое в его рукописях. Ее **объект** – пушкинская окказиональная (индивидуально-авторская) пунктуация, преимущественно в той ее части, которая предполагает использование специальных неканонических пунктограмм. Вся проблематика индивидуально-авторского употребления традиционных

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1 Sm.: A. Grésillon, *Éléments de critique génétique. Lire les manuscrits modernes*, Paris 1994; J. Deppman, D. Ferrer, and M. Groden (eds.), *Genetic Criticism. Texts and Avant-textes*, Philadelphia 2004; M. Antoniuk, *Otwieranie głosu. Studium o wczesnej twórczości Zbigniewa Herberta*, Kraków 2009; N.V. Pertsov, I.A. Pil'shchikov, *O lingvisticheskikh aspektakh tekstologii*, 'Voprosy yazykoznavaniya' 2011, № 5; E. Pierazzo, *Digital Scholarly Editing: Theories, Models and Methods*, Routledge 2016 i dr.

знаков препинания² останется за рамками этой публикации. Задача, а точнее желанная перспектива исследования, – по возможности понять канонический пушкинский текст (изданный при жизни или впоследствии канонизированный в данном виде экспертами) в его генезисе как череду моментов творческого выбора, ведущих к некоторой условно итоговой версии, интерпретация которой таким образом может стать более объемной и многомерной.

Статья тематически и композиционно распадается на **две части** и публикуется в двух частях: первая, представленная в настоящем издании, посвящена теоретическим предпосылкам описания индивидуально-авторской пунктуации. Здесь будут высказаны наиболее общие соображения о природе и основных функциях окказиональной пунктуации черновиков Пушкина и использован лишь некоторый, наиболее характерный, с моей точки зрения, материал³ – с целью не оставить теоретические положения без примеров.

1. Русская текстология и пушкинистика исторически неразрывны. «На Пушкине главным образом, как известно, выковывались методы чтения рукописей, методы издания их, методы редактирования классиков русской литературы», а «пушкинская текстология сделалась представительницей русской текстологии вообще»⁴. Это и облегчает решение задачи (прежде всего благодаря доступности и глубокой изученности пушкинских черновиков), и, в силу груза традиции, одновременно осложняет ее.

Одним из обстоятельств последнего рода является своеобразный культ белой рукописи в пушкинской текстологии. Между тем известно, что формальная завершенность работы, фиксируемая беловиком, не означает, что эта работа не может быть продолжена. Позднейшие редакции текста, в частности уже опубликованного, напоминают о том, что жизнь текста в творческом сознании автора, в сущности, бесконечна. Само «охлаждение» автора к тексту (не столь важно – переписанному набело или нет) может считаться «минус-приемом» в работе над ним. Включение или невключение текста автором в позднейшие издания, его подверженность или неподверженность «послебеловому» и «послепечатному» редактированию – такое же свидетельство продолжения жизни текста в сознании автора, как и новая черновая редакция.

2 Sredi naiboleye znachimykh rabot v oblasti punktuatsii Pushkina – stat'ya V.M. Gasparova, posvyashchennaya funktsiyam traditsionnykh znakov prepiniya v chernovikakh poeta. Sm.: V. Gasparov, *Zametki o Pushkine*, 'Novoye literaturnoye obozreniye' 2001, № 52.

3 Serdechno blagodaryu N.V. Pertsova za predostavlennyye v moye rasporyazheniye faksimile i transkripsii pushkinskikh stikhotvoreniy, kak i za tsennyye konsul'tatsii v khode moyey raboty.

4 S.M. Bondi, *O chtenii rukopisey Pushkina*, [v:] idem, *Chernoviki Pushkina: Stat'i 1930–1970 gg.*, 2-ye izd., Moskva 1978, s. 143.

На этом фоне практика «сведения» черновых записей к некоему относительно цельному гипотетическому промежуточному варианту (при всей герменевтической полезности таких экспериментов) – также свидетельство стремления текстолога навязать генезису текста сильнейшую статическую составляющую⁵. Сводка черновика, контаминация разных слоев (его «селекция», по терминологии Г.О. Винокура⁶), выборочное воспроизведение вариантов или даже их связный пересказ⁷ – в сущности, такое обобщение вариантов правки, которое предполагает, что на определенном этапе работы в сознании писателя фиксируется некий потенциальный «беловик», что вовсе не очевидно. Конструкт сводки – прежде всего искушение для самого текстолога, стремящегося в этом случае упростить, дискретизировать представление творческого процесса, представить его в виде хотя бы и промежуточного, но все же результата, итога. Понятно, что такой подход требует в основном пренебречь и авторской пунктографией⁸. Ср. у С.М. Бонди: «Только беловик решает вопросы внешнего графического оформления вещи: большие буквы, расположение строф, абзацев, пробелы и иные знаки композиции (например, строчки точек, черточек и т.д.), вся пунктуация и т.п. В черновике искать этого бесполезно»⁹.

Интерес к рукописи как экспоненту творческого процесса, непосредственной эмпирической данности и первичной культурной ценности заставляет вернуться к пониманию значимости транскрипции. Презрение к транскрипции черновика как только технической промежуточной операции, строительным «лесам» в работе текстолога, когда «сведение» вариантов (всегда гипотетическое, а иногда и насильственное в отношении картины генезиса текста) мыслится абсолютно приоритетной задачей, в последнее время все заметнее сменяется пониманием необходимости транскрипции (не исключаяем понимания ее условности) как специальной системы представления черновика, требующей учёта и отражения значительно большего количества семиотических признаков письма, чем это принято в печатной, эдиционной форме¹⁰ (в частности – в связи с необходимостью внедрения факсимильно-транскрипционного и анимационного методов

5 Sr.: N.V. Pertsov, I.A. Pil'shchikov, *O lingvisticheskikh aspektakh...*, s. 8–9.

6 G.O. Vinokur, *Kritika poeticheskogo teksta*, Moskva 1927.

7 S.A. Reyser, *Osnovy tekstologii. Uchebnoye posobiye dlya studentov pedagogicheskikh institutov*, izd. 2-ye, Leningrad 1978, s. 39.

8 Sr. I.A. Pil'shchikov, *Avantekst kak ob"yekt avtorskoj leksikografii (neskol'ko prakticheskikh voprosov na primere slovarya yazyka Batyushkova)*. M.L. Gasparovu-stikhovedu: *In memoriam*, pod red. M.V. Akimova, Moskva 2017, s. 193.

9 S.M. Bondi, *O chtenii rukopisey Pushkina...*, s. 152.

10 M.D.L. Vander and G.T. Tanselle, *A System of Manuscript Transcription*, "Studies in Bibliography" 1999, Vol. 52, s. 201–212.

в практику издания произведений литературной классики)¹¹. В этой связи служебные и попутные неканонические пунктуационные знаки, обычно устранимые Пушкиным в белой версии или объективно (вполне вероятно, что и невольно, лишь под давлением пунктуационных норм и традиций семиотики издания) исчезающие в печатной форме, заслуживают особого внимания, поскольку представляют авторское видение композиции и всей синтактики текста в его генетической динамике. Тем большую важность они приобретают там, где выступают знаками не сугубо индексальными (как характер почерка, манера исправления, цвет и состав чернил и т.п.) и не иконическими (как рисунки и проч.), а специальными символами в ряду символов, т.е. знаками полноценными и полнозначными (при всем их «поисковом» характере), составляющими единое целое с текстом в его становлении.

2. Что представляют собой неканонические пунктуационные знаки в рукописях Пушкина?

Во-первых, заметим, что они достаточно разнообразны и проявляют очевидную тенденцию к семантической специализации. Далее, они оказываются свидетельствами важных творческих решений автора. И, наконец, они, хотя и в разной мере, обладают очевидными признаками системности. Проступающая сквозь черновики Пушкина **система пунктуации**, окказиональная в той части, которая касается специальных графических форм, и скрыто-окказиональная в части функций традиционных знаков, – это символы иногда вполне однозначные и стабильные в своей форме и функции, а иногда очень гибкие и многозначные.

Наш подход к пунктуации основан на общеизвестной точке зрения, отчетливо сформулированной И.А. Бодуэном де Куртенэ¹² и позднее детализированной, согласно которой знаки препинания выполняют две наиболее общих, **базовых функции** – служить:

- 1) показателями **синтагматической организации** письменно-речевого потока (*членения, объединения и выделения* единиц синтагматики);
- 2) сигналами **семантической и прагматической**, в частности эмоционально-прагматической, организации речи.

¹¹ N.V. Pertsov, *Ob autentichnom faksimil'no-transkriptsionnom predstavlenii rukopisey russkikh klassikov*, 'Filologicheskiye nauki' 2015, № 1, s. 75–94; G. Vekshin, E. Khomyakova, *The Video-text Project: Solutions for the New Age of Digital Genetic Reading*, Advances in Digital Scholarly Editing: Papers pres. at the DiXiT conferences in The Hague, Cologne, and Antwerp, eds. by P. Boot, A. Cappellotto, et al., Sidestone Press, Leiden 2017, s. 219–222. V etom zhe rusle idet protsess rehabilitatsii 'ustarevshey' orfografii – sm.: M.I. Shapir, *Ob orfograficheskom rezhime v akademicheskikh izdaniyakh Pushkina*, Moskovskiy pushkinist, [vyp.] IX, Moskva 2001 i dr.

¹² I.A. Baudouin de Courtenay, *Znaki prepiniya. Izbrannyye trudy po obshchemu yazykoznaniyu*, t. 2, Moskva 1963, s. 238–239.

Помимо этого, должны учитываться **дополнительные характеристики знаков**, обусловленные специализацией (конкретизацией) и взаимодействием их базовых функций. Они сводятся к следующим признакам и требуют определить:

- 1) Что в первую очередь обеспечивает знак при выполнении первой основной функции (синтагматической организации речи) – членит, объединяет или выделяет. Таким образом различаются *делimitационная, консолидационная и эмфатическая* функции.
- 2) Какие *позиции* синтагм маркирует данный знак – начальную, внутреннюю (срединную) или конечную. Это *позиционно-маркирующая функция*, позволяющая различать три вида знаков – *инициаторы, медиаторы и терминаторы*. (Например: делимитатор как маркер может быть инициатором, медиатором и терминатором (завершителем) синтагмы. То же для эмфатических знаков. Консолидаторы всегда проявляются или как преимущественно скобочные, иницирующе-терминирующие знаки, или как внутренне цементирующие связки-медиаторы.)
- 3) Какого *уровня* синтагматические единицы организует пунктограмма (фраза, строка, строфа, текстовый раздел, текст). Таким образом пунктограммы различаются по форматно-синтагматическому признаку.
- 4) Как знак соотносится с текстом: непосредственно организует его синтагматику и семантику или сопровождает его – как пометка на полях, автокомментарий, не включаемый в собственно текст, и др. Таким образом выделяются знаки, *интегрированные* в строение текста и фразы (*внутрифразовые, межфразовые, общетекстовые*) и *внетекстовые* (маргинальные) знаки рукописи.
- 5) Если он выполняет *семантическую функцию*, то *какого рода*. На этом основании могут быть выделены семантико-грамматические пунктограммы, знаки коммуникативно-прагматической установки, знаки эмоциональной семантики, знаки актуального членения высказывания и др.
- 6) Выступает ли знак только в одной из базовых функций или совмещает обе. Таким образом по характеру функциональной специализации выделяются два типа пунктограмм: *монофункциональные* (специализированные) и *полифункциональные* (комбинированные, синтетические).

В дополнение к предлагаемой функциональной типологии авторских пунктограмм следует сделать два замечания.

Во-первых, за рамками ее остаются *служебные знаки технической организации* рукописи как не имеющие прямого отношения к замыслу текста и его пониманию. К этому разряду символов относится нумерация страниц, нумерация фрагментов, условные знаки восстановления варианта (пунктирное подчеркивание зачеркнутого), вставки, выделения перемещаемых фрагментов и т.п.

Во-вторых – замечание более общего методологического порядка. Я хотел бы обратить внимание на то, что данная классификация (вполне вероятно, неполная, но претендующая на адекватную функциональную характеристику интерпункции) принципиально избегает упоминаний ритма, интонации, мелодики и т.п. как источников постановки знака. Это сделано, в частности, потому, что фонические, акустические, собственно произносительные свойства речи (при всей грандиозной значимости мыслимого и интеллектуально переживаемого ритма и композиционно-звукового развертывания поэтической речи) мы считаем лишь устно-речевыми экспонентами его синтагматической организации. Н.И. Жинкин говорит о «*вписанности*» *интонации в сегментную структуру текста*¹³. Такие явления, как межстиховой пробел-перенос или знаменитая, замечательно осмысленная М.Л. Гаспаровым «лесенка» В. Маяковского – это не следствие его произнесения и не рекомендации к его произнесению, но результат авторского моделирования синтагматики текста, ее «подчиненности синтаксическому членению стиха (расположению и силе межсловесных связей)»¹⁴, вследствие чего текст может и произноситься особым образом. Операции членения, объединения и выделения, будучи основными видами синтагматической организации текста, отражаемой в его пунктуации, определяют, с другой стороны, и собственно назначение просодики и интонации речи¹⁵. Таким образом, ритм и интонация в их функциональной связи с синтагматикой текста представляются вовсе не чуждыми тексту, но апелляция к этим понятиям при описании авторской пунктуации оказывается избыточной.

Уместно напомнить, что в русской лингвистической традиции были смелые попытки привязать смысл знаков препинания к «выразительному чтению», представить ритмико-мелодическую организацию речи как основу пунктуационной системы русского письма¹⁶, однако вся логика русского правописания, с ее приоритетной опорой на принцип: «пишем, не как слышим, а как понимаем смысл, выраженный в строении слова и предложения», – противоречит идее фонационной детерминированности русской пункту-

13 N.I. Zhinkin, *Yazyk. Rech'. Tvorchestvo. Issledovaniya po semiotike, lingvistike, poetike*, Moskva 1998, s. 43–52. Sr.: N.I. Zhinkin, *Mekhanizm regulirovaniya segmentarnykh i prosodicheskikh komponentov yazyka i rechi. Poetics. Poetyka. Poetika*, Varshava 1961.

14 M.L. Gasparov, *Ritm i sintaksis: proiskhozhdeniye 'lesenki' Mayakovskogo*, Problemy strukturnoy lingvistiki 1979, Moskva 1981, s. 160.

15 Sm. N.D. Svetozarova, *Intonatsionnaya sistema russkogo yazyka*, izd-vo Leningr. un-ta, Leningrad 1982 i dr.

16 A.M. Peshkovskiy, *Znaki prepinaniya i nauchnaya grammatika. Shkol'naya i nauchnaya grammatika: opyt primeneniya nauch.-grammat. printsipov k shk. praktike*, 2-ye izd., ispr. i dop., Moskva 1918, s. 81–106. Sr.: M.B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*, Ashgate, Aldershot 1992.

ации и нашла лишь частичное отражение в дальнейших исследованиях. Между тем одна из самых содержательных работ о пунктуации черновиков Пушкина обращает внимание на значимость *интонационно-ритмического* образа речи, влияющего на постановку знаков или свободу от них. Согласно выводам Б.М. Гаспарова, его

наблюдения ближе подводят нас к восприятию литературного «голоса» в его реально-звуковом, а не опосредованном воплощении. Конечно, и в этом случае речь идет отнюдь не об эмпирическом одномоментном акте чтения стихов – скажем, самим поэтом в момент сочинения, – но о более обобщенном интонационном модусе такого чтения, включающем такие параметры, как темп и динамика, мелодический рисунок интонационного контура, характер членения речи, расстановка акцентов, тембр голоса, режим дыхания. Все же, чтобы оценить знаковую ценность этих параметров, их необходимо воссоздать, или, вернее, приблизительно наметить, внутренним слухом. Стихотворный текст в этом случае прочитывается подобно музыкальной партитуре, письменные знаки которой позволяют мысленно конструировать звучание, отвлеченное от конкретного акта исполнения музыки¹⁷.

Здесь заметны колебания между представлением о пунктуации как возможном отражении «реально-звукового» и способностью знаков препинания выражать интонацию в «отвлечении от конкретного акта исполнения». Второе кажется во всяком случае наиболее важным – отражение в пунктуации звучания «внутренних голосов»¹⁸, а не голоса как такового.

3. В фокусе этой части статьи оказываются **индивидуально-авторские знаки**, которые в большинстве своем легко поддаются интерпретации.

Это **пять знаков**, организующих **синтагматику**, один из которых выполняет также **семантическую** функцию:

- 1) **Диез** – строго разделитель стрóf. Выступает в графических вариациях, легко сводимых к инварианту. Не имеет доп. семантических функций.
- 2) **Отчеркивание** (горизонтальная или наклонная черта) – разделитель и терминатор более широкого применения (оператор для строк и более крупных фрагментов, включая текст). Не имеет доп. семантических функций.
- 3) **Чайка** (фигурная горизонтальная скобка), терминатор-консолидатор целого текста, обычно стихотворного.
- 4) **Пружинка** (вензель) – терминирующий знак с дополнительной семантической функцией сигнализации об удовлетворенности автора завершённым

¹⁷ В. Gasparov, *Zametki...*

¹⁸ G. Nunberg, *The Linguistics of Punctuation*, Stanford 1990, s. 15.

текстом. Пунктограмма, соединенная с пиктограммой орнаментального типа.

- 5) **Множественное нижнее тире** (многотирие) – делимитатор-терминатор сверхфразовых единств и текста с дополнительной сематической функцией, сопоставимой с семантикой многоточия (глубокая пауза, умолчание).

Ниже даются некоторые детали, примеры и комментарии.

3.1. Знак диез используется Пушкиным исключительно для указания на *окончание строфы и раздел между строфами*.



Рис. 1. Графические вариации знака **диез** в рукописях Пушкина

Он не встречается как маркер завершения текста. Графически его неизменным, постоянным элементом является двойная зигзагообразная черта – либо горизонтальная (тогда этот знак напоминает флажок или разводную линейку), либо диагональная. Второй элемент – пересекающая черта – факультативен. Соединительная линия между основными параллельными чертами может отсутствовать (см. рис. 1). Происхождение этого знака неясно. Термин **диез** не вполне, лишь приблизительно, отражает графическую модель этого знака.

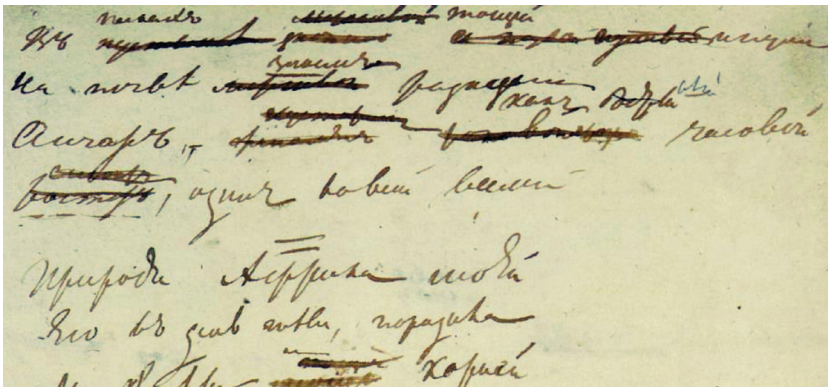


Рис. 2. **Диез** без пересекающей черты. Факсимиле черновика стихотворения «Арион»

3.2. Отчеркивание. Знак, указывающий как на *разделение фрагментов текста* (необязательно строф), так и на *его завершение* (см. рис. 3).

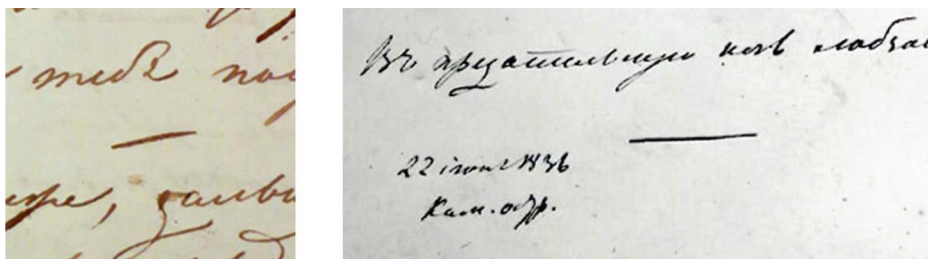


Рис. 3. Позиционные вариации знака **отчеркивания** в рукописях Пушкина

Графическая вариативность этого символа по длине и расположению связана с изменением его функции. Чем короче черта, тем скорее она будет служить делимитатором фрагментов текста, близким по функции к диезу. Чем она длиннее – тем скорее она указывает на завершение текста. Как терминатор текста этот знак тяготеет к концу последней, но может располагаться и в середине, а также удваиваться (в одном направлении или образуя параллель). В этом случае он обычно приобретает сильный наклон. Двойная терминирующая черта, очевидно, может считаться знаком подчеркивания завершенности, исчерпанности письма. Можно заметить роль этого знака как разделителя пространства в отношениях тело текста /дата.

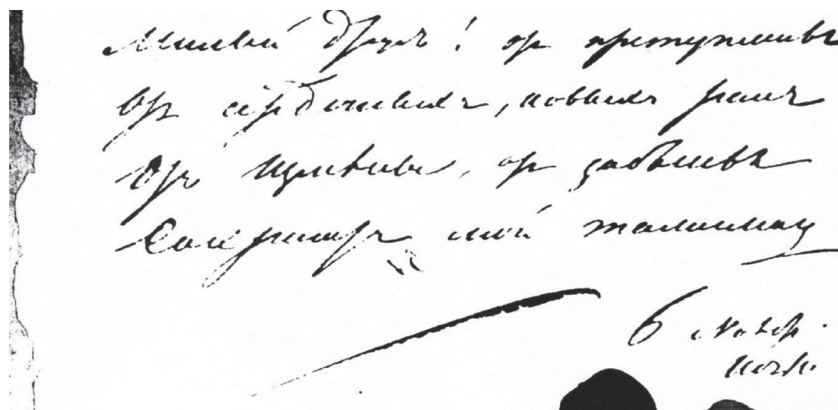


Рис. 4. **Отчеркивание** в конце текста. Рукопись стихотворения «Талисман»

3.3. Чайка (горизонтальная фигурная скобка), обозначая конечный предел текста, сигнализирует не только о его завершенности, но и *цельнооформленности*, внутренней скрепленности текста как целого, что выражается отчасти пиктографически и, очевидно, связано с семантикой фигурной скобки, «схватывающей» текст.



Рис. 5. Графические вариации символа **чайка** в рукописях Пушкина

3.4. Пружинка (росчерк) – знаменитый, фирменный знак рукописей Пушкина (см. рис. 6). Как пунктограмма в соединении с пиктограммой, знак входит в контрастную дистрибуцию с другими знаками в конце текста делимитаторами-терминаторами 2, 3 и 5 типов – способен совмещаться с ними. Главным образом обозначая «счастливое завершение», он служит своего рода *метатекстовым восклицательным знаком*, относимым к целому тексту. Терминирующая функция для **пружинки** вторична, а главной является семантическая – указание на удовольствие автора от текста как завершенного целого, своего рода знак облегчения, радостного «освобождения» от написанного. **Пружинку** можно считать и своего рода знаком объективации текста в сознании автора – его благословения на путь к читателю, жизнь в литературе.



Рис. 6. Графические вариации символа **пружинка** в рукописях Пушкина

3.5. Множественное тире (**многоотирие**, два и более длинных тире) в ряду неканонических знаков препинания Пушкина – один из самых трудных для интерпретации знаков. Будучи своеобразным *гибридом тире и многоточия*, этот символ наиболее тесно связан с синтагматической организацией текста как такового. Примечательно, что **многоотирие** – знак, не исключительно присущий Пушкину и спорадически возникающий в рукописях русских писателей XIX в.¹⁹

Тире в русской пунктуации на уровне базовой функции соединяет делимитационную и консолидационную, копулятивную роль (одновременно членит и обеспечивает связь разделенного). За исключением «висячих» **тире** при оформлении диалога, это внутрифразовый знак: там, где место точки, не место **тире**. В свою очередь, *многоточие* также указывает на синтагматический разрыв или лакуну («молчанка», как многоточие было названо у А.А. Барсова, впервые в русских грамматиках²⁰), но, в отличие от **тире**, это оператор как микротекста, так и макротекста (используется как внутри фра-

¹⁹ См.: А.В. Shapiro, *Osnovy russkoy punktuatsiyi*, Moskva 1955, s. 339–340.

²⁰ См.: B.S. Shvartskopf, *Tire*, Russkiy yazyk. Entsiklopediya, Moskva 1997.

зы, так и на границе фраз). По А.Х. Востокову, это «знак пресекательный» (подчеркивается его терминирующая функция), в то время как **тире** – «знак мыслеотделительный» (подчеркивается функция внутреннего членения фразы)²¹.

Пушкинское **многоотирие**, контаминируя эти знаки формально, соединяет и их функции. Главное его назначение – сигнализировать о глубоком *синтаксическом разрыве* и глубокой *лакуне* в межфразовом положении (1) и как бы о *паузе*, «молчанке», обреченной стать непреодолимым молчанием, – в конце текста (2). Таким образом, **многоотирием** у Пушкина становится, с одной стороны, тире с вновь ему приписываемой терминирующей способностью, а с другой – многоточие с приобретенной функцией внутрифразового и усиленной функцией межфразового членения.

С учетом того что **многоотирие** как «мыслеотделитель» у Пушкина систематически употребляется для разграничения реплик в диалогах, можно предполагать, что в межфразовом положении оно может интерпретироваться как маркер смены (шифтер) внутренних голосов лирического героя и, шире, модальных и повествовательных планов. Ср.:

- Какая польза намъ отъ ней – – / Поэтъ / Молчи, безсмысленный народъ...
- И нѣтъ отрады мнѣ – – – и тихо предо мной / встають два призрака младые (Воспоминание)
- И тебѣ пришла пора – – – – / Не косись ~~горящимъ~~ окомъ (Кобылица молодая)
- Прощай – – – – – да нельзя ль / Увидѣть мнѣ твою Армиду (Евгений Онегин)
- [Надолго-ли? – – – ~~нѣ~~ кажется прошли / Дни бурь, дни горькихъ искушений (Я возмужал среди печальных бурь...)]
- Другіе дружнѣ упирали / въ глубь <мощны> веслы – – въ тишинѣ / На руль склонясь, нашъ кормщикъ умной (Арион)

Последний пример демонстрирует дополнительную, и также типичную, функцию многоотирия в пушкинском стихе: постановка знака подчеркивает синтаксический разрыв внутри строки (анжамбеман) там, где тенденция «единства и тесноты стихового ряда» (Ю.Н. Тынянов) должна быть преодолена дополнительным усилием вследствие возможного прочтения строки как синтаксически единой (*упирали... веслы в тишине). Замечу, что для пушкинских черновиков типичны случаи, когда поэт как будто сознательно не противится возникающей вследствие тесноты ряда синтаксической

²¹ А.Х. Vostokov, *Russkaya grammatika Aleksandra Vostokova: po nachertaniyu yego zhe sokrashchennoy Grammatiki polnyee izlozhennaya*, Sankt-Peterburg 1831, s. 326.

неоднозначности, в частности не ставя знаки, способные ее устранить; так происходит, например, при работе над не опубликованным при жизни отрывком «Счастлив, кто избран своенравно...» (возможным продолжением стихотворения «Наперсник», по версии 16-томного академического собрания): *Потупя голову ревниво / Признанья слушает твои*, где в процессе работы *ревниво* грамматически тяготеет то к деепричастному обороту, то к глаголу (что привело, в частности, к различной постановке запятой редакторами разных академических собраний). Там же, где Пушкин отвергает возможность грамматического соединения словоформ внутри строки, он охотно ставит **многотирие**.

Показательным примером последнего может служить беловая рукопись стихотворения 1830 г. «Герой» (см. рис. 7). Среди уже расставленных знаков препинания выделяется аккуратно прочерченное многотирие:

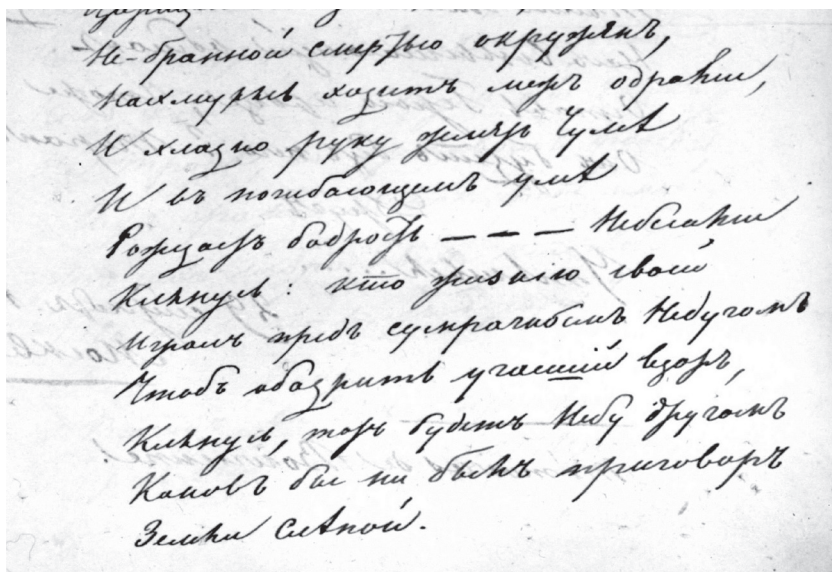


Рис. 7. Множественное тире в беловой рукописи стихотворения «Герой»

Постановкой многотирия здесь отмечается повествовательный поворот и подчеркнута устраняется возможность неприемлемого прочтения *Рождает бодрость небесами... Появление множественного тире в беловом автографе, безусловно, свидетельство высокой значимости ненормативного знака в индивидуальном стиле поэта.

Многотирие выступает также как *макротекстуальный терминирующий знак*, в таком случае располагаемый непосредственно под текстом. В этом положении он находится в отношениях контрастной дистрибуции с пружинкой, которая не делает его избыточным. Сочетаемость многотирия

в конце текста подчеркивает его статус указателя на глубокое послетекстовое молчание-умолчание, которое не передается другими терминаторами текста. Ср. в конце текста в черновой рукописи «На холмах Грузии лежит ночная мгла...» (в этой версии – «На холмы Грузии ночная тѣнь легла...»; см. рис. 8) , где после первого катрена использовано многоточие:

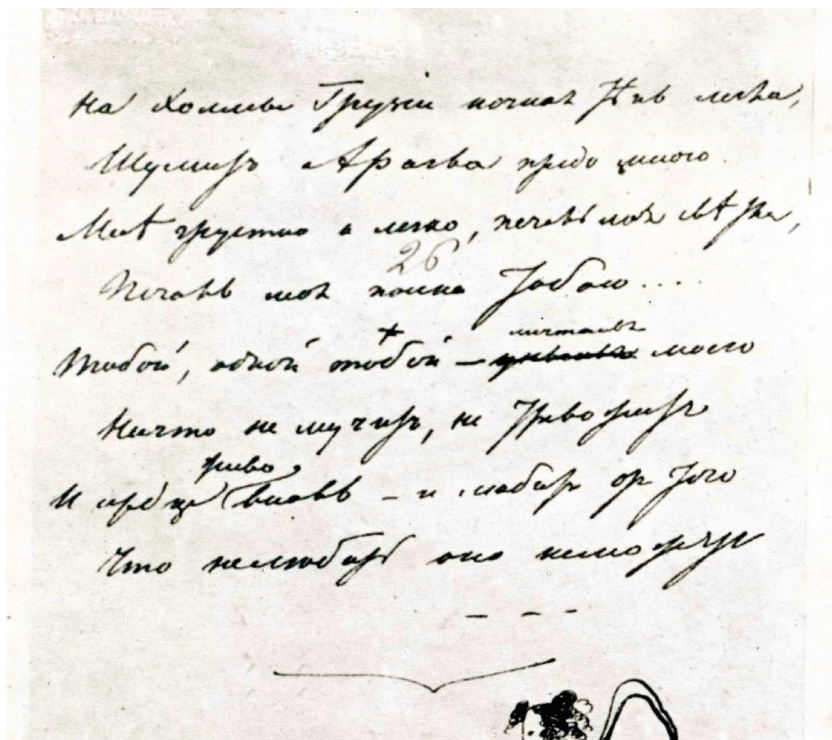


Рис. 8. Множественное тире в черновой рукописи стихотворения «На холмах Грузии лежит ночная мгла...»

Ср. в сочетании с **пружинкой** (окончание стихотворения «Ответ анониму»; см. рис. 9):

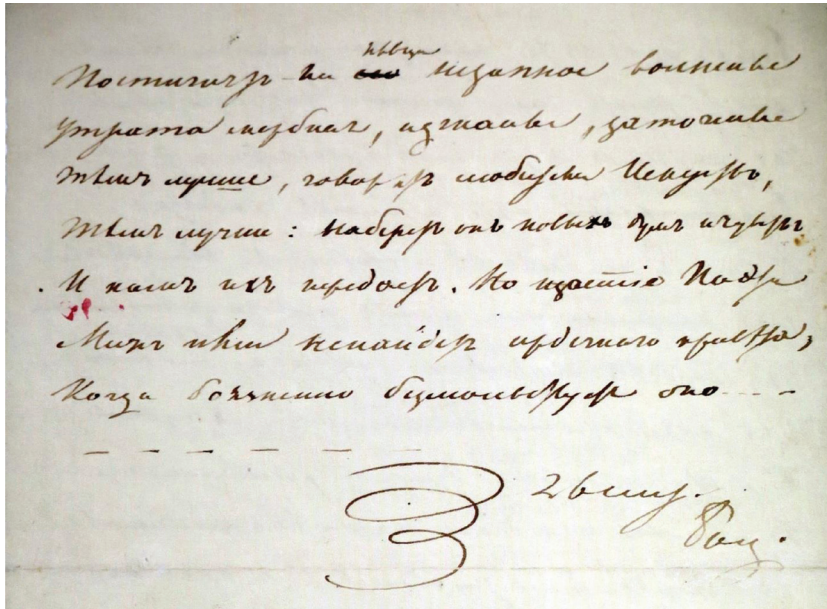


Рис. 9. Множественное тире в сочетании с пружинкой в беловой рукописи стихотворения «Ответ анониму»

Отдельно следует говорить о типичном для пушкинских черновиков многотирия в конце строк (см., например, нотации вариантов стихотворения «Поэт и толпа» в академических изданиях; типографическое отражение этого знака текстологами – свидетельство признания его важной роли в «поэтическом хозяйстве» Пушкина). Здесь оно принимает участие в разметке текста, сигнализируя о большей глубине ритмического членения, чем та, что передается обычным разбиением на строки (отбивкой/пробелом). Помимо многотирия, в этой разметке, формирующей ритмико-композиционный образ стихотворения, принимает участие и одиночное терминирующее тире, которое здесь пока не рассматривается, и формально традиционные пунктограммы.

Заметим, что графика многотирия у Пушкина приближает его к положению многоточия – это скорее своего рода многократное «нижнее подчеркивание», нежели обычное для тире срединное написание. В этой связи взаимодействующее с **многотирием** одиночное конечное тире также привлекает внимание своим нижним положением, которое позволяет предполагать и специальный статус последнего в пунктуационной системе Пушкина.

Это подводит нас к проблематике окказионального употребления стандартных знаков в пунктуации черновиков Пушкина, которой будет посвящена вторая часть настоящей статьи.

4. Кажется, излишне говорить о том, что правильное или хотя бы приближенное к истине толкование знаков препинания (при всей вероятной малоосознанности и гибкости употребления наиболее ярких индивидуальных пунктограмм самим Пушкиным), «учет всех показаний авторской орфографии и пунктуации»²² может дать многое для понимания движения творческой мысли поэта и собственно текста, который принято считать законченным. Невозможно предположить, что это движение представляет собой некий односторонний процесс перехода от сомнительных вариантов к более надежным и наконец к несомненным: очень часто борьба вариантов, многократное возвращение к уже было отвергнутым – нормальное явление. В работе над текстом у Пушкина доминирует не векторный, а скорее челночный принцип, с итоговым укреплением автора в некоем более определенном решении.

Пунктуационная разметка – необходимый элемент отражения подвижной, живой магмы поэтического слова в его становлении, и системность индивидуально-авторских знаков рукописей Пушкина может дать опорные сведения для того, чтобы меняющийся рельеф ритмической и синтаксической формы стиха мог быть понят в его функциональности.

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²² B.V. Tomashevskiy, *Pisatel' i kniga: Ocherk tekstologii*, Leningrad 1928, s. 207.

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Georgy Vekshin

Неканоническая пунктуация рукописей А.С. Пушкина. I.

А н н о т а ц и я

В статье сделана попытка дать функциональное описание пяти наиболее значимых индивидуально-авторских знаков препинания, используемых в рукописях стихотворений Пушкина. Представлена типология базовых и частных функций пунктуации. Предложенное описание позволяет говорить об очевидных признаках системности неканонической пунктуации Пушкина, в частности о закономерностях дистрибуции знаков препинания. Изменяемая картина пунктуации текста позволяет составить более полное представление о рукописи как экспоненте творческого процесса и обеспечить более объемное понимание ритмико-синтаксической композиции и семантики текста как в его становлении, так и в условной окончательной версии.

Ключевые слова: пунктуация, черновик, рукопись, Пушкин, функциональный анализ, текст, генезис.

Non-canonical punctuation of Alexander S. Pushkin's manuscripts

S u m m a r y

The article attempts to give a functional description of the five most significant individual non-standard punctuation marks used in the manuscripts of Pushkin's poems. A typology of basic and particular functions of punctuation is presented. The proposed description allows us to speak about the systemic nature of Pushkin's non-canonical punctuation, in particular, about the patterns of distribution of punctuation marks. The changeable picture of punctuation in text makes it possible to form a more complete idea of the manuscript as an exponent of the creative process and provide a more comprehensive understanding of the rhythmic-syntactic composition and semantics of the text, both in its development and in the conditional final version.

Keywords: punctuation, draft, manuscript, Pushkin, functional analysis, text, genesis.

Niekanoniczna interpunkcja rękopisów Aleksandra S. Puszkin

Streszczenie

Artykuł podejmuje próbę opisu funkcjonalnego pięciu najbardziej indywidualnych znaków interpunkcji, które wykorzystuje Puszkina w swoich rękopisach. Przedstawia klasyfikację podstawowych oraz okazjonalnych typów interpunkcji. Analiza pozwala zobaczyć charakterystyczne cechy systematycznie nietypowej interpunkcji Puszkina, m.in. prawidłowość dystrybucji znaków interpunkcyjnych. Zróżnicowany obraz interpunkcji autorskiej poety daje pełniejszy obraz jego rękopisów jako zwierciadła procesu twórczego oraz zapewnia pełniejsze zrozumienie kompozycji rytmiczno-syntaktycznej i semantycznej jego tekstów zarówno w procesie powstawania, jak i w wersji końcowej.

Słowa kluczowe: interpunkcja, szkic, rękopis, Puszkina, analiza funkcjonalna, tekst, geneza.

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“Turn back the course of a river / the course of life / that is my mission” On the poems by Wincenty Róžański

For Mateusz, on his twentieth birthday

Separate poet. *Ante scriptum*

Wincenty Róžański was attached to two places in Greater Poland: Mosina, where he was born in 1938, and Poznań, where he spent most of his life. It was in the latter that he died in 2009, and it was there, in the Miłostowocemetery, that he was buried. He fit the local art community well, which was visible in the number of works, not only literary, dedicated to him.

Witek's legend was created by Edward Stachura when he made Róžański the protagonist of his song *Piosenka do Potęgowej*, his novel *Cała jaskrawość* and his most famous (celebrated with the Stanisław Piętań Award) 1968 narrative poem entitled *Po ogrodzie niech hula szarańcza*. Furthermore, it was Stachura who introduced Róžański into the world of poetry as an independent and, if you will, genuine artist. The exceptional original works of the Poznań-based poet were highly regarded by other poets and literary critics, yet he never managed to become a household name, like his famous colleagues managed to do, even though he had published over twenty widely-discussed collections, and received a dozen or so awards, the most valuable of which must have been Pierścień Mędrców Betlejemskich (the Wise Men's Ring) he received together with Stefan Stuligrosz in 2005 from Archbishop Stanisław Gądecki, Poznań metropolitan.

His surviving manuscripts of poems, letters, and other documents currently constitute part of the collection of the Biblioteka Raczyńskich in Poznań. He

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even received a meticulous entry in the *Katalog rękopisów Ośrodka Dokumentacji Wielkopolskiego Środowiska Literackiego*¹ (Catalogue of manuscripts of the Greater Poland Literary Community Documentation Centre), which was promoted during the exhibition entitled “*Dam wam więcej, dam czego – niewypowiedzianego*”. *Wokół archiwaliów Wincentego Różańskiego*. As was advertised in a folder issued for that occasion:

The exhibition is an invitation for a journey through the world of poetry rough drafts, which recorded the texts as they were taking shape, usually unfinished, though, thus promising an unlimited number of possible readings. The polyphony of the texts preserved in the original comes into dialogue with the multi-layer story on the poet’s existence in the world, captured in the sheets of the extensive correspondence presented at the exhibition².

Data on the contents of Różański’s works were catalogued by Regina Kurewicz and Alicja Przybyszewska, recorded under ref. nos. DL/482 to DL/509. They consist of hundreds of documents given to library collections by Małgorzata Kasztelan-Różańska, the poet’s wife, and his friends. Poetic works (over 1,500 items) occupy the main place in the multitude of the surviving documents, which were preserved in manuscript or typescript form, or which were printed in poetry collections or literary journals, and also works which had never seen the light of day.

The material from Wincenty Różański, his poems in particular, that were collected, carefully organised and prepared for display in Biblioteka Raczyńskich, offer a valuable resource for research in editing, manuscript writing, textual studies, or even philological studies, in particular in post-modern times, when the technique of digital recording has eliminated the ability to trace consecutive stages in the creation of a work of literature. All variants, palimpsests, outlines, extracts, sketches, and rough drafts vanish with a single stroke of *delete*, and what is preserved is usually a single creation – the final one (as the author intended it). The rest is purged from the memory banks. This removes any traces of the journey of a text that ends in the final form. The story of the “act of human creation” is wiped clean. Just think about cases when a long-lost rough draft version of a work proves much more interesting than the text that had been printed. That was the case with

1 *Katalog rękopisów Ośrodka Dokumentacji Wielkopolskiego Środowiska Literackiego*, vol. 4, R. Kurewicz and A. Przybyszewska (eds.), Biblioteka Raczyńskich, Poznań 2016, ref. DL/408 – DL/511.

2 „*Dam wam więcej, dam czego – niewypowiedzianego*”. *Wokół archiwaliów Wincentego Różańskiego* [exhibition folder], design, production and layout Z. Cyplik-Olejniczak, technical supervision R. Kurewicz and A. Przybyszewska, photographs Z. Cyplik-Olejniczak et al., Dom Literatury Raczyńskich, 23 November 2016 – 15 February 2017. [Unless specified otherwise, English version translated from Polish]

Ziemiaństwo polskie, which Kajetan Koźmian had been developing for nearly thirty years until he finally decided to publish it in 1839³. Having read the published fragments of the narrative poem, Mickiewicz concluded in *Forefathers' Eve Part III* that it was "a thousand lines on planting peas."⁴ But the original version released in 2000 by Piotr Żbikowski and myself⁵, which Mickiewicz could not have known, which, against the recommendations of classicists, was not polished or refined, was lively and energetic, the qualities which the narrative poem lacked once subjected to an extensive and excessive processing.

The essence of textual studies is to reconstruct the sequence of a creative process on the basis of appropriate documents: from the formation of the most primary idea to the final strokes of the pen or the final character struck on the typewriter. Wincenty Róžański proved an exceptionally generous writer in that respect, leaving behind various versions of his works: plans, sketches, partial editions, variant editions, intermediate editions, primary rough draft forms, mutations, manuscript rough drafts, typescript rough drafts, and final versions (though rarely final, i.e. canonical). The extent of textual forms of a single work surviving in his collections is truly astounding. It enables one not only to trace the transformation of an idea into a work of literature, but also to view Róžański's output, which had previously been treated selectively, in its entirety, while interpretative remarks related to it had been usually formulated in reference to published works. Such a research inclination, considering genetic criticism, has recently been undertaken by Alicja Przybyszewska⁶.

It is worth remembering that the Biblioteka Raczyńskich mainly holds Róžański's works from the final twenty years of his life, and still not all from that period as Róžański used to gift various persons with his poems. Additionally, he sent collections of poems he had prepared to publishers, some of which have never been published. Two years ago, I received from Zbigniew Rutkowski one such collection, a 45-page copy with three letters (August and September 2002) addressed to the Wers publishing house in Koziegłowy near Poznań with 42 poems, which

3 K. Koźmian, *Ziemiaństwo polskie. Poema w czterech pieśniach*, published by Zygmunt Schletter, Wrocław 1839.

4 A. Mickiewicz, *Dziady część III*, in: *Poezje Adama Mickiewicza*, vol. 4, Paryż 1832, p. 126, sc. 7: *A Warsaw salon*. [General to Literatus]. Vide A. Witkowska, "Tysiąc wierszy o sadzeniu grochu"..., in: *Studia z teorii i historii poezji*, M. Głowiński (ed.), 2nd edition, Wrocław-Warsaw-Krakow 1970, IBL PAN; *Z Dziejów Form Artystycznych w Literaturze Polskiej*, vol. 20, pp. 51-70.

5 K. Koźmian, *Ziemiaństwo polskie. Rękopiśmienna wersja poematu w pięciu pieśniach*, edited and with a history of literature commentary by P. Żbikowski, text collation, factual, philological and historical clarifications by M. Nalepa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Collegium Columbinum, Krakow 2000.

6 A. Przybyszewska, "Archiwum literackie Wincentego Róžańskiego w świetle założeń krytyki genetycznej" *Biblioteka* 2017, issue 21 (30), pp. 101-122.

were supposed to be included in the intended publication. Just as a reminder, Wers published a collection of poems and drawings by Róžański in 1998 entitled *Ratujcie serca nasze* (vol. 5 of the poetic collection of Wojciech Bąk, edited by Jerzy Szatkowski, introduction Dariusz Tomasz Lebioda) and a collection prepared personally by the poet entitled *Została pusta karta dań tego świata* (Poznań 1998, vol. 3 of the collection of Okolica Poetów). The title of the first project most probably referred to the well-known ballad *Spasitie naszi duszi* by Vladimir Semyonovich Vysotsky.

The typescript, which is currently in my possession, is untidy, and it includes numerous hand-written, sometimes illegible corrections. Almost every poem includes the poet's name and surname and his address of residence (60–122 Poznań, Ostrobramska 25 B). The majority also include the date when it was recorded, usually the day, month and year. Some, but not all, are listed in the *Katalog rękopisów Ośrodka Dokumentacji Wielkopolskiego Środowiska Literackiego*. A few have never been printed. Love is the key motif in the poems, both *Amor sacer* and *Amor profanum*. Then, there are poems with a surrealist and existential inclination. The latter assumed a Franciscan and “Stachura” style. Furthermore, the issue of internal experiences plays a significant role in the unpublished collection. A mark of Róžański's existential inspirations was mainly the metaphor of the moment, with its best known use in “Bądź pozdrowiona chwilo...” (Praise, thee, moment...), which clearly was a polemic for both Faust's “Beautiful moment, do not pass away!”, and the message of the song *Naiwne pytania* by Ryszard Riedl “W życiu piękne są tylko chwile” (Only moments are beautiful in life), though that is a topic for a separate discussion.

Two mothers. The Mickiewicz paradigm

In the Invocation to *Sir Thaddeusz* Adam Mickiewicz referred to two mothers: The Holy Virgin Mary, as depicted in the miraculous versions of the painting from the Gate of Dawn, Jasna Góra and Nowogród, and his mother Barbara of the Majewskis. To the latter her son “offered under the care” of the Mother of God after he fell out of the window, and supposedly only prayers in a side chapel of the parish church in Nowogród restored his consciousness and health. Mickiewicz's childhood memories of motherhood mainly centred around caring for a person. Wincenty Róžański adopted the paradigm, dividing it into many voices in his poems, which together could form a poetic collection.

For many years he lived in a street whose patron was the Virgin Mary of the Gate of Dawn (Ostrobramska St., from Ostra Brama, the Gate of Dawn in English), which he stressed many times, e.g. when inscribing his address underneath his poems. Due to his illness, he required particular care, especially during relapses. Edward Stachura in his narrative poem from the late-1970s indicated that he sometimes witnessed *Witek's* behaviour, with which he did not seem to cope well.

In a fragment devoted to their asceticism, which manifested in giving everything away, which strengthened the poets' mutual bond resulting in their friendship, he directed the following apostrophe to his colleague:

ty nawet rozum swój rozdałeś
rozzuciłeś bujnie
jak ostatni grosz

i teraz opiekować mi się tobą
w przenajświętszej chorobie⁷

you even gave away your mind
threw it lavishly
like the last penny

and now I need to care for you
in your holly sickness

It is possible that by giving the poem the title of *Po ogrodzie niech hula szarańcza* (May locust rage around the garden), Stachura referred to Różański's schizophrenia. Can the beautiful garden of a human mind be saved from a locust invasion?

In the most difficult of times, the poet was cared after by his closest relatives, his sisters and brothers, but most of all by his mother Józefa, and after her death his wife Małgorzata, to whom Różański devoted most of his poems in the final decade of his life. He mentioned his family relations in many poems ("Przyszpiliłem na grobie mych rodziców...", "Rodzina jak stos...", "Tyle już cierpień tyle trosk/ że Bogu chyba źle... *Rodzicom*", "Miałem tyle lat przed sobą... *Rodzicom*", "Jak ty teraz wyglądasz ojciec...", "Niedaleko twego grobu ojciec...", "Ojciec leży jego order...", "Ty ojciec jednoręki coś kłął jak szewc...", *Pożegnanie ojca powstańca*, "A ona zziębła sina... *Babci Konstancji Frąckowiak*", "Gdzie jesteś Hieronimie? Bracie?... ", "Gdzie jesteś wujku Władziu...", "Nie zna mnie nikt ni bracia ni żona...")⁸.

Różański also expected help when he was relapsing. He was not a self-reliant person. Even mundane everyday tasks, e.g. brewing a cup of tea, posed a problem for him. And he did receive help.

His gratitude resonated in many poems, particularly in those devoted to his mother Józefa, the Virgin Mary, and the notion of maternity in general. The

7 E. Stachura, *Poezja i proza*, vol. 1: *Wiersze, poematy, piosenki, przekłady*, Z. Feddecki (ed.), Czytelnik, Warsaw 1984, p. 146.

8 Throughout the article I quote titles after: *Katalog rękopisów Ośrodka Dokumentacji Wielkopolskiego Środowiska Literackiego*, vol. 4.

portfolio of Różański's output prepared by Biblioteka Raczyńskich enables one to easily find those poems dedicated to his biological mother ("Ja Ciebie Matko szukam w chmurze...", "Matka daje życie/ powinna je odbierać...", "Matka moja mówi... *Nikosowi Chadzinikolau*", "Matka mówi/ wróciłeś z urlopu żywy...", "Matka wyrosła jak kalina...", "Matki zawsze dają coś na drogę...", "Matka polska moja mamó", "Jakże dziś ładnie matko opowiadasz", *Matka*: "Naprzeciw sztyld i góra śmieci...", "Straciłem Cię z oczu matko oniemiała...", "Tęsknię za Tobą matko kochana..."). All those poems resonated with Mickiewicz's primary trust, which transcended the limits of biological bounds, and elevated maternity, thus the surprising and somewhat blasphemous prayer to Józefa who died in 1994: "Matko nieżyjąca wysłuchaj mnie w niebie..." (My dead mother hear me in heavens). Often in difficult moments Józefa, much like Barbara Mickiewiczowa, used the rosary, litany, and matins to ask for her son's health, which translated into his poetic prayer to the Mother of all mothers elevated in Jasna Góra and the Gate of Dawn ("Chroń mnie Matko Boża/ od szpitalnych i więziennych bram...", "Chroń mnie Matko Boża...", "Matko Boska Boleściwa/ topazie cenny...", "Chwała Pani Święta...", "Chwała Tobie Pani zaklęta...", "Gwiazdo Święta Wspaniała...", "Jasno Góro! Niebieska Matko!...", "Matko Boska Częstochowska...", "Matko Boża z Synowca...", "Módl się za nami Czarna Pani...", "Święta Mario módl się za nami...", "Ty co na Jasnej stoisz Górze...", "Zdrowaś Mario łaskiś pełna...", "O łaskawa Pani/ co trwasz w twierdzy/ na Jasnej Górze...", "O Pani łaskawa/ co w Ostrej świecisz Bramie...", "Zdrowaś Mario, kwitnie las...").

Significantly enough, it was in the Virgin Mary that Różański sought poetic inspiration, turning away from Euterpe and other classical muses, from their patron Apollo, and even depriving Christ of the privilege. He used to call her Literary Virgin Mary, adding that he owed her his prime naivety, which was why "Kiedy się modli to modli się jak dziecko..." (When he prayed, he prayed like a child...), and he directed the confession to Władysław Broniewski, an atheist.

He merged the two patrons of his frailty in the beautiful poem entitled *Dwie matki*, offering different portraits of maternity (just like *Bogurodzica* and *Lament świętokrzyski* in the Middle Ages) – of the "lady beautiful and strong" and the mother with varicose veins for whom "he picked coltsfeet to alleviate her pain."

In an interview of 15 August 1998 by Andrzej Sikorski, published in the *Okołica Poetów* quarterly,⁹ Różański claimed that he owed his poetic initiation to his mother, just like her spiritual support and physical aid. "Stachura prepared me professionally. My mother spiritually. Now, years later, I can see that her care for me, her respect, goodness, and beauty defined my poetic backbone."

The need for care had in Różański's case various names, applying not only to everyday matters, but also, or maybe mainly, to his spiritual condition: rescue, salvation,

9 Issue 1 [43], Wydawnictwo Wers. Różański was one of the journal's editors.

mercy, compassion, pity, redemption ("Coraz częściej zwracam się do Boga o łaskę i wyrozumiałość, bo nagrzeszyłem w życiu" (More and more often I ask God for grace and forbearance, because I have sinned much in my life)). He directed such prayers to Christ and his Father (e.g. "Pomóż mi Chrystusie...", "Boże wielki miłosierny? Ratuj mnie od miłości śmiertelnej...", "Ty mnie ocal Boże na tej równinie...", "Boże, otul mnie płaszczem ciepłym...", "Dziś błagam Cię Boże/ nie dodawaj ognia...", "Gromowładny Stwórco okaż mi swą litość...", "Jaką mi raczysz łaskę dać Panie...", "Ty mi daj Panie/ łaskę i ocalenie...", "Ocal mnie Boże, kiedy budzę się o świcie...", "Zgaś moje pożądanie Panie/ ku rzeczom ziemskim i doczesnym...", "błagam Ciebie Boże, chroń mnie...", "Błagam Cię Ojczy chroń mnie...", "Daj mi Panie łaskę na skonanie w Tobie...", "Modlę się do Boga by mnie usynowił...", "Miłosierdzie Boże/ czekam na Twoją opiekę...", "Miłosierdzie Boże/ świec z góry w tej norze...", "Pokaż mi palcem Boże..."), and a whole host of saints: St. *Vincent de Paul*, St. *Giles*, St. *Joseph*, St. *Faustyna Kowalska*, St. *John of Nepomuk*, St. *Anthony of Padua* – patrons of children, the poor, travellers, lost items, and lost persons, St. *Camillus de Lellis* – patron of the ill, the hurting and the dying, St. *Jude the Apostle* – patron of lost causes, St. *Rita of Cascia* and St. *Expeditus* – patrons of the same frailties. He prayed to angels ("Szybuj nad nami Aniele ze skrzydłami...", "Przybył do mnie Anioł Rafał ze steranymi skrzydłami...", "Daleko za mną stada aniołów...", *Słów kilka o Aniołach*, "W labiryncie szukam od lat twego przyjścia Aniele...") and to sisters of mercy ("Przystępuję do ciebie siostrzo miłosierna...", "Otul mi twarz siostrzo miłosierdzia...", "Na wysokościach siostry miłosierne..."). He directed separate poems to Popes John XXIII and John Paul II, sometimes adding a tint of his peculiar humour, e.g.

Chciałem napisać coś o papieżu
z pochyloną głową
ale Gosia zmoczyła mi łeb nad sobą
popłynęła do przodu
robiąc znak krzyża na wodzie¹⁰

I wanted to write something about the pope
with my head bent down
but Gosia watered my head above
flowing forwards
making the sign of the cross on the water

In a poem with the incipit "Nienawidzę kobiet...", so surprising when considering a poet who constantly sent out signals about his need for love, he put

¹⁰ Typescript (unnumbered) of a collection prepared by Różański and sent to Wydawnictwo Wers in 2002; property of Z. Rutkowski. I quote other fragments of his poems from the same source.

a washwoman from Mosina he remembered since his childhood in the same line as St. Faustyna and St. Catherine of Genoa, and implicitly also as his mother Józefa. The sanctity of both women remained unnoticed in their earthly lives, only a few saw it. She was not loud nor demanding, she was not brought to the altars. Little can be said about her, as there were no biographical or hagiographical gimmicks. The poet summarised her in one sentence, a few lines.

In particular, the tone of the prayer for metaphysical care, spiritual support, protection from the dangers of *psychomachia*, and the dark recesses of life resonates in a poem entitled “O Aniołowie! O Trony!..” The “unsightly” poet offered love in exchange for protection. That guarantees his personal security. The same love can change an anonymous being (a woman just like many others) into a light expressive figure, the refuge for a poet’s identity. But love is also a requirement for poetic creation (Renaissance Neoplatonists had already indicated that). The prayer apostrophe thus transforms into a self-referential reflection:

O Aniołowie! O Trony!
 stojący najbliżej Boga,
 chronście mnie i nie dawajcie
 dla łotra i Stawroga.
 Bądźcie mi bliżej Trony,
 na ucho mówcie tajemnice,
 czy ja jestem skończony,
 gdy szpetne me oblicze
 z miłości chce stworzyć postać
 wybranki, co pławi się w słońcu.
 Z miłości do Boga w końcu
 piszę poemat i kończę.

Oh, Angels! Oh, Thrones!
 standing closest to God,
 protect me and do not give
 for the rogue and Stavrog.
 Be closer to me, oh Thrones,
 whisper secrets to me,
 whether I am finished,
 when my unsightly face
 from love desires to create the figure
 of my beloved, bathing in sunlight.
 For the love of God eventually
 I am writing the poem and I’m done.

In this context, the thesis on the anxiety-related conditions of Różański's output seems absolutely justified in relation to the poet's religiousness and his personal life¹¹. What is also visible is the desire for care and rescue present in the paraphrases of church prayers and religious songs. Różański sealed them with his metaphysical experiences, his personality and spirituality, similar to what Orcio did in *Nieboska komedia* emulating the Lord's Prayer. That device enabled him to personalise the content and the form of generally known collective acts of speech. He confessed before God: "I pray in my own words to You..."

The extent of various prayer-based references in the poet's works is considerable and diverse, while multiple amplifications often apply to the same text. Considering the intertextuality markers proposed by Henryk Markiewicz¹², one could posit they were realised fully in Różański's religious output. Those relations were signalled by: indications of the prototype already in the incipit, the inclusion of quotations, and references to their sources within works. Let me quote several such instances: "Wierzę w Ciebie Boże żywy/ ja już prawie jestem nieżywy..." (>*Act of faith*), "Wierzę w Ciebie Boże żywy/ jedyny prawdziwy..." (>*Act of faith*), "Święty Boże święty a nieśmiertelny/ pozapiątkowy Boże niedzielny..." (>*Supplications*), "Święty Boże Święty a Nieśmiertelny/ w zaułkach kościoła śmiertelny..." (>*Supplications*), "Zlituj się zlituj Panie..." (>*Kyrie eleison* liturgical acclamation), „Baranku Boży przy mnie stój..." (> *Agnus Dei* liturgical acclamation and *Prayer to the Guardian Angel*), "Aniele Stróżu mój..." (>*Prayer to the Guardian Angel*), "Bądź pochwalony Jezu Chryste..." (> *Laudetur Jesus Christus* greeting), "Niech będzie pochwalony..." (>*Laudetur Jesus Christus* greeting), "Boże, ach Boże cóżem Ci uczynił/ czymże Cię zasmucił, czymże Ci zawinił..." (>*Ludu, mój ludu* – an improperium sung in the Catholic Church during the Good Friday liturgy), "Boże mój Boże cóżem Ci uczynił/ krzyż niosę i torbę tułacza..." (>*Ludu, mój ludu* – an improperium sung in the Catholic Church during the Good Friday liturgy), "Wielbi dusza moja Pana..." (>*Magnificat*), "Święta Maryjo, módl się za nami..." (>the "Hail Mary" prayer), "Zdrowaś Maryjo łaskiś pełna..." (>the "Hail Mary" prayer), "Gorzkie żale przybywajcie..." (>*Call – for Lenten Lamentations*), "Gorzkie żale pomykajcie/ na mej duszy łez otarcie..." (>*Call – for Lenten Lamentations*), "Boże odpuść im bo nie wiedzą co czynią..." (>Christ's final words: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do", Łuke 23: 33–34), "Czego chcesz od nas Panie..." (>Jan Kochanowski, *Pieśń XXV z Ksiąg wtórych*, also referred to as the *Hymn "Czego chcesz od nas, Panie..."*), "Jeszcze do Ciebie kiedyś powrócę/ jeszcze Cię kiedyś zasmucę/ jeszcze do Ciebie wrócę Chrystusie..." (>Julian Tuwim, *Chrystusie*, also a song), "Jeszcze do Ciebie kiedyś powrócę/ jeszcze Cię kiedyś zasmucę/ pod pióra

11 Vide, e.g. W Setlak, "Łęk oswojony", in: M. Nalepa, W. Setlak, „Syn bogini”. Wincenty „Witek” Różański, Wydawnictwo Edytorial, Poznań 2015, pp. 26–35.

12 H. Markiewicz, "Odmiany intertekstualności", *Ruch Literacki* 1988, issue 4/5, pp. 245–263.

Twoje bezpieczne...”(Julian Tuwim, *Chrystusie*, also a song), “Jeszcze do Ciebie kiedyś powrócę/ jeszcze Cię kiedyś zasmucę/ zostawię swój ślad na obrusie...” (Julian Tuwim, *Chrystusie*, also a song), „Oto zbliżam się do Ciebie Panie...” (song “Zbliżam się w pokorze i niskości swej...”), “Przyjdź Duchu Święty/ miłością napełnij mnie...” (>*Hymn do Ducha Świętego* and song “Przyjdź, Duchu Święty, ja pragnę...”), “Przyjdź Duchu Święty/ i dalej nie pamiętam...” (>*Hymn do Ducha Świętego*), “Gwiazdo Święta Wspaniała...” (>song *Gwiazdo śliczna, wspaniała*), “Z tej biednej ziemi...” (>song *Z tej biednej ziemi*), “Ojczy z niebios/ Boże Panie/ co mi dasz na pożegnanie...” (>song *Ojczy z niebios*), “Ojczy z niebios/ Boże Panie/ daj mi łaskę...” (>song *Ojczy z niebios*).

He stressed that he owed his passion for religious songs to his mother Józefa, who when she was young was a member of the parish recitation group and the Young Polish Female choir, and to Konstancja Frąckowiak, his grandmother, who would sing church songs for hours, especially when performing house chores.

“And only death knows what we are”. Proof of presence

The proofs of presence explicated in Wincenty Różański’s poems are very symptomatic. The “jeszcze” (still) particle is intended to prove an entity, though it is uncertain, though it may surprise and astonish. “Jeszcze jestem” (I am still) is as if it has existence against habits or determining facts. It implies the thought: “he should be no more.” Here are a few such incipits: “jeszcze żyję jeszcze/ powiekę/ podnoszę powoli...”, “Jeszcze żyję, jeszcze mi szumi rzeka moja...”, “jeszcze nie padłem, jeszcze żyję...” Sometimes Różański connected that presence confirmed by words with the process of creating poetry, indicating the role literature played in his life (“jeszcze nie upadłem/ jeszcze pióro me nie wypadło z rąk...”, “jeszcze mi mało/ jeszcze piszę wiersze...”)

“Jeszcze żyję”, “jeszcze piszę” – “I am still alive” and “I am still writing” are synonymous in Różański’s works (“Będę pisał, aż ręka uschnie...”) just like in Stachura’s works. In fact, he might have adopted the stylistics of presence and writing on one’s life after his literary patron. Consider Stachura’s story entitled “Czysty opis” from the *Falując na wietrze* collection, in which the narrator makes a summary of his life only to conclude it is a proof of persistence against all odds:

Now I am tired. Very tired. As much as one can be. Sometimes I feel like I’m already going to die, as if I’m already in the garden and looking for my catch. But apparently still not. – Present – like you would respond to your teacher doing the roster. Present. Still I am present. Still I am alive. Just as I know how to live. Just as I love living. From the bottom of my heart, with all my will. Hard. Completely, without any illusions, tricks or masks [...] So I am alive still. I trying to make ends meet.

I will not let myself be brought down. I was already chewing the rosin, I gobbled grass, I bit the earth, when later it will already be too late¹³. [emphasis by MN]

In the quoted fragment, apart from the *still* (jeszcze) particle, the particle and the preposition *already* (już), echoed like a mantra, is also particularly preferred by Wincenty Różański, though with more variation than in the case of Stachura. "Już" (already) is sometimes an isolation mark – separating that which was from that which is; also, a mark of ending – introduced or announced, of lostness, exhaustion ("Już minęły lata gniewu..."; "Stało się już cicho trzeba plewić ogród..."; "Już ogród zarósł/ już liście spadły..."; "Już ogród zarósł ninie..."; "Nie cierpię już bo znam ścieżkę..."; "Miłości moja już skończona..."), loss of poetic impetus ("Coraz mniej już mogę pisać..."; "Już nic nie napiszę prócz paru podań..."; "Nie mówię już więcej o Twej boskości Chryste..."; "już się zginam ledwo trzymam kroku/ może już po mnie w tym nowym roku..."), loss of vitality ("Już mnie nie cieszą kobiece ciała..."; "Już sprzykrzyło mi się życie..."; "już mi niepotrzebna/ żadna encyklopedia...")

In a "poetic crumb" Różański wrote about his own "post-existence". The motif of the intimate *post mortem* belongs to the array of catastrophic poetry, particularly resonating among poets with schizophrenic tendencies (take Książnin or Hölderlin for example, the latter of whom Różański mentioned in his poems). However, that was a catastrophism of transition, not of the end, or, in other words, a "catastrophism of salvation" (rescuing). Specialists in the matter emphasise his obsessive set of themes, where some of the more significant were the motifs of the night, heaviness, negation of the "I" and existence, *etc.* (in Różański's case: "Już nic niemoje..."; "Już niedaleko do nocy..."; "Już noc bardzo długa noc..."; "Już noc, już długa noc..."; "Już po mnie już nic mnie..."; "Już się zmierzcha..."; "Już późno/ nic nie wystoję..."; "Już się kończy co się kończyć miało...")

I once posited that Różański avoided the topic of dying¹⁴, and that he was writing a funeral elegy for after he passed, though he also stated quite clearly that "it is the worst to write about your own death." To prove that significant tendency, let me quote several incipits of his poems listed in the catalogue of Biblioteka Raczyńskich ("Już się potoczyło co potoczyć się miało", "Wierzę w Ciebie Boże żywy/ ja już prawie jestem nieżywy..."; "Już czas odejść w mary złe..."; "Było tak, że mnie nie było..."; "Na ostatnie pożegnanie..."; "Na me ostatnie pożegnanie..."; "Na stos idę z wielkim poruszeniem..."; "Nie kopcie dla mnie dołu ludzie cmentarni..."; "Dogasają resztki życia..."; "Kto zapłacze nad moim grobem?..."; "Otul ma ziemio martwego syna..."; "Poznałem nieco tajemnicę śmierci..."; "Żegnaj się z tobą świecie jedyny..."; "nad wczesnym grobem ja..."; "Żyłem Pani tak jak mi

¹³ E. Stachura, *Poezja i proza*, vol. 2: *Opowiadania*, H. Bereza (ed.), Czytelnik, Warsaw 1984 [short story "Czysty opis"], p. 246.

¹⁴ Vide M. Nalepa, W. Setlak, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

było sądzone...”, “Gdy już mnie nic nie będzie...”) Furthermore, Różański’s output includes intentional poems, poems with a request or a prayer for the end of earthly matters (“Spróbuj mi umrzeć serce moje...”, “Sprowadź Boże śmierć...”, “Ty mi daj Panie koniec bez znaczenia...”, “Ty co trwasz nieskończenie ja się z Tobą zamienię na mieszkanie...”, “Ty mi racz dać Panie/ wieczne spoczywanie...”)

The poem “Nie rozpaczaj Małgosiu...” carries a particular strength of poetic reflection on one’s own death, combining a funeral *comploratio* with a confession of love. The coming dusk constitutes the end grasped no longer as something from beyond the edge of “earthliness”:

ja wkrótce umrę
zanim listowie
zaszumi dumnie
już po mnie już po mnie
wspomnij te wieczory szalone
nasze rozmowy dumne
już po mnie już po mnie

I will die soon
before leaves
rustle proudly
I’m done I’m done
remember those wild nights
our proud talks
I’m done I’m done

Many incipits of Różański’s works include the verb form of “jestem” (I am), expressed directly or implicitly in a sentence ellipsis. Of course, it has a questioning supposition: *Kim jestem? (Who am I?)*. Answers to it include a clear tendency to belittle, marginalise, or even despise oneself, but also to disperse the own *I*. All those reflections resonate in the epistemic lostness, unawareness, never-ending search for meaning (“Bóg jest we mnie, choć jestem pyłkiem...”, “Jestem pyłkiem więc czy Bóg może mnie zmieścić w sobie/ jestem pyłkiem czy Bóg może mieścić się we mnie...”, “Jestem skromnym czyścibutem na rogu pamięci wielu...”, “Jestem przechodniem na tym ciemnym świecie...”, “Pokraka jestem i monster zasnuty, torbiel, poeta...”, “Ja Hiobem Panie/ odebrałeś mi wiarę w przyszłość...”, “Ja podwórkowy papież...”, “Jestem poetą ulicznikiem...”, “Jestem raczej taki poeta z przedmieścia...”, “Ja przeniewierca u schyłku”, “mój talent/ hardy mieści się na krześle.”)

Różański’s considerations of “himself” had to include the topic of illness. He referred to it directly as madness (and using related words) or implied it through the stylistics of natural phenomena and the laws of nature (“Jestem pacjentem tego świa-

ta...”, “Obłąd mnie dotyka...”, “Przebyłem noc właśnie...”, “Pomotało się wszystko...”, “Wszystko jest snem wariata śnionym...”, “Pomyliłem noc właśnie...”, “Poplątały się śniegi deszcze...”, “Dość cierpienia, już chciałbym pisać dalej...”, “Kiedy ja się uspokoję/ niespokojne serce moje/ ginę, wyję, konam skrycie...”, “Noc zamyka mnie do Aresztu...”, “Lekcja ciemności skończona...”, “Przebyłem noc właśnie...”, “W rozpaczę jestem na dnie...”, “Wszystko zamotane nicią czarną...”)

The previously unpublished *Mój wiersz*, written in the Poznań city square in midday, includes this self-referential remark, a confession, if you will:

W fiole pisałem te wiersze cierpliwie i długo
na ławce, trzy tygodnie – czterowiersz.

In craze I wrote these poems patiently and long
on a bench, three weeks – a quatrain.

The question included after it: “Can you depart further from yourself?” clearly refers to Stachura’s remarks on the narrative poem *Po ogrodzie niech hula szarańcza* and the *Pogodzić się ze światem* journal.

The world reconstructed through sickness, and the related solitude were thoughts which accompanied the poet in the poems: “koczownicy koczują w blasku...” and “patrzę na swoją twarz...”:

Let me quote two fragments:

Głowa rozpadnie się na kawałki jak dzban.

na krześle siedzę sam ze sobą
ze zdrowiem głupią chorobą

Head will break into pieces like a jar.

I am sitting on a chair with myself
in good health stupid sickness

Finally, in a poem beginning with: “Ty jesteś mój los i tęsknota...”, there appear motifs of saint madmen: God’s and man’s *Fool for God*.

“I am a passer-by in this dark world.” Poznań’s strider and Mosina’s vagrant

A ramble is a type of journey without a destination. Yet it is difficult to apply this version of *homo viator* either to Stachura or Różański. Even if the former never had a predetermined goal, his motions through space were justified by the need

to “breath poetry in” and stimulate his thoughts. To draw poetry into his lungs Różański did something simpler: he opened the window in his flat in Górczyn (with a “view from the window where time billowed unknown.”) In fact, he himself admitted: “I cannot write from nothing...” However, he tried to avoid pointless and senseless strolling, explaining, for example, in a poem entitled *Wędrowanie* that he left home to find THAT THING. Only having found THAT THING, did he make it concrete. In the discussed work, that thing was a double kiss: by an older actress and an unnamed lover.

Różański had never written so often about Poznań as in the unpublished collection sent in 2002 to the Wers publishing house, though, of course, he had devoted to the city individual poems scattered through journals, collections and manuscripts kept in the collections of Biblioteka Raczyńskich (“Brudna noc za miastem...”, “Do-branoc ulico poznańska...”, “Pod krzyżem na os. Lecha w Poznaniu...”, “W przemykach miasta cień...”, “Spotkałem jadąc w autobusie pielęgniarza...”, “Na Noskowskiego 24 jest siedziba ZLP...”, “Na rynku szynkwas...”, *Życie ponad stan*: “Dziś, tj. 25 kwietnia 2002 r., poszedłem do kościoła...”, “Leciwa pani opowiada w tramwaju...”, “Leżą kości powstańców w ziemi...”, “Nad ranem karmię gołębie...”, “Lustra, poznańskie lustra/ jak Zaratustra, tu się wtulić na zawsze...”, „Lustra, poznańskie lustra/ nic po was w tej norze...”, “Lustra poznańskie lustra/ stojące na mrozie/ wskażcie mi drogę przed siebie...”, “O czym tu dumać na górczyńskim bruku...”, “O dziesiątej byłem w kościele...”, “Byłem po południu w poznańskiej Farze...”, “Odprowadziłem Gosię do tramwaju...”, “Po licznych wędrowkach po ulicach...”, “W Poznaniu na ul. św. Wincentego...”, “Uczyłem się nad Wartą...”, “Rozchylone wieże katedry...”, “Siedzę na tym samym miejscu, które zająłem...”, “Siedzę w bistro w tym samym miejscu...”, *Widziane z przystanku*: “Przed księgarnią nr 1, na ul. Marcinkowskiego...”, “Zgrzytają tramwaje...”, “Na Górczynie/ w tej pijackiej melinie...”, *Stary Rynek, godz. 12:05*: “Księgarnia Arsenał...”, “Godz. 4:28. Siedzę na ławce przed kościołem. Jest pięknie...”, “Idę przez plac i widzę...”, “Jakieś szare podwórko...”, “Kaplica w mroku świeci w śródmieściu...”, “Karuzela za miastem...”).

In Różański’s works, the experience of urban space was mainly focused on people. One time he met a woman with whom he had a late lunch (he gave flowers to the barmaid that served them). Then, he kissed her at a tram stop, and they took trams in different directions, returning to their homes (*W mrocznym Poznaniu*). He shared those love/wandering street experiences with the frame of mind of Nikolai Stavrogin, a character of Dostoyevski’s *Demons*, bored, “powerless against the demons which he released himself from within.” In another poem Różański asked people in Poznań (the barmaid, two pensioners, a street vendor, an older artist) about THAT THING he was looking for (*Wędrowanie*). Another time, on a sunny evening, he was relaxing by a church drinking buttermilk and watching the characters of everyday life moving through the frame: two men consuming beer, and a cyclist spitting into every trash can he passed (*Z życia wzięte*).

Usually, the poetic *I* in Rożański's poems remains in the square, where he observes many such images. In the morning, he feeds pigeons there, at the end of the day in the crowd of passers-by he sees an old lady who "with a cart after dark pushes the spectre of bad omens..."

Róžański's wanderings through the city could be considered as a kind of cleansing from all demands and aspirations. They help "Give away the pride of life in humility..." The lit up noisy city is overwhelming, compressing the subjectivity of a passer-by to a shadow:

idę jak cień przez metropolię
wsiadam wysiadam
czasem do baru zajrzę tam i tu
zjadam i piję
za grzechy moje niczyje

I walk like a shadow through the metropolis
I get on and off
sometimes I visit a bar here and there
I eat and I drink
for the sins of mine and no one

Thus, *Witek* felt best in his own flat ("spokój w naszym domu...") The poem entitled *Mój pokój* most probably applied to a flat in the Lech apartment complex. The lyrical monologue is filled with a tone of being settled, being accustomed to, and a sense of security, yet explicated not quite unequivocally:

na moim stole sarta gazet pigułki
papierosy zapałki klej znaczki i listy
i kurz oraz Fikcje Borgesa jedyny przyjaciel
jedyny świadek cierpienia
nim zetrze go ręka żony i moja ręka
która schnie od pisania
w gwiazdziste noce stół czuwa
jedyny żołnierz na warcie mego bezpieczeństwa
jak mówił poeta
tyle lat pisałem
by znaleźć miejsce przy stole
Ostatniej Wieczery

on my table there is a pile of newspapers and pills
cigarettes matches glue stamps and letters

and dust and Borges' Fictions the only friend
 the only witness to pain
 before he is wiped away by my wife's hand and mine
 becoming dry of writing
 on starry nights the table is vigilant
 the only soldier guarding my safety
 as the poet once said
 I have been writing for so many years
 to find a place at the table
 of the Last Supper

He also felt such security in the flat in Górczyn, where he always returned, just like Stachura to the flat on Rębkowska St. in Warsaw. Różański's wandering was, however, much smaller. In the final two decades of his life, those covered mainly Poznań and his family town of Mosina which, as he himself emphasised, made him during his childhood impervious to the hustle and bustle of the metropolis, and later "kept him living" ("Mało mi trzeba, Mosino. Miasto dzieciństwa...", "Nad Mosiną chmury i klęski...", *Mosina matka moja*, "Mosino tyś dzieckiem świata...", "Mosino, Mosino nie wiem co zrobić...", "Mosińskie matki...", "Na mosińskim rynku...", *Obrazek mosiński*: "Mosińskie noce na rynku...", "Przybyłem do ciebie, Miasteczko, po wielu latach...", "Zapach mleka na rynku...", "W onej Mosinie...", "W tej Mosinie/ płakałem w trzcinie...", "Czasem myślę o Tobie Mosino...", "Letnie wakacje/ w miasteczku M. ...") Due to the sheer number of poems devoted to those places, one could consider Różański a regional poet. He never made the trip to Venice (*Marzenie o podróży do Wenecji, Marzenie o Wenecji, Splendor Wenecji i chwala*, "Nie byłem we Włoszech..."), for which he was invited by Grzegorz Ratajczyk, an artist of many trades: painter, graphic artist, professor of University of the Arts Poznań, author of several portraits of *Witek*. Różański preferred to say goodbye every day to his beloved Poznań street rather than meet a new city for the first time and wander its picturesque nooks and crannies:

pożegnałem się z tobą ulico
 za niebieską przecznicą
 zmęczony niedokończony bożek

I said goodbye to you, my street
 past the blue street
 tired unfinished idol

Just as Harasymowicz made himself into the poet of Krakow's city limits and suburbs, or Józef Kurylak into the eulogist of Przemysł's cemeteries and streets,

Róžański linked his internal experiences with Poznań. He also emphasised that the city was the place of important events in his biography: studies, friendships, affairs, but, at the same time, he added that he was particularly drawn to the peripheries of Poznań, obviously: the peripheries of the places not visited by tourists, of people no one cares about, and of long-forgotten events.

"Praise, thee, the painter's workshop." Grzegorz Ratajczyk

Ratajczyk and Róžański maintained a special artistic relationship, which was why they used each other as the protagonists of their works. Portraits of both were similar in terms of their widely discussed spiritualities. In Ratajczyk's paintings, realism was accompanied by the "lightly" seized ethereal aura surrounding the figure of Róžański, or the notion of care and guard over the poet inscribed in the background in the form of an angel or personified poetry. In Róžański's works, Ratajczyk's spirituality was revealed in the descriptions of real space, from which the poet selected that which was vital for the Poznań professor's mode of experiencing the world, diffusing around him an aura of fascination, intellectual "fanaticism", faith, and love. The method of "automatic recording" in the poem entitled *Pracownia Grzegorza Ratajczyka*, referring to surrealist techniques (*écriture automatique*), and reflecting the train of subconscious thought, was the perfect example of the way in which Róžański perceived the Poznań master painter. It was a portrait seized with admiration, respect, trust, and camaraderie/friendship. The space of the workshop was basically analogous to the artist's spiritual space. Its main elements included: "Sonia, Franciszek i Józia", paints, library, old wardrobe, graphic designs, drawings and sketches, images of Venice, Gubbio, Assisi, "my poems", Bellini, Tintoretto, de La Tour, Mother Theresa, Wyspiański, article on Sted, Carpaccio – *Annunciation*, Tytian's – *Annunciation*.

Róžański used the themes of modesty to emphasise that he was not able to describe the workshop/soul of his colleague/friend, but still his portrayal was convincing, and was made with extensive consideration. The poet listed points in space which outlined the artist's core thinking and inspirations. That portrait of Ratajczyk (the poem was entitled *Przeznaczenie* (Destiny), which clearly suggested the intention behind the implied image of the painter's workshop) utilizing works, items, and pieces of furniture of the artist's studio, where Róžański sometimes entered, resonated well with Grzegorz Ratajczyk's *credo* expressed in an album entitled *Malować. Monografia subiektywna*¹⁵. Considerable gravity was carried by reflections on "unfulfilment", "lack of satisfaction", creative failures, and moments of doubt of this well-known and recognised artist, experienced in

¹⁵ G. Ratajczyk, *Malować. Monografia subiektywna*, Faculty of Painting and Drawing, University of the Arts Poznań, Poznań 2015.

terms of methodology and skills, who achieved successes in various areas of academic, teaching, and painting activities.

The struggle with matter is in my work necessary, and the stigma of my painting. Oftentimes the struggle uncovers my helplessness, and inability to recreate my vision. Then I face the question: what's the point of it? Does a failed work with a painting carry any value? I do not destroy the proof of my failures. I keep mutilated canvas with a thick and tired layer of paint so that they remind me about my experiences that solidified in them. [...] Paradoxically, matter brings me closer to the immaterial experience of art. How should I name the experience? Metaphysical, mystical, religious? Truly, art is, for me, a religious experience¹⁶.

Róžański's poem *Pracownia...* is an outline of the soul of the artist/painter, reflecting his creative consciousness well. Ratajczyk somewhat confirmed that poetic analysis. Which was why *Monografia subiektywna* could be treated as an interpretative key for the discussed text. The author wrote the following:

My focus centred around the basin of the Mediterranean. I have drawn the most inspiration from that area. First, that was the trip to Italy. The architecture fascinated me, first in Gubbio, then in Assisi. On canvas, the architecture changed into the shining forms of metaphysical towns and landscapes. Italy, with its history, colour and flickering lights, has a special place in my memories. The lands of Umbria, Tuscany, and Venice. [...] It was in Venice that I was captivated by the context between the metaphysical and sensuous worlds, between matter and light. Certain images keep popping back to my head: Titian's *Pietà*, which I saw right there in Venice and which captivated me with her sensuous materiality, Bellini's *Annunciation*, the grand painted with a panoramic verve *Crucifixion* by Tintoretto¹⁷.

He continued:

Painting enables me to reach fulfilment, experience spirituality, peer deeper into the world, seek durable and positive qualities in it. Painting means touching the infinite. And only that kind of art carries any meaning for me. Beauty is the element I never underestimate in thinking about painting. Sometimes it proves a complete mystery. Something that is difficult to define, which is revealed only through intimate experiences. Beauty is the element of those grand painting projects which constitute art history. The strive for beauty is also what drives me. For me, the

¹⁶ Ibidem, pp. 5–6.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 6.

painting work is beautiful in itself. It is not a matter of aesthetics, but a special approach to reality through painting¹⁸.

With this poem Róžański perfectly matched the world of thoughts and imagination of the artist from Krotoszyn. In fact, one could identify various intersections of the painter's and the poet's artistic awareness and creative references:

- light flooding "landscapes, portraits, objects", and light implied by words,
- Ratajczyk's mutilated canvas, and Róžański's mutilated poems,
- Ratajczyk's ideological simplicity, (though that could not be traced back to his paintings), and the simplicity applied by Róžański the poet,
- touching upon the mystery of the being and existence, without exploring, i.e. violating, this mystery,
- participation in art as a religious experience, which was ostentatiously demonstrated already in the 16th c. by Jan Kochanowski, the Master of Blackwood,
- treating one's own artistic activities as "experiencing difficulty, but mainly [as] seeking."

The professor/artist thus concluded his textual part of the *Malować...* album:

Sometimes I think about old Titian, who painted *Pietà* in a frenzy and edging on insanity. An old painter all covered in paint standing in front of his final masterpiece. That is beautiful. I would like to paint in the simplest possible manner. Yet the simplest things prove the most difficult¹⁹.

Based on a special scale of references, the statement could be translated onto the artistic life of Wincenty Róžański, who achieved supreme "literary simplicity", intentionally, calling his poems "the poetry of daily bread", which immediately makes one think about the "holy simplicity", the basic postulate of St. Albert Chmielowski, who required those he was responsible for to be "good as bread." Poetry is natural, like bread, health, and air; it was thus perceived by the poet from Mosina, i.e. necessary as bread, daily as bread, noble as bread.

Róžański (just like Ratajczyk) was fascinated by artists, whether of major or minor status, with various biographical defects, bad fates, and stigmas. Maybe the "son of the goddess" knew that world well from his own experience – a world which is complicated, chaotic, emotional, which bears with difficulty the fruit of a work of literature. Possibly he found himself in such biographies. He also emphasised that biographies of artists (in particular their ends, either tragic or natural) ennobled him ("po stracie przyjaciół/ sierota bardzo uświęcony...").

¹⁸ Ibidem, pp. 7–8.

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 7.

Różański called Bogdan Wojdowski, a Jew extracted from the Warsaw Ghetto, the author of *Chleb rzucony umarłym*, a Polish teacher, a writer studying the limits of human emotional and intellectual resistance, a reporter of suburban fortunes, who eventually committed suicide, a martyr who hid a television in the wardrobe:

już masz święty spokój.
 Na najgłębsze krzyki, na pytania
 jedyną odpowiedź znam: milczenie.
 Niebo przed moim jękiem-piekłem się odsłania,
 a ziemia ruinami.
 Nie wystarczy w nas to milczenie.
 I płacz za małym czasem i zamyślenie jest,
 tylko łez nie ma, nie będzie nim się nie odrodzi
 w ruinach kwiat, a w ciele człowiek.

I co powie człowiek człowiekowi,
 choć pod stopami chrzest śniegu podpowiada,
 co powie?

now you have eternal peace.
 To the deepest screams, to questions
 I know but one answer: silence.
 The heaven from my wail uncovers with hell,
 and earth in ruins.
 The silence in us is not enough.
 And cry for small time and pondering there is,
 yet there are no tears, and there will be none until
 in ruins the flower is reborn, and man in the body.

And what will man say to man,
 though the crunch of snow under the feet suggests,
 what will he say?

In trying to define major notions and their descriptions in his artistic work, modelling his artistic sensitivity and how he experienced the world, Grzegorz Ratajczyk listed: BAGGAGE, TIME, SPACE, MATTER, LIGHT, MEMORY, IMAGE (one could also add KNOT²⁰). Różański's poems implicate somewhat different "milestones" of his poetic "subjective monograph". Those consisted of a se-

²⁰ In 2015 at Dom Muz in Toruń, Ratajczyk opened an exhibition entitled *Węzeł malarstwa. Obszar Morza Śródziemnego*.

ries of key words: MOTHER, STED, GOSIA, POETRY, HOME, STREET, GOD, LOVE, DEATH.

"I have learnt long from poets..." Intertextual stylisation strategies

Despite any customary and stereotypical thinking about the originality and individuality of Stachura and Różański, one must stress that they were strongly rooted in domestic and international literary traditions. One cannot interpret their works without attempting to analyse the stylistic games played with authors they read passionately, including dialogues, polemics, actual or ostensible, either agreeing with their perceptions of literature or opposing them blatantly. The great numbers of the books they read came from their university studies (Romance and Polish studies, respectively), where they surely had to face Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of metalinguistics, which perceived literature as a monumental polyphonic book which is continually being expanded, in which each work refers to previous works, and each page to previous pages.

Intertextuality, understood in line with Ryszard Nycz's claim that "the aspect of the whole of a text's properties and relations, which indicates the relationship between its creation and reception and the knowledge of other texts"²¹, was in Różański's case signalled using various markers. Those included:

- **dedications marked in titles or included as autonomous parts of poems (quasi-texts)** ("Już ogród zarósł Ninie... Pamięci Hölderlina", "Matka moja mówi... *Nikosowi Chadzinikolau*", "Poezja srebnousty pył... *Pamięci A. Ogrodowczyka*", "Przeczucie – *Franzowi Kafce ku pamięci*", "Robert Frost poeta amerykański... *Pamięci R. Frosta*", "Sen o świętym Idzim... *ks. Markowi Wittbrotowi*", "Siejemy orzemy kopiemy... *Andrzejowi Sikorskiemu*", "Wkrótce znajdziemy się... *A. Sikorskiemu*", "Zawitam do Ciebie w lipcu... *Pamięci Jana Czopika Leżachowskiego*", "Zgaś moje oczy ja Cię widzieć mogę... *z Rilkego*", *W mrocznym Poznaniu. Pamięci Fiodora Michajłowicza Dostojewskiego*, "Kiedy się modłę to modłę się jak dziecko... *Pamięci Wł. Broniewskiego*", *Piknik u Tomsiów*,
- **various meta-textual remarks** (*Różański Wincenty, po lekturze J.L. Borgesa „Dalsze dociekania” note: evening of 14 August 2002*),
- **inclusion of protagonists from other works in lyrical monologues** ("Ja nie Józef K. ...", "Jesteś moja Tirsza/ z Pieśni nad Pieśniami...", "Ja Hiobem Panie/ odebrałeś mi wiarę w przyszłość...", "ja nie Hiob/ tylko poeta...", "Jesteśmy Ostatnimi Mohikanami w puszczy na...", "Meduzy, z którymi Perseusz walczył...", "Nastazja Filipowna na łożu śmierci...", "W Odonie nie wierzę, w Swantewicie trochę, w Marsa...", "...drzesz mi skórę/ jak potomek/ z za rogatek Terezaszowy...")

²¹ R. Nycz, "Intertekstualność i jej zakresy: teksty, gatunki, światy", *Pamiętnik Literacki* 1990, col. 2, p. 97.

“...z ziemi wstaję jak Golem z wysoka...”, “w mrocznym Poznaniu, wieczorem ja Stawrogin...”, “...Romeo i Julia skamienieli jak pijani anieli...”, “...drapię po szyi Afrodytę...”, “Zaśnij człowiecze/ niech cię Eos różanopalcą otuli...”, “Apollo niebieskooki...”, “gdybym się znał z Syzyfem...”),

- **inclusion of names and/or surnames of authors in lyrical monologues** (“Andrzej Babiński...”, “Bogdan Wojdowski pisarz...”, “Borges nawiedził mnie w nocy...”, “...tu trzeba poety Gałczyńskiego...” “Jasiu Himilbach napisał powieść...”, “Jest jakieś wyjście z kuli Pascala...”, “...ja proszę pana Pascala chcę odmalować/ niezmierność w obrębie cząstek...”, “Jurek Grupiński poeta...”, *Franz Fiszer z Kościana*, “Daleko niedopałek i cukierek Fiodora...”, “Matka Nikosa w chuście greckiej...”, “Maxie Jacobie...”, “Noc majowa Gogola – to jest coś...”, “Piszesz że lubisz gogola i czechowa...”, “Otrzymałem, Bogiem a prawdą/ list od prezydenta Havla...”, “Sto dni umierał Niekrasow...”, “Strofy wzięte ze spisu treści poematu Aragona *Elza*...”, “Kiedy umierał Rimbaud...”, “Norwidzie Stedzie...”, “Patrz Norwid który umierał w zapomnieniu...”, “...a krysia krahelska zawsze z nami...”, “...opalają się w słońcu/ Chlebniow Dickinson Apollinaire/ Jesienin Sted i ty Gosiu/ (zapomniałem o Rillem)...”, “...przez park pies umyka/ z kością po Sokratesie...”, “...Staff umarł na dobre w Warszawie...”, “na wszystkie smutki najlepszy Czechow...”, “Tu Chryzostom Pasek został na popasie...”),
- **inclusion of titles of works in lyrical monologues** (“Przeczytałem około 14 stron Biblii...”, “Przeczytałem *Życie erotyczne mężczyzn*...”, “W alei różnie... Z myśli Rimbauda”, “W święta czytałem *Chłopów* Reymonta...”, “...na moim stole sterta gazet pigułki/ papierosy zapałki klej znaczki i listy/ i kurz oraz *Fikcje* Borgesa jedyny przyjaciel...”, “wigilia poległych i rozstrzelanych/ na stole pan tadeusz...”, “Skończyła się *Historia nocy* Borgesa/ w upalny dzień...”),
- **quotations** (“Wszystko jest snem wariata śnionym...”, “Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła...”, “Marność nad marnościami, wszystko marność”),
- **mottoes in the form of quotations** (“Doskonałość istnieje w niebiosach i w marmurze”. Wasilij Rozanów – motto wiersza „W łonie matki byłem doskonały...”, “Człowiek hołduje więcej dobru niż złu...”. Bertholt Brecht – motto wiersza “Jest bezgraniczna noc, jest ciemny park...”),
- **paraphrases, transformations, travesties** (“Jeszcze do Ciebie wrócę Chrystusie...”, “Panie Boże mój/ Ty zawsze przy mnie stój...”, “Kwitnij namże polska mowo...”, “O czym tu dumać na górczyńskim bruku...”, “Samotność, czym po ludziach?... Norwidowi poświęcam”, “Jest dużo w ojczyźnie krzywd...”, “Kiedy byłem mały...”[T. Nalepa?]),
- **paraphrased titles** (“Sen nocy letniej czyli co w pejzażu wielkiego brata...”, “Ukochany kraj ukochany kraj...”, “Święta miłości ojczyzno...”, “Nad tą wielką wodą/ nad tą wielką rzeką...”, “Ojcze Boże Matko Polsko...”),
- **use of other titles by other authors** (“Czego chcesz od nas Panie..”, “Smutno mi Boże...”, “Znaszli ten kraj...”, *Cmentarze*).

Wincenty Różański overlaid those and other intertextual tendencies onto other areas of art, painting in particular, most probably under the influence of his brother Hieronim, his sister Joanna, but mainly his friend Grzegorz Ratajczyk, and his own attempts in portrait graphics (references to Titian, Bellini, Goya, Tintoretto, Manet, Toulouse Lautrec), as well as classical music, for which his personal patron was his wife Małgorzata Kasztelan, a professional multi-instrumentalist (references to Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Chopin, Debussy, and stage artists: Amala Rodrigez, Zofia Korybalska, he devoted a few poems to his wife's concerts).

When it came to painting-based intersemiotic translation, one could identify in some of Różański's poems the use of the pointilistic technique. Pointing (dotting) took in those poems the form of multiple uses of paremic and parenthetic phrases. They took the form of universal guidelines or strictly private statements. There are usually several in a single poem. They emphatically stress the frame of a poem, i.e. its beginning and ending. The following is an example of mind *points* extracted from the lyrical composition of one of his poems:

Kobieta ma coś ze śmierci, a śmierci trzeba się bać.

A woman has something of death in her, and death is something to be afraid of.

W miłości można znaleźć odpowiedzi na wiele pytań.

In love you can find answers to many questions.

Cała moja twórczość jest zmaganiem się z nieśmiałością.

My whole output is a struggle with shyness.

Kiedy ojciec umierał, załatwiałem sprawy wydania książki.

When father was dying, I was dealing with the publication of my book.

Na ulicy powstaje wiele pytań./ Jestem poetą ulicznikiem.

Many questions arise in the street./ I am a street poet.

Jestem zwierzęciem stadnym. Kto się wychyli, ten umiera.

I am a herd animal. Whoever stands out dies.

Some intertextual relations, and there are quite a few in the poems, are only hypothetical. Let us consider the metaphor of a feast (life) and leaving a table full of food (death). It was used to excellent effect by Stanisław Trembecki, the king's chamberlain, in his archpoem *Sofiówka*. He inserted the metaphor into the libertine argument on the impudence of fear of the end of one's life, which should be a peaceful gesture of a full and satisfied person leaving the dinner table:

A gdy dobrze strawionym obciążony wiekiem,
 Pozna, że już przychodzi przestać być człowiekiem,
 Tak się spokojnie złoży z przodkami po społu,
 Jak gdy po walnej uczcie wstawałby od stołu²²

And when weighed down with well-digested age,
 Learns that it is time to cease being man,
 Will lie down peacefully with his forefathers,
 As if after a grand feast he would be leaving the table

In Róžański's works, the same metaphor took the form of a visit to a Poznań bar, where international dishes were served:

Karta dań tego świata spełniona...
 The menu of this world is complete...

Dania tego świata skonsumowane...
 The dishes of this world consumed...

Została pusta karta dań tego świata...
 The menu of this world is left empty...

Róžański's epigram entitled *Niestalość* is filled with the attributes of metaphysical poetry from the Baroque period. The short poem includes the motifs of vanity and eschatology, and oneiric motifs. All are associated and saturated with Pascal's cosmology and anthropology. The argument on the limits of human freedom, and an attempt to answer the question of who man is ("trash love smoke/ existence God's toy...") in a poem entitled *Kopiec poezji*, also resembled the lists of existential problems of Baroque poetry, all the way to Mikołaj Sęp-Szarzyński's sonnets. In the poem, a remark on one's responsibility for their words, and the consequences of not speaking them ("you will be judged on all your words/ which you fail to utter...") clearly refers to *Pan Cogito* or the famous monologue from Wiesław Myśliwski's novel *Stone Upon Stone* where Szymon Pietruszka lectures his silent brother that people will be judged on all the words they failed to utter at the right time and in the right place:

When it comes down to it, what are you given other than words? Either way there's a great silence waiting for us in the end, and we'll have our fill of silence. Maybe we'll

²² *Dzieła poetyczne Stanisława Trembeckiego*, vol. 1, published by Wilhelm Bogumił Korn, Wrocław 1828, p. 20.

find ourselves scratching at the walls for the sake of the least little word. And every word we didn't say to each other in this world we'll regret like a sin. Except it'll be too late. And how many of those unsaid words stay in each person and die with him, and rot with him, and they aren't any use to him either in his suffering, or in his memory? So why do we make each other be silent, on top of everything else?²³

The following listings exclude Edward Stachura and his works, as they exist in Różański's poems on special terms. He himself reminisced that he met Stachura in 1961 during the Festival of Contemporary Poetry (actually the Festival of Young Poetry) in Poznań. At that moment, so he claimed, their friendship "through thick and thin" began. However, based on a study of archives, Jakub Beczek concluded that they had already met in 1959 during the third Poznań Poetic November, during which Edward Stachura won second prize (Marian Grzeńczak won first prize) in the single poem competition (*Twórczość* 2017, issue 1).

Różański always stressed without any hesitation that his friendship with Stachura was the most important in his life. It was Stachura, not his Polish studies or piles of books he had read, who showed Różański how to appreciate beauty, form, and poetry. That is clear if one considers Różański's wedding gift to Małgorzata Kasztelan: not rings but a belt, his most treasured keepsake from Edward Stachura.

Różański addressed the largest number of poems to the author of *Fabula rasa*, and subjected Stachura's poetry, prose, and song to various intertextual procedures. They were mainly the objects of intentional or subconscious stylisation in the meaning assigned to the term by Stanisław Balbus. What is significant is that it was only Stachura's works that were subjected to those processes in Różański's poems.

Balbus referred the notion of "stylisation" to a literary expression "in which the structural principle is to imitate some else's style, i.e. the style existing in social consciousness as 'someone's property', the rules of which can, therefore, be identified as 'belonging to someone', derivative, partly and always on a one time basis, *ad hoc* of a specific work – translated onto an area where the artistic communication developed by the work and its historical/literary situation occurs; a precise identification of said affinity (its 'specific address') is not necessary, all that is required is the stylistic 'address to the outside', an indication of the 'this is some else's' or 'this has been taken from somewhere' kind"²⁴.

Różański's relationship with Stachura, as well as Stachura's with Różański, though on a much smaller scale, require careful stylometric analyses conducted directly on manuscript and printed sources. Let me only list the titles and the incipits of the poems listed in the catalogue of Biblioteka Raczyńskich and in the

²³ W. Myśliwski, *Stone Upon Stone*, trans. Bill Johnston, New York 2010, pp. 118–119.

²⁴ S. Balbus, *Między stylami*, Universitas, Krakow 2006, p. 20.

unpublished 2002 collection which suggest such relations: “Dokąd w jakim celu – Stachura to zna...”, *Dziś godz. 15:00*: “Nic się nie stało nic nie było...” [dedicated to E. Stachura], “Edwardzie Stachuro/ tyś z matką w niebie...”, “Jedno jest miejsce Boga... Stedowi”, “Koniec ogonem wywija... *Pamięci Steda*”, *Kuplety żałobne na śmierć Steda*: 1) “Nim się rozjaśni na niebie jutrzeńka...”, 2) “Zacznijmy wreszcie żyć od nowa...”, *Tren dla Steda*: “Jak Ci się wiedzie Stedzie...”, “Jak Ci się wiedzie Stedzie w niebie/ o anielskim chlebie...”, “Jak Ci się wiedzie Stedzie w niebie/ wśród tysiąca słońc...”, “Jak Ci się wiedzie Stedzie/ w tym siódmym niebie...”, “My to nie wiemy co chcemy/ mówił Sted...”, “Na polanie miłość stała... *Stedowi*”, “Nade mną widnieje ten Sted...”, “O słowa silne, słowa nagminne... E. Stachurze”, “Pamiętasz Stedzie kiedy byliśmy na...”, “Stachura nie żyje/ odwróciłem twarz w kierunku południa...”, “Przystępuję do Ciebie i znów odstepuję... *Pamięci Steda*”, “Rymy skończone... *Pamięci Steda*”, “Sted kocham Cię po śmierć...”, “Sted nie żyje/ ale czy my żyjemy...”, “Stedzie, minęło ćwierćwiecze...”, “Drogi Stedzie/ Już mija ćwierć wieku jak...”, “Stedzie teraz jesteś w niebie...”, *Wiersz pisany na kolanie. Pamięci E. Stachury*: “O Awangardo o Stedzie...”, “Z autoportretu z Aniołem/ wynurza się drzewo Steda – Stachury...”, “Zeszły się moje słowa... *Edwardowi Stachurze*”, “Byli tacy co się rodzili...”, “Dla Ciebie Stedzie/ myślę o niebie...”, “myślami z Tobą jestem Stedzie...”, “Norwidzie Stedzie...”, “Och Stedzie Stedzie/ jesień się przędzie...”, “Przegrałem w ruletkę/ Steda przy szafie...”, “Przybądź do mnie Stedzie jedyny...”, “Przystępuję do Ciebie Stedzie.../ bo chciałbym jeszcze jedną rzecz napisać...”, “Przystępuję do Ciebie Stedzie/ bo [...] sen przy stole...”, “Przystępuję do Ciebie Stedzie jedyny/ św. Wincenty à Paulo św. gwałtownik...”, “Stedzie jedyny/ do jakiej poszedłeś krainy...”, “Zmiłuj się Stedzie jedyny...”, “umarł Sted...”, “Sted mawiał jak nie chcesz...”, “Idzie noc... *Stedowi poświęcam*”.

“The old poetry whore deceived me”. Between the sacred and the profane – writer’s dilemmas

Różański often stressed his biological, even organic focus on poetry. For him, poems were like breaths, the need to sleep, drink, and eat. He treated the art of the word as a type of internal communication, a dialogue with oneself, but also as a strategy for defining his own path in life, finding his way in the complicated world, or accumulating ever so complicated relations with it. What he meant then were functions more existential than self-therapeutic.

Różański’s approach to his own poems was, however, ambivalent to say the least. He wavered between the sacred and the profane, between Platonic obsession, Homeric inspiration, and a simple craft and a way to occupy himself. He used to refer to poetry as the daughter, “silver-mouthed dust”, “a bridge through life” (though “wooden and weak” which “keeps swaying and breaking”), and to poems as children; he expressed the will to be poetry’s “inseparable brother”, he declared

fidelity to it ("Always on your side, dear poetry..."); he adored the "Literary Virgin Mary", he prayed for a "good day-poem", humorously or seriously claimed the divine origin of his works ("I stole the comparison from God...", "thank you, Lord, for my talent how will I repay Thee..."), he paraphrased Słowacki's "Smutno mi, Boże" to "I am sad, Poetry Mother..."

Then again, Róžański displayed a kind of carelessness and airiness when it came to poems after he wrote them. He sent them to publishers without making copies first, despite the fact that it was not uncommon for his poems to be rejected or not accepted for printing. As most of us know, publishers do not tend to send back texts they do not order. Róžański was not vexed by that and explained to his wife that he could write a new poem whenever he pleased. Mind you, the multitude of editions of a single poem, written at various times, might prove something completely different, or maybe something about remembering them. He recorded many of the works collected in Biblioteka Raczyńskich on napkins, a particularly fragile material. Włodzimierz Majakowski did that before him. Additionally, Róžański used to give away his poems as gifts, proofs of friendship, gratitude or as a gratuitous act. In the flat in the Lech apartment complex, he stuck text-filled snippets of paper into every possible nook, even behind cupboards or his wife's piano. Those examples of Róžański's airiness were proven in some remarks included in his poems. Here are but a few: "Zdarza mi się, że potrafię napisać trzydzieści wierszy każdego dnia" (Sometimes, I write thirty poems a day), "Przestań mi mówić o wierszach..." (Stop talking poems to me), "Piszę bzdury i brednie..." (I write nonsense and gibberish), "Tylko same dedykacje pisuję ostatnio..." (Recently, I've been writing only dedications), "Robi mi się niedobrze, kiedy piszę te słowa..." (I feel sick writing these words), *Nieciekawe zdarzenie*: "Postanowiłem pisać po 11 wierszy/ na co dzień..." (I decided to write 11 poems/daily), "O Muzy dajcie mi trochę luzu..." (Oh, Muses, cut me some slack).

Also bear in mind the Romantic paradigm of poetry, to which the Poznań-based poet referred. On its basis, poetry and being a poet is mainly a special experience of reality, only later is it the writing of the poem. Stachura even claimed that "the least of a poet is that who writes poems..." Those views resonated in Róžański's reflections: "Kiedy nie jestem poetą zaczynam pisać wiersze" (When I stop being a poet, I start writing poems), "Było tak, że długo pisałem w myśli..." (Sometimes I wrote in my mind for long...) One could assume that he disliked flaunting the mask of a poet, something which Andrzej Bursa blatantly mocked:

Poeta cierpi za miliony
od 10 do 13.20
o 11.10 uwiera go pęcherz
wychodzi
rozpina rozporek

zapina rozporek
 Wraca chrząka
 i apiat'
 cierpi za miliony [...] ²⁵

The poet suffers for millions
 from 10 to 1:20
 at 11:10 his bladder calls
 he leaves
 opens his fly
 closes his fly
 Returns clears his throat
 and again, from the top
 suffers for millions [...]

The multitude of editions and various versions of the same poem by Różański could indicate he could not reach creative satisfaction and was discontent. The same applied to religious and patriotic odes of 1792–1796 by Franciszek Dionizy Kniaźnin (who was soon to face the onset of the sickness that afflicted the poet from Mosina), which were corrected and perfected many times over. In the case of Różański, the changes could not always be considered as perfecting the form or style, and even if so, the results of such efforts were sometimes contrary to what he intended. In fact, he might have been aware of those various creative deficiencies and imperfections as in a prayer poem where he mentioned the “rough words.”

One should also use that context for discussing Różański's tendency to rarely if ever give titles to his poems. A title constitutes a representation of a specific artistic event. A presumed condition of that is that the process of creating poetry is finished, the last sentence is dotted, so that the representation could be considered as a whole and release into the world. The multitude of versions of works, and the lack of titles could indicate the poet's intention to extend his relationship with them. Even once they were published, Różański used to introduce corrections, as if indicating that his story with his poems/children was not complete, that he would return to them sooner or later. As a result of such an approach, something that editors could confirm, there was no final version, a canonical text, and in terms of the textual-formal outcome, it results in a **diffusion of a poem**. It is difficult to indicate the reason for that. A publication in a collection or a journal is not conclusive. Most probably it was caused by Różański's conviction that the creative act is imperfect: it always constitutes some lack and deficiency, which cannot achieve

²⁵ A. Bursa, “Poeta”, in: J. Marx, *Legendarni i tragiczni. Eseje o polskih poetach przeklętych*, Wydawnictwo Alfa-Wero, Warsaw 2000, p. 85.

fullness. A poem lives in several parallel worlds without the option to differentiate them. It is a structure falling apart due to mutating copies. Work on dispersed material in the case of Różański's poetry (even if a poem is successful) must remain at the rough draft stage.

Wystan Hugh Auden was the master of extracting artistic perfection from such carelessness; despite being considered a classic, he did not care much for Horace's recommendation for a work to mature for at least 9 years. If he did not like a poem, he destroyed the sheet on which it was recorded. If, however, a sentence drew his attention, but the rest did not, he transferred it to another poem thus creating a kind of an anthology of self-quotations.

Różański, independently of Auden, developed a similar habit of creating poetry.

Rzeszów, December 2017–October 2018

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Marek Nalepa

„Cofnąć bieg rzeki / bieg życia / oto moje postanie” O wierszach Wincentego Różańskiego

Streszczenie

Artykuł jest próbą omówienia najważniejszych cech poezji Wincentego Różańskiego z ostatnich lat jego aktywności twórczej. Jest to literatura silnie zsubiektywizowana, manifestująca katolicyzm poety, zawierzenie Najświętszej Marii Pannie, z drugiej strony podejmująca tematykę życia codziennego, rutynowych zachowań i czynności. Dokonano ponadto charakterystyki wierszy poety poznańskiego pod względem ich relacji dialogowych i stylizacyjnych w stosunku do innych tekstów kultury, szczególnie malarstwa Grzegorza Ratajczyka oraz prozy i poematów Edwarda Stachury.

Słowa kluczowe: Wincenty Różański, poezja, Edward Stachura, Grzegorz Ratajczyk, matka, religia, *flâneur*, Mosina, Poznań

“Turn back the course of a river / the course of life / that is my mission.” On the poems by Wincenty Różański

Summary

The article is an attempt at discussing the most important features of Wincenty Różański's poetry written in the final years of his creative period. This poetry is strongly subjective, manifesting the poet's Catholicism, and entrusting himself to the Blessed Virgin Mary, but it also tackled the subject of everyday life, routine behaviors and activities. In addition, the poet's poems are characteristic in terms of their dialogical and stylistic relations compared to other cultural contexts, especially in the case of Grzegorz Ratajczyk's paintings, as well as the prose and poems by Edward Stachura.

Keywords: Wincenty Różański, poetry, Edward Stachura, Grzegorz Ratajczyk, mother, religion, *flâneur*, Mosina, Poznań

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Włodzimierz Odojewski's writing archive in the light of genetic criticism Initial study

Presentation

Jolanta Nawrot, Dagmara Nowakowska

Włodzimierz Odojewski, one of the major Polish writers of the 20th century, the author of the so-called Podolia series, which included the novels *Wyspa ocalenia*, *Zasypie wszystko, zawieje...* and *Zmierzch świata*, has been connected with Poznań and Wielkopolska since his childhood. He was born on 14 June 1930 in Poznań, where his family lived in an Art Nuveau tenement house at 8 Żupańskiego St. in Wilda. Under the German occupation, young Włodzimierz, together with his sister and mother, stayed in Kłęcko near Gniezno. Just before the end of World War II they returned to Poznań, where, except for a short time he spent in Szczecin, he

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lived until the end of the 1950s. That was where he perfected his journalistic skills working at Poznań-based newspapers, that was where he made his first attempts as a writer, and that was where he established friendships with fellow intellectuals and writers. Even after he emigrated, Odojewski carefully followed what was happening in Poznań and Greater Poland. In the final decade of his life he often visited the places where he spent his childhood and his youth. During one such sentimental trip he had the idea to store his writing archive in that very area.

In 2009, Włodzimierz Odojewski transferred his entire literary legacy to the Adam Mickiewicz University Poznań, at the Faculty of Polish and Classical Philology, where the University began developing a professional archive, in a place selected and approved by the writer, on the 5th floor of the Collegium Maius building at 10 Fredry St., room 414. It holds material which had been gathered in Odojewski's Munich and Warsaw houses. They came from various periods in the career of the author of *Oksana* – both after he had emigrated, and from his time in Poznań and Warsaw. Due to their diversity, they were divided into several sections. All the material, as per the writer's request, has been organised according to a strict order, which is why the collection is so unique. It constitutes a form of (self-)presentation of his creative output invented by the writer himself. The material documentation of the written work of Włodzimierz Odojewski consists mainly of a rich collection of typescripts and computer printouts of texts (both published and those which have never been released), as well as texts in digital form preserved on two computers which belonged to the writer. They cover belles lettres, journal articles, and radio broadcasts written for Radio Free Europe. The collection includes the typescripts of the majority of Odojewski's published works, e.g. *Zasypie wszystko, zawieje...*, *Zmierzch świata, Kwarantanna, Wyspa ocalenia, Zabezpieczenie śladów, Zapomniane, nieuśmierzone*, and *Oksana*. Each one consists of a few to a dozen or so typescript folders in various versions with corrections and author's supplements.

The typescripts have often been studied by editors. The majority of Odojewski's works were published more than once. However, no part of the extensive collection of literary documentation has ever been studied in terms of the material traces of the creative process. This text is an attempt to present that portion of Włodzimierz Odojewski's archive which in literary genetics nomenclature could be defined as *avant-textes*, along with signs of the formative areas of textual studies, mainly genetic, such as the recreation of the process of creating and modifying texts by Odojewski, presenting their variants with all traces of the writer's work, collating them, and studying the references between draft material and final publications.

The largest group of documents is the collection of typescripts of the novel *Zasypie wszystko, zawieje...*, undoubtedly one of the best-known works by Włodzimierz Odojewski. It consists of 31 folders, which translates to over 12,000 sheets inscribed on one or both sides. The novel was published several times, first in Paris in 1973, then several times domestically: in 1986, 1990, 1995, 2001, 2006,

and 2008. The collected typescripts constitute its different versions, created over several years, for various publishing houses, with corrections and the author's supplements. Moreover, the typescripts were supplemented with numerous handwritten passages on the margins, between the lines, on reverse sides of sheets; often times, those were notes glued to sheets. The majority of the typescripts were not dated, which is why it is possible to assign specific rough draft versions to specific published versions only through collating text versions and matching them to book editions, which, in turn, enables researchers to reconstruct the creative process and analyse the consecutive stages of the creation of a work (the condition of the paper is also an important indicator). For each book edition of *Zasypie wszystko, zawieje...* there are up to a dozen or so typescripts. These prove not only the intensity of writing, but they also include traces of the life occurring around this process. They include notes of telephone numbers, surnames, names of medication, shopping lists, meeting dates, as well as doodles by the writer's daughter. Those unique palimpsests of everyday life recorded on the margins expand the plane of interpretation of a work through elements which usually remain outside the editor's view. Thus, text genetics meets the genetics of daily life. Furthermore, the author used photocopies of already published texts, and introduced there his remarks and corrections. One could treat them as separate, independent and complete variants of a work which had not been included in the published versions.

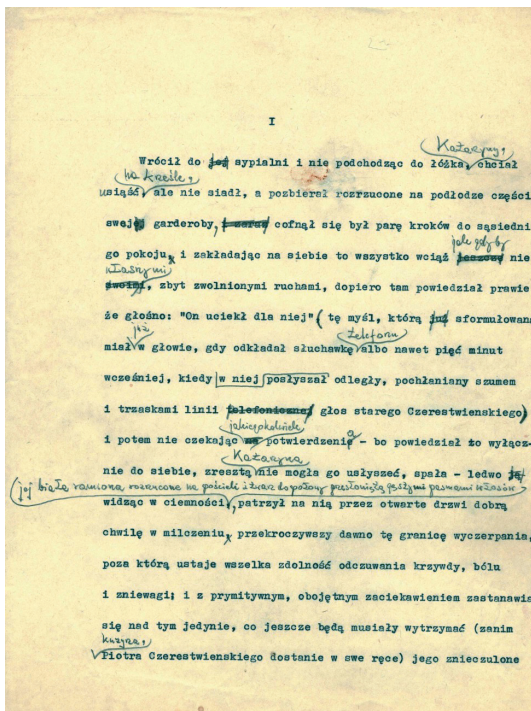


Fig. 1. Sheet of a typescript of *Zasypie wszystko, zawieje...* Source: own study

The same applies to other works by Odojewski. *Oksana* entails 9 folders of typescripts and a few text files with corrections stored on the writer's computer, the collection of short stories entitled *Zapomniane, nieuśmierzone* – 11 folders, *Wyspa ocalenia* – 4 folders, *Zabezpieczanie śladów* – 11 folders, *Czas odwrócony* – 3 folders; *Jedźmy, wracajmy* – 8 folders. There are also some unpublished texts: "powieść berlińska" – 6 folders and a dozen or so various digital versions; *Codzienna ściana płaczu* – a text halted by the censorship – 4 folders; as well as recollections on Józef Mackiewicz. That, obviously, is just a part of the entire collection. Among the typescripts, there are also official prints or photocopies of prints of parts of texts which had been published as foreign language translations (e.g. by Gerda Hagenau and Joanna Ritt). The texts written for Radio Free Europe constitute several hundred rough drafts of shows, carefully referenced, including broadcast times and dates (they form scripts for radio shows ready to air). Włodzimierz Odojewski collected them throughout his collaboration with Radio Free Europe.

The typescript section also includes scripts for films, which were created based on Włodzimierz Odojewski's works – *Wenecja* directed by Jan Jakub Kolski, as well as an unused script based on Odojewski's novel entitled *Milczący, niepokonani. Opowieść katyńska*, prepared for *Katyń* by Andrzej Wajda. The collection of scripts is supplemented by sets of letters by Wajda and Kolski written to the author of *Oksana* and the surviving copies of Odojewski's letters to both directors. Those constituted epistolary dialogues regarding the progress of the scripts being developed.

One staple element of Odojewski's creative work was working on already published texts (not always related to the preparations of a new edition). The collection of published texts of the author of *Zmierzch świata* gathered in the Poznań Archive consists of both books and short stories or articles published in various periodicals, e.g. *Antemurale*, *Arcana*, *Arka*, *Czas Kultury*, *Dekada Literacka*, *Dialog*, *Fraza*, *Kresy*, *Kultura*, *Literatura na Świecie*, *Nurt*, *Odra*, *Pamiętnik Literacki*, *Przegląd Powszechny*, *Rzeczpospolita*, *Twórczość*, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, *Wyspa*, *Więź*, *Zapis*, and *Zeszyty Literackie*. The collection of journals consists of several dozen issues.

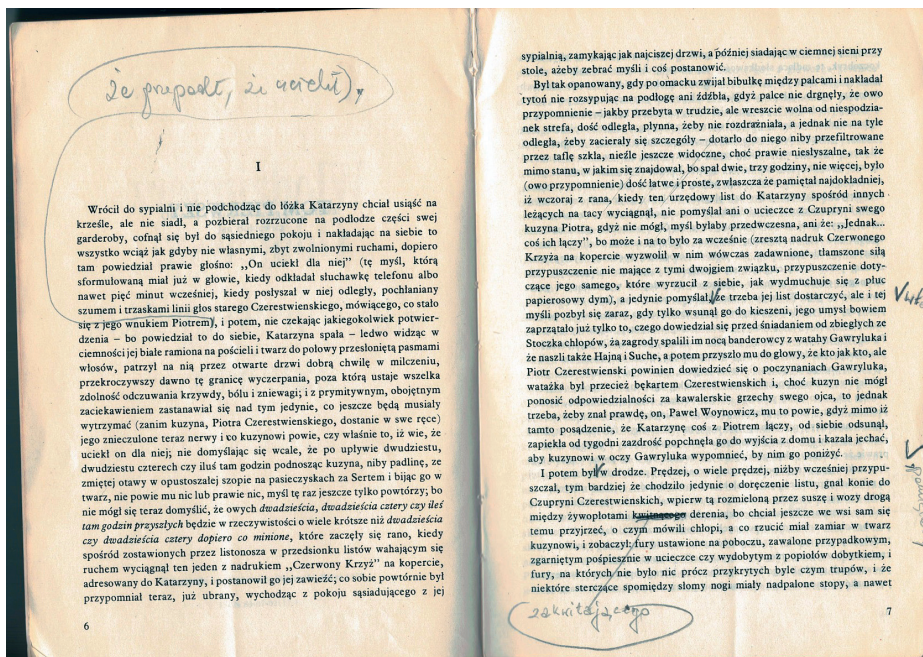


Fig. 2. Corrections introduced by the author in the novel *Zasypie wszystko, zawieje...* Source: own study

The book collection is stored in the same condition in which it was delivered to the Poznań archive. Creased book pages, post-it notes, bookmarks where the author stopped reading or where he found a particularly interesting fragment – all that remains untouched, as if the writer had just put the book down. Published texts consist of a few dozen entries published in book form, which cover both works in Polish, and books translated into other languages: e.g. German, English, Hungarian, Czech, and Finnish.

Books published in Polish were treated by Odojewski as typescripts and branded with handwritten original corrections; his work on his own texts virtually never ceased, he continued to create new versions, even if he was not preparing a new edition, and the already published books became *après-texts*.

Odojewski consulted with his family and friends on fragments of his works. He welcomed their input. Sometimes, those consultations transformed into full-blown debates. He thus described himself: “Sometimes, I am a chatterbox, when it comes to my prose, and I enjoy discussing what I am writing [...] because sometimes the other person says, “You know what, it’s not like that,” and I reconstruct some things”.¹

¹ Włodzimierz Odojewski interviewed by Stanisław Beres, interview broadcast in 2011 in Telewizja Literacka, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ELlcW12q-4> [accessed on: 10.11.2017]. [Unless specified otherwise, English versions translated from Polish]

When preparing Odojewski's typescripts, it is necessary to consider not only all the avant-textes which he created while working on a work of literature understood as a published work, but also his notes and letters. One could treat them as Odojewski's comments on his literary legacy or directions on how to approach the history behind his texts. The archive includes a collection of letters the writer received, as well as some copies of his letters, preserved in rough draft, working form. The majority of those came from after he had emigrated. Letters received by Odojewski include family correspondence, and letters from people of culture, his collaborators, translators, academics, critics, and readers. Those included, e.g. Jerzy Andrzejewski, Igor Abramow-Newerly, Jarosław Abramow-Newerly, Marian Brandys, Stanisław Barańczak, Stanisław Barć, Stanisław Bereś, Karl Dedecius, Jerzy Ficowski, Jerzy Giedroyc, Marian Grześczak, Zbigniew Herbert, Jarosław Iwazkiewicz, Maria Janion, Andrzej Miłosz, Józef Ratajczak, and Ewa Siemaszko, as well as various academic and cultural institutions. The most extensive collection of letters, consisting of several dozen items, resulted from his correspondence with Jerzy Giedroyc of 1973–2000. It mostly applied to current cultural and political issues.

Odojewski's correspondence seems a particularly important source of knowledge in the study of his creative process. Letters from various persons include remarks on fragments of works by the author of *Wyspy ocalenia*. The authors of the letters suggested changes to specific parts of his works. Most of those can be found in letters from Nelly and Noe Wertscheizer, Odojewski's friends since the early-1960s, i.e. when he was at the threshold of the Warsaw period in his creative life. Noe Wertscheizer was deputy editor-in-chief of the cultural and literary division of the radio station on Myśliwiecka St. While still abroad, Odojewski often asked the Wertscheizers to review his books which were later broadcast by Radio Free Europe. He received from them long letters with their notes and proposed changes to his texts. The following applied to the Paris edition of his novel *Zasypie wszystko, zawieje...*

"I identified one linguistic error, a great one," wrote Nelly Wertscheizer, "Note: page 38. 'They are cramming Bohaty behind the sawmill. God help, where did they manage to find all that.' In Polish, you would say in such a context 'God, forgive,' not 'God help.' In fact, here it is not the best idiom. Read it to yourself again to see how it sounds in this context... Though maybe... maybe it's all right. I remember when I once wrote about children 'and one, God forgive, had crooked legs.' That is proper. In general, you use the idiom specifically, that something happened that God has to forgive for the sin. Well, here now, that Sobiszczuk thinks exactly that, that there are too many Jews left and God is to forgive that as the fault of Germans. But Sobiszczuk is more or less a positive character. [...] Someday, when you'll be doing a second edition, I will read it again as I'm having such linguistic doubts. For example, you write 'przecinek' [deleting] meaning a space in

a forest /right?/ whereas I know from Mazovia the word 'przecinka' [clearing] and I'm not sure if in Podolia people did actually say 'przecinek' or 'przycinka'? Etc." (Ramat-Aviv 19 Mar 1974 original spelling in the Polish version)



Fig. 3 & 4. Writer's letters collected in his Poznań workshop. Source: own study

The final work in Odojewski's output was "powieść berlińska" (the Berlin novel) which has only been published in several short fragments (short stories: *Odejsć, zapomnieć, żyć...*, *Katarzyna, Powieść berlińska* and *Spotkanie w Dubrowniku*), in which the author presented the post-WWII fortunes of the characters of the "Podolia series." Odojewski's intention was to publish it as a whole. He mentioned that several times when talking about the Poznań archive, and in an interview by Krzysztof Masłoń². He had worked on it since 2008, yet for various reasons its publication was abandoned. Some fragments of the novel had been created in the 1970s (a short story *Odejsć, zapomnieć, żyć* was published in the Paris-based *Kultura* in 1980), which means he had worked on the project for over four decades.

The Berlin novel poses a challenge not only for a genetic critic but also for an editor, who would have to create a definitive version for printing, which entails the need to organise the story line. The author did not make the task any easier. The material left by the writer did include dates, but the notes indicate that even he was not able to control the multitude of the variants:

2 K. Masłoń, "To samo dno. Wywiad z Włodzimierzem Odojewskim", *Wyspa* 2007, issue 2, <http://kwartalnikwyspa.pl/to-samo-dno-rozmowa-z-wlodzimierzem-odojewskim/> [accessed on: 10.11.2017].

Ch. II of the Berlin novel 29.06 (I am not sure whether it is the right version) (3.08 = here, quotation marks in dialogues are in the lower section, maybe this is the correct chapter?) It seems so.

Ch. II of the Berlin novel (what the hell is this version; fragments missing in various locations, I'm afraid this is not the version I was recently working on, I can tell it by this. That the quotation mark opening the dialogue is at the top.)³

Odojewski was not working with a single text version. Having replaced his typewriter with a computer, he created many copies of the same fragment and only then did he introduce changes, which enables the tracing of his interventions into the fabric of the text. For example, he would change the names of his characters: in some instances, Paweł is Karol, while Katarzyna is Barbara. Those were the names used in a short story published under the title *Spisywane z pamięci*. He would leave himself the option to choose from among the variants of a work. Thanks to this practice, many unused files survived, which we can now analyse.

The notes left by the writer can be used to match the elements of this puzzle, and they enable researchers to reproduce the stages of creating a text. Odojewski thus referenced one fragment of the “Berlin novel”:

(extract this from the text, digitise separately, it might prove useful later)

(in its place insert the scene from Gdańsk when Paweł from afar watched as a line of legal emigrants embarked a ship in the port – Katarzyna with Stefan, her husband; the scene was written some time ago, it is typed somewhere in some folder in Warsaw. Look for it!)⁴

³ Notes created by Odojewski in text files saved on his private computer. Source: own work.

⁴ Ibidem.

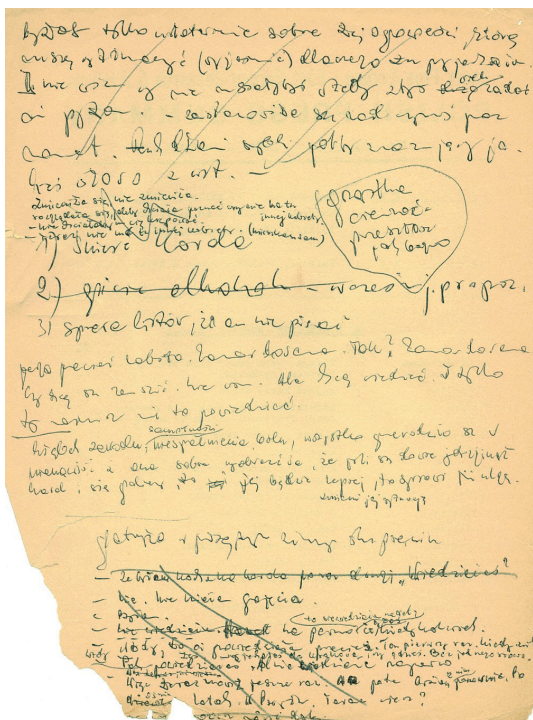


Fig. 5. Sheet with handwritten remarks to *Powieść berlińska*. Source: own study

In an interview, conducted in 2011, Odojewski told Stanisław Beręś how his works were created:

I expand books, in fact, I reluctantly consider that I have to write a new collection of short stories, even though I'm writing, I am currently writing, many years later I write a short story which somewhat connects to something else. Today I have a collection prepared in the 1950s published in the early-1960s, *Zmierzch świata*, that is. I have four stories in folders to add it there where two gentlemen: Piotr Czerstwiński and Paweł Woynowicz are, and in a year or two, because you cannot cram all your books together at a book store, I will publish that with a supplement, or maybe I will write something completely new⁵.

Odojewski developed his own method of working with his texts by changing or adding some fragments, sometimes removing entire parts, or cutting and pasting them in another location. He usually left traces of his interventions in his typescripts, regardless of whether he was using a hard copy or a digital copy. He copied the same texts, creating identical copies, often without using typewriter

5 Vide Interview by Stanisław Beręś with Włodzimierz Odojewski broadcast in 2011 in *Telewizja Literacka*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ELlcW12q-4> [accessed on: 10.11.2017].

carbon paper. There, he introduced corrections, intentionally creating various versions of the same work. Between typescript sheets, there survived many cut out text fragments of varying lengths, sometimes individual lines, which were probably intended to be glued in a different location. Other times, instead of striking out fragments which seemed redundant to him, Odojewski cut out those portions of text which he considered necessary, and he glued them onto larger sheets, thus creating new story variants. That was the procedure with the short story entitled *Zmierzch secesji* in the collection *Zmierzch świata*.

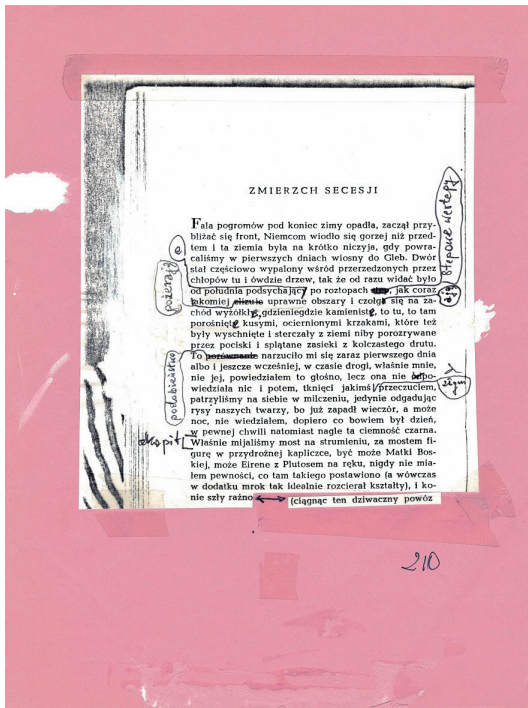


Fig. 6. A variant of the *Zmierzch secesji* short story in the *Zmierzch świata* collection. Source: own study

Perspectives

Jędrzej Krystek

The above presentation of the Włodzimierz Odojewski Archive should be supplemented with an outline of research perspectives which it opens for genetic (but not only) researchers.

That is because the indicated “powieść berlińska” constituted a continuation of the story lines of Odojewski’s major works, and a completion of the author’s efforts, yet it also formed its own “archipelago of texts”; while the multitude of ver-

sions and the author's editions require editors to develop proprietary topographies and related methods for navigating it. In addition to the editorial efforts that need to be undertaken to limit the archipelago to a single island, there will emerge a series of other relations which constitute a special island of salvation for the original archipelago.

"Powieść berlińska" (its mosaic layout, to be precise) triggers the formation of Genette's quasi-text and enters a relationship with the emerging (through the editor's works) form of the novel, which, though it never received its final shape, exists in its potential and partial form in fragment works of the whole. As the French theorist argued:

Sometimes, for one reason or another, an author may publish a work that in his mind constitutes part of a whole still in progress and that will acquire its full – indeed, its real – significance only in this context-to-come, of which the public still has no suspicion⁶.

Then, as Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe posited after Jacques Lacan, the very layout of a novel constitutes a gesture expressing a person's mode of existence⁷. In that instance, Labarthe referred to Lacan's seminar on neurosis, but in which the emphasis of the argument was placed on the mimetic relations and their organising structure (*dispositif matriciel*). The task before the editor of "powieść berlińska" is not, obviously, to conduct a psychological analysis of the creative persona set in the novel's text (as the novel still lacks one uniform shape), but rather to complement the writer's gestures: the gesture of being and of being the author of a specific novel enclosed in a whole. Thus the set of editorial and genetic tasks may be understood as a form of mimesis of Genette's "context-to-come", within which it is the editor who is the co-expresser of the creative gesture, and who takes from the author the efforts to complete the creative process while emulating the progressive nature of the text itself trying to uncover the mechanisms and laws governing the (avant-) textual universe.

In this case the editor and the genetic critic also face the problem which within Genette's quasi-text could be considered within its strictly functional dimension. The processing of a novel in which some fragments had been published but which has not received the final shape intended by its author creates a network of transactions⁸ between the specific author (Włodzimierz Odojewski) and his editors. In order to enter such transactions, these editors use tools from genetic and textual

⁶ G. Genette, *Paratexts. Thresholds of interpretation*, trans. J. E. Lewin, Cambridge 1997, p. 218.

⁷ P. Lacoue-Labarthe, "Echo podmiotu", in: idem, *Typografie*, trans. J. Momro, A. Zawadzki, Krakow 2014, p. 154.

⁸ R. Macksey, "Pausing on the threshold", in: G. Genette, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

research, while the total sum of all the transactions are a work which is presented to readers. All rough draft, unfinished text versions surviving only in the form of digital files constitute a series of presentations of the author to the editor, where the latter transforms them into the gesture of existence towards the readers.

In fact, the work on the final shape of the so-called *Powieść berlińska* may also be considered an attempt at combining the writer's image in relation to his readers. It may be referred through a biographical parable to previous socialist realist works by Odojewski, as posited by Andrzej Fabiański as the task to present the situation of the persona who "understands and accepts their place in the world."⁹ Various text variants and avant-textes coming into various relations with them constitute a potential base for presenting the writer to readers; or a joint gesture of presentation of his existence as the author of a specific work. The research questions apply to both the role of a genetic critic in the process of editing the final shape of a work, and the image of the author and the functions of his separate presentations (anchored in text variants and the already published fragments).

The research perspectives outlined in this article offer more questions than answers, yet that is an inherent feature of the nature of an "archipelago of texts" and Odojewski's entire output, which constitutes the "prose of age-old questions"¹⁰, while his characters "formulate questions, and sometimes only suggest them."¹¹ Suggesting questions, outlining objectives, and the ephemeral nature of perspectives were common for his characters' fortunes. "Powieść berlińska" in its current shape matches the form of the final island in the archipelago of its creator perfectly.

The discussed archive of Odojewski is being organised as per the writer's will, while the material is being made available to all persons interested in the output of the author of *Wyspa ocalenia*. Published texts constitute only a fragment of what was formed during the creative process. The wealth of his literary legacy is reflected in the dozens of folders of typescripts and manuscripts. Odojewski's literary legacy remains a challenge for readers, textual researchers, genetic critics, and editors.¹²

⁹ A. Fabianowski, *Konwicky, Odojewski i romantycy. Projekt interpretacji intertekstualnych*, Krakow 1999, p. 108.

¹⁰ W. Tomaszewska, *Metafizyczne i religijne. Problem subtematu w dziele literackim na przykładzie prozy kresowej Włodzimierza Odojewskiego*, Wydawnictwo UKSW, Warsaw 2011, p. 220.

¹¹ Ibidem.

¹² The material held in the Włodzimierz Odojewski Archive is still being studied. The Archive also continues to enrich the documentation related to the writer's life and output, which is why the data provided in this article regarding the collected material is only an estimate and it is subject to change.

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Jędrzej Krystek, Jolanta Nawrot, Dagmara Nowakowska

Archiwum pisarskie Włodzimierza Odojewskiego w świetle krytyki genetycznej. Rekonesans

Streszczenie

Artykuł składa się z dwóch części. Pierwsza obejmuje prezentację zbiorów Archiwum Włodzimierza Odojewskiego w Poznaniu i refleksję nad metodą twórczą pisarza, a druga przedstawia zarys perspektyw badawczych w dziedzinie krytyki genetycznej, które otwierają zgromadzone w tymże archiwum materiały. Autorzy zastanawiają się nad tym, jak można badać maszynopisy i rękopisy pisarza oraz jak powinny się opracowywać je edytorsko, mając na uwadze indywidualny sposób pracy Odojewskiego.

Słowa kluczowe: Włodzimierz Odojewski, edytorstwo, krytyka genetyczna, tekstologia, przed-tekst, Poznań, archiwum pisarskie

Włodzimierz Odojewski's writing archive in the light of genetic criticism. Initial study

Summary

The article consists of two parts. The first includes a presentation of the records collected in the Archive of Włodzimierz Odojewski in Poznań and a reflection on the writer's creative method. The second part presents an outline of research prospects in the field of genetic criticism, which opens materials gathered in that archive. The authors discussed how to study typescripts and manuscripts of the writer and how editors should prepare them, bearing in mind Odojewski's specific work method.

Keywords: Włodzimierz Odojewski, editorship, genetic criticism, textual studies, avant-texte, Poznań, writing archive

Jędrzej Krystek, mgr, urodził się i mieszka w Poznaniu. Absolwent poznańskiej Polonistyki, słuchacz Wydziałowego Studium Doktoranckiego na Wydziale Filologii Polskiej i Klasycznej UAM w Instytucie Filologii Polskiej, członek Zakładu Literatury Romantyzmu. Autor szkiców interpretacyjnych i artykułów analitycznych. Publikował m.in. w „Czasie Kultury”, „Ars Inter Culturas”, „Arteonie” oraz tomach zbiorowych. Uczestnik kilku projektów regionalistyczno-biograficznych na terenie Wielkopolski. Przygotowuje dysertację doktorską o mistycyzmie Juliusza Słowackiego jako przejawie *Lebensphilosophie*.

Jędrzej Krystek, M.A.; he was born in Poznań where he still lives. He graduated there from the Polish Studies, he is enrolled at the Faculty Doctoral College at the Faculty of Polish and Classical Philology, Adam Mickiewicz University Poznań, at the Institute of Polish Philology, member of the Department of the Literature of Romanticism. He is the author of interpretative studies and analytical articles. He published in, e.g. “Czas Kultury”, “Ars Inter Culturas”, “Arteon”, and collective works. He participated in several regional-biographical projects within the Greater Poland Voivodship. He is currently working on his doctoral dissertation on the mysticism of Juliusz Słowacki as a manifestation of *Lebensphilosophie*.

Jolanta Nawrot, mgr, doktorantka na Wydziale Filologii Polskiej i Klasycznej Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, absolwentka poznańskiej polonistyki. Przygotowuje rozprawę doktorską *Krytyka artystyczna i publicystyka*

Włodzimierza Odojewskiego na podstawie materiałów archiwalnych Radia Wolna Europa (lata 70.–90. XX wieku) pod opieką naukową prof. dr hab. Agnieszki Rydz. Interesuje się literaturą polską XX i XXI wieku, w szczególności twórczością Włodzimierza Odojewskiego oraz poezją najnowszą.

Jolanta Nawrot, M.A., doctoral candidate at the Faculty of Polish and Classical Philology, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, graduate of Poznań Polish studies. She is currently working on her doctoral dissertation entitled *Krytyka artystyczna i publicystyka Włodzimierza Odojewskiego na podstawie materiałów archiwalnych Radia Wolna Europa (lata 70.–90. XX wieku)* [Artistic and journalistic criticism of Włodzimierz Odojewski based on archival material of Radio Free Europe] under the academic supervision of Professor Agnieszka Rydz. She is interested in Polish literature of the 20th and the 21st centuries, in particular the works by Włodzimierz Odojewski and the most recent works.

Dagmara Nowakowska, dr, dokumentalista, pracuje w Archiwum Włodzimierza Odojewskiego przy Wydziale Filologii Polskiej i Klasycznej Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, gdzie od 2011 roku opracowuje spuściznę literacką pisarza. Autorka rozprawy doktorskiej *Indie romantyków. Z recepcji Indii w epoce polskiego romantyzmu*. Interesuje się życiem polskiej powojennej emigracji intelektualnej, historią europejskiej indologii, biografistyką i regionalistyką literacką. Współpracuje z Wielkopolskim Towarzystwem Kulturalnym. Publikowała w czasopismach naukowych (m. in. „Studia Norwidiana”, „Pamiętnik Literacki”) i w tomach zbiorowych. Jest współautorką literackiego przewodnika *Na tropach Adama Mickiewicza w Wielkopolsce*.

Dagmara Nowakowska, Ph.D., documentalist, she works at Włodzimierz Odojewski Archive at the Faculty of Polish and Classical Philology, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, where since 2011 she has been studying and managing the writer's output. Her doctoral dissertation was entitled *Indie romantyków. Z recepcji Indii w epoce polskiego romantyzmu*. [India of the Romantics. From the reception of India in Polish Romanticism] She is interested in the life of the post-WWII intellectual emigrant circles, the history of European Indian studies, biographical studies, and literary regional studies. She cooperates with the Greater Poland Cultural Society. She published in academic journals (e.g. “Studia Norwidiana”, “Pamiętnik Literacki”), and in collective works. She co-authored the literary guidebook *Na tropach Adama Mickiewicza w Wielkopolsce* [Tracing Adam Mickiewicz through Greater Poland].

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“Like a honeycomb under construction” – about Władysław Terlecki’s archives and writing method

Władysław Terlecki’s archives were transferred to Ossolineum in 2007, eight years after the writer’s death. The material has not been completely prepared by archivists yet, therefore it must be gathered for accession manuscripts. Among other things, it contains personal documents and photographs, letters, pocket calendars, publishing contracts and reviews. However, twenty-eight catalogue entries, with material related to his literary work, are the most important part of the writer’s collection. They are organised according to the titles of works, based on a separating genre key: novels first, then stories, articles in periodicals, radio shows, stage plays, scripts for television plays, scripts for television films, and scripts for cinema films. The archive also includes original texts and typescripts by other writers and joint projects (scripts). Ossolineum has retained the original folders, often referenced in pen, though rarely by the author himself. The markings were most probably indications for archivists classifying individual folders. The distribution of the material throughout the folders was not devised entirely by Terlecki, though they carry some traces of the author’s original organisation.

The eye of the camera

At first glance, this pre-organised archive seems quite orderly. However, classifications introduced for the purposes of cataloguing are sometimes misleading. The catalogue entry of accession no. 84/07 referenced as “Novels. Twarze 1863” does not contain prose pieces, but a script for a television series carefully developed by Terlecki (which has never been fulfilled). The error might seem to have been caused

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by the title, which is identical to a 1979 prose collection. *Twarze 1863*, and which like many other film scripts (including published ones), was recorded using a method which should be associated with a film novella (as per Marek Hendrykowski's classification)¹. Its distinctive feature is the narrative description of the future film, which is very similar to a prose piece. Therefore, the error in the archival reference was caused by the prose nature of Terlecki's script. However, the similarity was no accident. The author included in the rough draft of a novel entitled *Odpuźnij po biegu* a short typed note which he intended to constitute his original introduction to the theme of the novel². He began by describing in short the process of creating the work, and he associated the creative technique with its poetics:

The stiffness of the book's prose was caused by the selected writing method. It was being created as notes from which a film script was to be created form *later*. When writing my books ("Gwiazda Piołun", "Czarny romans"), I was considering their film releases. Such a view of reality ~~may be~~ of literature may be baffling, but it also enforces limitations, requires one to be concise, and restrain emotions³.

Thus, the author indicated that at some stage of creating, he wasn't sure yet whether the notes would form a novel or a film script. Researchers have noticed the *filmic* quality of Terlecki's prose (e.g. in a novel entitled *Zwierzęta zostały opłacone*) – e.g. Agnieszka Izdebska mentioned the "technique of giving novel narrations the form of a script."⁴ However, the writer's notes indicate that the relationship between both forms was greater than just matching a novel to the style of a script.

The writer's inclination towards viewing the world through the eye of the camera was confirmed not only in his own accounts and the large number of scripts (for film and television) gathered in the archive, but also in the works which due to their fringe nature (introduction of dialogues specific for drama and the consideration of the specificity of the television medium) should be termed television plays

1 Vide M. Hendrykowski, *Scenariusz filmowy. Teoria i praktyka*, Wydawnictwo UAM, Poznań 2017, pp. 48–51.

2 Unnumbered separate typed sheet (with handwritten corrections in pencil and blue ink pen) attached to the typescript of the novel entitled *Odpuźnij po biegu*, accession ref. 83/07. The note was not published in any of the novel's editions.

3 In all the quotations from rough drafts, I use the linear transliteration method with the following coding: I use ~~crossed-out~~ font for deleted elements, *italics* for elements added by hand, and a slash (/) for typed changed. [Unless indicated otherwise, English versions translated from Polish].

4 A. Izdebska, "Powieściopisarz w świecie dramatu – wokół 'Idź na brzeg, widać ogień' Władysława L. Terleckiego", in: *Zapomniany dramat*, M.J. Olszewska, K. Ruta-Rutkowska (eds.), Wydawnictwo Wydziału Polonistyki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warsaw 2010, p. 251.

(as suggested by Jan Trzynadłowski⁵). Apart from *Mateczka*, popular among both readers and viewers, one should also mention the unpublished version of the play *Kuzyni* (both works can be found in a folder marked as “scripts of television plays”), the play entitled *Dragon* (published in *Dialog* and staged by Teatr Telewizji), as well as further *inedita*: a play entitled *Tchórz* (referring to the case of Stanisław Brzozowski), a television play entitled *Gwiazda Piolun* (typescript in a folder together with a rough draft of a novel), *Wyspa kata* (adapted for Teatr Telewizji and attached to a manuscript of the novel), and the play *Ściana* – the story of which takes place at Dworzec Centralny in Warsaw and it opens with a scene of recording act four of Shakespeare’s *Comedy of Errors* in one of the platforms.

This material proves not only that Terlecki was interested in film and television, but also the particular ability of his mind to offer images which jointly formed film sequences or television shots. Such a perception of the literary world being created also translated to Terlecki’s special method of recording. However, to reconstruct it, one needs to delve deeper into the world of his archive.

Rough draft – typescript – fair copy

The core of Terlecki’s archive, probably just as of any writer’s legacy, consists of output-related material. Sixty-five folders include over a hundred typescripts. Yet there are almost no manuscripts. There are only a dozen or so longer notes and only two manuscripts of short stories. The typescripts included in that category can be divided into fair copies, and typescripts where the author introduced handwritten corrections. There is also a group of typescripts with corrections by other people, i.e. editors (that applies to material that was prepared for printing), directors, and co-authors of scripts. Therefore, one might have the impression that the surviving material documents only the final stages of the writing process, or rather only the stage prior to publication or staging, as there are no loose scattered incipits, plans, or outlines of the whole, rough drafts, or consecutive versions. We do hold some proof that Terlecki was looking for documentation: in a folder with the material for the script of a film entitled *Biały chan*, there are photocopies of books, an extensive bibliographical list, a historical plan of events, and the reference numbers of documents from Russian archives⁶. An interesting proof that he was gathering information is a letter with the included photograph, related to the case of the monk Macoch, stored together with the material for the novel entitled *Odpocznij po biegu*⁷. Other traces could presumably be found in press clippings on

5 J. Trzynadłowski, “Teatr ‘prawdziwy’ a teatr telewizji”, in: idem, *Sztuka słowa i obrazu*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1982, p. 330.

6 Accession ref. 104/07, folder 104/2007/1.

7 Accession ref. 83/07.

various themes collected in the seven folders mentioned above. Therefore, the first foray into Terlecki's archive could cause considerable disappointment for the genetic critic, who usually gives the highest consideration for rough drafts and notes documenting consecutive drafts, or at those stages in the writing process, which do not, though, constitute turning points. In fact, one could infer that the majority of them were destroyed by the writer or simply did not survive. Such presumptions might prove premature if one could prove that the writer was more eager to use a typewriter than a pen or pencil. The writer's tool impacts the course of the creative process significantly; especially if a writer creates on a typewriter.⁸

Brief outline of how a rough draft comes to being

An interesting hint for the reconstruction of Terlecki's writing method is included in a fragment opening his unpublished prose:

Oh no, not everything has been completed, though it would be good to close this thing in a wonderful concluding sentence: thus, everything that became the foundation of our story came finally to an end and they lived happily ever after. Well, no such thing is going to happen. The rough draft soon will be lost will soon be lost or it will be destroyed. The whole never will not become be told to the end though only he knows every detail and transcends all the mysteries of the story. this Meanwhile this which has already been written are only fragments and not always those fragments which are the most important as I imagine the truly significant scenes many times over and I always supplement them with new elements creating as if something similar to a honeycomb under construction. (...) As time goes by, already precisely imagined scenes are overlaid by new variants. That what was in them added proved more important than the original motif. Thus, gradually that crystal clarity of the short story for which he himself longed was becoming blurred (...)?

⁸ That theme was raised by French genetic critics (Vide C. Viollet, "Ecriture mécanique, espaces de frappe. Quelques préalables à une sémiologie du dactylogramme", *Genesis* 1997, <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00079732/document>). In Polish studies, Agata Grabowska-Kuniczuk and Marta Parnowska discussed Bolesław Prus' "toyings" with the typewriter (A. Grabowska-Kuniczuk, M. Parnowska, "Bolesława Prusa 'zabawa' w pisanie na maszynie – narzędzie, autor, tekst", *Napis* 2015, issue 21), and Paweł Panas excellently discussed the intricacies of the typescript of Zygmunt Haupt (P. Panas, "'Balon' Zygmunt Haupta. Z archiwum pisarza", in: *Archiwa i bruliony pisarzy. Odkrywanie*, M. Prussak, P. Bem, Ł. Cybulski (eds.), Wydawnictwo IBL, Warsaw 2017).

⁹ Untitled typescript (18 pages, continuous numbering) with handwritten corrections in blue and black ink, accession ref. 94/07, folder 94/2007/2, quoted on p. 1 of the typescript.

Terlecki’s works are filled with self-referential elements, while the characters of prose writers, “hacks”, and playwrights fill the pages of his novels and plays. However, as Agnieszka Izdebska indicated, his characters who wrote should not be associated with the author himself, who was engaging in a self-referential game with readers¹⁰. Such a game is also present in the discussed fragment. Moreover, it is an exceptionally sophisticated game, as shown by a description of the process of writing discussed in an unpublished typescript included in an unfinished work. The narrator compares vividly the process of creation to that of building a honeycomb: writing is preceded by a long stage of working in one’s imagination, and it is only followed by writing fragments, which, in time, are complemented by each other. All that without a pre-established hierarchy or order. Further in the quoted prose piece, the story of writing transitions smoothly into a story related to the monk Cyprian from Czerwony Klasztor (the Red Monastery) – which is what the character of the discussed fragment intended to write. Without any paragraphs, after a several-page-long description of the visit of a bishop to a mountain monastery, the narrator returns to the dilemmas of the one who writes:

~~“Because the time when everything begins is wż is spring it is necessary of course before discussing the bishop’s trip to~~ Because *on top of that* it is spring, it is worth *also* considering the description of the eternal happiness which used to *visit* this area.”¹¹

Terlecki’s rough draft indicates that the description of the act of writing and instructing the character/writer on the plan of his story also requires corrections – and many of them. The middle part of a started sentence is constantly being crossed out by typed characters, and then the entire sentence is struck by hand. Its new version begins after a long gap, and it is corrected by hand. The sentence itself changes its meaning: it is no longer a matter of establishing the chronology of the story, but of including in it the description of the mysterious calamity. However, we will never be able to find out what event the narrator had in mind. The form of a story within a story, which Terlecki used before (e.g. in a novel entitled *Cień karła, cień olbrzyma*), in the rough draft is multiplied: it can only be perceived through a research procedure specific to genetic criticism. When considering the rough draft, one can see a trace of the process of creating a story about writing a work of literature, which one observes *in statu nascendi*. It is true that fragments related to writing itself are rare in the discussed works, yet they apply to consecutive stages in the creation of a work of literature: they discuss the collection of documentation

¹⁰ Vide A. Izdebska, *Forma, ciało i brzemień imperium. O prozie Władysława L. Terleckiego*, Wydawnictwo UŁ, Łódź 2010, pp. 102–115.

¹¹ Untitled typescript, accession ref. 94/07, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

(viewing maps, old portraits, learning about legends), and the moment of writing itself (the narrator states: “The final sheet, where the ink has not dried yet, includes a scene of the exchange between the bishop afflicted by his sickness and the prior.”¹²) The narrator’s account of what the character/writer had just written always enters unnoticed into the world of the short story being designed, and no one knows any more whether the story being told was created by the character or the narrator. The eighteen-page-long typescript with handwritten corrections by Terlecki concludes, though, at the same point in the story as the character/writer concluded his. In terms of the story, the work offers an elaborate and concise structure which, however, could have become part of a greater whole. At its beginning, there is a passage on the unsatisfactory conclusion, which could indicate the prose piece was the final chapter of a novel. Yet the way the story developed suggests that it might as well have been only the beginning. It was impossible to locate in Osolineum’s collections any other fragment that would in any way be related to the typescript. Was it lost or had it never existed?

Fragments of unwritten wholes

There are more such several-page-long typescripts, corrected by hand, not matching any other wholes in Terlecki’s archive. They are held in a folder marked “Working fragments of prose.”¹³ The physical descriptions of each such document always prove identical: no title, clear 4–7-centimetre-wide upper margin, the length between a few to a dozen or so pages. Furthermore, there is a clearly visible uniform system of introducing handwritten corrections: two ink colours (usually blue and black) and pencil, differentiating the first set of corrections from the next one, and the rare *ad hoc* corrections while typing (words and sentences deleted on the typewriter using the “x” marks and typed overwriting above the deletions or typing the corrected version as a continuation of writing). If one considers the folders with typescripts of bigger wholes, e.g. of published novels (*Dwie głowy ptaka*¹⁴, *Drabina Jakubowa*¹⁵), it will become evident that they are similar to the several-page-long fragments which possess the same structure. However, *inedita* offer the most striking examples. A folder marked as *Dom księcia*¹⁶ includes not only a fragment pub-

¹² Ibidem, p. 16.

¹³ Accession ref. 94/07, folder 94/2007/2.

¹⁴ Accession ref. 81/07.

¹⁵ Accession ref. 87/07, folder 87/2007/1.

¹⁶ Accession ref. 91/07, folder 91/2007/2. The folder includes not only the manuscript of the fragment printed in *Odra* 2001, issue 1, but also the further part of the novel being developed. The unpublished part was compiled of fragments of between a few to a dozen or so pages referenced by the author with lettering (from A to G).

lished in *Odra* (2001, issue 1), but also rough drafts of other parts of that unfinished novel. It was composed of several-page-long fragments united by the writer using lettering (from A to G), and the order was altered several times. A folder marked as *Śmierć w Tyflisie. Powieść*¹⁷ includes an unpublished novel describing how a film¹⁸ on the last few weeks in the life of Dagny Przybyszewska was created. The story within a story, spun from several points of view, spreads over more than two hundred typed pages. Its constituent parts, recorded as per the discussed system, were numbered with Roman numerals (as chapters). The order was changed by the author, which is visible in the corrections of the numbering. There are also pages marked as inserts. The title of the prose piece is rather a working title, and it is identical to the script of a television play on a similar (though not identical) theme fulfilled in 1997 (directed by Maciej Dejczner). Furthermore, a fragment of the prose piece not included in the folder was published under the title *Spotkanie w Tyflisie*¹⁹ and referenced that it was part of a novel being developed entitled *Sędzia stoi za drzwiami*. The novel has never been published; maybe that was supposed to be the title of the prose piece referenced as *Śmierć w Tyflisie*. Then, the folder with working fragments includes a several-page-long whole corresponding in terms of its theme to the nearly finished work. It includes a scene where the participants in a love triangle: Dagny, Stanisław and Emeryk, meet at a station. It is narrated from the point of view of Emeryk. The folder with the novel includes a corresponding scene viewed through Dagny's eyes. Therefore, the novel was not being developed according to a pre-established plan, it was rather composed of previously written fragments. They were later reorganised by the writer, shifted in relation to one another – not like a puzzle, but more like identically-sized cells of a honeycomb offering many possible options. The large number of handwritten corrections introduced in two separate stages (two colours of ink) indicates that Terlecki recorded large wholes already in typescript. After at least two series of corrections, he compiled a work – which was when the third series of corrections emerged. The archive includes almost no fair copies of novels – they might had been sent to publishing houses. There are, however, numerous fair copies of plays and scripts (yet there are no rough drafts, apart from *Krótką noc*.) It seems that the writer usually copied works himself – which is indicated in folders regarding shorter prose pieces which include both a rough draft and fair copy (*Powrót z carskiego siola*, *Trzy epizody bez spowiedzi*, *Piasek*).

The fact that Terlecki wrote directly on the typewriter is indicated by the already mentioned fact that the archive includes no manuscript outlines of works,

¹⁷ Accession ref. 91/07, folder 91/2007/1.

¹⁸ Terlecki's fascination with film, which I indicated at the beginning of my discussion, was thus reflected also in the story layer of his unpublished work.

¹⁹ W. Terlecki, "Spotkanie w Tyflisie", *Odra* 1996, issue 3. Another fragment of the novel entitled *Sędzia stoi za drzwiami* was published under the title *Wera* in issue 2 in the same year.

only the manuscripts of two very early writing attempts. The first, a pencil manuscript²⁰, enables one to reconstruct the process of creating the work: recorded in casual handwriting, it includes various deletions and even a drawing. That heralded Terlecki's writing practice which could be observed in later typescripts. Corrections and deletions exist mainly at the beginning and the end of the short story. The writer wrote entire fragments constituting depictions of situations or logical trains of thought. That indicates a preliminary study of the theme prior to the recording.

The manuscript of the short story entitled *Zegar*²¹, dated by the author as 1951, though clearer, paradoxically constitutes a more complex case. The even, fine handwriting of the first six pages transitions from page seven onwards into less careful writing with many deletions, falling apart in the final two pages into short paragraphs with numerous deletions, and the ending – struck through and rewritten. Such writing dynamics indicates that it is a rewritten manuscript. There are two possible scenarios here. Either the author rewrote the initial pages because they included the most deletions, while retaining the rest in their initially recorded form and compiled them together or, what is more probable, he began rewriting from page seven, severely modifying the original content, even writing the further part from scratch. The manuscript is not, however, an exception but a reflection of a more complicated process related to the writing practice visible in the documents of the origins of other works. It is a system of inserting from a few to a dozen or so pages of typescript, including those corrected by hand. The attached pages are numbered using digits and letters: 1a, 1 b, 1 c (e.g. in the script for the television series *Twarze*²²) or in a continuous manner, with a header: “insert for page” (with indication of the number) – like in the rough draft of the new version of a short story entitled *Piasek*²³. Not only in both examples, but also in the rough draft of the play entitled *Krótką noc*²⁴ the inserts are attached to the compiled typescript (the play was “put together” from fragments written and rewritten on various sheets and even various typewriters). The ideas for the inserts often emerged during the stage of reading and correcting typescripts by hand, which is indicated by handwritten notes included on the reverse side of a page of a rough draft announcing an insert (*Krótką noc*) or together with the introduction (novel entitled *Odpuźnij*

²⁰ Pencil manuscript entitled *Napoleon pana Gruau*, two sheets inscribed double-sidedly, accession ref. 94/07, folder 94/2007/3.

²¹ Manuscript in green ink, entitled *Zegar*, 17 pages, *ibid.*

²² Accession ref. 103/07, folders: 103/2007/1, 103/2007/2.

²³ Accession ref. 94/07, folder 94/2007/4.

²⁴ Accession ref. 102/07, folder 102/2007/2; material incorrectly marked as a script. Vide A. Kramkowska-Dąbrowska, “Nota edytorska”, in: W. Terlecki, *Krótką noc. Dramaty*, selection and introduction E. Wąchocka, texts processed by A. Kramkowska-Dąbrowska, Wydawnictwo IBL, Warsaw 2016, p. 598.

po biegu). Notes regarding the need to add fragments also appear on loose sheets, with references to specific pages and short information describing the content of the inserts (script of film entitled *Dwie głowy ptaka*²⁵). Those are the only plans I was able to find in Terlecki’s archive. They always applied to additions, there was not even one which would have documented the stage of developing the structure of the entire work, even before the work was created.

Could, then, the image of writing as the act of creating a honeycomb, i.e. adding new fragments around and next to previous ones and adding inserts, have not only been the practice of the prose writer/character but also of its author? The remarks on how Terlecki created his works could offer additional evidence in that matter. The previously discussed pencil manuscript of a very early short story was recorded by the author just as he did in later manuscripts: leaving an upper margin of a few centimetres. He needed the space for the title, which he added later on (in slightly smaller, uneven, as if “pressed in” writing), and later deleted and changed to something completely different. The first version read *Smutne opowiadanie*, while the next one: *Napoleon pana Gruau*. That margin of a few centimetres at the top of every first page of Terlicki’s typescripts was planned by the author for the chapter number, a working reference of fragment sequencing, or free space for inserting the title if the fragment should develop into a short story. For example, the typescript of the short story published in 1973 bears the handwritten title of *Powrót z Carskiego Sioła* – inscribed in blue ink, the same which the author used to include major corrections, unlike more technical corrections made in pencil²⁶.

Three episodes

Terlecki’s uncertainty about titles and their changes were the result of changes of the structure of the works being created. That is best illustrated by the *dossier* of the short story which opens the collection entitled *Rośnie las*. In the working manuscript²⁷ of the short story, the title *Trzy epizody bez spowiedzi* was recorded in pencil – just like other important corrections. Changes were also introduced using two different blue inks. The intensity of the work of the second ink is visible in the final pages of the typescript. A third blue ink was used by the author to include a dedication: “To Lech Budrecki”. It also appeared in the printed version – unlike the title which eventually came to be: *Przybysz*. The short story has a very carefully crafted form of a story within a story well-known by readers. To facilitate the recreation of how the structure was developed, I will list the plots of this short story

²⁵ Accession ref. 104/07, folder 104/2007/3.

²⁶ Accession ref. 94/07, folder 94/2007/1.

²⁷ Folder 94/2007/5 (accession ref. 94/07) also includes a fair copy – with the title and all the corrections from the rough draft.

in the sequence as they appear in the text: 1) A meeting of two tourists in Rome in the 20th century. A Pole who has recently come to the Eternal City and a writer who is a lecturer at an American university discuss the role of history in the life of contemporary man and the understanding of historical processes. The writer mentions that he has an idea to combine Mickiewicz's Lausanne fortunes with the character of an anonymous monk who witnessed the death of primate Poniatowski in 1794. 2) The Lausanne flat of the professor (whom one identifies as Mickiewicz²⁸) is visited by a guest who elaborates on his views on history, politics, and writing. 3) In an internal monologue, the guest recalls the meeting with the mysterious Franz von Ehrenfelsen, who told him about the political hazard of the professor's writings and lectures. 4) During the visit, the professor imagines a scene where a woman and a man ride in a caroche. 5) The guest talks about the final moments in the life of primate Poniatowski, and using an obscure allusion to the monk, the witness of the event, tries to intimidate the professor. 6) The professor recalls his talk with a student who warned him against the increased interest of the secret service in his activities.

Can just one rough draft explain how such an elaborate structure was formed?

The typescript consists of 17 pages in total, but it is divided into two parts. First, there is a 4-page fragment, the first page of which begins with a large upper indentation (where the title was supposed to be placed), and the fragment concludes in slightly over a half of a page of text. Next, there is again a page with a large upper margin. It is treated as the first page, and the following pages include continued numbering. Therefore, the short story was created in at least two sessions. That is indicated not only by the typing, but also by the types of corrections. The first fragment was mainly corrected in pencil; there are only two corrections in blue ink. The second fragment includes mainly corrections in blue ink, but one which is different from the blue ink in the first fragment. It does include some corrections in the blue ink from the first fragment, though not many, and corrections in pencil. Therefore, both segments were formed independently, and they were corrected independently as well.

The second segment was created first: the one beginning with the spy visiting the professor, i.e. Adam Mickiewicz. The spy discussed the final moments in the life of primate Michał Poniatowski. The story was even more surprising as it applied to events from several decades back, which the poet had nothing to do with. And yet the guest tried to suggest a connection between the events in Mickiewicz's life with the attitude of the witness to the primate's death, i.e. the mysterious monk. One must possess extensive historical knowledge to be able to understand that barely noticea-

²⁸ Adam Mickiewicz's novel also appears in a short story entitled *Śledztwo* and in a novel entitled *Zabij cara*. Vide D. Dobrowolska, *Płomień rodzi się z iskry. Twórczość Władysława Terleckiego*, Wydawnictwo Szumacher, Kielce 2002, p. 164.

ble thread of mutual relations. In that part, Terlecki included the two most important stories, which formed the core of the short story. The typescript of the part begins as: "The man put down his top hat" immediately introducing readers into the events.

The fragment which the writer placed at the beginning of the short story was created later. It constitutes the contemporary frame for the story about Mickiewicz: two tourists meeting in Rome. They talk about history: its mechanisms and its role in the life of contemporary man. It also indicates that all biographical and historical comparisons are the intellectual constructs of future generations. The first interlocutor, who is also the first-person narrator of this part (the fragment at Mickiewicz's flat in Lousanne features a third-person narrative), states that people should talk about past events and not create confusing legends: "I dislike [...] when people link random historical facts." Even more so, he finds the stories of people who lived long ago completely impenetrable: "I don't believe in some voices of the dead, in some traces which could help uncover some personal mystery." The writer, to whom he is talking, claims something different: "he believed in the notion of unrecognisability of the *whole truth*, he moved through history like a ~~tourist~~ traveller through a dark maze."²⁹ Note that in the finished typescript Terlecki clarified the opinion on the recognition of history: the character talks about the unrecognisability of the whole truth, not unrecognisability in general. That encourages him to move through the "dark maze." Therefore, it is in the words of the character/writer and not in the theses proposed by the first-person narrator that one can find Terlecki's own opinions. The legitimacy of the statements is going to be proven in the story about Mickiewicz and his mysterious guest. On the one hand, then, the added fragment shone light on the 19th century event suggesting a way for understanding history, while, on the other, the fragment written earlier enabled Terlecki to play his self-referential game.

Let me, however, return to the very manner of compiling the typescripts. The character/writer is about to tell the narrator the story of Mickiewicz, his mysterious guest and primate Poniatowski. The fragment concludes as follows: "My interlocutor asked me to first imagine the poet's flat in Lausanne. A stranger has just entered." Thus, Terlecki led the story to the moment with which the fragment which had been written earlier first begins. When compiling both typescripts, the author drew an arrow under the sentence quoted above thus eliminating the lower margin and changed in blue ink the number of the pages of the typescript from 3 and 4 to 2a and 2b. Then, he changed the number of the first page of the fragment which had been written earlier to 2c, and he struck the opening sentence: "The man put down his top hat" so that it began to connect to the end of the final page of the added fragment. Thus, the resulting text reads: "A stranger has just entered. He put down his top hat".

²⁹ Both quotations come from page 2 of the discussed typescript.

In the printed version, that is the beginning of a new paragraph and the story of the mysterious visitation in Lausanne. Terlecki used the same ink he used to renumber the pages to inscribe the dedication. He then used the pencil which he had used to correct the later fragment to record the title created at that point: *Trzy epizody bez spowiedzi*. The title appeared after the fragment which was supposed to open the short story had been written. That is because only with the description of the meeting of the tourists in Rome do we have the three main events: 1) the contemporary one, 2) the one regarding the visit of the spy at Mickiewicz's flat in Lausanne, and 3) the then told story of the death of primate Poniatowski. That compilation is outlined in Figure 1.

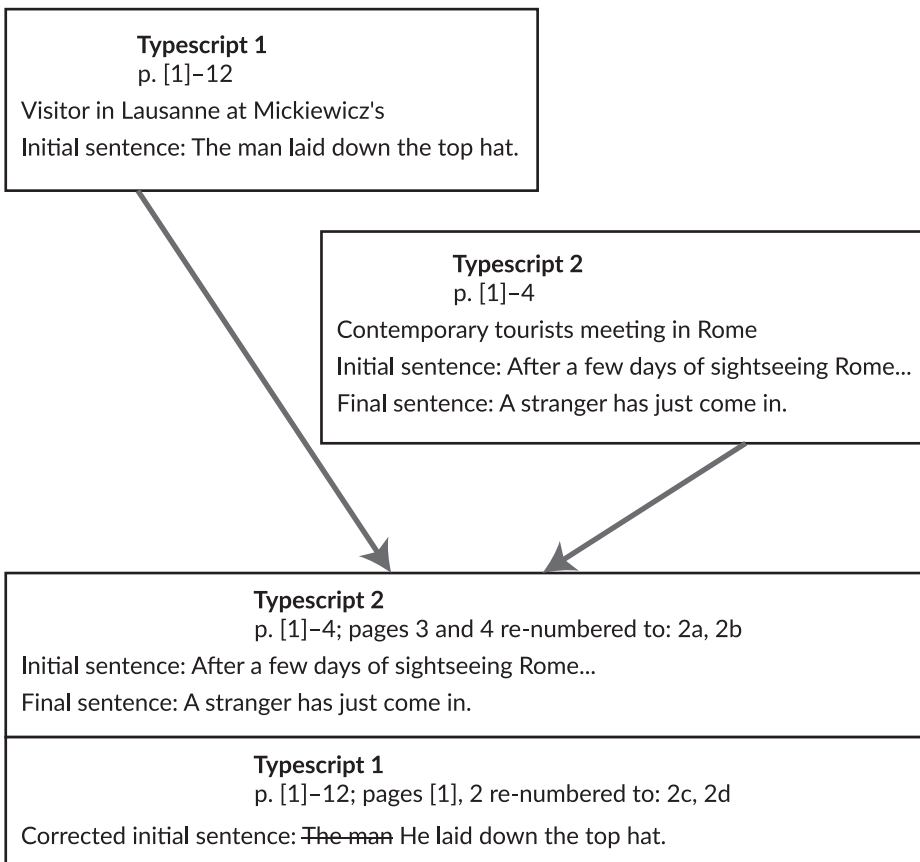


Figure 1. Plan of compiling two typescripts of the short story *Przybysz* (working title: *Trzy epizody bez spowiedzi*). Source: own study.

The honeycomb

One should ask, however, whether the image of building a honeycomb is not just a convenient metaphor and a misleading trace in Terlecki’s game with readers. But if we are willing to consider it a genuine suggestion, can it be used to add accuracy? Note that both the typescript and the printed text, which are easily countable, include more than the three stories announced in the working title. Page 6 of the typescript includes a major, though barely noticeable, trace of Terlecki’s intervention. Until the middle of the page he continued a description of the stream of consciousness of the spy recalling his meeting with von Ehrenfels, and he then turns to the professor saying: “‘When I was studying those sources,’ he continued having recalled his Berlin journey, ‘I found a secret letter regarding primate Michał Poniąkowski.’” The sentence, intended to introduce the events of 1794, was struck in pencil. It concludes midway through the page in the second half of the line. The following sentence continues the line to the margin and forms a uniform text. However, it is clear that it was written half a space lower than the deleted sentence.

That means that Terlecki removed the sheet from the typewriter after having written the sentence which he later deleted. He might have put work off for later after reminding himself what he was going to write later. Or maybe he simply had to replace the ribbon in the typewriter – the following fragment is recorded until the end in much more clearly pressed font. However long the break in typing was, it gave rise to a new micro-story; the professor’s train of thought transforming into the image of a woman and a man riding a carriage. Yet that is not any random woman, and her destination is described just as Mickiewicz used to describe the Polish countryside and landed gentry manors in his writings. The woman, then, dives into her memories of mountains and a lake, i.e. the image that is shared by the poet. Therefore, she is thinking about him. Or rather: the poet is imagining such a thought of hers, trying to connect with it. Thus, quite unexpectedly, it is a description of longing. One that, however, confirmed the opinion of the writer the narrator met in Rome: you can, and you should try to penetrate hidden thoughts and emotions of the characters of the past.

Only after this extensive, almost two-page-long fragment, does Terlecki allow the visitor to talk about primate Poniąkowski’s case. It appears that the second fragment of the short story, which takes place in Mickiewicz’s flat, formed by combining it with the poet/professor’s stream of consciousness, shattered the structure which Terlecki had had in mind. To visualise this: the writing and compiling of the text by the writer actually starts to resemble the act of building a honeycomb (vide Figure 2).

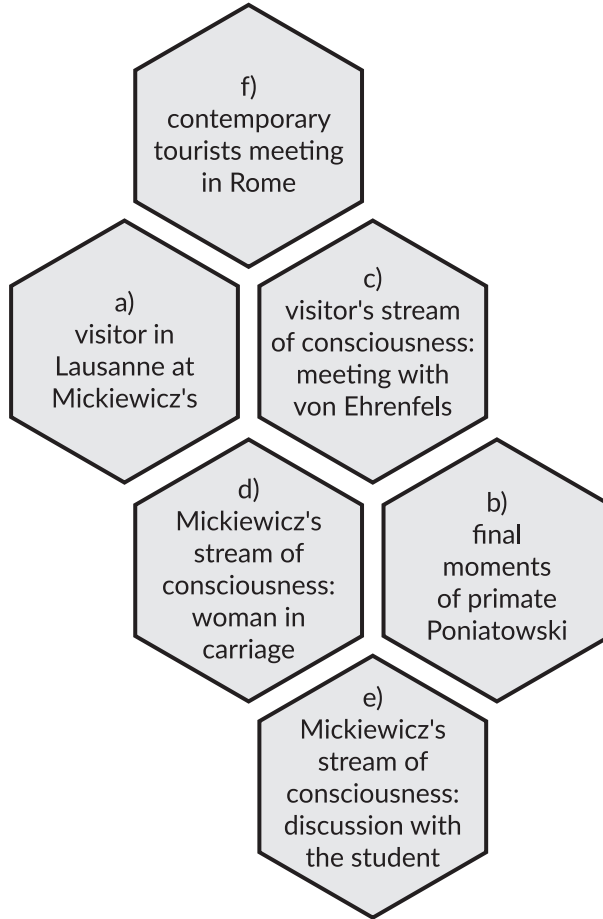


Order in which the fragments were arranged in the text: d, a, c, b
 My proposed order in which they were created: a, b, c, d

Figure 2. Creating the fragments of *Trzy epizody bez spowiedzi*. Source: own study.

That was not the end, though, as the typescript includes a trace which could suggest that Terlecki rewrote some pages, presumably to add yet another fragment. Page 4 of the typescript concludes in two condensed lines, which could indicate that up to that moment some fragment was being rewritten and the writer intended to fit the text so that it matched the following existing page. Similarly condensed writing appears at the beginning of page 12, which includes a short reference to the exchange between the professor and a student on agents pestering Mickiewicz. What is also worth noticing is the different mode of recording page numbers: with dashes and without them (pages from 7 to 10 and page 12). One might assume, then, that there existed some previous fragments which the writer destroyed after having reformulated and rewritten them. Without those any deeper insight into the framework within which the work formed can only be hypothetical. Yet the hypothesis is tempting, as it would indicate that the micro-stories presented in the short story formed almost separately, and the added elements included not only the opening scene in Rome, but also the story within the second part. What indicates that they were added gradually is the fact that in the printed version the author abandoned the manuscript title of *Trzy epizody bez spowiedzi*, turning to the title *Przybysz* – suggesting that there were

more episodes in the short story than just three. The fragments being recorded by the writer, perceived as hexagonal cells in a honeycomb, might had been reorganised and mixed as they matched in various arrangements (vide Figure 3).



Order in which the fragments were arranged in the text: f, a, c, d, b, e
 My proposed order in which the fragments were created: a, b, c, d, e, f

Figure 3. All the elements of the typescript of *Trzy epizody bez spowiedzi*. Source: own study.

That system of recording scenes that were pre-conceived, written separately, and compiled later resulted in a carefully crafted story. Its every part adds new points of view and aspects to a story which is to reach the core of a certain meeting in Lausanne. When reading its published version, one can only assume the meandering path taken by the author's thoughts. That is because one is not aware that Terlecki worked like a drone bee, meticulously and systematically toiling to organise the ever-new layers of images emerging from his imagination.

* * *

Finally, I would like to provide one last proof, external this time, indicating Terlecki's exceptional imagination and writing skills. This is what Janusz Krasiński, Terlecki's fellow writer, said about him: "He was the rare case of a writer whose theme did not mature under his pen. Having an exceptionally good memory, he created his novels in his mind, and once finished, he transferred them onto paper."³⁰

Archive material confirms that Terlecki used to sit in front of the typewriter with complete images and scenes, which he then recorded in extensive stages. Then, however, came the long and arduous stage of compiling fragments and organising them with ever new ones. The effort of structuring the elements of a novel, of selecting the most accurate points of view with ever-maintained vigilance to avoid losing the "crystal clarity of the story" made a visible impression in the writer's archive. His carefully crafted method resulting from his extensive self-awareness and his understanding of his own imagination translated into the poetics of many of Terlecki's works: which offer the story within a story structure, which juxtapose various points of view or which capture reality in film-like frames.

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³⁰ J. Krasiński, "Leszek. Wspomnienie o Władysławie Lechu Terleckim", *Dialog* 1999, issue 8, p. 139.

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Agnieszka Kramkowska-Dąbrowska

„Coś na wzór budowanego plastra miodu” – o archiwum i metodzie pisarskiej Władysława Terleckiego

Streszczenie

Artykuł opowiada o archiwum Władysława Terleckiego przechowywanym w Zakładzie Narodowym im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu. Przekrojowo prezentuje jego wartość oraz wskazuje znaczenie, jakie mają bruliony tekstów drukowanych i niepublikowane utwory pisarza w rozumieniu jego wyobraźni twórczej. Autorka rozważań podejmuje odnalezioną w brulionie pisarza metaforę pisania jako budowania plastra miodu i za jej pomocą, na wybranych przykładach z archiwum, przybliża metodę twórczą Terleckiego. Odtworzenie technicznej strony procesu pisania jest w przypadku tej twórczości niezwykle istotne, ponieważ rzuca światło na poetykę publikowanych utworów. Analizy poszczególnych maszynopisów, a także tekstów publikowanych pokazują także samoświadomość Terleckiego związaną z procesami twórczymi.

Słowa kluczowe: archiwum Władysława Terleckiego, metoda pisarska

“Like a honeycomb under construction” – about Władysław Terlecki’s archives and writing method

Summary

The article is devoted to the Władysław Terlecki archives stored in Ossolineum. It presents a cross-section of their content as well as the meaning of the drafts of printed texts and unpublished works of the author within the meaning of his creative imagination. The author taps into the metaphor of writing as building a honeycomb, which she found in his drafts and with it, she explains Terlecki’s creative method on selected examples from the archives. In the case of his works, recreation of the technical side of writing is extremely important as it casts a light onto poetics of the published material. The analyses of individual typescripts as well as published texts also show Terlecki’s self-awareness connected with creative processes.

Keywords: Władysław Terlecki archives, writing method

Agnieszka Kramkowska-Dąbrowska, dr, pracuje w Instytucie Badań Literackich PAN. Swoje najnowsze zainteresowania skupia wokół dramatu XX wieku, zajmuje się także zagadnieniami humanistyki cyfrowej. Autorka książki *Gabinet luster. Śmiech w twórczości Zbigniewa Herberta* (Warszawa 2015) oraz opracowań edytorskich: *Zbigniew Herbert. Korespondencja rodzinna* (Lublin 2008); Janusz Krasiński, *Krzak gorejący. Dramaty* (Warszawa 2013); Władysław Terlecki, *Dwie głowy ptaka* (Warszawa 2016). Jest redaktorem prowadzącym serii *Dramat Polski. Reaktywacja*, powstającej w Ośrodku Badań nad Polskim Dramatem Współczesnym IBL.

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Textual meanders. *Diary 1954* by Leopold Tyrmand – a problem of not only a philological nature

The study of the creative process is an interesting yet somewhat problematic task. It is sometimes the case that the final text of a work does not necessarily correspond to the initial intention of its creator. One extremely interesting example is *Diary 1954* by Leopold Tyrmand. The work, which is considered one of the masterpieces of 20th century literature, premièred in *Tygodnik Powszechny* in 1957, and when Tyrmand emigrated to the US, it was printed in instalments by the London-based *Wiadomości*. It is worth remembering that initially it did not draw any particular interest among literary enthusiasts.

Sławomir Mrożek was among the first people to read the journal. In a letter to Tyrmand of 8 May 1974 he wrote:

I read your journal (its instalment in the latest *Wiadomości*). This genre is guaranteed to appear attractive mainly to people upwards from my generation (or maybe slightly downwards, too). What I found particularly interesting were the author's reflections about himself, his role in the contemporary world, in Warsaw. His doubts and dilemmas. His self-scepticism. Because a man is interested in man, as Gombrowicz wrote, so less in what one person says about himself to another person, and more what that person says about himself to himself. I know well that the world will not be interested in the fact that you survived Stalinist times retaining integrity. After some time, the world couldn't care less whether a person had been a jerk or whether he was just. That's the ugly truth, but the truth nonetheless. What

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remains is curiosity how it happened and why, regardless whether it was mean or just. How it happened inside a person. Then, there, whenever.¹

In the same letter, the author of *Tango* raised the issue which resulted in a lively debate a few years later:

I wonder to what extent the published text is the raw authentic journal, and how much of it is a contemporary present study. Personally, I would prefer it if it was just the former. Have you considered publishing actual notes as they were, or rather insert between them your commentary, the contemporary one, clearly marking the division? That would offer an extremely interesting illustration of the path of a person, what he thought then, and what he thinks now about his thinking then.²

Quite intuitively, Mrożek touched a very sensitive matter, as Tyrmand's *Diary 1954* – prior to the publication of consecutive instalments in *Wiadomości* – was subjected to extensive editorial interventions. It all began with an invitation to a special issue of *Wiadomości* in early 1974. It was sent by Stefania Kossowska. Tyrmand proposed, as he put it, “a few excerpts from the journal.” The fragment he sent suited Kossowska's taste. A collaboration ensued, as a result of which within four years twenty-seven installments of the work were published, constituting half of its total volume. Quite quickly, though, it became evident that not everything was going as the writer had wanted. Kossowska tried to convince Tyrmand to abandon some fragments of the journal. In a letter of 18 July 1974, she wrote:

I can see two reasons for those “evasions”: sometimes excessively drastic and lengthy “bedside” accounts, which draw more attention in the fragments of the weekly than in the entire book, which is outside the readers' selection. Second reason: no periodical can afford (or at least it shouldn't) to release personal, strong, hurtful, or even offensive opinions about real people identified per their names. It's not only a case of *libel*, but also of a human responsibility of the editor. Again, a book is something different, because its author is solely responsible for it³.

Tyrmand was willing to compromise, but only within certain limits. He responded to Kossowska's demands in a letter of 24 July 1974, in which he argued that “[...] a strict application of the rule that it is not acceptable to print ‘strong’

1 S. Mrożek, L. Tyrmand, *W emigracyjnym labiryncie. Listy 1965–1982*, introduction, editing, notes by D. Pachocki, afterword T. Nyczek, Krakow 2017, p. 222. [Unless indicated otherwise, English versions translated from Polish].

2 Ibidem, pp. 222–223.

3 Vide: L. Tyrmand, *Listy do redaktorów “Wiadomości”*, editing and notes by M.A. Supruniuk, editing consultation B. Dorosz, Wydawnictwo UMK, Toruń 2014, pp. 82–83.

opinions about people and that which is hurtful will lead us to pure inability. This journal is filled with personal spiteful remarks with an ideological tint, and that is the whole point of it.”⁴ Tyrmand tried to convince Juliusz Sakowski to agree with him. In a letter of 13 August 1974, he complained that he was less and less willing to abandon those plots which could hurt people and considered it impossible to delete them altogether. He argued that his journal “is probably the first and the only attempt at settling a personal score with the overt and covert communist world of Warsaw.”⁵ He wrote that everything that was unthinkable in communism was completely natural in Western memoirs. The pugnacity of opinions is considered there a “moral and documentary” advantage, while personal plots constitute an indispensable element of the whole in regards to its literary qualities. He concluded that if two ingredients were to be extracted, not much would survive, i.e. a set of “castrated general observations.” Tyrmand’s inquiries did not result in the outcome he wished for. The tension between the author and the editor continued to grow. Neither was completely satisfied with the final version of the text. Kossowska kept implying to Tyrmand that *Wiadomości* would not print the whole work. That was why, already in 1977, Tyrmand began an extensive search for a publisher. He did not want to publish with Giedroyc, as his relationship with *Kultura* had deteriorated for various reasons. He sought a publisher in London. The journal’s manuscript, which Kossowska had held, was given to Andrzej Stypułkowski, the founder of the Polonia Book Fund publishing house. A long period of silence ensued, which troubled Tyrmand considerably. He tried, to no avail, to contact Stypułkowski for an entire year. Finally, in mid-July 1979, Stefania Kossowska wrote: “I learnt by accident that your book is ‘in reading’ by a reader – so it will be probably printed?”⁶ That reader was Nina Karsov. The decision was in line with Tyrmand’s intentions. The book was recommended for printing.

When preparing the book for printing, Tyrmand faced a dilemma. He described it in the introduction for the edition, in which he declared firmly: “this book contains the entire journal not altered for any editorial reasons, moral dilemmas, political necessity, or social concessions.”⁷ Yet not everyone believed that. And quite aptly, as it turned out later.

4 Vide: L. Tyrmand, *Listy do redaktorów “Wiadomości”*, p. 84.

5 Ibidem, p. 87.

6 Ibidem, p. 191.

7 The journal was published in 1980 by the Polonia Book Fund publishing house.

Reception all over the place

The release of *Diary 1954* was welcomed with huge interest⁸, and almost immediately there appeared questions about its authenticity. The heated debate in which many people participated was caused by the decision to include a copy of the manuscript on the book's cover. The more intrepid readers noticed that the text on the cover did not correspond to the same printed fragment. That applied to the note of 9 March, which began as follows: "Today, I was at a hearing [at] Writers Union." Yet the final version was quite different: "Kisiel dragged me today to the Writers Union for a hearing of his song."⁹ In an extensive and kind-natured study, Roman Zimand arrived at the conclusion that Tyrmand changed the conclusion of the note of 8 March provided that the cover consisted a copy of a single manuscript sheet, not a compilation of two sheets:

That day in the morning, against his earlier fears, Tyrmand was approved by the acceptance board at ZLP, which he described on p. 262/264. In the evening, he engaged in a "fiery discussion on architecture with K.T. Toeplitz and Z. Kałużyński (265). The copy photocopy indicates that the discussion was not limited to architecture. One could assume that Tyrmand, making a joke, said something about the board. And considering the fact that neither Toeplitz nor Kałużyński were spotless to him, he regretted that he got carried away in his joking mood. That was removed from the printed version. Instead, we have in the book a four-paragraph-long discussion of Bauhaus, the Frascati street, the author's visit in Paris, his love, and his dream of returning to that street of Frascati.¹⁰

Regardless of his findings regarding the changes in the journal, Zimand argued that Tyrmand's book lacked any passages which could not have been recorded "in the first quarter of 1954."¹¹ Yet there were many readers who wondered whether the

⁸ In an extensive study of Tyrmand's journal, Henryk Dasko wrote: "People ripped *Diary* out of each other's hands: at the time when it was published, any description of the 1950s was rare. The book also fulfilled the role of a social catharsis: here, in the centre of Warsaw, at the peak of Stalinist terror, Leopold Tyrmand, a well-known oppositionist, openly and explicitly described the reality and his anti-communist attitude. In some way *Diary* offered an alibi for those creators who for years whispered among themselves about their works that ended up in the sock drawer; when their drawers were finally opened, it turned out they were empty." Vide: H. Dasko, "Tyrmand, Ameryka, 'Dziennik'", in: *Odłot malowanego ptaka*, Rosner i Wspólnicy, Warsaw 2009, p. 205.

⁹ L. Tyrmand, *Diary 1954*, Polonia Book Found, London 1980, p. 267.

¹⁰ Vide: R. Zimand, *Wojna i spokój*, Polonia Book Found, London 1984, p. 30.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 31.

book might have been apocryphal.¹² Tyrmand had never responded to that issue publicly, yet there exists a document which might shed some light on the matter. Apparently, the author of *Zły* had a chance to read Roman Zimand's article discussed above. He indicated that in a letter of 13 October 1983 he sent to Zimand. There, he referred to three doubts expressed by the author of the article, one of which applied to the copy included on the cover:

The rough drafts included attachments, written on loose sheets one, two or a few days afterwards: they were tossed into a special folder included to the typescript in [19]73, in New Canaan, Connecticut. Soon after the edited, as you aptly pointed out, version, in which the mentioned quote was articulated somewhat differently yet identical in terms of meaning with the manuscript, was completed, our base-ment [word used in English in the Polish version] suffered a local flooring caused by a burst water main in our part of the town. Some rough drafts survived, including the March one with those pages, but many of my papers, documents, archives, including the discussed folder, perished.¹³

Tyrmand tried persuading Zimand that the cover included a note recorded on a loose piece of paper, not in a notebook. The quoted passage might indicate that Tyrmand did not read the letter prior to sending it. Had he done so, he would have seen how doubtful his story seemed. It is also puzzling that Tyrmand was not particularly surprised by the inadequacy of the notes he mentioned. It would be quite difficult to decide whether the incoherence between the copy and the original was a lapse or an intentional act of Tyrmand, who thus intended to spur additional interest in the book. The position presented by Marcin Kowalczyk in *Tyrmand karnawałowy* seems convincing:

It seems quite naive to state that Tyrmand obliviously included the photocopy of the manuscript on the cover of the London edition of *Diary*. It differed from the corresponding fragment in the book. The act should rather be understood as a conscious act of the author indicating that what we are dealing with is a re-edited text. The thesis of Tyrmand's lapse is very unlikely.¹⁴

¹² Apart from textual inconsistencies, some indicated calques from English and general clumsiness of some passages. Vide: M. Piasecki, "Dwa oryginały. Spór o 'Dziennik 1954' Leopolda Tyrmanda", *Gazeta Wyborcza* 1995, issue 132; P. Bratkowski, "Dziennik 1954-1980-1995", *Gazeta Wyborcza* 1995, issue 137.

¹³ Every sheet of the copy of the letter held by the Hoover Institute has its left margin cut off, hence the proposed reconstructions of some letters were provided in brackets. Original spelling has been preserved in the Polish version.

¹⁴ Vide: M. Kowalczyk, *Tyrmand karnawałowy*, Universitas, Krakow 2009, p. 69.

Thanks to the documents preserved in the Hoover Institute we do not have to rely solely on speculation. It is true that Tyrmand recorded notes on loose sheets alongside taking notes in a notebook.¹⁵ However, everything seems to indicate that he did not want to or he could not report the actual chain of events to Zimand. Fortunately for us, the sheet that was selected for the cover copy is quite peculiar. It includes the end of a note of 8 March and the initial fragment from the following day. Tyrmand introduced two corrections there. He changed the sentence: “Basically, those men are narrow-minded, raised by communism, towards whom ironic relativism in assessing anything fails completely” to: “Basically, those men are narrow-minded, raised by communism, towards whom ironic relativism fails completely in assessing anything.” He encircled the phrase “fails completely” and drew an arrow indicating its new location. Two sentences further, there is a sentence which reads: “They have a huge gap to the class of the morning verification board.” In an earlier version, the board was supposed to be a “classification” board, but the writer abandoned the idea, which is visible in a blurred fragment of a word which reads: “classifica”. Undoubtedly, the copied sheet came from a notebook.¹⁶ A letter by Nina Karsov¹⁷ proves extremely valuable in the context of this discussion; the letter reads:

I would like to consult the cover with you (the book is going to be a 216 x 135 cm paperback).

These are the propositions:

Solid cover with the author’s name and title;

A photograph of the author (but then: contemporary or from 1954?;

A 1954 Warsaw cityscape which would wrap around the book (if so, which fragment would you suggest? Do you, by any chance, have an appropriate photograph?

I could send over a few albums for you to choose from);

Fragment of the manuscript of *Diary*, properly blown up and aligned with the title (if so, please select a fragment and send a very good “bromide”, original copy preferably, which I will, of course, return to you).

¹⁵ Two other notes from loose sheets survived; he included them in the main narrative when preparing the journal for printing in 1973 (e.g. the final note of 29 March). However, no notes (not even in various editions) that would appear both on sheets and in the notebook survived.

¹⁶ The discussed editorial changes are partly obscured by the copy of a photograph of the Castle Square included on the cover. Despite that, they are discernible.

¹⁷ Nina Karsov confirmed that the book was being prepared and published when she was managing “both publishing houses (Polonia Book Fund and Overseas Publications) during the absence of Andrzej Stypułkowski from England”, yet she could not recall the exact sequence of events. Details based on a letter by Nina Karsov of 22 July 2016.

We have not come up with anything better, and I would like *Diary* to stand out with its graphic design. Should you have an idea, please remember that we cannot use more than three colours.¹⁸

As it turns out, Tyrmand had the chance to select a manuscript which the publisher included on the cover. He accepted that proposition and he suggested a sheet from a notebook. It is difficult to state why he was so determined to construct a story which was not reflected in facts. It may be possible that he did not remember what he refused to admit before Zimand. Then again, that could have been one of the elements forming his legend, which does not seem so improbable.

A Polish original or an American fake?

The lead theme of the debate which grew in its scope was the question whether Tyrmand published his actual journal which he kept in the first months of 1954 or whether he created a fake after emigrating, styling it in terms of its narration and composition to match journalistic narration. In the introduction to the first edition, he stated:

The facts are as follows:

- I kept this journal for the first three months of 1954;
- for twelve years the rough drafts lied deep inside rarely opened drawers;
[...]
- in 1965, after years of futile efforts to receive a passport, I was finally driving West in an old Opel; I was convinced I would emigrate, but I took the rough drafts with me inserting them, with the help of a trusted mechanic, near the differential; excessive caution as it turned out, customs officers, as I was crossing the border, were more interested in whether there will be a new edition of *Zły*;
[...]
- in 1968, when freedom was chosen, the journal crossed the Atlantic and travelled with me from place to place for five years; having settled in New Canaan, Connecticut, I copied the journal using a typewriter and I prepared it for a future book edition.”

Małgorzata Czermińska indicated that the debate over whether Tyrmand's work was written in 1954 or in the 1970s was not actually a purely philological dispute regarding the date when it was created. She raised a very important moral background for the debate:

¹⁸ Letter of 20 January 1980.

If the book is considered to be a journal, it is easier to draw more severe accusations towards people stained by any form of cooperation with the Stalinist regime. No explanation could help then, which otherwise could entail the concept of “Hegel’s bite”. If Tyrmand did write his journal in 1954 and already then posed his judgement (and was not afraid to express in his journal his opinions openly, which could have resulted in dire consequences for an “enemy of the people” should such a text end up in the wrong hands), it means that it was actually possible to avoid getting “bitten” and to avoid the “captivity of one’s mind.” And even without possessing any heroic traits. All that was necessary was a modicum of a sense of dignity, a bit of character, and some resistance to temptation. And maybe some defiance, too. Zbigniew Herbert would probably add that it was all about the power of taste¹⁹.

Regardless of what the truth was, the debate became polarised. Among those who objected to Tyrmand’s statements was his friend of many years: Tadeusz Konwicki.²⁰ He accused the author of forging *Diary 1954*. Konwicki’s book entitled *Zorze wieczorne* reads as follows:

Lolek calmed down a bit, shifted in his armchair, and said with a diabolic grin: “Well, I did not spare you in my *Diary*. I finally gave into my émigré editor and deleted many bitter, though true, words about you.” I shifted in my chair, too.
 “Lolo, my dear, but you wrote that journal in ‘76 or ‘77.”
 “No, untrue. I wrote it in ‘54.”
 “Lolo, so where did you get it from? How did you smuggle it?”
 “I hid it in the car’s exhaust system.”
 “Lolo, don’t you remember I participated in your departure. Both you and we, we knew that at the border the UB [Security Office] would take apart piece by piece not only your car but even your wristwatch.”
 “No, I stashed it away well.”
 Lolek defended himself while I kept attacking. He defended fearlessly though he could hardly hope I was going to believe him.²¹

Interestingly enough, in the same book Konwicki admitted with unbridled candour that he did not know the work against which he had so many reservations: “I haven’t read and I’m not sure if I’m ever going to read Tyrmand’s *Diary 1954*.”²²

¹⁹ M. Czerwińska, “Leopold Tyrmand – głos świadka”, *Rocznik Towarzystwa Literackiego im. A. Mickiewicza* 1993, p. 82.

²⁰ The authenticity of the journal was also questioned by Ryszard Maruszewski (*Literatura polska 1939–1991*, WSiP, Warsaw 1992, p. 79).

²¹ T. Konwicki, *Zorze wieczorne*, Alfa, Warsaw 1991, p. 55.

²² *Ibidem*.

The author of *Zorze wieczorne* most certainly took personally various rumours regarding passages in the journal which were supposed to reveal his engagement with the regime and the resulting gains. The fact that Konwicki's indignation had no factual basis was efficiently proven by Kazimierz Maciąg in an article entitled "Konwicki kontra Tyrmand czyli o autentyczności 'Dziennika 1954'". Moreover, Maciąg indicated that the persons who most often questioned the authenticity of the book were those whose "situation in 1954 was in strong contrast to Leopold Tyrmand's attitude and situation."²³

The deliberations and the resulting opinions of Roman Rimand were in complete opposition to Konwicki's opinion. In a summary of an extensive and virtually forensic study, Rimand wrote:

In defending *Diary 1954* against the accusation of forgery I stated that it would be very difficult if not impossible to falsify such a document. If I brought to the surface matters regarding which the writer tried to mislead readers and leave things out, that was also to help establish that a similar operation could not had been performed regarding any other plot of *Diary 1954*. The text offers no basis for that. That defends the authenticity of *Diary 1954*, an extremely interesting and unique account²⁴.

A decade later, in the introduction to an edition of the so-called original version of *Diary 1954*, Henryk Dasko, who had the opportunity to study the entire dossier of the work, confirmed Zimand's assumptions. For him, the manuscripts he viewed in the Hoover Institute in Palo Alto, California, completely settled the issue of the work's authenticity. In the introduction to the edition he prepared he did not conceal the fact that the manuscript differed significantly from the book version.²⁵ Today, thanks to the letters²⁶ exchanged between Tyrmand and Giedroyc and Zofia Hertz's²⁷ memoir, it is possible to say more about that controversial matter. Most of all, it must be stated that Tyrmand's journal, recorded in pencil throughout eight notebooks, was stored in Maisons-Laffitte after he had left Poland in 1965. He collected it a year later prior to travelling across the ocean. He presumably began editing his notes in 1973, and he published fragments in the London-based

²³ Vide: K. Maciąg, "Konwicki kontra Tyrmand czyli o autentyczności 'Dziennika 1954'", *Dekada Literacka* 1993, issue 9. Vide also: S. Nowicki, *Pół wieku czyścica. Rozmowy z T. Konwickim*, Warsaw 1990, p. 107.

²⁴ R. Zimand, *Wojna i spokój*, p. 49.

²⁵ Vide: H. Dasko, "Wstęp", in: L. Tyrmand, *Diary 1954*, introduction and editing H. Dasko, Tenten, Warsaw 1995, p. 29.

²⁶ I would kindly like to thank the management of the Literary Institute in Maisons-Laffitte for releasing the manuscripts of letters, and their help in my survey.

²⁷ Vide: <http://kulturaparyska.com/pl/find/item/Audio/73532?q=tyrmand>

Wiadomości in 1974–1978. The first book edition was published in London in 1980 by the Polonia Book Fund publishing house. In the foreword, Tyrmand wrote:

While working on the journal in Connecticut, Tyrmand's central dilemma was: what to do with opinions about people? Such opinions become aged and outdated, which does not mean that they become invalid or untrue [...] Obviously, in recording everyday news, moods, rumours, information caught in passing, a journal is susceptible to distortions, factual errors, sometimes major ones, deforming the truth even. In trying to tackle that problem I decided not to change anything in the texts – may it set in history together with my oversights, ignorance, carelessness, and mistakes²⁸.

Let us then consider the differences between the printed version and the initial form of the journal. Those mainly applied to the writer's political views. The manuscript of *Diary 1954* reads: "I have always had a liking for the figure of Lenin, unlike for Stalin. The former always had a revolutionary/underground Romantic air to him, so close to our fine literature." In the book version, Lenin was unequivocally referred to as the "master of crime and deceit." When comparing the London edition of the journal with Dasko's edition, one could also find differences which prove a shift in the author's temporal distance towards some matters. That applied, for example, to Zbigniew Herbert. In 1957, he was merely: "[...] one of the greatest poets of the young generation," while in the book edition, Herbert was emphatically named: "[...] the number one poet of his generation, or maybe even of the entire spread of Poland's post-WWII history."

The changes applied not only the content, but also to the composition. The end is particularly interesting. The final paragraph mysteriously is interrupted mid-sentence leaving the work without a clear conclusion. Years later, Tyrmand explained:

On the final night, tired of writing as it often happened, I interrupted the sentence midway with the intention to pick it up the following day. But I never came back to it. The following day Czytelnik offered me a contract to write *Zły*. Initially, I intended to continue writing my journal, but days passed suddenly filled by a different situation and obligations.

The comparison of the published version of the notebooks prove that the fragment also became an element of the creative efforts. Tyrmand achieved the effect of an unfinished journal by removing an extensive fragment of the text which concluded the records of a day. The first edition of the journal included many more such interventions. The differences between its first edition and the so-called origi-

²⁸ L. Tyrmand, "Przedmowa", in: idem, *Dziennik 1954*, ResPublica, Warsaw 1989, pp. 11–12.

nal version was studied in detail by Konrad Niciński, who noticed that Tyrmand's style had changed over twenty years. The new edition featured a much more extensive stylisation to resemble spoken language, drifting towards colloquial speech.²⁹ He also found that Tyrmand added around fifty new fragments, and reorganised many of the existing ones.³⁰

How many journals?

Leaving behind all of the questions on the originality of the work which are no longer valid, one should rather consider whether *Diary 1954* was one work or maybe two different works. I do not mean the difference between the manuscripts and the first book edition, but rather about works which function among readers on equal rights. I am referring to the first book edition of 1980 and Henryk Dasko's edition prepared based on manuscripts. The quoted article by Niciński includes the following fragment:

Therefore, all the characteristics are the reason why one should be discussing two separate works, which seems particularly significant as the difference has until now been widely ignored, e.g. most academic articles regarding Tyrmand's work lack any information on the version to which they refer. I hope that my discussion clearly indicated that the fact of treating both versions as one work (usually due to their authors' unfamiliarity with the original version) may introduce unnecessary chaos and severe interferences in the clarity of argumentation, especially if a reader knows both versions.³¹

The author of the text, trusting the editor of the "original version", did not analyse any archived documents. Yet, as it proved later, he did so too eagerly. The comparison of the edition prepared by Henryk Dasko and Tyrmand's notebooks proves that

²⁹ Vide: K. Niciński, "Dwie wersje 'Dziennika 1954' Leopolda Tyrmanda: wokół problemu tożsamości tekstu", *Pamiętnik Literacki* 2006, issue 4, p. 77.

³⁰ "In the London version, when that author was certain his book would reach readers who did not know from experience life in a totalitarian regime, that role of the text became emphasised even more, e.g. the descriptions of the activities of the repression machine were extended. Apart from retouching it for the emigration audience, there were added extensive passages which were previously only in an embryonic form. That mainly applies to 6 fragments, 4 of a educational nature, if you will, explaining in every basic detail how the system worked: on grass speech [empty promises] (9 Feb), on the mechanism of operation of the security office (10 Feb), on deceit as the core of the system (28 Feb), and on the institution of 'kick upwards' (25 Mar). They were included to increase the communication value of the text." Vide: K. Niciński, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

³¹ K. Niciński, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

access to the original copies was not enough to prepare a dependable edition. That mainly meant that when studying the journal Dasko made some controversial decisions, including some of Tyrmand's corrections while rejecting others.

Let us try to establish the facts. Let me begin with the drafts. The manuscript of *Diary 1954* consists of 8 notebooks. It underwent two editions. There are also three different typescripts edited by Tyrmand himself. Furthermore, there survived sample copies of the 1980 edition. Academics rarely have the opportunity to approach such extensive and interesting material. When comparing the available archive material with the printed editions of the journal, one should conclude there are two versions which exist today. First, the so-called original version of 1995, which, in theory, was supposed to include the initial version of the manuscript. In fact, that is not the case. Henryk Dasko created something of a hybrid, using Tyrmand's editions as he pleased. Moreover, it lacks the complete names of many persons, which were replaced with initials. The other most popular edition was prepared by the Polonia Book Fund publishing house in collaboration with Tyrmand. Since he oversaw the preparations of the volume, one might assume then that it is completely in line with what the author intended. However, the publishing house applied many forms of pressure on the writer. The resulting publication differed from that what Tyrmand intended to offer his readers.

Edited or censored?

Two people were responsible for editing the journal: Zbigniew Stypułkowski and Nina Karsov. The latter, having read the typescript of *Diary 1954*, wrote to Tyrmand:

If it was up to me, I would publish it as it is, without any changes, unfortunately though, and that's what bothers me, it includes certain fragments which could mean for us all (the author, the publisher and the printers) certain trouble ("libel"). I'm not absolutely certain whether life corrects its old mistakes even if it wants to, but what I do know is that if someone decides to "correct" our "mistakes" and sues us, they will take us to the cleaners. That is why I would find it best if we could establish how to go about particularly risky passages.³²

Nina Karsov prepared for Tyrmand the names of people who, according to her, could feel offended by the contents of the journal and seek justice in court:

1. p. 72: Dora Gomb. Is she alive? If not, let's leave as it is.
2. p. 72: Aleksander Ford. He's emigrated west and he'll probably attack.

³² Letter of 03 July 1979. Nina Karsov's letters to Leopold Tyrmand are kept at the Hoover Institute in Palo Alto.

3. p. 140: Konwicki, Kierczyńska, and Ważyk. Kierczyńska is dead, so that's OK. Konwicki may be offended, I suppose he doesn't take pride in his book "Władza" and the "past period" in general. (Surely the dissidents will be offended on his behalf because he's their idol, but I suppose we don't need to care much for that. Dissidents will be also offended by the remarks on Słonimski on pp. 77–78).

4. p. 168: Podkowiński

5. p. 196: Staszewski. (I vaguely recall he has died recently. Am I right? Dissidents as above).

6. p. 199 Danka De Rosis.

Volume II

1. p. 9: Leon Przemski. Is he alive?

2. p. 12 & the following: Iwaszkiewicz. Any touching up will only make it prettier, that is the meaning will not change, quite the opposite. What should we do? (That remark applies to almost everything.)

Further, there appear some other names, e.g.: Strykowski, Tarn, Sokorski, Ochab, Berman, Budrewicz, and Broniarek. In response to the suggestions, Tyrmand proposed to somehow mark the sensitive fragments, to which Nina Karsov replied:

Everything got delayed because I had to discuss your proposal with Mr. Stypułkowski. I finally managed to get hold of him. He did not agree to dotting: he believes the readers would consider it as censorship by the publisher. We agreed that I myself will introduce slight changes. In November, you will start receiving rough copies: I will mark all the proposed changes on the margin, and you will make the final decision.

Tyrmand tried to have an influence on the printing process until the very end. His intention was to preserve as much as possible. Eventually, though, he surrendered. In response to a letter from Karsov he wrote:

Your censorship is, this time, completely accepted. I can survive without a couple of insults against Ford and Strykowski (I even somewhat like the latter). Broniarek is a masochist and as well as I know him I gave some unique pleasure spitting at him, because it's in print, just like with Konwicki. But I won't argue with you.³³

Two weeks later, Karsov wrote that she had nothing against Konwicki experiencing some "perverse pleasure." Nonetheless the fragment which featured his name was censored "not due to a possible 'libel' suit, but at an explicit request by Mr. Stypułkowski." Furthermore, she stressed that "all other 'risky' fragments

³³ Letter of 05 January 1980.

(except for the description of Ford,” which she herself would choose to retain, remained unchanged. She argued that she defended them being convinced that the value of the journal consisted of, in part, glimpses of that which Tyrmand defined as “truths of the moment.” Consider the two people whose cases raised concerns and check how the “truth of the moment” they entailed was touched up.

The page indicated by Karsov included two fragments on Konwicki which were edited. From the course of the narration the following fragment was removed: “Konwicki, who seemed slow-witted resembling some beast swerving to avoid being kicked from the side, clad in some shapeless rags eliminating any assumptions of eroticism, looked as if someone smacked him on the head with a bat.” The phrase: “that poor moron has what he wanted” was changed to: “he finally has what he wanted.”³⁴ In the case of Aleksander Ford, the fragment in question was:

I remember when Aleksander Ford, the master of ideological slybootery, the virtuoso of securing for himself cars, large flats and gold dollars for a rainy day using Chopin quoting Lenin, destroyed that script during a public conference while praising it to the skies when discussing it unofficially, adding every now and again: “You must understand it yourself, don’t you...”

The printed version retained the following:

I remember when Aleksander Ford destroyed that script during a public conference while praising it to the skies when discussing it unofficially, adding every now and again: “You must understand it yourself, don’t you...”

At another location the text reads:

Ford knows how to make films, he’s a professional, he proved he can afford his own seal; but Ford also follows the ordered course or stage, while his only objective are awards, a trip to Cannes, material interests, his rule in Łódź, the Polish-communist Hollywood befitting him.

Originally, the fragment read:

Ford knows how to make films, he’s a professional, he proved he can afford his own seal; but Ford is also scum, a political scoundrel, smarmily following any ordered of the course or stage, whose only objective are awards, a trip to Cannes, material interests, his rule in Łódź, the Polish-communist Hollywood befitting him.

³⁴ Vide: L. Tyrmand, *Dziennik 1954*, Polonia Book Found, London 1985, p. 108.

It is worth mentioning that it would be pointless to look for the most controversial passages in the first notebook version of the journal. Tyrmand only added those in 1973 while preparing the first typescript version. It is possible that he treated the publication of his notes as an opportunity to settle some matters which he abandoned a few years prior in *Porachunki osobiste*³⁵.

Conclusions

The letters sent by Nina Karsov to Tyrmand prove that the publishers induced the writer to introduce extensive modifications, which were contrary to what he might have intended, though he did eventually agree to them. The letters included a recurring theme of possible law suits the publishing house might have faced. To avoid these the editors suggested and sometimes even demanded Tyrmand re-phrase specific fragments of the text. As a result of these extensive negotiations, Tyrmand reduced many names to initials only, in other cases he toned down the initially acute remarks about his colleagues. The modifications related to the publisher's intervention were part of a bigger whole of the writer's re-editing activities. The first printed version of *Diary 1954* includes several dozen new extensive fragments. The more significant changes applied not only to the length but also the quality. That version of the book was prepared by a writer 20 years older, who lived in a completely different cultural setting and in a different political and personal circumstances. His intended reader was also different. Based on all that I am inclined to conclude that the two version of the 1954 journal existing in circulation constitute two different works. One should, however, inquire about their forms. The so-called original edition does not meet the requirements of its own name as it is a hybrid, while copies of the first printed version duplicate the form of the work, to which Tyrmand agreed having been threatened with possible lawsuits. Therefore, it would be worth considering for new editions of the journal to restore both works to their true original forms.

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Dariusz Pachocki

Tekstowe meandry. *Dziennik 1954* Leopolda Tyrmanda – problem nie tylko filologiczny

Streszczenie

W Instytucie Hoovera w Palo Alto przechowywana jest największa na świecie kolekcja rękopisów Leopolda Tyrmanda. Analiza tych materiałów daje podstawy do rozwiania pewnych wątpliwości dotyczących autentyczności jego *Dziennika 1954*. Panuje powszechne przekonanie, iż utwór ten jest oryginalnym dziennikiem, który został napisany w Polsce, co jest zgodne z prawdą. Jednak zanim został opublikowany, przeszedł różnego rodzaju modyfikacje (m.in. stylistyczne i kompozycyjne). Niezwykle ważką kwestią jest charakter zmian, na których zależało przyszłemu wydawcy. Lektura listów Tyrmanda dowodzi, że nie wszystkie modyfikacje były zgodne z jego wolą i że nie wszystkie zostały przez niego zainicjowane.

Słowa kluczowe: Leopold Tyrmand, rękopisy, Hoover Institution, *Dziennik 1954*, diarystyka, filologia, cenzura, krytyka tekstu

Textual meanders. *Diary 1954* of Leopold Tyrmand – a problem of not only a philological nature

Summary

The Hoover Institution at Stanford University holds the largest collection of manuscripts by Leopold Tyrmand in the world. An analysis of the materials stored at the Hoover Institution provides grounds for dissipating some doubts about the authenticity

of his *Diary 1954*. Today, we are certain that Tyrmand's work is an original diary that had been written in Poland. However, before it was published, it underwent various modifications (in terms of style, composition, and material). A very important issue is the kind of censorship made by the publishing house. The reading of Tyrmand's letters proves that not all of the modifications were in accordance with his will, and that not all of them were initiated by him. Moreover, readers of the article will learn some facts about Tyrmand's creative process and different variants of his works.

Keywords: Leopold Tyrmand, textual criticism, Hoover Institution, manuscripts

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Dziennik wojenny by Leopold Buczkowski. A challenge for a (young) editor

Trauma and the texture of writing

The academic reception of Leopold Buczkowski's work, with minor exceptions, is dominated by the structuralist and the literary history approaches. Suffice to quote a few books: *Granice spójności narracji* by Maria Indyk, *Przemoc świata* by Tadeusz Błażejowski, *Poetyka powieści niefabularnej* by Bodgan Owczarek and his studies published in national journals, and *Prawda mitu i literatury* by Sławomir Buryła¹. The structuralist method (mainly focusing on the issue of intertextuality) also offered much for Ryszard Nycz's studies in *Sylwa współczesne* and *Tekstowy świat*². The structuralist method (mostly at least), constitutes the foundation for the articles gathered in a collection entitled *...zimą bywa się pisarzem*³.

However, the unique texture of *Dziennik wojenny*, as well as *Czarny potok*, *Dorycki krążanek* and *Pierwsza świetność*, is the reason why they constitute interesting objects for analysis by aficionados of post-structuralist theories. That was the foundation of the doctoral dissertation of Dawid Skrabek entitled *Traumatyczna*

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3 *...zimą bywa się pisarzem. O Leopoldzie Buczkowskim*, S. Buryła, A. Karpowicz, R. Sioma (eds.), Universitas, Krakow 2008.

*tkanka sztuki*⁴. In it, the author emphasised mainly the findings of Jacques Lacan, the French psychoanalyst, and Slavoj Žižek, his continuator. Skrabek consistently developed his interpretation of Buczkowski's works using a category which had been previously mentioned by the commentators of the writer, though usually they referenced it as just one of many, never placing it in centre focus. That category is the category of trauma.

Until then Buczkowski's journal had been omitted by researchers.⁵ Skrabek was probably the first to extract its exceptional texture, quite justly emphasising the unique character of the text. The application of trauma realism in the case of Buczkowski's works proved innovative and accurate.⁶ According to Skrabek, thus defined realism reveals trauma through traumatic form. To show the Real means to show "naked life", History not touched by any myths, and so had not yet managed to tame and galvanise it. Thus, Buczkowski in his journal – and later in *Czarny potok* – had to move to the side of ugliness, brutality, and cruelty; he had to – by using dissonance – shatter the readers' good mood⁷.

Skrabek's objective – in which he remained true to the spirit of the loner from Konstancin – was to reconstruct the notion of a total work. In it, literature coincides with the graphic message and musical compositions. The young researcher's perspective differed from the previous approaches. The initial assumptions of his dissertation read:

My intention [...] shall be not only to present the literary interpretation of the output of the author of *Wertepy*, but also its graphic and musical interpretations. I would prefer not to [...] discuss those works individually, separating that which is literary from that which is graphic and musical. [...] Such an interpretation, inter-semiotic all things considered, is not so much a presentation of the relationships between literary and other artistic domains, as an indication that there exist moments in those works when suddenly one discourse transitions into another, for a moment, a blink of an eye, it becomes its own contradiction which by introducing a division results

4 D. Skrabek, *Traumatyczna tkanka sztuki*, dissertation written under the supervision of Professor Anna Burzyńska in 2011. The typescript of the doctoral dissertation is available at the library of the Faculty of Philology of the Jagiellonian University.

5 I discussed him to some extent in my book *Prawda mitu i literatury*.

6 On traumatic realism vide, e.g. K. Bojarska, *Wydarzenia po Wydarzeniu. Białoszewski – Richter – Spiegelman*, IBL, Warsaw 2012.

7 A question arises whether – paradoxically – *Czarny potok* or *Dziennik wojenny* do not create some added layer, something which should be termed "the charm of terror." Suffice to reference the descriptions of destruction and ruin, extremely suggestive and terrifying, yet superb in literary terms. Quite similar to the depressing images of the nature of the Borderlands, drowned in blacks and greys. It seems apt that *Czarny potok* is sometimes considered to possess a strange hypnotising power.

in the shattering of all structures. [...] It is dialectics outside dialectics, dialectics of that which is literary and that which is graphic and musical, which leads not to a synthesis but to a loosening of meaning, structure, and substance. Therefore, the graphic and musical creations are somewhat the main building blocks for those works, not just mere ornaments.” (p. 20)⁸

According to Skrabek, the point was not to identify and name the relationships between various areas of art, but to achieve a type of unity where the type of creative activity is perceived through another; where, sometimes, the means of expression typical for one area of art are involuntarily cast onto another.

For Buczkowski, experiment was not a matter of artistic choice (as was the case during the period of European avant-garde). By joining the poetics of fragment (significant for the literature of the Holocaust), the experiment proves a necessity in the case of a world which cannot be made whole again. Approaching the same plot once again and returning to scenes and situations which had already been told constitutes the guiding principle of the story of *Czarny potok*. Yet the re-illumination of events (situations) does not lead to solving them; even worse – it does not always help settle which version is the most probable. *Czarny potok* (to some extent *Dziennik wojenny* as well) is the dialectics of approximating and relegating substance. Nothing is (nor can be) absolutely clear. That is the nature of trauma itself, not a result of how the author toys with the reader.

Trauma is doomed with the poetics of fragment, non-linear stories (or rather its opposite), and chaotic torn narration violating the rules of realistic reproduction. In fact, the artist has an opportunity to touch upon the major aspects of the Shoah. Skrabek thus put it:

The events of the Shoah belong to a different order of *reality*, which is why they must be discussed in a different in-credible manner. Therefore, historical or realistic narration cannot constitute the basis for any reflection or any attempt to present the Holocaust, but rather [...] an attempt to create something which will evade the established norms of expression. Only by subjecting the language and the literary matter to transformations which the latter has not yet experienced, can we attempt to say anything about an experience which – just like that literature – has never occurred before. (p. 312)

⁸ D. Skrabek, *Traumatyczna tkanka sztuki*, p. 20. It would be easy to list the aficionados and commentators of the interdisciplinary output of the author of *Pierwsza świetność* who had pointed out his works as a painter, sculptor and musician – Adam Wiedemann and Agnieszka Karpowicz to name but a few – yet almost all of them did so while making the sacrifice (surely unintentional) of downgrading his prose whenever their reflections would enter the realm of art history. [Unless indicated otherwise, English versions translated from Polish]

No one has ever emphasised so strongly the coherence of Buczkowski's art, where the theme of war (the Shoah in particular) seeks its reflection not only in prose but also in other realms of artistic expression. It also forms and determines the artist's existence: his house in Konstancin and its surroundings become filled with paintings and sculptures. Thus understood, art assumes the form of an existential project.

Skrabek's meticulously driven argument defines a point of reference for the editor of *Dziennik wojenny* (as well as later texts) which cannot be omitted. First of all, the researcher indicated the notion of a total work, which was fundamental for Buczkowski. Digital releases and the internet environment seem the best medium for indicating the essence of this concept. Digital copies enable one not only to preserve the past qualities of traditional printing, but they also add new functionalities. Apart from a chance to expand the array of critical devices and to freely include facsimiles (almost unhindered by financial considerations), there are also the much more extensive options of graphic design, i.e. uploading files with images, photographs, and sound effects.⁹ Secondly, by using the theory of trauma, Skrabek convincingly tracked the relationship between the book's unique punctuation – most visible in “Grząski sad” and “Powstanie na Żoliborzu” – and the moment when the text was written. Thus, a fringe experience leaves its trace in the texture of the work.

Starting point

Buczkowski's journal is part of the collections of the Adam Mickiewicz Museum of Literature in Warsaw. The meanings of “live speech” (which resulted in books: *Proza żywa, Wszystko jest dialogiem, Żywe dialogi*) indicate that Buczkowski often referred to the journal. He sometimes even quoted its fragments, yet he did not agree to it being published. That poses a problem. Zygmunt Trziszka's account is not considered absolutely reliable, not only by Buczkowski's closest relatives. *Proza żywa, Wszystko jest dialogiem* and *Żywe dialogi*¹⁰ have not been compared with the basis of the editing process, i.e. tape recordings gathered in the private collections of Anna Trziszkowa. My experiences with editing *Znakiem tego, udialogizujemy dalej* indicate, in fact, that the author of *Heppeniada* could have intervened considerably in the tape scripts¹¹. More questions arise. It has never been verified which part of the material recorded on the tapes was used in the printed version.

9 J. Gruchała, “Wirtualny wydawca i użytkownik edycji elektronicznej”, in: *Europejski kanon literacki*, E. Wichrowska (ed.), Wydawnictwo UW, Warsaw 2012.

10 L. Buczkowski, *Wszystko jest dialogiem*, Warsaw 1984; L. Buczkowski, *Proza żywa*, Pomorze, Bydgoszcz 1986; L. Buczkowski, Z. Trziszka, *Żywe dialogi*, Pomorze, Bydgoszcz 1989.

11 “*Znakiem tego, dialogizujemy dalej*”, S. Buryła, Z. Trziszka (eds.), *Regiony* 1998, issue 1/3, pp. 89–102.

One thing is clear: book editions surely did not include the entirety of the taped discussions between Trziszka and Buczkowski. Of course, an editor has the right to select certain elements, but in the case of Trziszka and his attitude towards source material one can suspect the nature of his selections (and the extent of his editorial changes). Did he omit some fragments due to some inconveniences (not only his own)? As far as I know the author of *Wertepy* corrected only the first part, i.e. *Proza żywa*. He did not “correct” the remainder.

Two parts of the journal were copied from the manuscript and prepared for printing by Bogusław Żurkowski. “Powstanie na Żoliborzu” was published first (*Regiony* 1992, issue 3/4). Yet in chronological terms, the events recorded in “Grząski sad” preceded it (*Ex Libris* 1994, issue 57)¹². The third part of the journal applied to the fortunes of the author of *Dorycki kruźganek* from the fall of the Warsaw Uprising to the autumn of 1945. It was first printed – edited by Sławomir Buryła and Radosław Sioma – in *Teksty Drugie* (2001, col. 2). “Koniec wojny” was printed on A5 sheets of a normal student notebook, as was “Grząski sad” and “Powstanie na Żoliborzu”. “Koniec wojny” occupies 31 of the 93 numbered pages. “Grząski sad” and “Powstanie na Żoliborzu” are of similar sizes.

In 2001, a book edition of Buczkowski’s journal was released, prepared by Buryła and Sioma.¹³ The accompanying *Aneks* included a fragment entitled *Znakiem tego, dialogizujemy dalej*. It was originally intended to be included in the second volume of *Żywe dialogi*. *Znakiem tego, dialogizujemy dalej* presented the loner from Konstancin as an uncompromising person disillusioned about the intentions of the approaching Red Army, consciously assessing the political situation before and after the Warsaw Uprising. In order to draw the complete multifaceted creative image of Buczkowski and his mental state from when he was writing *Dziennik wojenny*, we supplemented our edition to include poems from the 1940s (though many were lost during World War II, the total number of which is hard to estimate). Together with the journal they form a coherent whole in terms of the mood and theme¹⁴.

According to the writer’s son, who in turn mentioned Marian Kratochwil, the author of *Czarny potok* had “a backpack full of poems” (Most of them were lost, though it is possible that some remain scattered in private collections.) We

¹² The same issue included a reprint of “Grząski sad”. Żurkowski’s edition included some inconsistencies which were partly the result of the haste with which the Krakow researcher worked trying to prepare for printing the previously unknown work by the author of *Dorycki kruźganek*.

¹³ L. Buczkowski, *Dziennik wojenny*, S. Buryła, R. Sioma (eds.), Wydawnictwo UWM, Olsztyn 2001.

¹⁴ *Nieznane wiersze Leopolda Buczkowskiego* edited by Sławomir Buryła and Radosław Sioma were published in *Przegląd Artystyczno-Literacki* 1998, issue 10; *Twórczość* 1999, issue 2, *Regiony* 2000, issue 2/4. A considerable portion of these has probably been lost, though it is also possible that some of them are scattered in private collections.

made that decision remembering that those were works which must be interpreted in the context of the issues signaled in “Grząski sad” and “Powstanie na Żoliborzu”.

The case of the avant-texte of *Dziennik wojenny* remains a mystery. The final part of the journal in the third book is preceded by a page with an inscription: “III 87”, while the previous two: “I 87” and “II 87”. Sioma and I decided that those were the dates when Buczkowski was organising and rewriting his journal when we were preparing it for printing almost two decades ago.

The three volumes included approximately 20 sheets filled with “a child’s handwriting.” One of those included the following fragment covering half a page: “Tadeusz Buczkowski and daddy Leopold and mummy Marysia and uncle and auntie.”¹⁵ Where did it come from? If it was written by a child, i.e. Tadeusz Buczkowski, it must have been written much earlier than in the 1980s (at that time Tadeusz Buczkowski was already a man of forty, and his sister Agnieszka, now Wood, was of a similar age). The following explanation cannot be excluded, though: Leopold Buczkowski, to save money, used notebooks which were used by a child in the first half of the 1950s and which were bought then or even a bit earlier. A definitive answer could entail a visit to the Museum of Literature and a verification of the three notebooks to establish when they were manufactured.

If, in the case of *Dziennik wojenny*, one applies the old maxim that “editing means editing out”, a question arises about omissions. Paweł Rodak thus discussed the relationship between the source of a fair copy and the fair copy itself:

It is something natural and [...] authentic when a diarist destroys his diary completely or partly, tears out pages and blurs original notes, thus proving the intimate nature of the diarist practice. It is just as authentic that by transforming the original diary into a literary diary text the author changes his notes. What is important, however, is to remember that the practice of recording everyday events and the practice of copying them result in the creation of not two identical texts, i.e. an original copy and a duplicate, but two different (both text and content-wise) versions of a diary, which only once compiled and viewed together create a new value in every aspect: material, textual, and fictional.¹⁶

What disappeared from the notes recorded regularly by Buczkowski? The question cannot be answered, due to a lack of the source for the 1987 fair copy. Thus, the path most vital for genetic researchers, i.e. from an avant-texte to the work, cannot be traced back.

¹⁵ The Polish version retains the original punctuation.

¹⁶ P. Rodak, *Między zapisem a literaturą. Dziennik polskiego pisarza w XX wieku*, Wydawnictwo UW, Warsaw 2011, pp. 365–367.

The process of copying results in one more area of doubt. It centres around the question about the division between a journal and a memoir, about the rules governing how those two autobiographical genres transcend one another. I wish to reiterate the question referring to Rodak's discussion of Maria Dąbrowska's technique. Allow me to quote a longer excerpt from the researcher's argument:

The first record in 1956 Dąbrowska began with a realisation: "The journal is turning into a diary." [...] In fact, the change, though not complete, occurred earlier, more or less during the war. That was when the journal began to resemble a constantly being moved in time (by a week, two weeks, a month) diary being created mainly with future readers in mind, which was visible, e.g. in the intentional structure, careful selection of the language, and the diversification of the stylistics of writing, but also in the use of various forms of presentation. It was then that Dąbrowska engaged in a systematic reading and re-writing her journal. It was then that she wrote "supplements" to it, starting with remarks on the differences between a journal and a diary [...] It was then that her personal everyday writing practice shifted towards literature yet never losing its everyday nature.¹⁷

Without the source for Buczkowski's fair copy, one cannot conclude anything about the situation. Yet it is indisputable that each copying (after a long time) of one's own notes carries the indicated *risks*. Deletions and super-script indicate that. Where (or when) did the remarks in the journal come from? Were they a sign of an unfaithful (careless) process of copying or rather a result of editing; of untraceable changes introduced as he was working on his final draft in January, February and March of 1987?

Because the original version of the journal is missing, the question about the material can also be posed only in reference to the 1987 manuscript. The selection of the material in an extreme situation and in the safe environment of one's home are two completely different matters. It is difficult to state today whether the first version of the journal had the form of a notebook or maybe loose sheets. Or maybe it was recorded, if not completely then maybe partly, on another type of material than notebook pages or typing paper. That obviously affects the process of how meaning developed:

The page format, the paper type and characteristics of a series of materials or one single material throughout play an important role in the process of writing. A writer works one way with a notebook, where the pages progress naturally and exist side

¹⁷ Ibidem, pp. 392–393.

by side, and differently with loose independent sheets; a small scrap of paper offers a completely different space than a large-format page, etc.¹⁸

Did notes recorded *hic et nunc* include any traces of the war (e.g. stains, singeing)? What did Buczkowski use to record his thoughts? A fountain pen, a pencil, or a crayon? Or maybe he was forced to use other tools due to the conditions of existence during the occupation.¹⁹

The sentence written on 27 Dec 1944 results in yet another set of questions in genetic criticism. Buczkowski rebuked himself: “Reconstruct the material to ‘Grząski sad’”²⁰. What material was he referring to? Did he mean to inscribe oral or written testimonies of the witnesses of the events? Or maybe he meant to write additional notes, remarks, observations himself, and possibly include drawings and photographs, which did not make the cut for the version of the journal as we know it now. In “Powstanie na Żoliborzu” Buczkowski did indicate photographs and drawings as alternative and enriching forms of commemorating the tragedy of the Uprising. The majority of the photographs from that time perished in the Warsaw Uprising. But some survived. They are part of the Tadeusz Buczkowski’s family archive. One cannot exclude the possibility that the author of *Wertepy* planned to include them in “Grząski sad” or “Powstanie na Żoliborzu”. That would prove the heteronomous nature of the journal. The 1987 fair copy includes traces of that. The texts of “Grząski sad” and “Powstanie na Żoliborzu” include passages in verse form. There are also a few drawings sketched by Buczkowski (there might had been more in the original version). One is an image of a draw well.

Buczkowski’s visual imagination was a distinctive quality of his prose. The author of *Pierwsza świetność* owed it to his inclination for painting. The visual dimension of the journal is visible not only in the host of images depicting the madness of destruction, but in actual references, e.g. to paintings by William Turner and James Ensor.

The heteronomous aspect of “Grząski sad” and “Powstanie na Żoliborzu” corresponds to the notion of a total work, mutual transcendence, and the coexistence of various art disciplines and their major forms of expression.

The issue of the origin of *Dziennik wojenny* refers to a broader issue: of “origins documents (*dossier* of origins).” Pierre-Marc de Biasi thus defined it:

¹⁸ P-M de Biasi, *Genetyka tekstów*, trans. F. Kwiatek, M. Prussak, IBL, Warsaw 2015, p. 90.

¹⁹ The notebooks kept at the Museum of Literature include text recorded predominantly in fountain pen. Only some fragments were recorded in pencil. At those instances, the pages are faded, and the text is hardly legible. A colour pencil was used to record the fragments by the child.

²⁰ L. Buczkowski, *Dziennik wojenny*, p. 85.

Origins documents consist “archives” usually maintained by national heritage institutions, either public or private. Their very nature is the reason why they include working manuscripts: designs, plans, notes, notebooks, sketches, drawings, notes from reading, marginalia, fragments of earlier versions, document excerpts, preliminary drafts, fair copies, author’s corrected copies, etc. They also include autographs enabling better understanding of the origins, such as correspondence, private diaries, calendar, youth writings, etc. [...] The origins documentation may be supplemented with other material [...] yet important for the analysis checked out books, letters received, personal library of the writer, publishing contracts, official files and documents, last wills, family archives, etc.²¹

Sadly, Buczkowski’s artistic legacy is still largely unstudied. It consists not only of written texts, but also paintings, photographs, drawings, sculptures²², and cassette tapes with musical recordings²³. It would be necessary to study thoroughly the respective collections of the Museum of Literature in Warsaw, those in Nakvasha where he was born, Tadeusz Buczkowski’s archive in Split, and the private archive of Anna Trzyszkowa. That gives rise to many questions. The legacy of the author of *Wertepy* has not undergone a separate “investigation”. As Tadeusz Buczkowski indicated, the Museum of Literature has not catalogued the entire collection, which the institution received in the 1990s. Such a statement requires verification, of course.

Two years ago, Agnieszka Karpowicz and I were able to establish a team of specialists in Buczkowski’s works. One of its objectives is to create a virtual museum of Buczkowski. It would serve as the source of information on his output, but also as a source of knowledge on the writer himself, documenting the facts from his life, probable events and those completely improbable in his life.²⁴ Some biographical doubts resulted from Buczkowski’s fickle nature, as he was eager to provoke readers, toy with them, fabricate events in his biography or treat them rather freely. Our knowledge of what happened to the writer in 1943–1945 is scant. Yet it constitutes the key context for *Dziennik wojenny*. Individual short details about that period are contained in three volumes of the “live talks” prepared in cooperation

²¹ P-M de Biasi, *Genetyka tekstów*, p. 52.

²² Some sculptures have survived only in photographs, other are kept by the friends of Tadeusz Buczkowski, the writer’s son. Some were stolen from the garden surrounding the writer’s house in Konstancin in Piasta St.

²³ The cassette tapes are part of the private archive of Anna Trzyszka.

²⁴ Another objective of our efforts is to develop a ten-volume edition of the writer’s prose works. That applies to texts from the first stage of the writer’s creative life: *Wertepy*, *Czarny potok*, *Dziennik wojenny*, *Dorycki krużganek*, *Młody poeta w zamku*, *Pierwsza świetność*, personal correspondence, and *Kąpiele w Lucca*. The novel mentioned last would, according to the team, have a hypertextual form. That structure would reflect the hypertextual nature of *Kąpiele w Lucca* impossible to achieve in a traditional printed form.

with Trziszka. There are references to the deaths of Tadeusz and Zygmunt, his two brothers murdered by UPA units.

Modern technology, i.e. online publications and the available graphic design software, offers an opportunity to establish an attractive virtual museum. Its modern character would match well with the avant-garde spirit of Buczkowski's works. Just as with other such websites (the Virtual Museum of Konstancin is a good example), it would be possible to post links to other websites related to the author of *Czarny potok*.

Yet another objective of our efforts is to develop an interactive map where one could mark geographical/historical/biographical facts. Digitisation would enable wider access while preserving audio-visual material, graphic works, and photographs which are now available only to those personally interested in the output of the loner from Konstancin.

Due to the lack of irrefutable facts (maybe, one day, we will achieve certainty) we cannot unequivocally state whether the author of *Dorycki kruźganek* treated the 1987 version as the final one. Neither do we know whether he intended to publish his journal at all. It would be necessary to carefully study his personal correspondence and all the documents gathered in the collections of the Museum of Literature.²⁵ That could be a way to verify/expand our knowledge on the origins of *Dziennik wojenny*. When I visited Tadeusz Buczkowski in Split in 2015, I discovered the writer's long-forgotten notebook *Nota bene*. It would also require a careful study. It is a unique document, for until now no one knew anything about any rough notepad or notebook which belonged to the author of *Pierwsza świetność*. While, in fact, the nature of his prose – particularly in the later stage, based on excerpts, quotations and quasi-quotations, and allusions – somewhat enforces the existences of such avant-texte artefacts.

Hasty decisions of (young) editors

Several years back, when Radosław Sioma and I were beginning to analyse the three school notebooks kept at the Museum of Literature, we were both young researchers starting our editing careers. That is an area, more so than many others, where one gains experience with time. Yet quite early on we understood that Buczkowski's journal should be amended in our edition.

What were the mistakes in *Dziennik wojenny*? Our intention to make the text more accessible should be considered as the source of the major mistakes. We were too eager to decide that the readers' comfort in reading was more important than

²⁵ Until now, the most extensive study of Buczkowski's private correspondence has been presented by Justyna Staroń in her master's thesis entitled *Listy Leopolda Buczkowskiego do żony Marii – próba edycji* (typescript of the master's thesis, KUL).

retaining the complex texture of the text. Therefore, we changed Buczkowski's trademark punctuation (it was retained by Żurkowski in "Grząski sad" and "Powstanie na Żoliborzu"), adjusting to the needs of the readers. We introduced *commas* and *periods* where they were necessary for logic and clarity. When working on the autograph, with the readers' benefit in mind, we unified the punctuation. Thus, we abandoned the varying *punctuation marks*: #, = #, =, -, specific for Buczkowski, while the journal of the author *Pierwsza świetność* stands out among other well-known works of the latter half of the 20th c. in that, e.g. its autobiographical and documentary message takes a unique linguistic form seldom found in the genre (stylistics, punctuation, and graphics).

As we were careful to retain the *emotional* nature of the journal, we retained in many instances the writer's peculiar *hyphenated writing* (it also appeared often in Buczkowski's personal correspondence). Yet the decision did not prove fortunate as within that same problem area two, opposite it must be added, editing principles are used.

Buczkowski did not add a title to the third part of the journal (unlike in the case of "Grząski sad" and "Powstanie na Żoliborzu"). It was introduced by the editors. We tried to find the most neutral descriptive form, if you will, for "end of war". The decision to add a title to the third part of the journal must be considered as an excessive intervention in the text and taking over the competences which belong to the author. The same applies to adding a title to the entire publication: "a war journal". Originally, neither of the three notebooks did include a title or a suggestion about the title of the whole.

Apart from the mistakes discussed above – which were caused by the methodological decisions made by the editors – *Dziennik wojenny* includes passages which we were unable to read. As per the rules of editing, such fragments were marked in square brackets. Those mostly applied to single words, not longer phrases. They included proper names and expressions (usually single words) specific for the linguistic code of a writer who was born and raised where several languages intersected.²⁶

It is difficult to classify the edition of *Dziennik wojenny*. Instead of the type B edition we intended to achieve – which would feature the qualities of an academic edition, like the works published in the National Library series – we produced a type C edition (as per Konrad Górski's classification).²⁷ It is the latter that allows text interventions (mode of recording) to make it more accessible for the readers, without taking note of that which inspires genetic critics: the *history* of

²⁶ The phenomenon is more emphatic on the pages of *Czarny potok*, which very often include words from Yiddish, Russian (Ruthenian), Ukrainian, and Polish. That is one of the reasons why Buczkowski's masterpiece is so hermetic.

²⁷ Vide K. Górski, *Tekstologia i edytorstwo dzieł literackich*, Wydawnictwo UMK, Toruń 2011.

a text's emergence, of its being born. When considered in terms of the array of the critical tools applied (extensive notes, Introduction and Afterword), *Dziennik wojenny* displays qualities characteristic of type B editions. Therefore, it would be most accurate to conclude that the version of Buczkowski's journal prepared by us is situated at the borderline between type B and C editions, having the qualities of both. Therefore, it cannot be considered as an entirely type B or type C publication, though it features more qualities specific for a type B edition.

Endpoint

Dziennik wojenny cannot be read without any reference to *Wertepy* and *Czarny potok*²⁸. It constitutes an intellectual and artistic bridge between them. Both the geography and the history of "Grząski sad" correspond to those of *Czarny potok*. They complement and shed additional light on each other.²⁹ In his dissertation, Skrabek discussed the relationship between *Dziennik wojenny* and *Czarny potok*, which consisted of not so much the evolution of formal devices marking the consecutive stages of the destruction of the novel texture in Buczkowski's works, but the emphatic introduction of trauma into the narration. *Czarny potok* seems in that sense a continuation and an eruption of imagination plagued by madness, the same which supported *Dziennik wojenny*.

The discussed reasons seem sufficient to argue in favour of an edition of *Dziennik wojenny* together with *Czarny potok*, while the desired edition would include *Wertepy*, *Dziennik wojenny* and *Czarny potok*. That could reveal various relationships which exist between the three texts, indicating, through its organisation, the evolution of Buczkowski's prose.

As I have already mentioned, our 2001 edition obscured the linguistic uniqueness of the journal for the benefit of accessibility. Today, with knowledge on the theory of trauma and traumatic realism, we would rather see in it a special form (and unique in Polish literature), trying to reproduce the exceptionality of the extreme experiences, not just another sign of Buczkowski's artistic extravagance. Facsimiles could save it to some extent. In the new edition facsimiles should constitute a visual supplement to the text of the journal which should help regain its dramatic nature – its inherent expressive potential and the dynamism of the struggles with the experiences of the Shoah. The point would be to return to the torn traumatic records of the three school notebooks.

²⁸ *Wertepy* must be first restored to the version prior to censorship interventions. Vide S. Buryła, "Edytorskie aspekty twórczości Leopolda Buczkowskiego. Rekonesans", *Pamiętnik Literacki* 2008, coll. 2, p. 167–189.

²⁹ The topic was raised by, e.g. S. Buryła, "Między 'Wertepami' a 'Czarnym potokiem'. Wybrane zagadnienia ewolucji prozy Leopolda Buczkowskiego", *Teksty Drugie* 2001, coll. 2, p. 265–273.

Just like in the case of several other works by the loner from Konstancin, the journal should be enriched with various types of iconographic material kept by the Museum of Literature in Warsaw, in the private collection in Split, and the collection of Tadeusz Buczkowski, the writer's son. Some can also be viewed on the website of the museum in Konstancin. Therefore, the new edition of Buczkowski's journal should include rich iconographic material. The first reason supporting such a decision is the heteronomous nature of *Dziennik wojenny*. Secondly, drawings, paintings, photographs, and maps enable one to fulfil the aesthetic concepts inscribed in the works and the statements by the "total artist." It would be difficult to ignore the role of photographs in the contexts for "Grząski sad" and "Powstanie na Żoliborzu". In "Powstanie na Żoliborzu" Buczkowski took photographs of human corpses and the frames of collapsing buildings. A similar function was fulfilled by his intended lithographic images of figures and events in the fights and the map of Warsaw. All that was intended to emphasise the historic truth, and to place the journal within the field of documentary relations remaining true to reality.

In *Dziennik wojenny* – as inspiring interpretational contexts reflecting Buczkowski's avant-garde, experimental, intertextual, and multi-media output – we included iconographic elements. The condition of the university's printing facilities was the reason why the included images lost much of their original clarity.³⁰

The reading of "Grząski sad" largely depends on various historical and geographical references. The latter are often unclear today due to geopolitical changes that have occurred in Europe after 1945. The clarification of historical intricacies is one of the main challenges which an editor of *Dziennik wojenny* faces. A particular case applies to the first part entitled "Grząski sad". The events in Podolia it describes require historical commentary, more extensive and detailed than the one which we offered in the 2001 edition. Buczkowski, sometimes quite indirectly, spoke of specific facts. "Grząski sad", remaining a literary projection, is an account of the massacres of the Polish civilian population in Ukraine. It includes references to, e.g. the massacre in Huta Pieniacka.³¹ The efforts which Polish researchers have made since 2000 to establish the reasons for and, most of all, the course of the conflict in Volhynia and Podolia enable better evaluation of Buczkowski's journal within the political and historical aspects.

Buczkowski's prose belongs to that vein which strictly demands commentary and notes. That is one of the conditions for clarifying its meaning and rendering the

³⁰ Currently, the most extensive collection of drawings, photographs and reproductions of paintings was included in an issue of *Konteksty* (2015, issue 3) devoted to the author of *Czarny potok*.

³¹ Vide W. Szwiec, "Informacja o śledztwie w sprawie ludobójstwa dokonanego przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich w latach 1939–1945 na terenie Huty Pieniackiej", in: *Prawda historyczna a prawda polityczna w badaniach naukowych. Ludobójstwo na Kresach południowo-wschodniej Polski w latach 1939–1946*, B. Paż (ed.), Wydawnictwo UWr, Wrocław 2011, p. 117–125.

complex texture of the texts by the loner from Konstancin more accessible as their comprehension is extremely difficult. Though the content of *Dziennik wojenny* is not as complex as that of other works by the author of *Kamień w pielnuszkach*, it does include a series of words created at the intersection of different linguistic codes. Apart from linguistic elements which must be clarified, there are also literary allusions. We were not able to decipher all of them for the currently available edition. Clearly, it would also be necessary to offer a different, i.e. deeper and more detailed, analysis of the intertextual references to *Czarny potok*. Their nature requires a separate study, since Buczkowski often “copied” from the journal at the level of individual sentences or even longer dialogue-based passages. At other instances, he transferred single images from his masterpiece.

In *Dziennik wojenny* one constantly remains within the area of actual places. However, it would be necessary to conduct a careful survey of the area of Nakvasha and Brody to establish whether the place names included in “Grząski sad” were free of errors. To offer the readers with better understanding of the area described in the first part of Buczkowski’s journal, it would be necessary to include its detailed map. Such a decision is justified not only by one’s care for the readers and their sense of direction within the area described by the writer, but also by the dual nature of the journal. Both “Grząski sad” and “Powstanie na Żoliborzu” are held together by two tendencies: the autonomous unique literary narration is constantly being supplemented by an emphasised need to experience and record. In the introduction to his landmark monograph, which remained close in terms of its spirit to genetic criticism, Rodak posited:

The process of the literalisation of the journal described in the book does not mainly consist of its progressing fictionalisation (though that phenomenon could be observed here as well) or strengthening of the phenomena of self-creation and the intensification of the game with the readers (those exist there, too), but of using increasingly variable matter of life and experience of the writer as the proper matter of the work of literature, where the journal becomes its most perfect example.³²

While remaining true to the autobiographical formula, Buczkowski’s journal introduces the natural force of imagination, and it literalises the message. That is to offer the truth about the world of the ongoing apocalypse – both of that in the Borderlands, and that among the rubble and corpses of Warsaw being slaughtered. That transcendence of the natural forces of literature and history, of aesthetics and autobiography makes “Grząski sad”, “Powstanie na Żoliborzu” and “Koniec wojny” a unique message when compared to other journals of Polish writers.

Buczkowski’s text is clearly exocentric. The author focused on the tragedy of the surrounding reality, the misery of nature and man, the literal extermination

³² P. Rodak, *Między zapisem a literaturą...*, p. 12.

of animals, people, plants, and things. Buczkowski's journal inclined towards literature through its division into three parts. Additionally, the title of one of those has a clearly poetic origin: *Grząski sad* [Miry Orchard]. At this point it seems interesting that Buczkowski did not provide a title to the entire book. There is not even a brief indication of its genre affinity, i.e. *journal*.

The peculiar writing in "Grząski sad" and "Powstanie na Żoliborzu" should be classified somewhere between documentary and testimony. That is the speech of trauma. Yet even in it one could find an aesthetic dimension, not just the documentary. That special writing with its peculiar punctuation offered a form for the imagination, which in turn constituted a response to the madness of that reality.

In terms of particular issues – which deserve noting and a separate consideration – one should indicate the numerous instances of underlining, mainly in "Grząski sad" and "Powstanie na Żoliborzu". Buczkowski was not consistent in using that form of marking: sometimes he used it for titles of the works he was referring to, while in other instances, he used it to accentuate phrases or single words. The latter was more common. In *Dziennik wojenny* we ignored the underlining, viewing it as insignificant for the overall message, which could be indicated by the lack of consistency in its usage. Most probably, they were an expression of the writer's emotions, which he expressed in the act of copying. Sometimes, when they conclude a sentence, they also seem to serve as a coda, also related to the act of copying. The issue seems worth revisiting.

To conclude, a new edition of *Dziennik wojenny* is necessary. It is not only a matter of restoring the editors' good frame of mind. It would also benefit the readers for whom the editors had mostly in mind when developing the previous edition. Correcting mistakes (not only of editing) is something which is desirable, but what is even more important is to always consider the readers and their reading comfort. And then, there is the author, undisputed and unique, who proved too challenging for a young editor.

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Sławomir Buryła

Dziennik wojenny Leopolda Buczkowskiego – wyzwanie dla (młodego) edytora

Streszczenie

Artykuł traktuje o *Dzienniku wojennym* Leopolda Buczkowskiego. Chodzi o odpowiedź na pytanie dotyczące genezy tego tekstu, kolejnych faz jego powstawania. Jest to trudne zadanie, gdyż nie dysponujemy pierwotną wersją dzieła. Brak pierwotnej wersji utrudnia też badanie tzw. sfery materialnej dziennika. Możemy ją zrekonstruować tylko na podstawie zachowanej wersji rękopiśmienniczej.

Autor artykułu (z pozycji problemów edytorskich i filologicznych) omawia też *Dziennik wojenny* na tle innych wczesnych utworów Buczkowskiego (*Wertepy*, *Czarny potok*, zbiór kilkudziesięciu wierszy). Wskazuje na potrzebę nowego wydania *Dziennika wojennego* oraz na błędy popełnione w istniejącym wydaniu.

Słowa kluczowe: Leopold Buczkowski, dziennik, nowe wydanie, II wojna światowa

Dziennik wojenny by Leopold Buczkowski A challenge for a (young) editor

Summary

The paper discussed *Dziennik wojenny* [War Journal] by Leopold Buczkowski. It posed a question concerning the origins of the text and the subsequent stages of its development. That is a challenging task since the original version of the work is not available. Additionally, the lack of the first version makes it difficult to examine the so-called material sphere of the journal. It can be reconstructed only based on the surviving manuscript version.

The author of the paper also discussed *Dziennik wojenny* against the background of other early works by Buczkowski (*Wertepy* and *Czarny potok*, a collection of a few dozen poems), from the perspective of editorial and philological problems. He also demonstrated the need for a new edition of *Dziennik wojenny*, and indicated the errors committed in the existing edition.

Keywords: Leopold Buczkowski, journal, new edition, Second World War

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From manuscript to first printed edition. On the early variants of the poem *Ranny* by Tadeusz Różewicz

In statu nascendi poems

Tadeusz Różewicz's output, poetic in particular, is an excellent object of study for both textual scholars and genetic critics. On the one hand, that is because of the considerable size of the author's archives, who in many volumes, those later in particular, included his manuscripts, thus revealing the intricacies of the process of writing, and, on the other, he modified previously written works not only by altering them, but also by creating the elements of new works on their basis. Sometimes in new selections of poems he returned to versions similar to his previous ones (*Wrzesień 1939*). Stanisław Jaworski wrote about "undeleted deletions" as Różewicz's peculiar "textual games" leading to a "double nature of the message."¹ In his seminal book entitled *Piszę, więc jestem* he traced avant-textes and the text of the poem +++ *Czas na mnie*.² Wojciech Kruszewski carefully analysed the creative process of the author of the laments for his mother, drawing from the rough drafts kept by the Museum of Literature, and studying consecutive editions and text modifications.³ The researcher was apt in noting that:

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1 S. Jaworski, "Skreślenia – gry tekstowe Tadeusza Różewicza", in: *Przekraczanie granic. O twórczości Tadeusza Różewicza*, W. Browarny, J. Orska, A. Poprawa (eds.), Universitas, Krakow 2007, pp. 24–31. [Unless indicated otherwise, English versions translated from Polish]

2 About the variants of this poem wrote Przemysław Dakowicz. P. Dakowicz, „*Jeszcze jestem w drodze*". O rękopiśmiennych wariantach wiersza *** [*Czas na mnie*] Tadeusza Różewicza, in: idem, *Poeta (bez)religijny. O twórczości Tadeusza Różewicza*, Lodz University Press, Lodz 2015, pp. 115–153.

3 W. Kruszewski, *Rękopisy i formy*, Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2010, pp. 123–137.

the discussed poetry, being an original combination of simultaneously uncovered tendencies to include variants and being canonical, tendencies emphasising, on the one hand, the incessant dynamics, and, on the other, the persistence of the choices defined and used by the poet, hinders considerably any reflection intended to organise the extensive literary area subject to the sovereign and capricious will of the author of *Płaskorzeźba*⁴.

Kruszewski also discussed in detail the author's copy of the volume *Niepokój* (1947), tracing the markings in the texts which could have influenced the later variants of the work⁵. Różewicz himself mentioned when interviewed by Adam Czerniawski that: "My first poems would sometimes cover between twenty to twenty-five editions"⁶

In an article which discussed the various transformations included in "Opis wiersza" from the collection *Na powierzchni poematu i w środku*, Janusz Drzewucki referred to his conversation with Różewicz, during which, when asked about re-editing his works, the poet answered that "The author is entitled to changing any of his poems, especially shorten them, or even write them from scrap." Moreover, he did not become attached either to the original or any of the later versions of a work, and thus he suggested that if he wanted to, he could redo it "as he saw it fit."⁷ Sometimes the process of modifying a text occurs in front of readers when the author read a poem during a poetry reading session. After one such meeting, Drzewucki wrote:

When (...) I asked him why while reading it he changed the text printed in the book, he told me that he did so during meet the author sessions quite often; suddenly he disliked a word or a phrase, so he did not read it, suddenly he noticed that a word or a phrase was missing somewhere so he improvised and added that which at that very moment he felt was missing.⁸

Różewicz as a poet "rewriting" himself was discussed by Andrzej Skrendo, who asked "how instability defined Różewicz's idiom", and studied consecutive editions

4 W. Kruszewski, *Rękopisy...*, p. 151.

5 W. Kruszewski, "'Niepokój' Tadeusza Różewicza. Notatki do historii projektu artystycznego", in: *Ewangelia odrzuconego. Szkice w 90. Rocznicę urodzin Tadeusza Różewicza*, J.M. Ruszar (ed.), Wydawnictwo Narodowe Centrum Kultury, Warszawa 2011, pp. 39–54.

6 *Wbrew sobie. Rozmowy z Tadeuszem Różewiczem*, J. Stolarczyk (ed.), Biuro Literackie, Wrocław 2011, p. 100.

7 J. Drzewucki, "Opis wiersza 'Opis wiersza' Tadeusza Różewicza", *Twórczość* 2016, issue 10, p. 98.

8 *Ibidem*, s. 99.

of *Niepokój*⁹. In the editorial note to a National Library edition he prepared of Różewicz's *Wybór poezji* [Selected Poems] – the only edition of the poetry, which included notes and a critical analysis – realising the difficulty of such a description, the researcher admitted:

Tadeusz Różewicz is an author who intentionally changed his texts in various editions. As a result, one should assume that his works – mainly his poetic works – do not possess a basic version, they rather exist in many equivalent variants. That poses for an editor the insufficiently researched problems of the multi-variant nature and places his decisions in a context different from the processing of the works by other modern writers.¹⁰

Skrendo conducted a careful analysis of three versions of the poem *Ranny*: he treated the version from the collection *Niepokój* (1947) as the first one, the one published in *Poezje zebrane* from 1957 as the second, and a version from the Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie edition of “Poezja” from *Utwory zebrane* from 2005 as the third. He concluded that the poem *Ranny* was a representative poem for the *Niepokój* volume “as along with each act of re-writing *Niepokój* it was re-written as well.”¹¹ That is not entirely true. Skrendo omitted 3 editions of *Niepokój* published between the volumes which he included in his comparison¹² and in which the poem was not re-printed: two PIW editions from 1963 and 1964¹³, in which Różewicz selected from *Niepokój* 14 representative works, and the Ossolineum edition from 1980¹⁴, in which he included 22 poems from *Niepokój*. Those editions did not include the discussed poem. Therefore, it was not as important for the author as *Maska*, *Róża*, *Ocalony* or *Lament*, which were included in every edition of *Niepokój* – regardless of whether it was a selection or collected works. The poem did return in an edition of *Poezje zebrane* (Ossolineum 1971, and 2nd edition: 1976) and in the related edition of *Poezje* (Wydawnictwo Literackie, Krakow 1988), as well as in the Lower Silesian edition of *Poezje* from 2005¹⁵. However, it did not appear in the PIW

9 A. Skrendo, “Przepisywanie Różewicza”, in: *Przekraczanie granic. O twórczości Tadeusza Różewicza*, pp. 32–45. Reprint idem, *Przodem Różewicz*, IBL PAN, Warsaw 2012, pp. 123–134.

10 A. Skrendo, “Nota edytorska”, in: T. Różewicz, *Wybór poezji*, BN, Wrocław 2016, p. CXLV.

11 A. Skrendo, “Przepisywanie Różewicza”, p. 41.

12 The researcher did that intentionally, explaining his decision in the note, yet the omission does not seem justified. If one considers other editions as well, the thesis on the representative nature of the poem *Ranny* for *Niepokój* is further weakened.

13 T. Różewicz, *Niepokój. Wybór wierszy*, PIW, Warsaw 1963, and T. Różewicz, *Niepokój. Wybór wierszy*, PIW, Warsaw 1964.

14 T. Różewicz, *Niepokój*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1980.

15 Wojciech Kruszewski indicated the changes in the arrangement of the poems in consecutive editions of *Niepokój: Ranny* in the 1947 edition was one of the volume's closing poems, while in

edition in the *Złota kolekcja poezji polskiej* [The Golden Collection of Polish Poetry] series from 1995.

Leaving aside those not pivotal clarifications, allow me to return to the poem. In this article I shall trace the earlier variants of the poem *Ranny*, which Andrzej Skrendo omitted: the first one is the manuscript from Stanisław Różewicz's archive published in *Twórczość* in celebration of the poet's 95th birthday¹⁶ (facsimile of the manuscript, which is probably the earlier version of the text), next two versions from the *Odrodzenie* archive (typescripts stored in the State Archive in Krakow), and the fourth: first printed version from that periodical (*Odrodzenie* 1945, issue 42, p. 2).

In *Odrodzenie's* archive

The *Odrodzenie* weekly, a major literary journal in the latter half of the 1940s, established in Lublin by Jerzy Borejsza immediately after WWII, or, more precisely, towards its end, was published between 1944 and 1950. During the second period of its operations, i.e. from February 1945 to 1947, its editorial board operated from Krakow. Karol Kuryluk, appointed by Borejsza, was the journal's editor-in-chief.¹⁷ Julian Przyboś was the editor responsible for the publications of poetry. He evaluated the poems sent to the journal. The journal consolidated the Krakow literary community, and it was the place where many young poets debuted. Tadeusz Różewicz also published his early works in *Odrodzenie*. He sent his first letter with a few poems to Przyboś from Częstochowa upon passing his matura exam. In response, he received a promise of publication and an invitation to a meeting in Krakow, which he accepted and took with him "several rough drafts of poems."¹⁸ Kuryluk, according to the poet's own recollections, also was fond of Różewicz and valued him highly.¹⁹

The State Archive in Krakow, which holds the archive material of *Odrodzenie*, includes a separate collection of "Works sent to Przyboś for evaluation." Among those, there are, e.g. Tadeusz Różewicz's early poems. However, it does not include all the manuscripts or typescripts of the works which Różewicz published in the journal. Some of the surviving ones were not published in the journal.

Poezje from 2005 it was one of the opening ones. Cf. idem, "'Niepokój' Tadeusza Różewicza...", p. 52.

¹⁶ T. Różewicz, "Ranny" (manuscript), *Twórczość* 2016, issue 10, p. 4–5.

¹⁷ Vide W.P. Szymański, „*Odrodzenie*” i „*Twórczość*” w Krakowie (1945–1950), Ossolineum, Wrocław 1981, and J. Natanson, *Tygodnik „Odrodzenie” (1944–1950)*, PWN, Warsaw 1987.

¹⁸ Różewicz discussed that in detail in an interview by Jerzy Jarocki, vide "Goście Starego Teatru", in: *Wbrew sobie. Rozmowy z Tadeuszem Różewiczem*, J. Stolarczyk (ed.), Biuro Literackie, Wrocław 2011, pp. 214–215.

¹⁹ T. Różewicz, "Tożsamość (wspomnienie o Karolu Kuryluku)", in: idem, *Proza 2*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Krakow 1990, pp. 70–82.

The collection includes undated typescripts of 10 poems: *Kiedy odchodzisz*, *Poeta*, *Oszukany* (2 versions sh. 627 and 621), *Zabiłem*, *Miłość*, *Nasiona*, *Przebudzenie*, *Na widnokregu* (two typescripts with the same contents, sh. 633 and 639), *Elegia* (manuscript 641–2 and typescript 635 and 637) and *Ranny*. The poem *Ranny* has two versions (typescript with corrections, sh. 643) and typescript, sh. 637 and 639 (p. 638–blank). From among those, *Odrodzenie* published only three in 1945; all in a single issue, i.e. 42: *Elegia*, *Ranny* and *Na widnokregu*. The poem *Miłość* – probably rejected by Przyboś – was published in issue 3 of *Pokolenie* from 1946.

Six of the poems which survived in the *Odrodzenie* archive were included in the *Niepokój* volume (1947) – five under the same titles: *Ranny*, *Elegia*, *Na widnokregu*, *Miłość* and *Kiedy odchodzisz*, while one: *Oszukany* was published under a changed title: *Rok 1939* (and it was published under the same title in Różewicz's consecutive collections).

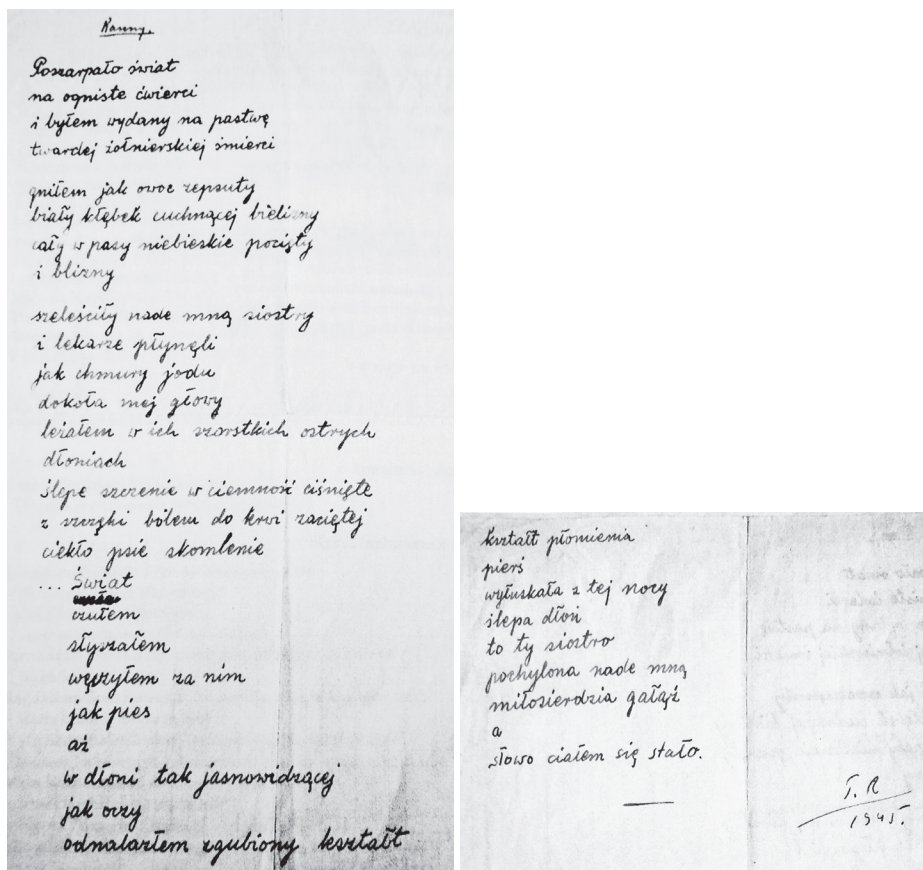


Photo 1. W1 version [Stanisław Różewicz's archive]

Variant nature of the poem *Ranny*

Allow me to reference pre-publication versions (after Stanisław Jaworski) as W1, W2, and W3.

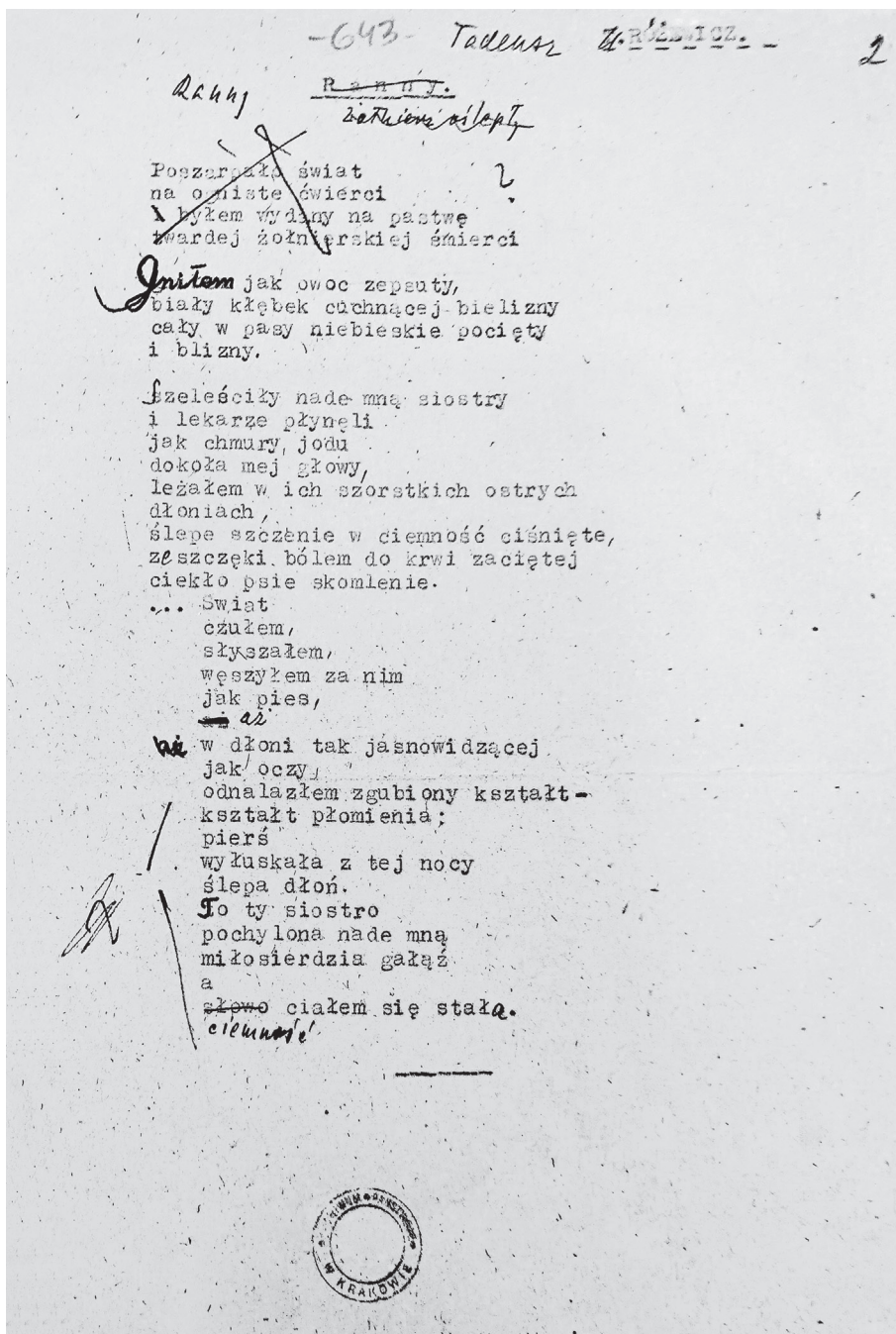
The first one, the only one in the form of a manuscript (W1), recorded in careful clear handwriting, includes only one correction: an illegible blurred word. The work is signed as T.R and dated as 1945.

What is visible straight away in the first variant is a complete lack of punctuation (apart from a period closing the poem)! It is extremely significant considering the fact that the consecutive 3 versions included punctuation, which established the syntactic organisation of the text. Punctuation was gradually reduced in the versions of the poem which were published after the first edition of the *Niekopój* volume.

Różewicz sent the poem to the editorial board in a typed form.²⁰ The first typescript of W2 version kept in *Odrodzenie's* archive includes hand-written corrections, presumably – considering the handwriting – by the author himself. The sheet with the poem is smooth and white.

On the right, there is the author's surname inscribed in capitals. Różewicz struck the initial of his name and wrote it in full: Tadeusz. This version of the *avant-texte* offers a good depiction of the creative process. Already the title is significant. The original version of the title: *Ranny*, recorded in expanded print, was struck. Różewicz (?) proposed a new title: *Całkiem oślepy*. Yet, after some consideration, he returned to the previous version; he struck the new proposition and wrote again the word *Ranny*. The title enforces an interpretative frame for a poem, so any modification is always significant; it never serves a merely stylistic function.

²⁰ Considering Różewicz's aversion to typing, the text was probably copied by someone else. He once said in an interview: "(...) I used to use a pen, with a wooden penholder, dipping the nib in ink. I wrote like that for many years. Until the 1950s. Then I transitioned to a fountain pen, then to a pen, but never to typing. I have never composed a poem using a typewriter, and I think that you cannot compose a poem using a typewriter. It was the wooden holder, the pen – those were the extensions of my hand, my body, and it always influenced in my case the shape of a poem, which was a living organism for me. Almost biological, sensory. If blood does not circulate through all the parts of a poem, then there are dead parts, which the energy, basically the blood of imagination and feelings does not reach, then those parts of a poem are best deleted, thrown away. All my letters are written by hand, so if someone receives my typed letter, it is not a letter from me." ("Kronika literacka, naukowa i wydawnicza", in: *Wbrew sobie. Rozmowy z Tadeuszem Różewiczem*, J. Stolarczyk (ed.), Biuro Literackie, Wrocław 2011, p. 178).

Photo 2. W2 version [editorial board of *Odrodzenie*, State Archive in Krakow, coll. 1169, ref. no. 66, sh. 643]

How does such an operation change the reading of a entire poem? On what do the readers focus? In the hospital scene, the emphasis is shifted from the wounds to blindness (wounded eyes? Eyes covered by bandages?) A record of sensory sensations clearly indicates that there is an intensification of the experiences of those senses which become sharper when sight fails, which are supposed to take over. Therefore, there is an emphasis on smell and hearing, in particular in the central part of the poem, in the first part of the strophoid marked by a paragraph indentation:

...świat
 czułem
 słyszałem
 węszyłem za nim
 jak pies
 aż
 w dłoni tak jasnowidzącej
 jak oczy
 odnalazłem zagubiony kształt –

...world
 I felt
 I heard
 sniffed for it
 like a dog
 until
 in my hand which saw as clearly
 as my eyes
 I found a lost shape –

The role of the eyes was played by touch (“which saw as clearly”). Therefore, the return to the originally proposed title abandoning the focus on blindness indicates that despite the wounds one can have a deep sensory perception of the world, which leads to cognition.

Allow me to return to the first stanza – one which was deleted by the poet and which never returned in any of the consecutive variants of the poem.

Poszarpało świat
 na ogniste ćwierci
 I byłem wydany na pastwę
 twardej żołnierskiej śmierci

World torn
 into fiery quarters
 And was left as prey
 to the harsh soldier death

Why did Różewicz abandon this initial strophoid? In the typescript sheet, right of the deleted fragment, the poet put a question mark, so he was hesitant about what decision he should make. Maybe the deletion of the strophoid was a result of, common in Różewicz's works, striving to fulfil Przyboś' maxim: the least words, the most content. The strophoid introduced into the remaining ones, directly outlining, the situation of war (fiery quarters, soldier death), yet even after its removal the reader continues to correctly read the poetic situation. Particularly so as the fact of leaving the title *Ranny* [wounded] is a sufficient suggestion.

The first word in the following stanza, which became the initial stanza after the first one was abandoned, was corrected by hand in such a way that it is impossible to read its palimpsest structure. We do not know what word Różewicz replaced with "Gniłem" [I rot]. However, considering the manuscript (W1), where the same word appeared (the difference being in the size of the initial letter: it is a lower-case letter in the manuscript), the correction might had been an indication of hesitation, which concluded in retaining the original choice with only a spelling alteration: the poet corrected in the first word the first letter from lower to upper case – due to the fact that after the deletion of the first strophoid, the second one became the poem's opening one.

Another change, which Różewicz did not retract, applied to the line arrangement. The conjunction "aż" [until] initially emphasised by placement in a separate line, Różewicz deleted and moved to the following line combining it with the following line

until in my hand which saw as clearly

Yet he withdrew from the idea restoring the conjunction to a separate line:

until
 in my hand which saw as clearly

Thus he achieved a bigger distance between the images (Skrendo noticed that "the filling of a line with a proclitic is an obvious emulation of Przyboś' poetic practices."²¹) The line limited to "aż" stops the readers in reading between the record of the intensive perception of the world through the senses of smell and

21 A. Skrendo, "Przepisywanie Różewicza", p. 38.

hearing and the record of touch, which became the most important in the context of the punchline: touch takes the function of sight, even more so, through a Biblical allusion, it is sanctified.

The poet focused more on the image concluding the poem. On the left-hand side of the typescript he marked the entire fragment of the poem, using vertical slightly perpendicular lines resembling a bracket, but he introduced only two corrections: he changed the initial letter of the final sentence: “To ty siostró” [It is you, sister] to upper case, and – more importantly – he changed the first word of the final line:

“**the word** became flesh”
to
“**darkness** became flesh” [emphasis by MWŁ]

The change is considerable. The Biblical message: “the word became flesh” refers to Christ – God, who took the form of man to redeem the world, more broadly: it means fulfilment, redemption, fulfilment of the prophecy, closing. In the context of Różewicz’s poem, it would be a type of fulfilment resulting from coming into contact with a substitute of love symbolised by a breast (as the “shape of flame”). The change of the word: “word” to “darkness” pushed away that fulfilment, suggesting failure and the rule of darkness. Completely different meanings are revealed when one compares that version with the final version, in which the description of the sister as the “branch of mercy” was substituted with the circumlocution “branch full of shade”. Różewicz also removed the final line with Biblical provenance, and the decision was not only a result of an attempt to synthesise the language (Skrendo discussed the change in detail analysing the final version of the ending²², indicating the oxymoronic nature of the opposition of the “hand” which “saw as clearly” and the “blind” hand:

The clear vision and blindness within the explicit plane remained in strong opposition, which utilised a metonymic mechanism: lightness vs. darkness. The contrast was duplicated and amplified further by the flame vs. night opposition.²³

W3

The second variant of the poem kept in the archive in the form of a typescript spreads over two sheets of white paper, and it constitutes a cleaned-up version after including corrections. The only thing that stands out is the title: above the final

²² A. Skrendo, “Przepisywanie Różewicza”, p. 38–39.

²³ Ibidem, p. 38.

A researcher studying the archive might ponder why Różewicz sent to Przyboś a version with corrections instead of the final one. Did the young poet want to gain some advice from the master by retaining the corrections? Consult the changes with him somewhat, and share his doubts? Or maybe he visited the editorial board and made the corrections in front of Przyboś, and afterwards the text was copied “clean” by the journal? (“I took there,” Różewicz recalled [to Basztowa St. in Krakow, where the editorial board operated – note by MWŁ], “to Przyboś, Wyka, Kuryluk the first crops of my backward Muse.”²⁴) It is difficult to answer those questions unequivocally. Some light is shed on the problem by a fragment of a letter from Przyboś to Różewicz written in July 1945, prior to the poem’s publication. Przyboś wrote:

I approved your poems for printing, and they should be published a week from now. Please, pardon my minor correction in *Ranny*; when you read it printed this way it becomes clearer.²⁵

The sentence clearly indicated that Przyboś, without consulting the young poet, corrected his poems. However, if one considers the types of the modifications, some doubts prevail: can one consider the removal of the entire initial stanza a “minor correction”? Additionally, an analysis of the corrections in the typescript (W2) indicates Różewicz’s handwriting.

The first printed versions

Those questions become even more interesting considering the fact that the version of the text which was published in *Odrodzenie*, i.e. the first printed version of the poem, was not identical to either of the discussed archived versions: it differed from the corrected version by one added word – an epithet specifying the eyes: “shot through” (“until / in my hand which saw as clearly / as shot through eyes”). Most probably that was the “minor correction” to which Przyboś referred. Interestingly enough, the version in the *Niepokój* volume retained the epithet. Using it changed the synthetic comparison into an oxymoronic one: the clearly seeing hand “as shot through eyes” is a blind hand. Blindness was emphasised, while sight via touch was subjected to doubt. The presence of the epithet or a lack of it was not only aesthetically significant. It had a major influence on the semantics of the text.

²⁴ “O prawdziwe oblicze pokolenia średniego”, in: T. Różewicz, *Margines, ale...*, Biuro Literackie, Wrocław 2010, p. 108.

²⁵ “Wybór listów Juliana Przybosa do Tadeusza Różewicza”, in: T. Różewicz, *Margines, ale...*, p. 139.

In the version with which Skrendo began his analysis, i.e. the version from *Niepokój* (1947), the change in the relationship with the original printed version in *Odrodzenie* consisted of a deletion of the epithet of a dog's (whimpering), which could be justified by striving for simplifying the means of expression: the whimpering referred to man, it animalised the hurting body (through an analogy to blind pups, Różewicz defined his generation in a polemic with the term of "the generation of Columbus." The generation "was thrown inside a closed bag to the murky black waters of the fascist night. (...) Those were rather 'blind pups'. But, well, Colum-buses sound better... So, let's leave it like that."²⁶) Additionally, the division into strophoids was modified: for the first time (it was not present in any of the earlier variants) the poet highlighted the short central fragment (only indented in the previous versions), which was a record of intense sensory experiences, thus creating a separate stanza:

...World
I felt
I heard
I sniffed for it
like a dog

All previous versions, after the rejection of the initial stanza in variants W1 and W2, retained the division into two parts. The highlighting of that additional strophoid remained throughout all consecutive editions.

* * *

In the case of Różewicz's poetry, it is not always possible to compare text variants. On the rare occasion – as in the case of the publication of *Historia pięciu wierszy* – the poet released for publication all the surviving manuscripts of a work (there are, e.g. five variants of the poem *Przypomnienie* or seven of the poem *Woda w garnuszku*)²⁷. Another challenge for a researcher is that the poet sometimes allowed trusted third persons to introduce alterations to his works. Such an approach to poems – i.e. constant openness and variability, perfecting a text – is the reason why sometimes researchers studying archive material must accept the hypothetical nature of the results of their reconstructions of the creative process.

²⁶ Vide *Wbrew sobie. Rozmowy z Tadeuszem Różewiczem...*, p. 88.

²⁷ T. Różewicz, *Historia pięciu wierszy*, Biuro Literackie, Wrocław 2011.

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Marzena Woźniak Łabieniec

Od rękopisu do pierwodruku. O wczesnych wariantach wiersza *Ranny* Tadeusza Różewicza

Streszczenie

Tadeusz Różewicz był poetą, dla którego twórczość literacka, zwłaszcza poetycka traktowana była jak nie do końca zamknięty proces. Wielokrotnie zmieniał swe wiersze w kolejnych wydaniach. Tematem artykułu jest wiersz *Ranny*, którego zachowało się kilka wersji, a który wszedł do pierwszego tomu poetyckiego *Niepokój*

(1947). Przedmiotem opisu są cztery pierwsze wersje wiersza – jego ewolucja, począwszy od rękopisu zachowanego w archiwum brata pisarza (Stanisława Różewicza), poprzez dwa maszynopisy zachowane w Archiwum czasopisma „Odrodzenie” po pierwodruk z tegoż pisma. Zmiany wprowadzane przez poetę, który w swych działaniach okazuje się wiernym uczniem awangardy, zmierzają do realizacji idei jego mistrza Juliana Przybosa: minimum słów, maksimum treści.

Słowa kluczowe: Tadeusz Różewicz – poezja, archiwum literackie, rękopisy, tygodnik „Odrodzenie”

From manuscript to first printed edition On the early variants of the poem *Ranny* by Tadeusz Różewicz

Summary

Tadeusz Różewicz was a poet for whom works of literature, poetry in particular, were never finite entities. He often changed his poems in consecutive editions. This article discusses the poem *Ranny*, several versions of which have survived, and which was included in Różewicz's first poetic collection entitled *Niepokój* (1947). The discussion applies to the initial four versions of the poem: its evolution starting with the manuscript kept in the archive of the writer's brother (Stanisław Różewicz), through two typescripts kept in the Archive of the “Odrodzenie” journal, to the first printed edition from that journal. The changes introduced by the poet, who in his actions seems true to the principles of the avant-garde, striving to fulfil the principle proposed by Julian Przybós, whom he considered a master: the least words, the most content.

Keywords: Tadeusz Różewicz – poetry, literary archive, manuscripts, *Odrodzenie* weekly

Marzena Woźniak-Łabieniec, dr hab., prof. UŁ, historyk literatury polskiej, zajmuje się przede wszystkim problematyką związaną z cenzurą PRL i wpływem systemowej kontroli publikacji na życie literackie, a także liryką dwudziestowieczną i najnowszą, zwłaszcza pod kątem jej związków z klasycyzmem i szeroko rozumianą tradycją. Autorka m.in. książek: *Obecny nieobecny. Krajowa recepcja Czesława Miłosza w krytyce literackiej lat pięćdziesiątych w świetle dokumentów cenzury* (Łódź 2012), *Klasyk i metafizyka. O twórczości Jarosława Marka Rymkiewicza* (Kraków 2002) oraz kilkadziesiątu artykułów o poezji XX i XXI wieku, przede

wszystkim w kontekście związków z neoklasycyzmem i tradycją (m. in. o Leśmianie, J.M. Rymkiewiczu, Cz. Miłoszu, Z. Herbercie, W. Szymborskiej oraz poezji po 1990 roku). Współredagowała kilka książek historycznoliterackich, m.in. dwa tomy szkiców *Twórczość Zbigniewa Herberta* (Kraków 2001) i *Dlaczego Herbert. Wiersze, komentarze, interpretacje* (WUŁ, Łódź 2004) oraz zbiór „*Lancetem, a nie maczugą*”. *Cenzura wobec literatury i jej twórców w latach 1945–1965* (IBL, Warszawa 2012). Przewodniczy Komisji Badań Genetycznych i Dokumentacyjnych nad Literaturą przy Łódzkim Oddziale PAN.

Marzena Woźniak-Łabieniec, Ph.D. hab., professor of the University of Lodz, Polish literary historian; her main focus covers the matters related to censorship in the People's Republic of Poland (PRL) and the impact of systemic control of publications on literary life; she also researches 20th century and the latest prose, especially in terms of its relations with classicism and the broadly understood tradition. She is the author of books: *Obecny nieobecny. Krajowa recepcja Czesława Miłosza w krytyce literackiej lat pięćdziesiątych w świetle dokumentów cenzury* (Łódź 2012), *Klasyk i metafizyka. O twórczości Jarosława Marka Rymkiewicza* (Kraków 2002) and several dozen articles devoted to 20th-century and 21st-century poetry, mainly in the context of its relations with neo-classicism and tradition (e.g. regarding Leśmian, J.M. Rymkiewicz, Cz. Miłosz, Z. Herbercie, W. Szymborska and the poetry written after 1990). She co-edited several literary history books, e.g. two studies *Twórczość Zbigniewa Herberta* (Kraków 2001) and *Dlaczego Herbert. Wiersze, komentarze, interpretacje* (WUŁ, Łódź 2004) and the collection „*Lancetem, a nie maczugą*”. *Cenzura wobec literatury i jej twórców w latach 1945–1965* (IBL, Warsaw 2012). She is the head of the Commission of Genetic and Documentary Research in Literature at the Łódź Branch of the PAS.

Ekaterina Andreeva*
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Рождение текста в поэтической лаборатории Владимира Аристовова: дискретно-уровневая модель

Согласно знаменитому определению В.Б. Шкловского, искусство – «способ пережить деланье вещи»¹. Это «деланье» переживается читателем в процессе чтения, а автором – в процессе письма. И обращение читателя к тому, каким путем шел автор для достижения нужного ему результата, может существенно обогатить наше понимание итоговой версии текста как эстетического феномена.

Владимир Аристов, один из самых известных российских поэтов круга метареалистов, согласился приоткрыть для нас дверь своей творческой лаборатории. Метод работы Аристовова интересен тем, что он переживает свое произведение как слоистую структуру.

С.М. Бонди отмечает: «Всякий черновик включает в себя неотъемлемо момент времени. Это как бы ряд различных снимков на одной пластинке, ряд несовместимых друг с другом слоев текста. Последнее даже не вполне верно, так как, говоря „слой”, мы предполагаем наличие более или менее законченных цельных текстов, наложенных вместе на одну рукопись. Между тем в черновике и этого, в сущности, нет; он изменяется не целыми слоями, а постепенно, непрерывно»². Сама идея слоя как этапа письма – отчасти искусственная, так как фактически идет непрерывный процесс мыслительной

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1 V.B. Shklovskiy, *Iskusstvo kak priyem* [Elektronnyy resurs], OPOYAZ, Materialy. Dokumenty. Publikatsii. – 2017; <http://www.opojaz.ru/manifests/kakpriem.html> [data obrashcheniya: 18.04.2017].

2 S.M. Bondi, *O chtenii rukopisey Pushkina*, v: idem, *Chernoviki Pushkina: Stat'i 1930–1970 gg.*, 2-ye izd., Prosveshcheniye, Moskva 1978, s. 143–190.

работы над текстом, и этот принцип можно считать базовым для протекания любого творческого акта. Вместе с тем каждый автор по-своему определяет этапы своей работы. Случай Аристова интересен тем, что поэт склонен вполне осознанно оперировать именно «слоями», дробить свой путь на отдельные короткие этапы, переписывая иногда один и тот же небольшой отрывок стихотворения несколько раз подряд с незначительными изменениями, чтобы затем вывести его на принципиально новый уровень либо завершить. Назовем это *дискретно-уровневой моделью* творческого процесса.

В этой статье мы рассмотрим два произведения, вполне ярко отражающие эту модель, хотя слои в них воплощаются неодинаково.

Первое стихотворение, «Ночная июльская даль», тяготеет к поэзии крупной формы, сравнимо с элегией, которая посвящена механизмам памяти. Текст имеет три предварительных варианта, три слоя: один относится к 2011 г., и два – к 2013 г.³ В «окончательном» варианте стихотворение было опубликовано лишь в 2016 г. Термин «окончательный вариант» здесь сознательно берется в кавычки, поскольку, по свидетельству самого автора, произведение очень долго не могло завершиться⁴.

Стихотворение состоит из «мерцающих» вариаций-образов, отрывков воспоминания, «нанизанных» на общий сквозной образ ночного шоссе, на котором происходит встреча лирического героя с близкими. Это метафизическое шоссе, на котором свободно помещаются *все мы, все они* – бесконечная, единая для всех дорога жизни, уходящая в ночную даль, как идея вечного движения, которое продолжается даже после физической смерти – в чужих воспоминаниях. Желая вновь приблизиться к тем, кого по той или иной причине нет рядом, автор «ловит» их на условном отрезке этой дороги, при этом не пытаясь возратить усилием воли в прошлое.

Три ранних рукописи-слоя этого стихотворения различаются между собой набором образов, в частности героев, к которым обращается автор (например, неназванная женщина в 13.1, неизвестный мужчина в 13.2). Все эти три рукописи отражают различные слои памяти, воспоминаний автора, пришедшие к нему в разное время. Однако они оказываются прочно связаны друг с другом системой ключевых, сквозных образов: *окно/подоконник, шоссе, все мы/вы, июльская ночь/тень*. Окончательный вариант примерно наполовину состоит из фрагментов этих рукописей (с незначительной правкой), вторую половину составляет совершенно новый текст. При этом автор живо ощущает его неоднородность. Различия между разными слоями, самоценность каждого из них для автора долго не давали возможность подготовить это стихотворение к публикации.

³ Oboznachim eti tri predvaritel'nykh varianta soglasno khronologii: 11.1, 13.1, 13.2.

⁴ V. Aristov, *Nochnaya iyul'skaya dal'*, 'Znamya' 2016, № 10, s. 61.

И здесь Аристов выбрал оригинальный, ни на что не похожий способ решить эту проблему, создав своеобразную «метапоэтическую» инсталляцию. Заметим, что цель, смысл этой инсталляции как акта, формально совершенно самостоятельного по отношению к письму, для самого автора не вполне очевидна. Прецеденты создания поэтами подобного рода объектов как результатов творческой авторефлексии нам неизвестны.

Для создания инсталляции Аристов использовал прозрачные листы из материала, напоминающего пленку для рентгеновских снимков. На каждом из листов написан текст, соответствующий отдельному слою стихотворения, а вся конструкция получила в итоге физическое свойство слоистости (рис. 1, 2). Все вместе эти «листы-прозрачки» могут накладываться друг на друга, тем самым составляя трехмерное текстовое пространство, и в то же время оставаться вполне самостоятельными. По мнению автора, через прозрачные листы можно наблюдать лица слушающих и одновременно видеть наложенные друг на друга строки. Таким образом, инсталляция выполняет дополнительную в отношении текста художественную функцию. Материальная форма воплощения этого текста, согласно Аристову, включает в себе возможность встречи на том же *шоссе* и самого автора со слушателем: «В них – в листах, пропускающих свет сквозь слова – слабая надежда на то, что возможно не только вытеснение и замена одного другим, – в совместном пребывании и люди станут прозрачны»⁵.

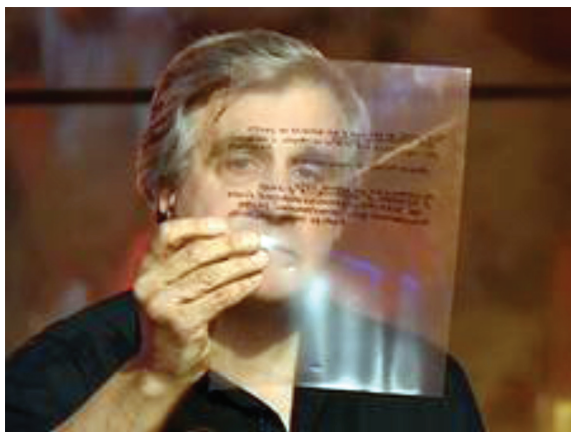


Рис. 1. В. Аристов читает стихотворение «Ночная июльская даль» с прозрачного листа в эфире телепередачи «Вслух» (выпуск «Поэт и черновик»)

5 Ibidem.

автором выбрана максимально подвижная, «текучая», неуловимая форма. Едва ли какая-либо другая структура текста и способ его публикации более подошли бы для стихотворения на подобную тему и дали бы такую отчетливую иллюзию движения. Здесь визуальная форма создает немалую часть смысла, работает на воплощение авторского замысла.

Цель, к которой стремится поэт при работе над вторым стихотворением – «КЛННГРД-КНГСБРГ» (2018) – уловить и выразить суть города Калининграда (Кенигсберга). Здесь поэт стремится сказать о городе максимально плотно, насыщенно, не обращая внимания на мимолетное (что характерно для многих его стихотворений), и выбирает ракурс среза, на котором видно максимум сплетений хронологически разнородных образов и будто бы геологических слоёв⁷. Отсюда появляются в стихотворении такие образы, как *янтарь*, *глубина*, *времена*, *запекившаяся киноварь* (как метафора крови) в их контрасте с образами вечного: *хвоя*, *море*.

В самом названии представлены два слоя жизни города и обнажён его скелет, через приём избавления от гласных. Существенно, что заголовок рождается в процессе работы над текстом, а не по её окончании, что можно считать нормой в поэтической практике. Первый вариант (отчётливо обозначенный рукописный слой) стихотворения выглядит так:

Люди живут на новой ландскарте
 Сквозь прорези в ней реки видны
 Хвоей хмельной замаскированы
 Времена и киноварь крови
 Сгустки её опрозрачнились
 Став янтарем
 Но только не взять его в нынешний взгляд
 Не получив ожог
 Там в глубине имя иное названное уже живет

Далее автор начинает более глубоко продумывать ключевые образы произведения (*янтарь*, *кровь*, *ландскарта*), развивает и уточняет их, дополняет новыми ключевыми словами, часто созвучными (*Кант*, *анкер*, *бункер*, *море*, *диорама*), эти созвучия организуют целые фразы: *Живут ножевым броском на ландскарте*. В результате рукопись дробится на мелкие слои-наброски, иногда они перемежаются заметками исторического и фоностилистического характера (рис. 3).

⁷ Roditeli V. Aristova byli geologami, i veroyatno, ikh vospominaniya i rasskazy mogli povliyat' na formirovaniye sistemy obrazov v tvorchestve poeta.

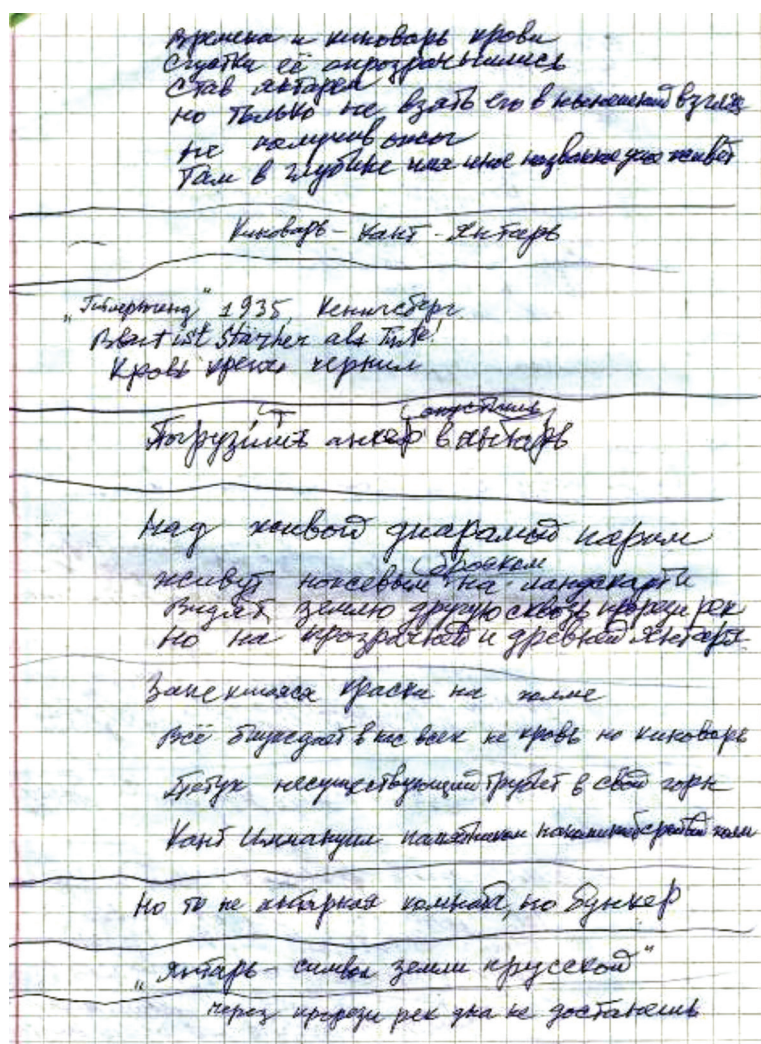


Рис. 3. В. Аристов, Рукопись стихотворения «КЛННГРД-КНГСБРГ». Предварительные варианты

Затем появляется новый вариант, уже более близкий к опубликованному (жирным шрифтом мы выделили те элементы, которые остались от первого варианта):

Жить на новой ландшафте
 И глядеть в глубину лишь сквозь и
 Лишь сквозь прорези рек,
 Где запекаясь киноварь на картинах
 Хвоей хмельной замаскированы

ные

Времена, сверху расклажены утюгом руки

Морщины прозрачные моря

ят

Над живой диарамой парим

свой

Погрузив анкер в **янтарь**

По сравнению с первым вариантом объем стихотворения не изменился: количество стихов все так же равно девяти. Однако его структура стала более семантически концентрированной (к чему, по признанию, стремился автор). Из первой строки исчезло подлежащее (ср.: *Люди живут на новой ландскарте*); во второй задано направление взгляда читателя: *глядеть в глубину истории города, которую теперь можно разглядеть лишь сквозь прорези рек*. От довольно очевидной метафоры *киноварь крови* Аристов уходит к более яркой – *запекшаяся кинovarь*. В целом первые четыре стиха приобретают более крепкую смысловую связь.

С приходом заглавия стихотворение предстает для Аристов уже вполне законченной вещью, во всяком случае, поиск образов на этом заканчивается. Начинается второй этап работы (а для текста – новый уровень) – поиск наиболее точных словоформ внутри одного и того же текста. Его результатом стали целых три слоя-варианта произведения (рис. 4), последний из которых и был опубликован (правка была внесена лишь в заглавие, в котором Аристов поменял местами имена города, поставив выше КЛННГРД как верхний «геологический слой»).

Сравним некоторые фрагменты этих текстов. В частности, в четвертой строке присутствует правка:

Жить на новой ландскарте

И глядеть в глубину ~~лишь~~ **сквозь** и

Лишь сквозь прорези рек,

Где запекшаяся кинovarь на картинах

Жить на новой ландскарте

И глядеть в глубину

Лишь сквозь прорези рек

На запекшуюся кинovarь на картинах

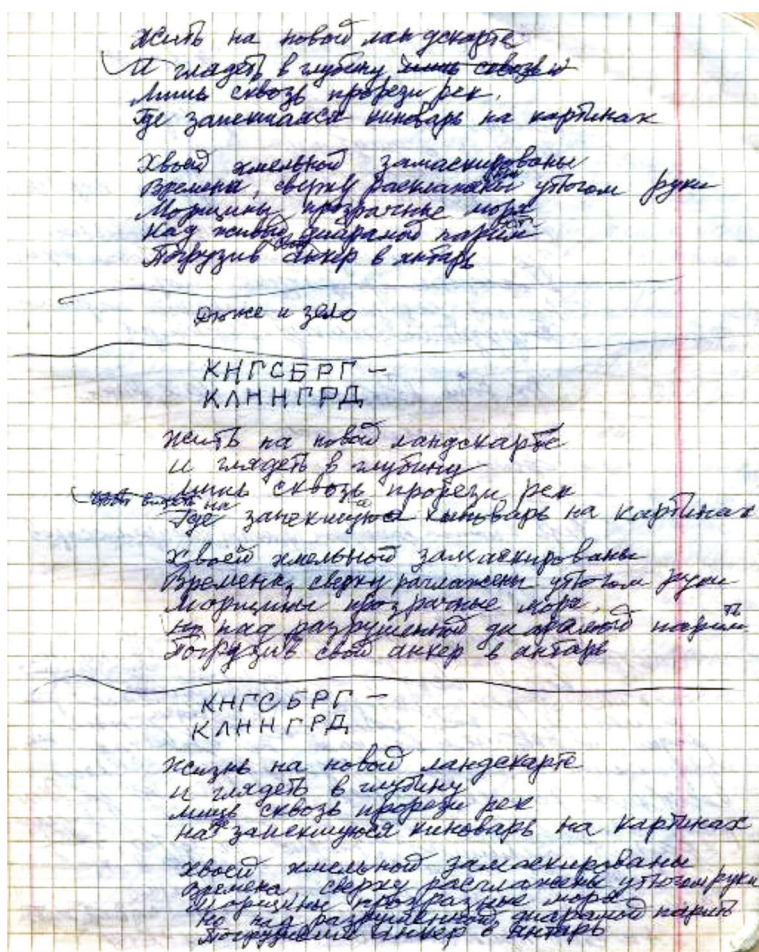


Рис. 4. В. Аристов, Рукопись стихотворения «КЛННГРД-КНГСБРГ». Предварительные варианты

Здесь придаточное предложение трансформируется в дополнение, укрепляя связь между строками, «вертикальный», «слоистый» синтаксис стихотворения и направление нашего взгляда: не просто *глядеть*, а *глядеть на киноварь*.

Изменяются во всех трех вариантах немногочисленные глаголы: *жить*, *глядеть*, *парить*. Отметим, что в тексте присутствуют причастия и деепричастия – глагольные формы с гибридной грамматической семантикой – *запекшаяся*, *замаскированы*, *разглажены* (*разглаженные*), *погрузив* (*погрузивши*). Они передают ощущение замершего движения, как будто зафиксированного в какой-то случайный момент. Движения как такового в стихотворении крайне мало: *жить* как действие в предпоследнем варианте превращается в *жизнь* как картину. При этом оставшиеся два действия – *глядеть* и *парим*

– благодаря выбору грамматических форм относятся к каждому, кто заглядывает в этот геологический срез города, то есть и к читателю, и к самому автору, при этом вовлекая их в необычное медитативное, созерцательное движение – не тела, а только взгляда и мысли.

Необычная слоистая структура стихотворений, которая задается самим характером работы В. Аристова, выбор мотивов, средств поэтической речи, а иногда и материальной формы представления, вместе создают поистине трехмерные произведения.

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Ekaterina Andreeva, Vasily Vorobyov

Рождение текста в поэтической лаборатории Владимира Аристова: дискретно-уровневая модель

Аннотация

В статье исследуется творческий метод поэта В. Аристова на примере двух стихотворений, с привлечением авторских комментариев и уникальных рукописных материалов. Прослеживаются все этапы создания этих текстов. Рассматривается особый тип творческого мышления Аристова – дискретный, или «слоистый», при котором каждый этап работы над произведением фактически представляет собой отдельный и относительно автономный слой, а процесс творчества присутствует в сознании автора как переход из одного слоя в другой. Показано, что каждое произведение не только создается послойно, но и его окончательный вариант имеет слоистую структуру, эксплицитно отражаемую разбивкой текста на части-уровни с помощью пунктирной горизонтальной черты. Наконец, мотивы слоев присутствуют и в семантике стихотворений Аристова (слои личной памяти, слои истории, геологические слои и др.).

Ключевые слова: творческая история текста, черновик, слои, поэзия, Владимир Аристов.

The birth of text in the poetic laboratory of Vladimir Aristov: a discrete level model

Summary

In this article, the authors explore the creative method of Vladimir Aristov on the material of two poems with the involvement of the author's comments and unique manuscripts. All stages of text creation are tracked. The unusual creative thinking of V. Aristov can be called discrete or multi-layered. In fact, each stage of his work on a poem is a separate and autonomous layer, and the creative process itself is presented in the author's mind as a transition from one level to another. It is shown that each work is created not only in layers, but also in its final version has a multi-level

structure, which is clearly reflected by splitting the text into levels using a horizontal dotted line. Finally, layer motifs are also present in the semantics of V. Aristov's poems (layers of personal memory, layers of history, geological layers, *etc.*).

Keywords: creative history of text, draft, layers, poetry, Vladimir Aristov.

Narodziny tekstu w poetyckim laboratorium Wladimira Aristova: model dyskretnego poziomu

Streszczenie

W artykule tym autorzy prześledzili metodę twórczą Władimira Aristova, opierając się na dwóch utworach z komentarzem autora i unikalnych rękopisach. Przebadane i przeanalizowane zostały wszystkie etapy tworzenia tekstu. Niezwykle twórcze myślenie Arystowa można określić jako dyskretne lub wielowarstwowe. W rzeczywistości każdy etap jego pracy nad wierszem tworzy osobną i autonomiczną warstwę, a sam proces twórczy jest przedstawiony w umyśle autora jako przejście z jednego poziomu na drugi. Pokazano nie tylko to, że praca nad tekstem dokonuje się w jego poszczególnych warstwach, ale również to, że ostateczna wersja utworu ma strukturę wielopoziomową, co wyraźnie widać dzięki podziałowi tekstu za pomocą poziomej linii przerywanej. Struktura wielowarstwowa ujawnia się również poprzez semantykę tekstów Aristova (warstwy pamięci osobistej, warstwy historii, warstwy geologiczne itp.).

Słowa kluczowe: twórcza historia tekstu, warianty i warstwy tekstu, współczesna poezja rosyjska, Władimir Aristov

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and Prague 2016–2018; “Writing and revision stages” Symposium in Lisbon, 2019 Genesis Krakow 2019). She is a leading editor of Moscow “Academia” Publishing House.

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**NARRATIVES ABOUT SLAVERY
AND FREEDOM**

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Brr, Bereza. Polish literature towards the Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska. 1934–1939

*... the camp has a beautiful traditional Polish name: “Seclusion spot”
(almost like: “Temple of Meditation”).¹*

*M.O., i.e. miejsce odosobnienia (confinement centre), generally
termed by people as the slaughter house of citizens².*

Emulating the one in Dachau, Poles built their own, in Bereza³.

The Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska

On 18 June 1934 Maria Dąbrowska wrote in her diary: “Brr – Now we have isolation camps – Soon, you won’t be able to speak, write, or live!”⁴ That was her reaction to a Resolution by Ignacy Mościcki, President of the Republic of Poland, of 17 June 1934 on persons threatening the security, peace, and public order. The first of six articles of the document, which was enforced as an act of law, stated:

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1 M. Niedziałkowski, “‘Kurs na lewo’ i obozy izolacyjne”, *Robotnik* 1934, issue 251, p. 1. [Translator’s note: the term “miejsce odosobnienia” is ambiguous in Polish literally meaning “a place of seclusion”. However, in English such places are referred to as “confinement centres”, I decided to use this, still somewhat euphemistic, term as a translation of “miejsce odosobnienia”] [Unless specified otherwise, English versions translated from Polish]

2 M. Bartz, *Przeżycia Bereziaka Nr. 793*, Bogdan Sobiesiński, Brussels 1945, p. 24.

3 S. Twardoch, *Król*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Krakow 2016, p. 301.

4 M. Dąbrowska, *Dzienniki 1914–1965*, T. Drewnowski (ed.), Polska Akademia Nauk. Wydział I Nauk Społecznych. Komitet Nauk o Literaturze, Warsaw 2009, vol. 2, p. 184.

Persons the activities or actions of whom offer the basis for assuming that they might violate the public security or order, can be subject to detention and enforced relocation to a confinement centre, which is not intended for persons sentenced or arrested in relation to committing crimes⁵.

The Resolution was published on 18 June in the Official Journal (*Dziennik Ustaw*), and in the press the following day, thus coming into force. It soon resulted in, though not immediately, as Dąbrowska suggested, the creation of the Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska (*Miejsce Odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej*).

The direct reason for introducing the act on confinement centres, the only example of which was Bereza (the toponym soon became synonymous with the infamous institution), was the murder of Bronisław Pieracki, minister of internal affairs, on 15 June 1934 by, as it quickly turned out, Hryhorij Maciejko, a member of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (*Organizacja Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów*, OUN). The idea to create the confinement centre came from Prime Minister Leon Kozłowski and it was accepted by Józef Piłsudski, whose signature together with the signature of the minister of military affairs, can be found among the signatures of the signatories of the resolution. Supposedly Piłsudski consented to that, as he called it, *Czeka* only to operate for one year⁶. Yet it operated much longer. Confinement centres, as per the act (which, in practice, meant: in Bereza Kartuska), were intended for persons who due to a lack of sufficient evidence of illegal activities, could not be tried. Confinement could had been decreed for three months with an option to extend it, should a confined person behave improperly, for additional three months⁷. In many cases it lasted more than six months.

The Resolution of 17 June resembled in legal terms an earlier resolution passed in Germany on 28 February 1933 on the “protection of the nation and the state”, offering basis for establishing the institution of protective custody (*Schutzhaft*), which fulfilled not so much a *de iure* preventive and educational function with the intention to adjust an individual for honest work, as mainly a means of repression, as it soon turned out. It was the predecessor of Nazi concentration camps. The Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska, just like Hitler’s camps initially, was mainly intended to break the detainees mentally so that they would never again oppose the state. It was meant for those who, according to the government, operated with the goal to destabilise the social and political situation in the country.

5 *Resolution of the President of the Republic of Poland of 17 June 1934 on persons threatening the security, peace, and public order*, <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU1934.0500473> [accessed on: 5.03.2018].

6 Vide M. Lepecki, *Pamiętnik adiutanta marszałka Piłsudskiego*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1987, pp. 219–222.

7 *Resolution of the President of the Republic of Poland of 17 June 1934*.

After Piarecki's murder, the arrests applied not only to Polish national radicals, who from the very beginning were suspected of the murder (unjustly as it soon became clear), but also OUN operatives and communists. The first inmates (detainees *de nomine*)⁸ were brought to Bereza in the evening of 6 July 1934, three weeks after the resolution came into force. Those were two members of the National Party (Stronnictwo Narodowe) from Krakow. Soon afterwards, three communists from Nowogródek (Navahrudak) were added⁹. The following day, a transport from Warsaw arrived carrying, e.g. members of the National Radical Camp (Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny, ONR, far-right Polish ultranationalist party) including Włodzimierz Sznarbachowski and Bolesław Piasecki¹⁰.

The Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska operated for over five years, until 18 September 1939¹¹. The guards left at night on 17 September upon learning the Red Army had invaded Poland. The following morning, the inmates broke free not impeded by anyone. It has been estimated that by the end of August 1939, when the number of internees began to increase rapidly due to the expected German invasion, over 3,000 inmates were at some point interned at Bereza Kartuska. They could be divided into several groups. I have already mentioned three of those. Ukrainian nationalists and Polish national radicals (members of the ONR and the National Party) constituted the largest group in the initial period of the functioning of the Confinement Centre. Since 1936, the largest group which was treated the worst consisted communists and members of the radical peasant movement who supported them. At the turn of 1938, Bereza Kartuska experienced a massive influx of criminal offenders, and persons accused of economic offences. In mid-June 1938, as Poland began experiencing an inflow of foreigners, stateless persons (mainly of Jewish descent) expelled from the Third Reich, the Polish government decided to send to Bereza persons who could not had been deported due to formal reasons. The operation's objective, which was rather preventive than repressive in nature, was to repel foreigners attempting to enter Poland illegally and remain there. By the end of April 1939, another group of Ukrainians was interned, or rather

8 Cf.: "In Bereza, the term 'inmate' was banned. You were a detainee, that is someone deprived of some of the rights that inmates possess. Normally, you conduct an investigation regarding a detainee [...]. No investigations were undertaken in relation to those interned in Bereza" (A. Garlicki, "Bereza Kartuska", [in:] idem, *Piękne lata trzydzieste*, Prószyński i S-ka, Warsaw 2008, p. 245).

9 Vide I. Polit, *Miejsce odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej w latach 1934-1939*, Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2003, p. 75.

10 Vide W. Sznarbachowski, *300 lat wspomnień*, Aneks, London 1997, pp. 93-96.

11 I provide the data in this and the following paragraph on the Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska after Ireneusz Polit (*Miejsce odosobnienia...*, pp. 91-168) and Wojciech Śleszyński (*Obóz odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej 1934-1939*, Dom Wydawniczy Benkowski, Białystok 2003, pp. 83-102)

detained, in Bereza: members of the Carpathian Sich fighting to establish within the area of the so-called Carpatho-Ukraine an independent Ukrainian state (subject to a separate mild statute). At the beginning of September 1939, Bereza received a massive influx of persons suspected of pro-German sympathies (however, the first persons classified under this group were interned in mid-1938), and, more broadly, persons threatening state security during wartime, including communists and Ukrainians. (That was when, for the first time since the Confinement Centre began its operations, the Centre started receiving women)¹². Presumably, in the first days of September, several thousand persons were interned at Bereza. Those included captured German soldiers (they were held in a separate room).

Between July 1934 and late August 1939, the majority of the internees at Bereza consisted political activists (63%), who between 1934 and 1936 were virtually the only group of internees. The second largest group of internees were criminals (35%). The remaining inmates (2%) consisted mainly profiteers and persons belonging to other groups discussed above. Among political prisoners (63% of all inmates) communists constituted a majority (55% of all inmates), there was a large representation of Ukrainian nationalists (4%), Polish national radicals (2%), members of the People's Party (Stronnictwo Ludowe) (1%), and sympathisers of German Nazism (or Germany).

Debate about the name (and affiliation)

I have intentionally avoided the term “camp” when referring to the Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska. It is present in the fragments of the 1934 article by Mieczysław Niedziałkowski and of Maria Dąbrowska's diary which I quoted as mottoes. Apparently it was clear for some that the term “confinement centre” was a euphemism. At that time the word “camp” did not carry such negative associations as it does today, but it surely connoted, in the context of politics, a place considerably less pleasant than a refuge, and especially Niedziałkowski's, ironic, temple of meditation. The titles of the monographs quoted by me devoted to the place, both published in 2003, include the term: “miejsce odosobnienia” (confinement centre) and “obóz odosobnienia” (confinement camp)¹³. The author of the latter, Wojciech Śleszyński, noted that earlier publications included various names: not only “confinement centre” (such a name was used in official documents)¹⁴ and “confinement camp”, but also “isolation camp” and “concentration camp”. Ac-

¹² The only testimony of a female inmate that I know of was by Józefa Ozimek (idem, “Kobieta-więzień”, [in:] *Bereziacy*, L. Pasternak (ed.), Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw 1965, pp. 445–446).

¹³ I. Polit, *Miejsce odosobnienia...*; W. Śleszyński, *Obóz odosobnienia...*

¹⁴ Cf.: “[...] isolation camp officially referred to as ‘Confinement Centre’” (W. Czarnecki, “W Berezie Kartuskiej. To, co widział nasz sprawozdawca”, *Robotnik* 1934, issue 252, p. 3).

cording to him, all of them were adequate from the methodological point of view. However, due to the experiences of World War II the term “concentration camp” has lost its original meaning of, as the monograph indicates: “a place intended for temporary concentration (locking up) of political opponents and civilian population, and it became the synonym of a death camp”¹⁵, the author refrained from using that term and focussed on using the other three instead. Had the author not refrained from using it and had he indicated that there was a considerable difference between concentration camps, such as Dachau and Buchenwald, and (direct) death camps, such as Treblinka, no one would have found it offensive or, at least, people would consider as controversial a statement that Poles too had their share in concentrating, and, mind you, repressing at camps people against whom no fault had been proven. I am referring to not only the (Sanation) Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska, but also the 1945 (communist) camps in Jaworzno and Świętochłowice¹⁶.

The terminology was, in fact, not precise enough and unstable from the very beginning. Prime minister Kozłowski in a statement of 19 June 1934 published in *Gazeta Polska*, which was considered as an outlet of the governing party, mentioned a regulation establishing “isolation camps” in Poland, and then, having quoted the expression: “There must be order”, he stated emphatically: “Concentration camps. Yes. Why? Because it is obvious that those eight years of work for the greatness of Poland [...] were not enough for some.”¹⁷ Where did the “concentration” camps come from in that passage? Ireneusz Polit indicated that Kozłowski derived inspiration to establish camps in Poland from a speech delivered in Warsaw on 13 June 1934 by Joseph Goebbels, Reich minister of public enlightenment and propaganda, on the educational role of concentration camps in Germany¹⁸. An extremely telling name of Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska appeared in a manifesto of the Communist Party of Poland (Komunistyczna Partia Polski, KPP) of 18 June 1934,

¹⁵ W. Śleszyński, *Obóz odosobnienia...*, p. 11.

¹⁶ Vide, e.g. B. Kopka, *Obozy pracy w Polsce 1944–1950. Przewodnik encyklopedyczny*, Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza Nowa, Ośrodek „Karta”, Warsaw 2002; T. Wolsza, *W cieniu Wronek, Jaworzno i Piehcina... 1945–1956. Życie codzienne w polskich więzieniach, obozach i ośrodkach pracy więźniów*, Instytut Historii PAN, Warsaw 2003. It is telling that Mateusz Wyrwich, a conservative journalist, included in the title of his book on the Central Labour Camp in Jaworzno (Centralny Obóz Pracy w Jaworznie; that was the official name of the facility) a Russian (so also Soviet) term for the camp thus suggesting it was not a Polish creation (or not entirely so): *Łagier Jaworzno. Z dziejów czerwonego terroru* (Editions Spotkania, Warsaw 1995).

¹⁷ “Miejsca odosobnienia. Oświadczenie premjera L. Kozłowskiego”. *Gazeta Polska* 1934, issue 168, p. 2.

¹⁸ I. Polit, *Miejsce odosobnienia...*, p. 38. The author indicated an incorrect date of the speech, i.e. one day later – cf. “Co mówić dr. Goebbels? Skróć odczytu o ‘Ideologii Niemiec hitlerowskich’: hitleryzm nie jest towarem na eksport”, *Republika* 1934, issue 161, p. 2.

which stated that “the fascist government and president announced a decree on Hilter [!] isolation camps.”¹⁹ That was surely no mistake but an intentional usage intended to suggest a relationship between the existing German (Hitler) camps and the planned Polish camps due to the alleged similarity of the political systems of both states. Either way, the remainder of the manifesto used the term concentration camps²⁰. That name referring to Bereza Kartuska was also used by national radicals. It can be found, e.g. in *Historia Polski* (History of Poland) by Stanisław Mackiewicz of 1941²¹ and in a fifty years younger foreword by Leszek Żebrowski to a book by Piotr Siekanowicz entitled *Obóz odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej 1934–1939* (Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska)²². Austerity in using the term “concentration camp” in reference to the Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska was characteristic of mainly Polish authors, though, apparently not all. The least hesitant in that respect were authors who were critical of the Sanation government, as well as foreign authors.

In fact, both in the Soviet Union, and in the former Soviet republics of: Belarus, Ukraine and Lithuania, it is common to use, regardless of one’s political affinity, the term concentration camp: *концентрационный лагерь* (*концлагерь*)²³, *каницэнтрацыйны лягер*²⁴, *концтабір*²⁵, *koncentracijos stovykla*²⁶. In Poland, even after 1939, it was mainly used by communists, including historians, writers, and journalists. The concentration camp, euphemistically referred by its creators as a confinement centre or camp, was referenced by, e.g. Jerzy Rawicz, and former

19 *Dyktatura faszystowska Piłsudskiego wprowadza obozy koncentracyjne*, Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie, set MSW, ref. 1163, l. 78, as cited in: “Bereza Kartuska”, selected and submitted for printing by A. Knyt, *Karta*, issue 59 (2009), p. 25.

20 Ibid.

21 S. Mackiewicz (Cat), “Zbiórka i Bereza”, [in:] idem, *Historia Polski od 11 listopada 1918 r. do 17 września 1939 r.*, M.I. Kolin, London 1941, p. 321.

22 Żebrowski wrote: “‘confinement camp’, is, in essence, a concentration camp” (idem, “Przedmowa”, [in:] P. Siekanowicz, *Obóz odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej 1934–1939*, Instytut Historyczny im. Romana Dmowskiego, Instytut im. Romana Dmowskiego, Warsaw 1991, p. 5).

23 В. Беляев, “Третий брат Сакко и Ванцетти”, [in:] А. Гаврилюк, *Песни из Березы*, В. Беляев (ed.), trans. [from Ukrainian], Молодая гвардия, Москва 1954, p. 17; *Они не стали на колени. Сборник воспоминаний и документов о концлагере Береза Картузская*, [selection and literary editing] В. Поссе, Л. Аржаева, Я. Миско (eds.), Беларусь, Минск 1966, p. 6.

24 [author not credited], “Бяроза-Картузскі канцэнтрацыйны лагерь”, [in:] *Беларуская энцыклапедыя*. У 18 т, vol. 3, БелЭн, Мінск 1996, p. 410.

25 Н. Колошук, “Береза Картузька в українській табірній мемуаристиці”, *Київські полоністичні студії*, vol. 18 (2011), pp. 280–287.

26 E. Brazaitienė, “Juozas Kėkštās (1915–1981)”, [in:] Maironio lietuvių literatūros muziejus, <http://maironiomuziejus.lt/lt/iseiviu-literaturos-skyriaus-114/juozas-kekstas-19151981-1629> [accessed on: 29.11.2018].

internees of German, Nazi camps, i.e. Stanisław Wygodzki and Teofil Witek²⁷. The latter added the qualifier “Sanation”. Other authors, including Piotr Gazdajka, a journalist, and Aron Skrobek, a former Bereza internee, wrote openly about a “Polish concentration camp.”²⁸ A similar expression was used in the title of an article published in the already independent Poland entitled *Bereza, polski obóz koncentracyjny* (Bereza. Polish concentration camp)²⁹ by Andrzej Garlicki, a historian (obliging to the authorities of the People’s Republic of Poland). In a chapter of *Piękne lata trzydzieste* (Wonderful 1930s), of which the article was an abridged version, Garlicki stated that when Bereza was being created, it was not being modelled, as some historians posited, after Soviet gulags, which preceded German concentration camps, as, according to him, they were “a strictly protected secret and usually no one knew they existed.”³⁰ Regardless whether Bereza was actually “modelled after Dachau”³¹ one must indicate that in pre-WWII Poland people knew this and that about Soviet gulags. That was because before the Nazis created their first concentration camps and before the Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska was established, Polish readers had the opportunity to read books on Soviet prisons and gulags. One such publication was a 1927–1928 two-volume collection entitled *Za kratami więzień i drutami obozów* (Behind prison bars and camp wires)³²; the other was a 1930 “memoir from Solovki” by Mieczysław Lenardowicz entitled *Na wyspach tortur i śmierci* (In the islands of torture and death)³³. In any case, Piotr Siekanowicz stated that Bereza was modelled both after the GPU (Soviet state political directorate) camps in Soviet Russia and the concentration camps operating in Hitler’s Germany. He added that the creators of Bereza were not unfamiliar with the “domestic school”, i.e. the prison for parliamentary opposition

27 J. Rawicz, *Diabeł przegrany*, Czytelnik, Warsaw 1976, p. 250; S. Wygodzki, “Epopcja bohaterstwa i solidarności”, *Express Wieczorny* 1965, issue 203, p. 6; T. Witek, “Książka o Berezie”, *Za wolność i lud* 1956, issue 8, p. 20.

28 P. Gazdajka, “Za drutami Berezy”, *Za wolność i lud* 1951, issue 6, p. 14; M. Skrobek, “Nie wierzymy w bogów”, [in:] *Bereziacy*, p. 120. I shall return to Skrobek further in the article, so allow me to explain now that the name Mendel which can be found in the biographical note to *Bereziacy* (ibid., p. 463) is a pseudonym; he also used a pseudonym of Dawid Kutner – vide W. Sznarbachowski, *300 lat...*, p. 94.

29 A. Garlicki, “Bereza, polski obóz koncentracyjny”, *Gazeta Wyborcza* 2008, issue 93, pp. 29–30.

30 A. Garlicki, *Bereza Kartuska*, p. 240.

31 Nota bene, that was the subtitle of one of the chapters of the previously quoted article by Garlicki.

32 *Za kratami więzień i drutami obozów (wspomnienia i notatki więźniów ideowych z lat 1914–1921)*, collection and editorial commentary by W. Lipiński [et al.], t. 1–2, Komitet Organizacyjny Zjazdu b. Więźniów Ideowych, Warsaw 1927–1928.

33 M. Lenardowicz, *Na wyspach tortur i śmierci. Pamiętnik z Sołówek*, Wojskowy Instytut Naukowo-Wydawniczy, Warsaw 1930.

activists established in Brest (Brześć nad Bugiem) Fortress in 1930. Siekanowicz wrote: “The similarity of the methods used in Bereza towards those ‘kept’ [in Brest], in particular the torture they were subjected to, and the chief of the camp being none other than the famed [Wacław] Kostek-Biernacki confirm the stipulation emphatically.”³⁴ The issue of the possible models used for the Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska, as well as the similarities between it and locations used for concentrated oppression of a different origin, Russian (and, later, Soviet) and German in particular, requires a detailed study. That is a task for historians. Before I move on to discussing literary references to Bereza, being a literary scholar, I can only quote a few passages attempting to “grasp” the institution by indicating actual or alleged antecedences and affinities.

The manifesto of the League for the Defence of Human and Citizen Rights (Liga Obrony Praw Człowieka i Obywatela) of May 1936, a facsimile of which was included in the 1965 collective volume entitled *Bereziacy*³⁵ (Berezers) published by Książka i Wiedza, mentioned the Confinement Centre as independent Poland’s version of *tzar’s katorga*, just as harsh in terms of living conditions and how inmates were treated with the only difference that “to a *katorga* a convict was sent upon receiving a court sentence knowing when his torment would stop, while the internment at Bereza is often done at the decision of unknown persons, recently it has become normal that it was done in secret, and the duration is virtually undefined.”³⁶ An extract from the manifesto kept at the State Archive in Warsaw (Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie) includes a telling fragment which had been removed out of view from *Bereziacy*, i.e. censored. It is worth quoting if only for the previously quoted opinion by professor Garlicki regarding the fact that Poles supposedly did not know anything about Soviet gulags. In it, Bereza was further defined as the “Polish [...] edition of *tzar’s Akatuy*, modernised to match Hitler’s Dachau, the fascist Lipari Islands and Soviet Solovki.”³⁷ Eighteen months prior, on

³⁴ P. Siekanowicz, *Obóz odosobnienia...*, p. 27. At this point, it is necessary to deny the piece of information recurring in numerous publications stating that Wacław Kostek-Biernacki was the commandant of Bereza. He was actually the commandant of Brest Fortress during the time when opposition activists were interned there in 1930. He has been known, though, as, and that might be possible, the author of the book of regulations of the Bereza Kartuska confinement centre (vide W. Śleszyński, *Obóz odosobnienia...*, p. 38) and “somewhat a superior instance in relation to the camp administration” (I. Polít, *Miejsce odosobnienia...*, p. 68).

³⁵ [Translator’s remark: No official demonyms for the internees at Bereza exist in English; this is a version proposed by the translator]

³⁶ “O ‘miejscu odosobnienia’ w Berezie Kartuskiej” [manifesto of the League for the Defence of Human and Citizen Rights], [in:] *Bereziacy*, insert between p. 48 and 49.

³⁷ State Archive in Warsaw, set 72/1/0: Government Office for the Capital City of Warsaw, series 2.1: 1 Political-National Branch – information notes, 72/1/0/2.1/35: Information notes of the Investigating Office regarding the League of the Defence of Human and

6 November 1934, during a session of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland, Dymytro Ładyga, a deputy of the Ukrainian Club (Klub Ukraiński), stated that “the so-called confinement centre in Bereza Kartuska is the same thing for Ukrainians in Poland as Solovki are for Dnieper Ukrainians under the rule of the imperialist Moscow.”³⁸ He went on to add that Bereza was the manifestation of human degeneration³⁹. Jewhen Wreciona, another Ukrainian, a former Confinement Centre inmate, admitted over a dozen years later that while “Bereza cannot be directly compared to Solovki or Auschwitz, it was no holiday resort.”⁴⁰

However, the most common point of reference both before and after World War II were German, Nazi camps, undoubtedly known better at that time than Soviet camps.⁴¹ Already on 19 June 1934 in *Gazeta Warszawska* it was indicated that there was a “strong analogy” between the confinement centres announced in the resolution published two days earlier and the “concentration camps which Mr. Goebbels discussed during his speech describing them as a type of ‘education centres’ for political opponents.”⁴² Franciszek Ryszka, a historian, reported nearly three decades later on the visit (or rather: return visit) in Germany of Gen. Kordian Józef Zamorski, the chief of the Polish police, as a chance to “exchange experiences in Dachau and Bereza.”⁴³ Leon Lenzion recalled that he learnt from German anti-fascists who were his fellow inmates at Sachsenhausen that the camp was visited before WWII by the chief of Polish police with an entourage of officials, and he added: “Judging by the description of the general which emphasised his feature

Citizen Rights with an internal circular of the League no. 1 of 1934, manifesto “O ‘miejscu odosobnienia’ w Berezie Kartuskiej” provided by Fordon, Jankowski, Grochowski, Kielecki et al., sh. 53. The document is available online at: https://szukajwarchiwach.pl/72/1/0/2.1/35/str/1/4/15/q7tTnKz62lvVeR_VPUFnEg/#tabSkany [accessed on: 22.11.2018]. Between 1832 and 1917, in the village of Akatuy, there operated a heavy katorga – vide B.B. Бардакова, “Акатуйская тюрьма”, [in:] *Энциклопедия Забайкалья*, <http://www.encycl.chita.ru/encycl/concepts/?id=448> [accessed on: 26.11.2018]. On fascist camps and displacement camps in Italy which operated between 1926 and 1943 one of which was located on the island of Lipari vide M.R. Ebner, *Ordinary violence in Mussolini’s Italy*, Cambridge University Press, New York 2011, pp. 1–22 (ch. “The fascist archipelago”).

38 “Sprawozdanie stenograficzne ze 124 posiedzenia Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w dniu 6 listopada 1934 roku”, [in:] *Bereza Kartuska*, p. 44.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 45.

40 E. Wreciona, *Bereza Kartuska* [!] z innej strony, trans. J. Łobodowski, *Kultura* [Paris] 1950, issue 4, p. 117.

41 Vide A. Morawiec, *Literatura w lagrze, lager w literaturze. Fakt – temat – metafora*, Wydawnictwo Akademii Humanistyczno-Ekonomicznej, Łódź 2009, pp. 41–54.

42 [Author not credited], “Miejsca odosobnienia”, *Gazeta Warszawska* 1934, issue 182; as quoted in: *Bereza Kartuska*, p. 26.

43 F. Ryszka, *Noc i mgła. Niemcy w okresie hitlerowskim*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1963, p. 286.

black goatee, I suspected that it must have been General Kordian Zamorski.⁴⁴ In a monograph devoted to Zamorski, Robert Litwiński did discuss extensively the general's visits in Berlin and Hamburg in May 1936 and in Nuremberg in September 1938, yet he did not mention, similarly as post-visit reports recorded on those occasions, that the general visited any of the concentration camps⁴⁵. Neither did Zamorski mention that fact in his journal⁴⁶. What is known, however, is that the camp in Dachau was visited before WWII by two other Poles. In August 1933 attaché Witold Mieczysławski received from German authorities, at the demand of the General Consulate of the Republic of Poland in Munich, a permit to visit three Jews of Polish nationality held in "protective custody". He was accompanied by Hienrich Himmler, a company which the Polish diplomatic mission surely did not encourage. The post-visit report was, according to Stanisław Schimitzek, shocking⁴⁷. Jerzy Rogowicz, a journalist, was the other person to visit the camp. He described his visit in a series of reports in *Kurier Warszawski* published between 17 September and 22 November 1936⁴⁸.

In the discussed context it is worth recalling the opinion of Jerzy Rawicz, a writer and journalist, emphasising in it the doubt, possibly a suggestion, regarding direct determining factors of the so-called camp reality:

Not only camp regulations were modelled after Nazi experiences (which was a public secret), but also the customs and the forms of existence were brought from Oranienburg or Dachau to Polesia. Or maybe the camp system itself produces such phenomena? Obviously Nazi K.Ls, especially the ones which existed during the war,

⁴⁴ L. Lenzion, "Cat w Berezie", *Polityka* 1986, issue 49, p. 2. Teofil Witek, a former internee at Auschwitz and Buchenwald, mentioned the "widely known to the public" visit of General Zamorski in Dachau (idem, *Książka o Berezie*, p. 20).

⁴⁵ Vide R. Litwiński, *Kordian Józef Zamorski „granatowy” generał*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2018, pp. 194–195; [author not credited], "Odwiedziny p. Komendanta Głównego w Berlinie", *Przegląd Policyjny* 1936, issue 4, pp. 338–339; [author not credited], "Drugi wyjazd policji polskiej do Berlina", *ibid.*, pp. 339–340.

⁴⁶ K.J. Zamorski, *Dzienniki (1930–1938)*, R. Litwiński, M. Sioma (eds.), Instytut Józefa Piłsudskiego, LTW, Warszaw-Dziekanów Leśny 2011.

⁴⁷ Vide S. Schimitzek, *Drogi i bezdroża minionej epoki. Wspomnienia z lat pracy w MSZ (1920–1939)*, Interpress, Warsaw 1976, p. 316.

⁴⁸ J. Rogowicz, "W obozie koncentracyjnym", *Kurier Warszawski* 1936, issue 255 (evening edition), pp. 2–3; "Za co? Od jak dawna?", issue 256 (evening issue), pp. 2–3; "'Wychowanie' przez obóz", issue 258, p. 6; "Wszzerz i wzdłuż obozu", issue 260 (evening issue), pp. 2–3; "'Korytarz' polski w obozie", issue 308 (evening issue), p. 2; "Jak ich żywią?", issue 314, p. 5; "Przyszłość obozu", issue 321, pp. 7–8. Vide also: Zbigniew Anculewicz: "Obóz koncentracyjny w Dachau w reportażu Jerzego Rogowicza." *Mrągowskie Studia Humanistyczne*, vol. 2 (2000), pp. 3–14; A. Morawiec, *Literatura w lagrze...*, pp. 44–46.

were something else. In Bereza, there was no mass extermination. The analogy lies somewhere else. It applies to certain forms and manifestations, accessories, if you will, accompanying the phenomenon of concentration camps⁴⁹.

Clearly when compared to Dachau and other Nazi concentration camps, the Pruzhany (Prużany) poviát confinement centre of Bereza was a disgrace, particularly of the political system which caused its creation. Bereza internees (it is noteworthy that among them there was a communist activist by the name of Eichler who had escaped from Dachau)⁵⁰ instead of their names had numbers sawn on their jackets. They were subjected to both physical and mental abuse. They were forbidden from talking loudly. They were not allowed to receive food packages, and their ability to send letters (censored, written per a template: "I am well and healthy") was limited.⁵¹ No visits were allowed. Their accommodations were below any civilised norms, and food rations were extremely small. Some internees performed hard physical labour, often pointless, while those who were not working were forced to do exhaustive physical exercises. Within the camp, the internees had to run. They were verbally abused. They were often beaten by the guards (policemen served as guards there) as well as their fellow internees – regular criminals. At least a dozen people died within the five years of the Confinement Centre's operations. Strictly speaking, most of them died in the hospital in Kobryń, where internees in severe conditions were sent as the camp authorities made sure internees would not die within its premises⁵². The objective of the camp was not to kill people. One could conclude that deaths were a side effect of the guards' overzealousness.

Allow me to use the recollections of a communist by the name of Juliusz Katz-Suchy:

On 9 May [1936] in the morning someone whispered during breakfast about the murder of [Aleksander] Mozyrko and [Abram] Germaniski. The other day we saw Germaniski being maltreated. [...] it seems that the bodies of the first of our murdered comrades restrained the police mob in their cruelty. [...] The news spread that some ministry commission was to arrive. [...] You could see the policemen mellowing. Some easing resulted.⁵³

⁴⁹ J. Rawicz, *Diabeł...*, pp. 258–259.

⁵⁰ Vide W. Sznarbachowski, *300 lat...*, p. 105.

⁵¹ It is worth mentioning that the phrase "Ich bin gesund und es geht mir gut" ("I am well and I am faring fine"), known mainly from the official correspondence sent by the internees at Nazi concentration camps, had already been used in the Austrian army during World War I: it was printed (in several languages) on postcards sent by soldiers from the front – vide I. Rebhan-Glück, *Die Feldpost im Ersten Weltkrieg „Ich bin gesund und es geht mir gut“*, <http://ww1.habsburger.net/de/kapitel/ich-bin-gesund-und-es-geht-mir-gut> [accessed on: 28.11.2018].

⁵² Vide I. Polit, *Miejsce odosobnienia...*, pp. 85–86; W. Śleszyński, *Obóz odosobnienia...*, pp. 51–53.

⁵³ J. Katz-Suchy, "Moje pierwsze dni w Berezie", [in:] *Bereziacy*, pp. 344–345.

The easing did not last long. Undoubtedly, the camp in Bereza, using Rawicz's words, was not the same thing as Nazi KLs during World War II. But were they so different from what Hitler's camps were prior to WWII, i.e. in 1933–1939? Is it justified to compare Bereza with the “early” camps or is it an exaggeration? As I have already mentioned, the over five years of the operations of Bereza resulted in the deaths of at least a dozen people. In that context it is worth considering a monograph by Nikolaus Wachsmann entitled *Historia nazistowskich obozów koncentracyjnych* (A history of Nazi concentration camps), where he quoted the numbers of casualties in some SS concentration camps which operated in the same period: Berlin-Columbia (operation: 1934–1936): at least 3 casualties, Esterwegen (1934–1936): 28, Lichtenburg (1934–1939): 25, Sachsenburg (1934–1937): at least 30, Bad Sulza (1936–1937): 0⁵⁴. The analogies between Bereza and German camps during their operations were not unfounded.

Of course, while reading either historical studies or recollections of former internees one has to remember that they were shaped by various factors, including emotional and ideological considerations, which often deform the truth, however, and that must be also stated, not always and not in all respects. Nonetheless, Leonard Borkowicz, a communist, stated:

When during the war, especially after Germany was defeated and all Nazi barbarity was uncovered, there was a lively debate about the national character of Germans, I recalled the policemen from Bereza: Próchniewicz, Pytel, Solecki, and Tomaka. Well, fascism turned those Poles into monsters not differing much from SS men.⁵⁵

Jonasz Stern, another communist and a famous painter who during WWII escaped from a transport to Belzec and later survived a mass execution, when recollecting on his internment at Bereza, referred to it as the threshold of the ghetto and death camps.⁵⁶

Confinement Centres – a view from the outside

Let us take a closer look at the “threshold” or rather its literary, in the broad sense of the word, image. I perceive literature broadly, covering both works the dominant function of which is aesthetic, i.e. fiction, and the so-called fringe literature,

⁵⁴ N. Wachsmann, *Historia nazistowskich obozów koncentracyjnych*, trans. M. Antosiewicz, Świat Książki, Warszawa 2016, p. 686, Table 2.

⁵⁵ L. Borkowicz, “Okrucy wspomnień”, [in:] *Bereziacy*, pp. 278–279.

⁵⁶ J. Stern, “Komunista Pitagoras”, [in:] *Bereziacy*, p. 282. It is worth mentioning that Stern was the protagonist (or rather a model for the protagonist) of “Krajobraz, który przeżył śmierć” by Kornel Filipowicz (in: idem, *Krajobraz niewzruszony. Opowiadania*, Czytelnik, Warsaw 1947, pp. 91–117).

including testimony literature, journalistic reports and memoirs in particular. The closest, used by me, context of thus perceived literature which cannot be ignored in this case are journalistic texts, and various kinds of documents and historical studies.

25 years ago, i.e. relatively recently, Rafał Habielski noted that the history of the Bereza camp had not had its historian who “would reveal the actual number of those interned there, their party affiliations, the reasons for their internment, and, finally, who would answer the question of the actual political significance of Bereza and the place it occupied in the pre-WWII system of power.”⁵⁷ Ten years later, in 2003, two books, already referenced in this article, were published: one by Polit and one by Śleszyński. They include many valuable details, yet some important issues still remain unsettled because some cannot be accessed while other have been lost. Let us, then, focus first and foremost on that what was known about Bereza during its operations.

Apparently, its existence was not, and was not supposed to be, a secret. The intention behind the confinement centres drafted in the resolution of 17 June 1934 was not only to isolate but also to “correct” and deter people willing to violate the “security, peace and public order” in the country. Therefore, Bereza was supposed to function as a place which should be avoided at all cost. But when it came to the details of its operation, its living conditions, forms of repression, and casualties, the always protective of their image authorities did not intend to inform the public opinion about those. Thus, it is not surprising that the first and, as it turned out, the only confinement centre was located in the country, at a desolate location near a railway track. Soon after the confinement centre resolution was passed, the press began a non-restricted by the authorities, thus probing social moods, exchange of opinions, including polemics and protests. When, almost immediately, it turned out that the creation of the camp in Bereza Kartuska was not accepted by the society, or at least by the politicians, the authorities attempted to justify its existence as a painful yet the only means for eliminate the social and political tension in the Second Polish Republic⁵⁸. Once the camp was finally erected, some journalists made attempts to access it, yet to no avail. One of those was Waław Czarnecki. He described his unsuccessful trip to the Confinement Centre in a three-part report published in *Robotnik*, an outlet of the Polish Socialist Party (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna, PPS), in issued of 13–15 July 1934. He began somewhat provocatively: “I’m in Bereza Kartuska. Yet not as a political ‘criminal’ or ‘destructor’ of social order, but as a journalist willing to see what the camp looks like from up close.”⁵⁹ He also

57 R. Habielski, “Bereza Kartuska”, [in:] *Nie szablą, lecz piórem. Batalie publicystyczne II Rzeczypospolitej*, D. Naęcz (ed.), Wydawnictwo Instytutu Badań Literackich PAN, Warsaw 1993, p. 219.

58 Vide W. Śleszyński, *Obóz odosobnienia...*, pp. 19–20.

59 W. Czarnecki, “Bereza Kartuska”, *Robotnik* 1934, issue 251, p. 3.

mentioned a “somewhat different ‘confinement centre’” which was “once” established in Brest⁶⁰. However, he did not manage to see the camp itself. Commandant Bolesław Greffner, whom he requested to issue a permit to tour the Confinement Centre, referred him to the Polesia Voivode Waclaw Kostek-Biernacki⁶¹, who used to inform journalists willing to visit the internment centre that Bereza was no circus and it could not be a journalistic scoop.⁶² But Czarniecki managed to see the internees. He wrote: “A kilometre from Bereza Kartuska, I can see a crowd in the road. I drive up to it and there I see the members of the ‘camp’ at work.”⁶³ That was all.

Quite quickly the Polish government limited as much as possible explicit references to the Confinement Centre. From the mid-1935 onwards censorship halted texts reporting any details about it.⁶⁴ The main, and virtually the only, official platform for discussion was the parliament (lower and upper chambers) established after the so-called Brest elections of 1930. In 1934, that debate was still lively, but because almost all opposition parties boycotted the 1935 elections, the issue of Bereza was seldom raised in the following term, i.e. in 1935–1938.⁶⁵ One significant event in that context, not only for literary historians, was the speech delivered on 20 December 1935 during a senate debate on the draft of an amnesty act delivered by Waclaw Sieroszewski, a senator of the Polish Republic and the chairman of the Polish Academy of Literature, who had been a political prisoner of the czar and an exile. In arguing against applying amnesty to people interned at Bereza, Sieroszewski used a logical yet cynical argument: “the persons locked there cannot be subject to amnesty as they had not been sentenced with a court sentence,” only to add:

Confinement centres, such as Bereza Kartuska, are, we must all agree, the mildest form of counter-terror there is. Yet I think they should rather be a preventive measure, something akin to “sending unruly children off to another room” or sending them to “stand in the corner.” Give them time there to come to their senses. Help break their organisational emotional ties which drive their young souls to inconsiderate acts.⁶⁶

The author of *Zacisze* (Retreat) then called upon other senators to vote for the amnesty in the form passed by the Sejm rejecting the proposed amend-

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ W. Czarniecki, “W Berezie Kartuskiej. W ‘sztabie’ obozu u ‘komendanta’ Greffnera”, *Robotnik* 1934, issue 253, p. 3.

⁶² Vide W. Śleszyński, *Obóz odosobnienia...*, p. 18.

⁶³ W. Czarniecki, *Bereza Kartuska*, p. 3.

⁶⁴ Vide W. Śleszyński, *Obóz odosobnienia...*, pp. 78–79, note 7.

⁶⁵ Vide I. Polit, *Miejsce odosobnienia...*, pp. 169, 183.

⁶⁶ As cited in: [author not credited], “Prezes Akademii Literatury o więźniach brzeskich, skazańcach prasowych i Berezie Kartuskiej”, *Prosto z mostu* 1935, issue 54, p. 8.

ments. The amendments intended to extend the amnesty to cover the Brest internees staying abroad and the so-called press criminals were rejected. Senators also came to an agreement regarding the matter of Bereza Kartuska. The amnesty of 2 January 1936 did not cover sentences in excess of ten years or the internees at Bereza.⁶⁷

Not all Polish writers reacted that way to Bereza. Before Sieroszewski expressed his opinion, in October 1935 a group of social activists and writers issued a statement regarding the amnesty for political prisoners and shutting down the camp in Bereza Kartuska (in it, the term *confinement centre* is inscribed in quotation marks and next to it there is the name *isolation camp* without any quotation marks). It was signed by, e.g. Władysław Broniewski, Marian Czuchnowski, Konstanty Gałczyński, Halina Krahelska, Leon Kruczkowski, Jan Nepomucen Miller, Tadeusz Peiper, Lech Piwowar, Włodzimierz Słobodnik, Andrzej Strug, Wanda Wasilewska, Aleksander Wat, and Stefania Zahorska. The statement was confiscated by the authorities. It was printed in the December issue of the Paris-based periodical *Informacje Prasowe*⁶⁸. Romain Rolland, a well-known French writer, an activist of the Global Committee against War and Fascism and a winner of the Nobel Prize, also spoke out on the matter of Bereza. In April 1936, he sent a letter to the prime minister of the Polish government in which after mentioning that hundreds of anti-fascists were sent to Bereza Kartuska he added that the camp cast an “unpleasant shadow” on the good name of a country “famous for its 150 years of fighting with the tyranny of the partitioning powers.”⁶⁹

Let me, however, return to Polish authors who wrote on Bereza and who had to struggle with Sanation censorship. In fact, not just with censorship. They also had to struggle with law enforcement agencies. In July 1935 Adam Grot-Czekalski, a writer and a journalist, a Polish Socialist Party activist and author of various belles lettres, wrote for a Prague-based daily *Lidové Noviny* an article entitled *120 dni hańby w Berezie Kartuskiej* (120 days of disgrace at Bereza Kartuska). The police, having learnt about it, confiscated the article at a post office in Busko-Zdrój and arrested the author. During the investigation Grot-Czekalski admitted to writing the article, the material for which he indicated to had collected from the stories of Bereza internees and from articles printed in domestic periodicals. During the hearing he stated that he wrote it based on press releases and various leaflets, and that he never considered that information as false. He was accused pursuant to an article on propagation of untrue information outside Poland in order to harm the country, and he was sentenced to eighteen months in prison. He appealed the sentence and in 1936 he was acquitted of the charges. Until then he served his

67 Vide H. Zatorska, “W walce o amnestię dla więźniów politycznych”, *Z pola walki* 1956, issue 1, p. 12.

68 *Informacje Prasowe*, issue 2 (1935), p. 13. Reprinted in: *Z pola walki* 1956, issue 1, pp. 16–17.

69 As cited in: C.K. Domagała, *Wzbierająca fala*, Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw 1976, p. 520.

sentence in prisons in Kielce and Pińczów.⁷⁰ Despite the limitations enforced by censorship and the risk of penalisation, articles on Bereza continued to be released, though illegally. One such example was an article entitled *Znieść obóz koncentracyjny w Berezie Kartuskiej!* (Abolish the concentration camp in Bereza Kartuska) published in April 1935 in the illegal *Czerwona Pomoc*, an outlet of Red Aid in Poland (*Czerwona Pomoc w Polsce*), a section of the International Red Aid (Międzynarodowa Organizacja Pomocy Rewolucjonistom, MOPR)⁷¹. In February the following year, under the patronage of the organisation, a brochure entitled *Prawda o Berezie*⁷² (Truth about Bereza) was released. In June 1937, *Bereza Kartuska*⁷³, a single-issue publication, was released. Former internees also experienced how dangerous it was to propagate any information on what was happening at Bereza Kartuska. It is unclear whether the “public confession” of Edward Piotrowski, a national radical, published in the September issue of *Łódzki Głos Narodowy*, regarding his internment at Bereza resulted in any repercussions⁷⁴. What is known, though, thanks to a report of the Łódź Voivode intended for internal circulation, is that one Holcman spreading news of the “conditions at MO” was re-interned.⁷⁵ The publication of own experiences entailed risk, no wonder then that one of the earliest recollections from Bereza by Aron Skrobek, a communist, written in Yiddish, was published abroad, i.e. in Buenos Aires in 1936⁷⁶, while the Polish language *Wspomnienia z Berezy* (Recollections from Bereza) by Samuel Podhajecki was published by a Toronto-based *Głos Pracy* three years later⁷⁷. Sources indicate that Wiktor Grosz (actually Izaak Medres) convinced

70 Vide [author not credited], “Proces autora artykułu o Berezie Kartuskiej”, *Orędownik* 1935, issue 284, p. 6; [author not credited], “Echa artykułu o Berezie. P. Grot-Czekalski niewinniony”, *Orędownik* 1936, issue 84, p. 3 (there, the title of the discussed article differed slightly: *120 dni w obozie odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej* (120 days at the confinement centre in Bereza Kartuska)).

71 [author not credited], “Znieść obóz koncentracyjny w Berezie Kartuskiej!”, *Czerwona Pomoc* 1935, issue 3, pp. 20–21. Reprinted in: *Bereziacy*, insert between p. 48 and 49.

72 Vide I. Polit, *Miejsce odosobnienia...*, p. 203.

73 Vide P. Gazdajka, *Za drutami Berezy*, p. 14.

74 [E. Piotrowski], “Spowiedź publiczna młodego narodowca. Edward Piotrowski był więźniem Berezy w liście do przyjaciela opowiada nam o swoich przeżyciach”, *Łódzki Głos Narodowy* 1935, issue 1. Reprinted in: I. Polit, *Miejsce odosobnienia...*, pp. 235–237.

75 As cited in: I. Polit, *Miejsce odosobnienia...*, p. 138.

76 D. Kutner [actually A. Skrobek], *Kartuz-Bereze. Der poylišer koncentracie lager*, Farlag „Caytšrift” ba der Centrale fun Idiše Patronatn in Argentine, Buenos Aires 1936. In that same year, a French translation of the recollections was published: *Kartuz-Bereza. Le camp de concentration polonais*, trans. N. Skrobek, Secours Rouge, Paris 1936.

77 Reprinted “with slight abbreviations” in: *Kartki z Dziejów KPP*, M. Zwolak (ed.), Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw 1958, pp. 413–460.

Liber Muszyński, a formed internee, to write with him a book on Bereza. And so they did. Its manuscript was lost in 1939⁷⁸.

People of letters at Bereza

The discussion of recollections and strictly literary texts printed after the Confinement Centre ceased its operations must be preceded by some remarks on people of letters and literature at Bereza. That is because Bereza was not only a motif in Polish literature, but also its, or rather its authors' experience. And, in fact, a rather large group of people of letters. People of letters, i.e. writers, publishers, and journalists, were sent to Bereza usually for reasons other than literary practices. Stanisław Mackiewicz and Leon Pasternak were two exceptions in that respect, as they were sent to the camp exactly because of their texts. I shall discuss the latter separately.

Mackiewicz, a friend of prime minister Kozłowski, initially supported the idea to establish a confinement centre, with time, though, he turned from supporting Sanation to criticising it, and he began opposing it. He expressed that in articles published in the Vilnius-based *Słowo*. Being a representative of the right-wing opposition, he was arrested and interned at Bereza Kartuska where he remained from 23 March to 8 April 1939 for, as he stated, "a systematic criticism of the government using artificially selected arguments, and undermining national trust in the 'Supreme Leader.'"⁷⁹ Mackiewicz recalled his internment at Bereza in, e.g. a 1941 book entitled *Historia Polski od 11 listopada 1918 r. do 17 września 1939 r.*⁸⁰ and in a letter he wrote a decade later to the editor-in-chief of the London-based *Wiadomości*⁸¹. Let me add that in May 1941 in London he testified on his internment at Bereza before judge Piotr Siekanowicz, who operated on behalf of a Commission established in relation to the outcome of the 1939 war campaign.⁸²

Other columnists and journalists were also interned at Bereza, including National Radical Camp activists interned from 7 July to 18 September 1934, wrongly suspected of participating in the assassination of minister Pieracki: Bolesław Piasecki, Włodzimierz Szarnbachowski and Bolesław Świdorski (the last one was

78 Vide F. Muszyńska, "Z relacji żony więźnia Libera Muszyńskiego", [in:] *Bereziacy*, p. 244.

79 S. Mackiewicz (Cat), *Zbiórka i Bereza*, p. 321.

80 *Ibid.*, pp. 319–324.

81 S. Mackiewicz, "Dlaczego osadzono mnie w Berezie. Do redaktora 'Wiadomości'", *Wiadomości* 1951, issue 42, p. 4.

82 S. Cat-Mackiewicz, "Cat w Berezie", [submitted to dr. A. Garlicki], *Polityka* 1986, issue 46, pp. 1, 14; "Cat w Berezie", *Puls* [London], issue 32 (1986/1987), pp. 96–99. *Puls* published the fragments of Mackiewicz's testimony *Polityka* omitted, which included, e.g. the words his fellow internee and a communist uttered to him: "here in Poland there is just one Bereza, while the Soviet Union is one huge Bereza" (*ibid.*, p. 96). On Cat's internment at Bereza – vide J. Jaruzelski, *Mackiewicz i konserwatyści. Szkice do biografii*, Czytelnik, Warsaw 1976, pp. 192–205.

Bereza interneer No. 1)⁸³. The group also included Jerzy Korycki, a well-known after WWII author of crime novels released under a nom de plume of Jerzy Edigey. Other Bereza internees included Józef Przybyszewski, a member of the National Party and a nephew of Stanisław Przybyszewski, a writer⁸⁴, and Witold Kolski (actually Bernard vel Baruch Cukier), a communist activist and journalist.⁸⁵

Closer to literature than journalism were: Abram Germaniski, a beginner writer in Yiddish⁸⁶, Mark (vel Marek) Rakowski⁸⁷, a translator, Andrzej Wolica, an assimilated Jew who wrote in Polish, in fact an extremely interesting figure. Before WWII he published two collections of poems, a novel and a series of short stories, as well as (together with Maksymilian Emmer) a script for a film entitled *Legion ulicy* (Legion of the street) directed by Aleksander Ford. He was associated with the Kwadryga literary group.⁸⁸ Initially, he sympathised with PPS, later he joined KPP. In February 1933, he was sentenced for his political activities for five years in prison. He served the sentence in several facilities. In the spring of 1936 his imprisonment was suspended due to poor health, and he was later covered by the amnesty. In 1938, he was expelled from KPP for disloyalty, i.e. for condemning Moscow trials.⁸⁹ He was arrested again in August 1938. He was interned until September that year at Bereza. The *Współcześni polscy pisarze i badacze literatury* compendium states that in the autumn of 1939 Wolica was arrested by NKVD, and that the exact date and the circumstances of his death remain unknown⁹⁰. Today we know that he was murdered in April 1940 and buried in a mass grave in Bykownia.⁹¹

A more impressive (I do realise how unsuitable such a gradation is) is the list of writers who managed to avoid internment at Bereza. First and foremost, that

⁸³ Vide W. Sznarbachowski, *300 lat...*, p. 98.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁸⁵ B. Gadomski, "Kolski Witold", [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 13 (1967–1968), pp. 321–324.

⁸⁶ Vide W. Śleszyński, *Obóz odosobnienia...*, p. 53. Sometimes, subject literature provides a different name: Germański.

⁸⁷ Vide I. Polit, *Miejsce odosobnienia...*, p. 142; M. Fuks, "Rakowski Mark (Marek)", [in:] *Polski słownik judaistyczny*, [http://www.jhi.pl/psj/Rakowski_Mark_\(Marek\)](http://www.jhi.pl/psj/Rakowski_Mark_(Marek)) [accessed on: 23.11.2018].

⁸⁸ Vide K. Woźniakowski, "Andrzej Wolica i jego twórczość", [in:] A. Wolica: *Rudy*, 2nd edition, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków–Wrocław 1985, pp. 115–131.

⁸⁹ Vide A. Pragier, "Zbrodnia na 'Ulicy Ogrodowej'", *Wiadomości* [London] 1961, issue 6, p. 1.

⁹⁰ M.K.-K. [M. Kotowska-Kachel], "Wolica Andrzej", [in:] *Współcześni polscy pisarze i badacze literatury. Słownik biobibliograficzny*, team under J. Czachowska and A. Szałagan (eds.), vol. 9, Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Warsaw 2004, p. 245.

⁹¹ Vide *Listy katyńskiej ciąg dalszy. Straceni na Ukrainie. Lista obywateli polskich zamordowanych na podstawie decyzji Biura Politycznego WKP(b) i naczelnych władz państwowych ZSRR z 5 marca 1940 roku*, Niezależny Komitet Historyczny Badania Zbrodni Katyńskiej, Polska Fundacja Katyńska, Centralna Biblioteka Wojskowa, Warsaw 1994, p. 107; *Katyń... ocalić od zapomnienia*, <http://www.katyn-pamietam.pl/bohaterowie/page/569/> [accessed on: 2.04.2018].

would be Antoni Kasproicz, a poet associated with the Łódź-based Meteor literary group and a communist activist. Sent on a train transport to the Confinement Centre soon after WWII broke out, he managed to escape during a Luftwaffe bombing. Soon, though, he was captured by Germans and sent for forced labour to East Prussia.⁹² Aleksander Wat was luckier, yet only until he was arrested in January 1940 in Lviv by Soviets. In an essay entitled *Prawdziwy początek Iwana Denisowicza* (The real beginning of Ivan Denisovich) he recalled: "I found out recently that I was included in a list developed by pre-WWII Polish authorities for internment in a domestic Lager, modelled after Dachau."⁹³ A similar, or, possible the same, list included the names of other renowned writers. In the early 1939, as reported by Piotr Stawecki, the highest military officers planned to send to Bereza for their pacifist outputs, considered harmful for Poland, Antoni Słonimski, Julian Tuwim, and Józef Wittlin: "As indicated by a signature of Gen. T[adeusz] Kasprzycki, the minister of military affairs, he consented to that. But someone interfered. Gen. J[anusz] Głuchowski made reservations in the matter that 'if new instances emerge.'"⁹⁴ The execution of the motion was postponed.

Apparently, one could end up in Bereza not only for their political activities (often it was enough if someone was suspected of those), but even for writing literature. One such example is well-known. I am referring to Leon Pasternak, the author of the popular after WWII song of Tadeusz Kościuszko's 1st Division entitled *Oka* (The Oka River).

Pasternak's case

Pasternak, who came from a Polonized Jewish family⁹⁵, which in this context may be significant, since 1932 he was a member of Polish Professional Writers Union (Związek Zawodowy Literatów Polskich, ZZLP). He cooperated with *Lewar* and *Tryby* leftist cultural periodicals, and with *Szpilki* weekly, where he published his satirical works. Before WWII, he published two collections of poems: *Naprzeciw* (1935, Across) and *Dzień pochmurny* (1936, Cloudy day). In 1936, he joined KPP

92 Vide J. Wawrzak, "Antoni Kasproicz – robotnik słowa", [in:] A. Kasproicz, *Ich dzień powszedni*, Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, Łódź 1977, pp. 5–13; A.Sz. [A. Szatagan], "Kasproicz Antoni", [in:] *Współcześni polscy pisarze...*, vol. 4, Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Warsaw 1996, pp. 78–79.

93 A. Wat, "Prawdziwy początek Iwana Denisowicza", [in:] idem, *Świat na haku i pod kluczem. Eseje*, Czytelnik, Warsaw 1991, pp. 318–319.

94 P. Stawecki, *Następcy Komendanta. Wojsko a polityka wewnętrzna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1935–1939*, Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 1969, p. 132.

95 Vide K. Woźniakowski, "Pasternak Leon Jakub", [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 25 (1980), p. 257; J.Z. [J. Zawadzka], "Pasternak Leon", [in:] *Współcześni polscy pisarze...*, vol. 6, Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Warsaw 1999, p. 268.

with which he used to sympathise. He was arrested several times for his political activities. Within the period 1932–1939, he spent a total of five years in prison, including twice at Bereza Kartuska (in 1937 and in 1938–1939). The first time, he was released due to pressure of public opinion, as a result of an intervention of ZZLP, especially owing to the efforts of Maria Dąbrowska⁹⁶, while the second time – he left on his own. That occurred on 18 September 1939 once the police staff left the camp.

According to Marian Stępień, Pasternak's verse works "best reflected the fate of a political prisoner in Sanation Poland."⁹⁷ Many of those, included in the collection *Dzień pochmurny*, were created, as indicated by the notes inscribed under each, behind bars: "prison in Mokotów" (*Na spacerze*, At a walk), "prison in Łomża" (*Nokturn*, Nocturne), "prison in Brzesz" (*Nocą*, At night)⁹⁸. Some works written during WWII, under Soviet occupation or in the Soviet Union, included the motif of Bereza, sometimes side by side with prison motifs. Here are several examples of that: "in Bereza cells we saw Red Square" (*Lenin*, 1940)⁹⁹, "Whoever suffered and fought – they believe. / They will not obscure you, our vision, / the walls of Wronki or the wires of Bereza" (*Do wizji*, 1941, For a vision)¹⁰⁰, "For them Spała and Białowieża, / for us sticks and Kartuska Bereza" (*Tak było*, 1943)¹⁰¹. In *Warszawskie szosse*, bearing the telling inscription: "17 September 1943 / On route to the front" (the specific date, which brings to mind the date when the Red Army invaded Poland in 1939, seems intentional) one may read: "Here all colleagues, there goes the inmate in Bereza, / former cop and count ensign, / there goes a carpenter from Omsk, and a locksmith from Radomsko, / but battle helmets weigh down on them."¹⁰² In the poem, Bereza is not so much, as in earlier works, a political scandal and a sign of social injustice, which hardened communists and demanding revenge, as a buried (for the time being) incident less important than the idea, being implemented by the Polish Patriots Union in the USSR (Związek Patriotów Polskich w ZSRR, ZPP), of "uniting Poles for the time of the war who live in Soviet lands, regardless of their political, social or religious views,

⁹⁶ Vide [author not credited], "Obrońcy Pasternaka", *Prosto z mostu* 1938, issue 21, p. 4; J. Łobodowski, "O Cyganach i katastrofistach (3)", *Kultura* [Paris] 1964, issue 10, p. 44; K. Woźniakowski, "Pasternak Leon Jakub", p. 258.

⁹⁷ M. Stępień, *Polska lewica literacka*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1985, p. 252.

⁹⁸ L. Pasternak, *Dzień pochmurny. Poezje*, Dom Książki Polskiej, Warsaw 1936.

⁹⁹ L. Pasternak, "Lenin", [in:] idem, *Linia życia*, Związek Zawodowy Literatów Polskich, Łódź 1948, p. 45.

¹⁰⁰ L. Pasternak, "Do wizji", [in:] idem, *Słowa z daleka*, Związek Patriotów Polskich w ZSRR, Moscow 1944, p. 3.

¹⁰¹ L. Pasternak, "Tak było", [in:] idem, *Rzeź niewiniątek*, Czytelnik, [Warsaw] 1946, p. 87.

¹⁰² L. Pasternak, "Warszawskie szosse", [in:] idem, *Słowa z daleka*, pp. 18–19.

in a single patriotic camp to fight Nazism.”¹⁰³ The Tadeusz Kościuszko 1st Division, established in May 1943 under the political supervision of ZPP, was an important manifestation of the idea and its tool. Pasternak was its political and education officer. Allow me to add that a poem entitled *Droga Stalina* (Stalin’s path) written a few years later (i.e. in 1950), the title of which refers to one form of the torture used at Bereza (forcing internees to walk on their knees down a path covered in crushed brick), mentioned guards Tomak and Nadolski, who tormented communists in Bereza, and who were in the poem referred to as fascists (which was not surprising in the period of intense Stalinisation of the life in Poland)¹⁰⁴.

But let us not go too far into the future. Allow me to discuss another poem by Pasternak, one which not so much reflected or recalled Bereza as one which led to it. I am referring to *Pieśń o hańbieniu rasy* (Song of disgracing the race) published on 13 February 1938 in a Lviv-based satirical weekly *Chochół*¹⁰⁵. Just over two weeks later, on 1 March, *ABC*, a daily affiliated with the extreme right, published an article entitled *Co na to polski Lwów?* (What is the Polish Lviv’s position on this?), signed as T. G., probably referring to Tadeusz Gluziński, a columnist and the ideologist of the national radical movement. It discussed the “pornographic poem by Leon Pasternak, a Jew.”¹⁰⁶ Its author admitted that he would had excuse the pornography, various manifestations of which censorship in Poland had overlooked, yet the work included something that could not had passed unpunished: “the cynical insulting of a woman.” The poem, the columnist continued,

[...] is a description of the author, a Jew, having coitus with an Arian woman, Zosia, and it is entitled *Pieśń o hańbieniu rasy*. We know that the so-called Rassenschande, i.e. “race disgrace”, constituted in Germany a crime subject to severe punishment. Hence Mr. Pasternak’s jeering. The poem is so pornographic that one cannot manage to read it whole. Yet I must quote these excerpts to the readers to indicate the author’s exceptional impudence.¹⁰⁷

103 “Deklaracja ideowa Związku Patriotów Polskich w ZSRR” [of 16 June 1943], *Wolna Polska* 1943, issue 15, p. 1.

104 L. Pasternak, “Droga Stalina”, [in:] idem, *Lira i satyra. Wybór wierszy 1931–1951*, Czytelnik, Kraków 1952, pp. 91–92.

105 L. Pasternak, “Pieśń o hańbieniu rasy”, *Chochół. Tygodnik Satyryczny* 1938, issue 2. Reprinted in: *Satyra prawdę mówi... 1918–1939*, Z. Mitzner and L. Pasternak (eds.), Czytelnik, Warsaw 1963, pp. 301–302.

106 T. G. [T. Gluziński?], “Co na to polski Lwów?”, *ABC* 1938, issue 65A; here and further on I quoted after: [author not credited], “Sprawa Pasternaka”, *Prosto z mostu* 1938, issue 14, p. 4. As a side note it is worth mentioning that earlier, in the ONR-supported *Sztafeta*, Gluziński expressed his fascination with Hitler and Hitlerism – vide W. Sznarbachowski, *300 lat...*, p. 78.

107 T. G. [T. Gluziński?], *Co na to polski Lwów?*

According to T. G., the following stanza, which was the final in the set of four he quoted (the entire poem included fourteen stanzas), was the most impudent of all

Me? A kike. What? A Semite.
 There was no Bolek in my house.
 What kind of a woman will she become,
 what kind of a matriarch, a Mother Pole.¹⁰⁸

Pasternak's poem, allow me to clarify the columnist's statement, described a love relationship between a Polish woman and a Polish Jewish man, and mainly the consequences thereof explicated in the quotations provided above. The agitated columnist continued: "Enough with the filth and lousy cynicism. Now I'm asking simply: Where was censorship that should had acted here? Won't the prosecutor find here a classic case of Art. 152 of the Penal Code on the vilification of the Polish nation?"¹⁰⁹

The periodical's readers might had thought that the whole case would end in outraged statements. However, three days later, on 4 March, various Polish daily newspapers published a communication by the Polish Telegraph Agency (Polska Agencja Telegraficzna, PAT):

On 2 March this year, authorities detained in Krakow and sent to the confinement centre a known communist activist writer Leon Pasternak, who already in 1932 was sentenced by a district court in Stanisławów for subversive activities to 7 months in prison, while in 1937 he was interned at the confinement centre for communist activities.

The previous month Pasternak published in a Lviv-based periodical *Chochół* a poem entitled *Pieśń o hańbieniu rasy*, which included various offensive and insulting remarks on women and Polish mothers.¹¹⁰

The communication in *ABC* was supplemented with a commentary explaining that the repression suffered by the communist man of letters was an obvious result of *ABC*'s actions. *Bereza*, the newspaper continued, "is not for us the perfect

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ I cited after: [author not credited], "Literat-komunista w Berezie", *Gazeta Lwowska* 1938, issue 51, p. 4. Newspapers printed the announcement supplementing it with various quotations, some supporting the fact of incarcerating the poet – vide, e.g. [author not credited], "Komunistyczny literat w Berezie", *Czas* 1938, issue [63], p. 3; "Pasternak po raz drugi w Berezie za wiersz satyryczny 'Pieśń o hańbieniu rasy'", *Głos Poranny* 1938, issue 62, p. 4; [author not credited], "Bezczelny wywrotowiec w Berezie", *Kurier Łódzki* 1938, issue 62, p. 2.

solution and we would prefer it was conducted via the regular system of justice.”¹¹¹ A similar, though expressed much more emphatically, stance was taken by the *Prosto z mostu* weekly, to which Pasternak alluded in his poem by referring to a periodical “Prosto w zęby” (Straight into the teeth). It stated that:

[...] the case of the hideous poem by Pasternak qualified for being settled completely through the regular justice system. The crime was obvious and beyond all doubt. We do not perceive Bereza as a beneficial institution even when such scoundrels like Pasternak are sent there. Because we remember that to the same Bereza the authorities have recently sent, exactly without any concrete proof of any crimes (which they can do based on the act on “confinement centres”), distinguished nationalist activists from Vilnius: [Piotr] Kownacki, [Stefan] Łochtin and [Witold] Świerzewski. And the possibility of the same reception being applied to a Jew brazenly smearing the Polish Nation, that qualifies for the court, and nationalist activists fighting for great Poland who could not be accused of anything before the court is something inconceivable for a normal person.¹¹²

Other right-wing periodicals which published PAT’s communication used the article in *ABC* emphasising its certain passages, mainly through specific stylistic operations. The nationalist *Nowy Kurier* called *Chochoł* an excuse for a periodical devoted to spreading pornography and the poem’s author a Jewish cynical hack.¹¹³ The pro-Sanation *Echo* mentioned Pasternak’s excessive insolence.¹¹⁴

Leftist press reacted quite differently to the entire matter. In the PPS-affiliated *Robotnik*, Zbigniew Mitzner protested:

[...] we cannot, while remaining silent, consent for freedom of poetry to lead the poet to the prison. We think that Pasternak’s arrest was made not due to some actions of his but as a reaction against his ideological stance, being such a sinister challenge [for] official literature, official poetry, and court satire.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ As cited in: [author not credited], “Sprawa Pasternaka”, p. 4.

¹¹² [author not credited], “Sprawa Pasternaka”, p. 4.

¹¹³ Iks., “Rassenschande”, *Nowy Kurier* 1938, issue 50, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ [author not credited], “‘Pieśń o hańbieniu rasy’. Cyniczne oplwanie polskiej kobiety”, *Echo* 1938, issue 63, p. 7. It is worth adding that the consequences of publishing the poem were borne not only by its author, but also by Leon Deresiewicz, *Chochoł*’s publisher, and Izydor Berman, the responsible editor. Initially, an investigation was started against them for defaming the Polish nation. Eventually, though, they were accused of propagating pornography – vide [author not credited], “‘Pieśń o hańbieniu rasy’ przed sądem”, *Orędownik. Ilustrowany dziennik narodowy i katolicki* 1938, issue 156, p. 14.

¹¹⁵ Z. Mitzner, “Leon Pasternak w więzieniu”, *Robotnik* 1936, issue 120, p. 3.

Conservative periodicals *Czas* and *Słowo* partly critical of Sanation also stood in defence of Pasternak. In the latter, in an issue of 10 March 1938, Stanisław Mackiewicz concluded that Pasternak's internment at Bereza was unnecessary. He posited:

Leaving aside the fact that the thought of sending someone to a concentration camp for writing a poem disgusts me deeply, I believe that Poland can exist without a Bereza, and it is the weakness of our government that requires such a means of reinforcement to exist, which is actually being used for ad hoc results, without any long-term objectives. [...] The poem was published in a periodical read by Jewish intelligentsia sympathising with Bolsheviks, that is in a closed community isolated from the general public, which should actually be considered uncertain in state terms in all respects.¹¹⁶

Thirteen days after the article was published, Mackiewicz himself ended up in Bereza as being uncertain in state terms.

Other people of letters also protested against Pasternak's internment at Bereza. The Executive Council (Zarząd Główny) of ZZLP received a formal letter by Janina Broniewska, Halina Górka, Karol Kuryluk and Wanda Wasilewska in which they demanded an explanation why the Council did not intervene with government officials for Pasternak to be released.¹¹⁷ They achieved nothing. When Kostek-Biernacki asked Pasternak while he was interned at the Confinement Centre why he wrote such a poem, Pasternak supposedly responded that it was *licentia poetica*¹¹⁸. He paid a high price for creative freedom.

Literature at Bereza (and outside it)

However, as far we know, Pasternak did not write poems at Bereza. Others did. To practice literature at the camp was a form of rebellion and therapy.¹¹⁹ Mieczysław Popiel recalled: "Poetry was for us a weapon in the solitude and the torment of solitary confinement. It also enabled us to disconnect our minds from the pain."¹²⁰ Aleksander (Ołeksandr) Hawryluk, a Ukrainian poet, stated:

¹¹⁶ Cat [S. Mackiewicz], "Na marginesie polemiki o 'Przodownicę'", *Słowo* [Vilnius] 1938, issue 67, p. 1.

¹¹⁷ Vide [author not credited], "Obrońcy Pasternaka", p. 4.

¹¹⁸ Vide J. Rawicz, *Diabeł...*, p. 275.

¹¹⁹ The same applied to German, Nazi camps – vide A. Morawiec, *Literatura w lagrze...*, pp. 70–71.

¹²⁰ M. Popiel, "Gaudeamus igitur..." [in:] *Bereziacy*, p. 118.

In Bereza, specific folklore emerged; songs, poems, anecdotes, and even comedy sketches were written in Polish, Belarusian, and Jewish. Obviously, no one sang those songs aloud, but at work inmates learnt in whispers the lyrics and the melodies one from the other. That was surely one way to raise the heart.¹²¹

Surely inmates did not seek inspiration for the poetry at the camp library as it mainly included writings of Józef Piłsudski.¹²² Sznarbachowski, one of the first internees, recalled that one could read on Sunday and that the library of two or three dozen books apart from Piłsudski's *Pisma zbiorowe* (Collected writing) included novellas by Kostek-Biernacki (whom he appreciated highly for his literary talent) and the course books of third year law students taken from him, Piasecki and Korycki when they entered Bereza.¹²³ Sometimes internees were forced to read Piłsudski's writings: "After the works, 'lectures' were held. One inmate had to read *Pisma, mowy, rozkazy* (Writings, speeches, orders) by Marshal Piłsudski aloud. Then, there was the exam. Inmates reported the contents of the works they had read quoting the more important passages."¹²⁴ Interestingly enough, for Ukrainian nationalists Piłsudski's works constituted a valuable read, desired even. Wołodymyr Makar recalled:

All his works display very good style. They are vivid, clear, full of soldierly humour. [...] We eagerly read his directions on how to fabricate and distribute samizdat, and his remarks on firearms. As we talked later on, we compared the methods of the Polish revolutionary organisation with ours.¹²⁵

In time, access to the library became limited. Few inmates were allowed to use it.

A much closer companion for Bereza internees, particular communists and socialists, than Piłsudski's writings was the memorised by heart and recited aloud poetry by Władysław Broniewski¹²⁶, which inspired many of their own creations. We know relatively many of those, particularly thanks to *Bereziacy*. Often, though, which is natural for literary folklore, their authors remain unknown. The image of

121 A. Hawryluk, *Bereza*, trans. W. Rzymowski, for the edition it was studied, compared with the original and the gaps were filled by A. Wat, [in:] idem, *Bereza*, Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 1956, p. 93.

122 Vide I. Polit, *Miejsce odosobnienia...*, pp. 95–96, 121; W. Śleszyński, *Obóz odosobnienia...*, p. 51; M. Mirski, *...biegiem marsz!*, Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw 1958, p. 82.

123 W. Sznarbachowski, *300 lat wspomnień*, pp. 110–111.

124 [author not credited], "Jak żyli więźniowie w Berezie Kartuskiej?", *Robotnik* 1934, issue 327 [edition was confiscated]; as cited in: *Bereza Kartuska*, p. 42.

125 As cited in: B. H. [B. Heydenkorn], "Ukraińskie wspomnienia z Berezy", *Kultura* [Paris] 1955, issue 12, p. 79.

126 L. Borkowicz, "O Broniewskim w Berezie", *Nowa Kultura* 1950, issue 28, p. 2.

a comrade whispering news of the fighting Spain and of China pushing forward included in an anonymous 1936 song *Przez błota poleskie* (Through the muds of Polesia) with the phrase: “two of us fell”, which referred to, as one can only guess, the killing of Mozyrko and Germaniski at Bereza, indicated that a communist wrote the song.¹²⁷ It was originally printed (with a different title) together with several other “songs of Bereza” in the illegal communist press.¹²⁸ Communist, or at least revolutionary, origins also applied to a recorded from memory by Zelik Zylberberg optimistic *Karna sala* (Penal room), which prophesied the lifting of the “lordly creation”, meaning as much the Confinement Centre as Sanation Poland.¹²⁹ Another anonymous poem Zylberberg recorded from memory was *Karcer* (Solitary confinement), “It is cold in here as in a well, / The walls will suck your health”¹³⁰. Significantly enough, based on the recollections of Bereza internees, solitary was the most dreadful of tortures they were subjected to. An anonymous song *Biegiem marsz* (Double time, march) which began with the words: “If you want to know, / How in Bereza it was”¹³¹, constitutes a chronicle (or a timetable) of a day at Bereza. A large set of camp facts carried “pieśń bereskiej betoniarni” (song of Bereza concrete plant), with obvious communist provenance, which began with the words: “Bones must be hard on Bereza concrete plant, / They pay us every day, every week a penal report.”¹³²

It is also worth mentioning a poem with an inscribed date of 15 Dec 1935 entitled *O Berezie* (On Bereza), which was a reaction to opinions voiced in the press demanding that Bereza be shut down. In the *Satyra prawdę mówi...* (Satire tells the truth) anthology it was accredited to Emanuel Szlechter (actually Schlechter), while in *Bereziacy* published two years later its author was stated to be Edward Szymański¹³³. Since Pasternak participated in the editing of both books, the latter assignment should be considered the more reliable one, and Szymański’s *Dziela*

127 [author not credited], “Przez błota poleskie”, [in:] *Polskie pieśni rewolucyjne z lat 1918–1939*, collected and supplemented with notes by F. Kalicka, musical editing E. Olearczyk, Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw 1950, pp. 245–247. Reprinted in: *Bereziacy*, p. 38; *Polska poezja rewolucyjna 1878–1945*, S. Klonowski (ed.), Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warsaw 1977, pp. 312–313.

128 [author not credited], “Przez pola polskie grupa nasza szła...”, [in:] *Они не стали...*, insert between p. 128 and 129.

129 [author not credited], “Karna sala”, [in:] Z. Zylberberg, “Migawki bereskie”, [in:] *Bereziacy*, p. 147.

130 [author not credited], “Karcer”, [in:] *Bereziacy*, p. 221.

131 [author not credited], “Biegiem marsz”, [in:] *Polskie pieśni rewolucyjne...*, pp. 241–244. Reprinted in: R. Borkowski, “Tu rządzą ja – sędzia, i moja pałka – prokurator...”, [in:] *Bereziacy*, pp. 259–260; *Polska poezja rewolucyjna...*, pp. 310–311.

132 [author not credited], *** [“Kostki twarde muszą być...”], [in:] J. Wójcik, “Fragmenty wspomnień”, [in:] *Bereziacy*, p. 59.

133 E. Szlechter, “O Berezie”, [in:] *Satyra prawdę mówi...*, p. 406; E. Szymański, “O Berezie”, [in:] *Bereziacy*, p. 304.

zebrane (Collected works) did not include the poem at all¹³⁴. What is just as important, though, is that neither Szymański, a leftist poet and a member of the PPS murdered in 1943 in KL Auschwitz, nor Szlechter, author of pre-WWII hit songs, satirist and screenwriter murdered in the same year at the Janowska camp in Lviv¹³⁵, were interned at Bereza. Allow me to quote the whole satire (after *Bereziacy*), as it belonged to the rather rare works of literature in which Bereza was perceived from the outside, not from the perspective of an inmate or a former inmate:

A new era has come –
 Until recently – keep mum
 about Bereza –
 But now – all you can!...
 One by one,
 First Poranny, then Czas
 Or Słowo – the whole press
 of Sanation can use this mess:
 “Shut down!”... “Close!”... “Destroy”... “Sweep away!”

Strong words, acute words
 Write the government herds.
 Censorship is not afraid –
 Smacks it all... hard!...

While Bereza, as they say,
 remains uncharred.

Engaged poetry was written not only by communists and socialists. In the surviving reports of the State Police in Łódź, Ireneusz Polit found two anonymous propaganda songs: *Maszerują nasze bataliony* (Our battalions marching) and *Kolczaste druty* (Barbed wire), both by national radicals. (*Marsz na polską Syberię* (March to the Polish Siberia) was the original version of the latter, composed during a transport to Bereza by ONR elite members: Piasecki, Sznarbachowski, Świdorski, and, possibly, other detainees). The following are some of the more explicit fragments:

¹³⁴ E. Szymański, *Dzieła zebrane*, Ł. Szymański (ed.), foreword R. Matuszewski, notes E. Rudziński and Ł. Szymański, vol. 1–2, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Krakow 1971.

¹³⁵ Vide A. Redzik, “Jak twórca szlagierów wszech czasów nie został adwokatem – rzecz o Emanuelu Schlechterze (1904–1943). W 110. rocznicę urodzin i 70. rocznicę śmierci”, *Palestra* 2014, issue 1/2, pp. 245–255.

We won't be stopped, we won't be intimidated
 By prison bars, the Bereza tomb
 We'll break the hostile Jewish violence
 At our feet the Sanation's enemy's doom.¹³⁶

New Siberia is created by vermin,
 [...] When for Bereza we march
 And spray four hundred bullets
 Onto the kike crowd
 When we ONR win
 The bloody judgement will come
 And home [for? – note by A.M.] Sanation's dark gallows
 We will many plant.¹³⁷

The unknown author of a poem recited during a peasant rally in Dębica in 1937 was surely affiliated with the peasant movement; the poem began with the words: “When you came back from Bereza... – / What did they greet you with? / Bread did not rise this time / Nor do we have any salt...”¹³⁸ It presented Bereza as a painful place, though not more painful than the everyday reality of the impoverished Polish countryside bereaved of not only food, but also kerosene, soap, and clothes.

The literature at Bereza, similarly to the literature on Bereza, was created not only by Poles nor only in Polish. In the PRL, Ołeksandr Hawryluk, a member of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (Komunistyczna Partia Zachodniej Ukrainy, KPZU), was the most widely promoted and printed foreign author. He was not the most outstanding writer, but he displayed the utmost political commitment, which was visible in a poem entitled *Bereza* and in a narrative poem entitled *Pieśń z Berezy* (Song from Bereza), both written at the camp, as well as in extensive

¹³⁶ [author not credited], “Maszerują nasze bataliony”, [in:] I. Polit, *Miejsce odosobnienia...*, p. 233.

¹³⁷ [author not credited], “Kolczaste druty”, [in:] I. Polit, *Miejsce odosobnienia...*, p. 234. A distant echo of the poem was a rap song which used its fragments (or fragments of a variant of the poem) by Ptak (actually Maciej Ptasznik) entitled “Bereza Kartuska” included in a record entitled *NaRa* published in 2013 by 3DOM recording studio. The author of the song is a member of the ONR, while his song (an example of graphomania, vulgarity, and hate speech) constitutes an apology of the pre-WWII founding fathers of the ONR. The following are its final verses: “Trust me, man, the situation is changing, / we will put the authorities in prison. / They talk bullshit that we're the threat, / for traitor Bereza – confinement place.” Apparently, the idea of Bereza lives on. Vide “‘NaRa’ to mój największy sukces... – an interview with Ptak”, <https://wzww.wordpress.com/2013/07/17/nara-to-moj-najwiekszy-sukces-rozmowa-z-ptakiem-%E2%98%9A-posluchaj/> [accessed on: 14.12.2018].

¹³⁸ [author not credited], *** [“Gdy wrócisz z tej Berezy...”], *Świat* 1957, issue 33, p. 5.

recollections he completed in 1941, from which one learns, e.g. that Bereza “is one [...] of the ghastliest slaughter houses established by global capitalism.”¹³⁹ The final sentence of the work read: “The country is blossoming with banners welcoming the liberating march of the Red Army.”¹⁴⁰ Wołodymyr Makar, a nationalist, recalled that among all the Ukrainian works created at the camp, of which he knew only a few in a printed version, the greatest of all was a narrative poem by Dmytro Sztykało entitled *Duma o Berezie Kartuskiej* (Ballad of Bereza Kartuska). He also indicated several other Ukrainian poets who wrote while interned at Bereza: Ostap Derlic, Bogdan Goszowski, Roman Gut-Kluczycki, and Roman Mirowiczki¹⁴¹. Yet he did not mention Hawryluk.

Szołem Żyrman, a Yiddish poet, was yet another internee of Bereza – twice, actually. He released his poems in illegal prints circulated in the north-eastern voivodships of the Polish Republic. When the Red Army invaded Poland, he began work on a book describing the life of Bereza Kartuska internees.¹⁴² He probably failed to complete it, or at least he did not publish it. *Bereziacy* includes three of his camp poems. *Polesie* (Polesia) and *Karcer kołujący* [Circling solitary confinement] resonate somewhat positively, i.e.: the roar of cannons in Madrid saluting Moscow¹⁴³. A less optimistic yet artistically more refined, was a poem which began with the words: “The creak of the lock.” It went on as follows:

Solitary closed –
A seven-day night.
I stood still
In dark terror
With curses on my lips:
The hell with you!...¹⁴⁴

Żyrman, allow me to add, was referenced in the recollections of Józef Keksztas (Juozas Kėkštas, actually Juozas Adomavičius), a Lithuanian and Polish poet and

139 A. Hawryluk, *Bereza*, p. 27. The book also included, which I have already mentioned, a poem (*Bereza*) and a narrative poem (*Pieśń z Berez. Poemat*). The first printed edition of the *Bereza* recollections supplemented with the misleading subtitle: *Reportaż* (Report), was published in April 1941 in *Almanach Literacki* (issue 1, pp. 62–87), a periodical of the Lviv Organisation of the Writers Union of the USSR.

140 A. Hawryluk, *Bereza*, p. 116.

141 Vide B. H. [B. Heydenkorn], *Ukraińskie wspomnienia...*, p. 82.

142 Vide W. Śleszyński, “Białostockie środowisko pisarzy sowieckich (1939–1941)”, *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne*, vol. 13 (2000), p. 115.

143 S. Żyrman, “Polesie”, trans. [from Yiddish] A. Słucki, [in:] *Bereziacy*, p. 263; S. Żyrman, “Karcer kołujący”, trans. [from Yiddish] A. Słucki, [in:] *Bereziacy*, p. 196.

144 S. Żyrman, *** [“Skrzyp rygla...”], [in:] M. Popiel, *Gaudeamus igitur...*, p. 118.

translator. They were both held in a Vilnius prison called *Centralka*.¹⁴⁵ At Bereza, Keksztas met another poet, a Belarusian by the name of Siarhiej Chmara (Сяргей Хмара, actually Сяргей Сіняк)¹⁴⁶, who composed poems in his memory. One of those was created in 1937 entitled *Бярозка* – a lyrical complaint of a prisoner longing for freedom, which began with the words: „Між калючых драцяных аслон / Вецер кінуў насенне бярозы” (“Between the barbed wires / The wind tossed birch seeds.”)¹⁴⁷ In a 1981 poem entitled *На камень*, Bereza already seems a faint memory¹⁴⁸.

The literature which came to life at the Bereza camp due to its multi-lingual nature requires a comparative study. It could be of high value. That would also apply to the literature which was created outside the confinement centre, in which Bereza functioned as a motif or theme. I devoted the separate article to its Polish examples, which were published after the infamous institution ceased to operate.¹⁴⁹

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¹⁴⁵ J. Keksztas, “Stałem się numerem”, [in:] *Bereziacy*, p. 194. In 1940, after Lithuania was seized by the Soviet Union, Keksztas was sent to Wiatłag (Вятлаг) gulag in the Kirov Oblast – vide E. Brazaitienė, “Juozas Kėkštās...”

¹⁴⁶ Vide Z. Ponarski, “Zapomniany poeta Kekstas Juzosas”, *Nowy Kurier* [Toronto] 2008, issue 10, p. 8.

¹⁴⁷ С. Хмара, “Бярозка”, [in:] idem, *Рабінавы хмель. Выбраныя творы*, Кнігазбор, Мінск 2009, p. 49 (own translation – А.М.). There is a note beneath the poem: “Картуз-Бяроза, 1937 г.”. *Балада аб Амарантах* was also written at Bereza – vide idem, “Кароткія даныя аб сабе”, [in:] idem, pp. 145–146.

¹⁴⁸ С. Хмара, “На камень”, [in:] idem, *Рабінавы хмель*, p. 55.

¹⁴⁹ A. Morawiec, “After Bereza. Polish literature towards the Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska. 1939–2018” (in this volume).

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Arkadiusz Morawiec

Brr, Bereza. Literatura polska wobec Miejsca Odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej. 1934–1939

Streszczenie

Artykuł dotyczy obecności w szeroko rozumianej literaturze polskiej tematu i motywu Miejsca Odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej. Zaprezentowano w nim najważniejsze fakty odnoszące się do tej instytucji oraz kontrowersje związane z jej nazwą (uznawaną za eufemizm) oraz podobieństwem „miejsca odosobnienia” do innych miejsc represji, takich jak rosyjska katorga, komunistyczny Sołowiecki Obóz Specjalnego Przeznaczenia czy nazistowski obóz koncentracyjny Dachau. Zrelacjonowano spory, jakie toczyły się wokół Miejsca Odosobnienia w okresie jego funkcjonowania (1934–1939), w których uczestniczyli także pisarze. Zamieszczono informacje o osadzonych w Berezie literatach (Stanisław Mackiewicz, Leon Pasternak, Andrzej Wolica i in.) oraz tworzonej tam poezji (także obcej). Przedmiotem uwagi są także utwory literackie powstałe poza Miejsca Odosobnienia w okresie jego funkcjonowania.

Słowa kluczowe: Miejsce Odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej, obozy koncentracyjne, literatura polska, temat i motyw, polityka pamięci

Brr, Bereza. Polish literature towards the Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska. 1934–1939

Summary

The article concerns the presence of the theme and motif of the Place of Isolation at Bereza Kartuska in broadly understood Polish literature. It presents the most important facts pertaining to this institution and the controversy related to its name (considered a euphemism) and the similarity of the “place of isolation” to other places of repression, such as the Russian Katorga, the communist Solovetsky Special Purpose Camp, or the Nazi Dachau concentration camp. The disputes that took place around the Place of Isolation during its functioning (1934–1939) are discussed, in which the writers also participated. Information on writers imprisoned at Bereza (Stanisław Mackiewicz, Leon Pasternak, Andrzej Wolica et al.) and poetry (also non-Polish) created there are also included. The subject of consideration are also literary works created outside the Place of Isolation during its functioning.

Keywords: Place of Isolation at Bereza Kartuska, concentration camps, Polish literature, theme and motif, politics of memory

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After Bereza. Polish literature towards the Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska. 1939–2018¹

Sereza–Bereza and other Berezas

The debate in Poland regarding the Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska (Miejsce Odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej), which operated between 6 July 1934 and 18 September 1939, did not subside as the camp was shut down due to Poland being invaded by the Red Army. It was restarted by Władysław Sikorski's government after the September defeat.

Sikorski, having been sidetracked after the May Coup, designated as the prime minister on 30 September 1939 and gaining power, having surrounded himself with people just like him discriminated by Sanation and hungry for revenge after years of humiliation, began settling accounts with the opposition. One manifestation of that was the “Commission related to the result of the 1939 war campaign” created through a decree of the President of the Polish Republic of 30 May 1940. The commission analysed the case of Bereza Kartuska. It was also raised pursuant to Section II of the executive order of the minister of internal affairs of 7 December 1939. On 8 June 1940 for the purposes of discussing the matter of Bereza, pursuant to a motion by the National Council (Rada Narodowa), a separate commission was established.² Its postulate was to hold the Council of Ministers and other persons

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1 Vide A. Morawiec, “Brr, Bereza. Polish literature towards the Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska. 1934–1939” (in this volume).

2 Vide I. Polit, *Miejsce odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej w latach 1934–1939*, Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2003, p. 206. [Unless indicated otherwise, English versions translated from Polish].

directly engaged in the operations of the Confinement Centre legally accountable for abuses of power.³

Another example of Sikorski's government settling accounts with their political opponents was, which is worth mentioning at this point, the creation in November 1939 in Cerizay in Deux-Sèvres department and later, after France was defeated, on Isle of Bute in Great Britain, confinement centres sometimes referred to as concentration camps (per official nomenclature, in Cerizay there was an Officers Centre (Ośrodek Oficerski), while an Officer Rallying Point (Stacja Zborna Oficerów) on Isle of Bute in Rothesay, despite in both cases the camps also included civilians).⁴ It was rather a place of forced displacement, and of inactivity, which was particularly painful for soldiers. In the case of the "camp" in Rothesay (in the nearby Tighnabruaich, there was a penal camp for the DPs, which was actually a prison), outside such inconveniences as reduced pay, requirement to report daily in the commanding office, and limitation of correspondence, the internees could freely choose their living quarters and they could use entertainment amenities: cinema, dance meetings, and they could play tennis or bridge. Some even brought their families to the island. However, some misfortunes also happened on the Isle of Bute: suicides, nervous breakdowns, and alcoholism. Around 1,500 persons passed through the Rallying Point which had operated since the summer of 1940. Those included around twenty generals, many soldiers, and civilians who possessed competences which should have been used for the benefit of Poland. Seldom did it happen. An indirect reason for the release of the internees was the plane crash in Gibraltar in which Sikorski died, but mainly it was due to an interpellation of two Labour deputies in the House of Commons. Allow me to add that the first "Scottish prisoners" came to London in the spring of 1942, while the Rallying Point was officially shut down on 15 November 1943.

3 Vide P. Siekanowicz, *Obóz odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej 1934–1939*, Instytut Historyczny im. Romana Dmowskiego, Instytut im. Romana Dmowskiego, Warsaw 1991, p. 59–63. Isolation camps were abolished by a document entitled *Resolution of the Council of Ministers of 26 September 1941 on repealing the resolution of the President of the Polish Republic of 17 June 1934 on persons threatening the security, peace and public order*. The 1934 resolution was then repealed by the communist authorities pursuant to a *Decree of 22 January 1946 on the responsibility for the September defeat and the fascisation of state life*.

4 Vide M. Dymarski, "Polskie obozy odosobnienia we Francji i w Wielkiej Brytanii w latach 1939–1942", *Dzieje Najnowsze* 1997, issue 3, pp. 113–127; M. Szejnert, *Wyspa Węży*, Znak, Krakow 2018, pp. 138–139 (the author referred to a 2016 book by Simon Webb entitled *British Concentration Camps. A Brief History from 1900–1975* a chapter of which was devoted to "Polish concentration camps in Great Britain", while other discussed, e.g. camps for Boers (in South Africa) and camps for Mau Mau warriors (in Kenya) where thousands of people had died; Szejnert stated unequivocally: "In Rothesay there was no Polish concentration camp.")

The Officer Centre in Cerizay was called, or rather nick-named, Bereza. That analogue, quite unfounded considering the clear difference in the extent of repressions used in both confinement centres, was strengthened by the popular among refugees Polish reading of the name of the town which rhymed with Bereza: Sereza–Bereza⁵. It would be more justified to assign the nickname Bereza to a penal camp for common soldiers which operated in 1941 in the Scottish town of Shinafoot. At the camp, repressions used against the internees included penal muster, beating, hanging by hands tied behind one's back, pouring water on the fainted, and forcing internees to sleep on bare ground.⁶ Maciej Feldhuzen, who helped shut the camp down (Gen. Sikorski also helped the cause), referred to Capt. Korkiewicz, the camp's commandant, as Lagerführer, and the methods applied there as copied from the Gestapo.⁷

Literature on Bereza (after Bereza)

Let us, however, return to Bereza, or rather to its broadly considered literary depictions and images. The area of German camps is mostly known from artistic literature and the literature of personal recollections (or from the “fringes” of those areas, which included the works by Tadeusz Borowski, Zofia Kossak, and Seweryna Szmaglewska), rather than historical studies. In the case of Bereza, it is easier to find, though few, academic texts than recollections or strictly literary texts. Allow me to add that the literature on Bereza is dominated by, similarly to as in the case of Lager and Gulag literature, recollections of political internees⁸, with a predominance of recollections by communists, who constituted the majority of the persons interned at Bereza. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that in the post-WWII communist-ruled Poland there were published mainly the recollections of persons associated with the communist movement or authors who shared its views like some (communising) socialists and peasant activists, which helped legitimise the “people's rule”. Texts by representatives of other groups, i.e. national radicals, (unfavourable to communism) socialists and peasant activists, as well as Ukrainian nationalists, were published mainly abroad.⁹

5 Vide M. Dymarski, *Polskie obozy odosobnienia...*, p. 118.

6 Vide M. Feldhuzen, “Rubens miał filię w Szkocji”, *Kultura* [Paris] 1953, issue 11, pp. 110–112 (the chapter of the article included there was titled “Czy w Szkocji była Bereza?”).

7 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

8 Criminals interned at the camps, as a rule, did not write memoirs.

9 In Ukrainian literature, the best-known recollections were those by Wołodymyr Makar, a member of Ukrainian Nationalists (Organizacja Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów, OUN), entitled *Бере́за Карту́зька (Спомини з 1934–35 рр.)* (Ліра Визволення України, Toronto 1956). Vide B. H. [B. Heydenkorn], “Ukraińskie wspomnienia z Berezy”, *Kultura* [Paris] 1955, issue 12, pp. 78–85; H. Колошук, “Бере́за Карту́зька в українській табірній мемуаристиці”,

Texts devoted to Bereza, regardless of the political or national inclinations of their authors, were usually biased in that they idealised those inmates who belonged to the same group as their authors. Furthermore, for many authors, and their publishers, it was much more important to convince the readers about the brutality of the Sanation system than to achieve a reasonable objective depiction of the camp reality.¹⁰ That also applied to Bereza-related strictly literary texts, the authors of which consisted mainly the supporters of the new PRL reality. Their ideological function emphatically outweighed their cognitive function. As Wojciech Śleszyński observed:

[...] since the very moment of its establishing, the confinement centre in Bereza Kartuska had been the symbol of the fight against “Polish fascism”, while the political prisoners interned there were considered martyrs. That helped the construction of the myth of Bereza Kartuska, which in the Polish communist pantheon occupied one of the highest places, as indicated by, e.g. various politically committed works of literature.¹¹

I have already mentioned the texts created at the camp in the first part of this article. Let us now study those which were written later, and the contexts in which they operated. There are few of those when compared to the works of Lager and Gulag literatures. Firstly, because the number of Polish internees at German and Soviet camps was significantly higher than the number of the internees at Bereza, and, secondly, because, allow me to use a piece of communist nomenclature, German fascism left a much greater impression on the experiences of Poles than “Polish fascism did.”¹²

Among the first works published after the camp in Bereza had been shut down there were, unsurprisingly, recollections of communist internees printed in Polish-language Soviet periodicals emphasising the harassments they endured both at Bereza and in Sanation Poland in general. Already on 25 November 1939

Київські полоністичні студії, vol. 18 (2011), pp. 280–287. Nadia Kołoszuk made a noteworthy observation (somewhat provocative for Poles) that Bereza was not the only Polish “concentration camp” (*ibid.*, p. 282). The Ukrainian researcher stated that in the early-1920s there were “internment camp” (*табори інтернованих*) in, e.g. Strzałkowo, Wadowice, and Tuchola (mind you, those were first POW camps for Red Army soldiers, and later internment camps for the soldiers of the Ukrainian People’s Army), while after WWII there were “the so-called labour camps” (*так звані табори праці*) in Łambinowice, and Jaworzno, where Ukrainians were interned, among others (*ibid.*)

¹⁰ Vide W. Śleszyński, *Obóz odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej 1934–1939*, Dom Wydawniczy Benkowski, Białystok 2003, p. 9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹² M. Mirski, *...biegiem marsz!*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1958, p. 118.

the Lviv-based *Czerwony Sztandar* published the recollections of Witold Kolski entitled *Walec*¹³ (Road roller)¹⁴. (Nota bene, in Bereza, a roller used for smoothing out roads which is usually pulled by a tractor or several horses, was pulled by internees). Then, there were two texts, one presumably a translation inscribed as: "Poterucha, delegat Najwyższej Rady ZSRR", and the other by W. Szymański, were published in 1940–1941 in *Sztandar Wolności*, circulated in Minsk¹⁵. Much more extensive recollections by Maksymilian Bartz, a communist as well, was published in 1945, still during the war, yet not in the Soviet Union but in the West. I am referring to a brochure entitled *Przeżycia Bereziaka Nr. 793* (Experiences of Berezer #793), which its author began writing in 1938 in Poznań, and on which continued to work, having left Poland that same year, in Brussels¹⁶. Since he was a communist, its content, its message in particular, was not much different from the texts published in Soviet (or pro-Soviet) press, or, later, PRL press. *Przeżycia Bereziaka* constitute, what the author explicated in the introduction, an indictment against the "Sanation-nationalistic"¹⁷, and mainly against the Government of the Republic of Poland in exile, which considered itself the successor to the constitutional Polish government. The brochure's author, since December 1944 fulfilling the function of the chairman of the Executive Council of the Polish Patriots Union in Belgium (Zarząd Główny Związku Patriotów Polskich w Belgii)¹⁸, was the advocate of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Poland (Rząd Tymczasowy Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej) established under the patronage of the Soviet Union.

13 W. Kolski, "Walec (Wspomnienia z Berezy)", *Czerwony Sztandar* 1939, issue 53, p. 2. Kolski was first the periodical's literary editor, later to become its deputy editor-in-chief. Soon afterwards, on 27 January 1940, three days after NKVD arrested writers "consumed with Polish nationalism to the marrow", e.g. Władysław Broniewski, Tadeusz Peiper, Anatol Stern, and Aleksander Wat, the same periodical published the infamous libel signed by Kolski (who might not have written it, though) entitled *Zgnieść gadzinę nacjonalistyczną* (1940, issue 104, p. 2) – vide M. Inglot, *Polska kultura literacka Lwowa lat 1939–1941*, Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Polonistyki Wrocławskiej, Wrocław 1995, p. 56.

14 [Translator's remark: No official demonyms for the internees at Bereza exist in English; this is a version proposed by the translator]

15 Poterucha, "Polityczni więźniowie obozu odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej (Z niedalekiej przeszłości)", *Sztandar Wolności* 1940, issue 55, p. 4; W. Szymański, "Wspomnienia z Berezy (Z niedalekiej przeszłości)", *Sztandar Wolności* 1941, issue 32, p. 2.

16 M. Bartz, *Przeżycia Bereziaka Nr. 793*, Bogdan Sobiesiński, Brussels 1945. A fragment of the brochure with the added title *Kuźnia* was reprinted in *Bereziacy* (L. Pasternak (ed.), *Książka i Wiedza*, Warsaw 1965, pp. 313–315).

17 M. Bartz, *Przeżycia Bereziaka...*, p. A.

18 Vide Public Information Bulletin of the Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation, Institute of National Remembrance, <https://katalog.bip.ipn.gov.pl/informacje/8> [accessed on: 29.10.2018].

The description of the camp reality included in the brochure seems reliable. The aspects of Bereza's operations presented in it were confirmed by later recollections not only by communists. Both the reliability and the impact of the brochure were amplified by the copies of official documents regarding the author inserted in it, including those related to his internment at the Confinement Centre. A similar function was fulfilled by addresses to the readers, e.g.: "The reader could only imagine our strength after such a scramble [i.e. tormenting the internees – note by A.M.]"¹⁹ The inclusion of the names of a few policemen who treated internees decently was intended as a proof of the author's objectivity.²⁰ The narration's descriptions are outweighed considerably by the incessant ideological commentary, or rather a huge dose of propaganda. Its main goal was to depict the Government of the Republic of Poland in exile (Rząd RP na Uchodźstwie) as the successors of Sanation, and to discredit it. The author referred to Sanation as a rotten regime and a branch of international fascism.²¹ One would be hard pressed to doubt the fact that Bereza brought shame onto the history of the Polish nation²², yet to agree with a statement that it could be compared "only to Majdanek or Auschwitz"²³ would be a completely different thing. Bartz's recollections carry something, though, which is absent from all other recollections by communists published in the following years, after they seized power in Poland completely. The brochure only solicited (fought) for communist to govern Poland. In 1945, the Provisional Government of the Republic of Poland was forced to seek not only recognition abroad, but also domestically. Therefore, Bartz avoided the motif, which later in the "people's" Poland became standard, of communists as a power most persecuted by Sanation, including at Bereza. Of course, in *Przeżycia Bereziaka* communists were perfectly visible, yet by attacking the legitimate government in exile Bartz intentionally displayed the solidarity and unity among the people oppressed by Sanation, including internees. He stressed that representatives of all political groups and various professional unions operating in Poland had been interned at Bereza, as well as people of letters and the representatives of other liberal professions. Unsurprisingly he did not mention Polish national radicals or Ukrainian nationalists nor, obviously, criminals. Of course, there was no unity at Bereza. But Bartz did not strive to keep the facts right. His recollections were mainly intended to serve the cause. So he incited: "May the bloody experiences from prisons and Kartusza [!] unite our nation around the authorities that propagate freedom for the oppressed,"²⁴ "together we'll

¹⁹ M. Bartz, *Przeżycia Bereziaka...*, p. 23.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

march to victory: peasants, Polish intelligentsia hand in hand with their Jewish, Ukrainian and Belarusian brothers.”²⁵

One of the earliest post-WWII strictly literary works which featured the motif of Bereza was a poem by Marian Pankowski entitled *Wina* (Fault) published in Brussels in 1946 and dedicated to intellectuals dispassionate about political and military matters²⁶. By including in it a statement: “My fault that after the third of May / Witos was tortured, / that there was Bereza and Brest...”²⁷ the poet brought forward not his own crimes as in the mid-1930s he was only in his teens so he could not had protested against those events. After listing various trespasses and crimes with which the history of mankind is filled, including the tragic events of the recent war, and wearing the mask of a Romantic poet, he asked: “Let’s protect man.”²⁸ In a book older by over fifty years entitled *Z Auszwicu do Belsen* (From Auschwitz to Belsen) the narrator (who can be identified as the author himself), a former KL prisoner, wearing a uniform and subjected to military discipline, spoke of his commander ironically:

[...] [he] is of those officers who in the 1930s charged at deputies in the Polish Sejm with sabres in their hands, who threw peasants and workers to the Brest [Brześć nad Bugiem] fortress, who established the concentration camp in Bereza Kartuska, and kept there “revolutionary individuals”, i.e. leftist. And me – still the son of an unemployed metalworker. I remember, I remember...²⁹

In that same year as *Wina*, *Orka*, a Polish social-economic and farming periodical, published a short story by Józef Pogan, a writer of peasant pedigree, entitled *Wicek z Berezy nie wrócił*³⁰ (Wicek has not returned from Bereza). The title *Wicek Groch* was the protagonist of the text stylised to resemble a folk tale. He was a poor peasant farming somewhere by the Vistula; honest and hard-working, yet he and his family often suffered hunger due to not so much natural disasters as to the unjust social system (Groch unequivocally rejected his wife’s interpretation as God was the reason of all events). Because he often spilled his grievances to his neighbours, “politicising” so to speak, the protagonist was one night taken from his home by policemen, presumably from Bereza. Soon afterwards the wife went mad, while his neighbours not being extremely fond of Groch concluded that

25 Ibid., p. 32.

26 M. Pankowski, “Wina”, [in:] idem, *Pieśni pompejańskie*, R.-J. Stenuit, Brussels 1946, pp. 43–45.

27 Ibid., p. 43.

28 Ibid., p. 45.

29 M. Pankowski, *Z Auszwicu do Belsen. Przygody*, Czytelnik, Warsaw 2000, p. 74.

30 J. Pogan, “Wicek z Berezy nie wrócił”, *Orka* 1946, issue 10, pp. 4–5; issue 11, pp. 4–5; issue 12, pp. 4–7.

he got what he deserved: “let him suffer, the blabbermouth. All he ever did was to curse lords and priests, so Dear God punished him for that.”³¹ Bereza which was not discussed in the text nor the name, apart from the title, was never mentioned, fulfilled the role of a symbol of pre-WWII Poland as a country of social injustice.

Works devoted to Bereza, both documentaries and fiction, began to appear more and be more visible since 1949. Their origins and the way they functioned were mostly influenced by (that applies to the entire period of the so-called People’s Poland) ideology and policies, including the historical policy. Joanna Wawrzyniak indicated that immediately after the end of WWII, the management of the Polish Workers’ Party (Polska Partia Robotnicza) was keen on also including Sanation prisoners in the Union of Former Political Prisoners of Nazi Prisons and Concentration Camps (Polski Związek byłych Więźniów Politycznych Hitlerowskich Więzień i Obozów Koncentracyjnych). The underlying intention was to equate the persecution of communists during the interwar period with the persecutions people suffered during World War II. It was, according to the researcher, “one of the many methods for legitimising the Sanation government by equating the victims and the tormentors from Bereza Kartuska with the victims and the tormentors from Nazi camps.”³² A speech by president Bolesław Bierut of 16 November 1947 offered an important stimulus for creators in the form of the following postulate:

[...] the nation not only suffered and turned to ash in the rubble of the crematoriums [...]. [...] the nation has the right to pose their own requirements for creators, and one of the basic requirements is for the deeper current of a work, its objective, its intentions to be aligned with the needs of the society, not to cause doubt when we need zeal and trust in victory, not to apotheosise depression when the nation wants to live and act.³³

It was not long until the call brought about results. The number of works regarding German camps, quite significant immediately after WWII, decreased significantly during the period of intense Stalinisation of social life and socialist realism. Under the index entry of “Oświęcim”, the *Polish Literary Bibliography* for years 1952–1953 included only one entry. During the domination of socialist realism, in works which raised the topic of the camps, the numbers of which continued to decrease, martyrdom was being replaced with heroism, and by political (pro-

31 J. Pogan, “Wicek z Berezy nie wrócił”, *Orka* 1946, issue 12, p. 7.

32 J. Wawrzyniak, *ZBoWiD i pamięć drugiej wojny światowej 1949–1969*, Trio, Fundacja „Historia i Kultura”, Warsaw 2009, p. 98.

33 [B. Bierut], *O upowszechnienie kultury. Przemówienie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Bolesława Bieruta na otwarciu radiostacji we Wrocławiu 16 listopada 1947*, Radiowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warsaw 1948, pp. 18–19.

communist) protest. Writers and especially journalists began focussing not only on German camps and Bereza, but also on the operating at that time “fascist” and “imperialist” camps.

The most detailed depiction during the socialist realism period of the Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska, or rather its ideological formation and manipulation of reader expectations, was offered by *Za wolność i lud*, an outlet of the Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy (*Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację*). It was a simplified biased image, often with the intention to forge facts. In the periodical, according to Wawrzyniak,

The presentism of the image of martyrdom did not only consist of comparing prisoners to communist martyrs. The propaganda manipulation also entailed the use of identical notions in the descriptions of non-Nazi camps and prisons. Polish pre-WWII government was accused of cooperating with the Third Reich, i.e. Sanation prisons were equated to Hitler’s camps. Bereza Kartuska was usually referenced as a symbol of the persecutions of communists during the interwar period.³⁴

It is worth quoting at least a few texts from the periodical. The article *Powstanie w Buchenwaldzie. Pod sztandarem internacjonalizmu*³⁵ (Under the banner of internationalism) emphasised the heroism of communist prisoners. In the case of a non-politically infused recollection by Samuel Willenberg, an escapee from a death camp, entitled *Treblinka w ogniu* (Treblinka up in flames), the editorial board superimposed on the text a slogan in red capital letters: “Away with Tito’s agents of imperialism, spies and hirelings of war instigators.”³⁶ It was also typical to equate with Greek (intended for communists) and Yugoslavian (established by communists for communists – by the supporters of Tito for the supporters of Stalin) camps with German camps, and to abuse the term “death camps”. A study of the camp in the island of Makronisos was entitled *W greckim Dachau*³⁷ (At the Greek Dachau). An article entitled *Jura – grecki obóz śmierci* (Jura – Greek death camp) discussed a camp organised by “American imperialists and their Greek monarchy-fascist puppets,” which constituted “a continuation and a perfected version of Nazi death camps of the Dachau sort.”³⁸ In an article regarding a camp in Goli Otok run by “Tito’s Gestapo”³⁹, Yugoslavia was depicted as a “land of terror,

34 J. Wawrzyniak, *ZBoWiD...*, p. 132.

35 T. Witek, “Powstanie w Buchenwaldzie. Pod sztandarem internacjonalizmu”, *Za wolność i lud* 1950, issue 7, pp. 12–13, 22.

36 S. Willenberg, “Treblinka w ogniu”, *Za wolność i lud* 1950, issue 7, pp. 16–17.

37 (K.), “W greckim Dachau”, *Za wolność i lud* 1950, issue 4, p. 9.

38 A. Spiliotis, “Jura – grecki obóz śmierci”, *Za wolność i lud* 1953, issue 2, p. 20.

39 N. Sandułowicz, “Goli Otok. Wyspa śmierci”, *Za wolność i lud* 1953, issue 4, p. 21.

prisons, concentration camps, Gestapo tortures, and gallows.⁴⁰ The readers could learn from it that due to excessive labour, hunger and beating, dozens of people died in Goli Otok daily. Communists interned there were given the (deceitful) name of Yugoslavian patriots. There is one more thing worth noting. The author of the text claimed that Tito's politicians who travelled to the United States visited American prisons and emulated the practices of "the butchers of the island of Koje-do."⁴¹ Another article published in *Za wolność i lud* reported on the "killings by Americans on defenceless Korean and Chinese POWs in the islands of Koje-do and Cheju-do, in Busan, and in other camps", as well as on the massacre of Chinese and Korean POWs of 14 December 1952 in the camp on the island of Pongam-do, for which, according to the article, "the Nazi tormentors from Oświęcim and Buchenwald could take credit just as well."⁴² Interestingly enough, during the Korean War, Koje-do was equalled to Auschwitz not only in the press, but also in Polish poetry.⁴³ An emphatic example of that was a narrative poem by Witold Wirpsza entitled *Dziennik Kożedo*⁴⁴ [Koje-do journal]. The poet felt the need to write the poem upon seeing the still standing guard towers of a former Nazi camp in Police near Szczecin. Readers could have perceived those as a relic of a world which will never come back, yet, as the poet warned: "Again the thug / Erected towers in the island of Koje-do."⁴⁵

Allow me to discuss similar manipulations regarding Bereza introduced in *Za wolność i lud*. The earliest text related to it was a 1949 article by Roman Nawrocki entitled *Od agenta "ochrony" do komendanta Berezzy*⁴⁶ (From an Okhrana agent to the commandant of Bereza), in which the main character was Józef Kamala-Kurhański, a prisoner of Auschwitz, a former commandant of Bereza (termed in the article as Sanation's "Lagerfuehrer"), and before that an officer of tsar's "Okhrana", which, in Nawrocki's argument, was the "role model for 'Gestapo'."⁴⁷ Nawrocki emphasised that the "concentration camp in Bereza Kartuska" was established just as illegally as the Nazi concentration camps, and it was, similarly

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.

42 Obserwator, "Punkt obserwacyjny", *Za wolność i lud* 1953, issue 1, p. 19.

43 Vide F. Przytułski, "Druga wojna światowa, okupacja niemiecka i zagrożenie wojenne w propagandzie prasowej Polski Ludowej (1948–1989)", *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* 2012, issue 3, p. 71.

44 W. Wirpsza, *Dziennik Kożedo*, Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 1952.

45 Ibid., p. 7.

46 R. Nawrocki, "Od agenta 'ochrony' do komendanta Berezzy", *Za wolność i lud* 1949, issue 6, p. 10.

47 It is unclear whether Kamala-Kurhański was actually an Okhrana agent. What is known is that before 1914 he served in the Russian police in the area of Vistula Land – vide B. Piętka, *Józef Kamala-Kurhański – komendant Berezzy Kartuskiej i więzień KL Auschwitz*, <https://bohdanpietka.wordpress.com/2014/07/08/jozef-kamala-kurhanski-komendant-berezzy-kartuskiej-i-wiezien-kl-auschwitz/> [accessed on: 22.03.2018].

to Nazi camps, intended “for communists, for leftist activists, and for progressive people” (which was true only to some extent, so as a whole it was untrue). He did not mention anything about Jews or Jehovah Witnesses in relation to Nazi camps, nor about Polish and Ukrainian nationalists. The fortunes of Kamala-Kurhański were in the article partly an example of an ironic series of events, but mostly a symbol of all systems of social injustice, which should meet the punishment they deserved: annihilation.⁴⁸

Not only authors displayed inventiveness. The editors of *Za wolność i lud* inserted *Za drutami Berezzy*⁴⁹ (Behind the wires of Bereza), a recollection of Piotr Gazdajka, between texts regarding Nazi camps thus equalling the Bereza camp with Nazi camps. In fact, Gazdajka himself suggested that by indicating that the camp in Bereza was modelled after German camps, and by adding that some differences, such as night inspections, mock executions or beating on the heels were “proof that the Polish students of Himmler, and their master Kostek Biernacki were quick learners, and they were able to add new ideas.”⁵⁰ In the conclusion, Gazdajka called for the navy blue policemen who tormented and persecuted “Polish anti-fascists” to be punished; he asked where the “famed oppressor Markowski, and his later deputy Pytel”⁵¹ were. *Nota bene*, the same issue, i.e. of the responsibility for the crimes, was not much later raised by Zygmunt Byczyński in *Wiadomości* published abroad. He stated that crimes against humanity should be treated and judged the same way –

[...] regardless whether they are committed by a German or a Pole. The oppressors from Oświęcim and Dachau, if only they were within reach, they were punished.

⁴⁸ Roman Nawrocki made a reservation in the article that Kamala-Kurhański was not killed by former Bereza internees (idem, “Od agenta...”, p. 10), whereas Bohdan Piętka of the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum wrote: “Based on an account by Czesław Sułkowski [...] in the autumn of 1941 Kamala-Kurhański was lynched by fellow internees in front of the entrance to Block 19 in the parent camp of KL Auschwitz I. ‘He was tortured,’ Sułkowski reported, ‘his head smashed into a high pile of snow, until he stopped moving. The tormentors included block leaders, room leaders, and some other older internees.’ Leon Wiczorek, a communist activist and a former Bereza internee, interned for a short time in 1944 as a police prisoner at block 11 of the parent camp of KL Auschwitz I, stated that Kamala-Kurhański was murdered by internees/German communists, when they found out he was the commandant of Bereza Kartuska. Wiczorek did not, however, witness the event; he only heard about it from other internees at KL Auschwitz. Therefore, one should assume that throughout his nine-month internment at KL Auschwitz Józef Kamala-Kurhański was abused by fellow internees in retaliation for his activities at Bereza Kartuska” (idem, *Józef Kamala-Kurhański...*).

⁴⁹ P. Gazdajka, “Za drutami Berezzy”, *Za wolność i lud* 1951, issue 6, pp. 14–15.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 15.

⁵¹ Ibid.

Unfortunately, the criminals and degenerates from Bereza avoided the punishments they deserved, because even if they died in the recent war, it was not for that what they had done in Bereza.⁵²

Earlier, I discussed the death of Kamala-Kurhański in Auschwitz, so allow me to add that Stanisław Markowski, undoubtedly a sadist, was killed in Mednoye by Soviets.⁵³

An accusation against Sanation and mostly an idealisation of communists was included in a recollection by Leonard Borkowicz entitled *Bereza szkołą walki*⁵⁴ (Bereza as the school of the struggle). Three arguments were emphasised in it the most. Firstly, that Bereza Kartuska constituted “a shameful stain in the history of the fascist regime in Poland.”⁵⁵ Secondly, the methods used against communists at the camp failed completely (instead of breaking them, Bereza made them stronger). Thirdly, in 1939, communists rushed from prisons and Bereza “to join the ranks of the units fighting against the Nazi invasion.”⁵⁶ The second and the third arguments were untrue, just as any generalisation is (while the first one, considering the phrase “fascist regime”, is debatable). In the recollections of Bereza communists, there are remarks stating that some comrades unable to endure the camp discipline any more, signed pledges of loyalty (at the same time they downplayed the significance of the “pledgers” within the ranks of the movement).⁵⁷ Finally, apart from communists who did try to join the ranks of Polish units fighting against the Wehrmacht, there were also, and there is much evidence to corroborate that, enthusiasts and sympathisers of the “liberating” Red Army.

Similar notes as in the texts printed in *Za wolność i lud*, to which one should add the documentary short stories by Waław Świdorski of 1957 entitled *Pierwsze dni w Berezie* (First days at Bereza) and *Majowe wspomnienia z Berezy*⁵⁸ (May recollections from Bereza), resonated in a 1955 recollective book by Jan Wójcik, before

52 Z. Byczyński, “Zbrodnia Berezy. Do redaktora ‘Wiadomości’”, *Wiadomości* [London] 1956, issue 17, p. 6.

53 Vide *Miednoje. Księga Cmentarna Polskiego Cmentarza Wojennego*, developed by a team led by G. Jakubowski, vol. 2, Rada Ochrony Pamięci Walk i Męczeństwa, Warsaw 2006, p. 550.

54 L. Borkowicz, “Bereza szkołą walki”, *Za wolność i lud* 1952, issue 6, pp. 8–9.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

56 *Ibid.*

57 Cf.: “Those who signed the pledges were of minor importance in the workers’ movement. One of the better known among the pledgers was Wall from Warsaw, a member of the intelligentsia” (M. Bartz, *Przeżycia Bereziaka...*, p. 32).

58 W. Świdorski, “Pierwsze dni w Berezie”, *Za wolność i lud* 1957, issue 2, pp. 5–7 (underneath the text, there is a note: “Fragment of a larger whole on Bereza Kartuska entitled *Miejsce odosobnienia*”; the volume has never been published); W. Świdorski, “Majowe wspomnienia z Berezy”, *Za wolność i lud* 1957, issue 5, pp. 5–6.

WWII a member of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (Komunistyczna Partia Zachodniej Ukrainy, KPZU) and a Bereza internee, entitled *Poszedłbym tą samą drogą*⁵⁹ (I would have gone the same path). It was a classic autobiography of a communist presented on the backdrop of “the maturation of the political awareness of [rural] proletariat.”⁶⁰ It included fragments regarding the author’s internment at Bereza, describing the terror to which communists were subjected: verbal abuse, beating, and forcing pointless labour. It also included a comparison which was in line with the spirit of the times: “These Hitler’s pawns strived to match the SS, diligently making sure Bereza was no different from Hitler’s camps in Germany.”⁶¹ He also mentioned the previously discussed sadists like Pytel and Nadolski, he discussed the murder of Germanicki [i.e. Abram Germaniski – note by A.M.] and [Aleksander] Mozyrko, he quoted songs developed at the camp which included, which he emphasised, not as much words and music, as the “will and fervour of the party, the longing and the strength of each of us.”⁶² He eventually stated that what was most important at Bereza was to “keep a strong soul underneath the wounded body, keep the revolutionary resistance under the mask of obedient performance of orders.”⁶³ He succeeded; few comrades “broke down.”⁶⁴

The “thaw” of the mid-1950s and the gradual removal of socialist realism as the official creative method brought about relatively little change in terms of shaping the image of the Confinement Centre. The main reason for that was persistent strong ideological entanglement of the topic. Significantly enough, the experience of the internment at Bereza constituted for the members of the Polish United Workers’ Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza, PZPR) virtually a guarantee of admittance to the party echelon⁶⁵, therefore, Bereza could not disappear or lose its value as a literary or journalistic theme. Having suppressed in the social consciousness (of the citizens of the PRL) the fact that Bereza was the place of internment of not only communists, the camp was sentenced to live on – an incessantly socialist realist, i.e. simplified, life. Socialist realism stopped being the official creative method around 1956, yet it persevered as an unofficial method

59 J. Wójcik, *Poszedłbym tą samą drogą*, Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 1955 (2nd edition extended: Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw 1973). In the remainder of the article I shall refer to the first printed version.

60 J. Wójcik, *Poszedłbym tą samą drogą*, pp. 238–239.

61 *Ibid.*, pp. 207–208.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 215.

63 *Ibid.*, pp. 213–214.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 221.

65 Vide I. Polit, *Miejsce odosobnienia...*, p. 218. Cf. the telling sentence (call) concluding the recollections of Maksymilian Bartz of 1945: “may Bereza brothers take the lead positions in the fight for the unity of our peoples, in the fight for a fortunate and democratic Republic of Poland” (*idem, Przeżycia Bereziaka...*, p. 41).

all until 1989, labelled by Marxist critics as socialist literature, and performed by second-class opportunistic creators.⁶⁶ Its resilience was visible in works raising the topic of Bereza, both works of fiction and works located on the division line between documentaries and belles lettres.

Let me begin with a discussion of Leon Pasternak's works. I have already devoted some consideration to those in the first part of this article. Now I am returning to them. Jan Brzoza, before WWII a member of the Przedmieście Literary Group (Zespół Literacki "Przedmieście"), thus recalled a "meeting of intellectuals" that took place in 1939 in the Soviet-occupied Lviv:

Two Bereza internees spoke, the recently liberated Leon Pasternak and Aleksander Hawryluk. I saw those men and I was shocked. I had never seen such emaciated and exhausted people in my life. Pasternak, being held up by colleagues, thanked the Soviet authorities for liberating him and hundreds of his fellow internees.⁶⁷

Not much later in that same year, Pasternak wrote a play entitled *Bereza*. It was, actually, rejected by the State Polish Dramatic Theatre in Lviv (Państwowy Polski Teatr Dramatyczny) – I could not establish the reasons why it was rejected – but it most probably was staged and discussed upon during an event at the Writers Club in Lviv (Klub Pisarzy we Lwowie) on 18 October 1940. What is certain, then, is that in November 1940 and January 1941 its fragments, fulfilled by Erwin Axer (according to some sources: directed by Aleksander Bardini) were broadcast by the Lviv radio. The play's typescript was lost during World War II.⁶⁸

In a 1958 review of *Bereza* recollections by Michał Mirski entitled *...biegiem marsz!* (Double time, march!), which I shall discuss later on, Pasternak posited that the only literary trace of the former's "Bereza experiences" was a short story entitled *Jestem* (Present!) included in a volume entitled *Dzień zapłaty*⁶⁹ (Day of retribution). That note was not exact, most of all because during World War II and immediately after it ended he wrote, which I have mentioned in the first part of this article, a few poems with the motif of Bereza. Let us focus on *Dzień zapłaty*.

⁶⁶ Vide K. Krasuski, "Realizmu socjalistycznego śmierć i życie pośmiertne", [in:] *Słownik realizmu socjalistycznego*, Z. Łapiński, W. Tomasiak (eds.), Universitas, Krakow 2004, pp. 271–278.

⁶⁷ J. Brzoza, *Moje przygody literackie*, Śląsk, Katowice 1967, p. 88.

⁶⁸ Vide L. Pasternak, "Bereza" [note on having written the play], *Sztandar Wolności* 1940, issue 23, p. 4; [author not credited], "Wieczór autorski", *Czerwony Sztandar* 1940, issue 327, p. 6; L. Pasternak, "Nareszcie książka o Berezie", *Nowe Drogi* 1958, issue 11, p. 162; M. Ingłot, *Polska kultura literacka Lwowa...*, p. 169, 191.

⁶⁹ L. Pasternak, *Nareszcie książka o Berezie*, p. 162.

It consisted seven texts organised chronologically.⁷⁰ The first six short stories formed a series, while the seventh, entitled *Rudy, graj dalej!* (Keep playing, Rudy!), used the topic, still valid in 1956, though one which was approached at that time only by authors eagerly serving the government, of the field trip of a “progressive writer” Paweł Drozdowicz to a glass factory, which ended in a success. The text, just as the series which preceded it, constituted a model application of the socialist realism doctrine.⁷¹ The story of the series was defined by the fortunes of Jacek Sawa, a young communist fighting Sanation. It covered the period from 1930 to 17 September 1939. In the first two short stories, it took place in a community of Polish and Ukrainian communists, members of the KPZU. The first short story entitled *Gorące życie* (Fervent life) depicted their “work” in Lviv: hanging up posters, circulating samizdat, installing illegal printing shops, and encounters with the police; all that against the backdrop of workers’ protests, suppressed ruthlessly by the police. In the second one entitled *Wyklęty* (The damned) the narrator recalled a document of 15 February 1937 lifting police supervision over Sawa related to his recent internment at Bereza. The protagonist travelled to, with the approval of the authorities, Brzeżany (Berezhany), where he continued his revolutionary activities, and where he fell in love with comrade Olga, a young Ukrainian girl. After he had been caught by the police and transported to Tarnopol (Ternopil) he learnt that he would be sent to Bereza Kartuska. The previously mentioned short story *Jestem* discussed the topic of the internment at the confinement centre.

It is a strictly literary text, a work of fiction, just like the other short stories included in the volume. In it, the author used third-person narration, omniscient, personalising it locally by using free indirect speech. The dramatic nature of the events and situations described in it was amplified by the shortened time perspective manifesting itself in reporting both events and the protagonist’s thoughts: “Several peasant wagons are riding towards the town. Sawa and the policeman are stopping”⁷²; “The same high wall, supplemented at the top with complex barbed wire entanglements. Nothing changed through that time. What was there supposed to change? He has just left it.”⁷³ The main advantage of the text is the description of the camp reality, in line with the descriptions in recollective texts. The opening sentence: “The road to the camp from the admission office leads through

⁷⁰ L. Pasternak, *Dzień zapłaty*, Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 1956. The “Jestem” short story covers pages 66–77.

⁷¹ Jerzy Kwiatkowski assessed *Dzień zapłaty*, and it would be difficult to disagree with him, as a mediocre book indicating that its major advantage was an “uncompromising passion of a revolutionary typical for all of Pasternak’s works” (idem, “Autentyzmy”, *Życie Literackie* 1956, issue 12, p. 5).

⁷² L. Pasternak, “Jestem”, p. 66.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 66–67.

an old park, the paths of which lead to a road”⁷⁴ if included in a documentary, it could be considered as true. It is not surprising, then, that *Jestem* was reprinted in *Bereziacy*, which was announced by the editorial board headed by Pasternak as a recollective volume⁷⁵. The short story described the so-called gymnastics, labour, beating internees, and solitary confinement. The narrator offered (while the author explained) the names of some of the guards. He also mentioned commandant Kamala-Kurhański.⁷⁶ The commentary did not always deviate from reality: “The word ‘arrested’ is the official term used towards the prisoners.”⁷⁷ The ideological message of the short story was compliant with the recollections of communists, the most committed of them. Pasternak presented (idealised by transforming it into a general truth) the steadfastness of the communists interned at Bereza, and the forging of their world view. The devices he used towards that end could hardly be considered as sophisticated. The text’s story focussed on the “Bereza torment”⁷⁸, which began with the ritual of the admission to the camp (with the obligatory beating of newcomers) and concluded with the agony of the time spent in solitary confinement. The dramatic nature of the text which I indicated earlier did not rely on the protagonist’s internal dilemmas. He simply had none: “No, they won’t break him. They didn’t break him then, they won’t break him now.”⁷⁹ Battered immediately upon arrival, standing in the so-called admission room, he heard a whisper: “... hold on in there... comrade...”⁸⁰ And he refused to sign the pledge of loyalty.

Its fragment most saturated with literariness is the description of Sawa’s hallucinations while in solitary confinement. In the first one, Olga, his love, revealed to him the name of the traitor who caused his arrest. In the second one, Sawa as an old disabled partially blind professor went to a piano concert of his student having bought the ticket with his last penny. The student recognised him. At that point he, embarrassed, was treated with great honours. He was led to the banquet room. Everyone was eating but the professor could not reach the bread because his arms were limp. The room suddenly changed into a shop where “he manages to get one loaf off the shelf but in doing so he knocks other loafs, they fall down crashing into the floor, crashing incessantly, thundering, rumbling...”⁸¹ Reality penetrated his visions: a guard kicked on the door.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁷⁵ L. Pasternak, “Jestem”, [in:] *Bereziacy*, pp. 176–183; “Od kolegium redakcyjnego” (in: *ibid.*, pp. 5–7).

⁷⁶ The first printed version included an error: Kemala-Kurhański.

⁷⁷ L. Pasternak, “Jestem”, p. 69.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 76–77.

In the morning, when the first ray of sunlight shines through a crack in the wall into solitary, [Sawa] is already sitting with his back against the wall talking to himself in lowered voice:

I am. I will endure somehow... I will endure...⁸²

Thus, the short story unequivocally and emphatically concluded. His dream caused by the sense of hunger constituting a natural reaction of the organism proved partly an attempt to fool his instinct, but mostly a projection of a (according to the subtitle of the second short story in the collection) “cursed” person. Within its ideological layer the dream constituted a confirmation of the arguments of communists who fought to build a better world, and through whom (which the readers should add themselves) it was just being realised.

The actions of the following three short stories occurred already after Germany invaded Poland. In the first one entitled *Kierunek Warszawa* (Direction: Warsaw), Sawa together with other former internees of the No. 24 Penal Mobile Labour Centre, established in Polesia marshes, to which the narrator referred as a camp though it did not resemble Bereza⁸³, set off to defend besieged Warsaw. In the next one entitled *Słownik* (The Dictionary), Sawa having been suspected by a smartly dressed (which in this case was mostly a mark of her social status) woman of being a spy, he was arrested by the gendarmerie. To his despair he not only did not have any documents on him, but he also was found carrying a Polish-German dictionary. However, he was eventually released. In the last short story with the telling title of *Pierwsza konna* (The First Cavalry), which brings to mind the Bolshevik formation which participated in the 1920 campaign against Poland, the protagonist realised, in mid-September 1939, that the defeat was total. The conclusion of the short story just like of the entire series satisfied the enforced in the PRL perception of the September failure, its causes and consequences. The protagonist set off east, towards the Polish-Soviet border:

The only thing he, a communist and a former political prisoner, could had expected from fascists, and Nazis on top of that, was to be killed. A best-case scenario would had been a concentration camp like Dachau, descriptions of which sometimes

⁸² Ibid., p. 77.

⁸³ The first Penal Mobile Labour Centres (Karne Ruchome Ośrodki Pracy) were established in 1936. They were organised near prisons, mainly in eastern lands. They operated on a seasonal basis, from April to November. They received convicts sentenced to short-term penalties. They performed drainage works, and road construction and maintenance works – vide M. Rodak, “Praca więźniów w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej na przykładzie więzienia karnego ‘Mokotów’ w Warszawie”, [in:] *Praca i społeczeństwo Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej. Zbiór studiów*, W. Mędrzecki, C. Leszczyńska (eds.), Instytut Historii PAN, Warsaw 2014, pp. 297–298.

made their way to the pages of semi-legal leftist press. He knew their methods from the stories told by his comrades who on behalf of the party visited Germany.⁸⁴

Watching the fleeing “top echelon Sanation” he saw the “traitorous army”.⁸⁵ The left battlefield where, as always, the cheated nation remains, there entered the “Krasnaya Armiya soldats”, whom Sawa welcomed with joy, and who reminded him of the Budyonny’s first cavalry army. The short story (and the entire series) concluded in the words: “Whatever awaited him in the future – the payback day has come.”⁸⁶

Pasternak, benefiting from the new socio-political reality, raised once again the theme of Bereza in a 1965 satirical comedy entitled *Album*⁸⁷. Its protagonist, a director of some undefined Institution in which one could see the metaphor of the People’s Poland, a former Bereza internee (the head accountant was another character of the drama who had also been interned at Bereza), thus spoke to a press clerk, a young man:

Bars? In Bereza? C’mon, what are you talking about? And are scribbling there all the time? I beg your pardon, Skalski, but you know squat about all that; that’s how much you can write. Only someone who experienced that could know and write about it, or someone in one hundred years. Some academic who will be able to approach it coolly⁸⁸.

It should be added that the motif of Bereza fulfilled a similar, auxiliary yet telling function in a play published eight years earlier by Roman Brandstaetter entitled *Milczenie* (Silence), in which he attempted to raise the topic of Stalinism.⁸⁹ In it, Bereza was referenced as the protagonist’s, a communist activist and a man of letters, formative experience, just as Sanation prisons, Nazi Pawiak and Auschwitz. Having crossed that painful road, he became the victim of a new reality – the story takes place in 1951 – which destroyed him both as a man of letters, who forced himself to remain quiet, and as a man of ideals depriving him of his faith in the future. The protagonist committed suicide. Clearly, Bereza was not in every text an experience which hardened the protagonist, or, in the case of memoirs, the author.

⁸⁴ L. Pasternak, “Pierwsza konna”, [in:] idem, *Dzień zapłaty*, pp. 128–129.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 129.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 137.

⁸⁷ L. Pasternak, “Album”, *Dialog* 1965, issue 1, pp. 5–32.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 6.

⁸⁹ R. Brandstaetter, *Milczenie. Dramat w trzech aktach*, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warsaw 1957.

It appeared a somewhat painful, but mostly a hardening factor in 1958 fictionalised recollections by Michał Mirski (actually Mojsze Hersz Tabacznik), a former Bereza internee, entitled ...*biegiem marsz*⁹⁰. An indication of their fictionalisation was the evident in some sections omniscience manifested by, e.g. revealing the thoughts of Bereza guards. When compared to earlier works written by communists, ...*biegiem marsz!* seemed somewhat new. Mirski warned his readers that if what they sought were macabre sights, well exposed in the short stories by Waclaw Świdorski or the recollections of Stanisław Gębala⁹¹, they might feel disappointed. Bereza, the author stated,

[...] was not a Nazi death camp. It was the result of the Nazi intentions of Sanation rulers, and their limited capabilities. Bereza was full of life, struggle, and humour. Yes, humour. Bereza did not only result in broken bones; it was also a place where true character was forged. The camp in Bereza Kartuska is a page in Poland's modern history where, on the one hand, Sanation recorded their disgrace, while, on the other, the Communist Party of Poland [Komunistyczna Partia Polski, KPP – note by A.M.] drew the fortitude of their sons, and the vitality of the Polish working class.⁹²

I have already mentioned how Bereza was recalled as the forge of true character by Leonard Borkowicz. A similar elevating approach could be found in the recollections of Polish and Ukrainian nationalists.⁹³ The new element offered by Mirski in his narration, then, was the (factually justified) abandonment of the use of the term of “death camp” towards Bereza. The fact of emphasising humour and not martyrdom may seem surprising or even debatable as Bereza internees, not only communists, seldom had anything to laugh about. Mirski most probably shared the intentions of Ludwik Rajewski, a former prisoner of Auschwitz and a member of the camp underground, who in a book entitled *Ruch oporu w polskiej literaturze obozowej* (The resistance in Polish camp literature), having brought forward communists among the members of the underground in German KLs, focussed on offering proof of the resistance of the internees, thus supplementing (or modifying) the dominant image in earlier writings of the internees as martyrs⁹⁴. Mirski wrote:

90 M. Mirski, ...*biegiem marsz!*, Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw 1958.

91 S. Gębala, “1 maja i Bereza Kartuska”, *Życie Literackie* 1965, issue 18, pp. 8–9.

92 M. Mirski, ...*biegiem marsz!*, p. 5.

93 Cf. e.g. “Those not even two hundred nationalists [members of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists – note by A.M.] formed such a morally tight block that any attempt at ‘re-educating’ them by the camp authorities had to fall flat” (E. Wreciona, “Bereza Kartuska [...] z innej strony”, trans. J. Łobodowski, *Kultura* [Paris] 1950, issue 4, p. 117).

94 L. Rajewski, *Ruch oporu w polskiej literaturze obozowej*, Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, Warsaw 1971.

Previous recollections from Bereza, and there were very few of those, usually emphasised the grim side of the life of the internees: their torment, suffering, and the tortures used against them. However, focussing on only that side of their life does not reflect the whole reality, leaving out the source of the moral and the physical strength of Berezers, and it impoverished the image of the whole.⁹⁵

Other qualities of ...*biegiem marsz!* also made it exceptional when compared to other recollections by communists. It indicated, though it was not the only one to do so, that not all camp guards were degenerate. Of course, Bereza had no shortage of sadists. Mirski described some of them (e.g. Nadolski shouting in a voice “almost identical to the shouts of SS men”⁹⁶), but he also mentioned Królikowski, who was punished by the camp authorities for being too lenient towards the internees, and Małecki, a sadist who changed into a human being.⁹⁷ In Mirski’s recollections, communists were first of all rebels, who did not easily yield to oppression, and who used passive resistance. He continued:

At Bereza, there was a persistent fierce and incessant struggle between violence, bare flagrant physical strength of Sanation’s police apparatus, and the spirit, ideology and the awareness of the members of the Communist Party of Poland. Our bodies were the field of the struggle. They were exposed to the flames to save our spirits, our communist dignity.⁹⁸

Significantly enough, the book included few such clichés, especially when compared to the texts published in *Za wolność i lud*. What it did include were pieces of information which one would be hard pressed to find in texts published during the Stalinist period. For example, having stated that the news reported by the camp authorities to communist internees on the execution of Tuchaczewski and other generals of the Red Army caused “no doubts” in the latter, the author added that, years later, after Stalin had died, viewing the matter already as former internees, they were more objective seeing the truth “in its whole terror and atrocity.”⁹⁹ Mirski

⁹⁵ M. Mirski, ...*biegiem marsz!*, p. 117. Humour as a form of the internees’ self-defence was also mentioned by Leonard Borkowicz (idem, “Okruchy wspomnień”, [in:] *Bereziacy*, p. 274).

⁹⁶ M. Mirski, ...*biegiem marsz!*, p. 86.

⁹⁷ Decent policemen were also mentioned, as I have already indicated, by Bartz. He wrote: “Lewatyński belonged to those few policemen who did not use beating. He was very helpful to us, and thanks to him many of us had medicine, white bread for the sick, tobacco, and newspapers. Szykowny, Hasko and Wolica also peddled some products” (idem, *Przeżycia Bereziaka...*, p. 37).

⁹⁸ M. Mirski, ...*biegiem marsz!*, p. 45.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 225–226. A clear expression of the sentiment (and the ideological indoctrination) of a communist internee upon hearing of Stalin’s purge was included in Bartz’s brochure of 1945: “Sir Kamala Kurchański [!] wanted to educate us reporting to us the course of the trials

also noticed that the internees consisted not only of communists, yet he remained silent about Ukrainian nationalists, and he sneeringly reported on the arrival of the members of the National Radical Camp (Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny, ONR) at the camp: "Apparently, the Sanation-nationalistic family had a huge falling out since they sent their dear sons, the fighters for the explicitly Nazi methods of governing the country, to Bereza."¹⁰⁰ (Obviously, he failed to mention anything about the communists' support for Piłsudski in 1926). When discussing the matter of fingering, he stated that mostly "common" internees (i.e. criminals) fingered other internees, as well as members of the ONR.¹⁰¹ He referred to both as "snitches". He continued that among communists, however, there were only "pledgers" – "terrorised cowards", and "the strays in our midst."¹⁰²

The image of Bereza presented by Mirski, surely non-objective, was broader, fuller than that presented in earlier texts by communists. It would be difficult to guess how much that was thanks to the author, and how much to the post-thaw mitigation of the ideological (Stalinist) pressure. Either way, the author maintained the thesis on the relationship between Sanation Poland and Nazi Germany emphasising the traces of Hitler's camps on which Bereza was modelled, and he mentioned, in the conclusion, a navy blue policeman who, after Warsaw was seized by the Nazis, wanted to report him thus proving his zeal in exterminating communists.¹⁰³ An even broader image of Bereza, one could even say panoramic, was presented in a collective book entitled *Bereziacy* (Berezers) published in 1965.

It was a work of various authors, and a manifestation of the PRL's historical policy, or the applicable party narrative, to be precise. *Bereziacy* was a selection from many accounts that were received by the Party History Unit at the Central Committee of PZPR in response to the call of the "publishing and press unit at the Berezers' commission."¹⁰⁴ The authors almost entirely consisted communists (members of the Communist Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and the Communist Party of Western Belarus [Komunistyczna Partia Zachodniej Białorusi, KPZB] – Poles, Polish Jews, Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Lithuanians); there were only a few members of the Polish Socialist Party (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna, PPS): Lucjan Motyka and Włodzimierz Stankiewicz, the Bund, and union

of the Nazi supporters, with whom the Soviet court was dealing" (idem, *Przeżycia Bereziaka...*, pp. 40–41).

¹⁰⁰ M. Mirski, *...biegiem marsz!*, p. 90.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 205–206. Further in the recollections there appeared a puzzling remark, tough: "it would seem that once our common idea became victorious, Berezers would come even closer together. Something else happened instead. Some of them became impoverished lacking the emotional load of a communist." (*ibid.*, p. 253).

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

¹⁰⁴ "Od kolegium redakcyjnego", [in:] *Bereziacy*, pp. 5–6.

activists. National radicals were left out entirely. Władysław Ryncarz, a member of the People's Party (Stronnictwo Ludowe, SL) wrote with reverence about communists. Józef Soroka, removed from the People's Party and from the Wici Union of the Rural Youth of the Republic of Poland (Związek Młodzieży Wiejskiej RP „Wici”), sympathised with communists. According to the introduction headed as *Od kolegium redakcyjnego* (From the Editors) (editors' board was headed by Leon Pasternak, while Michał Mirski was one of its members) in Bereza internees “mainly [included] communists, but also leftist members of the PPS, radicals of the peasant movement, and non-partisan anti-fascists.”¹⁰⁵ Polish national radicals and Ukrainian nationalists were not mentioned at all (only some minor recollections included in the collection referenced them). It is not surprising as the communists considered the former as national-fascists interned due to “internal intrigues within the fascist movement in Poland”¹⁰⁶, while the latter as “Ukrainian fascists.”¹⁰⁷ *Bereziacy* carried undeniable cognitive advantages, particularly regarding camp operations and the fortunes of the internees. Sadly though, they were diminished by ideological clichés, e.g. the following one included in Henryk Zołotow's recollections: “Communists were the only internees at the camp who did not steal from anyone, neither their own, nor others. Not only did they not steal, but they also shared bread with their comrades leaving solitary confinement to feed them a bit.”¹⁰⁸ Nota bene, many examples of similar idealisations of prisoners who belonged to the same group as the author of an account could be found in literature regarding both Nazi and Soviet camps.

Three years after the publication of *Bereziacy*, on 17 February 1968 Teatr Powszechny in Łódź staged a play with the same title with a subtitle of *Reportaż sceniczny* (Stage report). The script of the play, based on the recollections included in the book¹⁰⁹, was written by Karol Obidniak, a former internee of a Spanish Fran-

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁰⁶ Vide [author not credited], “Znieść obóz koncentracyjny w Berezie Kartuskiej!”, *Czerwona Pomoc* 1935, issue 3, p. 21.

¹⁰⁷ L. Leblang, “Transport z ‘Brygidek’”, [in:] *Bereziacy*, p. 53.

¹⁰⁸ H. Zołotow, “Chleb”, [in:] *Bereziacy*, p. 126. In contrast (or rather to highlight the difficulty in establishing “what it was really like”, and the bias in the recollections of the internees representing specific political groups), it is worth quoting a statement probably regarding Zołotow made by a Ukrainian nationalist: “I remember a communist, an intellectual, I think it was the poet Zołotow from Warsaw. It is possible that with a nagant in his hand and a five-pointed star on his hat he would had been completely different, but at Bereza he behaved like an ethical freak. Even his party comrades sighed a sigh of relief when he was taken from Bereza to a prison to serve his sentence.” (E. Wreciona, “Bereza Kartuzka...”, pp. 118–119). The “poet” determiner probably resulted from the fact that before WWII Zołotow was a member of the Jewish Writers and Journalists Union [Związek Literatów i Dziennikarzy Żydowskich] – vide [author not credited], “Henryk Zołotow”, *Zeszyty Prasoznawcze* 1965, issue 2, pp. 137–138.

¹⁰⁹ Vide J. Kłossowicz, “Wstęp do dramatu”, *Polityka* 1968, issue 16, p. 6.

coist concentration camp in Miranda de Ebro.¹¹⁰ It was prepared for the stage by Roman Sykała. Though the text of the play has not survived¹¹¹, there is proof of its reception: reviews of the play staged by Teatr Powszechny at their own location and, in May of the same year, during the 9th Wrocław Theatre Festival.

The main story of the play, or rather the theatre work, unfolds in a room of the Bereza camp, occupied by communist internees, who are abused both physically and mentally. A counterpoint to that plot is offered in scenes which present a web of political intrigues weaved in ministry offices and in the Sejm, which focus on the “confinement centre” intended as the solution to the problem of communism, which worries the government.¹¹² The play’s climax is a scene where the camp authorities notify the internees that the KPP has been dissolved. The dilemmas, even tragedy, suffered by some of them was accompanied by the will to continue fighting and remain true to the communist ideal: “No means can break anyone.”¹¹³ The play concludes with a thunder of bomb explosions: “Communists are drawing their weapons. They are setting off to fight the mutual enemy of the Homeland and humanity.”¹¹⁴ Reviewers remained restrained, if you will, in reviewing the stage report. One reviewer stated the Wrocław staging was extremely uneven in artistic terms, and he accused it of being poster-like.¹¹⁵ Another reviewer posited that the accounts on which Obidniak based his play, were not enough to make the play attractive.¹¹⁶ Wanda Karczewska concluded that the play had the texture of commentary theatre, not deep intellectually, though able to seize the audience’s attention with the terror of the scene of policemen torturing internees, and she added that the humorous elements it included were unacceptable. She did admit that the grim humour might had been something that kept the internees going (historians, allow me to add, are clear on the subject)¹¹⁷, however, in her opinion, the “merry Bereza” distorted the artistic truth of the work.¹¹⁸

110 Vide A. Morawiec, “Campo de Concentración de Miranda de Ebro. Nieostrzeżony rozdział polskiej literatury obozowej”, [in:] *W kręgu twórczości pisarzy emigracyjnych. Kontynuacje*, Z. Andres (ed.), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów 2011, pp. 329–332.

111 Anna Maria Dolińska, the literary director of Teatr Powszechny in Łódź, notified me (in an e-mail of 6 November 2018) that the script is not stored in the theatre’s archive.

112 Vide R. Łoboda, “Bereziacy”, *Odgłosy* 1968, issue 18, p. 7; M. Wawrzekiewicz, “Łódzki ‘sezon polityczny’”, *Współczesność* 1968, issue 10, p. 9.

113 A. Wróblewski, “Przemoc jest bezsilna”, *Panorama Północy* 1968, issue 19, p. 12.

114 R. Łoboda, *Bereziacy*, p. 7.

115 J. Bajdor, “‘Bereziacy’ – próba tematu”, *Słowo Polskie* 1968, issue 124, p. 2.

116 M. Wawrzekiewicz, “Łódzki ‘sezon polityczny’”, p. 9.

117 Vide, e.g. A. J. Obrdlik, “‘Gallows humor’ – a sociological phenomenon”, *The American Journal of Sociology* 1942, issue 5, pp. 709–716; E. Polak, [statement], [in:] Z. Jagoda, S. Kłodziński, J. Masłowski, *Oświęcim nieznanym*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1981, p. 294.

118 W. Karczewska, “Teatr Powszechny i żywy”, *Kultura* [Warsaw] 1968, issue 22, p. 10.

Similar doubts regarding both its artistic quality and the reality it described were raised regarding a 1976 novel entitled *Wzbierająca fala*¹¹⁹ (Growing waves). Czesław K. Domagała, its author, before World War II was an activist of the Wici Union of the Rural Youth and KPP. In 1936–1937 he was interned at Bereza. After the war he fulfilled prominent functions in the PZPR, and he was also a deputy for the Sejm.¹²⁰ *Wzbierająca fala* was promoted on the cover as a social novel from the interwar period, in which on the backdrop of the moral reality of the Polish countryside the author presented

[...] the fortunes of a boy from a poor peasant family, his difficult educational path, attempts at finding a job, and, in those conditions, his social maturation, and the formation of his class awareness. The protagonist participated in the political struggles in the countryside, which led him and his comrades to Bereza Kartuska¹²¹.

Allow me to add that the social novel was both an autobiographical novel fulfilling, by presenting the development of an individual in a specific environment and in the backdrop of a specific epoch with its conflicts, the model of a Bildungsroman.¹²²

Most of all, though, the work was heterogeneous. Apart from autobiographical traces, it also included well-exposed traces of other people's recollections, included in *Bereziacy*. In the sections which applied to Włodzimierz Skiba's, the protagonist, internment at Bereza, which covered roughly half of the book's total volume (i.e. 576 pages), there was a tendency for a panoramic approach to the matter. Unfortunately, the author padded it excessively with fiction. Had he refrained from that and had he not been a doctrinaire, the cognitive quality of the work would have been higher. It would also be a valuable source because its aesthetic qualities are not high. *Wzbierająca fala* was a classic example of tendency writing of the socialist realism persuasion. The novel was dominated by the ideology, shaped both by the story and, especially, by the commentary-like dialogues, statements, and opinions. For example: the protagonist's visit at Jasna Góra was used only to criticise, or rather defile, the clergy. The image of fr. Macoch, a member of the Order of Pauline Fathers, who in the early-20th c. gained the grim reputation of a murderer and

¹¹⁹ C.K. Domagała, *Wzbierająca fala*, Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw 1976.

¹²⁰ Vide Domagała's bios: The Sejm Library, https://bs.sejm.gov.pl/F?func=find-b&request=000004082&find_code=SYS&local_base=ARS10 [accessed on: 7.04.2018]; Public Information Bulletin of the Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation, Institute of National Remembrance, <http://katalog.bip.ipn.gov.pl/informacje/1481> [accessed on: 7.04.2018].

¹²¹ C.K. Domagała, *Wzbierająca fala*, p. IV of the cover

¹²² Cf. W. Nawrocki, "Opowieść o rewolucjonistach", *Życie Literackie* 1976, issue 45, p. 12.

a thief and who was suspected of cooperating with the Okhrana¹²³, shovelling the coins donated by pilgrims, was expressive enough. Similarly expressive was this ideological cliché about the protagonist: “In the most difficult of circumstances, he always remained a soldier of the revolution army.”¹²⁴

The image of the confinement centre was similarly exaggerated in the novel. The names of the members of Bereza authorities and guards were real; the author included: Kamala-Kurhański, Pytel, Markowski, Kowalski. Not that far from truth was the narrator’s (author’s) statement that “the basic assumption of those who established the camp was to harass the internees through exhaustive senseless labour and exercise.”¹²⁵ The terror was, actually, in it a tool used for repressing political opposition, not a goal in its own. One would be hard pressed to question the described (or rather depicted) in the text instances of the sadism of the guards, yet Kamala-Kurhański’s decision to place in solitary confinement an internee for bringing a blade of grass into the camp seems (not in Aristotelian terms but rather when considering common sense) unbelievable. Yet it cannot be excluded completely, just like many other seemingly unimaginable acts of violence which had been actually experienced by internees at Bereza and other camps. Either way, the array of arguments employed by the author, including rhetoric devices used for equating Bereza to Nazi camps, was not much different from the practices common for Stalinist era commentators, i.e. it was rather used to evoke an ideological effect than to help depict the truth. An out of context sentence: “They set off onto a path at the end of which there was the mostly unknown to them inferno of the concentration camp”¹²⁶ one might consider as borrowed rather from the recollections of a former prisoner of a Nazi KL than of Bereza. The opinion that the methods used at Bereza were “borrowed from Berlin and tested in Dachau, and only constantly being perfected here,”¹²⁷ before September 1939 could had been an ascertainment as the knowledge of Poles on Nazi camps at that time was limited; however, if expressed in 1976 when “inferno” was a common metaphor for Nazi camps, it constituted chiefly a hyperbole and an accusation. Różycki, an internee and the protagonist’s mentor, said:

The world knows about Nazi concentration camps [...] – but Bereza Kartuska is not much different. Comrade Preschel, a Pole born in Vienna, remained here for a few

¹²³ A year before the publication of *Wzbierająca fala*, the novel by Władysław L. Terlecki entitled *Odpocznij po biegu* (Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warsaw 1975), revolving around the character, was published.

¹²⁴ C.K. Domagała, *Wzbierająca fala*, p. 566.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

months. He was in Dachau for some time. Once released, he was brought back to Poland where the defence [political police – note by A.M.] cooperating unofficially with the Nazis sent him to Bereza. It was he who told me, when comparing the camps, that in Dachau after Hitler came to power many communists were killed, yet he did not see there such sophisticated methods of abusing people as at Bereza.¹²⁸

The accounts available today prove that in both camps the level of sophistication was extremely high, yet the guards in Dachau did not fall behind the policemen in Bereza.¹²⁹ Another, undoubtedly reliable, Różycki's observation is certainly noteworthy. He indicated that the measure similar to those developed by Germans and Poles "for years were used in Mussolini's Italy. It wasn't much better in Spain, Hungary, Romania or Bulgaria."¹³⁰ Obviously neither Różycki nor the narrator mentioned anything about Soviet camps.

Other omissions and distortions regarding Bereza were more telling or even surprising, though resulting from similar, i.e. ideological, reasons. *Wzbierająca fala* remained almost silent, excluding a paragraph-long mention, about Ukrainian nationalists and ONR radicals interned at the camp (the latter were termed as "gang members")¹³¹, and it completely omitted the members of the PPS. What was even more surprising, though after 1968 quite telling, were the extremely rare mentions of communists of Jewish descent, who in the pre-March *Bereziacy* were mentioned often and with the highest respect, e.g. Jakub Prawin (nota bene, his recollections were quoted in *Bereziacy* first). Domagała in his book devoted to him merely a paragraph. He mentioned him as Jakub Rawin.¹³² The "erasing" of the names of the persons who were the prototypes for the characters of the autobiographical novel was a common procedure. However, Domagała's changes were considerable. The prototype of Józef Rubin¹³³, a student of the Warsaw University of Technology and a member of the Communist Union of Polish Youth (Komunistyczny Związek Młodzieży Polskiej, KZMP), was Józef Rubinsztajn mentioned in *Bereziacy*¹³⁴. At another location, the narrator mentioned "an internee whom others called the poet, because he wrote poems when he was free. He was a Jew,"¹³⁵ yet did not mention his name or call him a comrade despite the fact that he was undoubtedly modelled after Abram Germaniski, a communist. A few pages on

¹²⁸ Ibid., pp. 371–372. On Preschel, a real figure, vide M. Bartz, *Przeżycia Bereziaka...*, p. 36.

¹²⁹ Vide N. Wachsmann, *Historia nazistowskich obozów koncentracyjnych*, trans. M. Antosiewicz, Świat Książki, Warsaw 2016, pp. 50–53.

¹³⁰ C.K. Domagała, *Wzbierająca fala*, p. 389.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 388.

¹³² Ibid., p. 533.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 473.

¹³⁴ *Bereziacy*, p. 488 (list of former Bereza internees).

¹³⁵ C.K. Domagała, *Wzbierająca fala*, p. 477.

(pp. 486–487), he mentioned Germaniski (without mentioning his name) who died due to beating by the guards, yet he meant someone else. He also mentioned Aleksander Mozyrko, a forest worker and a union activist in Białowieża, who was beaten severely by the guards and died soon afterwards in the hospital in Kobryń.¹³⁶ The reader will surely think both victims were Polish, but in fact Germaniski was a Jew, while Mozyrko a Belarusian.¹³⁷ The author's efforts aimed at convincing the readers, who perceived *Wzbierająca fala* mimetically, that the majority of Bereza internees were communists (which was true) and ethnic Poles – which was surely not true since Jews (or Poles of Jewish descent) constituted a significant share of the total number of communist activists in pre-WWII Poland¹³⁸ – appear understandable in the context of the author's political activities. Domagała, being 1st Secretary of the Voivodship Committee of PZPR in Krakow, during a rally on 25 March 1968 included Zionists among “various revisionists, reactionaries, and servants of international anti-Polish powers.”¹³⁹ On another occasion, during a debate in the Sejm on 11 April 1968, he stressed that not every writer may be the nation's conscience – surely “no [January] Grzędziński, [Antoni] Słonimski, [Paweł] Jasienica or [Stefan] Kisielewski” ever was nor ever will be that, just like “Zionist revisionists.”¹⁴⁰ Słonimski, as I have mentioned in the first part of the article, managed to avoid internment at Bereza thirty years earlier. In any case, the author quoted extensively the “non-reactionary” writers, or rather their poems they had written at Bereza. Those included two poems by a “young Jewish poet Żyrman.”¹⁴¹

The Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska remains in Polish memory, in which, incidentally, it never occupied an established place, a problematic issue subject

¹³⁶ Ibid., pp. 482–483.

¹³⁷ Vide W. Śleszyński, *Obóz odosobnienia...*, p. 53.

¹³⁸ Cf.: “Upon a study of the national composition of KPP and KZMP one might conclude that those formations mainly included minority groups, mainly Jews, less so Belarusians and Ukrainians. Poles constituted around 30% of KPP and KZMP, and 69% of the general population of the Second Polish Republic,” “The share of Jews was usually higher among KPP and KZMP authorities than among their regular members. [...] According to the National Office of the Central Committee of KPP [Sekretariat Krajowy KC KPP], at the beginning of 1936 the share of Jews in the management of the party and KZMP was too high – 54%. Moreover, they constituted 90% of MOPR [International Red Aid, Międzynarodowa Organizacja Pomocy Rewolucjonistom], around 75% of the technical apparatus of the party, and 100% of the technical apparatus of the Office and the management of the Regional Office of KPP of Warsaw.” (H. Cimek, “Żydzi w ruchu komunistycznym w Polsce w latach 1918–1937”, *Polityka i Społeczeństwo*, vol. 9 [2012], pp. 37, 39).

¹³⁹ [C. Domagała], “Naszym celem – rozkwit ojczyzny, budowa socjalizmu i pokój. Przemówienie I sekretarza KW PZPR w Krakowie tow. Czesława Domagały”, *Gazeta Krakowska* 1968, issue 72, p. 2.

¹⁴⁰ [C. Domagała], “Tow. pos. Czesław Domagała” [statement in a Sejm debate of 11 April 1968], *Trybuna Ludu* 1968, issue 102, p. 6.

¹⁴¹ C.K. Domagała, *Wzbierająca fala*, p. 515.

for ideological manipulation. Literature, including that which was predominantly supposed to be a testimony, became a tool of manipulation, or at least it was treated that way – by authors themselves, by the political administrators of cultural life, and by readers. Since 1989 the issue of Berezka Kartuska has been available for an open discussion using new sources. Despite the publication of three books devoted to the camp (by Siekanowicz, Polit, and Śleszyński), and a selection of material on the issue, mostly previously unreleased, including recollections of Ukrainians, was published in 2009 by *Karta* historical quarterly¹⁴², the topic of the Confinement Centre still awaits a honest discussion.

Instead of being the subject of a discussion, Berezka appeared, quite unexpectedly, in a few pages of a 2014 novel by Robert Żółtek entitled *Szakale*¹⁴³ (Jackals), and in a dozen or so pages of a 2016 novel by Szczepan Twardoch entitled *Król*¹⁴⁴ (King). Both are examples of popular literature.

Żółtek's work, despite the fact that its story is based on historical events, i.e. the massacres of the Polish population in Volhynia, it chiefly fulfilled the model of an adventure novel (in the type of Sienkiewicz's quasi-historical novel). The protagonist of *Szakale* is lieutenant Staniewicz, a *cichociemny* special operations paratrooper whom the Polish government-in-exile ordered to develop a report on the situation in Volhynia. His fortunes intersect with the fortunes of two adversaries, deadly enemies: major Kaniuka, a special tasks officer of the National Army Command (Komenda Główna Armii Krajowej) in the Volhynia voivodship and a deputy commandant of Berezka Kartuska from a few years back, and Taras Palucha, commander of a unit of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukraińska Powstańcza Armia, UPA), a former internee at the camp. Thus, the Confinement Centre appeared in the novel as a side story, as a motivation for Palucha's actions, who tried to take revenge on his Berezka tormentor at whatever the cost might be. It also served as one of the text's many, apart from, e.g. villages and churches burnt by Polish army in 1937, sources of hatred of Ukrainians towards Poles, which exploded in the summer of 1943.

Palucha, more of an egocentric rather than an avenger of national grievances, confessed in an insult-filled letter addressed to Kaniuka that he swore to himself at Berezka that he would kill one Lach (a male Pole) for each day he spent there. He added that he had already done that: he killed, e.g. some guards in Berezka, as well as Kaniuka's wife and daughter. It is also worth mentioning Palucha's Berezka-centred thoughts triggered by the sight of the Berezka tormentor he caught: "He promised himself that he would repay Poles for each kicking, for each hit with

¹⁴² "Berezka Kartuska", selected and submitted for printing by A. Knyt, *Karta*, issue 59 (2009), pp. 24–67.

¹⁴³ R. Żółtek, *Szakale (opowieść o UPA)*, published by author, Ostróda 2014. I would like to thank Magdalena Lachman, Ph.D., for indicating this work to me.

¹⁴⁴ S. Twardoch, *Król*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Krakow 2016.

a bat or whip, each insult directed at him, and for each breath when he was made to crawl in puddles made by prison corporals by urinating in the training square called the ensign school, which was used for internee so-called gymnastics. Each was welcomed personally by that human lying at their feet.”¹⁴⁵ Kaniuka died torn apart by horses, in terrible agony (his death resembled the death of Azja Tuhaj-Bej, a fictional character in the novel *Fire in the Steppe* by Sienkiewicz). What draws the reader’s attention is not the story or its historic background (extracted from various studies referenced in the bibliography included at the end of the book), but the expression of not so much Palucha’s as the novel’s author’s (expressed through the narrator) conviction that Bereza Kartuska was “the most abominable, strenuous in terms of the abuses and the living conditions, re-education camp for political opponents that was used in the totalitarianised Europe of that time”, “worse and more brutal than German and Italian KVs of that time.” That surely excessively radical opinion was founded not in historical facts, but an aesthetic intention of the writer to amplify the expressiveness of the “UPA story” intended for popular and crime literature.

The publication of *Szakale* made no effect whatsoever (the database of the National Library of Poland lists no traces of its reception), and surely not much will change in that matter. However, Szczepan Twardoch, the author of the other novel I indicated earlier, is one of the most popular Polish prose writers.¹⁴⁶ It might be the case, then, that his *Król* will cause an increase in the interest in the camp in Bereza Kartuska, and it will encourage readers to seek other related works, which are subject to the principle of truth and probability. The novel, fulfilling a crime story model, being a manifestation of the recent increase in the interest of Polish writers in the interwar period, may also result in a situation where the Confinement Centre will appear in other works of literature as a motif or even a theme.

The story of *Król* takes place in 1937 in Warsaw, or rather two hostile Warsaws: the Polish one and the Jewish one. It also depicts two social strata: the community of criminals, and the world of politics, yet in both the governing principle is violence. Significantly enough, the strata are not separated from one another. The novel’s protagonist is Jakub Szapiro, a Jewish boxer, who works for Jan Kaplica, a.k.a. Kum (Polish word for *godfather*), a former member of the Combat Organisation of the Polish Socialist Party (Organizacja Bojowa Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej), now a gangster. Kaplica, widely respected by the worker population of the capital, remained untouchable for a long time due to his former merits. He was

¹⁴⁵ R. Żółtek, *Szakale*.... I am quoting as per the electronic version of the novel (EPUB format) without page numbering.

¹⁴⁶ Vide A. Szałagan, “Twardoch Szczepan”, [in:] *Polscy pisarze i badacze literatury przełomu XX i XXI wieku*, http://www.ppihl.ibl.waw.pl/mediawiki/index.php?title=Szczepan_TWARDOCH [accessed on: 2.11.2018].

protected by his former comrades who occupy high positions in the government. But the good streak came to an end. Colonel Adam Koc while planning with the support of marshal Edward Rydz-Śmigły and collaboration of Bolesław Piasecki an armed (and bloody) coup by National Front (Zjednoczenie Narodowe) and Fałanga saw in Kaplica the potential for becoming a leader of “worker-gangster mobs of Śródmieście, Wola and Ochota” districts¹⁴⁷, which could oppose the coup forces, so he sent Kaplica to Bereza.¹⁴⁸

In describing the “confinement centre”, Twardoch did not care much either for the description’s comprehensiveness or accuracy. Being the author of a crime novel, he had every right to do that. He introduced the Bereza plot within a chain defined by (often depicted pornographically) mob executions, chopping up corpses, rapes of women, family violence (of which rape is sometimes one aspect), as well as boxing matches, street riots, and fights at the university (related to ghetto benches). Kaplica, a ruthlessly brave man, was terrified by the very name: Bereza. He learnt from urkas (criminals imprisoned at gulags) that it was better to spend ten years in prison than three months at Bereza. And after he visited Abraham Bloch, a swindler, who not so long ago was a fat yob, he saw that “after Bereza” that was not the Abraham Bloch he used to know: “He was emaciated by the starvation rations, his hands were shaking, he was missing his front teeth, and his thick black shag thinned and greyed, as if he lived twenty years in three months.”¹⁴⁹

Kaplica, much more audacious than Bloch, immediately upon arriving at Bereza pounced at a guard beating him severely. Though in the light of the existing accounts the scene verges on pure fantasy, Twardoch was less interested in truth about the Confinement Centre and more in amplifying its menacing and inhumane image. The narrator focussed not so much on describing the camp *milieu* as on reporting on the repressions to which Kaplica was subjected. The descriptions of the torments suffered by the former member of the PPS resembled those suffered by communists according to their own recollections. When reading *Król* one cannot escape the impression that the author’s main source of knowledge on the confinement centre was *Bereziacy*. It is also possible that the cry “Jestem!” (Present!) recurring like a refrain in Kaplica’s description of his time spent in solitary confinement, from time to time forced by the guards, Twardoch took from a short story by Leon Pasternak entitled *Jestem* reprinted from the above-mentioned book. That would be a peculiar union of politically committed literature stemming from the experience of internment at Bereza with popular literature (which in the case

¹⁴⁷ S. Twardoch, *Król*, p. 282.

¹⁴⁸ The issue of the planned coup d’état allegedly by the above-mentioned politicians remains open – vide M. Przeperski, *Polska “noc długich noży”*, <https://histmag.org/Polska-noc-dlugich-nozy-7219/1> [accessed on: 25.11.2018].

¹⁴⁹ S. Twardoch, *Król*, p. 289–290.

of *Król* pretends to be something more by raising the important issues Polish anti-Semitism and Jewish anti-Polonism).

In the case of texts raising the topic of Nazi camps such unions are no longer surprising as KLS have long served as the theme for all sorts of popular works.¹⁵⁰ Bereza Kartuska is only beginning to be noticed for such a role, or, more broadly, as the theme for fiction. For it to become that it would first be necessary to have a clear idea what the “confinement centre” located in Bereza Kartuska actually was, and even more importantly its inseparable grim myth, the gloomy legend, if you will. That which emerged from the existing narrative formulated mostly by communists proved unattractive, being too brazen, indoctrinating, and it was mostly obscured by Lager and Gulag narratives. Yet that might someday change. Bereza is still a topic for the taking.

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¹⁵⁰ Vide A. Morawiec, *Literatura w lagrze, lager w literaturze. Fakt – temat – metafora*, Wydawnictwo Akademii Humanistyczno-Ekonomicznej, Łódź 2009, pp. 291–325 (part *Od tematu do metafory. Użycia i nadużycia*). A similar phenomenon, regarding Holocaust literature, was analysed by, e.g. Sławomir Buryła (*Wokół Zagłady. Szkice o literaturze Holokaustu*, Universitas, Kraków 2016, pp. 83–111), and Marta Tomczok (*Czyja dzisiaj jest Zagłada? Retoryka – ideologia – popkultura*, Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, Warsaw 2017, pp. 146–206).

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Arkadiusz Morawiec

Po Berezie. Literatura polska wobec Miejsca Odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej. 1939–2018

Streszczenie

Artykuł dotyczy obecności w szeroko rozumianej literaturze polskiej tematu i motywu Miejsca Odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej. Omówiono w nim kształtowanie wizerunku tego obozu koncentracyjnego od chwili zaprzestania jego działalności (w 1939 roku), dyktowane w zasadniczej mierze przez ideologię oraz politykę, w tym politykę pamięci. Wśród analizowanych utworów są zarówno wspomnienia, głównie komunistów (m.in. Michała Mirskiego i Jana Wójcika), jak i utwory fikcyjne, w tym opowiadanie *Jestem* Leona Pasternaka, dramat *Bereziacy* Karola Obidniaka i Romana Sykały oraz powieści: *Wzbierająca fala* Czesława K. Domagały, *Król* Szczepana Twardocha i *Szakale* Roberta Żółtka.

Słowa kluczowe: Miejsce Odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej; obozy koncentracyjne; literatura polska; temat i motyw; polityka pamięci

After Bereza. Polish literature towards the Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska 1939–2018

Summary


The article concerns the inclusion in the broadly understood Polish literature of the theme and motif of the Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska (1934–1939). I discussed in it the formation of the image of the concentration camp since it ceased its operation (in 1939), mainly defined by ideology and politics, including the politics of memory. I particularly focussed on works of literature regarding the Confinement Centre created after the Centre ceased its operations. Those include both recollections, mainly by communists (e.g. by Michał Mirski and Jan Wójcik), and works of fiction, including the short story *Jestem* by Leon Pasternak, the play *Bereziacy* by Karol Obidniak and Roman Sykała, and novels: *Wzbierająca fala* by Czesław K. Domagała, *Król* by Szczepan Twardoch, and *Szakale* by Robert Żółtek.

Keywords: Confinement Centre in Bereza Kartuska; concentration camps; Polish literature; theme and motif; politics of memory

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Bulletins of the Polish censorship office from 1945 to 1956. A reconnaissance study¹

The aim of the article is to discuss selected research perspectives offered by the bulletins of the censorship office created in Poland from 1945 to 1956. Due to the chiefly confidential nature of the analysed documents I defined them as classified papers, ordered by the state and directed mainly to censors. These documents were internally circulated in the Main and Voivodship Offices of Control of Press, Publications and Shows². Bulletins are a type of cryptotexts (i.e. classified texts of intentionally limited distribution) with an information, tutorial or training nature, constituting a type of a guide for censorship practices³.

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1 This paper was written as a part of a research grant entitled *Post-war Polish literature in the light of cryptotexts (on the basis of bulletins of the Main Office of Control of Press, Publications and Shows 1945–1956)* awarded by the National Science Centre (decision number 2016/23/N/HS2/01798, principal investigator: Anna Wiśniewska-Grabarczyk).

This article was also published (with some changes) in Polish: "O wyższy poziom pracy nad książką" – *biuletyny urzędu cenzury z lat 1945–1956 w perspektywie literaturoznawczej*. *Rekonosans*, in: *Cenzura w PRL. Analiza zjawiska*, Z. Romek, K. Kamińska-Chełminiak (eds.), ASPRA-JR, Warsaw 2017, s. 61–74.

2 In post-war Poland existed the Main Office of Control of Press, Publications and Shows (Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk, referred to as GUKPPIW) and several Voivodship Offices of Control of Press, Publications and Shows (Wojewódzki Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk, referred to as WUKPPIW).

3 I discussed cryptotexts in articles: *The censorship review in the Polish People's Republic as cryptotext*, "The Polish Review" 2019, vol. 64, no. 1, pp. 31–49; *Recenzja cenzorska Polski Ludowej*, "Zagadnienia Rodzajów Literackich" 2016, issue 59(117), vol. 1, pp. 97–103; *Segment streszczający*

Bulletins of the censorship office. State of research and new findings

Internal censorship documents are referenced by researchers of various fields⁴. Studies regarding the initial years of the operations of the prevention and repression apparatus after WWII referred to mainly materials from 1945⁵, and from 1952 to 1955⁶, also mentioning publications which were published on a regular basis since 1949⁷. In 2018 selected documents from the 1952 bulletins were published. However, there has been no holistic study of the classified serial publications con-

recenzji cenzorskiej (na materiale GUKPPIW z roku 1950), "Socjolingwistyka" 2016, issue 1(30), pp. 277–288.

- 4 The following works have proved the most interesting in the context of this discussion: "Biuletyn Informacyjno-Instrukcyjny". *Wybór dokumentów z 1955 r.*, K. Budrowska, M. Budnik, W. Gardocki (eds.), Wyd. UwB, Białystok 2018, series: Cenzura w PRL. Archiwalia, t. 3; K. Budrowska, *Literatura i pisarze wobec cenzury PRL 1948–1958*, Wyd. UwB, Białystok 2009; eadem, *Wewnętrzne pismo cenzury. "Biuletyn Informacyjno-Instrukcyjny" w latach 1952–1955*, in: eadem, *Studia i szkice o cenzurze w Polsce Ludowej w latach 40. i 50. XX wieku*, Wyd. UwB, Białystok 2014, pp. 95–106; eadem, *O niestosownych zastosowaniach literatury w cenzorskich materiałach instruktażowych*, "Litteraria Copernicana" 2013, issue 2, pp. 8–17; A. Wiśniewska-Grabarczyk, "Czytelnik" o cenzurowany. *Literatura w kryptotekstach – recenzjach cenzorskich okresu stalinizmu (na materiale GUKPPIW z roku 1950)*, Wyd. IPN, Warsaw 2018; B. Gogol, "Fabryka fałszywych tekstów". *Z działalności Wojewódzkiego Urzędu Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk w Gdańsku w latach 1945–1958*, Neriton, Warsaw 2012; D. Nałęcz, *Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy 1945–1949*, ISP PAN, Warsaw 1994, series: Dokumenty do Dziejów PRL, issue 6; P. Nowak, *Cenzura wobec rynku książki. Wojewódzki Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk w Poznaniu w latach 1946–1955*, Wyd. UAM, Poznań 2012; idem, *Wojewódzki Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk w okresie nacjonalizacji rynku książki w Poznaniu (1946–1955)*, "Biblioteka" 2011, issue 15(24), pp. 163–193; Z. Romek, *Cenzura a nauka historyczna w Polsce. 1944–1970*, Neriton, Warsaw 2010. A paper entitled *Instrukcje cenzury instytucjonalnej. Casus "Biuletynu Informacyjno-Instrukcyjnego"* was presented by K. Kamińska-Chełminiak during the conference *Poradnictwo w PRL* organised by the Faculty of History, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, held from 30 Nov 2016 to 2 Dec 2016.
- 5 Vide, e.g.: D. Nałęcz, *op. cit.*, p. 10. The author discussed two issues of the "Instruction Bulletin" of 1945 stored "in the files of the Voivodship Office of Control of Press, Publications and Shows at the Voivodship State Archive in Poznań" (*ibidem*). Unfortunately, she did not provide their reference numbers nor any overview of the contents of either issue, which would enable a clear identification of the material. During a survey of the State Archive in Poznań I also found only two issues of the "Instruction Bulletin" of 1945, which makes it highly probable that those were the same issues as the ones indicated by Nałęcz.
- 6 K. Budrowska indicated "four hefty folders of 1952–1955" stored at the Main Office of Control of Press, Publications and Shows unit under the reference number 420 (eadem, *Wewnętrzne pismo cenzury...*, p. 95). They are called "Information and Instruction Bulletins" ("Biuletyny Informacyjno-Instrukcyjne").
- 7 Z. Romek, *op. cit.*

stituting instructions and commentary to censors' practices⁸. One reason for that might be the fact that we still possess only a portion of the material intended for censors:

neither other issues of the "Information and Instruction Bulletin" nor issues from before 1952 have been found; it is unclear whether it was no longer being developed or it did not survive in the collections⁹.

During my surveys of the State Archive in Gdańsk and of the State Archive in Poznań I found bulletins from before 1952¹⁰, and folders with bulletins from 1956¹¹, which indicates that they were also published before 1952 and after 1955¹². The collections of the State Archive in Gdańsk also include issues from the "Library of the Information and Instruction Bulletins" ("Biblioteczki Biuletynów Informacyjno-Instrukcyjnych") of 1955¹³, which supplemented the main title.

8 Except of the study *"Biuletyn Informacyjno-Instrukcyjny". Wybór dokumentów z 1955 r...*, there are also no studies of a smaller chronological scope, limited to a selected period, or problem-specific studies (in regard to the bulletins of 1952–1955 the issue was also raised by K. Budrowska, *Studia i szkice o cenzurze...*, p. 95).

9 K. Budrowska, *Studia i szkice o cenzurze...*, p. 96.

10 Mind that the State Archive in Gdańsk (Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku) is referred to as APG, the State Archive in Poznań (Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu) is referred to as APP. In the State Archive in Gdańsk, I found the following material from 1945: "Instruction Bulletin" (in inventory no. 37; APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 210, pp. 19; cf. note 5), of 1949. "Information and Training Bulletin" no. 1 (in inventory no. 38; APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 196, pp. 47), of 1950. "Training Bulletin" no. 1 (in inventory no. 189; APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 328, pp. 82). The archives also include annexes to the bulletins from the following period (yet from before 1956), vide, e.g. annex to bulletin no. 1 of 1952. In the State Archive in Poznań under ref. no. 4, there is a collection of 291 sheets of *Instruction and Training Bulletins 1945–1951 (Biuletyny Instrukcyjno-Szkoleniowe 1945–1951)*.

11 The State Archive in Gdańsk holds the following cryptotexts from 1956: "Information and Instruction Bulletins" no. 1 (in inventory no. 170; APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 4, pp. 53), "Information and Instruction Bulletins" no. 2 (in inventory no. 172, APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 6, pp. 54).

12 Bulletins from the following periods were discussed by Barbara Tyszkiewicz, *Sztuka czytania między wierszami. Z problematyki cenzorskich instruktaży drugiej połowy lat 70.*, in: *"Sztuka czytania między wierszami". Cenzura w komunikacji literackiej w Polsce w latach 1965–1989*, K. Budrowska, M. Kotowska-Kachel (eds.), IBL PAN, Warsaw 2016, series: *Badania Filologiczne nad Cenzurą PRL*, vol. 6, pp. 127–158.

13 The archive collections include five issues of the "Library..." from 1955: issues 18, 19, 20, 21, and 24. Additionally, two undated copies with numbers 22 and 24. It seems those might be the missing issues 22 and 23 from 1955. A detailed analysis of the contents of both issues and the opening of the collections of the Main Office of Control of Press, Publications and Shows at the Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw (Archiwum Akt Nowych, referred to as AAN) should

The aim of the article is not to offer a holistic discussion of the referenced bulletins, however, because I am using obscure documents, I must provide a few remarks to better organise the material¹⁴. The collections of the State Archive in Gdańsk and in Poznań include: “Instruction Bulletins” (“Biuletyny Instrukcyjne”), “Training Bulletins” (“Biuletyny Szkoleniowe”), “Information and Instruction Bulletins” (“Biuletyny Informacyjno-Instrukcyjne”), “Information and Training Bulletins” (“Biuletyny Informacyjno-Szkoleniowe”) and “Instruction and Training Bulletins” (“Biuletyny Instrukcyjno-Szkoleniowe”). Despite minor changes in the titling I consider the documents as the same type of classified publications of the Office, “internal periodicals – «Bulletins»”¹⁵. I shall discuss the conditions of the identity of the bulletins in the following part of the article.

There are no formal or content-based indications which would justify the changes in the titling – fixed sections raise similar issues, and the objectives fulfilled by the publications are also comparable. It seems that the modifications were usually cosmetic, or sometimes pragmatic, reflecting the consecutive stages of the reorganisations of the Office¹⁶, or existed as indicators of a “refresh” of the idea for the periodical, yet had no significant impact on the shape¹⁷. Therefore, that which enables one to consider the indicated bulletins as issues of the same periodic publication, as a continuum of one title, are their contents¹⁸. That is proven by the data used for identifying the publication included in the title page, i.e. the so-called titling; in all of the analysed cases, there exists the core of the title (i.e. bulletin), the

help complete the date references; for now, one can only speculate. This article was submitted for a review before opening the collections of GUKPPIW in AAN.

¹⁴ Most of the ideas presented in this article I elaborate in my PhD thesis *Powojenna literatura polska i inne teksty kultury w świetle biuletynów Głównego Urzędu Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk z lat 1945–1956*.

¹⁵ B. Gogol, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

¹⁶ As I said earlier, “Instruction Bulletin” was published in 1945, “Information and Training Bulletin” in 1949, and “Training Bulletin” in 1950. The changes in the title sheet were only roughly related to the changes of the Office’s name: Centralne Biuro Kontroli Prasy (the Central Office of Control of Press, referred to as CBKP) existed until 5 July 1946, when the Main Office of Control of Press, Publications and Shows was established.

¹⁷ In that context, some exceptions were the special issues of the bulletin, e.g. the June 1945 issue completely devoted to the third day of the Conference of the Managers and Delegates of the Voivodship Offices of Control (I discuss it in more detail further in the article).

¹⁸ The content “in bibliographical terms is the set of all the meaning-forming components of a work, including its shape, organisation and form. In editorial and bibliographical terms, the content of a book consists of: introduction, main body, critical apparatus, commentary, indices, bibliographies, illustrations, tables, lists, maps, etc. Those elements are sometimes listed in the table of items, also known as the table of contents” (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o książce*, A. Birkenmajer, B. Kocowski, J. Trzynadłowski (eds.), Ossolineum, Wrocław 1971, p. 2584).

scope of which is limited considerably by its attributes: “instrukcyjny” (“instruction”), “szkoleniowy” (“training”), “informacyjno-instrukcyjny” (“information and instruction”), or “informacyjno-szkoleniowy” (“information and training”). The segmentation of the main body (recurring sections and columns), and the issues raised, as well as the information on the publisher and the mode of circulation (every bulletin includes an inscription “confidential” (“poufne”) or “classified” (“tajne”) are near identical in most of the referenced issues. An exception existed in the form of special issues, e.g. devoted to a single event (conference), or anniversary issues (e.g. the issue of 1956 published to celebrate the 10-year anniversary of the operations of the Office). The issue of the numbering of consecutive volumes requires vigilance and additional research: consecutive numbering was maintained throughout several years, from 1952 to 1956, in other cases only for individual years¹⁹. All those components are particularly significant when discussing the conditions of the identity of the bulletin as a periodic publication, yet they seemed to fulfil a secondary role in relation to the mode of distribution (classified material) and the aim of the publication, which I am going to discuss now²⁰.

“There is no book of censorship wisdom”²¹ – on the creation of training material

Despite the decision to issue the “Instruction Bulletin” was made “pursuant to arrangements between the party apparatus and the chief censorship institutions”²², it seems that it was partly a response to a grassroots initiative by censors who complained there was no instruction manual. The fact that the work of censors required theoretical foundations was indicated in statements made during the First National Conference of the Managers and Delegates of the Voivodship Offices of Control of Press, Publications and Shows, which was held on 23–25 May 1945 in Warsaw. Daria Nałęcz referenced the stenographic record from the meeting of the delegates of voivodship and city offices of control of press of 23, 24 and 25 May 1945, yet only the records of the first two days have survived – the “lack of a report

¹⁹ Such an organisation is not unrelated to the full title of the periodical. Usually, continuous numbering over a period of several years is used for a single title. At this stage of the study it is difficult to state whether it was always like that because apart from the selected years, there are only separate issues available, e.g. from 1945, 1949, and 1950.

²⁰ Not all internal censorship documents were of the Bulletin nature; suffice to mention “Instruction Letters” (“Listy Instrukcyjne”) which differed from the discussed documents in terms of their content, layout, and title. All cryptotexts share certain qualities (the mode of distribution), yet the indicated set was specific only for the bulletins.

²¹ “Instruction Bulletin”, June 1945, p. 2 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 210).

²² D. Nałęcz, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

of the remainder of the meeting”²³ is compensated by the “Instruction Bulletin” of 1945 entirely devoted to the third day of the conference, during which an instruction seminar was held, individual centres were evaluated, and the conference was summed up²⁴. The difficulties which the lawmakers of the new freedom-of-speech-related order faced were discussed in the opening fragment of the actual report: “We work”, said Ferdynand Chaber, who was back then a deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers’ Party, “in an area without any reliable traditions, no literature. The democratic nature of control requires that work to be based on new foundations which differ completely from that what once was”²⁵.

Unfortunately, the author of the words did not clarify from which previously implemented foundations censors should distance themselves. The whole is more of a project nature, rather normative than descriptive, penal even. That is indicated by a series of specific guidelines intended to improve the quality of the work of censors, e.g. the one on the requirement for operatives at field offices to regularly read new regulations regarding their work. Chaber seemed to be saying that the situation would had been different if Office operatives were able to use the “book of censorship wisdom”²⁶. It is possible that due to the lack of such a compendium, Chaber, in discussing the main problems raised at the three-day conference, “raised for discussion series of valid and not valid censor interventions in the above-mentioned matters, and in summary averaged certain rough standards, guidelines for censor’s work”²⁷.

It seems that it was one of the first attempts at creating “user-friendly” instructions understandable for censors that exceeded the rigid framework of regulations, not always easily applicable for operatives. Five years after the basic guidelines necessary for reliable censorship work had been indicated (the bulletin was dated 25 May 1945), the first issue of the “Training Bulletin” was published (the title page date was: March 1950), and the opening *Introduction* seemed a reiteration of the theses of Ferdynand Chaber:

We hereby release issue 1 of the “Training Bulletin”. The aim of the bulletin, being based on examples from our censorship practice grouped by problem areas – start-

²³ Ibidem, p. 78. The stenographic records break off with a sentence: “(briefing will be continued tomorrow at 9 a.m.)”.

²⁴ The discussed issue of the “Instruction Bulletin” included the changes suggested in the daily session as the report of the Main Office was moved to the final part, while the second day began with a Report of the Voivodship Offices.

²⁵ “Instruction Bulletin”, June 1945, p. 1 (APG, WUKPPiW, ref. no. 210).

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 2.

²⁷ Ibidem.

ing with omissions and interventions, and unnoticed (if an intervention was not necessary but the matter should had been reported to the GUKP) ideological distortions – will be to deepen the problems which we face in the press, publications, and performances²⁸.

The content of the bulletin confirmed the assumptions of its designers. The material was organised per themes, and the title “training” was of an “education from mistakes” nature, where not regulations but censorship practice was used as the basis. The examples of specific interventions (or lack thereof) did not take the form of simple listings. Each example was the basis for a more or less extensive discussion. Its intention: “the task of the bulletin [...] will be to deepen the problems which we face in the press, publications, and performances”²⁹, though awkward linguistically, seemed to be fulfilled, as it was the case with the “Information and Instruction Bulletins” which were issued since January 1952. The opening article of the January issue, entitled *Raise the quality of our work* (*Podwyższyć poziom naszej pracy*), stated the reason why the censorship’s internal periodical was established:

The decision to regularly issue the “Information and Instruction Bulletin” resulted from the need to offer collective help to GUKP operatives in Warsaw and in the field in their difficult and responsible work³⁰.

The three quoted passages seem to support the thesis that, regardless of the title page changes, the material which has been located in archives could be treated as examples of the same periodic publication, indicated by, e.g. similarly defined objectives. The bulletins, being examples of cryptotexts, were supposed to, according to their creators, differ from bare regulations and guidelines created by the state apparatus and sent to field offices. Classified censorship bulletins became a type of a guide, a medium for exchanging professional experiences, giving a practical “help in censors’ work”³¹, yet fulfilling the classic structure of a guide understood as a text by a sender instructing a reader.

28 “Training Bulletin” no. 1, March 1950, p. 1 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 328). GUKP is referred to as Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy (the Main Office of Control of Press).

29 Ibidem.

30 “The Information and Instruction Bulletin” no. 1, January 1952, p. 1 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 100). See also Illustration 1.

31 “Information and Instruction Bulletin” no. 10, October 1952, p. 1 (APG, WUKPPIW, sygn. 75).

1.

PODWYWSZYĆ POZIOM NASZEJ PRACY

Decyzja o systematycznym wydawaniu Biuletynu Informacyjno-instrukcyjnego wywołana była koniecznością okazywania pomocy kolektywnej pracownikom G.U.K.P. w Warszawie i w terenie w ich trudnej i odpowiedzialnej pracy.

Pomoc ta możliwie najpełniejsze winna być realizowana drogą omawiania w Biuletynie najaktualniejszych zagadnień z różnych dziedzin naszej pracy, drogą przeniesienia i wymiany doświadczeń w celu przyswajania sobie i zastosowania w praktyce bardziej doskonałych metod i sposobów organizacji pracy, która dotychczas była mało planowana i niestosownie skoordynowana.

Zadaniem Biuletynu jest ułatwić wciągnięcie każdego pracownika politycznego w krąg zagadnień wszystkich dziedzin pracy, tak poszczególnych terenów jak i G.U.K.P. w całości. To niewątpliwie każdemu z nas pomoże widzieć więcej i ułatwi powiązanie każdego odcinka pracy z ogólnym jej charakterem walki na froncie ideologicznym i z całością zadań wobec których stoimy.

Równocześnie Biuletyn winien pomóc w ożywieniu życia politycznego każdego kolektywu pracowniczego, każdego pracownika, szczególnie w terenie, w podwyższaniu i wzmacnianiu jego aktywności społecznej i bojowej postawy ideologicznej stawiących nieodzowny warunek dla bezbłędnej i precyzyjnej pracy każdego z nas.

Jest to tym ważniejsze obecnie, kiedy kraj nasz, Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa z bohaterką polską klasą robotniczą i jej awangardą - P.Z.P.R.-na czele wszystkich pracujących i całego narodu - w wyniku trwających ostrych bojów klasowych - zwycięsko wkrocza w trzeci rok planu 6-letniego budowy podstaw socjalizmu.

W Orędziu noworocznym do narodu Prezydent R.P. tow. Bierut stwierdził m.in., że:

"Wykonaliśmy pomyślnie i z nadwyżką zadania pierwszych dwóch lat naszego wielkiego i historycznego planu 6-letniego - planu uprzemysłowienia Polski. Wstępujemy w rok trzeci, który będzie rokiem przełomowym dla zwycięskiego wypełnienia całego planu. Z jeszcze większą ofiarnością oddajemy Ojczyźnie swą pracę, pomnażając jej siły!"

“Our censors should not be conceited mentors”³². Profile of the perfect operative within the contextual relations perspective

Paraphrasing the famous words of Jean-Paul Sartre, one could state that “all works of the censorship office contain within themselves the image of the reader for whom they are intended”³³. Of course, in the case of the creation which the Office’s bulletin was, censors were mainly the intended recipients³⁴. Then, the basic objective of the discussed publication genre was to update the attributes of the control powers included in the text so that they influenced the reader from their very first contact as the sender intended it. That, in turn, was to lead to the creation of a perfect recipient of the message, i.e. the implied reader³⁵, the implied censor in this case. Some guidelines were formulated explicitly, while other may be reconstructed based on passages not raising the issue directly.

The bulletins prove helpful in reconstructing the image of the censor and the work of the Office itself, the latter being indicated by the texts raising the problem of rationing free speech³⁶. To recreate the profile of a model operative from Mysia Street (where the headquarters of the censorship office was located) a researcher must conduct a thorough analysis of the material since the guidelines formulated in the discussed cryptotexts should be (re)interpreted in view of the socio-political conditions of the function and the style of expression. The establishing of the disciplines discussing the propaganda and ideological aspect of the language prove helpful – on a context basis they are raised by poetics, the theory of communication, and the philosophy of language.

The readers of the bulletins could read expressions of self-criticism, as the following one which was a bitter thought after the Warsaw conference, which

also revealed a series of serious shortcomings in the system of our work. The detrimental “intrusiveness” and non-tolerance of the censors – our two major plagues – were subjected to fierce criticism by both managers and delegates. [...] When the results of the Conference become guidelines for everyday work, when the culture of our branches rises to the proper level, then we will fulfil our noble task³⁷.

³² “Instruction Bulletin”, June 1945, p. 5 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 210).

³³ J.-P. Sartre, *Czym jest literatura*, trans. J. Lalewicz, PIW, Warsaw 1968, p. 121.

³⁴ I understand the recipient as a presented reader, i.e. such a type of an internal reader (of a specific work of literature, that is) who “is present directly, featured in the text through sentences which define them, and expressions directed at them” (H. Markiewicz, *Wymiary dzieła literackiego*, Universitas, Cracow 1996, p. 256).

³⁵ An implied reader is another type of the internal reader. The notion has a few meanings; at this point I understand it as the “correlation of specification compliant with the author’s intentions” (H. Markiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 257).

³⁶ Vide, e.g.: K. Budrowska, *Kilka słów o PRL-owskim cenzorze. Próba portretu*, in: eadem, *Literatura i pisarze wobec cenzury PRL...*, pp. 111–119.

³⁷ “Instruction Bulletin”, June 1945, p. 1 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 210).

The analysis of the classified publications of censorship from 1945 to 1956 proved that, at least in the initial years after WWII, the Office was not always able to cope with certain problems. The incessantly recurring issues included the improvement of the censors' work; the indicated problems included low efficiency of their activities (number of detrimental omissions), and, on the other extreme, the problem of censor over-zealousness in the form of censors' excessive intrusiveness and intolerance³⁸. In particular the latter issue, contrary to intuition in the context of an institution rationing the freedom of speech, remained the Achilles heel of censors' practices, which was indicated in fragments of the bulletins and other statements:

The "nosiness" of rookie colleagues seems to stem from the erroneous conviction that the qualifications of a censor are measured by the number of interventions they make. On the contrary. Practice has actually shown that "nosiness" usually goes hand in hand with insufficient vigilance. If there are a lot of unfounded interventions, there are also omissions of major errors in the press³⁹.

It must be stressed that

consultations with the Main Office in order to settle the doubts were only natural; thus, censors protected themselves against criticism and official consequences pending both for a lack of interventions and redundant interventions⁴⁰.

Based on several dozen issues of the bulletin it appears that an operative responsible for evaluating the texts submitted to the Office of Control was supposed to display efficiency, self-restraint (being the opposite of over-zealousness and pickiness), tolerance (being the opposite of intolerance), and openness to criticism (bulletin authors pointed out instances of "gagging the criticism of the shortcomings of our young statehood"⁴¹). While "being efficient" and "being restrained" seem understandable per intuition, "being tolerant" and "being open to criticism" require explication being terms within the realm of guidelines defined by any (regime) office rationing freedom of speech.

That evokes a quite obvious question: whether those fragments were simply false, included in the bulletins for propaganda purposes (as a kind of psychological smoke screen), or they represented a special mode of understanding those

³⁸ See among others: *Ibidem*, p. 4-5.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 5.

⁴⁰ M. Woźniak-Łabieniec, *Wokół recepcji Traktatu polemicznego Witolda Wirpszy. Głosy o Miłoszu w roku 1951 w świetle dokumentów cenzury*, "Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica", 2011, issue 2(14), p. 153.

⁴¹ "Instruction Bulletin", June 1945, p. 5 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 210).

problematic terms. To settle it, I believe one should refer to the theory of contextual independence (studied by the philosophy of language, and by linguistics) because the difference in meaning which could be assumed in those fragments does not seem a simple semantic difference. The theory of contextual dependence identifies two major cases of the dependence of expressions on the context: narrow dependence based on additional parameters, which once supplemented offer the lexical meaning (a good example of that are index expressions, such as pronouns), and broad dependence based on the difficult to determine number of interpretational assumptions, and implicature. It seems that in the discussed case the latter applies, as the meanings of “tolerance” and “being open” could had been modified by obvious (for contemporary recipients) additional assumptions, such as that openness means in practice openness to the only legitimate ideology.

Thus, one can assume that the meaning of the modifiers of the perfect censor is overlaid with a context understood as a “discourse which surrounds a linguistic unit, and enables one to define its interpretation” or as “circumstances or a set of facts which surround a situation or event”⁴². Therefore, when recreating the network of notions presented in relation to the perfect censor, it is necessary to consider the parameters indicated in the definition.

One interpretation is the deformation of the meaning by shifting semantic fields defined as the sum of meanings of a given linguistic sign, covering its denotation and connotation. The attributes of “being tolerant” and “being open to criticism” defining censors would mean “possessing quality X, the meaning of which was modified when compared to classic speech”⁴³. The modifications (or emulations, when more extensive interventions within semantic properties occurred) were, of course, exacted by the legislators of the newspeak, a reference to which at this point, due to the nature of the Office producing periodicals, seems justified. Based on the bulletins from 1945–1956 one can propose a hypothesis that the discussed cryptotexts featured three basic variants of newspeak: persuasive-propaganda, bureaucratic, and kitsch-ludic⁴⁴. The construction of the profile of the perfect censor was mainly done using the first one. The architects of the language of the bulletins intentionally abused the semantics in classic speech thus deforming almost all its layers (as it was written language, accent deformations must be excluded)⁴⁵, and appropriated notions used by the other party to the discourse. That

42 T. Ciecierski, *Zależność kontekstowa. Wprowadzenie do problematyki*, Ośrodek Badań Filozoficznych, Warsaw 2011, p. 13. The above-mentioned meanings seem apt in the context of this discussion, though one should also mention another definition which treats context as “a text in which a specific word or expression was used (especially quoted somewhere else)” (W. Kopaliński, *Słownik wyrazów obcych i zwrotów obcojęzycznych*, Wiedza Powszechna, Warsaw 1991, p. 277).

43 I understand “classic speech” as general speech (vide M. Głowiński, *Nowomowa i ciągi dalsze. Szkice dalsze i nowe*, Universitas, Cracow 2009, pp. 11, 17, etc.)

44 Ibidem, p. 60.

45 Ibidem, p. 15.

resulted in a situation where not only notions such as: “being tolerant” and “being open to criticism”, but also such slogans as: “freedom”, “detrimental tendency of girdling the press”⁴⁶, “gagging criticism”, “censors should be independent of the producers of words”⁴⁷ present in the bulletins were knocked off their semantic perch becoming the attributes of the control power included in the messages of the cryptotexts.

It seems that the concept of newspeak proposed by Michał Głowiński may be treated as a variant of contextual dependence. That which should be considered the most is the fact that the newspeak used in the internal periodicals of the censorship office was devoid of the propaganda aspect, so distinctive for texts within general distribution. A similar situation applied to censor reviews, which utilised the devices of the propaganda style despite representing cryptotexts, i.e. classified texts with intentionally limited distribution.

The above-mentioned interpretation methods do not, obviously, nullify the first of the hypotheses explaining the use of such expressions as “tolerance” and “being open”, according to which the selected passages, in this case guidelines regarding censor qualities, must be simply treated as false. With such an interpretation one should assume that the legislators of the system used false statements, i.e. such which “were either impossible, or which did not comply with what they proposed”⁴⁸ – in the case of the analysed texts, the latter applies. We can also say that all of the declarations of freedom of speech, independence of the censors and the democratic nature of the Censorship Office “were only superficial and that they reflected the model of the communist propaganda of the time”⁴⁹.

The discussed cryptotexts of informative, instruction, and training natures prove to be non-homogeneous both in linguistic terms and in terms of their contents, which was also indicated by censors’ articles, which I shall discuss now.

Bulletins as the common interest of the operatives of the Office Censor as a co-author of the bulletins

The bulletins of the censorship office mainly included texts of the instructive nature, that gave guidance to the censors. The dominant form was the monologue, the authors of which seemed to possess omniscience (at least regarding the operations of the Office). The bulletins contained lots of articles from the editorial office but also many from the voivodship’s offices⁵⁰. Some of them were reports or letters from

46 “Instruction Bulletin”, June 1945, p. 4 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 210).

47 *Ibidem*, p. 16.

48 T. Ciecierski, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

49 Z. Romek, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

50 See among others: “Information and Instruction Bulletin”, no. 2, February 1953, pp. 38–42 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 18); “Information and Instruction Bulletin” no. 1, January 1954,

the censor units or from the particular censors. Thanks to them the somewhat authoritarian general tone was mitigated by columns where common operatives of the prevention and repression apparatus were given voice. Because of that the bulletins became the place for exchanging professional experiences, or even a type of a censorship confessional where one could hear self-criticism and satisfaction of penance.

In the available material, there are statements by operatives from various field offices, i.e. from Łódź, Cracow, Olsztyn, Katowice, Poznań⁵¹. Operatives responsible for evaluating culture texts wrote in the form of letters, which sometimes assumed the shape of a column.

The “Information and Instruction Bulletin” from January 1956 included a letter personal in tone by Stanisław Paż, a censor from the censorship office in Olsztyn. The text, located in the Letters Section under the title *Let’s face the truth, comrades... (Spójrzmy sobie w oczy towarzysze...)*, began with a fragment revealing the working conditions of operatives:

Sitting at night, all alone with the People’s Republic and awaiting the columns, I began developing the summary of annual censor work. I perfectly remember the period when I was taking my first steps, or rather I already started learning the censor “craft” under the supervision of comrade Rotnicka, Majzner, Wachowiak, and others⁵².

What is noticeable is the lofty style of the statement, possibly inadequate either to the raised issue, or the form of a letter sent to, however one would not consider it, a company bulletin; though what is more significant in the context of the discussed issue is the fragment revealing the hierarchic structure of the Office, where an experienced operative is responsible for raising young censors. We can find more of these kinds of statements in the bulletins, see the article called *A few remarks of “a young censor” (Kilka uwag “młodego cenzora”)*⁵³.

pp. 7–14 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 39; a letter from a voivodship office in Stalinogród – it was the name of the city Katowice, the name existed from 7.03.1953 to 21.10.1956); “Information and Instruction Bulletin” no. 1, January 1954, pp. 23–25 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 39); “Information and Instruction Bulletin”, no. 2, February 1953, pp. 38–42 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 18).

51 See among others: “Information and Instruction Bulletin” no. 9, September 1952, pp. 48–49 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 78); “Information and Instruction Bulletin” no. 1, January 1953, pp. 69–72 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 19); “Information and Instruction Bulletin” no. 1, January 1954, pp. 39–44 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 39); “Information and Instruction Bulletin” no. 3, March 1953, pp. 60–75 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 17); “Information and Instruction Bulletin” no. 1, January 1956, pp. 51–59 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 4).

52 “Information and Instruction Bulletin”, no. 1, January 1956, p. 51 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 4). See also Illustration 2.

53 “Information and Instruction Bulletin” no. 7, July 1952, p. 39–42 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 84).

KILKA UWAG "MŁODEGO" CENZORA.
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Przechodząc do Działu Stołecznego, trochę się bałam nowej pracy. Nie znając jeszcze wymogów w stosunku do cenzora, zawsze wyobrażałam sobie, że cenzor to człowiek, który powinien dużo umieć, dużo wiedzieć. Praca zresztą potwierdziła to w całej rozciągłości. Już dzisiaj jest dla mnie jasne, że "dobry" cenzor, to człowiek, który dużo czyta i nieustannie podnosi swój poziom. "zły" cenzor, to ten, który nie pracuje nad sobą i nie idzie naprzód, a poprzestaje na instrukcjach i odprawach.

Choć z "młodymi" cenzorami podzielić się moimi uwagami z dotychczasowej nauki.

Naukę moją podzieliłabym na dwa okresy. W pierwszym okresie byłam trochę rozczarowana. Powodem był brak systematycznego szkolenia. Nikt się mną w zasadzie nie zajmował, sama często musiałam dbać o to, żeby nie siedzieć, a coś robić, nierzadko musiałam się bić o to, żeby ktoś ze mną omówił przeczytany materiał.

Prędko jednak zrozumiałam, że jest to zależne nie tylko od kierownictwa Działu, które z powodu trudności kadrowych mniej czasem poświęcić mi mogło uwagi, lecz że ja sama muszę dbać o to.

Illustration 2. A few remarks of "a young censor" (*Kilka uwag "młodego cenzora"*), "Information and Instruction Bulletin" no. 7, July 1952, p. 39 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 84)

The remainder of the cited letter from Olsztyn also described the nature of the work of a censor who, capitalising on his own experiences, strived to indicate the qualities necessary to properly fulfil the activities he had been tasked with. It referred to a censor's nose and know-it-all-ness⁵⁴, which a good operative of the censorship office should possess, though "in the province" they seemed completely redundant. The Olsztyn-based operative was not coy about his embitterment in the lack of challenges in his work, though there were some good aspects of the situation:

It would be difficult to discuss specialisation in the work at our WUKP as we do not have any more serious items submitted for inspection, while "Głos Olsztyński" and "Mazury i Warmia" do not discuss any problems of everyday life. [...] At the Voivodship Office, work is not as exhaustive and tiresome as at the Main Office. There is no editorial board or a publishing house over our heads crying hurry up, hurry up, comrade – do not hinder our work! You can calmly read and consider the material, hence the greater opportunity to work on expanding your interests⁵⁵.

⁵⁴ "Information and Instruction Bulletin", no. 1, January 1956, p. 51 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 4).

⁵⁵ Ibidem, pp. 51–52. WUKP is referred to as Wojewódzki Urząd Kontroli Prasy (the Voivodship Office of Control of Press).

The problem of selecting the material presented in the bulletin, and, more broadly, the matter of the periodical's quality, was also raised in the introduction to the periodicals. Special issues offered opportunities to present such texts, e.g. the issue from February 1956. The opening column entitled *What next?... (reflections of the Bulletin's editor)* (*I co dalej?... (refleksje redaktora Biuletynu)*) summarised the ten years of the operations of the Office, and despite the reservation that "It is not befitting to speak ill of the jubilarian..."⁵⁶, there were some critical remarks in the opening piece. Yet they were of a different nature as they were voiced by the persons shaping the periodical, not censors from field offices. How much the latter influenced the shape of the bulletins? To answer that question, one would have to conduct a detailed analysis of all the issues scattered through the archives, however, upon reading the discussed article, one might presuppose that the critical mass had been achieved and exceeded as the predominant tone of the text was that of beating one's breast:

Does a lack of active cooperation, of demands, and encouragement justify the board? I believe that only partly. The main error in the body's work is its spontaneous nature, a lack of regular meetings, of a long-term plan, and low interest of some members of the body in current periodical matters⁵⁷.

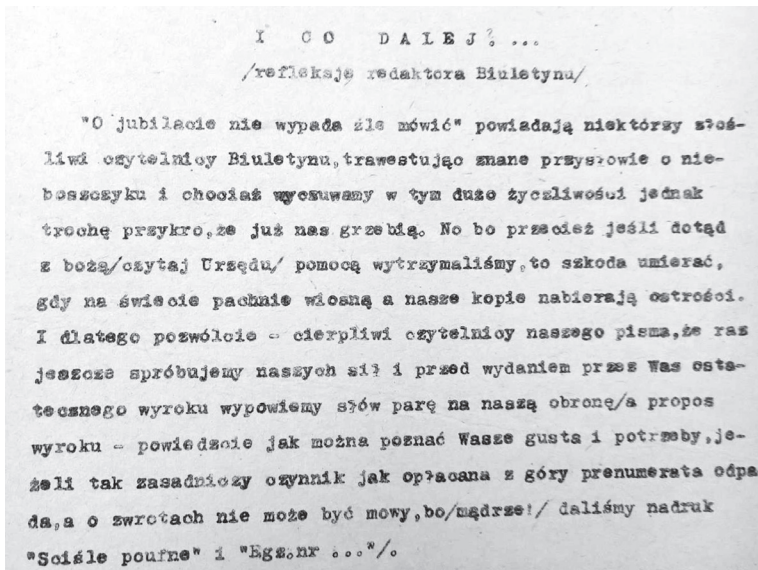


Illustration 3. *What next?... (reflections of the Bulletin's editor)* (*I co dalej?... (refleksje redaktora Biuletynu)*), "Information and Instruction Bulletin" no. 2, February 1956, p. 2 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 6)

⁵⁶ "Information and Instruction Bulletin" no. 2, February 1956, p. 2 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 6).

⁵⁷ Ibidem, p. 5.

But that was only one side of the story. In many bulletins the editor board assured that it does what it can to improve censors' skills. For example it tried to develop the optimal paradigm of censor reviews. It realised that:

An incorrectly developed review may lead a reader to the incorrect interpretation of a play or a film, and discredit even a completely positive performance with high artistic qualities. An example of that was the review on the play *Lato w Nohant* [*Summer at Nohant*] by Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz [...] An example of a review of a film which was also politically detrimental was the discussion by "Tygodnik Powszechny" (issue 47) of the Soviet film entitled *Cyrk* [*The Circus*]⁵⁸.

The discussed internal periodicals of censorship published censor reviews, usually supplemented with instructive commentary. For operatives evaluating culture texts those constituted the theoretical foundation for their practical activities, while for a contemporary research they offer important material which supplements the existing state of research into the genetic foundation of censor reviews⁵⁹. The material also includes articles which constituted attempts at building a definition of a review by analysing its components, considering the author, and other extra-literary circumstances. Such a theoretical material was included in issue 7 of the bulletin from 1952; the text itself *For higher quality of work on books. I. General remarks on reviews (O wyższy poziom pracy nad książką. I. Uwagi ogólne o recenzji)* was preceded by the following passage:

In proposing a series of remarks on reviews, we wish to start a series of studies in the following issues of the "Bulletin" based on actual analyses of good and poor reviews and indicate which moments should be emphasised in reviews⁶⁰.

In bulletins censors were encouraged not only to write reviews, articles and letters but also to take part in a competition for the best review of the book organised by the Office of Control. In August 1952 the competition was announced, and

⁵⁸ "Information and Training Bulletin" no. 1/3, January 1949, p. 8 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 196). *Lato w Nohant. Komedia w 3 aktach* was first published in "Skamander" in 1936, then it was published in (among others): 1937, 1949 and in 1953; the play was translated into English in 1942: J. Iwaszkiewicz, *Summer at Nohant. A play in 3 acts*, transl. C. Wieniewska, Minerva Publ. Comp., London 1942 (see: B. D. [B. Dorosz], *Iwaszkiewicz Jarosław*, in: *Współcześni polscy pisarze i badacze literatury. Słownik biobibliograficzny*, vol. 3: G–J, J. Czachowska, A. Szałagan (eds.), Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Warsaw 1994, p. 320).

⁵⁹ A. Wiśniewska-Grabarczyk, *The censorship review in the Polish People's Republic as cryptotext...*; eadem, *Recenzja cenzorska Polski Ludowej...*

⁶⁰ "Information and Instruction Bulletin" no. 7, July 1952, p. 26 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 84).

censors were supposed to write a review of a book *Rivers are burning* (*Rzeki płoną*) written by Wanda Wasilewska, back then one of the most famous artists and left-wings political activist⁶¹. The event didn't meet with great response – only four of sixteen censorship offices sent their reviews. The best three ones were published in the bulletin in November 1952⁶²

There were also cases of censors' own works of literature published in bulletins. The anniversary issue of the bulletin from January 1955 concluded in two satirical works: the first, sent by the Office of Control in Łódź, was entitled *Our balance* (*Nasz Bilans*)⁶³, the other, prepared by the Satirical Commission at the Main Office, was entitled *Little strokes fell great oaks* (*Cicha woda brzegi rwie*)⁶⁴. Both were prepared to be staged, which was indicated by the stage directions and the accompanying musical setting (the staging of the former was supposed to be accompanied by music replayed from records). The work by the Satirical Commission premièred at the Main Office of Control of Press, Publications and Shows on 22 January 1955, as indicated in the note.

* * *

Bulletins of censorship office offer many research perspectives. Censor reviews surviving in the cryptotexts will prove a valuable object of study for literary researchers, and their analyses will enable researchers to discover the mechanisms of creating the only legitimate evaluation. The reading of the bulletins from 1945 to 1956 and the extraction of the peculiar nature of the decline of the Stalinist period, i.e. putting on and removing the screw, will reveal the scale of the deformations exacted on the Polish culture by the prevention and repression apparatus in the first decade after World War II.

61 "Information and Instruction Bulletin" no. 8, August 1952, p. 41 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 81); "Information and Instruction Bulletin" no. 9, September 1952, pp. 48–49 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 78); "Information and Instruction Bulletin" no. 10, October 1952, p. 48 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 75).

The book *Rzeki płoną* was published in 1952, 1953, 1954 and 1955 (see: E. G. [Ewa Głębińska], *Wasilewska Wanda*, in: *Współcześni polscy pisarze i badacze literatury. Słownik biobibliograficzny*, vol. 9: W–Z, J. Czachowska, A. Szałagan (eds.), Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Warsaw 2004, p. 52).

62 "Information and Instruction Bulletin" no. 11, November 1952, pp. 43–66 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 72).

63 "Information and Instruction Bulletin" no. 1, January 1955, p. 66 (APG, WUKPPIW, ref. no. 110).

64 Ibidem, p. 82.

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Anna Wiśniewska-Grabarczyk

Biuletyny polskiego urzędu cenzury z lat 1945–1956. Rekonesans

Streszczenie

W artykule omawiam wybrane aspekty biuletynu urzędu cenzury z lat 1945–1956. Biuletyn był poufnym, skierowanym przede wszystkim do cenzorów i tworzonym na zamówienie państwa wewnętrznym pismem Głównego Urzędu Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk; ze względu na cel pełnił funkcję szkoleniową, instruktażową i informacyjną; z uwagi na sposób dystrybucji biuletyn to kryptotekst, czyli tekst poufny o celowo ograniczonej dystrybucji.

W artykule przedstawiłam stan badań nad biuletynami i warunki tożsamości pisma. Omówiłam także sylwetkę “idealnego” cenzora w perspektywie zależności kontekstowej. Przybliżyłam ponadto problematykę, jaką poruszano w piśmie, w którym prezentowano przede wszystkim materiały na temat cenzury oraz działalności Urzędu Kontroli; publikowano artykuły odredakcyjne oraz materiały z terenu (recenzje cenzorskie, sprawozdania, bilanse, listy nadsyłane przez zespoły cenzorskie lub konkretnych pracowników), a nawet twórczość literacką samych cenzorów.

Słowa kluczowe: poufne biuletyny urzędu cenzury, cenzura w powojennej Polsce, cenzurowanie literatury, cenzor, kryptoteksty

Bulletins of the Polish censorship office from 1945 to 1956. A reconnaissance study

Summary

The aim of the article is to discuss selected research perspectives offered by the bulletins of the censorship office created in Poland from 1945 to 1956. Due to the chiefly confidential nature of the analysed documents I defined them as classified papers, ordered by the state, directed mainly to censors. These documents were internally circulated in the Main and Voivodship Offices of Control of Press, Publications and Shows. Due to their aim bulletins played an informational, tutorial or training role, and functioned as a type of a guide for censorship practices. Due to the distribution they are cryptotexts (i.e. classified texts of intentionally limited distribution).

In the article I discussed the state of knowledge on the bulletins and I also considered the context-based identity conditions of the periodical. I indicated the pitfalls which accompany any attempt at recreating the profile of the *implied censor* and I discussed the language of the bulletins. I also indicated the content of the paper.

Bulletins presented mainly the materials on censorship and on the organisations of work in the Office of Control. The research material consists of both articles from the editorial office and from the voivodship's offices (i.e. censorship reviews, reports, letters from the censor units or from the particular censors) and even literary attempts of the censors themselves.

Keywords: classified bulletins of the censorship office, censorship in post-war Poland, censorship of literature, censor, cryptotexts

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Wolność słowa zakonspirowana w przestrzeni publicznej

Wolność słowa, wolność działania, działanie na rzecz wolności słowa

Ludzkie działanie, zmieniające materialne otoczenie, jest w nie jednocześnie w sposób nieunikniony uwikłane. Z kolei myśli i intencje z przeszłości, które zawoocowały kiedyś działaniami skierowanymi na martwe, nieme i statyczne obiekty, wymagają dziś rozpoznania, a archiwalne zapisy – nawet te, które zdawałoby się, że mówią o nich wprost – interpretacji. Po latach i stuleciach rekonstrukcji wymaga też historyczny kontekst. Bez takich badań nawet proste i na pozór jednoznaczne obiekty mogą być błędnie rozumiane. Na przykład mur może izolować od zagrożenia zewnętrznego, jak to się działo w przypadku Wielkiego Muru Chińskiego i europejskich fortyfikacji miejskich albo od zagrożenia wewnętrznego – jak w przypadku murów więzień, w których wrogowie lub przestępcy bywają zamykani, aby teren wokół uwolnić od ich obecności. Podobny mur może też łączyć – jak ten między Watykanem a Zamkiem św. Anioła w Rzymie (wzdłuż *via dei Corridori*, *Borgo Sant’Angelo* i *Piazza Pia*), który pozwalał na ucieczkę z gorzej ufortyfikowanego Watykanu i schronienie się w fortecy, która na owe czasy była praktycznie nie do zdobycia (i to na ucieczkę szlakiem położonym ok. 10 metrów ponad dzielnicą Leonińską, bywało że niespokojną). Papieże w średniowieczu i w czasach nowożytnych z tej możliwości korzystali w czasie wojen, oblężeń lub zamieszek w samym Rzymie.

Myśl może być wolna nawet w sytuacji największego zniewolenia zewnętrznego (choć to heroiczne wyzwanie), a więc w mniejszym stopniu uzależniona jest od tych czynników zewnętrznych. Wolne słowo – czy też słowo o wolności – gdy jest publicznie wymówione, nie przestając być owocem myśli jednostki, zaczyna

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istnieć w przestrzeni społecznej. Tym samym utwierdza jednomyślność lub pozwala stwierdzić rozbieżności – ale w obu przypadkach jest to działanie wspólnoty. Aby słowo takie oddziaływało szerzej w czasie i przestrzeni, musi zostać nie tylko wypowiedziane i usłyszane, ale też zapisane i przeczytane, a zwłaszcza wydrukowane i rozkolportowane.

O ile wolność działania (np. gospodarczego) wyzwala postawę aktywną wobec przestrzeni, postawę zmieniania jej fizycznego kształtu, o tyle wolność słowa mieści się niejako w połowie drogi między wolnością myślenia (z natury rzeczy jednostkowego) a wolnością działania (zazwyczaj wspólnotowego). Sytuacja wolności słowa, a zwłaszcza ludzi dążących do tego, aby ich myśl ubrana w słowo stała się wolna (i mogła się przyoblec w wolne działanie), też ma swoją komponentę przestrzenną. Będą się na nią składały demonstracje w miejscach publicznych, zbieranie podpisów pod petycjami, ale też złożona sieć powiązań łącząca autorów z osobami spisującymi, powielającymi, kolportującymi i czytającymi ich słowa. Ostatnim chronologicznie elementem tej sekwencji wydaje się utrwalenie pamięci o tej działalności i nauk z niej płynących w nowej sytuacji, jaka następuje po osiągnięciu celu: uzyskaniu wolności.

Analiza uwarunkowań, jakim ta sytuacja poddaje przestrzeń wydaje się obiecująca teoretycznie, pomimo albo właśnie za sprawą delikatności, ulotności czynnika, jakim jest słowo, a jednocześnie siły jego wpływu na umysły na każdym z wymienionych wcześniejszych etapów. Aktualne też jest zagrożenie zapomnieniem lub zobojętnieniem, wobec łatwości, jaka pozwala na bezrefleksyjne korzystanie z owoców trudu i ryzyka, jakie trzeba było kiedyś podjąć aby tę wolność wywalczyć. Sposób, w jaki dzisiaj różni ludzie odnoszą się do tych kwestii zależy, jak się wydaje, nie tylko od treści wspomnień i oceny słuszności własnych działań z perspektywy konkretnych skutków, jakie przynosiły. Obok odwagi i emocji, ich indywidualnej bazy i zbiorowego utwierdzenia, istotna wydaje się swego rodzaju intelektualna struktura, w ramach której jednostki umieszczają przekonanie o własnej sprawczości i odpowiedzialności za własne działania, a wreszcie – przekonanie o pochodzeniu i charakterze sił zewnętrznych, od których są w tym działaniu zależne.

Ci, którzy przyrzekali duszę schorzałą uwolnić od strachów i niepokojów, sami chorowali na strach wart śmiechu. Bo nawet gdy nic przeraźliwego ich nie straszycie, przerażeni tupotem bydła i syczeniem gadów zamierali ze strachu, nie chcąc nawet spojrzeć w powietrze, którego z żadnej strony nie można uniknąć; tchórzliwa bowiem jest nieprawość, gdy sama się potępia i zawsze przymnaża (wg innego tłumaczenia: przewiduje) trudności, dręczona sumieniem. Bo strach to nic innego jak zdradziecka odmowa pomocy ze strony rozumowania, a im mniejsze jest wewnątrz oczekiwanie pomocy, tym bardziej wyolbrzymia nieznaną, dręczącą przyczynę. A ich w tę noc (...) raz trafiły zjawy straszliwe, to znów upadek ducha obezwładniał, padł bowiem na nich strach nagły i niespodziewany. I tak padał każdy, gdzie

się kto znajdował, i był więziony, zamknięty w więzieniu bez krat. Czy to był rolnik, czy pasterz, czy robotnik pracujący na pustkowiu – zaskoczony ulegał nieodpartej konieczności: wszystkich ich skrępował jeden łańcuch mroku. (...) Cały bowiem świat zalany był światłem i oddawał się pracy bez przeszkody, tylko nad nimi uciążliwa noc się rozpostarła, obraz mroków, które miały ich ogarnąć. A sami byli dla siebie większym ciężarem niż ciemność¹.

Opis ten nie pochodzi od psychoanalityków XX wieku n.e., lecz z II wieku p.n.e., ze *Starego Testamentu*, z *Księgi Mądrości*. Relacja ta została spisana jako późniejszy komentarz do *Księgi Wyjścia* i sytuacji Egipcjan ścigających Izraelitów, przechodzących przez Morze Czerwone. Istotny dla dalszych uwag będzie tu kontrast między spokojną determinacją i działaniem na miarę własnych sił, zestawiony z nieuzasadnioną pewnością siebie, gotowość do pracy nastawionej na odległy cel a nie na szybki i spektakularny efekt oraz ugruntowanie rozumowe tej pracy wobec emocji, wręcz paniki jaką wywołuje „nieznana, dręcząca przyczyna”.

W literaturze polskiej XX wieku fragment podobny pod względem wrażliwości i obszaru intuicji, w którym się porusza, choć o zgoła odmiennej finalnej wymowie, niesie *Jezioro Bodeńskie* Stanisława Dygata. Pojawia się tam opis nocnej ucieczki narratora i bohatera powieści z niemieckiego obozu jenieckiego, z którego – jak się okazało – łatwo było się wydostać, oraz... jego powrót przed świtem, zanim ktokolwiek spostrzegł jego nieobecność². Wbrew żelaznemu schematowi filmów sensacyjnych, ukazujących trudy i ryzyko różnych ucieczek (z Alcatraz, z Nowego Jorku, z Los Angeles, itd.)³ bohaterów mocno zdeterminowanych do działania, w powieści Dygata opuszczenie obozu internowania wynikło z chwilowego impulsu, a wyprawa nie była nawet przygotowana. „Potencja czynu nie dojrzała jeszcze”⁴ – bohater nie był (ani wtedy ani później) psychicznie gotowy, by naprawdę uciec. W końcu konflikt niedokończonych myśli, cytatów, które wypełniały jego świadomość – „Miałeś, chamie, złoty róg, (...) Ostał ci się ino sznur” – tragicomiczne szamotanie między „czynem” a niepewnością sprawiły że zawrócił i to z miejsca, które – jak mu się wydawało – leżało już po drugiej stronie pobliskiej granicy, w Szwajcarii. Konsekwencje faktu zawrócenia dla jego psychicznej samoświadomości, powracały w dalszym ciągu powieści.

Z premedytacją nie wybieram tu „najważniejszych tekstów o wolności”, z literatury powszechnej ani polskiej, aby wskazać na te umykające uwagi, drobne

1 *Księga Mądrości* (Mdr 17, 3–20), w: *Pismo święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu* (Biblia Tysiąclecia), wyd. 3, Pallotinum, Poznań–Warszawa 1995, s. 772.

2 St. Dygat, *Jezioro Bodeńskie*, PIW, Warszawa 1959, s. 236–257.

3 *Ucieczka z Alcatraz*, reż. D. Siegel, USA, 1979; *Ucieczka z Nowego Jorku*, reż. J. Carpenter, USA, 1981; *Ucieczka z Los Angeles*, reż. J. Carpenter, USA, 1996.

4 St. Dygat, dz. cyt., s. 241.

komponenty składające się na obraz całościowy, zarówno w motywacji i zachowaniu jednostek jak i składowych działań zbiorowych. Jak zauważył Czesław Miłosz, „to pamięć szczegółu jest największym lekarstwem przeciwko uogólnianiu i wielkim liniom rozwoju”⁵. Treścią symbolicznego naznaczenia jakiejś fizycznej przestrzeni mogą być idee ogólne, ale zawsze będzie to jakiś konkretny, umiejscowiony fragment przestrzennego *continuum* a samo naznaczenie dokona się za pomocą jakichś materialnych szczegółów. Sposób powiązania tych (zazwyczaj trwałych) szczegółów z miejscem, z jego dotychczasową historią, z ideami, które są z nim związane i z możliwością wyzwolenia jakichś działań i idei w przyszłości, będzie stanowił o sile przekazu, o skuteczności identyfikacji kolejnych pokoleń z tymi ideami.

Powiązanie przestrzeni, a szczególnie przestrzeni zorganizowanej za sprawą architektury, z wolnością w ogóle, a z wolnością słowa w szczególności, wygląda na niejednoznaczne. Historia uczy, że zarówno więzienia jak i sale parlamentów, agory czy sale rozpraw sądowych mogą służyć mówieniu prawdy, dochodzeniu do niej bądź jej deformowaniu i zakłamywaniu – a więc zarówno wolności jak i zniewoleniu. Tym bardziej estetyka tych obiektów i ich wyposażenia, czy to dawna czy współczesna, ich symbolika powtarzająca uznane wzory i formułująca nowe, nie determinują tego, co się w nich dzieje. Na przykład szeroki wachlarz treści ideowych, z którym wiązano klasycyzujący nurt architektury nowoczesnej, który uprawiali w latach 1930. zarówno Albert Speer projektujący dla Hitlera, Marcello Piacentini działający dla Mussoliniego jak i Paul Philippe Cret – Francuz pracujący w Stanach Zjednoczonych oraz Léon Azéma – Francuz pracujący w III Republice, opisała zwięźle Barbara Miller Lane:

Speer był nie mniej pewny, że jego dzieło było narodowo-socjalistyczne, niż Cret, że jego było demokratyczne, Piacentini, że jego było faszystowskie lub Azéma, że jego było republikańskie. Wszyscy ci architekci uznawali polityczną i społeczną rzeczywistość [leżącą u podstaw architektury – P.W.], lecz mylili się w ocenie sposobu, w jaki przejawiają się w niej konkretne programy polityczne⁶.

Niezależnie od takich czy innych konotacji poszczególnych stylów powtarzają się jednak pewne prawidłowości: wielkie rozmiary założeń urbanistycznych, a w nich jedna idea formalna (estetyczna, a nie pragmatyczna) przeprowadzona na rozległym obszarze, jest możliwa do osiągnięcia gdy silna władza kontroluje wiele

⁵ Cz. Miłosz, *O utopiach i Apokalipsie*, w: *Rozmowy na koniec wieku*, red. K. Janowska, P. Mucharski, Znak, Kraków 1997, s. 16.

⁶ B. Miller Lane, *Architects in Power: Politics and Ideology in the Works of Ernst May and Albert Speer*, "Journal of Interdisciplinary History" 1986, Summer, vol. XVII: 1, s. 308, cyt. za: http://repository.brynmawr.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1002&context=cities_pubs [dostęp: 25.07.2017].

innych dziedzin, a nie tylko planowanie. Jest to zbieżność logicznie niekonieczna, ale psychologicznie bardzo prawdopodobna, co potwierdza historia urbanistyki i obiekty uważane powszechnie za największe osiągnięcia artystyczne swoich epok oraz za kondensacje znaczeń, jakie w danych czasach wiązano z przestrzenią⁷. Skoro „władza prowadzi do zepsucia, a absolutna władza deprawuje absolutnie”⁸ to megalomania – o którą łatwo wśród autokratów – sprzyja takim przedsięwzięciom. Co ciekawe, potrzebna jest do tego idea o charakterze formalnym, zawarta w układzie przestrzennym – w powszechnym odczuciu odbierana jako „kaprys władcy” – a nie „idea pragmatyczna”, wynikająca np. z technologii wielkiej fabryki, również determinującej jej układ przestrzenny ale w sposób zazwyczaj mniej jednoznaczny geometrycznie. „Idea pragmatyczna” również może dawać efekt monumentalny, wielka fabryka może sprawiać wrażenie, że przygniata wszystko wokół – to są kwestie obiektywnych rozmiarów i fizjologicznych praw ich postrzegania. Ale o „wymogach technologii” laicy powiedzą, że nie są „kaprysem” lecz „koniecznością”. Nawet jeśli fizyczna wielkość fabryki jest potem wiązana z potęgą, np. w reklamie jej produktów, nawet jeśli jej powstanie opisywane jest jako „dziejowa konieczność” lub efekt „ślepej siły rozwoju” (kapitału, produkcji itp.) – to taka narracja nie akcentuje samej kwestii władzy, a jeśli już, to pośrednio.

Żeby pokazać potęgę władzy wprost, nie wystarczy być bogatym ani chcieć zarabiać jeszcze więcej, ani umieć zorganizować przestrzeń dla realizacji tych dążeń. Trzeba umieć tracić i działać na pokaz. Przychodzi tu na myśl zwyczaj potlaczu u Indian, polskie „zastaw się, a postaw się” oraz emocjonalna potrzeba, a wręcz atawistyczny instynkt, który wymusza ofiary dla spektakularnej idei, które nie dają się zamienić na działania pozytywne dla ogółu właśnie dlatego, żeby zachować swój ofiarniczo-ideowy charakter (tak się stało np. z nieudanym pomysłem zamiany inicjacyjnych rytuałów w gildiach studenckich na amerykańskich uniwersytetach na ogólnie pozytywne „czyny społeczne”, mimo że gildie te uczestniczą w takowych przy innych okazjach).

Przykładów takiej jednej siły, która podporządkowała sobie układ wielkiej masy kamieni, czyniąc z architektury narzędzie propagandy o jednoznacznym (według intencji zleceńodawców) przekazie, dostarcza zarówno historia architektury jak literatura piękna i publicystyka spisana przez autorów, którzy nie byli architektami, ale mieli pewne instynktowne wyczucie przestrzeni oraz treści kulturowych, jakie niesie jej ukształtowanie i użytkowanie. Warto tu przypomnieć, co o ogromie murów opasujących wzgórze kremlowskie w Moskwie i znajdujących się na nim pałacach pisał Astolphe Louis Lénor markiz de Custine w swoich

7 Ch. Norberg-Schulz, *Znaczenie w architekturze Zachodu*, przekł. B. Gadomska, Murator, Warszawa 1999.

8 *List Lorda Actona do Creightona*, 1887, za: Lord Acton [J. E. E. Dalberg], *W stronę wolności. Wybór esejów*, przekł. J i A. Rzegoccy, Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej, Kraków 2006, s. 196.

*Listach z Rosji*⁹, co o Pałacu Kultury i Nauki w Warszawie (Lew Rudniew z zesp. 1950–1955) pisał w *Małej apokalipsie* Tadeusz Konwicki¹⁰, co o budynku Ministerstwa Prawdy w *Roku 1984* napisał George Orwell: „ogromna piramida z lśniącego białego betonu, pnąca się tarasami w górę na wysokość trzystu metrów. (...) W Londynie istniały jeszcze tylko trzy budynki o podobnych rozmiarach i zbliżonym wyglądzie”¹¹. W tym ostatnim przykładzie paradoksalne zestawienie ogromnej jak na czasy powstania powieści wysokości budynku i wzmianka o „zaledwie” trzech podobnych, pokazuje przy pomocy tego łatwego do oszacowania, wizualno-przestrzennego kryterium obcość świata, którego opresyjne reguły i zakłamanie na poziomie języka czytelnik stopniowo będzie odkrywać.

Zarysowane wyżej kwestie stanowią tło rozważań nad sposobem wyrażenia w trwałej formie przestrzennej pojęcia wolności słowa, rozumianej zarówno jako stan umysłu między wolnością myślenia i działania, w politycznej sytuacji zewnętrznego zniewolenia jednoznacznie zdefiniowaną ideą, w którą nawet jej propagatorzy z czasem przestali wierzyć, jak i specyficznymi cechami tego działania. Była to wieloletnia, zdyscyplinowana i zakonspirowana koordynacja zaangażowania wielu ludzi na rzecz finalnych efektów; starania o jak najszerze (częściowo jawne) rozpowszechnienie tych efektów w postaci publikacji wydawanych poza cenzurą w dwóch ostatnich dekadach PRL; przeplatanie tego zaangażowania z innymi czynnościami codziennego życia; poszukiwanie obrazów i form wyrazu dla pluralistycznej, alternatywnej kultury plastycznej, muzycznej itp., zwłaszcza w trudno wtedy dostępnych wzorach kultury zachodniej.

Indywidualne motywacje wielu ludzi, zorganizowanych we wspólne działanie, owocowały wykazywaniem niekonsekwencji w ideach oponentów i otwieraniem pola wewnętrznej dyskusji. Stąd brał się pluralizm i ideowe różnice między niezależnymi oficynami wydawniczymi, obejmujące wszystkie nurty myśli politycznej i społecznej, które ograniczała cenzura polityczna PRL, a wreszcie – gotowość do przyszłej współpracy ponad podziałami. Była to chyba najskuteczniejsza i angażująca największą grupę ludzi realizacja „struktury poziomej”, o której wiele mówiono w 1980 i 1981 roku. Nie było więc powodu, aby faktyczny, ubrany w formę wizualną obiekt, upamiętniający tę improwizację i organizację, konspirację i działalność jawną, pluralizm myśli i złożoną logistykę nosił cechy wizualnej dyscypliny, formalnej jednolitości i surowej powagi.

9 [A.L.L.] markiz de Custine, *Listy z Rosji. Rosja w 1839 roku*, przekł. M. Górski, M. Leśniewska, wyd. 2, Editions Spotkania, Warszawa 1991, s. 179–184.

10 T. Konwicki, *Mała apokalipsa*, Wydawnictwa Alfa, Warszawa 1988, s. 6; por. też Zb. Benedyktowicz, *Widmo środka świata. Przyczynek do antropologii współczesności*, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa – Konteksty” 1991, nr 1, s. 16–32.

11 G. Orwell, *Rok 1984*, przekł. T. Mirkowicz, Warszawskie Wydawnictwo Literackie Muza SA, Warszawa 2010, s. 10.

Pomniki spraw publicznych drugiej połowy XX wieku

W przeciągu XX i pierwszych lat XXI wieku zarówno treści prezentowane w przestrzeni publicznej jak i sposoby tej prezentacji przeszły ogromną ewolucję. Ewolucja ta przebiegała od upamiętniania pojedynczych momentów wojennych zwycięstw, reprezentowanych przez pomniki zwycięskich wodzów, do upamiętnienia całych grup ludzi, często anonimowych uczestników masowych ruchów, działających przez długi czas – nierzadko przez całe okresy dawnych lub niedawnych dziejów – aż po obiekty poświęcone ideom bezosobowym i pozaczasowym. Treści te przybierały też odmienny wyraz przestrzenny. Zwłaszcza druga wojna światowa, wobec ogromu ofiar i okoliczności ich śmierci w wyniku masowej i planowej eksterminacji, postawiła przed autorami upamiętnień tych zbrodni nowe zadania. Rzecz przestała dotyczyć utrwalenia pamięci przez przywołanie czyjejs obecności w formie fizycznej bryły pomnika; stała się zadaniem przywrócenia pamięci o nieobecnych, przez ukazanie na różne sposoby tej nieobecności i rozmiarów straty oraz mechanizmów – straszne słowo w tym kontekście – które do nich doprowadziły. Taka zmiana optyki nie kierowała uwagi ku przedstawieniu, reprezentacji, gdy okoliczności masowo zdawanej i zbiurokratyzowanej śmierci nie pozwalały aby je przywoływać w tradycyjnych kategoriach narracyjnych (tak czy inaczej realistycznych) bez dodatkowego deprecjonowania ofiar. Stąd też jeden więcej psychiczny (po stronie twórców) ale też i społeczny (po stronie odbiorców) powód, aby o niewyraźnym – milczeć, a jednocześnie wyzwanie, aby to milczenie uczynić wymownym. Formy sztuki abstrakcyjnej i konceptualne ramy, w jakich prowadzono jej interpretacje w kręgu przedwojennej awangardy, teraz stały się obiecującymi „środkami wyrazu” – nawet gdy ich zastosowanie wykraczało poza pierwotne doktryny i eklektycznie włączało pewne elementy tradycyjnej narracji, ale przy zmniejszonym stopniu dosłowności form¹². Tym samym upamiętnienie następowało w mniejszej mierze przez unikatową formę, a w większej przez przestrzeń i zjawiska w niej zachodzące, oferowane odbiorcy jako materiał indywidualnego bądź zbiorowego doświadczenia.

Drugim czynnikiem była topografia: znaczne obszary dawnych obozów i gett dostarczały przestrzeni pod dostatkiem. Jednocześnie zachowane relikty tragedii wymieszane były często z ruinami oraz elementami współczesnego życia, niezwiązanego z tragiczną historią tych miejsc. Za to dysproporcja między wizualną zwyczajnością relikwów, a rozmiarami zbrodni domagała się strategii *site specific*, na długo zanim tak określono ten gatunek *quasi* rzeźbiarskich ingerencji w przestrzeń publiczną. Podobnie „obiekty znalezione” zyskiwały w takich miejscach dużo większą wagę świadectwa niż miały w eksperymentach

12 H. Taborska, *Sztuka w miejscu śmierci – polskie znaki pamięci w hitlerowskich obozach natychmiastowej Zagłady*, w: *Pamięć Shoah. Kulturowe reprezentacje i praktyki upamiętnienia*, red. T. Majewski, A. Zeidler-Janiszewska, Oficyna, Łódź 2009, s. 40.

z poszerzaniem „granic sztuki”, w jakich były wykorzystywane w latach przedwojennych.

Powyższe zagadnienia – oprócz powiązań o charakterze stricte artystycznym – stanowią istotne ramy, w jakich należy rozważać znane, wręcz emblematyczne dla sztuki powojennej dzieła upamiętniające wielkie ilości ofiar, zaplanowane na rozległych terenach. Należy do nich m.in. projekt konkursowy na aranżację terenu obozu koncentracyjnego Auschwitz-Birkenau (1958), autorstwa Oskara Hansena, Jerzego Jarnuszkiewicza, Juliana Pałki, Zofii Hansen, Edmunda Kupieckiego i Lechosława Rosińskiego, w którym tytułowa „Droga” o długości około kilometra miała skośnie przekreślać „urbanistykę Zagłady” zbudowaną w rygorystycznym układzie prostokątnym, prowadząc w okolicę krematoriów – tym sposobem zapewnić miejsce a zwłaszcza czas na indywidualne przeżycie każdemu odwiedzającemu¹³.

Podobnie zrealizowany przez Franciszka Duszenkę, Adama Haupta i Franciszka Strynkiewicza pomnik ofiar obozu zagłady w Treblince (1958–1964) konfrontuje odbiorcę z tysiącami „rozstrzelanych kamieni”, jako bezimiennych steli na zniszczonym cmentarzu, rzeczywiście pokrywających obszar dołów, gdzie pogrzebano prochy ofiar. Można tamtędy przejść, ale trzeba szukać miejsca dla każdego kroku – ruch jest spowolniony przez ich gęste ustawienie. Rozległość tych kamiennych krajobrazów wytlumia dźwięki i pozostawia każdego samotnie wobec rozmiarów tragedii¹⁴.

Współczesny pomnik ofiar obozu w Bełżcu (1997–2004), którego autorami są rzeźbiarze Zdzisław Pidek, Andrzej Sołyga i Marek Roszczyk oraz architekci Marek Dunikowski, Piotr Uherek i Piotr Czerwiński (DDJM), każe zagłębić się ścieżką w głąb ziemi wśród kamiennej, martwej pustyni obejmującej teren całego obozu, zanim dotrze się do ściany-reliefu i porażającej listy setek popularnych i mniej popularnych żydowskich imion ofiar, których nazwisk i personaliów nie sposób już poznać¹⁵.

¹³ I. Grzesiuk-Olszewska, *W trzydziestą rocznicę Międzynarodowego Konkursu na Pomnik Ofiar Oświęcimia*, „Rzeźba Polska” rocznik 1986, s. 113–118; O. Hansen, *Ku formie otwartej / Towards Open Form*, red. J. Gola, przekł. M. Wawrzyńczak, W. Niestuchowski, Fundacja Galerii Foksal – Muzeum ASP, Warszawa 2005, s. 126–131, 192–193; J.St. Wojciechowski, *Oskara Hansena (i zespołu) projekt oświęcimskiego pomnika „Drogi” w świetle jego teorii formy otwartej*, w: *Pamięć Shoah*, dz. cyt., s. 50–55.

¹⁴ H. Taborska, *Sztuka w miejscu...*, s. 36–40; eadem, *Rozstrzelane kamienie*, „Polityka” nr 30 (2360), 27.07.2002, s. 65–67; P. Winskowski, *Architektura jako przestrzenny zapis wartości. O pomnikach i miejscach pamięci*, w: *Aksjologiczne spektrum sztuki*, [tom] 3. *Estetyczne przestrzenie*, red. P. Kawiecki, J. Tarnowski, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdańsk 2005, s. 132–133.

¹⁵ M. Knorowski, *Bliźna*, w: *Rzeźba – architektura. Wzajemne relacje i strategię*, red. M. Rydiger, „Rocznik ‘Rzeźba Polska’”, tom XI, Centrum Rzeźby Polskiej, Orońsko 2005, s. 143; M. Dunikowski, P. Uherek, P. Czerwiński, *Budynek muzeum*, w: tamże, s. 147–150.

Plac Bohaterów Getta w Krakowie Piotra Lewickiego i Kazimierza Łataka (2003–2005) pozwala na zagubienie wśród znikomych (wobec rozległej przestrzeni) i ze sztuczną regularnością ustawionych, lekkich, szkieletowych krzesel-pomników. Strategia upamiętnienia odtwarza i utrwała chwilowy stan z marca 1943 roku zanotowany przez jedyne go świadka, Tadeusza Pankiewicza prowadzącego w getcie aptekę: po wysiedleniu Żydów do obozów plac zalegały usunięte przez Niemców z mieszkań bezdomne meble, gdy sami ich właściciele pozbawieni zostali swego miejsca na ziemi¹⁶.

Podobne podejście autorów zagranicznych widać np. sposobie upamiętnienia amerykańskich żołnierzy poległych i zaginionych w wojnie wietnamskiej (1981–1982). Jego autorka, Maya Ying Lin, rozwiązała pomnik jako długi mur oporowy z polerowanego granitu, przecinający murawę waszyngtońskiego *National Mall*, ukryty w ziemi w widoku z daleka, a jednocześnie odbijający otoczenie i postaci samych odwiedzających, konfrontowanych z bliską obecnością nazwisk 58 000 poległych, stanowiących na tym odbiciu dramatyczne zakłócenie¹⁷. W pomniku pomordowanych Żydów Europy w Berlinie (2003–2005) autorstwa Petera Eisenmana, cała powierzchnia rozległego placu wypełniona jest 2711 betonowymi blokami-stelami ustawionymi w równoległych rzędach i łatwo dostępnymi, choć wąskimi przejściami między nimi, w których zwiedzający doświadczą jednakże przejmującej izolacji (również akustycznej), ograniczenia widoku w dal i opresji anonimowej masy. Dostrzega też drobne zróżnicowania, odchylenia od pionu poszczególnych stel¹⁸.

Wymienione obiekty dają się wyjaśnić w formule „formy otwartej” Oskara Hansena, prototypowo zastosowanej w koncepcji pomnika „Drogi”. Architektura była w niej traktowana jako „chłonne tło” dla działalności ludzi. Warunkiem uwypuklenia tej działalności (zarówno zewnętrznej aktywności jak i wewnętrznego pola idei, jakie taka architektura miała pobudzać w odbiorcach) były zarówno cechy strukturalne takiej przestrzeni (rozległość obozu, szerokość i długość drogi, jej ukierunkowanie ku ważnym reliktom obozu) jak i jej cechy plastyczne. Wśród tych ostatnich kluczowe znaczenie miała modernistyczna tendencja do wizualnej prostoty, ograniczania ekspresji detali. Jednak Hansenowi nie chodziło wprost o walory plastyczne, o stylistykę. Mówił: „Forma Otwarta to antystyl. [...] W Formie

16 T. Pankiewicz, *Apteka w getcie krakowskim*, WL, Kraków 1982, s. 289; P. Winskowski, *O nagrodzonym projekcie zagospodarowania Placu Bohaterów Getta w Krakowie*, „Gazeta Malarzy i poetów” 2004, nr 2(52), strony nienumerowane.

17 Por. P. Winskowski, *Architektura jako...*, s. 144–146.

18 Por. A. Lasiewicz-Sych, *Architektoniczna przestrzeń pamięci jako tworzywo kultury*, w: *Uwarunkowania kulturowe architektury wobec przemian cywilizacyjnych końca XX wieku*, red. P. Winskowski, AND–Politechnika Krakowska, Warszawa–Kraków 2001, s. 351–352.

Otwartej głównym celem jest czytelność¹⁹. Gdy architektoniczne tło pozostanie „niedosycone”, wtedy całość przestrzenna osiągnie pożądaną ilość impulsów dopiero wtedy, gdy wśród niej pojawią się użytkownicy, zwłaszcza w grupie. Wtedy jedni będą stanowili plastyczne akcenty percypowane przez drugich, w takich lub innych architektonicznych ramach. Tym sposobem ukształtowanie przestrzeni miało być podporządkowane nie plastycznej „myśli kompozycyjnej”, ale potrzebom „reżyserii przestrzeni”, pobudzającej planowane przeżycia odbiorcy²⁰.

Reżyseria ta rozgrywa się w czasie, któremu Hansen poświęcił wiele uwagi. „Czas potrzebny do odebrania sensu kompozycyjno-przestrzennego jest podstawowym parametrem kompozycyjnym rzeźby²¹, aż do granic egzystencjalnego doświadczenia: „Pomnik-Droga jest problemem ciągłości [...]. Wychodzi z życia, przekracza śmierć i z powrotem powraca do innego życia. Życie i śmierć określają się wzajemnie.”²² Z punktu widzenia odwiedzającego, który sam przecież tam nie umiera: „W końcu, idąc dalej, schodzimy z ‘Drogi’ w otwartą przestrzeń pól... Wracamy do życia, aby właściwie ocenić jego wartość i aby zobaczyć jego kłopoty dnia codziennego we właściwym wymiarze²³”.

Przyglądając się z bliska takiej czasowej sekwencji doznań, jakie płyną od rozłożonej w przestrzeni, wieloelementowej kompozycji, warto tę sekwencję rozpoznać jako wieloetapowy proces stawiania kolejnych hipotez i ich weryfikacji, dotyczący zarówno fizycznego kształtu obiektów, relacji przestrzennych, jakie są między nimi stopniowo odkrywane i wynikających z tych odkryć możliwości interpretacyjnych. Gdy nieprzedstawiająca, mniej lub bardziej abstrakcyjna, „modernistyczna” forma wizualna wyłamuje się z obiegowych konwencji plastycznych, niesie pewną zagadkę – zwłaszcza mniej przygotowanemu odbiorcy sztuki w przestrzeni publicznej. Wtedy wyjaśnienie jej sobie przybiera postać „samo-wyjaśniania zmylenia²⁴”. Nie chodzi tu tylko o zmylenie jako błąd lub pomyłkę – bardziej o kolejne etapy poznawania i rozumienia, w których wcześniejsze supozycje są odrzucane lub uzupełniane. To jednak wymaga pewnej aktywności, chociażby spaceru. Rzecz rozgry-

19 Niepublikowany wywiad z Marylą Sitkowską, Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warszawa 1987, cyt. za: J.St. Wojciechowski, dz. cyt., s. 52.

20 J. Jarnuszkiewicz, cyt. za: I. Grzesiuk-Olszewska, dz. cyt., s. 116; por. też A. Franta, *Reżyseria przestrzeni. O doskonaleniu przestrzeni publicznej miasta*, Politechnika Krakowska, Kraków 2004.

21 O. Hansen, *Forma rzeźbiarska. Zagadnienia wybrane*, CBWA, Warszawa [1972], cyt. za: J.St. Wojciechowski, dz. cyt., s. 53.

22 O. Hansen, cyt. za: I. Grzesiuk-Olszewska, dz. cyt., s. 117.

23 O. Hansen, *Tło utrwalające ogólnoludzkie, tragiczne doświadczenie oraz aktywizujące w ocenie życia i tego, co w nim ważne: projekt pomnika „Droga”*, notatka, Muzeum ASP, przed 2000, cyt. za: J.St. Wojciechowski, dz. cyt., s. 53.

24 P. Winskowski, *Samo-wyjaśnianie zmylenia w procesie doświadczenia przestrzeni*, „Kultura Współczesna” 2003, nr 1–2 (35–36), s. 139–157.

wa się jednak głównie w umyśle odbiorcy – stąd robocze określenie tego procesu jako „mentalnej interaktywności”. W odróżnieniu od wielu interaktywnych dzieł sztuki współczesnej, w której możliwość manipulacji obiektem artystycznym bywa celem samym w sobie, „mentalna interaktywność” akcentuje fizyczne zaangażowanie odbiorcy, jego przemieszczanie się w przestrzeni czy manipulacje obiektem jako warunek konieczny, ale jedynie wstępny dla procesu poznawczego (w odróżnieniu od kantowskiego wzoru statycznej, niezakłóconej kontemplacji, w której ciało poza oczyma, uszami i mózgiem nie bierze udziału). Kolejnym etapem ma być doświadczenie, uwzględniające zarówno poznanie jak i realną, fizyczną zmianę, jaką wniosły w daną przestrzeń uprzednie działania²⁵.

W tradycyjnych (zwłaszcza barokowych) dziełach sztuki operujących zmyleniem (np. w malarstwie iluzjonistycznym), najczęściej mamy do czynienia z błyskawicznym przeskokiem między stanem ulegania takiej iluzji, a stanem wyzwolenia od niej. Nowa wiedza wynikła ze zmiany postrzegania przychodzi niejako z zewnątrz, od strony dzieła. Opisane wcześniej aranżacje przestrzenne, wymagając „mentalnej interaktywności”, wymagają w tym samym celu czasu i wysiłku, aby wydobyć z nich kolejną składową, aby przejść do kolejnego stanu, który i tak okazuje się stanem pośrednim na drodze do wypracowania sobie finalnego poglądu; oferują za to ów proces narastania zrozumienia na tyle powolny, by sam mógł zostać zauważony. Tym samym proces wejścia „w głąb” takiego dzieła upodabnia je, przynajmniej pod względem dynamiki czasowej, do kontemplacji sztuki dawnej: wejścia na tyle głębokiego, na ile stać odbiorcę. O ile elementy składowe takich aranżacji czasami myślą co do swego artystycznego statusu – gdy są na tyle proste i wykonane z materiałów wyłamujących się z tradycyjnych konwencji – to chociaż nikt nie będzie się czuł onieśmielony takim dziełem. Zagrożenie jednak tkwi w tym, że można takich prac i takich przestrzeni w ogóle nie rozpoznać jako potencjalnych przedmiotów refleksji lub ocenić je jako prostackie, nie podejmujące w ogóle idei, którym miały służyć bądź idee te dewaluujące. Można wreszcie nie dotrzeć na tyle głęboko, by znaleźć satysfakcję z takiej wyprawy. Pewną zachętą by ją podjąć, jest za to zewnętrzna zagadkowość tych prac²⁶.

Kwestie aktywności odbiorcy w-, wobec- lub wokół obiektów poświęconych pośmiertnemu upamiętnieniu mężów stanu oraz wojen, zamachów i katastrof opracowali ostatnio od innej strony – koncentrując się głównie na ich wymiarze społecznym – Quentin Stevens i Karen A. Franck w książce *Memorials as Spaces of Engagement*. Omawiają zarówno zachowanie przewidywane jak i nieprzewidywane przez twórców pomników: zorganizowane akcje/działania społeczne jak i spontaniczne i indywidualne – od składania kwiatów przed tradycyjnymi pomnikami

25 Por. J. Dewey, *Sztuka jako doświadczenie*, przekł. A. Potocki, Ossolineum, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1975.

26 P. Winkowski, *Samo-wyjaśnianie zmylenia...*, s. 144-147.

po ludzi plażujących wokół fontanny poświęconej księżnej Dianie w londyńskim Hyde Parku, aż po zabawy dzieci i młodzieży, skaczących, biegających, fotografujących się, siadających i grających w karty na betonowych blokach-stelach wspomnianego już, berlińskiego pomnika pomordowanych Żydów Europy²⁷. Więcej możliwości takich działań, zarówno tych stosownych jak i niestosownych, oferują pomniki zajmujące większą i bardziej zróżnicowaną przestrzeń.

Z przedstawionego tu zarysu, obejmującego podręcznikowe wręcz „kamienie milowe” w zakresie projektów pomników drugiej połowy XX wieku oraz teoretyczne formuły tłumaczące ich ukształtowanie i działanie, wynikają pewne wskazówki, przyjęte przez zespół autorski w składzie Katarzyna Wojtyga, Olaf Cirut, Piotr Winskowski i Jacek Godlewski, dla projektu zgłoszonego na konkurs architektoniczno-rzeźbiarski, rozpisany w 2013 roku przez Komitet Budowy Memoriału Wolnego Słowa, działający pod patronatem honorowym prezydenta RP Bronisława Komorowskiego.

Skoro ruch, który zrodził się oddolnie i wymagał nie tylko spontanicznej inicjatywy, ale organizacji i dyscypliny, który był organiczną „pracą u podstaw” na miarę połowy XX wieku, nie musi być upamiętniony pomnikiem, który by miał mieć heroiczny charakter (tym bardziej, że pomnik ten nie dotyczy śmierci poszczególnych osób – stosunkowo nielicznych w racji schyłkowego charakteru reżimu PRL w latach 1970 i 1980 – lecz ich ogólnego, w końcu zwycięskiego zaangażowania). W tym świetle niefortunna wydaje się nazwa „memoriał” – zapożyczona z angielskiego (*memorial*) i stosowana w tym języku na określenie miejsc upamiętniających osoby zmarłe – zdaje się sugerować, jakoby w Polsce AD 2013 to „wolne słowo” obumarło i jedyne co pozostało, to konieczność jego upamiętnienia, a nie, że żyje i że funkcjonowanie w atmosferze wolności słowa umożliwi utrwalenie – również w formie materialnej – stanu prawa i stanu ducha, który jest podstawą demokracji²⁸.

Upamiętnienie działalności pluralistycznej ideowo – z jednym kryterium łączącym, a więc demokratycznymi przekonaniami i dążeniem do ominięcia cenzury – nie musi się dokonywać za sprawą jednej formy i jednej, łatwej do interpretacji myśli plastycznej. Z kolei przy upamiętnieniu działalności konspiracyjnej uzasadnione jest, aby stanowiło ono (choćby plastyczną) zagadkę. Tym samym uzasadnione jest aby pomnik posiadał charakter „formy otwartej” w rozumieniu

27 Q. Stevens, K.A. Franck, *Memorials as Spaces of Engagement. Design, Use and Meaning*, Routledge, New York–London 2016, s. 110–138.

28 Słownik języka polskiego PWN (<https://sjp.pwn.pl/szukaj/memoriał.html> [dostęp 28.05.2019]) nie podaje za to w ogóle znaczenia tego słowa jako pomnika, lecz wyłącznie jako „pismo skierowane do władz, zawierające prośby lub uwagi w ważnych dla ogółu sprawach”, „zawody sportowe organizowane w celu uczczenia czyjejs pamięci” i „księga handlowa przeznaczona do księgowania obrotów bezgotówkowych”.

Hansena, a proces jej rozwiązywania wymagał „mentalnej interaktywności”. Należy się z góry pogodzić z różnymi zachowaniami użytkowników tej przestrzeni (spoza wandalizmem, przed którym chronią kamery monitoringu miejskiego, zapewne zamontowane tam z racji sąsiedztwa banku, ministerstwa i ambasady). Za to obecna funkcja oraz osadzenie podziemnej działalności wydawniczej wśród artefaktów kultury popularnej tamtych lat uzasadnia nieco ludyczny charakter, przynajmniej niektórych elementów pomnika.

Projekt Memoriału Wolnego Słowa²⁹

Miejsce. Teren, na którym organizatorzy konkursu przewidzieli powstanie Memoriału, to ulica Mysia w centrum Warszawy. Otaczające ją obiekty i dostępne stamtąd widoki odwołują się do różnych, często sprzecznych idei, wartości i porządków. Jednak budynki utrzymują podobne gabaryty (7–8 kondygnacji) i charakteryzują się wysoce regularnymi podziałami elewacji. Mimo, że pochodzą z różnych dekad XX wieku i przynależą do różnych stylów i nurtów architektury, stanowią razem spójny plastycznie fragment śródmieścia Warszawy, o wielkomiejskiej architekturze i względnie kameralnej skali urbanistycznej. Północną pierzeję ul. Mysiej wypełnia zrytmizowana fasada Banku Gospodarstwa Krajowego (1928–1931), utrzymana w umiarkowanym, klasycyzującym nurcie architektury nowoczesnej. Jest to ogromny, zajmujący cały kwartał zabudowy gmach, jeden wybitniejszych obiektów zbudowanych w Stolicy w latach międzywojennych, autorstwa Rudolfa Świerczyńskiego³⁰. Zamknięcie perspektywiczne wschodniego, węższego końca ulicy stanowi fragment bocznej elewacji dawnego gmachu Komitetu Centralnego PZPR (obecnie siedziby Ministerstwa Gospodarki Morskiej i Żeglugi Śródlądowej, Agencji Rozwoju Przemysłu i kilku innych instytucji), zlokalizowanego po drugiej stronie ul. Nowy Świat. Obiekt ten, wzniesiony w latach 1947–1952, według projektu Wacława Kłyszewskiego, Jerzego Mokrzyńskiego i Eugeniusza Wierzbickiego, stanowi – z racji czasu w jakim powstał i pierwotnej funkcji – unikatowy przykład, że architektoniczna jakość mogła przeważać tendencje polityczne. Budynek

²⁹ Opis na podstawie autorskiego komentarza do projektu konkursowego. Projekt ten nie uzyskał nagrody ani wyróżnienia. Pierwszą nagrodę otrzymał projekt autorstwa Katarzyny Brońskiej, Mikołaja Iwańczuka i Michała Kempnińskiego zrealizowany na opisywanym terenie w latach 2013–2014. Drugą nagrodę otrzymała praca Andrzeja Szydłowskiego. Wyróżnienie otrzymał zespół Macieja Roguskiego z ARC – Autorskiej Pracowni Architektury.

³⁰ A.K. Olszewski, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej 1890–1980 w zarysie*, Interpress, Warszawa 1988, s. 52; A. Miłobędzki, *Architektura ziem Polski. Rozdział europejskiego dziedzictwa / The Architecture of Poland. A Chapter of European Heritage*, Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, Kraków 1994, s. 118; O. Czerner, *Formal Directions of Polish Architecture*, w: *East European Modernism. Architecture of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland Between the Wars, 1919–1939*, red. W. Leśnikowski, Rizzoli, New York 1996, s. 193, 196.

ten, mimo swych znacznych rozmiarów, nie reprezentuje bowiem monumentalnego socrealizmu, a raczej historyzm innego rodzaju: stanowi rozwinięcie motywów obecnych we wspomnianym Banku³¹. Zachodni, szerszy koniec ul. Mysiej (przy ul. Brackiej), flankuje od północy dom handlowy „Vitkac” z lat 2008–2011, projektu APA Kuryłowicz & Associates. Obiekt ten, o ekstrawaganckiej, czarnej, polerowanej okładzinie i zaokrąglonym narożniku zachowuje jednak gabaryty i linię podziału materiałów elewacji na wysokości gzymsu socrealistycznego budynku Ministerstwa Rodziny, Pracy i Polityki Społecznej, który stanowi jego odpowiednik od południa. Z kolei południową pierzeję ulicy Mysiej zajmował w latach PRL gmach Głównego Urzędu Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk, działającego tu do 1990 roku. W 2001 roku budynek został wyburzony. W jego miejsce w latach 2000–2003 roku wzniesiono biurowiec Liberty Corner, projektu firmy PRC Architekci (Andrzej Jurkiewicz, Paweł Drzewiecki, Piotr Zubala), mieszczący obecnie m.in. ambasadę Irlandii.

Istotnym czynnikiem dla opisywanej dalej koncepcji Memoriału, a wynikającym w ukształtowania jego otoczenia jest fakt, że ulica Mysia przebiega na linii wschód-zachód i przechodzi dalej w długą ul. Nowogrodzką. Tym samym staje się niejako aerodynamicznym tunelem, który dodatkowo wzmacnia przechodzące tamtędy, dominujące wiatry zachodnie.

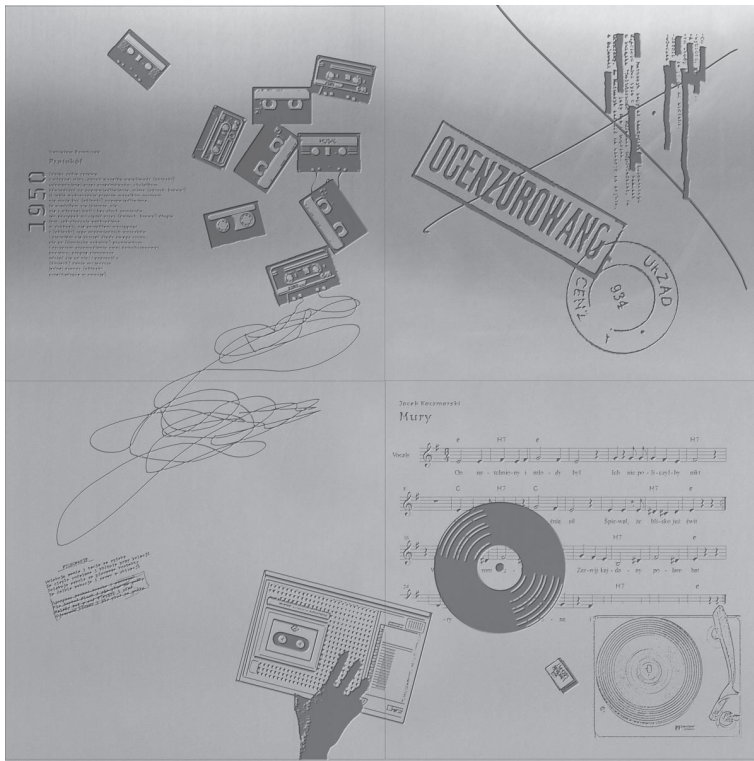
W warunkach konkursu zapisano zamiar modernizacji całej ulicy Mysiej: zmianę jej posadzki, przystosowanie do ruchu pieszo-jezdnego z zachowaniem jednokierunkowego przejazdu dla ograniczonej ilości samochodów, przeprojektowanie parkingu, wprowadzenie miejsc postojowych dla rowerów, miejsc do siedzenia i zieleni, a w wyodrębnionej, trapezowej części terenu w szerszej, zachodniej części ulicy (przed fasadą Liberty Corner) – miejsce dla właściwych elementów pomnika. Zadaniem autorów było przedstawienie koncepcji rozwiązania wszystkich tych zagadnień.

³¹ *Dyskusja na temat architektury gmachu KC PZPR*, „Architektura” 1952, nr 5, s. 116–128; T. Barucki, *Wacław Kłyszewski, Jerzy Mokrzyński, Eugeniusz Wierzbicki*, Arkady, Warszawa 1987, s. 27–30.



Ilustracja 1. Memoriał Wolnego Słowa w widoku ul. Mysłajki w stronę ul. Nowy Świat. Katarzyna Wojtyga, Olaf Cirut, Piotr Winkowski, Jacek Godlewski. 2013.

Posadzka placu. Elementy przestrzenne Memoriału zaproponowano otoczyć posadzką z płyt, pokrytych płaskim, graficznym zarysem motywów, narzędzi i nośników dziś już muzealnych, a przynależnych do szerokiego nurtu niezależnej kultury lat siedemdziesiątych i osiemdziesiątych, której częścią była świadoma działalność opozycyjna, a w jej ramach – podziemny ruch wydawniczy. Motywy te, to magnetofonowe kasety i odtwarzacz marki Grundig, archaiczny dziś mikrofon, magnetofon szpulowy i taśmy w szpulach, płyty winylowe i gramofon, skale częstotliwości radiowych, zapisy nutowe piosenek granych przez młodzież na gitarach, ślady ingerencji cenzury na listach i kopertach pocztowych, ale też koślawy rysunek pół do popularnej wtedy gry „w klasy”, szachownica, plan miasta-labirynt, które stanowiąc swego rodzaju relikwii kultury ulicy sprzed trzydziestu lat mogą stać się podstawą dzisiejszej zabawy mniejszych dzieci.



Ilustracja 2. Płyta posadzki placu wokół Memoriału.

Na tle takiej rozproszonej, choć dość autonomicznej, oddolnej aktywności kulturalnej, niezależna działalność literacka, publicystyczna i wydawnicza była działaniem niezwykle konsekwentnym, ukierunkowanym na budzenie i podtrzymywanie głodu wolności, a więc zamianę w świadomości współobywateli sytuacji zdefiniowanej kłamliwie przez oficjalną propagandę i podtrzymywaną przez cenzurę oraz poszukiwania dróg pokojowej zmiany tej sytuacji, zwłaszcza po doświadczeniach stanu wojennego.

Stąd na tle swobodnie rozrzuconych, graficznych motywów posadzki skweru, zaprojektowano pas wyłożony płytami ze stali nierdzewnej z wyciętymi na przesstrzał tytułami niezależnych periodyków. Tytuły te ułożone zostały na płytach w sposób zdyscyplinowany, wzajemnie równoległe i prostopadłe, o cechach pół-amatorskiego składu charakterystycznego dla szaty graficznej takich pism. Wycięte litery pozwalały na ich podświetlane od spodu wolno przesuwającym się pasem światła (za pomocą sterowanych diod LED). W zimie pas posadzki w tytułami miał być elektrycznie podgrzewany, aby był czytelny wśród śniegu. Wizualne podobieństwo ruchomego podświetlenia do lampy przesuwającej się w kopiarce xero również dzisiaj łatwo skojarzy się z powielaniem treści na nośniku papierowym.

Srebrny kolor płyt zachowałby pewne podobieństwo do kartek papieru, a antypoślizgowa powierzchnia pozwoliłaby chodzić po tych płytach i odczytywać tytuły o każdej porze roku i doby.



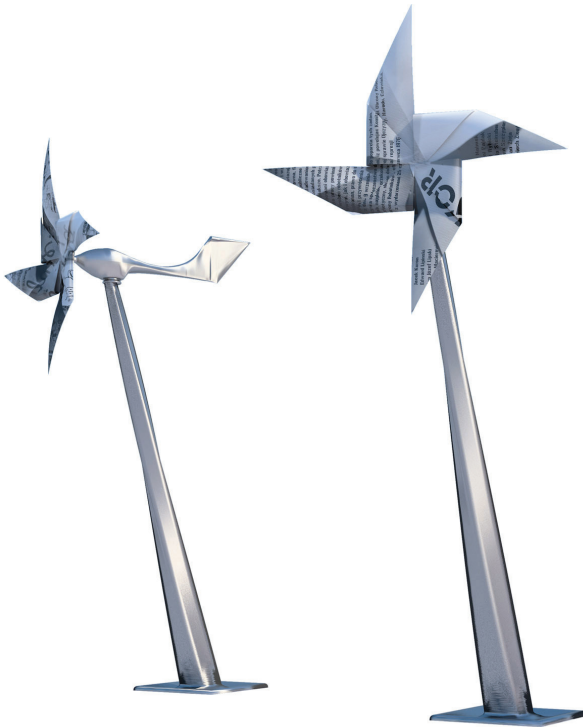
Ilustracja 3. Płyta posadзки placu wokół wiatraków z podświetlanymi tytułami periodyków wydawanych poza cenzurą.

Wrażenie systematycznej pracy „podziemnej”, graficzny porządek stron „złożonych do druku” wśród nieregularnie rozrzuconych zapisów kultury życia codziennego, płyty jaśniejszej blachy wśród płyt ciemniejszych – wszystko to miało budować między nimi napięcie. Jednocześnie ta praca, ten porządek, rytm i działalność „podziemna” (dosłownie) wyrastałaby i wynikała w tego, co dzieje się wokół niej.

Wiatraki. Skoro neutralizowanie propagandy przez podziemną działalność wydawniczą następowało przez prezentację alternatywnej, pluralistycznej narracji, to efektami obcowania z nią było „rozkręcenie” własnych ocen sytuacji, własnych myśli/narracji u czytelników. Prostim wizualnym ekwiwalentem takiego „rozkręcenia”, w sytuacji współczesnego odbiorcy wrażeń wizualnych w przestrzeni miejskiej, wydają się wiatraki. Projekt przewidywał pięć takich wiatraków, wykonanych z jasno-srebrnej blachy duralowej, ustawionych w regularnym rytmie na

wyróżnionym pasie posadzki. Słupy stanowiące ich podstawy miały być lekko pochylone (o 10 stopni) w kierunku środka placu (ku północnemu zachodowi). Tym samym wyrwałyby się niejako z płaskich płyt (i z nieuniknionego w tym miejscu cienia, wynikającego z wysokości budynku Liberty Corner), a z większej ilości punktów obserwacji byłyby widoczne na tle nieba, w perspektywie ulicy Mysiej, mimo stosunkowo niepozornych słupów. Wysokość nieruchomych elementów pomnika została bowiem w warunkach konkursu ograniczona do 4,5 metra. Z kolei rytm ruchomych śmigieł – nawet zaciemnionych – uformowanych z kwadratowych, ponacinanych arkuszy na wzór wiatraków odpustowych, miał być najbardziej sprężystym i żywotnym akcentem pomnika.

Na powierzchniach tych śmigieł przewidziano nadruki przedstawiające grafiki-ikony podziemnej działalności edytorskiej: od deklaracji założycielskiej Komitetu Obrony Robotników z 1976 roku na pierwszym wiatraku od ulicy Brackiej, po plakat Tomasza Sarneckiego z czerwca 1989 roku, przedstawiający Gary Coopera z filmu *W samo południe* (USA, 1952, reż. Fred Zinnemann), idącego na pojedynek nie z coltem ale z kartką do głosowania – na wiatraku najbliższym ulicy Nowy Świat.



Ilustracja 4. Wiatraki.



Ilustracja 5. Śmigło wiatraka.

Motyw takich wiatraków, charakterystycznych dla kultury tamtych lat, przez przeskalowanie pierwowzoru stanowi wizualną atrakcję widoczną z wielu metrów i wprowadza zagadkowy na pierwszy rzut oka czynnik ruchu. Pozwala też na zwiualizowanie w sztucznej, wielkomiejskiej przestrzeni urbanistycznej czynnika naturalnego, jakim jest wiatr i przekształcenie jednego rodzaju ruchu w drugi: siły nieprzewidywalnej, działającej z zewnątrz, za sprawą płetwy sterującej niezależnie każdym wiatrakiem, w jego ruch własny, obrotowy, w innej płaszczyźnie; a więc ruch okiełznany, zaprzężony na rzecz ludzkich celów (i stanowiący źródło energii dla podświetlenia placu). Wiatr powracał też wielokrotnie w literaturze i kulturze popularnej jako metafora siły zmian: „wiatr historii”, „Wiatr odnowy wiał (...) Darowano reszty kar” z piosenki *Autobiografia* zespołu Perfect (1982) i jako *Wind of Change* zespołu Scorpions (1990).

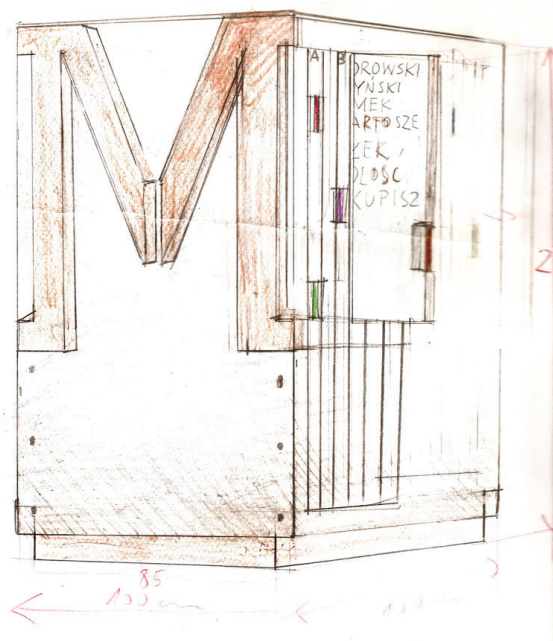
Wiatraki eksponują też unikatową rolę słowa drukowanego i wielką potencjalną nośność znikomego, lekkiego „papieru” śmigieł wobec znaków i słów nieruchomych, naniesionych na posadzkę wokół nich. To słowo, stworzone i drukowane w ukryciu, potem kolportowane (i nadawane w eterze), oficjalnie prześladowane przez instytucje komunistycznego państwa, poleciało w świat i poruszyło umysły³².

32 Realizacja takich powiększonych wiatraków wcale nie jest sprawą tak fantazyjną, jak się może wydawać. Olaf Cirut doprowadził do realizacji na Bulwarach Wiślanych zespołu podobnych wiatraków wraz z plenerowymi zabawkami dla dzieci inspirowanymi rzemiosłem ludowym jako tymczasowych instalacji w ramach festiwalu Muzeum Etnograficznego w Krakowie

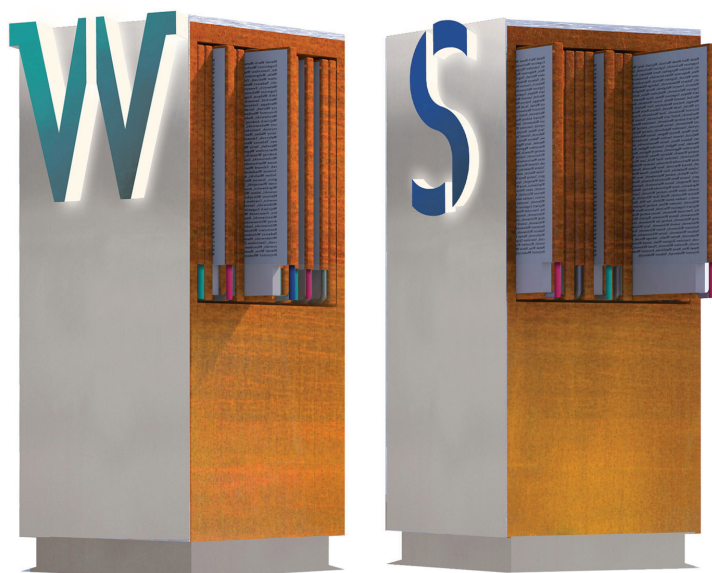
Prostopadłościany-katalogi. Istotnym wymogiem konkursu było umieszczenie w obszarze pomnika listy około 10000 imion i nazwisk ludzi zaangażowanych w konspiracyjny ruch wydawniczy. Lista ta została przez projektantów rozwiązana tak, aby nie kojarzyła się z listą ofiar, uwiecznianych w wielu pomnikach w kamieniu i w postaci muru, lecz z listą zwycięzców (w większości przecież żyjących), a dalej – listą (byłych) konspiratorów, wreszcie ludzi działających w materii papieru. Dlatego też zaproponowano ich upamiętnienie w postaci trzech powiększonych katalogów-segregatorów, z których można wysuwać płyty ze stali nierdzewnej, na których wyryta zostanie alfabetyczna lista nazwisk³³. Tym samym Memoriał nie miał eksponować tych nazwisk ostentacyjnie, w sposób bezpośrednio czytelny dla obojętnych przechodniów; wymagałby pewnej interaktywności, fizycznego sięgnięcia po zawartość nieco utajnioną choć dostępną, wykonaną na trwałym materiale ale w postaci podobnej kolorystycznie do kartki papieru, chronionej w drewnianej skrzyni-katalogu (ilustracja 6 i 7).

pt. *Rzecz Małopolska – Park Doświadczeń Kulturowych* (V 2010). Aranżacje te były prezentowane również w czasie *Dni Małopolski* na Placu Defilad w Warszawie (X 2010) i w Parc du Cinquantenaire w Brukseli (IX 2010, org. Małopolski Instytut Kultury), w ramach wystawy *Polski Etnodizajn w Paryżu* przy Quai d'Orsay (X 2011, w ramach programu kulturalnego polskiej prezydencji w Radzie Unii Europejskiej, przygotowanej przez Muzeum Etnograficzne w Krakowie we współpracy z Instytutem Adama Mickiewicza i Instytutem Polskim w Paryżu) oraz wystawy *Irrépressible besoin de joie (Nieposkromiona potrzeba frajdy)* na Międzynarodowym Biennale Designu w Parc François Mitterand w Saint-Étienne (III 2014, Muzeum Etnograficzne w Krakowie i Konsulat RP) (zob. wkładka, ilustracja 10, 11 i 12).

- 33** Każda taka skrzynia-katalog-segregator mogłaby pomieścić 18 płyt, po 9 wysuwanych z dwóch przeciwległych boków prostopadłościanu. Łączna powierzchnia płyt w trzech katalogach osiągnęłaby 105 m², co pozwoliłoby na umieszczenie tam nawet 25 000 imion i nazwisk oraz tytułów-nazw (tekst na płytach dwustronny, czcionka o wysokości ok. 1,5 cm, odczytywana po wysunięciu płyty z odległości 60–70 cm, a więc czytelna dla osoby, która płytę wysunęła i kilku innych, stojących obok). Przewidywane było zastosowanie mechanizmu z przeciwwagą, samoczynnie wsuwającego płyty z powrotem do wnętrza skrzyni po kilkunastu sekundach od ich wysunięcia (gdy nie będą już trzymane przez osobę przeglądającą). Mechanizm ten powinien być w ziemie elektrycznie podgrzewany, zasilany energią pochodzącą z wiatraków.



Ilustracja 6. Wstępny szkic skrzyni-katalogu z literą M jako przeskalowaną czcionką drukarską.



Ilustracja 7. Projekt skrzyni-katalogów z literami W i S jako przeskalowanymi czcionkami drukarskimi.

Nadmiar dostępnej powierzchni płyt pozwalał na umieszczenie jeszcze innych informacji, jak szczególnie istotne i charakterystyczne cytaty, statut NSZZ Solidarność, zdjęcia i rysunki z czasu stanu wojennego, okładki książek, których lektura stanowiła wówczas pokoleniowe doświadczenie.

Prostopadłościanny planowano oznaczyć wielkimi, podświetlanymi w nocy literami M, W i S, umieszczonymi na ścianach bocznych, z których nie wysuwają się płyty katalogu. Litery te czytelne z daleka dla przechodniów zdążających od ulicy Nowy Świat; miały tworzyć skrót nazwy Memoriału w postaci powracającej w jego logotypie, a jednocześnie zamienić same prostopadłościanny w wielkie czcionki drukarskie. Na przeciwległych ścianach (z których również nie wysuwały się płyty) przewidywano umieszczenie logotypu oraz krótkiego opisu Memoriału w języku polskim i angielskim (w tym alfabetem Braille'a).

Multimedia – coraz częściej współcześnie używane w przestrzeni publicznej, zarówno jako czynnik artystyczny jak i informacyjny – w przekonaniu autorów powinny odgrywać tu rolę uzupełniającą, a nie główną. Czasy publikacji drugiego obiegu to epoka słowa drukowanego na papierze i analogowych, a nie elektronicznych sposobów powielania informacji. Stąd autorzy unikali rozwiązania sugerowanego w warunkach konkursu, aby treści tekstowe i graficzne, a zwłaszcza lista nazwisk, były dostępne jedynie w wersji cyfrowej, po zeskanowaniu kodu QR. Przewidywana interaktywność, jak wysuwanie płyt z prostopadłościannów-katalogów przez przechodniów miała mieć charakter fizyczny i rozgrywać się w realnej przestrzeni, a nie w formie obsługi terminali multimedialnych. Obserwacje takich publicznych monumentów, które mają swój rodzinny, prywatny, wręcz intymny wymiar, jaki niosą umieszczone tam imiona realnych osób wskazują, że często odwiedzający kopiują sobie te napisy (a również okładki, tytuły publikacji i rysunki z płyt i posadzki) metodą frotażu ołówkiem. Tak dzieje się np. przy pomniku amerykańskich żołnierzy, którzy polegli wojnie wietnamskiej w Waszyngtonie i to współcześnie, w dobie smartfonów i tabletów. Potrzeba własnoręcznie wykonanego przedmiotu-pamiątki tkwi jak widać w ludziach na innym poziomie niż nawyk mechanicznego reprodukcji obrazów cyfrowych, choć bynajmniej go nie wyklucza.



Ilustracja 8. Odrysowywanie techniką frotażu nazwisk żołnierzy amerykańskich poległych w wojnie wietnamskiej ze ściany pomnika w Waszyngtonie. Maya Ying Lin. 1981–1982.

Multimedia miały więc przydać się tam, gdzie przekaz analogowy nie sięga. Przewidywano umieszczenie kodów QR na obudowach katalogów i słupach wiatraków. Zeskanowanie ich mogło włączać aplikacje zawierające informacje innego rodzaju niż zawartość katalogów, np. cyfrowe repozytorium dorobku całych wydawnictw, informacje głosowe dla niewidomych (z możliwością wyszukiwania nazwisk, umieszczonych na płytach, komentarzem do graficznych przedstawień na skrzydłach wiatraków i na posadzce), nagrania podziemnego Radia Solidarność, albo interaktywną prezentację przedstawiającą ul. Mysią z lat siedemdziesiątych i osiemdziesiątych XX wieku, z gmachem Głównego Urzędu Kontroli Publikacji i Widowisk, do którego można by wirtualnie wejść, zobaczyć rekonstrukcję procesu cenzurowania i jego efekty, np. przez porównanie treści oryginalnych maszynopisów i powstałych po ich ocenzurowaniu publikacji.

Dla wszystkich tekstów towarzyszących Memoriałowi, jego znaku graficznego i tymczasowego informatora, który miał stanąć na miejscu budowy (projekt: Krzysztof Radoszek), wybrano krój pisma Authentic Spencil com. W tym kroju litera W – obecna w skrócie nazwy Memoriału (MWS) i jako oznaczenie jednej ze skrzyń-katalogów – składa się z dwóch zbliżonych do siebie liter V, odnoszących się do znaku *victoria*, słowa wolność, miejsca lokalizacji Memoriału w Warszawie a stylistycznie – do szablonów używanych przy wykonywaniu napisów farbą w ramach „małego sabotażu” w czasie stanu wojennego. Dla każdej litery skrótu przewidziano też inny kolor: ultramarynę, zielony i czerwony, o odcieniach właściwych dla tuszu pieczętkowego – jedynego dostępnego dla konspiracyjnego druku kolorowego.

Mała architektura. Przewidziano jezdnię o odmiennym niż chodnik wzorze posadzki, ale na tym samym poziomie, co po czasowym zamknięciu ulicy dla ruchu samochodów, zapewniało przy Memoriale miejsce dla uroczystości w udziale większej ilości osób. Siedziska dla odpoczynku przechodniów zaprojektowano tak, by we wschodniej i zachodniej części terenu tworzyły miejsca spotkań uczestników plenerowych wykładów lub wycieczek oprowadzanych przez przewodnika. Stojaki do przypinania rowerów w formie przeskalowanych spinaczy miały stanowić plastyczne dopowiedzenie kwestii segregowania i ruchu papieru, podejmowanych na różne sposoby w kluczowych elementach Memoriału.



Ilustracja 9. Stojak na rowery.

* * *

Czytając wolne słowo nawet w warunkach zewnętrznego zniewolenia, można było czuć się wewnętrznie wolnym. Z czasem, po osiągnięciu pewnej masy krytycznej, te tysiące wewnętrznych wolności przejawiały się publicznie i stały się wspólną wolnością. Stąd koncepcja Memoriału była próbą przekazania, zwłaszcza młodszymi pokoleniami, tego doświadczenia stopniowej erozji systemu komunistycznego w latach siedemdziesiątych i osiemdziesiątych i przełomu roku 1989, który zapisał się w doświadczeniu życiowym kilku wcześniejszych pokoleń Polaków.

Lokalizacja Memoriału w Warszawie przy ul. Mysiej pozwalała na zaproponowanie czegoś radosnego, oddającego inicjatywę, pomysłowość, pluralizm i dynamikę działań w miejscu, gdzie niegdyś działała ponura instytucja służąca ograniczaniu myśli. Połyskliwe wiatraki i formalne napięcia między ich ruchem a nieruchomym otoczeniem, między słowami dopiero „produkowanymi”, leżącymi na posadzce i wydobywanymi podświetleniem spod ziemi a słowami nadrukowanymi na śmigłach i słowami ukrytymi w prostopadłościanach-katalogach, oddawały w intencji autorów napięcie i oczekiwanie na zmianę, która wtedy „wisiała w powietrzu”.



Ilustracja 10. Wiatraki na Bulwarach Wiślanych w Krakowie, w czasie festiwalu „Rzecz Małopolska – Park Doświadczeń Kulturowych”. Olaf Cirut. Muzeum Etnograficzne w Krakowie. Maj 2010.



Ilustracja 11. Wiatraki jako część aranżacji *Parc du Cinquantenaire* w Brukseli w czasie „Dni Małopolski”. Olaf Cirut. Małopolski Instytut Kultury. Wrzesień 2010.



Ilustracja 12. Wiatraki w Parc François Mitterrand w Saint-Étienne, w ramach wystawy *Irrépressible besoin de joie* (Niepokromiona potrzeba frajdy) w czasie Międzynarodowego Biennale Designu. Olaf Cirut. Muzeum Etnograficzne w Krakowie, Konsulat RP. Marzec 2014.

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Piotr Winskowski

Wolność słowa zakonspirowana w przestrzeni publicznej

Streszczenie

Artykuł przedstawia strategie reprezentowania idei w przestrzeni publicznej w przebiegu drugiej połowy XX wieku z naciskiem nie na klasyczne pomniki-objekty lecz na strategie takiej modyfikacji parametrów „pustej” przestrzeni, aby jej ukształtowanie stało się nośnikiem zamierzonych treści. Gdy tą treścią jest sprawa wolności słowa, a zadaniem – upamiętnienie ludzi zasłużonych dla tej sprawy – stawia to przed projektantami specyficzne, a chwilami rozbieżne wymagania. Jeden ze sposobów, w jaki starano się sprostać tym wymaganiom, ilustruje koncepcja konkursowa Memoriału Wolnego Słowa w Warszawie (2013) autorstwa Katarzyny Wojtygi, Olafa Ciruta, Piotra Winskowskiego i Jacka Godlewskiego.

Słowa kluczowe: wolność słowa, wolność myśli, wolność działania, pomniki XX wieku, pomniki XXI wieku, Memoriał Wolnego Słowa

Freedom of speech concealed in public space

Summary

The article discusses the various strategies employed during the second half of the twentieth century to represent ideas in public space. It focuses not on the classical monuments-subjects, but rather on the strategies for modifying the parameters of “empty” space so that the latter conveyed the intended content. When such content applied to the issue of freedom of speech and the purpose of the monument was to commemorate the efforts and achievements of specific individuals in that area, the designers faced specific and sometimes divergent requirements. One example of an endeavour to meet those requirements was the competition design for the Free Speech Memorial in Warsaw (2013) prepared by Katarzyna Wojtyga, Olaf Cirut, Piotr Winskowski and Jacek Godlewski.

Keywords: freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of action, 20th century monuments, 21st century monuments, the Free Speech Memorial

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‘Honor the great poet’ The Józef Ignacy Kraszewski’s contribution to the development of Polish Dante studies

I

In the remarkable artistic legacy of Józef Ignacy Kraszewski (1812–1887), which mainly characterized his activity as a novelist, a publicist and a literary critic, his contribution to Dante studies must be mentioned. The Soviet critic Ivan K. Gorskiy also considered the Polish writer to be one of the founders of the contemporary Polish Dante studies¹. According to the expert in Polish literature the relationship between Kraszewski and Dante may be summed up in three key stages: the impact of Dante on the works of Kraszewski²; the writer’s contribution to Polish Dante studies with his lessons of 1867 published two years after; finally his translation of the *Divine Comedy*³. At this point, we shall focus on analysis of his lessons on

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1 I. K. Gorskiy, *Красевский и Данте*, “Дантовские чтения” 1968, p. 33.

2 For a deeper investigation of the issue, please consult a part of the article by: A.F. De Carlo, *Między piekłem a niebem. Postrzeżanie Boskiej Komedii Dantego przez Zygmunta Krasińskiego i Józefa Ignacego Kraszewskiego*, in: *Krasiński i Kraszewski wobec europejskiego romantyzmu i dyematów XIX wieku. W dwustulecie urodzin pisarzy*, M. Junkiert, W. Ratajczak, T. Sobieraj (eds.), Wyd. Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, Poznań 2016, pp. 33–45.

3 See also: A.F. De Carlo, *O specyfice języka J.I. Kraszewskiego w rękopisie zawierającym tłumaczenie Boskiej Komedii Dantego*, in: *Kraszewski i wiek XIX. Studia*, idea and layout J. Ławski; A. Janicka, K. Czajkowski, P. Kuciński (eds.), Książnica Podlaska im. Łukasza Górnickiego, Katedra Badań Filologicznych „Wschód–Zachód”, Wydział Filologiczny Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, Białystok 2014, pp. 291–309; idem, *La Divina Commedia nella Polonia del XIX secolo. Le prime traduzioni polacche del poema dantesco a confronto*, in: *Il Dante dei moderni. La Commedia*

Dante's poem which were published under the title *Dante. Studja nad Komedją Boską* (Dante. Studies on the *Divine Comedy*, 1869)⁴.

When Kraszewski was writing his essay on *Commedia*, Poland only knew the full publication of Dante's poem for a short time thanks to the translation by Julian Korsak (1860) and Polish Dante studies was taking its first steps compared to other countries such as France, England and neighboring Germany. Kraszewski, embittered, was looking right at the rich German tradition of Dante studies which even then boasted the works of Karl Witte (1800–1883) or the artistic tradition of *Commedia* translated by Philaethes (under the pseudonym of John, the King of Saxony, 1801–1873), published in 1867⁵. Thus, the lack of knowledge of *Commedia* and its author which affected Polish soil those days, was recorded by the author of *Stara baśń* (Kraszewski – ŁJB) during his lessons on the divine poem:

[...] there has been no talk about Dante in Poland for a while. [...] In the meantime, until the 19th century Dante remained almost completely unknown, and while other peoples adopted this masterpiece [*The Divine Comedy*, ADC] as a common prerogative of Christianity, making efforts to explore its spirit, to analyze its beauty as well as to uncover its mysteries and gathering the entire collections of books that constitute already Dante's literature; at the same time, we barely learned the name of the great poet⁶.

If taking into account that about twenty translations (three old and newer ones) of the *Divine Comedy* were published until 1869 in Germany, Kraszewski's words of sadness written in his lectures became more than understandable: 'These days one might put together the whole and relevant library of Dante's books in all the

dall'Ottocento a oggi. *Saggi critici*, a cura di J. Szymanowska, I. Napiórkowska, LoGisma, Firenze 2017, pp. 125–144.

4 On this issue see also: O. Płaszczewska, „Onorate l'altissimo poeta”: Józef Ignacy Kraszewski jako komentator Dantego, in: *Kraszewski: poeta i światy*, T. Budrewicz, E. Ilnatowicz, E. Owczarz (eds.), Wyd. UMK, Toruń 2012, pp. 191–203.

5 While exploring Dante's works in the years 1839–1853, John, the King of Saxony, could rely on the skilled assistance of Julius Petzholdt (1812–1891), his librarian and bibliographer, who was author of important references and studies on Dante.

6 '[...] w Polsce długo jest głucho o Dancie. [...] Tymczasem aż do XIX wieku Dante pozostaje nam prawie zupełnie nieznanym, i gdy inne narody jak wspólną własność chrześcijaństwa przyswajają sobie to arcydzieło, usiłując wnikać w jego ducha, badają piękności i rozstaniają tajemnice, gdy gdzieindziej całe księgozbiory stanowi już literatura Dantajska – my ledwie się jeszcze uczymy imienia wieszczka' (J.I. Kraszewski, *Dante. Studja nad Komedją Boską przez J.I. Kraszewskiego*, 'Roczniki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskiego' 1869, vol. V, p. 98). [Here and onwards the translations from Polish, unless otherwise stated, are provided by the translator – ŁJB].

languages of the world except for ours (Polish – ŁJB), which appears to be the poorest. The laziness of our mind reveals itself.⁷

II

It is common knowledge that in 1851 Kraszewski had expressed the desire to obtain the position of professor at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. His program of studies was originally supposed to include the whole term of classes such as a comprehensive introduction to Christian medieval poetry, life and works of Dante as well as the knowledge of the epoch which the great Polish poet lived in⁸.

However, Kraszewski failed to obtain his tenured professorship at the university of Cracow, but in return in 1867 he was invited by *Towarzystwo Wzajemnej Pomocy Uczniów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* ('Association for Mutual Assistance for Students of the Jagiellonian University') to hold four public lectures on the *Divine Comedy*.

The speeches of Kraszewski were subsequently published in 'Rocznik Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk w Poznaniu' in 1869 under the aforementioned title: *Dante. Studja nad Komedją Boską*. Later that year the collective volume *Kłosa i Kwiaty*⁹ was released and finally, a year after, the lectures of Kraszewski were translated into German by Szczepan Bohdanowicz¹⁰.

Critics regarded the lectures of Kraszewski as a comprehensive and valuable monographic work on the Florentine poet written ever until then in Polish¹¹. The content was perceived as a great introduction to reading the poem where the author presented the historical background of the era by introducing and analyzing Dante as a man, a politician and an ingenious poet. Kraszewski showed an in-depth knowledge of the author and his works expressed in both detailed descriptions of the life of the Florentine master and a pertinent analysis of the *Commedia*¹².

7 'Złożyłby dziś można całą a znaczną bibliotekę Dantejską we wszystkich świata językach, oprócz może naszego, któryby najuboższym się okazał. Lenistwo naszego ducha i w tém się objawia' (J.I. Kraszewski, *Dante. Studja...*, p. 168).

8 Cf. J.I. Kraszewski, *Pamiętniki*, W. Danek (ed.), Ossolineum, Wrocław 1972⁴, pp. 286 and 292.

9 In *Kłosa i Kwiaty* an excerpt from Kraszewski's translation is quoted only: *Raj XVII*, vv. 55–69 (J.I. Kraszewski, *Dante (z odczytów J.I. Kraszewskiego 1867 r.)*, in: *Kłosa i kwiaty. Książka zbiorowa w Krakowie*, W Drukarni W. Kirchmayera, Cracow 1869, pp. 88–89).

10 *Dante. Vorlesungen ueber die Goettliche Komoedie gehalten in Krakau und Lemberg 1867 von J.I. Kraszewski. Ins Deutsche uebertragen von S. Bohdanowicz*, Druk und Verlag von J. I. Kraszewski, Dresden 1870.

11 B. Biliński, *Roma antica e moderna nelle opere di Giuseppe Ignazio Kraszewski*, Wyd. PAN, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1965, p. 16.

12 Cf. H. Bursztyńska, *Kraszewski Orzeszkowa Sienkiewicz. Studia i szkice*, Wyd. Naukowe WSP, Cracow 1998, p. 45.

The lectures delivered by Kraszewski may be classified as part of numerous events which happened from 1865 onwards which coincided with the year of Dante's 600th anniversary of birthday. Moreover, in 1867 the city of Cracow decided to celebrate, with the voice of Kraszewski who was the expression of the relationships that linked Poles with the Italian genius, the year of anniversary. The issue of these lectures accompanied with other numerous accounts published in the European press, whose original aim was to make Poles more familiar with the *Commedia* and its author.

The record of Kraszewski's presence in Cracow as well as of his lectures was published on April 25, 1867 in the journals 'Czas' and 'Gazeta Polska' issued in Warsaw; the article of the latter contained bibliographic references on Dante edited by Karol Estreicher¹³. Later on, an extensive rundown on the facts was given by Michał Frąckiewicz in his essay published in Cracow in: *Józef Ignacy Kraszewski w Krakowie i we Lwowie w r. 1867 I odczyty jego o Dantem. Wspomnienia z przeszłości w setną rocznicę urodzin* (Józef Ignacy Kraszewski in Cracow and in Lviv in 1867 and his lectures on Dante. The memories of the past on the centenary of birth).

The stay of Kraszewski in Cracow lasted from April 27 to May 7, 1867: during those ten days, the writer managed to dedicate himself to his projects and visited the Jagiellonian Library where he collected material for his three-volume work *Polska w czasie trzech rozbiorów 1772–1799 r. Studia do history ducha i obyczaju* (Poland of the time of the three partitions 1772–1799. The studies on history of the spirit and tradition)¹⁴.

The lectures were held, as it was customary at the time, at the premises of 'The Association of Science and Humanities' in Sławkowska Street (today housing the Academy of Skills) on April 29 and continued on May 1, 4 and 6. The audience was numerous during all four lectures which attracted a huge interest even though the name of Dante was barely known.

In his record, Frąckiewicz thoroughly reported the course of events¹⁵: the first lecture was held on April 29, 1867 and provided a general introduction to the poem; Kraszewski presented the life of Dante and made some remarks on his education, the uniqueness of his genius and exile years. The second lecture took place on Wednesday of May 1: the speaker delivered an address on the final years of Dante's life by mentioning biographers and commentators of the divine poet;

¹³ The title of the article published in 'Gazeta Polska' (n. 90) April 18, 1867, was *Przekłady Danta* (cf. M. Frąckiewicz, *Józef Ignacy Kraszewski w Krakowie i we Lwowie w r. 1867 i odczyty jego o Dantem. Wspomnienia z przeszłości w setną rocznicę urodzin*, Nakładem Autora, Cracow 1912, p. 11).

¹⁴ *Ivi*, p. 12.

¹⁵ Frąckiewicz offers a comprehensive summary of Kraszewski's lectures; moreover, it should be specified that passages quoted by the critic are taken from the essay *Dante. Studja nad Komedją Boską*, however typos or even omissions of the whole lines occurred.

subsequently, he moved on to presenting the structure of the poem. In the third lecture, which was held on May 4, Kraszewski gave a detailed summary of the contents of the *Commedia* with particular attention to *Purgatory*; he highlighted selected episodes of the second canticle referring to numerous extracts of its translation¹⁶. Finally, on Monday of May 6, 1867 the fourth and last lecture took place, where the author proposed a summary and a brief analysis of the *Paradise*, concluding with the reading of extensive excerpts of the poem¹⁷.

The same day at evening Kraszewski left for Lviv where he reached the next day. That is where the author of *Stara baśń* ('An Ancient Tale') had been invited to by a student patriotic organization known as *Czytelnia Akademicka* ('Academic Study Room') founded in 1867 on the model of the similar organization born earlier at the Jagiellonian University. The lives of young students in Lviv of that time was strongly germanized, which provoked revitalization of national languages and literary traditions.

The author remained in Lviv for about ten days delivering his lectures in the hall of the city council on May 8, 11, 12 and 15 respectively. Kraszewski repeated what he previously said in Cracow¹⁸ except that participation of Lviv's audience was smaller. That might have been, most likely, a consequence of the publication of *Rachunki* (Accounts)¹⁹ released earlier that year which brought about a widespread sentiment of acrimony towards Kraszewski. Nevertheless, the distinguished novelist and his lectures on Dante were welcomed with great enthusiasm²⁰ as we can deduce from the article of May 14, 1867 appeared on 'Dziennik Literacki' (Literary Journal), whose editor Juliusz Starkel greeted Kraszewski's presence in Lviv with warm cordiality and deep respect²¹.

III

Studja nad Komedją Boską (Studies on the 'Divine Comedy') consist of three essential parts: introduction, theme and content analysis and conclusion. In the preface, the author presents selected stages of Dante's life where he outlines the personality

16 M. Frąckiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

17 *Ivi*, p. 44.

18 Frąckiewicz reports the ticket fare: '2 zł. 50 ct.' (*ivi*, p. 52).

19 *Rachunki* was published by the author between 1866 and 1870 where he shed light on all the phenomena of cultural, political and social life of the country, calling for the day of reckoning, particularly, the landed gentry which he himself came from. He attacked clerical-feudal alliance, spotted the intrigues and defeated ultramontanes (cf. B. Biliński, *Incontri polacco-italiani a Porta Pia: J.I. Kraszewski, W. Kulczycki, M. Konopnicka. Nel centenario di Roma capitale d'Italia 1870-1970*, Wyd. PAN, Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow-Gdańsk 1971, p. 25).

20 M. Frąckiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

21 *Ivi*, p. 51.

of the Italian genius, his poetical sensibility as well as the most important events that marked his life: love, politics and exile. This is where Kraszewski formulated the thesis on the exceptionality of Dante which he subsequently proved and motivated in the process of argumentation. That overall presentation is followed by the core part of the elaborate which comes with an extensive summary of the *Divine Comedy*, accompanied with a thorough text analysis. In conclusion, the author largely focuses on the reception of Dante in a wider European context as well as in the Polish one, in particular.

Kraszewski, adopting the opinion of Giambattista Vico, argues that, as the *Iliad*, the *Divine Comedy* represents an outstanding overview of his times²²:

Perhaps, there is no one among the great poets of the past except for Dante to whom this worn-out expression is attributed: he embodies all his times; there was no one, but Homer, who became the symbol of his century, of his peculiarities, of his genius and wisdom, as the great Florentine poet did. No Christian poet of the new era was more Christian than him, a son of this world who rises over the ruins of crumbled antiquity²³.

The Polish writer considered Dante more of a realist with the Renaissance sensibility and propensity to present uncertainties and lively impressions with the use of his fertile imagination. Kraszewski, in his lectures, placed the origins of the European cultural revival in the 10th century as soon as Byzantine and Arab influences had wormed their way into Europe. Those led to the awakening of national self-consciousness and appearance of the first documents drawn up in national languages of France, Germany, England, Scandinavia and other European countries²⁴. Indeed, the cultural development that reached its peak in the 13th century stood out for its character and importance depending on the nation²⁵.

After having introduced the most recurring features of all Dante's works, the author briefly explores *Vita nuova* ('The New Life'). Kraszewski, the same as Julian Klaczko, leans to the real existence of Beatrice²⁶: essentially, he would not accept an

22 I.K. Gorskij, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

23 'Żadnemu może z wielkich poetów, przedstawicieli przeszłości, słuszniej się nie należy jak Dantemu to nadużyte określenie – że sobą całą uosabia epokę; – żaden w istocie, prócz Homera, nie wcielił tak swego wieku, jego charakteru, jenijuszu i wiedzy, jak wielki wieszcz florencki – *l'altissimo poeta*. Żaden też z chrześcijańskich poetów nowój ery nie jest nadeń bardziej chrześcijańskim, wybitniej synem tego świata, który na gruzach pokruszonej starożytności się wznosi.' (J.I. Kraszewski, *Dante. Studja*, *cit.*, p. 97).

24 I.K. Gorskij, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

25 K. Morawski, *La dantologia polacca moderna*, "Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie" 1965, no. 2 (IV), pp. 94–95.

26 *Ivi*, p. 95.

opinion of those who considered her a pure allegory, a mere fruit of Dante's imagination. Beatrice in the eyes of Kraszewski, became chiefly his muse of inspiration²⁷ and played a role 'of the second master who, after Brunetto, taught him to suffer, to believe, to live with the light, spirit and sky'²⁸. Subsequently, the author moves on to analyze woman's *stil nuovo* vision: poets stopped looking at her as 'humiliated bacchante' (*upodlona bachantka*)²⁹, since the carnal passion had transformed into transcendent emotion; the woman was referred to as not only in terms of her material beauty, but also as an instrument of spiritual elevation. Kraszewski attributed this cultural *deviation* to the significant influence that Christianity assumed in the Medieval times. Moreover, he encompasses the relationship between angelic woman and the cult of holy Virgin Mary.

Simultaneously, the writer analyzes the artificiality of 'autobiography' described in the *Commedia*, that is to say a story narrated by Dante himself in order to name and to address the evils of the time in the plot.

The poet's biographic element was intended to serve in two ways: to make his journey to the afterlife be understood as real as well as to emphasize his genius adopted in the poetic field. Kraszewski rejected the positivist model typical for a psychologist portrait and explored the poem with the preference of romanticized vision with several references to Dante's biography. The underworld as a place of metaphysical experiences of the artist and intellectual at the same time truly represents a return to the real world³⁰. In the *Commedia* the poet plays two roles: the one of a narrator who, at a later date, analyzes his journey to the underworld and the other of a poet and, at the same time, the main character of the poem who travels through the metaphysical world and experiences the feelings of pain and deprivation³¹. Kraszewski takes into account even individual experiences and feelings that Dante knew and felt in the three underworld kingdoms: 'The major interest is focused on God and man; these are *dramatis personae*, the most important figures; all the rest is episodic and secondary'; 'here the main character is no semi-god, commander, king, city or state, he is just a poet, indeed, he is a man'³². Dante, therefore, expressed in his concerns the feeling of the whole humanity which is the real protagonist of the drama and this is where the *Commedia* focused its destinies

27 I.K. Gorskiy, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

28 'tego drugiego mistrza, co po Brunettim nauczyć go miał cierpieć, wierzyć, żyć światłem, duchem, niebem' (J. I. Kraszewski, *Dante. Studja*, cit., p. 105).

29 *Ivi*, p. 106.

30 H. Bursztyńska, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

31 *Ibidem*.

32 'Interes główny skupia się koło Boga i człowieka; to są *dramatis personae*, główne; reszta epizodyczna i podrzędna' (J.I. Kraszewski, *Dante. Studja*, cit., p. 127); 'tu bohaterem jest nie pół-bóg, wódz, ani król, ani gród lub państwo, jest nim sam poeta, - myślę się, - jest nim człowiek' (*ivi*, p. 126).

on. The fortunes of humankind represent the unity of action: 'The humankind, its fate, represented in Dante, are perceived according to the Christian idea'³³. Kraszewski legitimates the humanism of Dante mainly as the expression of Christian ethics: the poet did not introduce himself as a hero, but as an imperfect creature, who is weak, sinning and acknowledged his own mistakes and the same time suffering and continuously corrupted by sin³⁴.

The Polish author, when narrating one of the most profoundly touching episodes of the *Divine Comedy*, namely the story of Paolo and Francesca, reveals the human *pathos* of Dante: 'Truly, could it be anything more human than the compassion that the poet frequently manifests towards the damned in hell? He does not rail against the sentences that he felt were right, but the fate of those souls affects him until losing his minds.'³⁵ The language of the poem appears to be more natural in the moment when he describes human tragedies:

While often discussing theological and philosophical matters, Dante wanted to put into words a purely rational issue, as it was customary at that time, he played with words by selecting them, transforming into mosaic, giving a new, elegant meaning. However, when portraying a tragic fate of man, his passion, misfortune and weakness, he becomes a painter and creates pictures that remain deeply impressed for centuries in the minds of those who, at least once, had them in front of them.³⁶

According to Kraszewski, Christianity has determined historical and cultural development and shaped that inner strength which is inherent in traditions and people of all ages. The author, thus, got closer to the *Commedia* with his idealistic concept of history postulating the certain victory of spirit over material forces. In the lectures on Dante there is already a germ of such historical vision which was subsequently considered by the author in more details in his aforementioned work, *Polska w czasie trzech rozbiorów 1772–1799* (Poland of the time of the three partitions 1772–1799).

In a horrible Polish reality Dante's poem meant to many people an attempt to save themselves from desperation and to find an efficient way to escape from

³³ 'Ludzkość, jej przeznaczenie, uosobione są w Dancie, pojęte wedle idei chrześcijańskiej' (*ibidem*).

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

³⁵ 'Zaprawdę, może być co bardziej ludzkiego nad tę litość, którą poeta nie jeden raz okazuje w piekle dla potępionych? Nie złorzeczy on przeciwko wyrokowi Bożemu, czuje go sprawiedliwym, ale los tych dusz go przejmuję – aż do zmysłów utraty' (*ivi*, p. 137).

³⁶ 'Dante często w kwestjach teologicznych i filozoficznych, gdy mu przychodzi ująć w słowa temat czysto rozumowy, obyczajem wieku igra z wyrazy, dobiera je, bawi się niemi, układa je mozaikowo, nadaje im znaczenia różne, wykwiłtne; ale gdy maluje tragiczne losy człowieka, jego namiętności, niedolę, słabości, jest natchnionym malarzem, tworzącym obrazy, które na wieki wypiętnowane zostają w umyśle tych co je raz mieli przed sobą' (*ibidem*).

a sad circumstances which Poland fell into after the failure of January insurrection of 1863³⁷. Kraszewski, at some point, introduced the issue of exile by recounting Dante's vicissitudes and criticized those commentators who had speculated about the feeling of revenge in relation to Florence:

At the beginning, as every refugee, Dante did not imagine that returning home would be prohibited forever. Together with other fellows who were sentenced to exile, he wrote letters pleading for pardon, or rather for acquittal and return, as he promised to refrain from any hostile action towards his opponents, from any intrigue against the winning party³⁸.

The author of *Stara baśń*, in contrast, observed Dante's patriotism right in the words of Cacciaguida:

You are to know the bitter taste of others' bread,
how salt it is, and know how hard a path it is for one
who goes descending and ascending others' stairs.³⁹
(*Par.* XVII, 58–60)

Through the above-mentioned and many other extracts of the poem where the zeal for exile emerges clearly, the Polish writer learned the key to reading and understanding the poet's true love for his country. That love made Dante predict the sad prospect of the fall of Florence.

Subsequently, Kraszewski faces the language issue, stating that this is where the originality of Dante is expounded; the Tuscan dialect was raised to the rank of literary language, as a consequence of which it became a privileged instrument of poetic expression:

The language of the poem which Dante drew nearly unripe from people's lips and enhanced to such great perfection and no one's ever measured up in terms of style, echoes like a pleasant melody. It was the first time when Dante applied spoken Italian *volgare*, a language not fully consolidated until then, which struggled to be

37 I.K. Gorskiy, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

38 'W początkach, jak każdy tułacz, Dante nie przypuszczał, ażeby powrót do ojczyzny miał mu być na wieki wzbronionym. Wraz z innymi skazanymi na wygnanie pisał on listy błagające przebaczenia, domagające się raczej usprawiedliwienia i powrotu, przyrzekając wstrzymać się od wszelkich kroków nieprzyjacielskich względem niechętnych, od wszelkich knowań przeciw zwyciężkiemu stronnictwu' (J.I. Kraszewski, *Dante. Studja*, *cit.*, p. 113).

39 'Tu proverai sí come sa di sale, lo pane altrui, e come è duro calle, lo scendere e 'l salir per l'altrui scale' (*Paradise*, Canto XVII, lines 55–60, Allen Mandelbaum's translation, *World of Dante*, <http://www.worldofdante.org/>).

adopted in written form in everyday life – and it was him to provide fixed forms aimed at further development⁴⁰.

The writer also identified the value of the *Divine Comedy* in its ethical-moral aspects. The Dantesque experience consists essentially in urgency of moral reform of the world of the living: the poet is a real man, like Odysseus of the Christian Middle Ages who crossed the three after-world realms in order to lead the human race to salvation. Kraszewski, apart from giving a reinterpretation of Dante's metaphorical journey through the prism of contingent reality, proved how the great Italian poet was inspired by ancient myths. It will suffice here to recall, by way of example, the Vision of Tundale that narrated journeys to the afterlife or to the unknown and distant lands⁴¹. The medieval inspiration did not exclude a true admiration for ancient culture with its most eminent representative in the person of Virgil. Kraszewski deepens the relationships between two poets and sheds light on the original idea according to which Dante made himself the author of *Aeneid*. His vision of the Latin poet was entirely independent from the legends widespread in the Middle Ages⁴².

The Polish critic, when presenting the political activity of Alighieri, argued with Cesare Balbo (1789–1853) and all those who accused the Florentine poet of versatility: '[he] turned out to be the greatest man of his century as well as of his contemporaries. He was neither Guelph nor Ghibelline, neither black nor white, he was just a loyal son of Florence who loved his country and wanted peace and harmony for it.'⁴³ The author of *Studja* considered such attitude as the proof of noble and independent spirit of the Florentine poet, therefore he reached out for salvation of Florence and he succeeded to find it 'neither in men nor in political parties, but in principles and ideals'⁴⁴. Moreover, if Dante had been not involved in political struggles – attributed with a huge historic importance by Kraszewski – the *Divine Comedy* would have never been born⁴⁵.

The lectures of Kraszewski feature several controversial statements, for example the one concerning Dante's stays in Paris and in Oxford may be mentioned,

⁴⁰ 'Język poematu, który Dante wziął prawie surowym z ust ludu i do tak wielkiej doskonałości wykształcił, iż po dziś dzień stylem mu nie zrównał nikt, brzmi jak melodija najwdzięczniejsza. Dante pierwszy nadał tej mowie włoskiej, językowi dotąd jeszcze nieustalonemu, piśmiennie ledwie wschodzącemu w życie – stalsze formy, przez które dalej się miał kształcić' (*ivi*, p. 186).

⁴¹ K. Morawski, *La dantologia polacca*, cit., p. 95.

⁴² *Ibidem*.

⁴³ 'okazał się wyższym nad swój wiek i spótczesnych. Nie był ani gwelfem ani gibellinem, czarnym ani białym, był wiernem dziecięciem Florencyi, kochającym kraj, pragnącym dlań zgody i pokoju' (J.I. Kraszewski, *Dante. Studja*, cit., p. 109).

⁴⁴ 'nie w ludziach i stronnictwach, ale w zasadach i ideach' (*ivi*, p. 110).

⁴⁵ I.K. Gorski, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

which were regarded as hard evidential facts. While the trip to France was considered by many Dante's modern researchers probable, however all or almost all of them questioned the alleged period of studies in England. Kraszewski, who was convinced of his beliefs, analyzed the relationships of Dante with English culture and took for granted the impact of Roger Bacon on the author of the *Commedia*⁴⁶. Albeit fully aware of the differences existing between the two authors, Kraszewski remained a very keen supporter of the theory of influence of the English scholar on Dante who, in his view, 'refers back to Bacon with almost the same vehemence, anger, indignation.'⁴⁷ According to the author, the commentators of the Florentine poet always underestimated the probability of Dante's stay in Oxford as well as the consequences which could have resulted from it. It is likely that Dante right there got to know the manuscript of *Opus Majus*, the most famous scientific work of that time, and got inspired by it during the drafting of the *Commedia*⁴⁸. Scartazzini severely criticized Kraszewski for the conviction of the latter who believed 'that Dante traveled to Oxford and the Malaspina's family provided him with the funds for getting there; that the poet got his whole inspiration from the knowledge of *Opus Majus* by Roger Bacon. The value of those and many other endless discoveries of this kind, is the fact that they are easily verifiable'⁴⁹. Moreover, the Swiss scholar of Dante biased against further information considered historically inaccurate such as actual existence of some persons given over misprints or weak quality of translation into German.

The defense of Kraszewski's theses was taken several years after by another critic Domenico Ciampoli, who was no Dante scholar, but expert of Slavic literatures. His opinion was fundamentally opposite to the one of Scartazzini, as he primarily rediscovered Kraszewski as a writer⁵⁰: 'In the novels and short stories Kraszewski was part of himself; he was a romantic who felt uncomfortable with educational

⁴⁶ The critics of today do not exclude possible direct or indirect influence of Roger Bacon's thought on Dante, since *Opus Majus* was considered the most important scientific work. That is where the poet could borrow theories of optical science and others from (cf. S. Finazzi, *La metafora scientifica e la rappresentazione della Corporeitas luminosa*, in: *La metafora in Dante*, a cura di M. Ariani, Leo S. Olschki Editore, Firenze 2008, p. 190).

⁴⁷ "powtarza Bacona prawie z tążsamą gwałtownością, gniewem, oburzeniem" (J.I. Kraszewski, *Dante. Studja*, cit., p. 116).

⁴⁸ *Ivi*, p. 115.

⁴⁹ 'che Dante viaggiò a Oxford e che i Malaspina gli fornirono i mezzi onde fare il viaggio; che il poeta attinse tutta quanta la sua scienza dall'*Opus Majus* di Ruggero Bacone. Il valore di queste e di infinite altre scoperte di tal natura si può facilmente indovinarlo' (A. Scartazzini, [rec.] *Dante, Vorlesungen ueber die Goettliche Komoedie, gehalten in Krakau und Lemberg 1867 von J.I. Kraszewski. Ins Deutsche uebertragen von S. Bohdanowicz, Dresden Druk und Verlag von J.I. Kraszewski, 1870, "Nuova Antologia" 1871, vol. 17, pp. 524-526).*

⁵⁰ S. Piekut, *Tematyka włoska w twórczości J.I. Kraszewskiego*, "Oficyna Poetów" 1967, no. 3 (6), p. 36.

divisions because he did not imitate anyone, and even if he did, he imitated people with the use of imitation that fosters recreation. The outstanding humanity of his characters reminds of our Manzoni's or Scott's ones...'⁵¹.

Kraszewski's essay comprises of other position statements that Dante scholars consider exaggerated today: by way of example, I would like to mention a legend of Dante's unhappy marriage, where the author referred to the version provided by Boccaccio without putting it forward to any critical examination. However, there are also several insights preceding the current ones, for example: a refutable opinion about Dante's impact on 12th-century arts with particular regard to Giotto and his frescoes in the Scrovegni Chapel of Padua. According to Kraszewski, the fact of attributing the idea of Giotto's frescoes to Dante is erroneous: 'In the *Divine Comedy* written by Dante the poet's genius was set out in an impressive entirety, which is something that used to be vivid in the popular and church tradition. Giotto and Dante drew inspiration from the same source making use of the universal heritage, but without imitating each other. This is obviously where the similarities between them come from.'⁵²

The lectures are loaded with personal remarks made by the Polish Dante scholar; one of them to be mentioned is dedicated to the second canticle which is said to hold the primacy of beauty. Kraszewski considered the *Purgatory* the most fascinating and deserving admiration of the whole *Commedia*. As the author argues, the Florentine poet collected all the immensity of both his in-depth knowledge

51 "Nel romanzo, nella novella Kraszewski fece parte di se stesso; fu un romantico che sta a disagio tra le partizioni scolastiche, perché non imitò alcuno, o se imitò, imitò il popolo di quella imitazione che ricrea. La spiccata umanità dei suoi personaggi ricorda il nostro Manzoni o lo Scott..." (D. Ciampoli, *Giuseppe Ignazio Kraszewski*, "Studi Letterari" 1891, p. 41; lo stesso articolo è stato pubblicato su "Fanfulla della domenica" 1887, no. 15).

52 'W *Boskiej komedii* Dantego jenuz poety złożył w potężną całość to, co naówczas żyło w tradycjach ludów i kościoła, Giotto i Dante czerpali z jednego źródła, nie zapożyczając się od siebie, biorąc ze skarbicy ogólnej. Stąd naturalnie i podobieństwo ich obu.' (J.I. Kraszewski, *Kartki z podróży 1858-1864 r. - Kraków, Wiedeń, Triest, Wenecja, Padwa, Medjolan, Genua, Piza, Florencja, Rzym*, vol. I, Nakładem Gustawa Sennewalda, Warsaw 1866, pp. 180-181). Kraszewski, in fact, doubted that Dante might have influenced Giotto. Nowadays, the writer's assumption is endorsed by the critics, who consider their probable friendship and collaboration simply as mythical, since it is not supported by any written evidence (cf. A.F. De Carlo, *Dramat w niebie i na ziemi. Kraszewski jako krytyk Giotta w Kartkach z podróży 1858-1864*, in: *Drogi i bezdroża komunikacji*, P. Bering, G. Łukomski (eds.), Wyd. Kropka J. i W. Śliwczynscy, Gniezno 2008, p. 189). One should not forget that they shared neither political ideals nor religious beliefs: for example, Dante was the enemy of almost all Giotto's contractors, including the pope Boniface VIII. It cannot be excluded that their meeting was held in Padua, where Dante went in exile, while Giotto was frescoing the Scrovegni Chapel: it is likely that those days there an exchange of ideas opinions between them actually took place (cf. *Giotto. Compianto sul Cristo morto*, a cura di F. Zeri, Rizzoli, Milano 1998, p. 17).

and fertile imagination. While in *Inferno* the poet took inspiration from legends, myths and traditions, in *Purgatory* one meets men in their most terrestrial image where they are cleared and ennobled from all sins and mistakes they committed in lifetime. Moreover, the second canticle – according to Kraszewski – should convince that Dante was no political enemy to Catholic Church and the pope as long as: “The purgatorial world is as if there was a life of the second stage of humanity; when being there, human feels a divine glimpse inside, their origins [...]; he is aware that he has to fight and win, since only by defeating the spirit, the body will be able to get closer to the divine model and to have the right to be reunited with the Lord.”⁵³

For Kraszewski, therefore, every canticle of the *Divine Comedy* may be associated with a given feature: *Inferno* is dominated by *passion*, *Purgatory* by *feeling*, *Paradise* by pure *spirit*.⁵⁴ The writer borrows the ideas from Friedrich Schelling (1775–1854), who observed in his philosophical writings: *Inferno* is plastic and sculpture-like, *Purgatory* is painted and drawn, *Paradise* is musical because it is loaded with singing and melody. Kraszewski, by spreading the theories of Ozanam, which were also reviewed by Julian Klaczko in his renowned work *Causeries Florentines*, argued that *Purgatory* represented the most pleasant canticle of the whole poem: this is where the man meets creatures similar to the ones he knew in his earthly life.⁵⁵ When in *Inferno* Dante suffers desperation of the condemned, in *Purgatory* he spots people hoping to atone for their sins.

Kraszewski, in the part dedicated to *Purgatory*, explained that *Inferno* has always been the canticle that fascinated his contemporaries: “Dante is mostly known as the master of *Inferno*, only for a few as the poet of *Paradise*.”⁵⁶ The Polish critic identified the main cause in the fact that the first canticle was more accessible to understand for an average reader, even though, according to the author himself, *Purgatory* and *Paradise* have nothing to envy to *Inferno* in terms of beauty and performance. Moreover, unlike *Inferno* and *Paradise*, the second canticle took little inspiration from legends and it is strictly connected with the image of the Earth, with the battles that purify the soul and ennoble it. In *Purgatory* there are fewer characters and everything is focused on the personality of the poet. Kraszewski

53 “Świat ten czyścowy to już jakby drugiej epoki żywota ludzkości wizerunek; w nim człowiek uczuwa w sobie boską iskierkę, pochodzenie swe [...]; wie, że musi walczyć i dobijać się, aby duchem zwyciężając ciało do boskiego przybliżyć się wzorowi i z Bogiem miał prawo się potęgować” (J.I. Kraszewski, *Dante. Studja*, cit., p. 145).

54 “W Piekłe panowała namiętność, w Czyściu znajdujemy uczucie, w Raju czystego ducha. Czyściec jest obrazem ziemi, na której walczym, nieustannie się oczyszczając, podnosząc, uszlachetniając” (*ibidem*).

55 M. Frąckiewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–38.

56 ‘Dante jest głównie znany jako malarz piekła, dla nie wielu jest wieszczem niebios’ (J.I. Kraszewski, *Dante. Studja*, cit., p. 132).

plunges together with Alighieri in this new world: 'Purgatory is more akin to the life on the earthly world [...], it boasts an exceptional beauty of an idealized image of our planet as well as of our lives.'⁵⁷ The author clarifies this further on: 'In Purgatory we unite, through compassion, more closely to creatures that live in, who hold our weaknesses, we recognize ourselves in them, even if they are idealized.'⁵⁸ Kraszewski also disagrees with the aforementioned commentators on the fact that they have discovered a complete mystery in the symbolism of the poet. Although the *Commedia* is full of allegory, however – as stated by Kraszewski – it is not mysterious⁵⁹. What is more, he argued with Rossetti and all the others who distinguished the apocalyptic tone in Dante's vision.⁶⁰

The author also opposes to the opinions of all the commentators who saw Dante as the enemy of the pope and the Vatican. Alighieri was no opponent of papacy, he only reproached the Holy See for their interest of temporal power and material wealth⁶¹. The Church, instead of pursuing the aim of the soul salvation, concentrated only on earthly power, attempting to replace the emperor, but in doing so, it was just the chaos to arise and seeking earthly goods, at the same time, was corrupting. The lack of any top-down control contributes to the desire for money, a will to overpower one another outgrows and, finally, the conflicts among fractions and endless civil wars, which shed blood in the Italian towns, initiate. Dante opposed to that *status quo*, acting for the sake of the country and in accordance with the principles of justice. In this regard, the Polish writer felt spiritually very close to the Florentine poet, exactly in the same circumstances where he found himself labeled with anticlericalism.

The 'Titan of business' proved that the ruling classes mislead the Christian thought, once genuine and primordial. Such opinion explains, at first glance, a paradoxical fact that Kraszewski was said to gain bad reputation due to his uncompromising struggle against clerical reactionism. However, in the lectures on Dante he glorifies and idealizes Christianity by attributing to it the development of the whole human kind. That is why, when named Dante with the honor of 'the great poet', had in mind just the following idea: the author of the *Comedy* not only delivered the most ingenious synthesis of Middle Ages, but, on the other hand, he bridged the gap existing between the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Yet, he also opened a new era in the spiritual development of men.⁶²

⁵⁷ 'Czyściec najbliższy życia i ziemi [...], ma niezrównany wdzięk wyidealizowanego świata naszego i naszego żywota.' (J.I. Kraszewski, *Dante. Studja*, cit., p. 147).

⁵⁸ 'W Czyściu współczuciem łączemy się bliżej z istotami zaludniającymi go, które mają słabości nasze, w których poznajemy samych siebie – choć podniesionych do ideału' (*ibidem*).

⁵⁹ *Ivi*, p. 162.

⁶⁰ I.K. Gorski, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁶¹ *Ivi*, p. 48.

⁶² *Ivi*, p. 39.

The conclusion of the lectures of Kraszewski consists in an act of true reverence and respect towards the ingenious poet to whom the whole civilized world owes a lot.⁶³ According to the writer, the *Divine Comedy* was born in the times when lots of truths were not uncovered yet and the legends played a relevant role⁶⁴. The feelings and the concepts expressed in the *Commedia* can no longer be repeated the same as the work by Beato Angelico cannot be reproduced⁶⁵. Thus, Dante's poem is unrepeatably and immortal, while its exceptional value, as Kraszewski wrote, is primarily seen in small things, in hand with the nature which is, as Latin proverb states, 'maxima miranda in minimis' (nature is the greatest in the smallest things).⁶⁶

IV

The lectures on the *Commedia* of 1867, delivered by the writer to the institutions of Cracow and of Lviv, therefore, represent undoubtedly a significant contribution to the dissemination of Dante in Poland. This led to include Kraszewski in the rank of Polish and European Dante's researchers. Kalikst Morawski, an eminent romance philologist, emphasized, indeed, that Kraszewski may be inserted to the register of Polish Dante studies as the prime scholar expert next to Julian Klaczko.

Criticism towards *Studja* was never lacking and expressed by both compatriots and peers of Kraszewski, among whom Kazimierz Bogusławski was at the forefront. In his extensive essay titled *Dante w Polsce* (Dante in Poland) the author stated that the studies of Kraszewski were devoid of scientific aptitude criticizing the lack of methods and qualifying the writer as an amateur. He considered the studies of Kraszewski interesting, though. The critic strongly disagrees with Kraszewski's essay labeling it as superficial for having neglected, following the works of Ozanam, Fauriel, Witte, Philalethes, Wegele, Blanc and Scartazzini, the most important moments of Dante's life which deeply affected his education and nourished his genius. Bogusławski complained about the lack of precision in describing the historical period the poet lived in. Subsequently, he mentioned the fact the author failed to deepen the rules which gave birth to such powerful creative strength and lavished affection. No scientific advice, which appears necessary for providing readers with a harmonious and uniform view, was highlighted, either. Furthermore, the critic pointed out the lack of discussion over issues which underlie the great poem: love, poetry, woman worship, the meaning of Beatrice and Virgil, sections dedicated to theology, philosophy, politics, cosmogony, history, astronomy etc.⁶⁷. He briefly

63 K. Morawski, *La dantologia polacca*, cit., p. 96.

64 I.K. Gorski, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

65 *Ibidem*.

66 J.I. Kraszewski, *Dante. Studja*, cit., p. 143.

67 K. Bogusławski, *Dante w Polsce*, "Niwa" 1885, no. 260–261, p. 747.

performed a broad analysis of Kraszewski's shortcomings confronting them with renowned Dante's researchers of that time. By way of example, the following extract may be quoted:

Kraszewski treats the meeting of Dante with Matelda equally in the final chants of Paradise, as well as the famous dialogue with Cacciaguida. [...] However, the author does not specify who this person was: a real person close to the poet, a personification of an idea, an allegorical figure or a historical character? And, yet, a lot has been written on this regard. At different times later, seven names of historical persons were mentioned to be seen under this figure. There were dozens of allegorical interpretations, too.⁶⁸

On the other hand, Walerian Preisner, a librarian and a connoisseur of romance languages and literatures, considered the essay of Kraszewski, despite acknowledging a number of weaknesses and methodological shortcomings, not wholly 'superficial', and even less amateurish⁶⁹. In general, it may be added that the criticism of Bogusławski addressed to Kraszewski remains questionable, since the writer proved to be thoroughly knowledgeable about Dante for his time. The lectures of the author of *Stara baśń*, indeed, have to be assessed in the proper time context: all the inaccuracies reported by Kraszewski are attributable to the interpretations of Dantes's poem which were floating around, to the imprecise instruments as well as to the limited information that the researcher had at his disposal. The lectures of Kraszewski, despite being considered inadequate in certain places, got credit to disseminate Dante in Poland⁷⁰. In fact, interpretation attempts and biographical information represented a stimulus for reading and for popularization of the *Commedia* to a wider public.

Considering the above, the studies on the *Divine Comedy* by Kraszewski (*Studja nad Komedją Boską*) represented not only a significant contribution to the dissemination of the genius of the Italian poet as well as of the *Divine Comedy* in Poland, but also a valid input towards progress and development of Dante studies in Poland.

Translated from Italian by Łukasz Jan Berezowski

⁶⁸ 'Podobnie jak końcowe pieśni Raju, lub słynną rozmowę Cacciaguidy, traktuje Kraszewski spotkanie Danta z Matyldą. [...] Autor nie podaje nawet, kimby ta postać była: czy osobą rzeczywistą z otoczenia poety, czy personifikacją jakiejś idei, czy postacią alegoryczną, czy z dziejów wziętą? A przecież w przedmiocie tym pisano nie mało. Podawano różnie czasy aż siedm osób historycznych, które chciano widzieć pod tą postacią. Było też kilkanaście interpretacyj alegorycznych' (ivi, p. 752).

⁶⁹ W. Preisner, *Dante i jego dzieła w Polsce. Bibliografia krytyczna z historycznym wstępem: I. Stan badań nad Dantem w Polsce; II. Próba polskiej bibliografii dantejskiej / Dante e le sue opere in Polonia. Bibliografia critica con una introduzione storica: I. Gli studi danteschi in Polonia; II. Saggio d'una bibliografia dantesca polacca*, PWN, Toruń 1957, p. 57.

⁷⁰ Ivi, p. 55.

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Andrea F. De Carlo

„Uczcijcie największego poetę” Wkład Józefa Ignacego Kraszewskiego w rozwój polskiej dantologii

Streszczenie

Artykuł przedstawia wkład Józefa Ignacego Kraszewskiego w rozwój polskiej dantologii. Działo się to za sprawą lekcji, które Kraszewski prowadził na temat Dantego w Krakowie i Lwowie w 1867 roku, które następnie, w roku 1869, ukazały się drukiem pod tytułem: *Studja nad Komedją Boską*. W artykule zaprezentowano inne ówczesne opinie badaczy-dantystów oraz mniej lub bardziej krytyczne recenzje wyników badań Kraszewskiego.

Słowa kluczowe: Polska dantologia, Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, Dante Alighieri, *Studja nad Komedją Boską*

"Honor the great poet" The Józef Ignacy Kraszewski's contribution to the development of Polish Dante studies

Summary

The article analyses the Józef Ignacy Kraszewski's contribution to the development of Dante studies in Poland. It was thanks to his lectures on Dante, held in Krakow and Lviv in 1867, and later published under the title *Studies on The Divine Comedy*, 1869. The article presents other opinions of Dante scholars of the time and more or less critical reviews of the results of Kraszewski's research.

Keywords: Polish Dante's studies, Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, Dante Alighieri, Studies on The Divine Comedy

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From Warsaw to Warsaw. Some remarks on the two ‘imaginary translations’ from Polish (1944) by Franco Fortini

‘...anonymous as if they were translated from Polish, these two poems of mine’

In contemporary Poland (as in the majority of former Soviet bloc countries) the name of Franco Fortini is virtually unknown, not only due to insufficient command of Italian among Polish scholars, but above all due to a shared mistrust towards someone who experienced a Marxist militancy in his biography.¹ It is a pure paradox that the author of *Foglio di via* (Marching orders) was the only Italian poet

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1 This article has been published in Italian in the journal “Rivista di Letterature Moderne e Compare”, LXXI (2018), vol. 3, April–June, pp. 269–290.

Among the few exceptions I aim to highlight is the critical monograph on Fortini written by J. Miszalska, *Letteratura e impegno: la critica di Franco Fortini e la sua concezione della letteratura*, Universitas, Kraków, 1993, the author of Polish translation of *Traducendo Brecht* (*Tłumacząc Brechta* [Translating Brecht], ‘Dekada Literacka’, 1995, no. 9, p. 9) as well as the article by K. Jaworska, *Varsavia 1944: Franco Fortini e Stanisław Baliński*, in: *Italia Polonia Europa, scritti in memoria di Andrzej Litwornia*, edited by A. Ceccherelli, E. Jastrzębowska, L. Marinelli, M. Piacentini, A.M. Raffo, G. Ziffer, Rzym, Polska Akademia Nauk w Rzymie, 2007, pp. 182–195. Some Fortini’s poems were translated in English: *Poems* (transl. by M. Hamburger) Arc Publications, Todmorden 1978; *Summer is not all. Selected poems* (transl. by P. Lawton), Carcanet, Manchester 1992; *Ten poems* (transl. by E. Passannanti), Mask press, Kindle. Prof. T. E. Peterson (U. of Georgia), the author of the monography *The ethical Muse of Franco Fortini* (Un. Press of Florida, Gainesville, 1997), is actually working on a new translation of Fortini’s poems. I wish to warmly thank him for the linguistic revision of this article.

to have dedicated poems to the occupation of Poland as well as to the Polish Jews who fell prey to Holocaust, and to have paid particular attention to Polish culture. Here it is also crucial to remember that Polish was the first language of translation for his poems.

At the time of his political exile in Switzerland, among the crowds of emigrants coming from different parts of Europe, Fortini came across Polish refugees. In the text on Warsaw ghetto dating back to the 1990s he said:

I recall when I found myself in Zurich in the summer of 1944 as the Polish officers dressed in uniforms remaining from a military camp of internment passed by without looking at the groups of their Jewish compatriots from the nearby refugee camp (...).²

The reality of a far-off Slavic country must have interested the young poet even before the war as the center of dissemination of Jewish culture and the scene of anti-Semitic persecutions. Indeed, the ‘horrible news that leaked from Central Europe’³ spurred him to write two poems, titled *Varsavia 1939* and *Varsavia 1943*⁴, anonymously published in August 1944 in a Zurich magazine directed by Ignazio Silone. However, it is possible to imagine that the decision to write the two texts, inspired by either the invasion of Poland in 1939 or by the terrible fate of Polish Jews was also influenced by meeting both groups of internees.

Fortini came back several times to the two poems, defining them as ‘imaginary translations’. The first one dates back to the important preface to the 2nd edition of *Marching orders* (1967):

[...] both texts titled *Warsaw*, characterized by such an ambiguous spiritualism (underlined by G.T.), as if they were translated from a non-existing Polish original.⁵

The tragic events of World War II encouraged Fortini to deal with historical events involving entire nations and civilizations prompting ‘a growing verification of the individual in the collective history (as well as of a word in the language)’.⁶ This was not free from uncertainties and ambiguities, though. Let me quote the full text of these two poems by Fortini:

2 F. Fortini, *Varsavia 1943. Passato e non passato*, ‘Il circolo’, 1992, p. 4.

3 Id., *Traduzione immaginaria*, in: Id., *Lezioni sulla traduzione*, edited by M. Tirinato, Quodlibet, Macerata, 2011, p. 175.

4 ‘L’Avvenire dei lavoratori’ 31/8/1944, p. 3. As we will see, Fortini will change the title *Varsavia 1943* in *Varsavia 1944* in the first issue of *Foglio di via* [Marching others].

5 F. Fortini, *Prefazione 1967*, in: Id., *Tutte le poesie* (henceforth TP), edited by L. Lenzini, Mondadori, Milano, 2014, p. 65

6 Id., *Prefazione 1967*, TP, p. 66.

Varsavia 1939 [Warsaw 1939]

Noi non crediamo più alle vostre parole	<i>[We no longer believe in your words]</i>
Né a quelle che ci furono care una volta	<i>[And in those that we found dear once]</i>
Il nostro cuore l'ha rosato la fame	<i>[Hunger gnawed our hearts]</i>
Il sangue l'han bevuto le baionette	<i>[The bayonet drank our blood]</i>

Noi non crediamo più ai dolori alle gioie	<i>[We no longer believe in pains and joys]</i>
Ch'erano solo nostre ed erano sterili	<i>[That were only ours and sterile]</i>
La nostra vita è in mano dei fratelli	<i>[Our life lies in hands of brothers]</i>
E la speranza in chi possiamo amare	<i>[And the hope in whom we can love]</i>

Noi non crediamo più agli dèi lontani	<i>[We no longer believe in distant gods]</i>
Né agli idoli e agli spettri che ci abitano	<i>[Nor in idols or in ghosts living there]</i>
La nostra fede è la croce della terra	<i>[Our faith is the cross of the earth]</i>
Dov'è crocifisso il figliuolo dell'uomo.]	<i>[Where the Son of Man is crucified.]</i>

[TP, p. 16]

Varsavia 1944

[Warsaw 1944]

E dopo verranno da te ancora una volta	<i>[And then they will come to you once again]</i>
a contarti a insegnarti a mentirti	<i>[to count you, to teach you, to cheat on you]</i>
E dopo verranno uomini senza cuore	<i>[And then the heartless men will come]</i>
a urlare forte libertà e giustizia	<i>[to shout aloud freedom and justice]</i>

Ma tu ricorda popolo ucciso mio	<i>[But you will remember oh my killed people]</i>
libertà è quella che i santi scolpiscono	<i>[Freedom is what the saints always</i>
sempre	<i>carve]</i>
per i deserti delle caverne in se stessi	<i>[through the deserts of the caves in</i>
	<i>themselves]</i>
statua d'Adamo, faticosamente.	<i>[Adam's statue, painstakingly.]</i>

Giustizia è quella che nel poeta sorride	<i>[Justice is what smiles in the poet]</i>
Bianca vendetta di grazia sulla morte	<i>[White revenge of grace on death]</i>
Le mie parole che non ti danno pane	<i>[My words which do not give you bread]</i>
Le mie parole per le pupille dei figli.	<i>[My words for our children's pupils.]</i>

[TP, p. 17]

Starting from their titles and the tone of an indignant accusation, they form the expression of an evident whole: after all, Fortini left them contiguous in all further reprints, starting from *Foglio di via*, in which they were inserted in 1946. Both of them are composed of free verses based on the hendecasyllable, inserted into

a strophic scheme of non-rhyming quatrains. The classic formal structure, as rightly observed by Bernardo De Luca, has the function of counteracting ‘the contents of high emotional intensity, [...] based on distance, not on emotion’.⁷ Recurring parallelisms, a search for a marked and percussive rhythm as well as of a metrical irregularity make both *Warsaw* poems nevertheless part of the experimental area. The definition of an imaginary translation provided by Fortini does not only cover an allusion to literary tradition, background or pretense that it could come from Poland occupied by Nazis, but it also considers the fact of re-echoing or parodying certain translation habits practiced in Italy. This places the two poems within the sphere of so called ‘translation-like style’, to which I will return shortly.

The two poems share some common features with other ones of *Marching orders*: a collective subject, an “abstract declamation” (following a suitable definition of the poet Giovanni Raboni),⁸ a juxtaposition of past/present/future, an oscillation between skepticism and hope connected to the nexus destruction-regeneration.⁹ The poems start and end with the term ‘words’ in two different meanings: one referring to bourgeois mystifiers, and the others, authentic ones, open to the future seen by the poet.¹⁰ Even though they have been built on key terms (‘hope’, ‘faith’, ‘freedom’, ‘justice’), they are not capable of building a true monumentalism: the features of biblical and messianic rhetoric are mitigated by some skepticism which is used to describe Poles and Jews as more betrayed than able to fight.

In *Warsaw 1939* Fortini opted for a choral chant structure and a first-person plural pronoun that will return in *Sonetto* [Sonet, a text dedicated to Holocaust],¹¹ in *Coro di deportati* [Chorus of deportees, also published in 1944 by ‘L’Avvenire dei lavoratori’], in *Canto degli ultimi partigiani* [The Last partisans’ song] as well as in *Coro dell’ultimo atto* [The Last Act – Chorus, TP p. 45, 18–19, 24 and 60]. The anaphoric use of ‘we’ is enhanced by its collocation in the incipit and, as I will try to show, this may result from heterogeneous literary heritage. It is also possible to ob-

7 B. De Luca, *Foglio di via e altri versi. Edizione critica e commentata*, Quodlibet, Macerata, 2018, p. 36. De Luca also notes that there is even a more glaring contrast between the form and the content present in *Sonetto*, where the issue of slaughter of the if very ‘close to inexpressibility’ (ibidem, p. 213).

8 G. Raboni, *Temi resistenziali e “stile da traduzione” in Foglio di via*, ‘Paragone’, 1980, issues no. 360–362, p. 166.

9 Cf. F. Diaco, *Dialettica e speranza. Sulla poesia di Franco Fortini*, Quodlibet, Macerata, 2017, p. 86.

10 When commenting on the later poetry titled *Questo muro*, Pier Vincenzo Mengaldo shrewdly pointed out that the distant future expressed by Fortini ‘with as much more power, the less sure the result is’ (P. V. Mengaldo, *Un aspetto della metrica di Fortini*, in: id. *La tradizione del Novecento*, Quarta serie, Bollati Boringhieri, Torino, 2000, p. 276).

11 In *Sonetto* the slaughter of Jews is narrated with non-naturalistic references to the stakes of the past: the chant of martyrs blends with an extradiegetic ‘we’ that appears just after the exhortation ‘Friends, with them!’.

serve a sort of intentional ambiguity (characteristic of Fortini's poetry), involving many different, even contradictory aspects. Francesco Diaco defines such a discordant alteration as an 'antithetic parallelism' where 'the first two lines of each quatrain deny the past, [...] while the last two ones turn to the present'.¹² I would add that the present is also permeated by disillusion, emphasized at the beginning of every stanza with the insistent words: 'We no longer believe' ('in your words [...] pains and joys, [...] distant gods [...] idols nor spirits living there'). Moreover, what clearly emerges is the 'ambiguous spiritualism' disapproved by the poet in '67: the ambiguity results from messianic high concentration of 'biblical and existential-religious language, merged with the socialist one'.¹³

As usual in Fortini, an individual experience (pains and joys / that were only ours and sterile') is contrasted by the collectively-shared one. The poet emphasizes the gruesome history lesson (gnawed hearts, drunk blood), without invalidating the hope in the future ('Our life lies in hands of brothers'), representing the leit-motif of his work of that time. In the last quatrain in which appear 'distant gods' and 'idols', the saving power of Christ enlightens in a fideistic manner human history.¹⁴ The poem, introduced by a strong declaration of disillusion, finishes with an unexpected remark of hope: it reaches, thus, an unpredicted 'apocalyptic and messianic overturning, thanks to which the catastrophe is overturned into a premise of redemption'.¹⁵ Errors and disillusion are involved in the process of the self-construction of humankind: such a certain foretelling of salvation – as observed by Luca Lenzini – shows that it is 'always possible to improve the past, both the individual and collective one'¹⁶.

Similar features appear also in *Warsaw 1944* (also written in the first months of the same year) with a painful alternation of skepticism and hope. The anaphor of lines 1 and 3 reports mystification and betrayals not only in the present (*And then they will come to you once again / to count you, to teach you, to cheat on you/ And then the heartless men will come /to shout aloud freedom and justice* [underlined by G. T.]). Fortini opposes to evil an ascetic freedom, represented by the suffering of Man, Adam's son: the poet's words also imply a regenerating perspective for

¹² F. Diaco, *Dialettica e speranza...*, cit., p. 117n.

¹³ The poet adds: 'I was not aware then of the deficiency of that confusion' F. Fortini, *Un dialogo ininterrotto: interviste 1952-1994*, edited by D. Abati, Bollati Boringhieri, Torino, 2003, p. 560. The messianism, as observed by Luca Lenzini, in *Marching orders* is expressed in 'an atmosphere wakefulness and vigil projected 'to an open and discontinuous time dimension' (L. Lenzini, *Introduzione*, TP, p. X).

¹⁴ Cf. D. Dalmas, *La protesta di Fortini*, Aosta, Sylos, 2006, p. 91 and F. Diaco, *Dialettica e speranza...*, cit., p. 117n.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 122.

¹⁶ Cf. L. Lenzini, *Introduzione* (TP, p. XXVI).

'our childrens' pupils'.¹⁷ As has been observed, the poet here refers to the close of the previous poem ('Where the Son of Man is crucified'): his ideal comparison between Adam and Christ is modeled on a famous passage from *Epistle to the Romans* (5,14). Adam is a *figura futuri*, i.e. a figure resembling what or who was due to come, symmetrically to the Savior, 'leading the humankind redeemed from the sin'.¹⁸ From Saint Paul's *Epistle to Hebrews* could also arise 'pains and joys / That were only ours and sterile' (*Warsaw 1939*), as well as mystical 'saints', 'deserts' and 'caves' (*Warsaw 1944*, vv. 6–7).¹⁹

Therefore, whilst reporting the tragedy of the present, the two poems also aim to represent it '*sub specie aeternitatis*'. Among hidden literary 'retrievals' and intersections of *Warsaw 1944* we can rank *Il Natale* [Christmas], by Manzoni, one of the most beloved *Inni sacri* (The sacred Hymns) by Fortini: it is also dedicated to the theme of Redemption, from Adam, father of a humanity marked by his 'fallo primo' ['first sin': A. Manzoni, *Il Natale* v. 16], to the Savior.

Topics and people 'related to persecutions and conflict'

Another common feature of the two Polish imaginary translations is the vague identity of the choral voice in *Warsaw 1939* as well as the recipient of the appeal of *Warsaw 1944*. In the mid-war years, when the two poems were published anonymously, the only assured evidence were the titles referring to the historical dates and the name of the Polish capital. Nevertheless, it was not sufficient to

17 "The poet's words" are present also in *Per un compagno ucciso* [For a killed companion]; a similar function is played in *Sonetto* by a choral chant which 'sings an anthem that you steal from the night' (TP, p. 21 and 45). The perspective of the salvation of a new generation returns also in *Per un compagno ucciso* [For a killed companion]: 'We will guide the steps of our children / above the ground, more lenient than your death' (TP, p. 21).

18 P. Sabbatino, *Fortini e la figura di Adamo. Il senso tragico della storia e della poesia*, 'Otto/ Novecento', 14 (1990), issues no. 3–4, May–August, p. 74. Fortini quoted exactly the same passage from *Epistle to the Romans* at the conference *Dei confini della poesia* (1978, currently available in *I confini della poesia*, edited by L. Lenzini, Castelvecchi, Roma, 2015, p. 38), focused on the dialogue between tradition and modernity of a new poetry, able to 'understand and retrieve the dead, i.e. the past itself'.

19 'for none of us lives for ourselves alone, and none of us dies for ourselves alone.', Saint Paul, *Romans* 14,7; 'the world was not worthy of them. They wandered in deserts and mountains, living in caves and in holes in the ground.' Id., *Hebrews*, 11,38). The 'saints' appear in an other poem from *Marching Orders, La gioia a venire* [TP, P. 61 (The joy to come)], also dedicated to ambiguous promises of the future: 'The school of joy is filled with tears and blood/ /but also with eternity / And from the vanished mouths of saints / Like hedgerows in March there sparkles verity.' in F. Fortini, *The joy to come*, in: Id., *Summer is not all. Selected poems (in Italian and English. Translated by Paul Lawton)*, Carcanet, Manchester 1992, p. 23.

reasonably explain who were 'we' in the first one and 'my killed people' in the second.

Some critics speculated that both poems had been dedicated to the extermination of Jews. From my point of view, such an interpretation is difficult to support, particularly considering the final allusion to Christ in *Warsaw 1939*. After all, 1939 cannot refer only to the beginning of persecutions of Polish Jews with no reference to the invasion of Poland by Germans. It is unlikely that Fortini refers to the 'institution of Jewish ghetto' in Warsaw, as B. De Luca supposes,²⁰ considering that it was established in the autumn of 1940. In addition to this, both poems were conceived as imaginary translations from Polish: their hypothetical high-sounding original *prototext* quoting the New Testament, is difficult to connect with the Ashkenazi Jewish culture.

As far as the content is concerned, the specific reference to Christ in *Warsaw 1939* may allude to messianic poetry of Polish Romanticism. Even if Fortini admitted not to knowing 'any single line, even translated' of Polish literature,²¹ it is unlikely that he could not have received any echo of the great Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz, renowned for his long exile, his patriotic activism and his imaginative dreams of a new Poland, which fascinated Giuseppe Mazzini. The myth created by Mickiewicz of Poland as the 'Messiah of the nations' was the top landmark of the Polish romantic poetry, translated into Italian, at least in rough translations, starting from the first half of the 19th century²². After all, Fortini quoted the Polish poet in *Verifica dei poteri*, apropos of Herzen.²³

Italian readers might therefore have expected from an anonymous poem translated from Polish a recurrence of a stereotype: prophetism and martyrdom were connected to Polish patriots' fight for freedom. The messianic dimension (which wasn't, nevertheless, a stranger to Fortini, describing himself as one who 'with his comrades / Now seeks the white roads of Galilee'²⁴ [*Lettera*, TP, p. 44]), allowed him to give more solemnity to a text connected with war and persecutions which concerned both Poles and Jews.

²⁰ Cf. B. De Luca, *Foglio di via...*, cit., p. 24 and 123.

²¹ Id., *Traduzione immaginaria*, cit., p. 176.

²² Mickiewicz was the key voice of Polish romantic messianism: his drama *Dziady* (*Forefathers' Eve*) and *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* (*Books of the Polish Nation and the Polish Pilgrimage*, 1832) were translated into French and Italian in various editions. Other of his texts were issued during the interwar period in 'Rivista di cultura' (1924), in the *Antologia della vita* 7 (Rome 1925), as well as in numerous anthologies of world poetry. For complete reference of the Italian translations of Mickiewicz please see: Maria e Marina Bersano Begey, *La Polonia in Italia, saggio bibliografico 1799-1948*, Rosenberg e Sellier, Torino, 1949, pp. 81-96.

²³ F. Fortini, *Verifica dei poteri*, in: Id., *Saggi ed epigrammi*, cit., p. 284.

²⁴ Id., *Lettera*, in: id., *Summer is not all. Selected poems*, cit, p. 21.

It would therefore be appropriate to assume that the choral and soliloquizing voice of the *Warsaw 1939* speaks on behalf of Poles, whereas *Warsaw 1944* refers to slaughtered Jews. It is an abstract vision: Fortini liked to place the anti-Semitic atrocities in the more general context of what 'Nazis did by bringing suffering for the East-European peoples'.²⁵

In this light a clearly unnamed interlocutor of *Warsaw 1939*, whose words are no longer believable, might have been represented by 'accomplices of violence and oppression, who used to write in droves in Mussolini's ministers' journals during the months of Warsaw and Stalingrad siege'.²⁶ 'Your words' vehemently accused of falsity might be addressed to Italy who shamefully signed the shameful "Pact of Steel" with the Third Reich, as well as to all the opportunists who observed with indifference the destruction and slaughters of Central-Eastern Europe.

I have already mentioned the title change of *Warsaw 1943* renamed to *Warsaw 1944* in *Marching orders* (1946). This fact, to which not much attention has been paid so far, has nevertheless an interesting prequel.

As Fortini himself recalled, both *Warsaw* compositions appealed to the members of Polish emigration who fell prey to his game of mystification. The poems were promptly issued by 'papers of Polish emigrants in London, Buenos Aires and New York'.²⁷ Indeed, they appeared on the pages of 'Robotnik polski w Wielkiej Brytanii' [*The Polish worker in the United Kingdom*], the propaganda journal of the Polish Socialist Party in exile in London. Preceded by a short comment defining it as 'magnificent poetry dedicated to Warsaw translated from Italian', they were presented as unique texts split into two sections, each of them signed by respective date: *Warsaw 1943* was nevertheless proofed to *Warsaw 1944*.²⁸ In the fall of '44 an analogous reference could remind the reader of the recent uprising held in the capital of Poland and its subsequent destruction a month later by German Nazis. It caused a misunderstanding which spread for decades.²⁹ After all, the translator of both Fortini's poems into Polish, the Socialist poet in exile Stanisław Baliński,

25 Id., [*Credibilità* (Credibility), 1977], *ibidem*, p. 1056. In this article the poet remembers not wanting to believe, when being in 1944 in Zurich, in the existence of gas chambers as reported in a leaflet.

26 This invective is from Fortini's 1967 preface to *Marching orders*: Id., *Prefazione 1967*, TP, p. 65.

27 Id., *Traduzione immaginaria*, p. 176. Cf. *Prefazione 1967*, TP, p. 65.

28 *Warszawa* [with no indication of the author], 'Robotnik polski w Wielkiej Brytanii', 15/11/1944, no. 22, p. 1; cf. K. Jaworska, *Varsavia 1944...*, cit. p. 189.

29 Still in 2004 the two poems, regarded as one text, were included in the anthology on Warsaw uprising of 1944 *Warsaw Concerto. Powstanie warszawskie w poezji*, edited by K. Kunert, Muzeum Powstania Warszawskiego, Warszawa, 2004, p. 581. A newer version of *Varsavia 1939* by Anna Kamińska, a poet and editor of 'Nowa Kultura' (a review that Fortini was in touch with), appeared in the anthology of foreign poetry titled *Polska w poezji narodów świata: antologia wierszy o Polsce*, edited by J. Śpiewak, PIW, Warszawa, 1959, p. 371).

considered them 'one of the most beautiful treasures of Polish poetry', even though they were written by an Italian poet.³⁰

We do not know if it was Fortini himself who changed the title or if he was only informed about it afterwards: it is however impossible not to observe its overlap with the change of the first edition of *Marching orders* (1946). Recalling the Warsaw ghetto Uprising held in April and May of '43, *Warsaw 1943* might have suggested that its anonymous author was Jewish; *Warsaw 1944* recalls instead the uprising of the Polish capital held a year later. It is however possible that the poet wished to demonstrate a higher (or vaguer) universality, in order to avoid identifying himself with Jews, especially when he publicly acknowledged the paternity of both 'Polish' poems.

The original date of 1943 and the appeal to 'my killed people' seems anyway to confirm *Warsaw 1943/1944* to be a lamentation of Polish Jews. It is likely that Fortini tried to revise his painful embarrassment faced with 'small groups of Jews coming from Eastern Europe' met during the exile in Switzerland with their 'unacceptable [...] Kippur prayers screamed by people as if they were tortured and harassed', 'incomprehensible moaning and [...] long funeral dirges that penetrated the walls, while the forests remained completely mute and stunned.'³¹ Perhaps, this situation blended with Fortini's image of his father, Dino Lattes, seen as a symbol of biographical failure, 'defeated day by day' (as described in the poem *Lettera* [Letter, TP p. 44]).³² Thus, it is no wonder that *Warsaw 1944* assigned a totally passive role to 'my killed people'. Also in this poem, there occurs a resonant accusation of 'they', implied by strong and twofold '*And then they will come*', threatening from the same *incipit*. The poet perhaps denounces people who mystify and remain indifferent towards the defeated's fate. As in other poems by Fortini, the end of war tainted by deception and treachery is foreshadowed. The strong *pathos* that fluctuates between suspicion and hope (offered by the poet-witness's liberating poetry) does not go as far as the aforementioned apocalyptic

30 That was written in a letter in English by Adam Ciołkosz, editor-in-chief of 'Robotnik polski w Wielkiej Brytanii', destined to Fortini via Tristano Codignola: "M. Balinski wishes Sign. Fortini to know, that he inserted quite purposely his poems at the close of the book, as he thought these two poems to be the most moving from among all the poems in this collection. (...) Please tell him also, that his poems belong now to the most beautiful treasure of Polish poetry." (Fondo Franco Fortini, Siena, 21/06/1950, 1 c. Sc. III, 54, 1). Ciołkosz referred to having inserted the two poems by Fortini (merged in only one poem, titled *Warszawa*) in the poetic anthology by S. Baliński *Wiersze zebrane 1937-1947* (Nakładem Stowarzyszenia Pisarzy Polskich, Londyn, 1948, pp. 299-300).

31 The passage of the Swiss diary of Fortini follows: 'We did not know well then what for. They only knew that at that time that behind the frontiers something, which will accompany us until the rest of our lives, happened.' (F. Fortini, *Sere in Valdossola*, Marsilio, Venezia, 1985, p. 8).

32 The writer defined his father as 'a person who was violently touched by history, politics, racial persecutions' with a 'personality of naive trust', Id., *Un dialogo ininterrotto...*, cit., pp. 238-239.

descriptions in *Sonetto*³³: it even refers to *Coro dei deportati* [Chorus of deportees], published shortly before in the same 'L'Avvenire dei lavoratori' (TP pp. 18–19). The drama of those who were sentenced to death is also presented from a perspective of salvation.³⁴

Now I would like to draw attention to other aspects of both poems. As in other texts of *Marching orders*, persecutions and conflict assume symbolic references, the epic 'is concise [...] and everything is reduced to a minimum and stripped'.³⁵ Among the tragedies of World War II Fortini seizes a universal value: it is no wonder that the background is reduced to a minimum. Regardless of their titles, references to the city, the Warsaw ghetto or the destruction of war are totally absent. This aspect cannot go unnoticed since other texts of Fortini that include in their titles some place names and years (*Italy 1942*, *Basel 1945* [TP, pp. 14 and 22–23]) are not completely deprived of these descriptive details. Uniquely, the name of the Polish capital exposed in both titles, as well as the messianic allusions of the two final lines of *Warsaw 1939* associate the background to Poland: the space is deprived of landscape, while the time is immersed in a transcendent perspective. Something of that kind occurs too in *Valdossola (16 ottobre 1944)*, TP p. 20, a choral farewell to a partisan unit caught in a trap, whose lonesome defeat is set in a sort of emptiness, whereas the time represents the 'last act' in both individual and collective terms. In all three poems we can feel 'feelings of regret and sympathy' that are characteristic of Italian post-war civic poetry.³⁶ After all, one has the feeling that the tragic chorus of *Warsaw 1939* and the people who the poet refers to as in *Warsaw 1944* are all dead.

Warsaw 1939 and *Warsaw 1944* are, thus, in line with the definition provided by Fortini about his own poetry, born 'from agitated metrical and lexical experiment with topics related to persecution and conflict'.³⁷ As we can see, by introduc-

³³ In *Sonetto*, also written in '44, the strongly symbolic features such as Dantesque echoes coexist with the chilling reports of a survivor expressed in the epigraph adjoined in '59 to *Poesia ed errore*). Quoted as a passage from *Diario di una dodicenne polacca 1944* (TP, p. 45), it is effectively an excerpt from a diary of Janka (Janina) Heschel (1931–) *Oczyrna dwunastoletniej dziewczyny* [With the eyes of 12-year-old girl], published in Cracow in 1945 in *Żydowski Biuletyn Historyczny* [Jewish Historical Newsletter] in the volume issued in 1946; Fortini might have read its French edition (M. Borwicz, *Écrits des condamnés à mort sous l'occupation nazie, 1939–1945*, Paris, Puf, 1954) or perhaps heard about it from Alberto Nirenstein, the husband of his cousin Wanda Lattes, unwillingly detained in Warsaw until 1953.

³⁴ Bernardo De Luca rightly observed that even in *Sonetto* the descent into hell is enlightened by the 'freedom of redemption' as well as by the 'destiny of rebirth' (*Foglio di via e altri versi...*, cit., p. 257).

³⁵ C. De Girolamo, *Ritratti di critici contemporanei. Franco Fortini*, 'Belfagor', no. 3, 31/05/1977, p. 301.

³⁶ F. Fortini, *Disobbedienze II. Gli anni della sconfitta. Scritti sul Manifesto 1985–1994*, Manifestolibri, Roma, 1998, p. 185.

³⁷ Id., *Per una piccola Enciclopedia della Letteratura italiana anno 2029*, in: *Autodizionario degli scrittori italiani*, edited by F. Piemontese, Leonardo, Milano, 1989, p. 157.

ing a sort of 'memorial mercy'³⁸, the two 'Polish' poems are open to interferences of the past and the present traditions.

A Polish atmosphere?

Fortini frequently recalled his encounter with minor texts of the French Resistance movement' during his exile in Zurich:

The geographical distance from Italy helped me out. At that time, I came across French Resistance's texts: I translated some of them by Éluard, Aragon, but also many other anonymous ones that were issued in a paper (very impressive ones) of Italian socialists in Switzerland which was in charge of Ignazio Silone."³⁹

During those months, on the pages of this same paper 'L'Avvenire dei lavoratori'), Fortini published his translations and poems inspired by the war, including the two apocryphal 'Polish' texts:

In 1944 in Zurich I released several versions of Cassou, Emmanuel and Éluard in a Socialist paper; subsequently I published two poems of mine, anonymous as if they were translated from Polish.⁴⁰

It is no coincidence that these two compositions took their names after Warsaw [...] they were pretending to be translated from a non-existing Polish original. That was 'translation-like style' that swept through later on. [...] It was a sign of an uneasiness, destined to grow. [underlined by G.T.]⁴¹

With a leap of logic ('It is no coincidence...'), the preface of 1967 implicitly acknowledges the connection between the imaginary translations of '44 and the real ones belonging to French anti-Fascist poetry published in 'L'Avvenire dei lavoratori'. Indeed, as we can observe also in Paul Éluard's poems, in both *Warsaws* we can find 'a percussive pronunciation' that, as remarked by Giovanni Raboni with regard to *Coro dei deportati* [Chorus of deportees] manifests in 'rhythmic and sound measure of basic syntactical links or [...] of single words'.⁴²

³⁸ The definition is taken from Fortini's article on *Shoah* (F. Fortini, *Varsavia 1943. Passato e non passato*, cit., p. 42).

³⁹ Id., *Un dialogo ininterrotto*, cit., p. 461.

⁴⁰ Id., *Premessa [a] Il ladro di ciliegie*, TP, p. 737.

⁴¹ Id., *Prefazione 1967*, TP, p. 65.

⁴² G. Raboni, *Temi resistenziali...*, cit., p. 166. Anna Manfredi wrote of an important 'stylistic and ethical model' provided by Éluard and applied for numerous *Marching orders's* poems (A. Manfredi, *Fortini traduttore di Eluard*, Pacini Fazzi, Lucca, 1992, p. 5).

Both *Warsaw* poems describe a situation without return, a story of injustice and solitude (yet not desperation) of defeated and slaughtered people, without excluding a prospect of freedom. The persistent 'we', repeated at the beginning of every quatrain of *Warsaw 1939*, might be an echo of the intense choral nature of *La dernière nuit*, translated by Fortini for 'L'Avvenire dei lavoratori' (10/05/1944). Let me take into consideration its final section:

Nous jetons le fagot des ténèbres au feu
 Nous brisons les serrures rouillées de l'injustice
 Des hommes vont venir qui n'ont plus peur d'eux-mêmes
 Car ils sont sûrs de tous les hommes.
 Car l'ennemi à figure d'homme disparaît.

translated into Italian in the following by the poet:

Noi buttiamo nel fuoco il sacco delle tenebre	[We throw the bag of gloom to the fire]
Noi spezziamo i serrami di ruggine dell'ingiustizia	[We break the rusted locks of injustice]
Ecco uomini vengono.	[Men will come]
Che non hanno più paura di se stessi.	[Who no longer fear themselves]
Perché sono sicuri d'ogni uomo	[For they are sure of every man]
Perché il nemico dal viso d'uomo sparisce.	[For the enemy with a human face disappears.]

(TP, pp. 716–717)

A percussive pronunciation, caused by a syntactic iteration, also re-echoes in Fortini's imaginary translations: in the v. 2 of *Warsaw 1944* ('a contarti a insegnarti a mentirti') we can observe a decasyllabic verse, so-called *decasillabo manzoniano*, as well as a coherent iambic pentameter in the *incipit* of both texts (*Warsaw 1939*: 'Il nostro cuore...', 'La nostra vita è in mano ai fratelli', 'La nostra fede...'; *Warsaw 1944*: 'E dopo...'; 'E dopo...'; 'A urlare...'; 'Ma tu ricorda...'; 'Giustizia...').⁴³

Perhaps it was just Èluard's diction, strongly pronounced and based on parallelisms and repetitions, that helped Fortini to create a sort of counterbalance to the messianic emphasis of the two 'Polish' poems? It is possible that the phantasmal shade of *Warsaw 1939*, suspended between reality and dream, survival and death (the blood 'drunk' by old-fashioned bayonets) may be legitimately regarded as an irradiation of *La dernière nuit*, where a 'murderous little world' [*petit monde*

⁴³ De Luca defined the use of the linking word 'and' at the beginning of a line as 'a sort of Fortini's stylistic twitch' (B. De Luca, *Foglio di via e altri versi...*, cit., p. 290).

meurtrier] “confounds the dead and living?” (TP, p. 713). Anyway, as I have already observed, the author of *Warsaw 1939* is not, however, sure about humanity’s probity in the future: his choral chants from *Marching orders* are mostly sung by losers rather than by winners, even though they rely on the message of hope and redemption in the future.

French poetry is not the only one evoked by the two imaginary translations from Polish. Fortini, when self-commenting on own metrical-prosodic model, observed that:

there are two forms, both equally inauthentic or at least poorly controlled: the first one had an apparent epigraphic immediacy, like a sort of password, sob or scream; the latter implicated some literary artifice and deliberate archaism. I believe that almost all of my poems published between 1940 and 1955 fall into one of two metrical-prosodic structures: on one hand Ungaretti-style syllables, proclamations, manifestos, verses which seem to be intentional translations from Germanic or Slavic languages [underlined by G.T.], on the other sequences of hendecasyllable, hendecasyllabic and heptasyllabic stanzas, rhymed quatrains, even regular sonnets, long strophes and complex rhymes.⁴⁴

The general reference to Germanic and Slavonic model became clearer a few years later in *Traduzione immaginaria*:

In Zurich, in the first months of ‘44 [...] I had an urge to write poetry allegedly being a translation from imaginary Polish original. [...] I had in mind lines composed of between eleven and fourteen syllables. (I got inspired – I think I can say – by examples of translations deriving from Russian poetry, probably made by Renato Poggioli, who published them in journals of the time when I lived in Florence). However this instinctive imitation was characterized by an impassioned, prophetic and emphatic tonality, mediated too by translations (underlined by G.T.) with appeals to ‘my killed people’ as well as to a kind of ‘tragic Christianity’ of ‘martyrs of the nations’.⁴⁵

At a time when the author turned to ‘Polish’ topics, he came out with vague echoes of Slavic translations. Publishing his work in ‘Solaria’, ‘Letteratura’ and ‘Campo di Marte’,⁴⁶ Poggioli had tried to retain some aspects of Russian syllabo-tonic verse,

⁴⁴ Id., *Metrica e biografia*, ‘Quaderni piacentini’, no. s., 7 (1981), no. 2, p. 111, currently available in *I confini della poesia* (2015), cit., p. 54.

⁴⁵ Id., *Traduzione immaginaria*, cit. pp. 175–176.

⁴⁶ With regard to these legendary rewies Fortini recalled: ‘In Florence around 1935 in ‘Frontespizio’, or in ‘Campo di Marte’ or in ‘Letteratura’, who was not a translator at that time?’ [Id., *Preface to Ladro di ciliegie*, TP, p. 737].

especially with regard to iambic rhythm, scarcely frequent in Italian prosody.⁴⁷ His translations from Polish concerned works in prose only, though.

Fortini monitored with particular attention the intense translation activity of Poggioli, collected in *La violetta notturna* (1932) as well as in the renowned *Fiore del verso russo* (1949). In a critical review of the latter anthology, Fortini accused Poggioli of being stubborn in ‘transferring meters and rhythms from another language into apparently similar Italian meters’ and of having selected ‘an Italian lexis with no time and history’, in line with the ‘linguistic neo-classicism of the Hermetic experience’.⁴⁸ His disapproval concerned many other translators of the ’30s and ’40s, who (the same way as he did) denied ‘the positive crisis of literary language [...] in Italy’.⁴⁹ Their choices were contrasted by the author of *Marching orders* with an idea, already proposed by Walter Benjamin, of interlinear translation, enriched by a ‘metrical scheme’ and a broad system of footnotes; that was a criterion that – he concluded impatiently – ‘it might be time to be applied to lyrical translations’.⁵⁰

It is clear that by referring to Poggioli Fortini intended to allude to the so-called ‘translation-like style’, a term frequently used and perceived in its pejorative connotation: ‘the crushing and mortifying influence [...] performed by one or another foreign poet’ on Italian poets’ verses ‘redone in often dull translations’.⁵¹ It is not accidental that two other poems written in the Swiss period (*Per un compagno ucciso* [For a killed companion] and *Coro per un ultimo atto* [The Last Act – Chorus]), were also considered by Fortini as contaminated by some translations of the ’30s

⁴⁷ Cf. L. Organte, *Poesia e traduzione a Firenze (1930–1950)*, Libreriauniversitaria.it, Padova, 2018, passim; G. Ghini, *Tradurre il ritmo del poeta. Puškin nelle “versioni ritmiche” di Renato Poggioli*, ‘Studi Slavistici’, II (005), pp. 81–9. For other cooperation of early Poggioli who, starting from the mid ’30s, worked in Praha, Vilnius and Warsaw, see also in A. Cristiani, *Renato Poggioli e le riviste fra le due guerre*, ‘MediAzioni’, 5, <http://mediazioni.sitlec.unibo.it>.

⁴⁸ Id., *Un’occasione mancata. Il fiore del verso russo*, ‘Avanti!’, 3.12.1949, p. 3. Fortini seems to anticipate his critical observations published a few decades later in *Giudici traduttore dell’Onegin*: F. Fortini, *La “letterarietà” della traduzione*, in: Id. *Lezioni sulla traduzione*, cit., p. 188 et seq.

⁴⁹ Id., *Un’occasione mancata*, cit., p. 3.

⁵⁰ ibidem. The author of *Questo muro* in later years continued to appeal to the necessary ‘interpretative humility’ of interlinear translation (cf. *Traduzione e rifacimento*, in: Id., *Saggi ed epigrammi*, cit., p. 820–822; *Lezioni sulla traduzione*, cit., passim). For criticism of R. Poggioli’s translations cf. S. Savioli, *La curiosa fortuna del Fiore ovvero note sulla recezione critica*, in: C. Pavese, R. Poggioli, *A meeting of minds: carteggio 1947–1950*, edited by S. Savioli, Edizioni dell’Orso, Alessandria, 2010.

⁵¹ This definition was by E. Falqui ([introduction to] *La giovane poesia. Saggio e repertorio*, Carlo Colombo, Roma, 1957, p. 73). Paolo Giovannetti defined the ‘translation-like style’ as ‘a sort of false metrics’, where ‘the foreign model justifies the intemperance of the form [...], creating its physiognomy in an unacceptable way.’ (P. Giovannetti, G. Lavezzi, *La metrica italiana contemporanea*, Carocci, Roma, 2010, p. 299).

and '40s (and subsequently 'cleared' from those accusations by Raboni).⁵² It is obvious to me that at least in the two poems dedicated to Warsaw the contamination from translation-like style was not the result of an involuntary 'picking up'. On the contrary, I believe that Fortini's 'Slavic' experiment alluded to translation stylistic features by Poggioli as a possible building material in the same way as he adopted in his poetry these same 'limping' hendecasyllables, that 'were all the rage both by the right-wing as well by the left-wing of lyrical *hemicycle*'.⁵³

I would not rule out the possibility that in the first lines or hemistiches of three quatrains of *Warsaw 1939* ('We no longer believe in your words [...] We no longer believe in pains and joys [...] We no longer believe in distant gods) we can see an embedded echo of *Plebs* by Pushkin, translated by Poggioli shortly before the war. He translated Pushkin's iambic tetrapody in nine-syllable lines with a regular iambic rhythm. The first-person plural personal pronoun recurs two times when the plebs declared: 'We are wicked and insolent', while the snobbish poet replied: 'We weren't born for the action'⁵⁴. If it was so (without excluding references to other versions translated from Russian by Poggioli), then we could think that already in 1944 the same uneasiness caused by 'translation-like style' could have helped Fortini to find new 'words' and forms. They might have launched the work on his first imaginary translations by bringing on further reflection on relationships between language translation and contemporary poetry's development.⁵⁵

'For the sake of trial'

The occurrence of important topics in Fortini's poetry, such as World War II and the Shoah, makes us forget that the two Warsaw poems are *apocrypha*, born as a free experiment deriving from a hypothetical foreign model and from a specific translation-like style. It shall not be useless to recall a few thoughts of Fortini on literary hoaxes.

In 1989 the poet provided a list of his own imaginary translations: the two 'Polish' poems, *Via dello Yenan* [The Road to Yenan] (smuggled into 'Il Politecnico'

52 F. Fortini, *Prefazione 1967*, TP, pp. 65–66; G. Raboni, *Temi resistenziali...*, cit., passim.

53 In the same sentence Fortini, when quoting *La giovane poesia* by Falqui, recalled how the 'rhythmic of translation' was 'rightly mocked' in 1945." It is clear that the poet referred too to *Marching orders* and counts on the 'metrical consciousness' of his prudent reader, capable of recognizing allusive references to those 'limped' hendecasyllables: (F. Fortini, *Su alcuni paradossi della metrica moderna*, in: Id., *Saggi ed epigrammi*, cit., p. 816).

54 A. Pushkin, *La plebe, traduzione metrica dal russo*, by R. Poggioli, 'Campo di Marte', II, no. 9, 1–15.05. 1939, p. 3. Poggioli had already commented and quoted the poetry in his article titled *Puskin lirico*, 'Letteratura. Rivista trimestrale di letteratura contemporanea', 1 (1937), no. 3, p. 128–129.

55 On the one hand the poet used the term 'translation-like style' in the negative sense, but on the other he highlighted the positive influence of the new translations (also in prose) on the vocabulary of the new poetry in the interwar period (cf. *Prefazione 1967*, TP, pp. 65–66).

as a translation from ‘Chinese’), a translation from English *Il cardinale* [The Cardinal] (‘with a tonality between Archibald Mac Leish and Stephen Spender’), an ‘apocryphal octave of Monti’s version of *The Maid of Orleans* by Voltaire’, ‘alexandrines echoing the epoch of Ronsard’,⁵⁶ ‘a parody of Parini’s theme’, ‘the imitation of two sonnets by Gongora’. These references might be integrated with other Fortini poems and the list still will not be complete.⁵⁷

As the *imaginary translations* are contiguous with imitation, remake, parody and allusion (in terms of form and contents), Fortini acknowledged that such an experience had influenced his own “second purpose” poetry, inspired by Milton, Tasso, Brecht, as well as *Sestina a Firenze*, re-echoing the older tradition of *sestina*. Especially in his translation of Milton’s *Lycidas*, there occurred a sort of ‘insertion or adaptation ‘of the real translation into the imaginary one’. The poet even glimpsed some elements of imaginary translation in a few early novellas of Landolfi and Cassola (‘a parodist treatment of stylistic elements taken from mediocre French and Russian novelists’)⁵⁸ and even in Pasolini’s poetry, where some references to Troubadours’ poetry are present.⁵⁹

I would like to add that in *Cinque paragrafi sul tradurre* (Five paragraphs on translation, 1972) we can observe a few important remarks on ‘a variation starting from patterns’ which help us understand Fortini’s concept of imaginary translation. The variation occurs in a translation, when ‘the same sequence of communicative content’ is transferred into ‘a completely different syntactic and metrical construction’, instead of mechanically reproducing the metrical structure of the original text:

The pleasure that [an imitation, a parody, a remake note of GT] creates is the variation within the context of a repetition. For further steps we can translate writing *in the manner* of the author or reproduce a single element using *another key*.⁶⁰

A similar game is feasible as long as we can safeguard the ‘deep need’ of transferring experience, i.e. the knowledge-based legacy, being so crucial in a world sworn to ‘the radical destruction of every ‘memory of one’s own’. Fortini, in order to explain this conception, used a very interesting metaphor, that of a man who:

56 As implied by Mariavittoria Tirinato, Fortini probably referred to the composition *Au Sieur E. D. A., qui avait blâmé la vanité de l’Auteur*, currently available in *Saggi ed epigrammi*, edited by L. Lenzini, Mondadori, Milano, 2003, p. 1045.

57 Id., *Traduzione immaginaria*, cit., pp. 176–178. *Da un canto ungherese 1915–1918, Traduzione immaginaria, Altra traduzione immaginaria* (TP, p. 757 e 773–774), *Traduzione immaginaria da Mallarmé* (currently available in Id., *Saggi ed epigrammi*, cit., p. 1066).

58 Id., *Traduzione immaginaria*, cit., p. 177.

59 Id., *Traduzione e rifacimento*, p. 828.

60 Id. *Cinque paragrafi sul tradurre*, in Id., *Saggi ed epigrammi*, cit., p. 840.

is going through the ruins of the city where his house was, looking for anything that survived after the destructors, for the purpose of using it someday as a building material.⁶¹

Fortini seems to allude to the magmatic process of 'changes and destructions' induced, also in the cultural area, by historic development.⁶² For him the most interesting features of modern translation – real or imaginary – have a defamiliarizing, deconstructivistic character of decomposition and recomposition. The form creatively dissociates from the foreign original, while in the target-language text the 'recovery material', both lexical and formal, is used (including the one coming from the so-called 'Authors' memory' of the translator).⁶³ Between the latter and the translation it opens indeed a huge, decisive 'intermediate zone' created by fundamental 'register shifts'.

The translation aims to open up to different references creating a system of sometimes concealed intersections and allusions where literary associations and combining devices play a leading role. From my point of view, the metaphor introduced in *Cinque paragrafi sul tradurre*, showing poetry as a sort of mixed masonry, also represents the essence of the imaginary translation, which, as Fortini declared, is conceived 'for the sake of mocking joke or trial' and 'contiguous with imitation or parody'.⁶⁴ It is therefore a text with open frontiers, full of intertextual cross-references to the culture of the target language, which can be more numerous than the ones belonging to the foreign tradition inspiring it (or just pretending to inspire).

Let us consider the latter imaginary translations of Fortini: both the ones in which the poet reveals the source text in their title and the ones in which he challenges the reader to take all the allusions disseminated in form and content. *Traduzione immaginaria da Mallarmé* [Imaginary translation from Mallarmé] alludes to the pastoral atmosphere of *Après-midi d'un faune*, not only with an unexpected lexical choice ("quercia", "pastore", "sufolo", "bosco" [oak, shepherd, zuffolo, wood]), but also in its specific form: an octosyllabic sonnet, used by the Arcadia poets for idyllic pastoral topic.

Traduzione immaginaria [Imaginary translation, TP p. 773] thematically refers instead to *Lais* on Eliduc and Tristano by Marie de France: it is composed in hendecasyllables with very irregular rhyme, while the subsequent *Altra traduzione immaginaria* [Another Imaginary translation, TP pp. 773–774] entrusts to free verse with a hendecasyllabic structure a narration of ancient perilous navigations in the

61 Id., *Traduzione e rifacimento*, cit., p. 838.

62 Id., *Metrica e Autobiografia*, cit., p. 41.

63 'We have to place ourselves in a tradition which will work for us': Id., *Traduzione immaginaria*, cit., p. 179.

64 Ibidem, p. 175.

Southern Hemisphere. By presenting his imaginary poems in a metrical structure known and significant to an Italian reader, the poet pushes him to look over the frontiers of their non-existing prototext, investigating parodic allusions and intentions, including the ones related to certain contemporary translation customs. This seems to occur in the 'Polish' imaginary translations, where the apocryphal mystification might also refer to the stylistic choices of some translators who transplant certain Slavic metrical forms into hendecasyllables, the principal metre in Italian poetry. Among their numerous references, imaginary translations include therefore an implicit meta-discourse on translation.

'Manzoni also was a Polish poet'

Nonetheless, the 'rascally trick'⁶⁵ of imaginary translations reiterated a distinguished literary tradition, that includes *Ossianic poems* by James Macpherson and *Inno greco a Nettuno* [Greek anthem to Neptune] by Giacomo Leopardi. In the midst of WWII, Polish mystification was somehow a little bit easier: the brutal German occupation turned Poland into an *ubuesque* country, that is to say 'Nowhere': so a foreign reader was keen to accept any of its representations, even the most abstract or symbolic.

Anna Manfredi noticed that Fortini's poetry implicated the idea of 'a literary audience, at least until the 20th Congress of the CPSU'.⁶⁶ In 1944 his audience was composed of Italian partisans and European exiles reading 'L'Avvenire dei lavoratori', a journal published in Zurich by Ignazio Silone. I would like to remind the reader that on page 3 of the same issue of 'L'Avvenire dei lavoratori' dating back to August 31, 1944, the two Warsaw poems were followed by an anonymous review of a Stephen Spender essay, quoted with a French title, *La guerre et l'expérience poétique en Angleterre et en France*. In this review, the French poetry of Aragon, Émmanuel and Éluard, as well as the English one of Comfort, Hendry and Treece was defined as 'the voice on common war, on solitary war, waged to defend the cause of the world which is waiting to be born'. The article, perhaps written by Fortini himself, concluded, appealing to people who had the possibility:

let them read the work of these poets, who suffered, hoped and wrote for others. Perhaps even in Italy some are seeking new words rooted in the comrades' hearts.⁶⁷

In the context of this appeal, comparable to others which the poet composed at that time, the proposition of two 'Polish' poems, characterized by 'impassioned,

⁶⁵ Ibidem, p. 177.

⁶⁶ A. Manfredi, *Fortini traduttore...* cit., p. 17.

⁶⁷ *Poesia 1944*, 'L'Avvenire dei lavoratori', 31/08/1944, p. 3.

prophetic and emphatic tonality' as well as by solemn messianic references to both Old and New Testament, may seem paradoxical. It may be much less paradoxical, if we consider the heterogeneity of the 'building material' which represents the basis of 'new words' and connects the ideals of the present and of the past.

With his imaginary translation of two unreal Polish originals, the poet introduced new rules. He declared (though we may choose not to believe him), that he did not know 'even a single line' of that literature, (that is just why an imaginary translation from Polish could have been attractive to him). Not only the presentation of unknown poems, whose paternity was not verifiable in the midst of WWII, but also their Polish heritage, still little-known in Europe, gave Fortini much greater freedom. The painful historical current events set him free from referencing the author's name and respecting the style and metrical forms typical for Polish contemporary poetry (he will get in touch with it only in the mid '50s).⁶⁸ In such an unusual condition, completely different than from his later imaginary translations, Fortini enjoyed an extensive freedom of movement, not only completely free from any '[...] discussions on fidelity, equivalence [...]', but also from any 'knowledge of culture of the source language',⁶⁹ which in other conditions would be indispensable for a translator.

As already said, the two Warsaw poems might resemble other poems of *Marching orders* in terms of formal and stylistic features (the search for an accented rhythm, recurring parallelisms, choral emphasis) as well as of the contents (the vehement Resistance-style denunciation, aptly seen by the critics, the accusatory invective). Other aspects, in turn, are characterized by specific features: 'tragic Christianity as martyrs of the nations', references to St. Paul and 19th-century solemn vocabulary ('distant gods', 'idols', 'my people'). *Warsaw 1939* refers to the poetic tradition of the previous century in terms of tone modulations and other more complex allusions. Add to this translators from Slavonic languages, connected with the Hermetic poetic movement, as well as Poggioli himself.

This all lends to Fortini's first literary hoaxes the shape of 'compilation'.⁷⁰ As a matter of fact, they betray the promises suggested by their titles: they are not true

⁶⁸ Fortini published in an anthology dedicated to Resistance the Italian translation of two Polish poems, *Elegia o chłopcu polskim* [The Elegy for a Polish Boy] by Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński, died at the age of 23 in Warsaw Uprising, and *Kawiarnia* [The coffeehouse] by Czesław Miłosz: K. K. Baczyński, C. Miłosz, *Un caffè*, in: *La Resistenza nella Letteratura. Antologia*, edited by A. Marchetti and G. Tassinari, La Base, Milano, 1955, p. 27 and p. 159–161 (the translation was made by Christina Fuhrman, an enigmatic collaborator of the author of *Marching orders*). Some lines of Miłosz's *The coffeehouse* have inspired the title of a short prose by Fortini issued in 1964, *I massageti* (F. Fortini, *Saggi e epigrammi*, cit., p. 979).

⁶⁹ F. Fortini, *Lezioni sulla traduzione*, cit. p. 98.

⁷⁰ By using this term, I intend the combined and intertextual character of the two imaginary Polish poems. I do not share the opinion of Paolo Giovannetti, who defined *Warsaw 1939* as a 'compilation of biblical parallelisms' (P. Giovannetti, G. Lavezzi, *La metrica italiana*, cit., p. 54).

Resistance poems, as they skip any non-metaphorical reference to the persecution and partisan struggle against invaders of Poland. From my point of view, their ‘ambiguous spiritualism’, mitigated by a certain sorrowful skepticism, is also the result of an experiment that juxtaposes and compares different topics and stylistic registers, converging different influences and tending to reach a modulation of composite tones.

We should not forget that the two “Polish” poems, which many years later Fortini himself will disapprove as ‘average and vehement’,⁷¹ were a reaction to ‘the horrible news that leaked from Central Europe’, which was difficult to believe. Fortini felt an urgency to create a new tradition of Italian poetry on war and persecutions: an unusual prophetic register that results from linguistic choices, anaphora and biblical references. This provides evidence that the author was inspired, with combinational intention, by Italian 19th-century civic poetry. It might be useful to quote his declaration dating back to 1982:

Some books connected to a University course that I teach, drove me to the romantic national poetry of the first half of the 19th century, when, so to speak, Manzoni also was a Polish poet. That is the time and the source of lots of engaged poetry of the first half of the 20th century. I even believe that it is necessary to take a better look at the very complex relationships between this ever resurgent ‘genre’ and its target audience. [underlined by G. T.].⁷²

It does not seem accidental to me that the author of *Verifica dei poteri* compares Polish romantic poetry to Manzoni, his beloved poet, who had embedded in his *Inni sacri* several biblical allusions. Having probably in mind some echoes of Polish messianism, Fortini speaks about Poland referring at one time to his own ‘Authors’ memory’.⁷³ He suggestively notices some complementarity between 19th century Polish and Italian culture, combining them in an ideal consonance. In his two “Warsaw” poems the topic of faith and messianic redemption and the game of ‘spoken and unspoken’⁷⁴ perfectly fit into an ideal connection that joins Polish and Italian traditions, both of the present and of the past. Fortini doesn’t presume a direct influence of Polish literature on the Italian one:

⁷¹ F. Fortini, *Traduzione immaginaria*, cit., p. 176.

⁷² Id., *Libertà vo cercando* [annex to ‘Manifesto’], Edizioni del Manifesto, Roma, 1982, presentation of the translation of A. Ważyk’s *Poem for adults* (reprinted with the title *La libertà del silenzio della poesia*, in: *Disobbedienze II*, cit., p. 265).

⁷³ For this form of deference to literary tradition, see Fortini’s observations of *Traduzione e rifacimento*, in: Id., *Saggi ed epigrammi*, cit., p. 822 et seq.

⁷⁴ See also the observations of Mengaldo on the role of allusion in the literary culture of the 20th century, with particular regard to Fortini’s poetry in: P. V. Mengaldo, *Allusione e intertestualità: qualche esempio*, ‘Strumenti critici’, 2015, no. 3, pp. 381–404, passim.

his experiment represents instead a sort of corollary to an intricate 'grafting' of two distant, but at the same time interrelated, cultures. The same heterogeneity of this operation safeguards against rhetoric. Moreover, as I have already noted, both imaginary poems are far from the messianic faith for justice, that nurtured Polish romantic poets in exile.

I believe that all this meant for Fortini a sort of creative reaction, as admitted by the poet himself, caused by prolonged moments of annoyance towards his own 'metrical and stylistic identity'.⁷⁵ Fortini reacted to this annoyance by aiming to research other cultural stimuli and voices during his whole poetic career.⁷⁶ Irene Fantappiè so acutely noticed that translating allowed him to alternate a series of 'author's masks',⁷⁷ in order to guarantee his poetry a capacity of dynamic regeneration.

By imagining a Polish militant poetry, the author of *Marching orders* expressed once again his solidarity with History's losers. He not only chose two cultures connected in the 19th century by the stereotype of the fight for liberty, but also investigated their potential intersections with contemporary French civic poetry. He also carried out research into connections between his own culture and 'Authors' memory' and an ideal Polish Resistance poetry, which was yet unknown in the West, but so necessary that it should be imagined.

The two imaginary translations perfectly overlapped the new civic Italian poetry, which Fortini was promoting: moreover, they reflected the tendency to match and merge styles and voices, that would mark all his poetic and translation work, when he would translate not only his 'elder brothers' (Éluard, József, Vallejo, Hernández, Brecht),⁷⁸ but also other unknown and imaginable poets.

The encounter with Polish authors sharing with him the dream of a better world definitely represented for Fortini a form of 'resistance to some of History's

⁷⁵ Id., *Prefazione*, in: *L'Ospite ingrato: primo e secondo*, Quodlibet, Macerata, 2003, p. 8.

⁷⁶ In a letter to Edoarda Masi of 1973, Fortini mentioned his own ways of feeling time as a 'moment of decreased identity or of an appearance of a new identity: a moment of other people's voices which are going through me.' (Id., *L'Ospite ingrato primo e secondo*, cit., p. 253).

⁷⁷ Cf. I. Fantappiè, *Cinque tesi sulla traduzione in Fortini, Sélection e marquage in Il ladro di ciliegie, Letteratura italiana e tedesca 1945-1970: Campi, polisistemi, transfer Deutsche und italienische Literatur 1945-1970: Felder, Polysysteme, Transfer*, edited by I. Fantappiè and M. Sisto, Istituto Italiano di Studi Germanici, Roma, 2013, <http://www.germanistica.net/2014/04/30/cinque-tesi-sulla-traduzione-in-fortini-selection-e-marquage-in-il-ladro-di-ciliegie/>. In *Confini della poesia* Fortini recalled that 'writing poems is not attributable to any specific identity [...]. The work is written by someone else or even by no one.' F. Fortini, *I confini della poesia*, cit., p. 48.

⁷⁸ Fortini wanted to remind that several new rhetorical 'figures' of *Marching orders* 'were written, or more precisely, in those same days when other ones were being written by Jozsef, Machado, Brecht, Hernandez, Auden, Radnotj, Vallejo. Without knowing it, the author communicated with a multitude of unknown elder brothers.' (F. Fortini, *Prefazione 1967*, TP, p. 67).

disappointments⁷⁹. It is not accidental that just after the crisis opened by the 20th Congress he launched an ambitious project of an *Anthology of protest and rebel poetry*, which comprised around sixty texts translated from Polish and Yiddish.⁸⁰ A year later he dedicated to another translation from Polish poetry (this time a real one and set in real Warsaw): *Poem for Adults*, by Adam Ważyk, the text that inaugurated the post-Stalinist Polish ‘Thaw’.⁸¹

(translated from Italian by Łukasz Jan Berezowski)

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⁷⁹ Such a self-ironic comment was made by Fortini in the above-mentioned encyclopedic article about himself: ‘The lyrical work of F. has undergone the stage of uncertain and complex resistance to History’s disappointments’ (F. Fortini, *Per una piccola Enciclopedia della Letteratura italiana anno 2029*, cit., p. 157).

⁸⁰ The signs of the huge project, put forward to the publisher Vallardi, were included in a letter sent to Enrico Falqui in January 1958 (Letter of F. Fortini to [Enrico] Falqui, Fondo Franco Fortini, Siena, 1 c. Sc. XXVI, 75,) as well as to another collaborator of the publishing house, Giacomo Zanga, to whom the poet declared ‘with great regret’ not to be able to complete *Poesia della protesta e della rivolta* ‘finished in three fourths [...], thanks to precious help of my wife’. This was supposed to contain 400 pages of text with an introduction of 30–40 pages. The translations from Polish and Yiddish were made by the already mentioned Alberto Nirenstein (A letter dated 22/1/1960 to G. Zanga, Fondo Franco Fortini, Siena, Fortini-Zanga, Sc. XXIX, 48).

⁸¹ This four-handed translation, by Fortini and the aforementioned Christina Fuhrman, was published in 1957 by ‘Ragionamenti’: cf. my article, approaching the issue of Fortini’s contacts with Polish culture: G. Tomassucci, *Una traduzione dimenticata: ‘Poesia agli adulti’ di Adam Ważyk*, in: *Per voci interposte. Fortini e la traduzione*, edited by F. Diacio, E. Nencini, Quodlibet, Macerata, L’ospite ingrato, 2019, [monographic issue dedicated to F. Fortini], pp. 45–65.

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Giovanna Tomassucci

Od Warszawy do Warszawy. Parę uwag o dwóch 'wymaginowanych przekładach' z polskiego (1944) Franco Fortiniego

Streszczenie

Podczas politycznego wygnania w Szwajcarii, włoski poeta Franco Fortini opublikował anonimowo dwa wiersze (*Warszawa 1943*, *Warszawa 1944*), podając je za tłumaczenia tekstów napisanych w okupowanej Polsce. W ten sposób poeta po raz pierwszy eksperymentował na wymaginowanych przekładach z nieistniejących oryginałów. Odwoływanie się do tradycji „literackich oszustw”, praktykowanej wcześniej przez Macphersona i Leopardiego, pomagało mu w poszukiwaniu form i „słów” dla nowej wojennej poezji. Artykuł zestawia „polskie” wiersze Fortiniego z jego późniejszymi wystąpieniami teoretycznymi, w których poeta analizuje relację wymaginowanych przekładów do „imitacji lub parodii” w kontekście dominującego w środowisku literackim postrzegania danej literatury. Zwraca również szczególną uwagę na silną intertekstualność obu wierszy oraz na ukrytą w nich krytykę włoskiej praktyki translatorskiej.

Słowa kluczowe: Włoska poezja XX wieku; Wymaginowane przekłady; Studia o przekładzie.

From Warsaw to Warsaw. Some remarks on the two 'imaginary translations' from Polish (1944) by Franco Fortini

Summary

The article analyses Franco Fortini's two poems written in 1944 during his exile in Switzerland: *Warsaw 1939 and Warsaw 1944* (the latter's former title was *Warsaw 1943*). The poet defined them Imaginary Translations, because he conceived them as translated from an inexistent original, written in occupied Poland. In this way, the Italian poet experimented for the first time with imaginary translations. Following Macpherson and Leopardi's tradition of "Literary Hoaxes", he sought new forms and "new words" for Poetry on WW II. The article compares the Fortini's

“Polish” poems with later comments on Imaginary translations (they are akin to “Imitation or Parody”, are created “taking delight in prank and experiment” and derive from a certain dominant conception of a foreign literature), paying particular attention to their strong intertextuality and their allusions to the practice of translating poetry in Italy.

Keywords: 20th-Century Italian Poetry, Imaginary translations, Translation Studies

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Blanc, *lux et lumen* dans la poésie de Czesław Miłosz

L'emploi du blanc, au même titre que d'autres couleurs chez Miłosz, n'est pas le résultat d'une élaboration consciente (technique, philosophique ou mystique); il semblerait que les couleurs appartiennent à un autre registre du mental, elles ne sont pas choisies, elles nous choisissent. Pourtant, et c'est l'objectif de ma démonstration, le blanc et ses différentes nuances structurent l'œuvre de Miłosz. Cet œuvre qu'on a nommé le « génial foutoir »¹, tant il déborde de thèmes antithétiques et en apparence disparates, a déjà été exploré selon de multiples approches critiques et en suivant divers fils conducteurs. Voilà, mon fil conducteur ici sera le blanc.

Je viens de dire que l'emploi du blanc chez Miłosz n'est pas le résultat d'une élaboration consciente et ceci exige quelques éclaircissements. Selon les spécialistes du sujet, surtout Ludwig Wittgenstein, notre façon de voir la couleur relève de l'imaginaire social et linguistique, autrement dit de ce que nous imaginons collectivement et avant même toute élaboration théorique². Pour chaque culture distincte cet imaginaire collectif a été fondé durant une période axiale que Karl Jaspers a nommé « l'âge pivot »³ au cours duquel les fondements spirituels des religions ont été posés. La culture qui a formé Miłosz est judéo-chrétienne, enrichie par le paganisme de la campagne lituanienne où le poète a passé son enfance. Il est clair toutefois que Miłosz a vécu aussi dans un monde où le vocabulaire local de la spiritualité subit de plus en plus l'influence des voyages, réels ou virtuels, qui mettent à notre disposition plus d'une sorte de lexique. Cela est particulièrement vrai dans le cas de poète polonais, « ce voyageur du monde » professionnel puisque les apports d'autres imaginaires sont extrêmement nombreux dans sa

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1 M. Stala, *Trzy nieskończoności*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2001, p. 125.

2 L. Wittgenstein, *Uwagi o barwach*, Wydawnictwo Aletheia, 2014, p. 34.

3 K. Jaspers, *Origine et sens de l'histoire*, trad. H. Naef, Plon, Paris 1954, p. 273.

poésie; il s'agit surtout de la pensée du bouddhisme zen, de la poésie chinoise et japonaise. Pourtant, en analysant la symbolique de la couleur dans ses poèmes je n'ai pas décelé de traces de ces apports étrangères, comme si la couleur et sa perception était enfouie dans des strates si profondes de notre imaginaire culturel et linguistique, que l'apprentissage tardif d'autres langues ne pouvait plus altérer sa teinte d'origine. Le blanc, dans la poésie de Miłosz semble pur: purement judéo-chrétien.

Mais, comme nous essayons de le montrer à l'instant, la pureté ne veut pas dire ici l'orthodoxie. Miłosz, consciemment ou pas, situe le blanc dans le code symbolique judéo-chrétien mais il le fait de manière hérétique: il inverse les codes.

Pour comprendre sa manière de faire une introduction d'ordre général s'impose ici. Quelle est la symbolique « orthodoxe » du blanc dans la culture judéo-chrétienne?

Tous les dictionnaires de symboles procèdent de manière antithétique: qui dit le blanc, dit le noir. Et ainsi de suite: diurne / nocturne, faste / néfaste, spirituel / matériel, bon / mauvais, pur / impur.

Juan Cirlot, en s'appuyant sur les textes mystiques de René Guenon, dessine dans son étude l'étoile de David dont les six triangles sont composés de six couleurs de l'arc en ciel, tandis que le blanc occupe son centre. Sa position correspond au centre absolu de l'espace et s'associe à l'androgynie, à l'or et à Dieu, autrement dit au primordial et au pur. Le blanc est le centre spirituel d'avant la création du monde. Dans l'Apocalypse, les vêtements des martyrs purifiés dans le sang de l'agneau sont blancs, Jésus en tant que Juge a des cheveux blancs comme la laine *etc.* Le blanc désigne donc l'état céleste après la décréation du monde. Dans le monde créé la couleur blanche dénote la volonté de s'approcher à cet état céleste idéal, alors la neige qui couvre la terre fait d'elle « la terre transfigurée »⁴. Cette terre sublimée car blanchie se retrouve dans l'étymologie de plusieurs noms géographiques: Alba Longa – centre spirituel de la Rome, Albion, Albanie *etc.*⁵

Gershom Scholem réserve le blanc pur à Ein-Sof, la racine cachée des sefirot qui composent l'ADN de notre univers. Cette première architecture du monde a la forme d'Adam Kadmon – l'homme primordial – qui fait office de lien, intermédiaire entre Ein-Sof et la hiérarchie des mondes encore à venir. La création commence par la transmission de la lumière blanche qui émane d'Ein-Sof, traverse la tête d'Adam Kadmon et se déverse dans l'espace sous forme de premières lettres de la Torah. Mais le rayon lumineux terrible brise la tête de l'homme primordial; c'est la première catastrophe qui fait apparaître le mal sous la forme de tessons de

4 Comme dans le roman mystique de Balzac, *Serafita*. Balzac, sous l'influence de Swedenborg, sublime ainsi la terre qui s'approche au ciel, tandis que son héros / héroïne androgynie exprime la nostalgie du ciel et du divin.

5 J.E. Cirlot, *Słownik symboli*, Wydawnictwo Znak, Kraków 2012, pp. 79–81.

matière noire. Dès lors la tâche des élus est de retrouver la lumière éparpillée parmi les tessons et de l'unir à nouveau avec la source première⁶.

La définition la plus concise se trouve dans le dictionnaire du Nouveau Testament de Léon-Dufour:

« Dans le monde de la Bible, le blanc, couleur de la lumière éclatante, s'oppose au noir qui évoque les ténèbres. Il peut signifier la pureté et l'innocence, mais s'accorde plutôt avec les fêtes de la joie et de triomphe, c'est la couleur des êtres glorieux, célestes ou transfigurés »⁷.

Ces extraits semblent suffisants pour confirmer l'évidence: dans la culture juéo-chrétienne le blanc est une couleur positive, couleur pure sur tous les niveaux sémantiques de ce mot. Il reste à montrer comment la poésie de Miłosz décompose, complique, permute et finalement enrichie ce spectre symbolique du blanc.

Je vais procéder en deux étapes. D'abord je vais faire une recherche qui semble fallacieuse: retrouver tous les emplois du mot blanc dans toute la poésie de Miłosz, à partir du recueil *Trois Hivers* édité en 1936 jusqu'au dernier poème écrit en 2003: il s'agit donc d'un millier de pages. Cela va me permettre de délimiter les champs sémantiques constitués par le blanc. Les termes que je recherche sont: *Bialy/a/e* (adjectif *blanc*), *Biel* (substantif *blancheur*), *zbielaly* (adjectif *blanchi*).

Commençons par le cycle publié en 1936 (*Trois Hivers*).

Dans le premier poème du cycle, *Oiseaux*, nous avons cinq apparitions: « Les blanches pierres légères des cimetières des montagnes », « les abîmes blanches d'où l'on entend les sonnettes d'un saltimbanque », « des fillettes blanches qui touchent à peine les nuages », « la vermoulure blanche qui installe en toi l'hiver », « la blanche écume qui agite la mer et lèche tes jambes »⁸.

Le paysage est apocalyptique, il désigne la mort (chez Miłosz la mer ou l'océan est un symbole fixe qui dénote toujours la mort), la terre est couverte de neige et

6 J'ai fait ici la compilation à la base de deux textes de Gershom Scholem, *Les grands courants de la mystique juive*, Payot, Paris 1994, pp 162-171; et *La Kabbale*, Cerf, Paris 1998, pp 229-235; j'ajoute: Dans la description d'exercices mystiques de cabalistes qui visent cette union avec le divin et qui consistent dans la combinaison de lettres de la Torah, l'étape finale du procédé réussi illumine les lettres des rayons du feu blanc. Cela n'est pas sans danger: la vision du feu blanc pour des personnes mal préparées provoque la folie et la mort.

J. Chevallier, *Dictionnaire des symboles*, Robert Laffont, Paris 1982, p. 127.

Le dictionnaire des symboles de Jean Chevallier donne une définition plus classique du blanc, centré plutôt sur le christianisme: « Le blanc, couleur initiatrice [...], la couleur de la révélation, de la grâce, de la transfiguration qui éblouit, [...]: c'est la couleur de la théophanie [...]. Cette blancheur triomphale ne peut apparaître que sur un sommet ».

7 X.L. Dufour, *Dictionnaire du Nouveau Testament*, Seuil, Paris 1975, p. 146.

8 Cz. Miłosz, *Wiersze wszystkie*, Wydawnictwo Zak, 2011, „Ptaki”, p. 57.

de brume, habitée par les spectres, gelée par l'hiver et lentement recouverte par la blanche écume de l'océan qui avale tout, y compris le héros lyrique. La mort domine sous différentes formes, essentiellement blanches. C'est aussi le paysage dantesque (enfer); Dante est ici nommé et d'autres éléments complètent ce panorama inspiré par la lecture de la *Divine Comédie*: les oiseaux liés par les ailes qui tournaient dans un ciel vide, les feux sombres, les arbres qui saignent, l'hiver éternel dans un lieu qui est désigné comme « une citerne de glaces ». Notons aussi que ce paysage qui compile plusieurs cercles infernaux se retrouve chez William Blake qui va inspirer l'écriture de la *Terre d'Ulro* de Miłosz. Ulro est le pays où règne Urizen – le démon calculateur et cérébral, le patron des scientifiques post-newtoniens et dont le nom signifie l'hiver.

Dans le poème qui occupe la partie médiane du cycle, *Powolna Rzeka* (« la rivière lente ») nous retrouvons trois emplois: « une page blanche sur laquelle on va peut-être écrire un poème »; « la route [...] où une trace blanche ondoie », « les crématoires comme des pierres blanches »⁹. Le paysage reste apocalyptique, bien qu'il soit plus complexe. Les parties qui imitent le choral antique font allusion à la future apocalypse: des foules de gens comparés à des animaux, leur carnage dans « la tempête des faux », la moisson sanglante, les étoiles qui tombent et surtout ce détail qui semble réellement prophétique: « les crématoires comme des pierres blanches ».

Dans le dernier poème du cycle, *Do księdza Ch.* (« au père Ch. ») nous retrouvons ces deux passages: « la nuit blanchie par l'étreinte des femmes » et « le bruit de la marée haute [...] de la mer du néant. Sous son écume blanche ont coulé les animaux et les continents ». Le paysage reste le même mais la vision de l'apocalypse est plus précise; il ne s'agit plus d'allusions mais de la prophétie. Le passage: « La nuit blanchie par l'étreinte des femmes » peut paraître discordant dans ce contexte mais il s'inscrit parfaitement dans la vision catastrophique du jeune Miłosz pour lequel l'acte sexuel désigne la première chute. La femme est une créature dangereuse: elle représente la nature (la sexualité) qui est entièrement destructrice.

En m'avançant un peu je dirai que l'homme est rarement blanc dans les poèmes de Miłosz, cette couleur est réservée aux femmes. Dans les poèmes d'avant guerre nous avons Olimpia: « blanche [...] qui lève les yeux impures et salis » et « ses sœurs de blancheur transparente qui sortent du crépuscule » et [...] « rampent nues vers les genoux du pèlerin, assis, triste, [...] une main gonflée posée sur une chaise ». Nous avons aussi Palmira nue et « saupoudrée par la blancheur transparente », placée dans un paysage sous-lunaire; on pourrait dire que c'est un paysage typiquement féminin si on se rapporte aux études symboliques de Gilbert

9 Cz. Miłosz, *Wiersze Wszystkie*, Wydawnictwo Znak, 2011, *Powolna Rzeka*, p. 86. (traduction en français de toutes les citations de Miłosz – M. Renouf)

Durand; avec des accessoires tels que: lune, nuit, eau, sang menstruel, gueule coupante de créatures maritimes (ici les crabes qui se déchirent sous la mer) et nudité blanche¹⁰.

Puisque dans l'introduction j'ai souligné le fait que l'imaginaire du poète est d'origine judéo-chrétien, il faudrait préciser maintenant comment cette vision uniformément négative correspond à la vision du blanc triomphal propre à cette origine. Le blanc est la couleur dominante de l'Apocalypse. La vision est apocalyptique mais il s'agit d'une apocalypse tronquée, achevée sur la catastrophe et non pas sur la transformation, tandis que le blanc dans l'imaginaire de Saint Jean est post-apocalyptique et désigne la pureté retrouvée.

Dans le cycle suivant (1945) *Le Salut* le blanc se raréfie et change de sens; il commence à évoquer le passé et l'oubli. Dans *l'Avant propos* qui ouvre ce cycle, le blanc désigne surtout la Pologne détruite par la guerre: «voici la plaine des rivières polonaises plates. Et le pont immense qui s'enfonce dans le brouillard blanc. Voici la ville cassée et ta tombe sur laquelle le vent lance le cri de mouettes»¹¹. Nous retrouvons l'emploi identique du blanc dans trois autres poèmes¹² de ce cycle où le champ sémantique reste le même: brouillard, vide, spectres, statues blanches délimitent la Pologne détruite et fantomatique qui s'enfonce dans l'oubli.

À partir du cycle *Le Monde*, écrit à Varsovie en 1942, le blanc a tendance à disparaître¹³. Il occupe en général une position neutre, descriptive et ne produit plus, ou très rarement de nouveaux champs sémantiques¹⁴. S'il réapparaît dans la position symbolique il retrouve aussitôt sa sémantique catastrophiste. Ainsi dans le *Chant du citoyen* (1942) nous avons: «le million de poissons blancs sautant dans leur martyr / moi, pauvre homme, je vois le fourmillement des peuples dénudés et blancs, privés de liberté. Et je vois un crabe qui mange leurs corps»¹⁵. Dans le poème *Jour et nuit* (1942) il s'agit de la «blancheur des champs de batailles d'où les

10 Résumons: nous avons retrouvé, sur 44 pages, 11 apparitions du blanc qui forment un champ sémantique étonnamment uniforme: négatif. Dans les poèmes dispersés écrits entre 1937 et 1944, à part Olimpia et Palmira déjà citées, nous rencontrons encore deux fois «la statue blanche lavée par la mer» toujours dans le contexte apocalyptique. Dans deux autres poèmes de cette période j'ai enregistré encore «la vague blanche» et «nos traces blanchies par la neige du temps» qui évoquent le temps qui dévore et détruit.

11 Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, *Przedmowa*, p. 143.

12 «w maligné» (dans la fièvre) – trois fois; dans *Równina* (la plaine) – une fois; dans „błądząc” (en....) – une fois; dans *Podróż* (voyage) – une fois. Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*

13 Dans ce cycle nous avons quelques adjectifs blanc: «la clôture peinte en blanc», un miroir blanc, les Alpes blanches, les pivoines blanches et les étoiles qui blanchissent dans le matin. Leurs fonctions sont presque uniquement descriptives.

14 Ce sont des nappes blanches, des cranes blanches, des cimetières blancs et les gentilhommières blanches. Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*

15 Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, *Pieśń Obywatela*, p. 207.

pieds des hommes ont effacé la mémoire des morts »¹⁶. Dans le poème *Sur l'esprit des lois* (1947) apparaissent des « laboratoires blancs de nouveaux-nés morts »¹⁷. Ici, cet emploi doit être souligné car il reviendrait plusieurs fois encore dans la période plus tardive en créant un champ sémantique nouveau, celui de la science¹⁸; nous avons déjà parlé d'Urizen, mais nous y reviendrons encore.

Autrement le blanc disparaît. Sauf dans ces deux poèmes où il revient comme dans un bouquet final. Je vais les analyser brièvement.

Le poème *Il n'a pas d'yeux* écrit aux États-Unis en 1949 est un vrai pamphlet contre l'Amérique qui est représentée ici comme une réduction absolue. C'est le lieu de déréalisation¹⁹ et de déshumanisation²⁰, une version poétisée du « meilleur des mondes » où le blanc joue un rôle constructif essentiel: l'homme nouveau est caractérisé physiquement par un seul déterminant: il a « le ventre blanc », « et rêve des petites filles découpées aux ciseaux » et « des femmes nues avec un couteau dans leurs cous blancs ». Dans ses cauchemars apparaissent « des bulles blanches, des yeux blancs du gaz des marais » et « l'aube blanche des acacias »²¹.

Dans le poème intitulé *Blancheur*, écrit à Paris en 1966, Miłosz décrit ses retrouvailles avec Paris après des années d'absence. Le poème commence par l'apostrophe: « o blanc, blanc, blanc. La blanche ville [...] ». Et décrit une ville atemporelle, inchangée et interchangeable qui « n'accepte aucun savoir ni aucune mémoire ». C'est une ville qui oublie tout: ses morts, son passé, son désir. Une ville sous un ciel vide²². Le poème s'achève sur cette constatation: « Grande est ma douleur, car j'ai cru que le désespoir et l'amour pouvaient durer / Dans une ville blanche qui ne désire pas, ne connaît pas, ne nomme pas ». Cette triple négation finale correspond à la triple dénomination inaugurale: le blanc trois fois répété prend ici la forme du vide, du néant, de la tache blanche qui dévore la mémoire, la parole et l'aspiration²³.

¹⁶ Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, *Dzień i Noc*, p. 264.

¹⁷ Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, *O duchu praw*, p. 272.

¹⁸ deux fois pour désigner des laboratoires et deux fois la blouse blanche des scientifiques. Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ le monde artificiel avec « l'eau où on a tué les bactéries, la source printanière remplie de parfum synthétique », « la vie amputée de la mort », « les organes sexuelles découpés en papier brillant », « la nourriture qui a oublié le travail des minéraux » et « l'arbre duquel [...] on a retiré son arborescence ». Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, *Nie ma wzroku*, p. 286.

²⁰ l'homme artificiel est reconstruit à l'aide de la technique pour qu'il soit « libre du goût de l'eau / du goût du pain et du vin / de l'amour, de la haine et de la peur », *idem*.

²¹ Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, *idem*.

²² « habité ou vide, personne n'en a cure », Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, *Biel*, p. 582.

²³ Et qui, portant n'annule pas l'existence – la ville dure en dépit de lamentation. Le dernier vers en totalité a cette forme: « Dans une ville blanche qui ne désire pas, ne connaît pas, ne nomme pas, mais qui fut et qui sera », *idem*.

En 1972 paraît encore un court poème ironique, *l'Empereur d'Albanie*. Le blanc (Albanie) désigne une fois de plus l'oubli et le silence; le poète constate que sa dette envers sa langue a été payée et son prix reçu; c'est l'oubli et le titre honorifique du « grand poète du royaume d'Albanie ». Autrement dit: du grand poète du vide²⁴.

Et c'est tout; après ce poème plus aucun blanc symbolique²⁵ sur 600 pages qui suivent.

Je passe à la deuxième étape de mon travail. Car l'histoire ne s'achève pas ici mais commence à peine. Le blanc, en grec *leukos*, a été traduit en latin par *lumen* et *lux*: lumière incréée et lumière créée; toutes les deux sont présentes voire omniprésentes chez Miłosz²⁶.

Ces poèmes sont saturés par la lumière et ses dérivés: blask, płomień, jasność, świetlistość, migotanie, jarzenie się, świecenie, błysk, promień, promiennosc, promieniowanie: clarté, lueur, rayon, éblouissement, incandescence, éclat, flamboiement, flamme, étincellement, brillance, luisance, luminescence, radiance, rayonnement. Il faut ajouter des états qui provoquent la vision lumineuse: poudre lunaire ou étoilé, le lac d'étain fondu, la pluie couleur perle, brocart d'or, d'argent *etc. etc.* Au lieu d'énumérer je vais essayer de recouper, d'ordonner et d'expliquer la fonction symbolique de ses phénomènes.

Pour plus de clarté je vous propose ce schéma:

la lumière nue	la lumière (haute) du blanc brillant	la lumière (basse) colorée
la lumière du blanc cru	(<i>lumen</i>)	(<i>lux</i>)

1. La lumière nue domine dans la période catastrophiste de Miłosz où elle accompagne et parfois s'identifie au blanc déjà analysé; elle a donc une fonction destructrice et apocalyptique. Elle peut avoir la forme d'un rayon blanc destructeur. L'histoire du rayon est intéressante car il s'agit d'un cauchemar que le jeune poète faisait régulièrement à cette époque et que le vieux poète de 90 ans relate ainsi: « tout cela (les poèmes catastrophistes avec la lumière destructrice: MR) c'était une reproduction de mes rêves sur le rayon qui me poursuivait, m'attrapait et tuait. [...] Le rayon, ce n'est pas le feu, c'est *a ray*. C'est une lumière qui peut être très intense, un rayon de laser... »²⁷.

²⁴ Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, *Władca Albanii*, p. 625.

²⁵ Excepté les cas descriptifs que j'ai déjà mentionnés.

²⁶ Kris Van Heuckelom, le chercheur belge, a écrit un très beau texte sur ce sujet; dans cette esquisse je profite de son travail mais mon approche et aussi ma sensibilité de lectrice sont différentes, alors le spectre de la lumière que je vais vous présenter maintenant sera aussi différent.

²⁷ Entretien de C. Miłosz avec K. Van Heuckelom, en: *Patrząc w promień od ziemi odbity*, IBL, Warszawa 2004, p. 212.

Cette lumière destructrice est nommée « nue » pour la première fois en 1974 dans le poème intitulé *Le journal du naturaliste* où elle désigne la nature décrite comme une machine à broyer, mastiquer et digérer²⁸. Dans son champ de gravité se trouve entre autres la femme qui représente la nature et qui entraîne son partenaire masculin dans le cercle de la naissance, du coït et de la mort. À côté de la femme se trouve aussi le scientifique en tant que le porte-parole de la nature dans son laboratoire blanc et sa blouse blanche:

Quelle langue, mon Dieu, parlent ces gens dans les blouses blanches? [...] c'est pourtant leur idée: classer des rats dans les cages séparées / classer des gens – certaines races inutiles / rejeter et éliminer / [...]. Jadis la beauté, sans l'utilité, par sa pure splendeur, était notre joie / et eux? qu'est-ce qu'ils nous ont laissé? La comptabilité d'une entreprise capitaliste²⁹.

Une telle perception de la nature est urizénique, c'est une réduction propre à la science, ou au moins à un certain type de la science. Éclairée par la lumière nue, c'est une vision infernale – sur le plan éthique elle justifie le génocide. Mais la nature peut être vue différemment; si on renonce au filtre scientifique, si on opte pour le filtre érotique, elle devient différente; dans le passage que je vais citer les parties marquées en gras désignent la vision réductrice:

Blanche comme les crânes des chevaux dans le désert,
noire comme la piste d'une nuit entre-planétaire
La Nudité, rien de plus, l'image du Mouvement sans nuages [...].
 Nos yeux ont été touchés et au lieu du pourri – la verdure [...]
 oui, seulement l'extase, Éros. Faut-il donc se confier à l'alchimie du sang?
 Épouser pour toujours la terre puérile d'une illusion?
Ou supporter la lumière nue sans couleurs et sans parole
qui ne désire rien, qui n'appelle nulle part?³⁰

La vision de la lumière nue contrastée avec la vision érotique est étonnement stable et récurrente dans la poésie de Miłosz. La vision extatique dictée par Éros est toujours accompagnée par une voix ironique qui la met en doute. À l'acmé de l'extase, dans le poème *Au père Ch. après des années*, au moment où l'Éros est exalté comme une force conductrice et protectrice opposée à « l'Égypte symbolique du mouvement impitoyable des cercles galactiques », cette voix du doute annule l'élan poétique en constatant: « Alors ton chant, sans le vouloir me glorifie

²⁸ Elle désigne aussi le temps sous la forme du cercle monotone de l'éternel retour.

²⁹ Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, p. 1240.

³⁰ Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, p. 634.

/ à moi il rend tout ce qui est grand et magnifique / sorti du néant pour retourner au néant »³¹.

Cette voix est celle de l'esprit de la terre qui est la porte-parole de la lumière nue et qui revient sans cesse dans les poèmes de Miłosz. Ici, je voudrais signaler une importante référence intertextuelle; chez Oscar Milosz, le maître spirituel du poète polonais, dans le drame *Miguel Maniara*, nous retrouvons le même schéma: un élan d'amour du héros est annulé par la voix ironique de l'esprit de la terre. À cette dernière tentation, le héros d'Oscar Milosz répond par la prière³².

Même dans les derniers poèmes de Czesław Miłosz, dominés par la lumière divine, cette voix ironique persiste à chuchoter les mêmes dénigrements. Et le vieux poète tente de l'étouffer de la même manière que Miguel Maniara – par la prière et l'incantation: « protège-moi contre le jour de désenchantement »; « laisse-moi, l'esprit sombre », « Dieu, sauve-moi des images de la douleur que j'ai ramassé en voyageant sur la terre ». Dans l'un des derniers poèmes nous lisons ce cri:

au fond de ma dépression j'ai connu le monde sans l'espoir.
 Sa couleur grise, comme d'une journée séparée du soleil.
 Et j'ai entendu: « c'est bien pour toi. Tu n'a mérité rien d'autre ».
 Alors j'ai commencé à crier: « Roi de Lumière, reprends-moi!
 Donneur de l'amour embrasse moi!
 Amon! Zeus! Jéhovah! [...]»
 je ne peux pas respirer sans toi
 Soleil de Justice!
 je ne peux pas marcher sans toi
 Soleil de Mémoire!
 je ne peux pas courir sans toi
 Soleil du Bon conseil! »³³

2. Avec le soleil répété trois fois nous passons à notre second point: à la lumière sous forme de *Lumen* qui, dans la plupart de religions (Amon, Zeus, Jéhovah, Jésus) est symbolisée par le soleil. C'est aussi bien le premier point immobile et lumineux, le premier rayon lumineux émis par Ein-Sof, le centre

³¹ Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, p. 855.

³² Dans la scène finale, Don Juan, devenu moine repent en voie de sainteté, rencontre l'esprit de la terre qui s'adresse à lui en ces termes: « e suis celui qui est. Je suis le cœur de la terre. Tout le reste est moquerie. [...] Écoute comme la terre, la fille au large ventre, vous raille, chasseurs de fantômes [...]. Allons Maniara, lève-toi: tu sais bien que tu m'appartiens. Ne m'as tu pas donné le meilleur de toi même, la poésie de ta jeunesse? » A cette dernière tentation Maniara répond en récitant les fragments des psaumes: « sois attentif à mon cri, car je suis devenu fort chétif, Oscar Miłosz, *Miguel Maniara*, red. A. Silvaire, Le Club Français du Livre, Paris, 1988, p. 121.

³³ Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, p. 1338.

blanc de l'étoile de David, le *Sol Invictus* de Christ *etc.* C'est la lumière purement spirituelle et invisible d'où provient la lumière créée et visible – le *lux*. C'est la lumière universelle et le symbole de l'éternité. Bien que, comme nous allons voir, dans les derniers poèmes Miłosz se tourne vers ce Soleil de la lumière blanche et brillante, dans la plus grande partie de son œuvre, le soleil reste un symbole de lequel le poète se détourne – et fait de ce détournement son credo – poétique et religieux à la fois.

En se détournant du *Lumen*, le poète se penche vers *lux* – la lumière émanée, créée et colorisée. *Lumen* et *lux* dans notre culture judéo-chrétienne doivent être analysées ensemble, la dualité du phénomène de lumière est inhérente à ces religions. Le binôme *Lumen / lux* est exposé très clairement dans le cycle le *Monde* (1942). Dans ce cycle nous retrouvons l'influence du thomisme qui fascinait Miłosz à cette époque et que le poète résumait sous forme du dessin: du Soleil central sortent des fils qui relient chaque chose à ce centre lumineux. Comme chez saint Thomas, chez Miłosz aussi le Soleil symbolise le Dieu créateur, de ses rayons blancs émanent toutes les couleurs réparties ensuite dans le monde. Mais contrairement à tout mysticisme, Miłosz adopte une autre attitude face au soleil: « celui qui veut peindre le monde dans sa forme colorisée / Qu'il ne regarde jamais le soleil directement / qu'il s'agenouille, penche son visage / et regarde le rayon que reflète la terre »; il met en garde contre le regard direct: « sinon il va perdre la mémoire des choses qu'il a vues / et rien ne lui restera sauf des larmes qui brûleront ses yeux »³⁴.

L'attitude corporelle est celle de l'humilité et de la prière mais le conseil, disons, religieux, est du genre négatif: ne pas regarder le divin, ne pas se concentrer sur le spirituel, ne pas devenir mystique, ne pas renoncer à la terre, à la sensualité, au concret, à l'individuel, à l'érotique, au temporel, aux couleurs. Car le soleil / Dieu enlève la mémoire, rend aveugle et cause des regrets. Alors l'attitude corporelle préconisée est le signe d'un choix, esthétique et religieux, celui de l'immanence.

Lumen aveugle et enlève la mémoire; d'une manière inquiétante, le Soleil divin se recoupe ainsi avec la lumière nue et menace l'homme dans son individualité: sa vision et sa mémoire du monde. Pourtant le soleil / Dieu est l'origine de ce monde, sans lui – il disparaît. Cette contradiction va accompagner le Poète jusqu'au bout de son chemin artistique.

Avec ce credo, « ne jamais regarder le soleil directement », Miłosz rejette la tradition platonicienne et ses avatars mystiques chrétiens. Dans un grand nombre de poèmes il va fuir la tentation mystique de la même manière qu'il fuyait le rayon blanc de ses cauchemars. Mais il s'agit d'une fuite doublée de fascination et sa poésie dessine sans cesse le mouvement oscillatoire du balancier: *Lumen / Lux /* jusqu'aux derniers mouvements et l'immobilité finale.

³⁴ Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

Sans prétendre épuiser ce sujet – cette oscillation se retrouve dans la plupart des poèmes écrits durant un demi siècle – je vais esquisser sa quête en quelques traits. Le désir de lumière s'exprime d'abord en quête du monde où le poète cherche une lumière dérivée: un reflet du rayon blanc qui se diffracte en pluralité coloriée; ensuite ce désir bascule vers la lumière directe autrement dit vers Dieu. À la fin on arrive à la réconciliation de *Lumen* et de *Lux*, à la *coincidentia oppositorum*. Elle prend différentes formes: moment éternel, apocatastase, entrée dans la perle, retour à la Maison.

La première et aussi la plus synthétique esquisse de cette union finale se trouve dans le poème *Bon sur Leman*³⁵ où elle se présente de cette façon: la lumière tombe du haut et se brise en une cascade de points brillants sur la rivière noire qui coule en bas. Le héros recueille ces éclairs pour refaire avec eux un moment éternel – « un monde enfin parfait ». Nous pouvons lire cette image à l'aide de plusieurs grilles:

1. auto-thématique: lumière est la vie, les éclairs réfléchis sont les souvenirs, la rivière noire – l'oubli et celui qui le ramasse – le poète qui se ressouvient et écrit.

2. gnostique: la lumière est divine; les éclairs sont brisés et tombés à cause d'une catastrophe primordiale; la rivière noire est la matière de notre monde et le ramasseur – l'élus cabalistique ou manichéen qui recrée le monde parfait, lumineux.

Ce schéma est rarement aussi complet; dans le reste de l'œuvre il est tronqué, inachevé, rompu par le doute ou le questionnement. L'orgueil de l'élus laisse la place à l'aveu d'impuissance et d'amour: pour le *lux* mais aussi pour le *Lumen*. Dans le poème *La ville sans nom*, Miłosz confirme à la fois son amour du *lux* – monde et son amour du *Lumen* – Dieu:

La lumière universelle mais elle change sans cesse.

Car j'aime aussi la lumière, peut-être uniquement la lumière.

Pourtant ce qui est trop clair et trop haut n'est pas pour moi.

Alors, quand les nuages rosissent je pense à la lumière basse,
comme dans les pays des boulots et des pins couverts de mousse craquelée,
en automne tardive, sous le givre, quand les derniers lactaires
pourrissent dans les bois et les chiens courent avec l'écho³⁶.

Remarquons d'abord l'aveu d'humilité: « ce qui est trop clair et trop haut n'est pas pour moi » qui donne le ton au poème en entier. L'adjectif universel se rapporte au *Lumen* – qui possède la stabilité de l'être et pourtant change avec le temps; ce paradoxe, ou plus fort, l'oxymore indique la tentative pour unir les contraires, l'être et le devenir, Dieu et le monde, temps et éternité, tentative abandonnée dans les vers suivants où se précise la différence entre la lumière haute

³⁵ Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

³⁶ Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, p. 554.

et basse. La lumière basse c'est celle du monde, elle est rose et pas blanche, elle émane autant des arbres, du givre et de la terre que du ciel. C'est aussi la lumière du nord (Lituanie qui appartient au passé du poète) et non pas du sud (la Californie qui est son maintenant). La lumière haute est peut-être un emprunt à Dante: c'est le point de lumière rayonnante (« un punto che raggiava luce »): que Dante rencontre enfin dans la plus haute sphère du ciel: *alte luce*, « la haute lumière », *vivo raggio*, « le vif rayon »³⁷ qui par son l'acuité terrasse et aveugle. Nous retrouvons le rayon blanc qui poursuivait le poète dans ses cauchemars – mais qui maintenant l'attire et le fascine: « Car j'aime aussi la lumière, peut-être uniquement la lumière » bien qu'il la refuse encore: « ce qui est trop clair et trop haut n'est pas pour moi »³⁸.

Le poète se tient entre les deux lumières, de plus en plus immobile.

Avant d'aborder la dernière étape résumons la vue d'ensemble: au début du chemin poétique il y a la fuite devant la lumière blanche qui détruit, ensuite la fuite devient une fascination doublée de répulsion et le poète se focalise sur la lumière basse: *lux*. À la fin du chemin cette activité – fuite ou quête – semble cesser; le poète s'arrête tandis que la lumière haute – *Lumen* se met en marche. Voilà la plus courte description de cet état: « sans les yeux, en regardant fixement un seul point clair / qui s'agrandit et m'aspire »³⁹.

L'aspire où? Car ce point de lumière qui grandit et aspire ressemble au tunnel décrit maintes fois dans les relations de la mort clinique. La réponse – le tunnel mène à l'autre côté – au Lieu d'où il est venu. Nous arrivons ainsi à l'apocatastase:

j'appartiens à ceux qui croient en apokatastasis.
 Ce mot promet le mouvement inversé,
 pas celui qui s'est figé en katastasis,
 cela signifie: retour et récupération [przywrócenie].
 Ce que croyaient saint Grégoire de Nysse,
 Joannes Scotus Erigena, Ruysbroeck et William Blake.
 Chaque chose a donc pour moi une durée double.
 Et dans le temps et quand le temps ne sera plus⁴⁰.

L'apocatastase c'est le chemin d'aller et de retour rendu possible parce que Oscar Milosz nommait « l'alchimie mystique du sang ». Car notre monde a commencé par l'émission de la lumière spirituelle qui s'est transmutée en lumière physique

³⁷ Dante, *Paradiso*, Flammarion, Paris, 2004, p. 308.

³⁸ Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, p. 554.

³⁹ Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, p. 1246.

⁴⁰ Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, p. 1277.

et en sang; après un très long parcours elle va revenir dans son foyer d'origine, au rayon secret de Dante et redevenir la lumière spirituelle⁴¹.

Ce que Czesław Miłosz traduit à sa manière:

Résurrection. Toutes choses palpables – matérielles [...] se changent en lumière et leur forme y est préservée. Après la fin de notre temps, dans un méta-temps, elles reviennent en lumière condensée mais non pas condensée au point d'atteindre l'état antérieur de la matière. Par une puissance inconcevable, ce sont alors les essences mêmes. L'essence de chaque être humain, sans tout ce qui s'y incrusté, sans l'âge, la maladie, le fard, le déguisement, la feinte⁴².

Nous avons « le monde enfin parfait », mais non pas refait par l'activité du poète mais grâce à la ... grâce justement. Ce nouveau monde n'est pas refait, il est offert, il est un don. Il suffit d'y entrer comme Dante entre dans une perle. Et comme Miłosz le fait: « Car là bas est ma maison. Je n'y peux rien. Je prie pour la lumière. Pour entrer dans la perle, *aeterna margarita* ».

La perle c'est le symbole dantesque mais aussi chrétien; c'est la plus basse sphère du ciel, réservée à ceux qui ne méritent pas mieux, ceux qui se sont trop empêtré dans la matière du monde, qui n'ont pas su tenir leurs engagements spirituels, qui ne supporteraient pas la lumière trop haute... La perle est blanche mais elle opalise de toutes les couleurs du monde. Dans la symbolique chrétienne elle est identifiée à l'étoile du matin que ceux qui au moment de leur mort sont encore trop pris dans les passions de ce monde doivent regarder. L'étoile du matin symbolise à son tour Christ, qu'on appelle aussi « le rayon de lumière » et « le reflet » de la gloire de Dieu (Hbr,1,3). Les poèmes-prières qui s'adressent au Christ se multiplient dans cette dernière période et je vais citer le dernier, réellement le dernier poème de Miłosz, écrit en 2003:

Les visages tournés vers Lui,
nous recevons les yeux nouveaux, capables
regarder directement le Soleil.

Notre plus grand désir n'était-il pas
de vivre et habiter pour toujours la lumière?

⁴¹ K. Van Heuckelom, *op. cit.*, p. 169:

« l'émission est continue et pourtant la lumière voyage: physique, elle parcourt en 84 milliards d'années la courbure de l'espace avant de retomber dans son foyer d'origine; [...] retourne à l'Empyrée de rayon secret de Dante, au ciel dixième immobile ».

⁴² Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, p. 874.

Aveugles, boiteux, paralysés, tordus,
nous vivions en vigueur de nos ans récupérés.

Le temps passé, le temps présent et le temps futur
s'unissaient en un seul quasi-temps.

Ce qui fut, ce qui est et ce qui sera
se montraient impossibles à différencier;

Enfin nous comprenions notre vie
avec tout ce qui s'y est passé⁴³.

Le poète a réellement effectué son aller / retour: dans ce poème se concentrent et résolvent tous les motifs et questionnements: les yeux touchés par la main du Rabbi peuvent regarder enfin le Soleil directement sans être aveuglés, au contraire – en voyant tout dans un moment éternel (le quasi temps) – dans la lumière.

Comparons cette vision à la première qu'on a analysée:

Blanche comme les crânes des chevaux dans le désert,
noire comme la piste d'une nuit entre-planétaire
La Nudité, rien de plus, l'image du Mouvement sans nuages [...].

Nos yeux ont été touchés et au lieu du pourri – le vert [...]

oui, seulement l'extase, Éros. Faut-il donc se confier à l'alchimie du sang ?

Épouser pour toujours la terre puérile d'une illusion?

Ou supporter la lumière nue sans couleurs et sans parole
qui ne désire rien, qui n'appelle nulle part ?⁴⁴

Les yeux ont été touchés, en effet: ils peuvent regarder le soleil directement. L'alchimie du sang s'est accomplie: dans l'apocatastase. Mais la dernière question? Faut-il épouser pour toujours la terre puérile d'une illusion ?

La réponse est oui. Car celui qui revient c'est l'enfant. D'une multitude de poèmes qui parle de ce retour d'enfant à la maison j'ai choisi un seul:

Moi, Winnie the Pooh, je dois penser à des choses trop difficiles pour mon petit cerveau. Je ne me suis jamais demandé ce qui se trouve derrière notre jardin où nous habitons, moi, Cochonnet, Lapin et L'Âne avec notre ami Christopher. C'est-à-dire, nous, nous y habitons toujours et rien n'a changé et je viens justement de manger un peu de miel au cas où, seulement Christopher vient de partir pour un moment.

⁴³ Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, p. 1338.

⁴⁴ Cz. Miłosz, *op. cit.*, p. 636.

La Chouette Très Sage dit que juste derrière notre jardin commence le Temps, et c'est un puits terriblement profond et si quelqu'un y tombe, il tombe et il tombe en bas, et on ne sait pas ce qui se passe avec lui ensuite. J'étais un peu inquiet pour Christopher – pour qu'il n'y tombe pas, mais il est rentré et alors j'ai lui demandé pour ce puits. « Winnie, dit-il, j'y étais, dans ce puits, et je tombais et je changeais en tombant, mes jambes ont grandi, j'ai grandi, j'ai porté un pantalon long et la barbe m'a poussé, ensuite elle est devenue grise, je marchais tout penché, avec une canne et enfin j'ai mourut. Ça dû être un rêve, parce que cela semble si irréel. Pour moi, c'est toi, Winnie qui es toujours réel, toi et nos jeux. Maintenant je n'irai nulle part, même s'ils m'appellent pour le goûter »⁴⁵.

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⁴⁵ Cz. Miłosz, *Krzyś*, en: *Piesek przydrożny*, Cracovie 1998, p. 226 (trad. M. Reneuf).

Magdalena Renouf

Biel, blask i światło w poezji Czesława Miłosza

Streszczenie

Biel i jej niezliczone niuansy jest ważnym motywem kolorystycznym w poezji Czesława Miłosza. Wbrew zapewnieniom samego poety, który wymienia swoje ulubione kolory w opozycji do bezbarwnej bieli, ta ostatnia ma ogromne znaczenie i co najmniej kilka funkcji w jego dziele.

W pierwszej części tego artykułu przeprowadzam rodzaj dokładnego przeglądu tych wierszy, w których pojawia się semantyka bieli; w drugiej części dokonuję pracy strukturyzacji, proponując rozróżnienie między bielą jako antykolorem o zdecydowanie negatywnej konotacji (śmierć, zniszczenie, zagłada) a bielą jako zjawiskiem świetlnym o konotacji pozytywnej (*Lumen* jako symbol boskości i *lux* jako symbol świata).

Słowa kluczowe: Czesław Miłosz, poezja, symbolika koloru, biel, światło, promień, blask.

White, lux and lumen in the poetry of Czesław Miłosz

Summary

The use of the colour white, as with other colours evoked by Czesław Miłosz, is not the result of conscious elaboration (technical, philosophical or mystical). Instead, it seems that the colours belong to another level of thought; they are not chosen, they choose us. However, and this is the object of my demonstration, white and its various nuances structure Miłosz's work. This work, which has been called the "wonderful mess" due to the many antithetical and apparently disparate themes with which it overflows, has already been explored using several critical approaches and following various common threads. Here, my chosen common thread is the colour white.

Keywords: Czesław Miłosz, poetry, symbolism of color, white, light, lux, lumen

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The gardener's topos based on the example of the poem *The Gardener* (Ogrodnik) by Czesław Miłosz (text analysis)¹

*I think, I am here on earth,
To report about it (...)*²

The Nobel Prize-winning Polish writer Czesław Miłosz uses the topos of the gardener in his poem *Ogrodnik* (*The Gardener*). The poem comes from one of the latest collections of poetry by Miłosz with the title *To* (*This*). The collection was published in 2001 and consists of over sixty poems that in terms of content are very distinct from one another. Miłosz mentions, among others, his grandfather as well as his friends Aleksander Wat, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, and Tadeusz Różewicz³. He

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- 1 The present analysis is a part of my master's thesis with the title "The topos of the gardener in modern literature exemplified in poems by Staff (*The Gardeners*), Wierzyński (*The Gardeners*) and Miłosz (*The Gardener*). Functions and procedures", submitted to the Georg August University Göttingen (Germany). The analysis of the Staff's poem was published in 2016 in "Konteksty Kultury", (no. 13, 4, pp. 446-468).
- 2 Czesław Miłosz, *Świadomość* (*Conscience*) from the collection *Nieobjęta ziemia* (*Unattainable Earth* - 1984), in: Cz. Miłosz, *Wiersze wszystkie*, Cracow, Wydawnictwo Znak 2011, pp. 836-840. [The poems quoted according to the pagination of this edition]
- 3 Ibidem, *Mój dziadek Zygmunt Kunat*, pp. 1143-1144, *Krawat Aleksandra Wata*, pp. 1190; *Unde Malum*, pp. 1195; Różewicz, pp. 1196; *Wybierając wiersze Jarosława Iwaszkiewicza na wieczór jego poezji*, pp. 1177-1178.

also pays homage to John Paul II⁴. In addition, there is a number of poetic epiphanies in the cycle of poems *O!*

In relation to the poem *Ogrodnik* it is worth mentioning that Miłosz may have had a garden himself, about which Kazimierz Wierzyński writes in his letter to Tymon Terlecki. Wierzyński lived in a house, abandoned by Miłosz, on the outskirts of Paris. At that time, he wrote to Terlecki:

Jestem bardzo pod urokiem ich rodziny a w chłopcach zakochany.⁵

Przed biurkiem mam okno na sad, w którym są jeszcze jabłka i gruszki. Pani Miłoszowa powiedziała mi: spojrzysz pan w okno i wszystko się samo napisze. Patrzę – ale jakoś się nie pisze samo, tylko z największym trudem.⁶

Układ mieszkania jest taki, że przebywa się właściwie w kuchni i w pokoju, który był pracownią Miłosza i jest moją, wszystko wszędzie słyhać, dojdzie ze stacji uciążliwe (górze), ja z moją bezsennością i wstawaniem o 4–5 rano jestem destrukcją wszelkiego ładu dnia i nocy – słowem goście mogą ofiarować udrękę a nie szczęście.⁷

Ogród jego teraz jest zachwycający, pełno kwiatów, na drzewach owoce i ptaki, ptaki, ptaki. Wiosna przepiękna.⁸

Miłosz not only had a garden, he also created a poetic image of his property. To become acquainted with this image, it is necessary to analyse the poem *Ogrodnik*⁹.

1. Adam i Ewa nie na to zostali stworzeni,
Żeby kłaniać się księciu i władcy tej ziemi.
2. Inna, słoneczna, ziemia poza czasem trwała.
Im obojgu na wieczną szczęśliwość oddana.

4 *Oda na osiemdziesiątą urodziny Jana Pawła II*, ibidem, pp. 1179–1180.

5 The passages of the letters were made available by courtesy of Nina Taylor-Terlecka. Letter by K. Wierzyński to T. Terlecki of 11 October 1960.

6 Letter by K. Wierzyński to T. Terlecki of 21 October 1960.

7 Letter by K. Wierzyński to T. Terlecki of 2 December 1960.

8 Letter by K. Wierzyński to T. Terlecki of 17 May 1960.

9 The analysis is based upon the typology of Matthias Freise, *Vier Weisen, nach dem Text zu fragen*, in: *Finis coronat opus. Festschrift für Walter Kroll zum 65. Geburtstag*, Göttingen 2006, pp. 71–83. He distinguishes in every text four dimensions the historical (...), technical (linguistic) (...), aesthetic (philosophic) (...), and the cultural (...). The aesthetic dimension «Why» concerns the *sensus anagogicus* (symbolic meaning), and the allegoric meaning, *sensus allegoricus* concerns the cultural «Why». The literary meaning, *sensus litteralis*, is the historical «Why», and the *sensus moralis* corresponds to the technical «Why».

3. Siwobrody ogrodnik drzew na niej doglądał,
Chociaż świat nie stał w blasku, tak jak tego żądał.
4. Na dni i wieki patrzył niby przez lunetę
Na całe swoje dzieło, tak dobrze zaczęte,
5. Które z winy poznania obrócić się miało
W nienasycenie duszy i ranliwe ciało.
6. Ostrzegł ich, ale wiedział, że to nie pomoże,
Bo byli już gotowi i tak jakby w drodze.
7. Niewidoczny w listowie, dumał, zasmucony,
Widział ognie i mosty, okręty i domy,
8. Samolot w nocnym niebie migający iskrą,
Łoża z baldachimami i pobojuwisko.
9. O biedne moje dzieci, więc tak wam się spieszy
Do piachu, w którym czaszka żółte zęby szczyrzy?
10. Do zamykania bioder w majtki, krynoliny,
Do odkrywania ciągów skutków i przyczyny?
11. Oto zbliża się wróg mój i zaraz wam powie:
Spróbujcie, a staniecie się jako bogowie.
12. Lokaje samolubnej miłości i zbrodni,
I zaiste bogowie, tylko że ułomni.
13. Nieszczęsne moje dzieci, jaka długa droga,
Nim zrujnowany ogród zakwitnie od nowa,
14. I lipową aleją wróćcie przed ganek,
Gdzie na rabatkach pachną szałwia i tymianek.
15. I czy było konieczne nurzać się w otchłani,
Systemata układać, zamiast mieszkać w baśni,
16. Nad którą nieustanna jest moja opieka?
Bo prawdę mówi Pismo, że mam twarz człowieka¹⁰.

The poem reveals a regular profile. It consists of a quotation by¹¹ Martin Luther (*Comments on Galatians*, chapter 3) and sixteen distiches, that is double-verse strophes. Each verse has thirteen syllables. The poem utilizes Polish thirteen-syllable-verses caesuras after the seventh syllable (7 + 6)¹².

Miłosz uses a simple pattern of paired rhymed verses. He shapes the poem by accumulating double-verse strophes that look like flower beds in the garden

¹⁰ Cz. Miłosz, *Ogrodnik*, in: idem, *Wiersze wszystkie*, op. cit., pp. 1197–1198.

¹¹ The quotation functions as an introduction to the topic of the poem.

¹² The first verse (8+6) is an exception.

Adam i Ewa nie na to zostali stworzeni, 1 $\text{—} \cup \cup \text{—} \cup \cup \cup \cup / \text{—} \cup \cup \text{—} \cup$
 Żeby kłaniać się księżcu i władcy tej ziemi. 2 $\text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \cup \text{—} \cup / \cup \text{—} \cup \cup \text{—} \cup$

separating the individual ideas from one another¹³. A different dominating motif or image, carrying a particular theme, can be assigned to each distich:

1. Adam and Eve
2. Earth
3. God
4. Time
5. Sin
6. Hiking/the path
7. Observation
8. Handicraft / works coming into being
9. Death
10. Mortality
11. Satan / devil¹⁴
12. Consequences of sin / imperfect gods
13. The destroyed garden
14. The divine garden
15. The contrast: the perfect and imperfect world
16. The image of God

The main theme of the work is the myth of the origin of original sin and the consequences of the disobedience of the first human beings, Adam and Eve¹⁵. The action in the poem takes place in a world at a time when there are no other people on the Earth than these two.

The poem is divided into two parts. In the first part of the text, there is an all-knowing lyrical subject existing outside the world described by him who recounts the joyous existence of Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden. Theirs is the gift of an earth awash with sun; the atmosphere is idyllic, and nothing portends the coming tragedy. It is a garden where time does not exist. People live there in an ideal harmony, in their natural environment.

In this part, it is possible to recognize the physical image of the creator: He is a grey-bearded gardener with a human face. The reader could suppose that he is an infinitely good old man as represented in icons.

¹³ This is a presentation of the profile and contours of the land that introduces harmony and order.

¹⁴ Roman Zajac (in: *Szatan w Starym Testamencie*, Lublin, Wyd. KUL 1998, pp. 24) points out an important difference in the etymology of "devil" and "satan". In the present text both words "devil" and "satan" are used interchangeably and have the same being.

¹⁵ Miłosz ponders the problem of the original sin and the topic of Adam and Eve in, for example, the poems *Czytaliśmy w katechizmie*, pp. 1264 and *Tak więc Ewa*, pp. 1266 from the collection *Druga przestrzeń* (2002); *Adam i Ewa*, pp. 978 from the collection *Dalsze okolice* (1991); *Raj*, pp. 782 and *Ksiądz Ch., po latach*, pp. 852–856 from the collection *Nieobjęta ziemia* (1984); as well in his book *Abecadło*. Czesław Miłosz, (Cracow, Wydawnictwo Literackie 2001, pp. 17–18).

Exactly in the middle of the poem, namely in the ninth strophe, God himself becomes the lyrical subject. He speaks in the first person about himself. To this point he had been only a passive, “discontented” observer, as the following passage suggests:

Siwobrody ogrodnik drzew na niej doglądał,
Chociaż świat nie stał w blasku, tak jak tego żądał.

It could be stated that the poem belongs to the so-called *liryka mieszana* (mixed lyric), because it serves as an example for the *pośrednia* (indirect) and *bezpośrednia*¹⁶ (direct) lyric. The tone of the lyrical subject changes constantly, depending on who is speaking at the time. At first, it is the all-knowing lyrical subject, then it is God who speaks. In a short passage, one has the impression that the devil gets a word in edgewise¹⁷. The result is a polyphony of voices in the text¹⁸. The language of the lyrical subject in the first part of the text is elevated and distant as could be expected from God who constitutes a higher authority and has power over people. However, starting with the ninth distich God takes over the role of narrator as the lyrical “I” and uses the simple language of a caring and loving father.

To achieve Satan’s manner of speaking alliteration is used for expressive purposes: “Spróbujcie, a staniecie się jako bogowie”¹⁹. Thus, the tone of the utterance is more grandiloquent, exaggerated, and artificial. The repetition of the “S” gives the impression that the sentence sounds like the hiss of a snake. The notorious snake in the garden of Eden is obviously meant here, putting in doubt the devil’s word. It will turn out later that his words are only idle promises, because he falsely promises people that they are like God.

16 J. Sławiński, *Słownik Terminów Literackich*, edited by Janusz Sławiński, with the cooperation of Aleksandra Okopień-Sławińska, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow, Ossolineum 2002, pp. 278.

17 However, it appears to be more feasible that God takes over the speech of his opponent, namely the devil.

18 According to Aleksander Fiut, “(...) dialog silnie zindywidualizowanych postaci, stylów i postaw znakomicie wzbogaca i dynamizuje semantykę wypowiedzi, a ponadto stwarza sugestię jej zdarzeniowości. (...) teksty zachowują w tle delikatny ślad «cudzego słowa»”. Aleksander Fiut, *Poezja w kręgu hermeneutyki*, in: *Poznanie Miłosza. Studia i szkice o twórczości poety*, J. Kwiatkowski (ed.), Cracow, Wydawnictwo Literackie 1985, pp. 252. According to Joanna Zach, the early works of the poet are especially marked by polyphony. J. Zych, *Miłosz i poetyka wyznania*, Cracow, Universitas 1994, pp. 16. [čůžaja reč'] is a term by Bakhtin and stems from M. M. Бахтин, *Проблемы поэтики Достоевского* (1929), in: *Собрание сочинений в семи томах*. Vol. 6: Ред. С.Г. Бочаров, Л.А. Гоготишвили. Москва 2002 pp. 7–300; čůžaja reč', in: *Глава пятая – Слово у Достоевского*. I. *Типы прозаического слова. Слово у Достоевского*, pp. 203–228.

19 The quotation is an allusion to biblical language.

The last eight verses are an apostrophe of the title gardener, seemingly directed only to Adam and Eve. The words are addressed to his children, namely mankind. Adam and Eva symbolize all of mankind here.

As already mentioned, in the second part, the lyrical subject, the gardener, is God himself. He is worried about the fate of Adam and Eve, because they are going to be led into temptation by the devil. The creator is presented as an omniscient being able to predict the future: “Widział ognie i mosty, okręty i domy, / Samolot w nocnym niebie migający iskrą, / Łoża z baldachimami i pobojuwisko (...)”. He can see the work of humans after their expulsion from paradise. He knows that suffering, pain, and death will soon prevail, and that the world will turn into a “pobojowisko”²⁰ (battlefield). Obviously, He considers himself Adam and Eve’s father who desires the best for them. Thus, their fate drives him to despair, because they almost willingly bring death to themselves, as shown by the following passage: “O biedne moje dzieci, więc tak wam się spieszy / Do piachu, w którym czaszka żółte zęby szczyrzy?”. He is aware of their imperfection, weakness, and nothingness, because when He created the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, He knew that Adam and Eve will ignore His ban. Despite that, He enabled them to make their own decisions²¹. Although He warned them of the devil’s temptations, they did not obey Him:

Ostrzegł ich, ale wiedział, że to nie pomoże,
Bo już byli gotowi i tak jakby w drodze.

In this way, the story of Adam and Eve can be interpreted as a test, even if God might have known how they are going to behave. Perhaps it is merely the fulfilment of God’s plan. Thus, the following verses read:

Inna, słoneczna, ziemia poza czasem trwała.
Im obojgu na wieczną szczęśliwość oddana.

As a result of the devil’s temptation, people choose unknowingly the world described by the lyrical subject as “zrujnowany ogród”, “otchłań” and “pobojowisko” (“destroyed garden”, „abyss”, and “battlefield”). This is an imperfect world where matter reigns²² but in which people can decide about everything on their own. It contains the message of the free will as an act of God’s magnanimity. According to Genesis 1, man was created

²⁰ Cf. the collection of poetry with the same title by Kazimierz Wierzyński from 1944.

²¹ “(...) stworzył istoty zdolne wybrać między dobrem i złem” – that wrote Miłosz in the poem *Teodycea* from the collection *Nieobjęta ziemia* (1984), pp. 878.

²² According to Maximilian Rudwin, the devil was perceived up to the 16th century as a creator sui generis and the guardian of the material order of things, idem, *Diabeł w legendzie i literaturze*, translated by Jacek Illg, Cracow, Wydawnictwo Znak 1999, pp. 143.

as a good and totally innocent being who is the mirror image of God. God looked upon everything He created (even man on the sixth day) and said, it is "very good"²³.

With the words "Nieszczęsne moje dzieci, jaka długa droga, / Nim zrujnowany ogród zakwitnie od nowa, / I lipową aleją wróćcie przed ganek, / Gdzie na rabatkach pachną szalwia i tymianek"²⁴ God emphasizes that people are responsible for the devastation of the garden. In the sense of *pars pro toto*, the garden symbolizes here the whole world. Furthermore, there is a "long road" – "długa droga" – to travel before they comprehend what they have done. They have to comprehend that a life which only imitates existence in paradise is never going to be as good as life in the real garden of Eden: "I czy było konieczne nurzać się w otchłani, / Systemata układać, zamiast mieszkać w baśni, / Nad którą nieustanna jest moja opieka?"²⁵. Instead of using God's gifts, man sets out on his way, a way that prolongs the sound of the epitheton "długa" (long) by the above marked double repetition (d...ga d...ga). Emphasizing the distance that has to be covered by every man during his migration is enhanced by the epitheton. However, he still has the opportunity to return to his father's house. In that way, God introduces hope, because he conveys to the people that return to paradise is possible, as stated in the following passage:

Nieszczęsne moje dzieci, jaka długa droga,
Nim zrujnowany ogród zakwitnie od nowa,

I lipową aleją wróćcie przed ganek,
Gdzie na rabatkach pachną szalwia i tymianek.

Explanation of the title

Considering the title of the poem, the following question arises: What does the work of the gardener consist in? At first, he tills land²⁶, sows flowers, i.e. he creates

²³ 1. Moses / Genesis. 1, 31.

²⁴ (In English: "My wretched children, such a long way / to the regained bloom of the destroyed garden / and along the linden avenue you come back to the courtyard / where the vegetable patch smells of sage and thyme").

²⁵ (In English: "Was it necessary to plunge into the abyss, to create systems, instead of living in a tale, / under my constant care?").

²⁶ It is important to emphasize that the word "culture" originates from the Latin word *colere* and means 'cultivation, care, tilling, creation', also in terms of 'agriculture' (*cultus agri*). Over the course of time, the meaning of culture has been expanded to include everything that man is able to 'cultivate' including his own development. Cicero characterizes philosophy as *cultura animi* – 'cultivation of the soul' ("*Cultura autem animi philosophia est*"), Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* II 5, 13. Quotation in: *Tusculanae disputationes. Gespräche in Tusculum. Deutsch und Latein*, edited and translated by E.A. Kirfel, Stuttgart, Reclam 1997.

life. Afterwards, he takes care of them so that they grow healthy and strong, and he does everything he can to attend to them with love and care. The relationship between God and people is similar.

The leading character – the gardener – is God himself. Adam and Eve have dominion over the earth and are the further protagonists of the poem. They were not created to bow to the devil, namely “the prince and the lord of this world”²⁷. This passage corresponds to the epigraph to the poem by Martin Luther: “Wszyscy więc ciałem i w sprawach naszych podlegamy diabłu i gościmy na świecie, którego on jest panem i bogiem. Dlatego pod jego władzą jest chleb, który jemy, napój, który pijemy, ubranie, które nosimy, nawet powietrze, i wszystko, czym żyjemy”²⁸. Luther believes that the whole world belongs to Satan,²⁹ but Miłosz disagrees with Luther. According to Luther, a man will be in Satan’s power as soon as he sets out on his way in life. The devil’s character is manifest in human activities and their differences. He rules over the material world and becomes God on earth. By making the devil in the first verse “the prince and the lord of the world”³⁰ Miłosz concurs with Luther. However, this is only the introduction to the real topic of the poem, namely, the story narrated by God.

Returning now to Adam and Eve, it should be stated that they are tragic characters. Due to a bad decision they succumbed to the temptation of evil and had to leave the garden of Eden. The life they chose will be marked by the insatiability of the soul and the body’s vulnerability.³¹ After expulsion from the garden of Eden the people are ashamed of their nakedness. They don clothes to hide their corporeality. In the poem *Ogrodnik*, they enclose their hips with pants and crinolines (“zamykania bioder w majtki, krynoliny”) and lose the life that would have been eternal happiness. Adam and Eve’s greed brought it about that they in fact became like Gods; ironically, however, they became frail, imperfect and mortal.

27 (In English: “To bow to the prince and the lord of this earth”). In the poem *Ksiądz Ch., po latach*, [pp. 852–856 from the volume *Nieobjęta ziemia* (1984)] Miłosz discusses the problem: “A ja, czy nie pokłoniłem się?”.

28 M. Luther, *Komentarz do Galatów* [Comment on Galatians], chapter 3, [epigraph to *The Gardener*] Cz. Miłosz, *Wiersze wszystkie*, op. cit., p. 1197.

29 Gnosticism perceived the whole objectively existing world as the devil’s work. Vide: M. Rudwin, *Diabeł w legendzie i literaturze*, op. cit., p. 143.

30 (In English: “the prince and the lord of this world”). This description is found in: G. Davidson, *Słownik aniołów w tym aniołów upadłych*, translated by J. Ruszkowski, Poznań, Wydawnictwo Zysk i S-ka 1998, p. 39; The “prince of this world” was mentioned by Miłosz in the following poems: *Ksiądz Ch., po latach*, pp. 852–856 from the collection *Nieobjęta ziemia* (1984), *Jeden i wiele*, p. 1199 from the collection *To* (2000), *Na próżno*, p. 1261 from the collection *Druga przestrzeń* (2002), *Antegor*, p. 1346 and *Sancitifetur* p. 1352 from *Wiersze ostatnie* (2006).

31 Corporeality can be defined as, among others, man’s belonging to the material world.

Thus, the dominant component is the contrast between God's wonderful, harmonic garden and the dreadful human material world that is the domain of Satan's power³². Divine eternity is contrasted with the "brief moment" of human existence. That contrast is transferred to the aesthetic structure of the poem by retaining rhymes between the verses to enable the analysis of the rhyme equivalences.³³ In that way, the main motif of the poem's composition on the semantic plane is apparent. This can be demonstrated by the following examples the choice of which was not random. The juxtaposition of the rhyme pairs enables the analysis and discussion of the oppositions: man – gardener/God; God – Satan; Earth – paradise; the spiritual – the material etc.

[1]

1. Adam i Ewa nie na to zostali **stworzeni**,
 2. Żeby kłaniać się księżciu i władcy tej **ziemi**.
- stworzeni – ziemi**

The rhyme pair has to be seen in a broader context: "nie zostali stworzeni" – "tej ziemi". The following question arises: Which earth is meant? The next distich contains the answer. They were created for another, sunny earth beyond time. In the scope of the root meaning of the rhyme pair stands a pragmatic relationship: What they have in common is that, like Adam and Eve, the earth was created – "Stworzenia ziemi" (beings of the earth). Finally, in the Bible a further common feature can be found: "for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt you return"³⁴. At a first glance, this may not be entirely correct – the earth is a planet and creation a long-term process. However, both created people and the earth have a certain power to generate life. They create something, it can even be said that they give birth to something, for example culture.

[2]

3. Inna, słoneczna, ziemia poza czasem **trwała**.
 4. Im obojgu na wieczną szczęśliwość **oddana**.
- trwała – oddana**

This rhyme pair, taken apart from the text, describes the earth: "trwała" and "oddana". In a broader context, it turns out that the rhymes are bound together, namely in the space beyond time, in eternity. This is exactly the space where the divine garden of Eden is located.

³² The poem's epigraph alludes to that.

³³ M. Freise, *Die Äquivalenzfunktion des Reimes*, in: idem, *Slawistische Literaturwissenschaft*, with the collaboration of Katja Freise, Tübingen, Narr Verlag 2012, pp. 146–150.

³⁴ 1. Moses 3, 19.

“The Earth existed (Ziemia **trwała**) beyond time” – which sounds very static, motionless, continuous; and understood entirely differently in the passage “im obojgu (...) **oddana**”. In the latter, the Earth is given over to Adam and Eva; this is punctual. A certain dynamism can be imagined here.

[3]

5. Siwobrody ogrodnik drzew na niej **doglądał**,
6. Chociaż świat nie stał w blasku, tak jak tego **żądał**.
doglądał – żądał

Those two verb forms, implying the past, are referred to the grey-bearded gardener. It is His primordial relationship to the Earth and its dwellers, Adam and Eve, that is described here. On the one hand, the gardener has the face of a caring and loving father, on the other hand, he demands respect for his works and obedience to his rules. Just as a man is characterized by good and evil, so God can be both merciful and cruel³⁵. In this way, the similarity between God and man is highlighted.

[4]

7. Na dni i wieki patrzył niby przez **lunetę**
8. Na całe swoje dzieło, tak dobrze **zaczęte**,
lunetę – zaczęte

Looking through a telescope brings the observed objects within reach. However, this close distance is only apparent, because the observer is in fact far from the object. What stands between them is a lens that transfers the image of the object to the more distant part of the device. The eyepiece is an optical element close to the eye of the observer and brings the distant object into view. Both the lens and the eyepiece are optical components of equal value and importance. This is how the image in the telescope is processed.

On the one hand, the telescope sets up a distance between an observer and the object, on the other hand, it establishes contact between God and man. The telescope brings closer something that, though theoretically distant, is something well known, because God himself is the architect of Earth, the Earth is his work³⁶. The telescope has an eyepiece that only an eye can look through. When the whole distich “patrzył (...) przez lunetę” is taken into account, then this turns out to be only apparent: “niby”³⁷.

35 In Polish „okrutny”.

36 Cf. footnote 26 (“agriculture”).

37 It recalls the dominance of feelings over reason in the ballad *Romantyczność* by Adam Mickiewicz: “Czucie i wiara silniej mówi do mnie / Niż mędrca szkiełko i oko”, A. Mickiewicz, *Wiersze*, Cz. Zgorzelski (ed.), Warsaw, Czytelnik 1983, p. 27.

It seems paradoxical that God's work upon which the lyrical "I" looks down is being created just in that moment, and God is already using a human invention, the telescope. He is holding in his hands a tool created by humans in the distant future. Looking through the telescope can also mean a view from the stars. Telescopium is namely a minor constellation in the southern celestial hemisphere³⁸. Thus, the stars are God's telescope, his eyes looking down at Earth.

[10]

19. Do zamykania bioder w majtki, **krynoliny**,
 20. Do odkrywania ciągów skutków i **przyczyny**?
krynoliny – przyczyny

This rhyme pair consists of two nouns in plural. The first word in the rhyme pair "krynoliny" (crinolines)³⁹ refers to a concrete object. A garment for women during the 19th century, they were stiff petticoats designed add volume to skirts. These unwieldy skirts were worn first of all by women of higher social standing, those from noble and wealthy families⁴⁰. Crinolines were subject of many jokes and satires⁴¹. The opponents of this fashion thought that such a steel cage was in the truest sense of the word a prison for women. Figuratively speaking, things such as crinolines symbolise human imprisonment in the material world⁴².

The second word of the rhyme pair is "przyczyny" (causes) that represent something abstract and are connected with "skutki" (effects). The search for causes and effects⁴³ is an attempt to comprehend the artificial, stiff rules of the world⁴⁴, that is, the "przyczyny" are as stiff and firm as "krynoliny".

³⁸ *Moja astronomia*, <http://www.maribert.com/index.php/Teleskop.html> [access: 24.08.2011].

³⁹ Similar to the previous example („luneta”), Miłosz's attention to detail is manifest here, as highlighted by J. Błoński, *Miłosz jak świat*, Cracow, Wydawnictwo Znak 1999.

⁴⁰ It was patented for the first time in 1846, however it differed from antecedents due to the fact that it was Worn by women of almost every social standing, even though it was quite uncomfortable.

⁴¹ Examples: Bolesław Leśmian – *Lalka, Wiatrak*; Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński – *Dary deszczu jesiennego*.

⁴² Crinolines as pieces of clothing refer to the epitome of the poem, namely, according to Luther, pieces of clothing worn by people are under control of Satan.

⁴³ This refers to the rapid development of science and therefore the suppression of spiritual and moral spheres from man's interests, the topic of Miłosz's book *Ziemia Ulro* (1977). Czesław Miłosz, *Ziemia Ulro*, Cracow, Wydawnictwo Znak 2000, pp. 252–267.

⁴⁴ All that is a result of human's activities, that, according to Luther [epitome], are also subordinated to Satan.

[15]

29. I czy było konieczne nurzać się **w otchłani**,
 30. Systemata układać, zamiast mieszkać **w baśni**,
w otchłani – w baśni

People had to convince themselves that they would not be better off in the abyss, where they would have to make a fresh start and create systems. It will be “a long way”, before they comprehend this. Miłosz idealises paradise. He presents it as a perfect land that “smells of sage and thyme”. He emphasises the beauty and the utopian character of the world created for but abandoned by man on the day of the knowledge. This is the world of prosperity and love, a perfect place, a “fairy tale”, the “sunny earth”. These rhymes represent two immeasurable spaces facing each other: “otchłań” (the abyss) represents hell. “baśń” (the tale) represents paradise, heaven.

[16]

31. Nad którą nieustanna jest moja **opieka**?
 32. Bo prawdę mówi Pismo, że mam twarz **człowieka**.
opieka – człowieka

The next rhyme pair consists above all of a pair of contradictions: “opieka” stands for the abstract, “człowiek” for the concrete. However, a man is a being created by God, and God’s care is something he accepts. What is at issue here is the human nature of God, his human face. In this way, the Miłosz concludes the polemic against Luther with which the poem began. It turns out that man is not wholly bad; his “connection” to evil is only the consequence of a false choice at the beginning of his existence. Even if Satan does have his say in steering the affairs of the human world, man comes back from the „abyss” to God. The sphere of the spiritual and divine life is not subordinated to Satan, only the earthly and material sphere.

The foregoing examples show that the author employs simple and clear language. At the same time, his words convey a beautiful and elevated style. The artistic plane is underscored by the above mentioned epithets: “Siwobrody ogrodnik”, “ranliwe ciało”, “zrujnowany ogród”, “lipową aleją”⁴⁵. The epithets “biedni” and “nieszczęsne” refer to man. Moreover, some metaphors occur in this poem: “O biedne moje dzieci, więc tak wam się spieszy / Do piachu, w którym czaszka żółte zęby szczyrzy?” or “I czy było konieczne nurzać się w otchłani, / Systemata

⁴⁵ (In English: “The grey-bearded gardener”, “the vulnerable body”, “the destroyed garden”, “the linden avenue”). Then linden is regarded as a Slavic tree, the oak as a Germanic one. In that way, reference to the linden tree is reference to what is Slavic, whereas Luther represents what is German, while Luther represents the Germanic.

układać, zamiast mieszkać w baśni (...)"⁴⁶. Numerous verbs, for example "doglądał", "patrzył", "dumał" present a certain image of God. God is thoughtful, he observes people; however, it seems that he does not interfere in their lives and their sleepy world. At the same time, the verbs present him as a material being. God is personified, which serves to emphasize that man was created in his image. This idea will be mined more deeply in the part on intertextual connections.

God addresses Adam and Eve directly twice. The first time he resorts to an apostrophe: "O biedne moje dzieci" and "Nieszczęsne moje dzieci". The second time he asks some rhetorical questions: does it pay to renounce paradise, would not be better to live an honest and godly live instead of propagating a sinful existence, or to discover causes and effects. What is more, he imitates the language of his opponents, as in the announcement in the text „Oto zbliża się wróg mój i zaraz wam powie:"⁴⁷. Also, the use of the colon introduces the *oratio recta* (direct speech) before the sentence: "Spróbujcie, a staniecie się jako bogowie".

This is followed by verses with the same initial sound:

Do piachu, w którym czaszka żółte zęby szczyrzy?

Do zamykania bioder w majtki, krynoliny,

Do odkrywania ciągów skutków i przyczyny?

Use of the anaphora in this passage combined with the above mentioned rhetorical questions serves not only to enumerate the things a human strives after, but also to emphasize the absurdity of these strivings. It is also intensified by unusual expressions: "czaszka żółte zęby szczyrzy", "zamykania bioder w majtki"⁴⁸. The repetition of the first parts of the verses combined with rhetorical questions emphasizes God's point of view, his ever deeper doubts about man and the consequences of his actions. The double anaphora intensifies the impression of increasing doubt that man may well have chosen an earthly life instead of the paradise.

The garden of Eden symbolises above all the feeling of happiness of the first parents before they committed the original sin. It is an ideal state that people try unsuccessfully to regain. This wish is present each time man attempts to regain the lost paradise through travel. The motif of the lost paradise comes from the Book of Genesis. *Paradise Lost* is a religious-philosophical poem by John Milton published in 1667, consisting of twelve volumes in blank verses, that concerns the biblical story of the original sin, its causes, and effects – exactly as the poem by Miłosz

46 [In English: "Oh, my poor children, why are you in a hurry to get / to the earth, where the scull bares its yellow teeth? (...) Was it necessary to plunge into the abyss, / to create systems, instead of living in a tale (...)].

47 [In English: "Behold, my enemy approaches and he is going to speak soon:").

48 [In English: "The scull baring its yellow teeth", "enclosing the hips in pants").

analysed here. In the ninth volume, this issue is raised: Eve succumbs to Satan's temptation and eats the fruit from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. For love of her Adam does the same. The punishment for disobedience is expulsion from paradise and life in sin and mortality. However, before the "first parents" abandon the garden of Eden, Michael (the Archangel) shows Adam the future with the hope for salvation (volumes 11–13). God does the same in Miłosz's poem; he attempts to warn people and fill them with hope.

As mentioned above, Miłosz idealises paradise in a certain way. The road to paradise leads through the linden avenue. With the epitheton "linden" he refers possibly to Jan Kochanowski's poem *Na lipę* (*The linden tree*). In this work, the *wieszcz* from *Czarnolas* draws allusions to the mystical garden of Hesperides, where trees with golden apples grow and the divine drink ambrosia springs from a source. The comparison of the linden with the tree of Hesperides reveals its uniqueness and importance. The linden is a tree with valuable features, close to divinity and symbolising security, happiness, and harmony. As Ewa Bienkowska has written:

W środku koszmaru zrealizowanego próba schronienia się, w bajkę o dzieciństwie, próba zaczarowania bólu obrazami dawnego przeddorosłego szczęścia: ganek z widokiem na łąki, piwonie na grządce, ojciec jak dobry Pan Bóg wyprowadza zgubione dzieci z lasu.⁴⁹

Therefore, the words: "I lipową aleją wrócić przed ganek" can be understood as if the linden avenue was a reliable path to divine harmony⁵⁰.

As far as the design of the text is concerned, there is a significant parallel with Kochanowski's work. The poem *Na lipę* consists of thirteen-syllable verses. This verse pattern occurs as well in his cycle *Treny*⁵¹ that is also related topically to Miłosz's poetry. With reference to the poem by Miłosz, the *Tren V* is especially worthy of attention, because here Kochanowski compares God to the gardener. While zealously cleaning his orchard, he cuts down an olive tree, which can be read as Kochanowski's complaint about the premature death of his little daughter. The girl (= olive tree) grows peacefully alongside his parents / old trees. The tree is small, it has neither twigs nor leaves, it is weak and defenceless, but the parents are proud

⁴⁹ E. Bienkowska, *Przestrzeń ocalenia*, „Więź” 1981, no. 3, pp. 28.

⁵⁰ This harmony is highlighted by two-verse strophes and the constant caesura of each verse (with the exception of the first one) and the harmony is in contradiction with the tension of the whole poem. The allusion to the cycle *Świat poema naiwne* (1943) becomes obvious here.

⁵¹ However, the verse structure of various poems in this cycle is rather differentiated:

Thirteen syllables (7+6), e.g. *Tren VII*

Thirteen syllables (8+5)

Twelve syllables (7+5)

of it. Thus, the parallels between the tree and little Urszulka are obvious. She has been cut down by the gardener like a little tree “sadownik podciął ukwapliwy”⁵²) and falls dead at the feet of the bewailing parents (“rodzicom troskliwym u nóg martwa upadła”⁵³).

The above mentioned thirteen-syllable verses are also an allusion to Adam Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz* in which the idyll and the garden also play an important role. In that way, dynamic, fulsome images are created that the reader can easily represent. When one enters the orchard in *Pan Tadeusz*, one is surrounded by overwhelming peace, a blissful silence, where everything seems to be in the right place. The plants, too, are relaxed and calm, they have resigned themselves noticeably to their fate. The trees are like disciplined soldiers, ordered in rows by the hand of the gardener. The scent of the flowers is in the air and is so intense that it is overpowering for the reader himself. Through the use of numerous metaphors, similes, epithets and personifications, the poet ascribes the characteristics of humans and living things to these phenomena. E.g. the garden and the described plants observed secretly by the count possess many human properties: “(...) tu kapusta, sędziwe schylając łysiny (...)”, “(...) płacząc strąki w marchwi zielonej warokoczu (...)”, “(...) otyłego widać brzuch harbuza (...)”⁵⁴.

The alternation between anthropomorphism and animalization serves Mickiewicz to connect the world of humans and the world of nature. Nature cannot be separated from man. The descriptions of nature were intended to deepen those relations. Thus, the garden is like a house in which all dwellers live in harmony. It is a house full of the atmosphere of security, where no enemy can invade, as attested by the words “(...) ich liście i woń służą grzędom za obronę, bo przez ich liście nie śmie przecisnąć się żmija (...)”⁵⁵. Indeed, the garden in *Pan Tadeusz* is presented as an ideal, idyllic landscape, but in contrast with Miłosz's garden it remains in human keeping, which guarantees its perfection.

As in Miłosz's description of the garden explicit details are missing from the description of the Lithuanian landscape, so that it is not possible to assign it to a concrete place. In this way, Mickiewicz wanted to convey only the general impression of a landscape image on the *Neman*⁵⁶. Thus, this description cannot be considered a photographic image of a certain place. It may contain only characteristics that are universal.

The verse: “Niewidoczny w listowie, dumał, zasmucony” refers to the gardener, however this can be established only by considering a broader fragment. The use

52 J. Kochanowski, *Fraszki, pieśni, treny*, Cracow, Wydawnictwo Sowa 2000, p. 91.

53 Ibidem.

54 A. Mickiewicz, *Pan Tadeusz*, K. Górski (ed.), Warsaw, Czytelnik 1988, p. 56.

55 Ibidem, p. 56.

56 “On the Neman” – the river Neman is meant here.

of ellipsis, omission of the subject blurs the boundary between God and nature. When he finds himself in the foliage, on the one hand his divinity is removed from him, on the other the mutual belonging of both parts is highlighted. With the hidden God⁵⁷ in the background, nature becomes an observer of human activities. In the same manner Tadeusz observes in secret the garden of Zosia.

Miłosz alludes to the idyll in the works of his great predecessors of the Renaissance and Romanticism and in that way he enhances, in his poem, the image of paradise. The author refers constantly to the Bible. It is not only a collection of motifs, parables and allegories, but over the course of many centuries a source of inspirations for artists. Miłosz draws extensively on the Christian tradition. This is hardly surprising given that he translated the Bible from Hebrew. The poem *Ogrodnik* is primarily a paraphrase of the parable of the lost paradise. The biblical background can be found in the Book of Genesis in the Old Testament. It contains among others the story of the first man and woman, Adam and Eve. That means that the poem *Ogrodnik* is stylized to be a biblical description of the original sin. The sentences: "O biedne moje dzieci (...) Nieszczęsne moje dzieci" are examples of how Miłosz imitates biblical syntax. According to *Zarys teorii literatury* by Michał Głowiński (et al.), stylization is present "when the writer forms the language of the work so that it is similar to the style of a certain other work or literary genre"⁵⁸. Thus, its purpose is not blind imitation, but the creation of a new work that contains the "stylized" language. In his poem, Miłosz demands the creation of a new style ingrained in the biblical tradition. The sources of stylizing a language are among others: archaisms, e.g. "zaiste"⁵⁹ "ułomni"⁶⁰ „nieszczęsne”; dialectal variants, colloquialisms, and jargon used by a particular group of people (e.g. "do piachu"); short, often compound sentences joined by a conjunction, inversion, division into verses, expressive symbolism, use of maxims and adages, a ceremonial and solemn tone.

57 The hidden God refers to another poem by Miłosz, *Wiersze dla opętanych?* from the collection *Wiersze rozproszone* (1930–1936), p. 31. The character in the text of the youthful poet is convinced that man has been abandoned by God. Another image of God is presented in the poems *Jeden i wiele* and *Ogrodnik*.

58 Michał Głowiński, Aleksandra Okopień-Sławińska, Janusz Sławiński, *Zarys teorii literatury*, Warsaw, Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne 1975, p. 138 (in Polish: "wtedy, gdy pisarz kształtuje język swojego utworu na wzór stylu określonego dzieła, typu dzieł lub określonego gatunku literackiego"). Cf. J. Sławiński, *Słownik Terminów Literackich*, op. cit., pp. 538–540.

59 An example: „**Zaiste** próżna jest nadzieja w pagórkach i w mnóstwie gór; zaiste w Panu, Bogu naszym, jest zbawienie Izraelskie" ("Truly in vain is salvation hoped for from the hills, and from the multitude of mountains: truly in the Lord our God is the salvation of Israel"), Jeremiah 3, 23.

60 An example: „Tak iż się on lud dziwował, widząc, że niemi mówią, **ułomni** uzdrowieni są, chromi chodzą, a ślepi widzą; i wielbili Boga Izraelskiego" ("Insomuch that the multitude wondered, when they saw the dumb to speak, the maimed to be whole, the lame to walk, and the blind to see: and they glorified the God of Israel"), Matthew 15, 31.

The biblical style is also manifest in parallelisms such as the synonymous parallelism in the following passage of the text:

O biedne moje dzieci, więc tak wam się spieszy
Do piachu, w którym czaszka żółte zęby szczyrzy?
Do zamykania bioder w majtki, krynoliny,
Do odkrywania ciągów skutków i przyczyny?

The antithetic parallelism:

I czy było konieczne nurzać się w otchłani,
Systemata układać, zamiast mieszkać w baśni,

or the synthetic parallelism:

Na dni i wieki patrzył niby przez lunetę
Na całe swoje dzieło, tak dobrze zaczęte
Lokaje samolubnej miłości i zbrodni,
I zaiste bogowie, tylko że ułomni.

As in the case of the Bible's God, nor does God in Miłosz's poem lose confidence in the people and improvement of their behaviour. He hopes that they, like the prodigal son, will come back to paternal protection (*Parable of the Prodigal Son*, Luke 15: 11–32, 21–25).

The last strophe of the poem ("bo prawdę mówi Pismo, że mam twarz człowieka") constitutes a kind of the message of the whole text. What does it mean that a man was created in the image of God? Many passages from the Bible need to be quoted in order to answer that question. On the one hand, the similarity between man and God is presented here, on the other hand, the image of God is compared to the image of the gardener, as displayed in the following passage. On the last day of the creation God said:

"Let us make mankind in our image, in our likeness, so that they may rule over the fish in the sea and the birds in the sky, over the livestock and all the wild animals, and over all the creatures that move along the ground". So God created mankind in his own image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them. God blessed them and said to them, "Be fruitful and increase in number; fill the earth and subdue it. Rule over the fish in the sea and the birds in the sky and over every living creature that moves on the ground". Then God said, "I give you every seed-bearing plant on the face of the whole earth and every tree that has fruit with seed in it. They will be yours for food. And to all the beasts of the earth and all

the birds in the sky and all the creatures that move along the ground – everything that has the breath of life in it – I give every green plant for food”. And it was so.⁶¹

And so, God finished his work. Man by no means belongs to the world of animals. God assigned him the role of the “lord”, the role God wants for him. He makes it possible for man to communicate with him. There is a spiritual, moral, and social similarity between them. God creates man from dust and gives him life through his breath: “And the LORD God formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul”⁶².

God’s creation of man in his image and likeness does not mean that man was created to be similar to God. In physical terms, God has no flesh and no blood. According to the Bible, “God is a Spirit”⁶³ and therefore he exists without flesh⁶⁴. Thus, the image of God concerns the immortal part of man:

But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.⁶⁵

A further confirmation of the fact that man was created in the image of God is Adam’s ability to make independent decisions. Although his nature was marked by justice, Adam, when he rebelled against the creator, made a false decision, because he sought the system of cause and effect. In that way, he destroyed the divine image in himself and passed on this “damaged” similarity to his children:

Wherefore, as by one man’s sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned: For until the law sin was in the world: but sin is not imputed when there is no law. Nevertheless, death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam’s transgression, who is the figure of him that was to come.⁶⁶

“Systemata układac̄” implies a further intertextual reference and means that in society various means are introduced to regulate life and maintain order. That is

⁶¹ 1. Moses / Genesis 1, 26–30.

⁶² 1. Moses 2, 7.

⁶³ John 4, 24; “God is a Spirit”.

⁶⁴ “Bez rąk i bez oczu, jednak rzeczywisty”, in: Cz. Miłosz, *Jeden i wiele*, in: idem, *Wiersze wszystkie*, op. cit., p. 1199.

⁶⁵ John 4, 23 --- 24.

⁶⁶ Romans 5, 12 --- 15.

in the contradiction to the primordial state that is similar to the image from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*:

Aurea prima sata est aetas, quae vindice nullo,
sponte sua, sine lege fidem rectumque colebat.
poena metusque aberant, nec verba minantia fixo
aere ligabantur, nec supplex turba timebat
iudicis ora sui, sed erant sine vindice tuti.⁶⁷

There is similarity between Ovid's portrayal and, on the one hand, the image of *Soplicowo*, on the other hand, the divine garden, as presented by Miłosz, and, finally, the antique golden age (the age of mankind's greatest happiness when there were no wars, no violence, and no laborious work). In idealizing paradise, Miłosz refers to one of the great myths in the history of mankind: the myth of the golden age and the lost paradise. The past is being mythologised.

In summary, it can be said that the poem is backgrounded by a dualistic conception⁶⁸. It presupposes the existence of two equal powers: "good" and "evil", "light" and "darkness", "good God" and "bad God". Dualistic doctrines combine matter with the element of "evil" and the spiritual element with the "good". Thus, the visible world is the result of the struggle of both powers, as recapitulated by Aleksander Fiut in his thesis *Pragnienie wiary*:

(...) ludzki dramat egzystencjalny odbywa się w poezji Miłosza na Ziemi w obliczu Nieba i Piekła. W nieustępliwiej obecności diabłów. Jednakże w XX wieku hierarchie upadły, a aksjologiczny podział przestrzeni zawirował. Niebo wydaje się niedosiężne, Piekło zagościło na ziemi.⁶⁹

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⁶⁸ Finally, the motif of the *homo viator*, i.e. of a man on the way ("Bo byli już gotowi i tak jakby w drodze") should be mentioned.

⁶⁹ A. Fiut, *Pragnienie wiary*, „Tygodnik Powszechny” 2001, no. 11/12, <http://www.tygodnik.com.pl/kontrapunkt/60-61/fiut.html> [access: 18.06.2009].

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Monika Anna Noga

Topos ogrodnika na przykładzie wiersza *Ogrodnik* Czesława Miłosza. Analiza tekstu

Streszczenie

Artykuł prezentuje szczegółową interpretację wiersza Czesława Miłosza pt. *Ogrodnik*. Głównym przedmiotem hermeneutycznej i strukturalnej analizy jest „topos ogrodnika”. Analiza ma na celu scharakteryzowanie toposu ogrodnika i wskazanie roli współczesnego poety i współczesnej polskiej literatury.

Słowa kluczowe: topos, topos ogrodnika, ogród, utopia, Bóg, Szatan, raj, Adam i Ewa

The gardener's topos based on the example of the poem *The Gardener (Ogrodnik)* by Czesław Miłosz (text analysis)

Summary

„The gardener's topos based on the example of the poem *Ogrodnik* by Czesław Miłosz (text analysis)”. The article is a detailed consideration of a poem by Czesław Miłosz entitled *Ogrodnik* [*Gardener*]. The main object of the hermeneutic and structural analysis of this poem is the “topos of the gardener”. The analysis is meant to characterize the topos of the gardener and point to the role of a modern poet and modern Polish literature.

Keywords: topos, topos of the gardener, garden, utopia, God, Satan, paradise, Adam and Eve

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Discourse of heresy in Polish post-WWII literature Herling's and Herbert's heretics

Heretics, stakes, and inquisitors invaded Polish literature of the second half of the 20th century. That was visible in the outputs of renowned Polish authors who endured the apocalypse of World War II and the dictatorships of the last century: Gustaw Herling-Grudziński (1919–2000), a prisoner of the Gulag in Yertsevo, combatant in the Warsaw Uprising, as well as Andrzej Szczypiorski (1928–2000), a prisoner of the Lager in Sachsenhausen, Zbigniew Herbert (1924–1998), a young poet in occupied Lviv, or those who survived Soviet occupation, e.g. Czesław Miłosz (1911–2004) and Jerzy Andrzejewski (1909–1983).

What heretics can be found in their works? Jacques de Molay, a Knight Templar burnt at the stake together with 36 other “relentless brothers”, Albigensians, Cathars, the related Bulgarian Bogomils in Herbert's essays in the *Barbarzyńca w ogrodzie*¹ volume: *Obrona templariuszy* and *O albigensach, inkwizytorach i trubadurach*. Herling-Grudziński's short stories featured the heretic Giordano Bruno and his spiritual ally the artist Caravaggio, e.g. in the short story *Głęboki cień*, the mysterious heretic from Bolsena in the short story *Drugie przyjście*, and the legendary St. Aaron, a former heretic, stealer of the Host, who by God's miracle was saved from the stake in the short story *Legenda o nawróconym pustelniku*. Giordano Bruno was also featured in one of Miłosz's key poems from 1943 entitled *Campo di Fiori* (Herling-Grudziński referred to it in his texts on Giordano Bruno), where the historical parallel became vivid during the nightmare with the burning

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1 Z. Herbert, *Barbarzyńca w ogrodzie*, Zeszyty Literackie, Warsaw 1962. [Unless indicated otherwise, English versions translated from Polish]

down of the Warsaw Ghetto, near which Miłosz lived. Szczypiorski's novel entitled *Msza za miasto Arras* is saturated with the millenarianist persecution of heresy turning into mass hysteria. Szczypiorski also witnessed the burning down of the Ghetto and he felt as if he was dying with those inside there.

The image of heretics cannot be separated from their persecutors: traitors and informers, inquisitors and popes. Andrzejewski penetrated the thoughts and the methods of Tomás de Torquemada in the short story *Ciemności kryją ziemię. Głęboki cień* by Herling-Grudziński features two informers: Giovanni Moceni, a Venice patrician, and a Capuchin monk named Celestine from Verona, Giordano Bruno's cell mate burnt at the stake a year before Bruno. They are all dominated by the figure of the brutal Pope Clement VIII, a jealous counter-Reformer, who conducted Giordano Bruno's trials. In *Drugie przyjscie* by Herling-Grudziński the role of the inquisitor is assumed by a crazed millennialist mob viewed from a window by Pope Urban IV, the originator of the celebrations of "Corpus Christi", but there are also references to the times of his predecessor Pope Innocent III (1160/1161–1216), considered the originator of the Roman inquisition (also related to the history of Bulgaria). The war with Albigensians was also an element supporting the development of the Roman inquisition under the auspices of said Pope Innocent III, the originator of the crusade against Albigensians known as the Cathar Crusade (1209–1229). The character of the pope could not have gone unnoticed by writers who traced the holy inquisition in the footsteps of heretics and their persecutor. He appeared for the third time in Andrzejewski's *Bramy rajy*. In Herbert's essay on Albigensians, there appear many jealous "fanatics" led by Pierre de Castelnau, a Papal legate, and Simon de Monfort, i.e. leaders of the wave which caused not only the cruel killing of Albigensians, but also seizing the entire region of Languedoc in southern France, and the destruction of a culture (which Herbert indicated in the introduction). The essay on the Knights Templar depicted a "collective plot", with Philip the Fair, king of France, as its originator. The figures could also include the "shadow" of Dostoevsky's Grand Inquisitor, to whom Herling-Grudziński referred often.

Clearly, the list of heretics was considerable. The indicated examples prove the importance and the significance of the matter. They may also trigger questions about the reason for the considerable representation of the topic in literature, contemporary prose in particular.

It was no accident that historical fiction, related to the persecutions of heretics, was used in the works by Herling-Grudziński, Herbert, Andrzejewski, Szczypiorski, and Miłosz. Their experiences of the apocalypses of the 20th century led these authors to reconstruct them and study the persecutions, trials, and executions of the heretics of the past, with whom they found some spiritual kinship. In *Dziennik, pisany nocą*, a record of March 1971, Herling-Grudziński defined his contempo-

rary times as “our new Middle Ages.”² The topic of heresy and the persecutions of heretics, studied during the period of the “extended Middle Ages” (Jacques Le Goff) and long absorbed by myths and legends, was revived in contemporary times to help them understand themselves and creatively codify their extended period of *praesens historicum*. A synchronic vision formed on the parallels between that which was past and that which was present. There emerged a tone of revenge triggered by the will to judge history itself and its “transformative” violence (which was visible emphatically in Herbert’s essay on Knights Templar, and Herling-Grudziński’s short story *Drugie przyjście*). By recreating the fires, uncovering the hidden mechanisms of cruelty and injustice, and the absurdity of inquisition trials, Polish writers built alternative timeless trials and become attorneys – defenders of the heretics tried by inquisition.

The theme of heretics and the persecutions they suffered was so emphatic in Herling-Grudziński’s works that it could be considered a meta-theme and meta-discourse. The writer’s camp experiences played a significant role in that development. In his output, the status of heresy applied not only to literary themes and characters (both historical and fictional), but also to the entire gallery of his favourite paintings. It should be noted that the author saw himself as a heretic, that it applied to his literary self-identification.

A conclusion on Herling-Grudziński could be largely referred directly to the well-known criticism³ of the heretic attitude by Miłosz, who stated bluntly: “I am not, and I do not want to be, a possessor of the truth. / Wandering on the outskirts of heresy is about right for me,”⁴ as he wrote in the third part of *Traktat teologiczny*, thus refusing himself the dangerous right to possess the truth. The discourse of heresy is also present in poetic and essay works by Herbert, who could be defined as the “defender of the defeated”, the victims of hegemony and violence.

Persecutions, torments, and executions gave the heretics of the past an air of martyrdom. Their fates were presented through associations to the Christian ideal of saint martyrs. The saint martyrs of Christianity suffered torments in defence of the new faith and in protest against the regime of the former pagan beliefs. And when the Inquisition committed machinations in Christianity and transformed it into a dictatorship, heretics became their saint antagonists. The category of sanctity in the outputs of the discussed authors was verified and defined anew in that

2 G. Herling-Grudziński, *Dziennik pisany nocą*, Czytelnik, Warsaw, 2001, p. 10.

3 One could indicate the studies by Paweł Lisicki (P. Lisicki, *Manichejczyk i trapista*, „Znak”, 1993, issue 1, pp. 132–138), Łukasz Tischner (Ł. Tischner, *Sekrety manichejskich trucizn. Miłosz wobec zła*, Znak, Krakow, 2001), Zbigniew Kaźmierzyk (Z. Kaźmierzyk, *Dzieło demiurga. Zapis gnostyckiego doświadczenia egzystencji we wczesnej poezji Czesława Miłosza*, Słowo/obraz/terytoria, Warsaw, 2011).

4 Cz. Miłosz, *Traktat teologiczny*, in: idem, *Druga przestrzeń*, Znak, Krakow 2002, p. 65.

direction, and it assumed key significance. Herbert described the burning at the stake of 200 Cathars at the foot of a hill near the *Monsegur* fortress, today known as *Camp des Crematz* (*Crematz* meaning “set ablaze” and which today could be understood as similar to a crematorium in the death camps), and he felt obliged to explain why 6 women and 11 men in the last moments of the struggle accepted the Cathar faith. He stated directly that the decision was, in fact, their choice of a martyr’s death, and that “the martyrs of destroyed religions are never canonised.”⁵ The pagan prototype of a heretic referred to punished rebels such as Prometheus⁶, Tantalus, and Marsyas (the protagonist of Herbert’s mythological deconstruction in the poem *Apollo i Marsjasz*).

Herbert’s vision of the saint martyrdom of heretics was parallel to Herling-Grudziński’s stories on the heretics burnt at the stake, e.g. Giordano Bruno, who had doubts, who did not accept faith in a naive way, who did not believe automatically in dogma, and who, through their agonising (in a completely human and heroic manner) paths, came closer to the sacred. Apart from Giordano Bruno, the burning at the stake was used against the already dead heretic from Bolsena, and the family of the Jew who profaned the Host in *Legenda o nawróconym pustelniku*. It is easy to see that Herbert’s essays and the works by Herling-Grudziński were related through the similarity of these historical and cultural themes, and the methods for interpreting them. Their moral and spiritual closeness and their similar sensitivities were discussed by, e.g. Piotr Siemaszko in a book on Herbert’s essays entitled *Zmienność i trwanie*⁷.

The parabolic message can be found both in the works of émigré authors (Herling-Grudziński, Miłosz), who were not subjected to censorship in Poland, and the authors who sooner or later became members of domestic opposition (Szczygiński, Herbert, Andrzejewski). The narrations, recorded in specific styles, based on historical sources, acquired a universal dimension.

Herbert – defender of the defeated

Zbigniew Herbert developed his analytic short stories on the Knights Templar in the form of an attorney’s defence in front of the Grand Inquisitor (be it of papal Rome or of history). Piotr Siemaszko noted that Herbert in the role of an attorney

5 Z. Herbert, *O albigensach, inkwizytorach i trubadurach*, in: *Barbarzyńca w ogrodzie*, Zeszyty literackie, Warsaw, 2004, p. 157.

6 Panayot Karagyozov, a Bulgarian Slavist, noted that the development of Prometheism in literature indicated that “the type of theomachy is a function of the existing ideology” (P. Karagyozov, *Degradacja prometeizmu na podstawie literatury antycznogreckiej i polskiej*, “Postscriptum Polonistycznie”, 2013, issue 2(12), p. 133).

7 Cf. P. Siemaszko, *Zmienność i trwanie. O eseistyce Herberta*, Świadek, Bydgoszcz, 1996, p. 146.

“tried to coolly, objectively, and justly consider the arguments of both sides, though everywhere, including there, his sympathies lied with the victims.”⁸ In his defence address, Herbert in a measured manner described in detail the events and their locations, indicating the circumstances which, as he assumed, once could have been considered. By the end of the text, Herbert wrote: “the defence had a modest task: examine the tools.”⁹

The writer's defence in such a trial was a significant and essential voice, because all Inquisition trials were conducted in such a manner as to, first of all, prevent the accused from defending themselves, and, secondly, to induce them to admit to everything they were accused of. The process itself was absurd, a mockery of justice. The accused were defenceless and bombarded with accusations, infused from the very beginning with all types of negative determinations. Testimony was coerced with torture. The accused were forced to admit to crimes which were often doubtful or simply absurd. Herbert indicated that “the simple tool for breaking skulls was replaced with cudgel-words, which had the additional advantage of psychological shocking of the opponents. Such words included ‘perverter of minds’, ‘witch’, and ‘heretic.’”¹⁰ The accuser omitted all the facts which could have proved advantageous for the heretic. “In fact, every political and social organism has a light and a dark side,” Herbert emphasised. In the case of the Knights Templar, in their trials the accusers omitted the entire period of the bravery of the order, and instead they emphasised only that which could have smeared the knights.

Herbert the attorney admitted to sympathising with the accused heretics, told the thankful story of the order, and stressed that it was on the knights' shoulders that the fame of Christianity spread through the Holy Land. The Templars' disfavour was mostly, as emphasised by Herbert, related from the very beginning to their assigned function, not of their own choosing, of being the “bankers” of the Middle Ages (as they protected vaults even though they did not use them). Eventually, that fact played a detrimental role in their trials. Herbert stressed the huge role the capricious enmity of the French monarch towards the knights.

The selected mode of depiction of the history of the order indicated that the Knights Templar were rowdy heroes traditionally associated with the strange secrets of Christianity. Their mythological success was based on the mysteries of the Holy Grail, the Ark of the Covenant, and the head of John the Baptist. They were cherished by the crowds, and they were immortalised in the songs of returning heroes. Even today the mysteries of the Knights Templar survive in mystery romans à clef, susceptible to parody (e.g. the 2008 Polish film *Kod Matejki*). However, Herbert did not succumb to the temptation of literary sensationalism, even though

⁸ P. Siemaszko, *Zmienność...*, p. 125.

⁹ Z. Herbert, *Obrona Templariuszy*, in: *Barbarzyńca...*, p. 177.

¹⁰ Z. Herbert, *Obrona...*, p. 170.

the topic entails it. He strived to show that which remained outside the myth; he tried to base the story of the knights on archived documents and existing sources, and he described them without evoking a cheap sensational effect. For Herbert, it was important to undo the injustices, to restart the long finished trial, to analyse the “motivations” and the process “tools”.

Siemaszko noted that *W obronie templariuszy* occupied an important place among Herbert's essays. It distinctly displayed the universal nature of the events, the moral commitment of the author, and the allusions to contemporary times. One could easily state that it was a complete and sharp analysis of the functioning of totalitarian rule. Researchers agree that Herbert “once again revealed the mechanism of exercising power, one which is absolute, total, based on lies and violence. The mechanism, regardless of the time and place, is fulfilled through identical means, and it operates based on the same model.”¹¹ Herbert studied the important role of levelling accusations and the forms of interrogations, he analysed the Inquisition's methods, such as using people with a criminal past for trial purposes, and a lack of any real defence of the accused.

Inquisition's legal acts included all the basic characteristics of a totalitarian rule: the will to destroy the opponent using any means necessary, intimidating not only the infidels but the entire society, the need to monitor all the activities of the citizens, the sanctioning of the most immoral means and motivations which could lead to apprehending those who thought differently: lies, desire for profit, hatred, fear, revenge, as well as instilling a conviction of the strength, ruthlessness and infallibility of the institutions. A totalitarian rule knows perfectly that only police methods may prove successful, only gradual intimidation and demoralisation of the society may bring about the desired results...¹²

Jacques de Molay was a legend who rose from the fire of the stake. Many years before Herbert's interpretation, the fire of the Grand Master appeared in the works of a Czech writer Alois Jirásek. In *Psohlavci* (1885) Jirásek compared de Molay's fire at the stake with the scaffold of Jan Kozina (1852–1995), the leader of a peasant uprising. (Kozina, similarly to de Molay, heralded for his opponent God's judgement in one year and one day). It is worth remembering that the “God's judgement” was the common name of a knight tournament, so that would indicate a form of a tournament in the name of the truth, a strong personal duel developing on two levels: at present and in the past, within a higher spatial dimension. The legend of Jacques de Molay was based on the *qisas* principle (entailing revenge), not on the *hodoud* principle (entailing a crime against God).

¹¹ P. Siemaszko, *Zmienność...*, p. 125

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 125–127.

* * *

In the essay *O albigensach, inkwizytorach i trubadurach* Zbigniew Herbert recalled the second huge fire which resembled a hecatomb – a monument to mass martyrdom. After the riveting descriptions of the purges of Albigensians and the destruction of their temples, there came the climax which led to wiping the heresy from the face of the Earth. At the end of the essay, Herbert described the sight of around 200 Albigensians, women and men, burnt in a huge fire built of wheels, branches, tree trunks, and brushwood. That scene was the apotheosis of ruthlessness against those “believing differently” (as if Herling spoke using the words of Giordano Bruno). It was followed by a soft, discreet, hardly noticeable epilogue. At night, when human bodies were still burning at the stake, three Albigensians, all the time hiding in the basements of Montségur, stealthily left the city, hiding in the dark. “They carry the remainders of the treasures, sacred books, and proofs of martyrdom.”¹³

Herbert’s objective was to reconstruct actual events. That was difficult, and it was rather artistic as there were few existing sources. “The rescued original texts of the heretics,” he wrote, “could be counted using the fingers on one hand,” and he added: “so human thoughts and suffering must be reconstructed from tiny pieces, doubtful accounts, and quotations from the writings of adversaries.”¹⁴

Herbert made the enormous effort to reconstruct the events because he believed that to view the history of Albigensians from “up close” was worth the effort, and already at the beginning of the essay he stated that only minor evidence of them remained afterwards in Southern France (“ruins, temples, legends.”) That “viewing from up close” specific for Herbert was also triggered by the discussions of the “learned professors who boasted their knowledge” in discussing the topic of Albigensians. Herbert wrote that he witnessed such discussions, and during one of those he understood that it was one of the least completed sheets of contemporary mediaeval studies.

Herbert stressed that he was not a historian, that he only told the story, and his depiction was a “defence of the defeated.” Herbert’s ethical stance was particularly significant in that context. Sharing the torments of those who, like Marsyas in *Apollo i Marsjasz*, became the object of cruelty in criminal trials.

Herbert supported his work with academic papers and contemporary research into the history of Albigensians. He began his description with a detailed presentation of the moving teachings of the dualist heresy, which featured a lack of physical seat and incessant changes of the teaching locations, presenting the diversity of their geographical and cultural areas. Among those, he referenced such researchers as: René Nelly, the publisher and researcher of Cathar manuscripts, Antoine

¹³ Z. Herbert, *O albigensach...*, p. 157.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 123.

Dondacine, the author of many works devoted to Cathars, such as *Les Heresies Et L'Inquisition, XII–XIII Siecles*, and the most active contemporary researchers of the crusades against Albigensians, i.e. Zoja Oldenburg, a French historian of Russian descent, and Pierre Belperron, the author of *La croisade contre les Albigeois et l'union du Languedoc à la France. 1209–1249*. Herbert also used source documents. He developed his own view and reiterated the questions posed by Fernand Niel: Were Albigensians heretics at all (i.e. did they depart from Christianity?) or were they the creators of a new religion? At that point Herbert referred to Antoine Dondacine, who pointed out the similarity of Cathar rituals with the beginnings of Christianity. All that amplified the ethical and emotional story of the Albigensian genocide. Herbert's literary journey into the world of Albigensians occurred in an important period for the research into Catharism. In 1959, René Nelly published a book entitled *Écritures cathares : La cène secrète. Le livre des deux principes. TRAITE CATHARE! Le rituel occitan. Le rituel latin. Textes précathares et cathares présentés, traduits et commentés avec une introduction sur les origines et l'esprit du Catharisme* (*Cathar manuscripts: The Mystery of the Supper. The book of two principles. CATHAR TREATISE! The Provence ritual. The Latin ritual. Presentation of the texts of the father of Catharism and Cathars, translated with commentary and introduction regarding the origins and the spirit of Catharism*), which became a seminal work in the area. Anne Baron wrote that after the publication many other valuable academic studies were published, yet in terms of their academic value none even came close to that what Nelly studied, discussed and published in 1959.¹⁵

Herbert was convinced that with the annihilation of Albigensians the culture they represented was also destroyed. He considered the political, religious, and cultural “mutual diffusion” of the national elements of heretics and, in historical memory terms, their persecution and killings. For Herbert, the Albigensian cleansing meant the destruction of a civilisation, the demolition of a bridge linking the East and the West. It should be read as indicating that the clash of the Crusaders and Albigensians was a conflict of civilisations and the “defeat suffered by the county of Toulouse was a disaster similar to the annihilation of the Minoan of the Mayan civilisations.”¹⁶

Herbert revealed two approaches of philosophy historians to Gnosticism. He argued that the first was displayed by scholars who take delight in cool analytic doctrines and who propose Gnosticism be expunged from handbooks. The other was represented by those attached to the aesthetic pleasure in discovering in the Gnostics' theosophy elements they found attractive related to the complex ladder of divine hypostasis, elements binding heaven with Earth.

15 А. Бренон, *Въведение*, in: Р. Нели, *Ръкописите на катарите*, trans. Васил Стоев, И.К. Мирям, Sofia, 1999, p. 8.

16 Z. Herbert, *O albigensach...*, p. 130.

Those fragments of the text which refer to Bogomils in Bulgaria I find the most interesting. Herbert viewed the origins of the dualist heresy in a holistic manner, and he often indicated its key place in Bulgaria, and the role of Bogomils in propagating it.

Bogomils came to Bulgaria in the 10th century, even more fervent followers of dualism than Paulicians, proclaiming that the sensory world was created by Satan, and man was a mixture of water and dirt that had a soul created by the breath of Satan and God. Bogomils opposed both Rome and Byzantium. They engaged in impressive missionary efforts reaching as far as the Apennine Peninsula, Tuscany and Lombardy, and even southern France. They found particularly favourable conditions in areas which fostered the growth of the strong Cathar (from the Greek word for chaste) heresy, the followers of which called themselves *patarini* in northern Italy, Bosnia and Dalmatia, and *Albigensians* in southern France.¹⁷

Herbert argued that Languedoc, similarly to Lombardy and Bulgaria, was one of those countries in Europe which experienced the highest intensity of the Cathar heresy because Catharism developed there into a common, official and serious form of religion, which threatened the Catholic Church. He mentioned the Bulgarian episcopate Nikita who led the heretic council in Saint-Félix-de-Caraman (1167).

Herbert indicated Nikita in just one sentence, but the mission of the alternative Bogomil pope was strongly connected with Catharism in Languedoc. Today on that basis one might indicate the extent of the territory of the dualist Church of Cathars, into which Bogomilism was also included. Yuri Stoyanov (Юрий Стоянов) wrote that the opposition “pope Nikita” during the council ordained Cathar dioceses in Northern France, Albi and Lombardy, and appointed bishops of the new church in Toulouse, Carcassonne and *Ecclesia Aransensis*, and in an address to the Church in Toulouse he explained the source, the organisation and the rules of operation of the mother churches, among which an important place was occupied by *Ecclesia Bulgariae* (in Eastern Bulgaria). “The extensive mission of pope Nikita led to the unification of Cathar Churches into a spiritual community of the reviving absolutist dualism, which maintained the hegemony over the Cathars in Languedoc until the final destruction,”¹⁸ Stoyanov added that after the Balkan dualism was shattered, *Ecclesia Bulgariae* became associated with moderate dualism, a thesis which was supported by Borislav Primov (Борислав Примов) in 1960.¹⁹

17 Z. Herbert, *Barbarzyńca...*, p. 126.

18 Ю. Стоянов, *Другият бог. Дуалистичните религии от Античността до Катарската ерес*. Trans. Л. Дуков, Кралица Маб, Sofia, 2006, p. 233.

19 In his work *Богомилският дуализъм - произход, същност и обществено-политическо значение (Dualizm bogomilów - pochodzenie, istota i znaczenie społeczno-polityczne* B. Primov

Herbert's remarks on Bulgarian Bogomils were scant, yet significant. They corresponded to historical data and confirmed that they played a decisive role as the progenitors of Catharism. "Bogomilism was born in Bulgaria in the early-10th century or not so long later. It reached France and Italy in the 11th century," René Nelly wrote. "It would be unfounded to state that there was no continuity between Bogomilism and Catharism; that continuity is accepted by the Roman Catholic clergy and Cathars themselves."²⁰

Herbert conducted a study, which he applied to the entire procedure of Inquisition trials, like a true attorney carefully processing the reports created by the Inquisition. For Herbert those reports were the "files of terror and cruelty", and "they knew everything." The conclusion was surprising, basically contradicting what readers might have expected. "Whoever thinks that the Inquisition reports include shocking material easily adaptable for literary purposes, they are mistaken," he wrote. "The dialogue, as indicated in the extensive collection known as Collection Doat, did not consist of sharp replies, passion, threats, resistance and breaking, but of terrifying monotony. Yet from the inventory of the torture chamber one must read the real horror," Herbert wrote.²¹ The reports included many names, dates, and places. Herbert indicated the nature of the accusations, which usually had poor factual grounding, being based on insignificant or simply fabricated facts. It revealed the function of the inquisitor, who was at the same time the investigator, the prosecutor and the judge. He referred to the Inquisition handbook *Practica Inquisitionis Haereticae Pravitatis* by Bernard Gui (1261–1331). He quoted *Capitula* extensively, which was passed at the congress in Toulouse in 1229, thus helping the readers understand how uncompromising and how extremely persecuted and battled the heretics were, like the lowest of criminals.

* * *

The Albigensians' eschatological vision depicting the end of the world ironically also referred to the stakes. According to their teachings, the end of the world was supposed to occur after a great fire. It started and its flames crossed the borders of the place which is today called the "Place of the burnt" and, as Herbert wrote in the conclusion of his essay, from their stake a "heavy nauseating smoke descends into

(Б. Примов) indicated: "surely one could say that Bogomilism preferred moderate dualism, which in fact was created by them and it did not borrow anything from other heresies" (Б. Примов, *Богомилският дуализъм - произход, същност и обществено-политическо значение*, in: *Известия на Института за история*, кн. 8, БАН, София, 1960, p. 144).

²⁰ Р. Нели, *Ръкописите на катарите*, Мириам, София, 1999, pp. 15–16.

²¹ Z. Herbert, *O albigensach...*, p. 148.

valleys and spreads throughout history.”²² The smoke from the fires also spreads over the author's contemporary times, and his essays on heretics could be read as a “parabolic novella about his times, the latter half of the 20th century when one could feel the dark demon of intolerance lurking behind one's back.”²³

Gustaw Herling-Grudziński's heretic Christ in the short story *Drugie przyjście* and Dostoevsky's hypotext

A strange ritual of millenarianist stupidity. It all began with the outbreak of plague in 1260. It swallowed its sacrificial form from the short story “drugie przyjście” [second coming] by Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, i.e. the heretic from Bolsena (called the “dissenter” in the short story). He questions the trans-substance of the holy communion, and he doubts whether Christ was present also through his body in the Eucharist.

A telling scene appears in the short story. A frenzied mob drags a heretic under the roar of not human but beastly screams from Bolsena to the papal city of Orvieto, where he is to be punished. He dies in an iron cage before the mob's eyes, and his remains are burnt at the stake in a fire excessive in size when compared to his dead body.

The whole situation is observed in silence by a “lone old man” – the terminally ill Pope Urban IV. He views it through a gap in the window curtain of his residence in Orvieto. Soon after the heretic is burnt the Pope receives a message about a miracle in Bolsena, where some unknown pilgrim priest during a three-day vigil at the altar polluted by the presence of the non-believer had seen a piece of the Host from the corporal after the transubstantiation begin dripping blood and leave a stain on the corporal.²⁴ Shortly before his death the Pope has a vision in which he sees the pilgrim walking from Bolsena, surrounded by a cheering crowd. When he raises the Host high in his hand it seemed as if he was holding the pure white disc of the Moon. The pilgrim himself “shone the light of faith.” Suddenly, in the vision the face of the pilgrim changed. It was wry with pain, and the Pope notices in it the face of the burnt heretic. Soon afterwards the Pope sends a messenger to bring him the miraculous corporal where the sign of the bleeding Host appeared, and on his deathbed, calling upon the miracle, he originates the holiday of Corpus Christi, one of the major Catholic holidays.

The short story has a significant epilogue in which a question is posed WHO the unknown pilgrim priest was. Conventionally it is assumed that it was Peter of Prague, while one version suggested Peter doubted in the Host and was suspected of a deal with the devil (Herling mentioned a 12th century Czech chronicle).

22 Ibidem, p. 157.

23 D. Opacka-Walasek, *Czytając Herberta*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Śląsk, Katowice, 2001, p. 14.

24 White linen cloth on which the liturgical cross is placed.

Herling-Grudziński went on writing about the daily wait for the second coming for the next 100 years, which was accompanied by burning “Jews and heretics.” Eventually, the Coming came, and the One awaited by everyone came and wrote only one word in the ash from the burnt. “The legends remain silent as to what the word was,” Herling wrote leaving the readers with a conundrum typical of all his short stories.

That is a short summary of the unconventional short story *Drugie przyjście*, which Herling-Grudziński constructed as an alternative version of the well-known story of the holiday of Corpus Christi, which was introduced by Pope Urban in 1264 after the miracle in Bolsena. The title *Drugie przyjście* also indicated Apocalypse as a hypotext. The core of Herling-Grudziński’s short story is the execution of the heretic who appeared to be identical to the pilgrim priest who caused the miracle in the corporal. Their shared image indicated the existence of a higher universal archetype: the archetype of Christ. One could say that Herling-Grudziński saw Christ in the image of the burnt heretic and that was the basis for his non-standard decision. However, the source for that decision should be traced to Fyodor Dostoevsky’s *Legend of the Grand Inquisitor*.

In the *Legend of the Grand Inquisitor*, Christ returns to the earth, performs a miracle by reviving a dead child but soon afterwards the Grand Inquisitor appears clad in thick attire, the crowd parts, he arrests Christ and has a long discussion with him in Christ’s cell. Actually, it is an extensive monologue about the history of his teachings as Christ remains silent. The abominable old man demands that Christ stopped “disturbing” since for the last fifteen centuries the teachings have remained in the Pope’s and the Church’s hands, who have been “improving” them. In his words, the following passage can be found:

I know not who Thou art and care not to know whether it is Thou or only a **semblance of Him, but to-morrow I shall condemn Thee and burn Thee at the stake as the worst of heretics. And the very people who have to-day kissed Thy feet, to-morrow at the faintest sign from me will rush to heap up the embers of Thy fire.** Knowest Thou that? Yes, maybe Thou knowest it.²⁵ [emphasis by M.G.]

It is more than certain that Herling-Grudziński approached those words literally and derived from them the image of Christ the heretic²⁶, whom the mob led to the stake. His short story included a system of references to Dostoevsky’s hypotext,

²⁵ F. Dostojewski, *Bracia Karamazow*, trans. Ryszard Łużny, http://niniwa22.cba.pl/dostojewski_wielki_inkwizytor.htm [English version: Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, The Gutenberg Project (e-book)]

²⁶ Interestingly enough, Giordano Bruno referred to himself as “New Christ” before being burnt at the stake (in the short story *Głęboki cień*): “He, unlike the beautiful yet weak Christ the human, will not ask God to move the chalice of bitterness away. Maybe he is the new Christ.

who in turn referred to the ideological basis, the topic and the visual and emotional atmosphere. In that ideological attitude Herling-Grudziński considered as very important the teachings of the Grand Inquisitor that “there are three powers on the earth which can enslave and unify the consciousnesses of those weak rebels for centuries for their own happiness. Those are: miracle, mystery, and authority.” According to the Inquisitor, Christ rejected all three. Gustaw Herling-Grudziński quoted those words of the inquisitor in his journal entry of 26 May 1971 (I quote a fragment below), and he pondered on them.²⁷ In the series of short stories associated with the decisive influence of religious miracles on the human mass, it was that *case* that was significant for him.

The second coming proves a new crucifixion. At the end, the short story reads: “People expected the Second Coming, but instead Jews and heretics were burnt accused of desecrating and mocking the holy Host. (...) People expected the Second Coming and while they sent their prayers to the heavens, Jews and heretics were burnt.”²⁸ In *Rozmowy w Dragonei* Herling-Grudziński explained the finale to Włodzimierz Bolecki and expanded on it: “The one who was expected came. And that is that Second Coming.” The following sentence was very important: “he spread his arms wide after writing the mysterious word in the sand, as if he was crucified again. And that is the Second Coming.”²⁹

In line with *Legend of the Grand Inquisitor*, Herling-Grudziński's short story indicated that humanity was unable to identify the true image of the Saviour and crucified him again; by killing a man it killed God. His voice was a voice in defence of the victims of religious fanaticism; he indicated how the paradox of killing for religious reasons occurs. The reconstruction of the legendary/mythical topic was conducted similarly to that which one can find in Herbert's works, and also similarly to those Herling-Grudziński stood in support of the victims.

The plan for the short story formed in the writer's mind during his visit in Orvieto and Bolsena, and it was fostered by his familiarity with the legends and the stories related to Urban IV. Orvieto, once a papal residence, was one of Herling-Grudziński's favourite Italian towns. It is most visible in *Dzienniku pisanym nocą*: In the writer's mind, Italian towns often transform into scenes of once performed plays, which today could say so much more. The author assumed the function of the mediaeval narrator, which was visible in the composition of the short story and its subtitle *Opowiadanie średniowieczne* [Mediaeval short story].

Maybe he will start a new faith.” – G. Herling-Grudziński, *Głęboki cień*, in: *Gorący oddech pustyni*, Czytelnik, Warsaw, 1997, p. 163.

²⁷ G. Herling-Grudziński, *Dziennik pisany nocą*, Czytelnik, Warsaw, 2001, p. 17.

²⁸ G. Herling-Grudziński, *Drugie przyjście*, in: G. Herling-Grudziński, *Pisma wybrane*. T.I. *Opowiadania*, Czytelnik, Warsaw, 2001, p. 185.

²⁹ G. Herling-Grudziński, W. Bolecki, *Rozmowy w Dragonei*, Szpak, Warsaw, 1997, p. 211.

Orvieto was a town common for both writers (Herling-Grudziński and Herbert) and it could be interesting to compare how it was presented in their respective outputs. In Herbert's essay *Il Duomo* the image of the town was developed around the image of the *Last Judgement* in the cathedral, which was also visible in its title, and the essay also concluded with it. Initially, the image was the reason why he travelled to the town, and eventually Herbert wrote: "Everything is dominated by *Il Duomo*, like a raised hand of the prophet. But for now 'the Last Judgement' is enclosed under the dome of the San Brizio chapel, and it is not being fulfilled over the town. In the honey air Orvieto sleeps peacefully like a lizard."³⁰ Herbert treated the painting *the Last Judgement* differently than Herling-Grudziński, who animated it in his short story *Pożar w kaplicy Sykstyńskiej*. The former's image of Orvieto included many architectural elements of the city and paintings from the cathedral, while his attention focused on Fra Angelico (1387–1455), the student of his favourite Piero della Francesca (1415–1492), and there were no images of Pope Urban IV. He did mention, though, that Orvieto was "the lair of heresy."³¹

The historical period chosen by Herling-Grudziński was very significant, and it proved fruitful in artistic terms, offering his work a document-like strength. The short story not only described anew one of the major Catholic holidays of Corpus Christi (celebrated formally in Poland), but also created a broader narration which covered the milleniaristic and Eucharistic motifs combined with a masterful paraphrase of Dostoevsky.

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³⁰ Z. Herbert, *Il Duomo*, in: *Barbarzyńca...*, p. 59.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 54

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Margreta Grigorova

Dyskurs herezji w literaturze polskiej po II światowej wojnie. Heretycy Herlinga i Herberta

Streszczenie

Heretycy, stosi i inkwizytorzy zasiedliły literaturę polską drugiej połowy XX wieku. Widać to w twórczości polskich twórców, którzy przeszli przez apokalipsę II wojny światowej i dyktatury minionego wieku: Czesława Miłosza, Gustawa Herlinga-Grudzińskiego, Andrzeja Szczypiorskiego, Zbigniewa Herberta, Czesława Miłosza, Jerzego Andrzejewskiego. Niniejszy tekst skupia się na dominacji fabuł, związanych z herezją i jej prześladowaniem w utworach wymienionych twórców. Rekonstrukcje artystyczno-dokumentalne odczytano w obronie tezy o istniejącym parabolicznym i historiozoficznym dyskursie herezji w powojennej literaturze polskiej. Specjalną uwagę zwrócono na eseje Herberta, związane z herezją oraz na heretyczną postać Chrystusa w *Drugim przyjsciu* Herlinga.

Słowa kluczowe: dyskurs herezji, literatura polska po II światowej wojnie, heretyczna postać Chrystusa, Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, Zbigniew Herbert

Discourse of heresy in Polish post-WWII literature Herling's and Herbert's heretics

Summary

The present text explores the theme of heresies and their persecution in the works of a group of writers, survivors of World War II and of the two dictatorships of the century – Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, Zbigniew Herbert, Czesław Miłosz, Andrzej Szczypiorski, Jerzy Andrzejewski. An artistic-documentary reconstruction of medieval processes and executions of heretics, as well as striving for protection and rehabilitation are observed in a series of their works. Deep allusions to the dictatorships of the 20th century are made. Particular attention is being paid to Herbert's essays, connected with heresies and to a heretic image of Christ in the short story *Drugie przyjście* by Herling-Grudzinski.

Keywords: Discourse of heresy, Polish post-WWII literature, heretic image of Christ, Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, Zbigniew Herbert

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Wolność czy może ciąg dalszy „zniewolenia”, czyli o nowych polskich zjawiskach kulturalnych na Litwie

Bezpośrednim powodem napisania niniejszego tekstu było ukazanie się w Wilnie w 2015 roku dwóch książek w języku polskim: powieści *Cień słońca. Inne opowiadania*¹, autorstwa Aleksandra Radczenki², oraz zbioru opowiadań *Thriller po wileńsku*³. Zostały one okrzyknięte nowościami, niemającymi dotąd odpowiedników w uprawianej w ostatnich dziesięcioleciach na Litwie po polsku literaturze. Stały się pretekstem do wzmożenia trwającej od kilku lat pod różnymi postaciami dyskusji na temat tradycji i kondycji kultury polskiej. Można je też określić jako pewne propozycje wyjścia z „kulturowego getta” oraz porzucenia pozycji „oblężonej twierdzy” przez twórców piszących na Litwie po polsku. Bardziej radykalne byłoby stwierdzenie, że stanowią próbę odseparowania się od przyjętego przez większość lokalnego polskiego środowiska mitu kresowości i wynikającej z tego konieczności pielęgnowania tradycji. Dotychczas dialog dotyczący kresowości odbywał się na linii Polska – środowiska polskie na Litwie. Teraz zaś przybrał charakter lokalny, ma miejsce dyskusja na linii „stare” – „nowe”. W dodatku to „nowe” zaczyna być coraz bardziej dostrzegane i dobrze oceniane w Polsce.

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1 A. Radczenko, *Cień słońca. Inne opowiadania*, Ciklonas, Wilno 2015. Książka po raz pierwszy ukazała się w 2004 roku, wtedy jednak nie zyskała rozgłosu. Obecnemu wydaniu towarzyszyła aktywna akcja promocyjna.

2 Aleksander Radczenko jest prawnikiem, publicystą, znanym na Litwie blogerem, działaczem mniejszości polskiej, byłym redaktorem naczelnym dziennika „Gazeta Wileńska”.

3 *Thriller po wileńsku. Antologia opowiadań z Wilna*, Ciklonas, Wilno 2015.

Ważne dla niniejszych rozważań pojęcie „Kresy”⁴ zostało w środowisku polskim na Litwie przejęte z wytworzonej w XIX w. narracji historycznej, w której zaczęto pomijać dawne konotacje pojęciowe związane z państwem polsko-litewskim, polegające na eksponowaniu jedności terytorialnej czy wspólnoty tradycji politycznych i kulturowych⁵. Ten dyskurs nie został do końca zdefiniowany albo też ta definicja może budzić duże wątpliwości. Bo cóż dla mieszkającego na Litwie Polaka oznacza kresowość? Na pewno nie przywiązanie do tradycji Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, które znikło z popularnej terminologii historycznej. Dlatego też ta tradycja nie stanowi(ła) dotychczas silniejszego punktu odniesienia dla podejmowanych w środowisku polskim na Litwie działań artystycznych. Tradycją, do której następowało odwołanie, jest tradycja polska, która jednak pozostaje w dużym stopniu poza granicami znajomości przedstawiciela mniejszości polskiej na Litwie. Przesunięta została zatem w obszar niezdefiniowanej abstrakcji, czegoś, co nie wymaga racjonalnych wyjaśnień, a jedynie wiary. Żmudny proces odradzania się polskiej kultury na Litwie rozpoczął się w trudnym okresie sowieckim, dlatego jego cechą rozpoznawczą jest pewna ułomność.

Próbując wyjaśnić Litwinom fenomen Kresów, litewska dziennikarka na łamach opiniotwórczego pisma powołała się na Tadeusza Konwickiego. Zadała pytanie, dlaczego ciągle żywa jest legenda Kresów, jeśli same one nie istnieją? I za polskim pisarzem powtórzyła, że dlatego, iż swoiście wyróżniały się na tle całego terytorium, stały się abstrakcyjnym krajem, istniejącym wyłącznie w świadomości kulturowej. Dzięki polskim pisarzom ten nieistniejący kraj zyskał nową treść, barwy, pejzaże i postaci zrodzone w wyobraźni. Dlatego ten miniony świat jest atrakcyjny, piękny i wszechstronny⁶. Powyższe wyjaśnienie dotyczące sentymentalnego stosunku Polaków mieszkających w Polsce do Kresów nie odnosi się w żadnych stopniu do dzisiejszych przedstawicieli mniejszości Polskiej na Litwie. Polskość dla nich nie jest wspomnieniem, a codziennym, trudnym zadaniem do wykonania. Kategoria kresowości jest niejako pewnym usprawiedliwieniem dla słabości podejmowanych działań artystycznych.

Jak pisze Bohdan Cywiński, zapewne dla wygody terminologicznej Polaków zamieszkałych na wschód od Polski, niezależnie od kraju, nazywa się „Polakami ze Wschodu” czy też „Polakami z Kresów Północno-Wschodnich”. W opinii badacza, niezwykle ważny jest problem teoretyczny, gdyż wcale nie jest jasne, czym dla żyjących dzisiaj między innymi na Litwie Polaków ma być polskość. Jak twierdzi

4 Mimo iż traci ostatnio na znaczeniu na rzecz zyskującej popularność kategorii „pogranicza”, pozwalającej odejść od polonocentrycznego punktu widzenia, to jednak jest dość żywotne.

5 L. Zasztowt, *Od stolicy do prowincji. Wilno w polskiej pamięci historycznej*, „Mówią wieki” 2012, nr 4 (627), <http://www.mowiawieki.pl/index.php?page=artykul&id=515> [dostęp: 21.05.2018].

6 Tadeusz Konwicki: *Apie Vilniją ir Kresų fenomeną*, parengė Edita Degutienė, „Kultūros Barai” 2015, nr 2, s. 67.

naukowiec, w czasach zaborów polskość była wiernością tradycyjnym wartościom, niszczonej przez zaborcę. W okresie dwudziestolecia międzywojennego, gdy Wileńszczyzna należała do państwa polskiego, polskość polegała przede wszystkim na identyfikacji z tym państwem, nie zaś z rodzimą tradycją Wielkiego Księstwa. W czasach sowieckich wróciła poprzednia, nakierowana na przeszłość, koncepcja polskości⁷. Z biegiem czasu uległa ona jednak dużym, trudnym do uchwycenia, modyfikacjom.

Katarzyna Korzeniewska twierdzi, że tym, co dziś łączy Polaków, zamieszkałych w różnych krajach na wschód od Polski, jest tak zwana „tożsamość paszportowa”, czyli deklaratywne określenie siebie jako Polaka. Co nie ma jednak głębszych konsekwencji kulturalnych, nie wiąże się z potrzebą znajomości języka polskiego, nie prowadzi też zazwyczaj do głębszego poznania kultury polskiej⁸. Albo też prowadzi do zapoznania się przede wszystkim z jej warstwą folklorystyczną, jak to miało dotychczas miejsce w przypadku Litwy⁹ oraz reprezentowania kultury polskiej również prawie wyłącznie na poziomie kultury ludowej. Ponadto, jak zaznacza Korzeniewska, taka forma zachowania kultury polskiej zakłada podtrzymywanie getta mniejszości narodowej, dlatego nie może być narzędziem oddziaływania polskiej kultury, a co najwyżej jej zachowania. Nie ma ponadto potencjału wpływania na miejscowe elity oraz neutralizowania w lokalnych społeczeństwach ewentualnych postaw antypolskich¹⁰.

Na Litwie dyskusja toczy się też wokół takich pojęć, jak „Polak litewski” i „Polak na Litwie”¹¹. „Polak litewski” bardziej odpowiada pojęciu obywatela byłego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, reprezentowanego przez takie osobistości jak Czesław Miłosz, Jerzy Giedroyc, Michał Römer i inni. Z kolei „Polak na Litwie” w pojęciu litewskich intelektualistów reprezentuje przywiązanie nie do swojej ojczyzny Litwy, a do Polski. Jest więc obywatelem nielojalnym wobec kraju ojczystego, a więc też potencjalnie niebezpiecznym. Jego działania określane jako walka o własne prawa, w połączeniu ze wsparciem państwa polskiego prowadzą do oskarżeń ze strony litewskich środowisk o próbę repolonizacji Wileńszczyzny¹².

7 B. Cywiński, *Szanse dynamizacji społeczno-kulturalnej Polaków na dawnych kresach Północno-Wschodnich*, w: *Państwo polskie wobec Polaków na Wschodzie. Poszukiwanie modelu polityki*, red. T. Gąsowski, Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków 2000, s. 202.

8 K. Korzeniewska, *Obecność kultury polskiej na Wschodzie*, <http://www.omp.org.pl/stareomp/indexd83e.html?module=subjects&func=viewpage&pageid=291> [dostęp: 15.04.2018].

9 Na Litwie w chwili obecnej działa duża ilość zespołów folklorystycznych i dopiero w ostatnich latach pojawiły się zespoły młodzieżowe, proponujące inny rodzaj muzyki.

10 K. Korzeniewska, *Obecność kultury polskiej na Wschodzie*.

11 Można je porównać do dominujących w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym dyskursów wileńskich, reprezentowanych z jednej strony przez „krajowców”, z drugiej – obóz nacjonalistyczny.

12 J. Vaiškūnas, <http://punkskas.pl/apie-lietuvos-repolonizacijos-strategija/>, [dostęp: 25.05.2018].

Z wymienionych wyżej przyczyn na Litwie w części środowiska polskiego nastąpiło zmęczenie kresowością, zwłaszcza w kręgach reprezentowanych przez młodszych Polaków. Wychodzą więc z własnymi propozycjami rozumienia swojego miejsca w życiu kulturalnym i politycznym Litwy¹³. Na uwagę zasługują też pewne propozycje literackie, z którymi wystąpili młodzi autorzy.

Rzeczą oczywistą jest, że rozwój literatury w języku polskim na Litwie związany jest w dużym stopniu z sytuacją mniejszości polskiej. Wśród nierozwiązanych problemów wymienia się słabość środowiska kulturowego, brak polityki historycznej, pogarszającą się sytuację demograficzną litewskich Polaków oraz złą sytuację gospodarczą regionu, który w przeważającej większości zamieszkuje¹⁴.

Dla potrzeb niniejszego artykułu najważniejsza jest kondycja środowiska kulturalnego. Jego zły stan wynika z braku inteligencji polskiej na Litwie po II wojnie światowej oraz powolności procesu odradzania się. Dopiero dzisiaj możemy mówić o dość licznej inteligencji polskiej na Litwie, w dodatku nieskażonej ideologią sowiecką. Początek procesu odradzania się polskiego życia kulturalnego na Litwie wiąże się z odzyskaniem przez kraj niepodległości. To wtedy zaczęły ukazywać się periodyki w języku polskim, pojawiła się stacja radiowa nadająca po polsku, możliwość oglądania polskiej telewizji, studiowania polonistyki na Uniwersytecie Wileńskim i in.

Mimo to, w opinii politologa Mariusza Antonowicza, na Litwie dotychczas kultura polska pozostaje na niskim poziomie, ma charakter prowincjonalny, gdyż dominują w niej zespoły folklorystyczne, amatorskie spotkania literackie, dożynki i święta religijne¹⁵. Przyczyn słabości politolog upatruje też w etnocentryzmie tej kultury, skoncentrowaniu się na poznawaniu siebie i braku zainteresowania innymi grupami etnicznymi. Nieatrakcyjność tej kultury wyklucza z niej udział osób, które chciałyby wyjść poza granice własnej narodowości¹⁶. Skutkiem jest między innymi zaspokajanie własnych potrzeb poprzez sięganie do innych kultur, w przypadku Polaków mieszkających na Litwie – do masowej kultury rosyjskiej, która okazuje się

¹³ Jedną z najciekawszych inicjatyw jest Polski Klub Dyskusyjny. Jego członkowie podkreślają, że jest to platforma do dyskusji polsko-polskiej na Litwie oraz dialogu polsko-litewskiego. Miejsce, w którym wszyscy Polacy na Litwie mogą się wymieniać poglądami i opiniami na wszelkie aktualne tematy, pod warunkiem nieuprawiania agitacji i propagandy politycznej, nieużywania mowy nienawiści oraz szacunku wobec innych osób i ich poglądów, opinii i przekonań. Działalność Klubu spotyka się jednak z ostrą krytyką Akcji Wyborczej Polaków na Litwie, która oskarża jego członków o antypolskość. W 2018 roku Klub w ramach Narodowych Nagród Równości i Różnorodności został zwycięzcą w kategorii „Dialog narodów”, wyróżniono go za rozwój dialogu między Polakami i Litwinami.

¹⁴ M. Antonowicz, *Quo vadis Wileńszczyzna?*, <http://www.bernardinai.lt/straipsnis/2015-08-19-quo-vadis-wilenszczyzna/134046> [dostęp: 12.04.2018].

¹⁵ Tamże.

¹⁶ Tamże.

bardziej atrakcyjna niż polska¹⁷. Osoby w młodym wieku skłaniają się ponadto ku kulturze litewskiej. Rozwiązanie problemu musiałyby zatem polegać na stworzeniu atrakcyjnej wysokiej kultury polskiej, pozwalającej pielęgnować polskość.

Jest to zadanie niezwykle trudne do wykonania. Dlatego próbuje się szukać różnych dróg wyrazu. Jako dowód na pewną „ułomność” poczynań, a może raczej brak narzędzi, służących do tworzenia kultury wysokiej, może posłużyć popularny w pewnym okresie wśród litewskich Polaków blog internetowy „Pulaki z Wilni”, którego pojawienie się w 2009 roku uzasadniono następująco:

Na puczontek puwim, czemu cościk takiego powstało, jak ten blog. Tak co wot: na Wileńszczyźnie mamy swoje gazety, taki jak „Kurier Wileński”, „Wileńszczyzna” itd. Ale nima u nas czeguścik takiego, żeb Wilniuk czytałby po swojemu, w tzw. jenzyku wileńskim. Bądź co bądź jenzyk wileński jest jedyny w swoim rodzaju i musimy jęgu pilengnować [...]. Tak co kochanińkie, ta strona bendzi poświęcona nam – Wilniukom! Pujichali!¹⁸

Jak mówi autorka bloga, Ewelina Mokrzecka, „to jest język, w którym brak zasad, ale Wilniuk go rozumie. To język z masą rosyjskich i litewskich naleciałości. Język śpiewny, skoczny i... zabawny”¹⁹. Wspomniany blog był formą zabawy. Jednak mocno osadzonej w kontekście politycznym, gdyż był to też wynik zmęczenia narracją nacjonalistyczną, uprawianą przez partię Akcja Wyborcza Polaków na Litwie. Na pytanie Ziemowita Szczeka: „A czy w Wilnie istnieje jakaś mocna, młoda opozycja dla ‘starego’ środowiska, ‘ostrobramskiego’ – konserwatywnego, nacjonalistycznego?”, Ewelina Mokrzecka odpowiedziała: „Brak jest jakiegokolwiek opozycji dla ‘zardzewiałego’ polskiego środowiska na Litwie. Nikomu się nie chce. Młodzi mają w nosie politykę, polskie tabliczki, pisownię nazwisk. Ludzie są zmęczeni tym wszystkim”²⁰.

17 Rosja proponuje mieszkańcom Litwy szerokie możliwości korzystania zarówno z kultury wysokiej, jak też popularnej kultury masowej.

18 <http://pulakizwilni.blogspot.lt/> [dostęp: 11.10.2018].

19 Z. Szczerek, *Polonia na Litwie. Ta prawdziwa, nie wyobrażona*, <http://fakty.interia.pl/raporty/raport-srodek-wschod/opinie-artykuly-wywiady/news-polonia-na-litwie-ta-prawdziwa-nie-wyobrazona,nld,1075467> [dostęp: 11.10.2018].

20 Tamże. Wileńska Młodzież Patriotyczna, prowadząca innego bloga, oskarżyła Ewelinę Mokrzecką o propagowanie żargonu polsko-sowieckiego. Zob. *Moralna kompromitacja Mokrzeckiej*, <http://polskamlodziejwilna.blogspot.lt/2013/09/moralna-kompromitacja-mokrzeckiej.html> [dostęp: 11.10.2018]. Najciekawszym blogiem jest blog Aleksandra Radczeki „Inna Wileńszczyzna jest możliwa”. Wolność w przypadku tego autora polega między innymi na braku poczucia dyskryminacji narodowościowej oraz odwadze głoszenia poglądów innych niż wyznają autorzy oficjalnej wersji polskości, do której prawa rości partia polityczna – Akcja Wyborcza Polaków na Litwie.

Blog ma charakter satyryczny, jednak dostrzec też należy niebezpieczeństwo tego rodzaju poczynań, związane z ryzykiem postępującej utraty znajomości języka, zwłaszcza w zderzeniu z silniejszymi na Litwie kulturami litewską i rosyjską. Używanie uproszczonego, niepoprawnego, znajdującego usprawiedliwienie w rzekomej specyfice odmiany polszczyzny wileńskiej, języka jest mimo wszystko nieskuteczne w sytuacji, gdy na Litwie istnieje duże zapotrzebowanie na dobrą znajomość literackiej odmiany polszczyzny.

Jak już zostało podkreślone, wolność w przypadku literatury polskojęzycznej na Litwie w ostatnich latach to przede wszystkim próba wyrwania się z gorsetu kresowości. Jednak naturalny kontekst dla najnowszych tekstów literackich autorstwa młodych Polaków litewskich stanowi twórczość poetów Wileńszczyzny z ostatnich kilku dekad²¹. Cechuje ją przywiązanie do tradycji, sięganie do utartych stereotypów dotyczących kresowości i polskości Wilna.

Tak tę poezję scharakteryzowała Halina Bursztyńska:

To jest poezja wąskiego toru, głównie o charakterze regionalnym. Dobrze, że takowa zaistniała, ale odnosi się pewien niedosyt w odbiorze dzieł, z uwagi na słabo wyartykułowaną stronę intelektualnego wypowiedzenia się. Dla przykładu: w wierszach współczesnych poetów pojawiają się motywy architektury, zresztą tematycznie zawężone do „ogranych” miejsc jak: Ostra Brama, kościoły świętej Anny, św. Piotra i Pawła. Czy to wynik wąskich horyzontów intelektualnych tych poetów, czy niedobór warsztatowy, a może należy brać pod uwagę, że to są ludzie, którzy żyli w bardzo trudnych realiach ZSRR i poezja stawiała się jedynie ucieczką od życia? Wydaje się również, że niektóre teksty poetyckie, zawierające tzw. tematy egzystencjalne, rażą banałem w próbach wartościowania świata. Można znaleźć teksty świetne – ale czy problemowo-semantyczna strona tej poezji nie trąci zaściankowością i monotonią tematyczną?²²

W takim kontekście nowym zjawiskiem na wileńskiej mapie poetyckiej miała być grupa młodych poetów, skupiona pod nazwą „Nowa Awangarda Wileńska”. Nowość polega na grupowym wystąpieniu, gdyż dotychczas aktywność poetycka nie miała takiego charakteru, mimo podejmowania przez poetów starszego pokolenia działań pod wspólnym szyldem. A jednak pojawienie się grupy nosiło znamiona starego stylu uprawiania literatury. Hasłem wywoławczym dla młodych

21 W 1990 roku rozpoczęła się edycja tomików autorów wileńskich. Wydaniem rozpoczynającym okres swobodnie edytowanej poezji polskojęzycznej stał się zbiór wierszy Sławomira Worotyńskiego *Kontrasty i analogie*. Wcześniej, w roku 1985, pojawiła się drukiem jej pierwsza antologia *Sponad Willi cichych fal*.

22 *Refleksje o współczesnej poezji polskiej na Litwie*, „Konspekt” 2005, nr 1 (21), <http://www.up.krakow.pl/konspekt/21/litwa.html> [dostęp: 24.11.2018].

poetów polskich na Litwie jest „nowość”, chociaż nie uświadamiają sobie, że pozostają w szponach „starości”.

Użycie pretensjonalnej nazwy dla określenia siebie tym bardziej zaciska gorset „tradycjonalizmu”, gdyż awangardowość nie jest cechą wyróżniającą młodych poetów, skupionych przy Krajowym Stowarzyszeniu Literatów Polskich na Litwie, podkreślających, że nie proponują żadnego konkretnego stylu poetyckiego, a chcą jedynie ożywić zainteresowanie poezją na Wileńszczyźnie. Jest to jedynie bezkrytyczne spojrzenie na poezję, całkowicie mijające się z definicją użytego w tytule określenia „awangarda”. Jest to chęć nawiązania do tradycji, nienazwanej, międzywojennej, „Żagarów”, bez głębszego wnikania w skutki podobnego nawiązania.

Nazwa grupy wpisuje się w ciąg literackich asocjacji, z czego do końca nie zdają sobie sprawy korzystający z niej. Uznawanie za awangardowość różnorodnej tematyki²³ nie jest przekonujące. Młodzi polscy poeci na Litwie próbują powielać przebrzmiałe klisze poetyckie, w dodatku robią to na niskim poziomie.

Znacznie ciekawszą propozycją literacką jest wznowiona w 2015 roku w Wilnie książka Aleksandra Radcenki *Cień słońca*. Autor zaczął ją pisać w 1997 roku, kilka lat później była drukowana we fragmentach na łamach pisma „Chaos”, w 2004 roku po raz pierwszy wydano ją nakładem wileńskiej Niezależnej Oficyny Wydawniczej „TKM/W paszczu”²⁴. Kontekst dla niej stanowi niewątpliwie biografia autora. Książka jest buntem punkowca, próbującego znaleźć swoje miejsce na ziemi. Sam autor podkreślił, że w czasach, gdy pisał *Cień Słońca*, był pod dużym wpływem Irvine’a Welsha. Próbował napisać wileński *Trainspotting*. Jednak nie o narkomanach, a o dziennikarzach-alkoholikach²⁵:

No i wbrew temu co twierdzą ci, którzy już tę powieść przeczytali – nie jest to powieść autobiograficzna. To powieść o moim pokoleniu. Pokoleniu urodzonym w latach 70. Pokoleniu, którego dzieciństwo przypadło na okres sowiecki, młodość na czasy transformacji ustrojowej, a w wiek dojrzały już weszło w czasach wolnego rynku i demokracji. Pokoleniu, które właśnie z uwagi na takie a nie inne doświadczenia jest pokoleniem „romantyków zagubionych w technokratyzmie”. Wydaje mi się, że teraz jest najwyższy czas, żeby książkę o tym pokoleniu opublikować²⁶.

23 Zob. <http://pl.delfi.lt/kultura/kultura/nowa-awangarda-wilenska-chcemy-ozywic-wilenska-poezje.d?id=59035403>, [dostęp: 10.05.2018].

24 Zob. G. Wiszniak, *Historia wileńskiego „Chaosu” (4). Twórczość literacka na łamach pisma*, <http://www.siemysli.info.ke/historia-wilenskigo-chaosu-4-tworczosc-literacka-na-lamach-pisma/> [dostęp: 28.10.2018].

25 *Prezentacja pierwszej postmodernistycznej powieści wileńskiej*, <http://www.bloggerzyeswiata.pl/2015/05/28/prezentacja-pierwszej-postmodernistycznej-powieści-wileńskiej/>, [dostęp: 10.05.2018].

26 Tamże.

Książkę Radcenki określono jako pierwszą wileńską powieść postmodernistyczną napisaną w języku polskim²⁷. Należy przede wszystkim podkreślić, że w polskojęzycznym środowisku literackim jest to w ogóle pierwsza powieść. Nieobecność dotychczas tego gatunku jest wytłumaczalna prosto – brak profesjonalnego przygotowania do uprawiania literatury. Powieść została odebrana niejednoznacznie. We wstępie do książki Jacek Kajtoch podkreślił, że jest to powieść o końcu młodości buntownika, przeżywającego niesprawiedliwość świata, kłamstwa ideologii²⁸, jednak mnogość wątków uniemożliwia zrozumienie idei powieści, która jest najwyraźniej powieścią z kluczem. „Cuchnący powiew z przeszłości. W dobrym znaczeniu tego słowa”²⁹ – napisał jeden z recenzentów.

Zbigniew Rokita ocenił książkę wileńskiego autora jako manifest pokoleniowy generacji, która nie zdobywała niepodległości, a jedynie ją konsumowała, często cierpiąc przy tym na niestrawność³⁰. Autor opisał okres transformacji ustrojowej, w której młode pokolenie, urodzone w okolicach 1975 roku, musiało czymś zapełnić powstałą pustkę aksjologiczną. Głównym bohaterem powieści jest Aleks, bezkompromisowy dziennikarz lokalnej gazety, postawiony przed koniecznością dokonywania wyboru w obliczu zagrożenia płynącego ze strony mafii, polityków i konkurencyjnych mediów. Jak pisze Zbigniew Rokita, Radcenko opowiada o pokoleniu, które nie wie, w co wierzyć: są to ludzie cyniczni i zagubieni, ich życie religijne jest ubogie, króluje konsumpcjonizm i materializm. Aleks również jest zagubiony i nie potrafi odnaleźć się w świecie, którym jest już zmęczony³¹.

Książka ukazała się w kluczowym momencie dla środowiska polskiego na Litwie, w którym stopniowo zaczęła zachodzić zmiana warty i autor oraz skupione wokół niego środowisko zaczęło zajmować coraz ważniejszą pozycję, zastępując osoby opierające własną ideologię na dyskryminacji Polaków mieszkających na Litwie i konieczności obrony polskości za wszelką cenę.

Próbując uwolnić się od tradycji wileńsko-romantycznej, autor jednak wpada w jej sidła. Jak słusznie zauważa Michał Rudnicki, „Aleks jest poszukującym miłości, w znaczeniu jedności dusz, dziewiętnastowiecznym romantykiem, zagubionym w technokratycznym świecie. Ale czego innego można by się spodziewać po pochodzącym z Wilna autorze”³².

²⁷ *Polski postmodernizm na Litwie*, <http://angelus.com.pl/2015/06/polski-postmodernizm-na-litwie/>, [dostęp: 20.04.2018].

²⁸ W. Kajtoch, *Punkowy Faust*, „Ulica Wszystkich Świętych” 2004, nr 13 (67), s. 14–15.

²⁹ R. Rotkiewicz, *Cuchnący powiew z przeszłości, czyli jak odebrałem „Cień słońca” Aleksandra Radcenki*, <http://pl.delfi.lt/aktualia/litwa/cuchnacy-powiew-z-przeslosci-czyli-jak-odebralem-cien-slonca-aleksandra-radcenki.d?id=68142550>, [dostęp: 20.04.2018].

³⁰ Z. Rokita, *O książce „Cień słońca”*, <http://eastwestinfo.eu/kultura/muzyka-literatura-sztuka/item/372-o-ksiazce-cien-slonca>, [dostęp: 20.04.2018].

³¹ Tamże.

³² M. Rudnicki, *Cień słońca. Recenzja*, <http://zw.lt/opinie/cien-slonca-recenzja/>, [dostęp: 15.04.2018].

W 2015 roku Polski Klub Dyskusyjny ogłosił konkurs literacki na opowiadanie z gatunku thriller dla młodych polskich autorów z Litwy, którego wynikiem końcowym było ukazanie się zbioru opowiadań *Thriller po wileńsku*³³. Mimo skromnej objętości i tekstów, które raczej należy w większości uznać za pierwsze próbki literackie, na podkreślenie zasługuje samo ukazanie się książki. Jak słusznie zauważa Aleksander Radczenko, *Thriller po wileńsku* – to próba stworzenia podwalin przyszłości polskości na Litwie, gdyż przetrwa ona wyłącznie, jeśli będzie nawiązywała nie tylko do tradycji i folkloru, ale także do współczesności³⁴. W opinii organizatorów konkursu zachęcanie młodych autorów do uprawiania takich gatunków, jak science fiction, fantasy czy thriller ma przyczynić się do utrwalenia pozytywnego wizerunku wileńskiej polskości.

Polskość na Wileńszczyźnie wymaga innego niż dotychczas zaprezentowania, jak chociażby w formie powieści czy antologii opowiadań. Region wciąż silnie obecny w polskiej świadomości zbiorowej boryka się z problemem autoprezentacji. Pierwsze jej próby są różnej jakości. Braki warsztatowe można jednak uzupełnić.

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³³ *Thriller po wileńsku. Antologia opowiadań z Wilna*, Ciklonas, Wilno 2015.

³⁴ Zob. A. Radczenko, *Poetycki thriller wileński*, <http://rojsty.blox.pl/2015/12/Poetycki-thriller-wilenski.html>, [dostęp: 15.04.2018].

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Teresa Dalecka

Wolność czy może ciąg dalszy „zniewolenia”, czyli o nowych polskich zjawiskach kulturalnych na Litwie

Streszczenie

Artykuł jest opisem kondycji kultury polskiej na Litwie i środowiska ją tworzącego. Zostały zdiagnozowane przyczyny słabości tej kultury, takie jak m.in. pogarszająca się sytuacja demograficzna litewskich Polaków czy zła sytuacja gospodarcza regionu, który w przeważającej większości zamieszkują. Zły stan wynika też z braku inteligencji polskiej na Litwie po II wojnie światowej oraz powolność procesu jej odradzania się. Przyczyn słabości upatruje się ponadto w etnocentryzmie tej kultury, skoncentrowaniu się na sobie i braku zainteresowania innymi grupami etnicznymi.

Mimo wszystko w ostatnich latach na Wileńszczyźnie podejmowane są próby wyrwania się z ograniczeń, związanych z kulturą kresową. Została założona grupa

poetycka „Nowa Awangarda Wileńska”, ukazała się powieść *Cień słońca* czy zbiór opowiadań *Thriller po wileńsku*. Jest to inne niż dotychczas zaprezentowanie polskości na Litwie.

Słowa kluczowe: Polacy na Litwie, literatura polska, Kresy Wschodnie, Litwa

Freedom or rather continued “enslavement” On new Polish cultural phenomena in Lithuania

Summary

The article is a description of the situation of Polish culture in Lithuania and the environment in which this culture has been created. The diagnosis has highlighted several reasons for its weakness, such as the deteriorating demographics of Poles in Lithuania, and the poor economic situation in the region which they mostly inhabit. The bad situation has also been a result of the lack of Polish intelligentsia in Lithuania after the Second World War and the slow pace of its restoration. Other reasons include the ethnocentrism of this culture, its inward focus, and the lack of interest in other ethnic groups.

In spite of everything, in recent years in the Vilnius region attempts have been made to break free from the limitations related to the culture of Eastern Borderlands. A poetic group “New Vilnius Avant-Garde” was founded, and a novel entitled *Cień słońca* (Shadow of the Sun) and a collection of short stories entitled *Thriller po wileńsku* (Thriller à la Vilnius) were published.

Keywords: Poles in Lithuania, Polish literature, Eastern Borderlands, Lithuania

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**VOICES FROM EUROPEAN
THEATERS**

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Bodies on stage between presence and absence

No age equals ours in devoting such massive and articulated attention to the body, leading to a change of gaze¹, a veritable upheaval. It calls into question the ontological problem of the 'lived body', as a subject-person, the juridical problem of the equality of bodies in the culture of rights, the social and political problem of the categories oppressed and marginalised by the strategies of power, the problem of the body manipulated by the new propaganda techniques, the aesthetic problem of the enhancement of an art as 'action' that goes all the way to the presence of the body of the artist (in the visual arts) or of the performer (in the theatre) who becomes himself a work and a brand more than an external creator and author of the work.

An extensive philosophical and sociological literature (starting from transcendental phenomenology) has sought the foundations of free corporeity and legitimised the rejection of any position that intends to make the body a prison, an instrument, a machine, an object to be exploited, manipulated, debased or offended.

And it is this truth that underlies the proclamation of the equality of bodies in democratic societies.

Contemporary art, and specifically that which has its expressive *primum* in the body, the theater, has thematised this problem very fully, both by recording and denouncing the negative tendencies that oppose this cultural acquisition, and by presenting on the 'other stage' the artistic experience of the image of the 'lived body', in its attainment of dignity, creativity, freedom and generativity.

I will briefly mention this scenario in the following pages.

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1 A fundamental book on this issue is: J.J. Courtine (sous la direction de), *Histoire du corps*. 3. *Les mutations du regard*. Le XX siècle, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 2006.

“Certainly it takes courage.”² The body violated

Naked, under the cold and implacable light of the closely focused spotlights, a woman’s body is exposed on a circus pedestal. Her bloodshot eyes gleam in the light, her mouth is like a wound drawn by lipstick, her hair is gathered into two buns which, as has been observed, recall the famous image of Frida Kahlo.

It is a “naked mask” that reveals in a flow of words the total absence of a psycho-physical identity reduced to a pronoun: “I”, screamed hysterically.

Then begins the monologue of the protagonist’s delirium: “Of course it takes courage,” she opens up, to throw yourself under a train on a Sunday morning without anyone egging you on the way her father did, frustrated in his confused obsession with Garibaldian heroism, in his macho and sexist fantasies.

And certainly it takes courage for a modest girl, small in size who has a problem in her head and big thighs, to insist on wanting to be free to make herself all by herself, completely in control of herself and to affirm herself. But which freedom and which self? We understand it from the flow of her story. For her, freedom means being determined to bend her body to a project actually driven by advertising and the media. But her body is inadequate for this. Freedom for her means being determined to have electrodes applied by an improvised therapist to her thighs when she was still little more than a child. It means going on an impossible ‘do-it-yourself’ diet of nothing but apples. Freedom means churning out CVs to ‘make it big’ in the world of dreams built by magazines and television shows: being in the spotlight, walking on red carpets, having big-shot admirers kissing your back, ministers inviting her on vacation and caliphs taking her on a cruise; giving interviews to famous presenters who ‘go steady’ with her and take the story to the newspapers, freedom means being recognised in the street and giving autographs.

‘Freedom’, ‘courage’, ‘resistance’, ‘sacrifices’ are the rhetorical terms of a great story, following each other in the monologue to recount and define her bulimic diet in preparation for a coveted audition for a TV commercial celebrating the anniversary of the unification of Italy that calls for a small and tubby bit player. Terms such as “pity” are applied to the oral sex that she began to perform at school on her disabled, mumbling classmates and that she continues to perform on her current partner, pathetically hoping that he will end up sharing her dreams and giving her affection.

And certainly it takes courage and great pity to ‘be a success’, to break into the world of her propaganda-induced dreams. Who knows how many they must have done at first, those girls who are a success, “on those, yes, those who count, certain

2 C. Ceresoli, *La Merda*, Rome, Carlo Gallucci editore, 2017, p. 9. The text, written for the actress Silvia Gallerano, was first performed in 2012; it received many awards including the Fringe First Award for Writing Excellence and The Stage Award 2012 for Acting Excellence (2012).

men, those men who can *make or break*, who *decide* and make the *conventions*".³ So she trained her body, "but we can say that's where I learned to do what is needed on certain occasions, that even if something really grosses you out, you can get used to it".⁴ And this certainly pays off.

So what does this body have to have courage for? What does "pay off" in the end?

In the first instance, the monologue can be included in the sphere of verbal invective, like many others found in the theater of political and civil denunciation, but more in depth, it is mimetically a 'theater of presence', filled with anger and pity, which brings the audience into close contact with the experience of an existence manipulated and violated in the most intimate fibers of its psycho-physical being, all the way up to the hallucination of what the well-known and usual metaphor of common language calls "eating shit". We are in the final intake of excrement after the five days of pigging out to swell "and be who I am. What do they want."⁵

The device is thematically significant and dramatically effective.

The delusion of coprophagy by a deranged being driven to schizophrenia, the story of a body violated, exploited and annihilated affirms its opposite through the actress's performance. The artist is present with all her powerful and creative physicality and with all the ancestry of a great theatre school.

First of all, there is Beckett. The delirium of coprophagia, with all its icasticity, is nothing other than the materialisation on stage with the effect of a paradox, which, as such, shakes us and makes us think of a metaphor of language. This is what Beckett often does in his plays. Think, for example, of *Endgame* with the two garbage cans to which the old parents Nagg and Nell are relegated.

The protagonist's body is mutilated here, fixed on the mouth and the thighs.

The stage, moreover, as often in Beckett, makes present and palpable a minimal existence, grasped at the level of non-development to which a perverse strategy nails it. It gives a voice to those who traditionally did not have one, just as Beckett did to pioneering effect in *Not I* or in *Footfalls*.

And then there is Testori, another important point of reference in this text, with all the physicality of his speech and with all the suffering of a self unborn or in flight, like the self in of *In exitu*. "[...] that's me, me, it's me, me, it's me, it's me, it's me, me, meeeeeee," as the protagonist screams. So end the second and third acts of *La Merda*, with an inhuman scream. But which self? The only self is that of the actress who, with her extraordinary voice, renders the fragments taken from a confused existence.

The voice, therefore. When it is the self of the protagonist that wishes to speak, it is split: one is phony, artificial, with the poses, the pauses, the jargon, the rough

3 Ibidem, p. 21.

4 Ibidem.

5 Ibidem, p. 28.

affectation of a television school (an updated reminiscence of the monologues of Franca Valeri); the other is bestial, shrieking, fierce; the one is childish and naive, the other surly and crafty.

The flow is full, in its turn, of vocal masks and it switches from one to the other: hoarse and distant that of the lady of the homely wellness centre smelling of soup; harsh and aggressive that of her father; deaf and plaintive that of the disabled person who wants sex; impersonal and hasty that of the audition secretary; contemptuous and bored that of the stage director responsible for hiring actors; foul-mouthed and mocking those of the audition technicians.

The work is a masterpiece of actorly energy and intelligence, a strong psycho-physical subjectivity to represent a subjectivity ruined by an irreversible corruption, even subtler and more threatening than that represented by Testori's *In exitu*, where there was the glimmer of a salvific way out for the young drug addict Gino Riboldi. But this Testorian passage belongs to a generation before that of the protagonist of *La Merda* and to two and more generations from the unforgettable and prophetic cinematic images that announced the theme in the fifties, without obviously forgetting Pasolini. Think of Luchino Visconti's *Bellissima* or Antonio Pietrangeli's *Io la conosco bene*.

While interpreting a violated and petrified body, the actor nevertheless expresses a free and creative corporeality. This is the dominant sign of many examples of theater in our times, in the area of *dance-theater* and *performance theater*,⁶ and is the *pars construens* of an alarming diagnosis that seeks a renascent horizon in art.

The presence of the absent body

I spoke of a violated body, but the most 'scandalous' violation of the body, which no one escapes, is death.

What remains of the body? I mean not just the organism (*Körper*), but its life (*Leib*). How can it relate to memory and oblivion?

The contemporary experimental theatre has come to face this aspect, too, mimetically and it is an extreme aspect in terms of both existence and its representability, as Tadeusz Kantor prompted us to think.

For my brief reflection on this point I have chosen *Nachlass-pièces sans personnes*, the performance devised by Stefan Kaegi and Dominic Huber, created by Rimini Protokolle and produced by the Théâtre Vidy-Lausanne 2016.

⁶ For a deeper understanding of the topic, see among others: L. Aimò, *Mimesi della natura e ballet d'action: per un'estetica della danza teatrale*, Pisa, Fabrizio Serra, 2012; A. Cascetta, *European Performative Theatre. The issues, problems and techniques of crucial masterpieces*, London-New York, Routledge, 2019.

In the auditorium of the theater there are eight small rooms, elegantly built out of bare wood. The rooms converge on an elliptical space below a ceiling that figuratively represents the world. Eight punch clocks at the top of the doorways leading into the rooms guide the entrances and exits of small groups of a dozen people. Everything proceeds slowly, fluidly, with an increasing intensity of concentration. Within each room, for a few minutes we can 'encounter' the legacy of the person to whom the room is dedicated. These are people that the theatre company, during preparations for the work, chose among the many consulted. Each for different reasons felt death was close and for some motive they wished in some way to anticipate it. For this reason they agreed to be involved in the procedure devised by the authors of the dramaturgical project. After visiting each room, the spectators converge in a central space, a sort of waiting room. In each of the rooms we can sense their presence-absence through recorded voices, objects, images: a soft white sweater, photographs, significant pieces of furniture, tools, scientific instruments related to their daily lives. The people present in their legacies are: a female ambassador of the European Union to Africa; a secretary whose dream was destroyed by multiple sclerosis; a Turkish merchant who had emigrated to Switzerland many years ago; an engineer with a passion for parachute jumping; a former director of the department of neurosciences in Lausanne; an expert in cerebral degeneration; a retired watchmaker with a passion for photography; a young father who is keen on fly fishing, but suffers from an incurable disease that will soon separate him from his daughter: and an elderly German couple, very close-knit, who recall with sorrow, disapproval and regret the ideology that caused World War II and their short-sightedness that prevented them from immediately recognising its brutality and delayed their opposition to it.

Their characters are different, but above all they differ in their attitudes, composing the mosaic that Western culture and European philosophical thought have built up over the centuries to solve what it regards as the 'problem' of humanity and the greatest violation of the idea of humanity acquired by the centuries of classical-Christian-Renaissance-Enlightenment thought, founded on the core of the individual-subjectivity-person.

In the natural world, death marks the rhythm of life without breaking the continuity of the species, but it becomes a problem in human life in relation to the destiny of the single person as an individual. For humanity, death is not generally accepted as a natural event, but rather a source of anguish, of which the history of thought, particularly in the West, has in itself sought the reasons and meaning outside the natural order. Even the materialist tradition that originated in Democritus and Epicurus, flowing into a certain modern scientific thought, has not abolished the problem. The composition of the group of absent-present bodies takes this perspective into account with the Muslim Turk and the neuroscientist...

Death remains a violation of the person-body with its organic unity, its complex construction, its relationships, its links with time and history: the *Nachlass* of the title.

The performance by Rimini Protokoll speaks of this.

It speaks of the sign impressed by the individual body-person, of the trace that binds him or her to others and endures karstically through time (being, being-there, being-with), the exact opposite of the narcissistic mask, 'diabolic' (that which divides), that I mentioned in the previous paragraph.

The theme, here as there, is welded in a skilfully homologous way with the expressive solution.

Several audiences are actively involved, in small groups so as not to disperse and weaken the intensity of the dramaturgical experience. They are ejected from their usual passivity, induced to look each other in the face, to acknowledge one another and establish some relationship beyond the usual one of sitting side by side. It is a meditation on a crucial theme that has a personal, philosophical resonance, but also a historical and civil significance (there is an open allusion to the possibility of deciding one's own death in Switzerland).

Persons-bodies are called on to overcome the feelings of awkwardness and to reveal themselves, assisted by a dramaturgy that interweaves and metabolises solutions old and new. One is the processional form, a great archetype of medieval and Renaissance theatricality and ritual, today being revived by many artists. (Think of William Kentridge and his beautiful and moving *Shadow Procession*, which I was reminded of when I saw the luminous planosphere with dots that appear and disappear on the ceiling in *Nachlass*.) Another is the open letter, yet another the journalistic investigation or the message posted on the social network. But the cement is the human voice with its eternal power of evocation.

Real people are involved in a form of theatre that, in keeping with the current macro-trend of performative theatre, is closer to presence than representation, to the truth of testimony than to mimesis of character. Yet this does not prevent it from touching on the depth of meaning of the symbolic and the harmony of form proper to art. And there is no lack of humour that lucidly unmask and perhaps thinks of Beckett. Are these "experts" (so Rimini-Protokoll calls its actor-characters) made to come to terms with their illusion? Wanting to live at all costs? Is it narcissism? Is it human arrogance? Or is it holding hands across the generations to construct the human?

What remains of the living body?

Traces.

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Annamaria Cascetta

Ciała i scena między obecnością i brakiem

Streszczenie

Teatr europejski podejmuje problemy naszych czasów z coraz większym zaangażowaniem i odpowiedzialnością, zarówno na poziomie egzystencjalnym, jak i społecznym.

Jednocześnie bada i eksperymentuje z językiem dostosowanym do komunikacyjnego i estetycznego horyzontu naszych czasów.

W eseju, który inauguruje w piśmie serię poświęconą studiom nad teatrem, analizuję dwa cieszące się uznaniem na arenie międzynarodowej dzieła. Są one emblematyczne zarówno pod względem tematyki (ciało, śmierć, pamięć), do której kontemplacji zapraszają czytelnika, jak i pod względem eksperymentalnej techniki, poprzez którą angażują odbiorców.

Analizowane spektakle to *La Merda* włoskiego twórcy, Cristiana Ceresoli, w interpretacji Silvii Gallarani oraz *Nachlass* szwajcarsko-niemieckiego artysty, Stephe-na Kaegi, stworzony dla berlińskiej grupy Rimini Protokoll.

Słowa kluczowe: teatr, ciało, śmierć, pamięć

Bodies on stage between presence and absence

Summary

European theatre engages with the problems of our time with ever greater commitment and responsibility, crucial both on the existential and the social level.

At the same time it is researching and experimenting with a language suited for the communicative and aesthetic horizon of our age.

This essay, intended to inaugurate in this journal a series of critical studies of the theatre, analyses two works, highly successful internationally, emblematic both by their theme (the body, death, memory) on which they invite the spectators to reflect and the experimental technique through which they involve audiences.

The performances analysed are “La Merda” by the Italian Cristian Ceresoli, interpreted by Silvia Gallarani and “Nachlass” by the Swiss-German Stephen Kaegi for the Berlin group Rimini Protokoll.

Keywords: theatre, body, death, memory

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<https://pixabay.com/pl/photos/rękopis-powiększać-szkła-szkło-1614234/>

Wydrukowano z gotowych materiałów dostarczonych do Wydawnictwa UŁ

Wydane przez Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego

Wydanie I. W.08962.18.0.Z

Ark. druk. 30,75

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